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INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS: SEE INSIDE BACK COVER

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EDITORS' NOTES

The editors of the *Journal of the Community Development Society* thank the following people for their time and effort reviewing the many manuscripts that are submitted for publication. Without the thoughtful input of these people and many others the *Journal* cannot continue as a valid social science journal.

Nan Booth	Tim Kelsey	James Pippard
Judith Chandler	Kenneth Martin	Jerry Robinson
Beverly Ciglar	Libby Morris	James Seroka
Merrill Ewert		

Your editor,
ROBERT BLAIR
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Much like Mark Twain's rumored demise, Bob Blair's editorship is really not over. He agreed to edit issue 28(1) and graciously accepted my invitation to co-edit issue 28(2). With volume 29(1), his commitments as editor of the *Journal* will terminate and mine will begin.

Like his predecessors, Bob served the society well as editor. Under his guidance, the *Journal* continued to publish relevant and timely basic and applied research. Moreover, it has come to fill an increasingly important community policy role by serving as a forum for analyses of community development programs.

For this process to continue, reader input is needed. Manuscripts on these subjects are always welcome, and we encourage society members and our readers to think of the *Journal* as their first outlet for publication. However, to accommodate these submissions, and to be expeditious in their review, able and willing reviewers are also needed. As my mentor once informed me, conscientious, thoughtful, informed, and timely reviews are essential for a successful editorship.

To help accomplish this, I am also soliciting more reviewers. The Administrative Office of the Community Development Society will be forwarding to each member a short questionnaire inquiring about member interest areas and areas of expertise. So that the *Journal* remains relevant to its members, it is essential that the pool of reviewers be reflective of the Society. Please take a few minutes to fill-out and return this questionnaire to us. You can do this by FAX, e-mail, or surface mail (addresses and phone numbers will be included).

Your editor-elect,
AL LULOFF
The Pennsylvania State University

WINDOWS ON THE FUTURE—THE TWO WORLDS OF DEVELOPMENT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Jerry L. Wade

ABSTRACT

The world is making a major transition from an industrial/nation-state paradigm to a dual system global/local world, a global village and a globe of villages. The old imagery of the "three worlds of development" is an out-dated notion that needs to be thrown away. The new world offers many opportunities for community development to be a central driving force of development, placing community at the center. Two especially important challenges will be the creating of new political structures reflective of the transitions taking place and the deinstitutionalizing of the human services professions while returning control and responsibility to the community.

OPENING

Community development has exploded to the forefront as the development philosophy of choice around the world. This is a direct response to the challenges being faced as we leave the industrial/nation-state political economy behind and, over the next several decades, move to a new set of political and economic patterns: a dual system world of the global village and the globe of villages. The cornerstone of the new world must be the community. A very eloquent discussion of that is Jane Leonard's 1994 Presidential Address to the Community Development Society, "Rededicating Ourselves to Community" (Leonard, 1994).

Although this is an exciting time to be a part of community development, there are many challenges facing us. Will we be able to deliver on the vision of community as the political, economic and social cornerstone of the new global/local world? What are the challenges as we look through the window to the future? Some would argue that we didn't deliver in the first boom in community development.

Jerry Wade is President of the Community Development Society, 1996–1997. This was presented as the Presidential Address at the 28th Annual Meeting of the Community Development Society Conference, Melbourne, Australia, July 21–24, 1996. Jerry Wade is Associate Professor of Community Development, Department of Rural Sociology, Social Sciences Unit, College of Agriculture, Food, and Natural Resources, University of Missouri–Columbia, and State Community Development Specialist, University of Missouri Outreach and Extension.

THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Go with me for a quick trip through the immediate past, beginning with the final stage of the industrial era. Nation/state boundaries had been imposed on the colonies but the colonial system was collapsing. Great Britain knew the colonies had little experience in governing themselves as nations. A series of very inadequate efforts under the term *mass education* was started in 1945, with the stated purpose of building political and economic development capability under conditions of national self-governance. In 1947 and 1948, the British colonial office initiated a series of annual summer conferences on "African Local Self Government"; the 1948 theme was "The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society." The 1948 conference produced a definition of mass education, and then decided that in the future the process would be known as community development.

"Community development is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement." This was shortened in 1954 to the definition used at a Community Development Conference in Malaya: "Community Development is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the community." Many of the new nations instituted community development programs, usually with an early emphasis on bricks and mortar, on building the physical infrastructure necessary to strengthen the village and build the country.

One of the buzz words of the era was community development as nation building. They tended to be topdown programs. The efforts simply were not adequate and the resources not available to jump-start the new countries into economic stability and political democracy, grass-roots grounded. In fact, the community development process created growing conflicts and dichotomies between central governments and local villages. When the pay-off in terms of nation-building did not live up to the promise, community development was dropped or dramatically cut back in country after country. By the end of the 1960's, community development and local community building as the primary development methodology had been replaced by macro-infrastructure projects and national economic development projects. Development philosophies with any kind of democratic political methodology and goals were pretty much gone.

It is within this context that Louis Horowitz published his concept of the three worlds of development (Horowitz, 1972). The book was meant to provide an explanation of the interaction and interpretation of the three main sources of economic, political and social power in the world: the first world of the United States and its western allies, the second world of the Soviet Union and its eastern bloc allies, and the third world of nonaligned, but variously committed nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa. The substance of what he wrote has long

been lost, but the concept of the three worlds came to be the imagery by which, with great clarity and simplicity, we organized the world, defined development, and justified a great deal of foreign policy and international development programs. Development for the first world was one of over development and consumption, environmental destruction, and economic exploitation and dominance of the third world. The third world came to signify, as if all were pretty much alike, all of the non-industrial, or emerging, nations of the world who were poor and powerless. They were poor and powerless because they were non-industrial, which meant "non-modern." Clearly, then, the path was to modernize—a national accelerated leap through the processes of change that the western industrial nations went through. This imagery focused development attention on two areas. First is the centrality of the nation as the development context and its deficiencies, especially in terms of physical infrastructure and national economic structures. The second was on the characteristics of the people as individuals, with an emphasis on deficiencies and "what's wrong with them" and a programming mentality of "fixing up" what's wrong.

The point is that the "three worlds of development" represents a focus and an imagery of a world that no longer exists, a world defined by the nation-state/industrial paradigm. Let's not debate whether the imagery was right or wrong or what it should have been. Let's just throw it away—remove it from our mind-sets. David Osborn, author of *Reinventing Government*, was asked what the major barrier to critical change was. His answer was, "the power of out-dated ideas." The three worlds imagery is outdated because the worlds that it was designed to explain and help understand no longer exist. We can no longer allow inappropriate images to frame our thinking and focus our attitudes.

THE GLOBAL/LOCAL

What is the new world? Clem Suntner in 1986 identified the new world as a "dual-logic economy" and asserted that there is no longer a truly domestic economy anywhere, but a global and a local economy (Suntner, 1986). Even earlier, David Morris, with the Institute for Local Self-Reliance in Washington, DC, was writing about the "global village and the globe of villages" (Morris, 1982 a&b). There is no longer a single, main arena for policy and action but three:

1. The global village where policy and action are set by its residents, the world class economic corporations, in some mysterious fashion I don't understand but I suspect is almost always a reflection of perceived individual corporate self-interest;

2. The globe of villages, those places where all of us live out our day-to-day lives, where communities have a growing freedom and responsibility to set their own policy and aggressively recreate themselves and their future; and

3. The interlink between the two.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

If we had sat down around the table together to dream of a world which created the maximum opportunities for community development, I'm not sure we could have even conceived of a new world with more potential for community development. The challenge will be if we can be critical players in the developmental process as the world moves through the transition to the new set of political, social, and economic realities. There are two challenges for community development that I think especially critical.

Political

The central political issues are going to be quite different from what we have been accustomed to confronting. We have only known a world in which the nation-state was the dominant political structure. Please remember that the nation-state was a European invention in the early stages of the industrial revolution because a new political structure was necessary to frame the new industrial economic system. Just as industrialization disconnected the economic system from the feudal political structure, so has the globalization and localization of economic organizations and behavior disconnected economics from the nation-state. The nation-state as a centralized political structure is becoming less and less useful. I won't go so far as to predict the withering away of the state; I think that prediction has already been made. However, as one observer noted several years ago, the nation-state is too small to do the big things that need to be done (i.e., provide a political framing and control of the global economic organizations) and too big to do the small things that need to be done (i.e., be a positive contributor to local communities developing their own quality).

Over the next several decades, one of the most important areas of experimentation and creating will be in evolving new political structures and mechanisms that frame the global economy, link communities with each other, and articulate the patterns of decision-making. A critical element of that will be the issues of power and control in the interlink between the global village and local village. Who has the power and who controls, for what outcomes and whose benefits? How are decisions of equity and justice made and enforced? If community development is not in the center, articulating and creating political processes and structures that move the community into an equitable set of power relationships with the global village, then we will have abdicated our responsibility to the future of the people and organizations about whom we care and to whom are we committed.

Community

John McKnight argues that the institutionalization of caring and professionalization of human services have undercut the essential foundation for authentic community (McKnight, 1995). Although his analysis focuses on the United States, I suspect it is quite applicable to most counties. His argument is that we

have carried over from the old industrialized model with its centralized political structure social and development policy and programming focusing on two arenas, institutions (meaning large structures such as corporations, universities, and state and national government) and individual people. We then exploded the whole area of human services professions by institutionalizing the meeting of people's needs, doing good by solving people problems, with the attitude that you will be better because I know better. I have answers. In the process, people were converted from citizens to consumers of the services and clients of the professional. He argues that not only is the community left out, it is undercut by the disconnection of the citizen from community and the replacement of real community policy development and decision making, programming and collectively caring for each other's needs with institutionalized human service providers.

McKnight says that the real battle is a struggle against clienthood, against servicing the poor. We must reallocate the power, authority, and legitimacy that have been stolen by the great institutions of our society. Revolutions begin when people who are defined as problems achieve the powers to redefine the problem. We all know that community must be the center of our lives because it is only in community that we can be citizens. It is only in community that we can find care. It is only in community that we can hear people singing. And if you listen carefully, you can hear the words: "I care for you, because you are mine, and I am yours."

The hope for community development and the challenge for each of us is to bring development processes that enhance and build community and focus on developing capabilities for the community to do for itself and take back what outsiders are trying to do. This means building social, political and economic structures at the local level that re-create a space for the people to act and decide. Our dream as community developers is to help make it happen with all people around the world.

CLOSING

The great American socialist of the 19th Century, Eugene Debs, was invited to speak to the strikers at a particularly difficult strike during the early days of trade union organization. While there, they tried to get him to come lead the strike. His answer to them is most informative to community development. "I would not lead you into paradise if I could, because if I could lead you in, someone else could lead you out." That's what we are all about.

In 1969, the Community Development Society was to be a community of people committed to helping build communities that locate power and control where it should be—with those collections of people building their own future. As members of the Community Development Society, we connect to each other to re-energize, care and share. I hope part of your commitment to community development includes a sense of responsibility and attachment to the Commu-

nity Development Society as a community and to me as a compatriot in community development.

Community development is not just a field of endeavor, blending of the head and hands (or as my colleague, Don Littrell says, the theory of practice and the practice of theory) but it is also a thing of the heart. We care deeply about the work we do and the people and communities we do it with. Together we need to get about the business of development that cares about people; that cares about those issues of political structure and its legitimate role in both enhancing the human condition and in supporting equity and justice in the face of global economic challenges to community political legitimacy; that cares about restoring legitimate community when replaced by institutional professions and counterfeits.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN CANADA: A REVIEW OF RECENT NEEDS ASSESSMENTS

By Scott McLean

ABSTRACT

Governments, universities and community-based organizations in Canada are struggling to determine the most appropriate means to build local capacity for community development. This paper reviews five recent research initiatives concerning the learning needs of community development practitioners in Canada. Lead organizations for the five needs assessments are the University of Regina, Employment and Immigration Canada, the Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification, the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers and the Economic Developers' Association of Canada. The context, objectives, research methods, findings and recommendations from each of the studies are presented, and implications for community development practitioners, educators and researchers beyond the borders of Canada are identified.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, community development has enjoyed a rebirth of popularity in both professional practices and public policy in Canada. While grassroots activism in areas such as environmental responsibility, Aboriginal self-government and poverty reduction has certainly fostered this rebirth, the reclamation of local control over development also reflects a number of structural changes to Canada's political and economic landscape. A combination of economic globalization and international trade liberalization agreements has left federal and provincial governments unable or unwilling to pursue effective national or regional development strategies. A growing sense of fiscal crisis among central governments has resulted in a significant downloading of service delivery responsibilities to the local level. Regional crises in manufacturing, agriculture and the fishery have dislocated the traditional economic base of many Canadian communities. In this context governments, universities and professional associations have been working to discover how to most effectively build local capacity to implement community development processes.

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Five recent needs assessments have concerned the education of community development practitioners in Canada. The contexts, objectives, research methods and findings of each study can be compared. Findings are reported concerning the characteristics of community development practitioners in Canada, the learning needs, delivery method and accreditation preferences of those practitioners, and the main recommendations made and actions accomplished as a result of the studies. The central issue that emerges from the comparative review of these research projects is the problem of assessing the learning needs of community developers, without employing methodologies consistent with community development principles. The five needs assessments reviewed in this article were initiated and funded as top-down projects, used survey research techniques which placed rigid parameters on respondents' participation, and forwarded recommendations oriented to the needs of institutions rather than the needs of practitioners.

A review of these research initiatives should be useful for people working in a variety of community development roles beyond the borders of Canada. Practitioners will gain insight into the context and characteristics of community development practice in Canada, and will be encouraged to reflect upon their own learning needs. Educators may be able to generalize some of the findings to their own settings, and will be encouraged to structure original needs assessment processes according to the major questions examined here. Researchers may assess the methodologies used in these five studies of community development education, and will be challenged to construct more community-based and participatory means of assessing learning needs in community development.

The Needs Assessments: Contexts and Objectives

The five studies reviewed in this article were organized by the University of Regina (1992), Employment and Immigration Canada (1992a, 1992b, 1992c) the Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification (Saskatchewan Rural Development, 1992a), the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (1993) and the Economic Developers' Association of Canada (1994). Table 1 identifies the basic objectives of these five studies, and the subsequent narrative compares their respective contexts.

In 1992, faculty members at University of Regina Extension initiated a needs assessment concerning community development education. To guide the needs assessment process, Extension hired a consultant and established an advisory committee consisting of four faculty members, and representatives from the Saskatchewan Urban Municipalities Association, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, and the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. The University of Regina's research initiative was intended to inform its decision concerning whether or not to initiate a community development program, and to help shape the content, scheduling and format of community development courses.

Table 1. The Organizations and Their Objectives

Study	Lead Organization	Research Objectives
University of Regina Extension	University of Regina Extension provides a range of non-credit and certificate education programs in southern Saskatchewan.	To determine the need, viability and potential content for a regionally-based certificate program in community development.
Employment and Immigration Canada	Canada's federal government established the Community Futures Training Project, led by researchers at the University of Guelph.	To design and develop a training program in community economic development for staff, volunteers and consultants involved with a national community development program.
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	Provincial governments in Canada's four western provinces established the Community Development Education Project, led by the Saskatchewan Department of Rural Development.	To strengthen community development capacity in Western Canada through improving educational opportunities and sharing resources between provinces.
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	CANDO is a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting and providing professional development and networking opportunities for economic developers working with Native communities across Canada.	To determine the training needs and priorities of economic developers working with Native communities in Canada, and to promote the development of a national, accredited program for such developers.
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	EDAC is a professional association offering certification, professional development and networking opportunities.	To ascertain EDAC members' professional development needs, and to improve the quality of EDAC's educational programs.

Also in 1992, Employment and Immigration Canada organized a multi-institutional research project to help plan a national, non-credit training program in community economic development and strategic planning. This research project was designed to prepare a training program for staff, consultants and volunteers involved with the Community Futures Program. The Community Futures Program was established in 1986 as part of the federal government's Canadian Jobs Strategy. To promote the effectiveness of the program, a

Community Futures Training Project was commissioned in 1991. The Community Futures Training Project team was led by the School of Rural Planning and Development at the University of Guelph. The project team consisted of twenty-one researchers, fourteen of whom were from Guelph and seven of whom were from other Canadian universities. The research was guided by an advisory committee of fourteen Employment and Immigration Canada staff members, two Community Futures volunteer board members, and three other individuals.

While the Community Futures Training Project was an initiative of the federal government, the Community Development Education Project was a collaborative undertaking of provincial governments in Canada's four western provinces. Since 1987, a Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification had met to explore and pursue means for economic diversification and development. The provincial departments responsible for exploring inter-provincial cooperation in the area of community development were Alberta Municipal Affairs, British Colombia Economic Development, Manitoba Rural Development and Saskatchewan Rural Development. Detailed objectives for the Community Development Education Project were:

> to identify community development education clients; to identify community development clients' education needs; to inventory existing community development education programs; to identify community development education gaps; to recommend provincial community development education strategies; to recommend inter-provincial Western opportunities to provide co-ordinated community development educational services; and to recommend appropriate follow-up (Saskatchewan Rural Development, 1992a: 11).

Phase one of this project endeavored to comprehensively identify the knowledge and skills needed by community development practitioners in Western Canada.

In 1993, the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO) submitted a report to Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. This report assessed the training needs of economic development officers working with Aboriginal communities in Canada. CANDO initiated the research by establishing a task force to guide the gathering and interpretation of data concerning the training needs of economic development officers in Aboriginal communities. This task force was composed of seven representatives of national Aboriginal organizations, three representatives of specific bands, three representatives of Canadian post-secondary institutions, and two consultants. The research, conducted by a consultant, was funded by the federal government. While CANDO is dedicated to building the economic development capacity of Canada's Aboriginal communities, the Economic Developers' Association of Canada (EDAC) provides professional development, certification and networking opportunities for economic developers more generally. In 1994, EDAC surveyed its members to ascertain their professional development activities and needs.

Although these five needs assessments had significantly different contexts, they shared two important characteristics. First, these research projects were all top-down initiatives. One was university-based, two were directed by government, and two were organized by national associations. None of the studies originated through the local and contextual efforts of community developers to discover their learning needs and build opportunities to meet those needs. Second, these needs assessments were all directed by advisory committees with varying degrees of representation by grassroots community developers. University professors and civil servants clearly dominated the first three initiatives, while the CANDO and EDAC studies involved economic developers as the directors of research into their own learning needs.

METHODOLOGY

There are two methodological questions to be addressed in this section. First, through what process were existing needs assessments selected for inclusion in this review of community development education in Canada? From the total set of research initiatives in community development education undertaken since 1990, studies were selected for inclusion in this review article based on the criteria of accessibility, generalizability, and specificity of empirical focus. An interesting needs assessment conducted by Brandon University's Rural Development Institute (1994), was not included because its results have not been released to the public. A study conducted by the University of Saskatchewan's Extension Division (1992) focused on the role of that institution in rural development, and presented few findings that could be generalized beyond the specific context of the institution. Other studies, such as those undertaken by the Canadian Farm Women's Education Council (1993) and the Industrial Adjustment Services Committee on Aboriginal Agriculture (1994) focused on general educational needs required to make community development happen, but not on the educational needs of community development practitioners. Research was selected for review in this article based upon accessibility, relevance for more general contexts in community development, and focus on the specific educational needs of community development practitioners.

Second, what were the research methods used by the five needs assessments reviewed in this article? Table 2 outlines the methodologies employed by each of the studies, while the subsequent section discusses each study's specific research methods, and identifies the most significant comparative methodological issue characterizing the studies as a set.

The University of Regina (1992) employed three distinct research methods in its needs assessment. First, to determine whether there was a sufficient number of potential students to warrant developing a certificate program in community development, the University conducted an *enrollment interest survey*. This questionnaire probed each respondent's education and occupation, support for a certificate in community development, interest in taking each of twenty specific

Table 2. Research Methods and Respondent Background

Study	Research Methods	Survey Respondents
University of Regina Extension	Quantitative, mail-out survey (n = 227, response rate = 50%); social trends analysis; and training availability survey of universities, colleges, technical institutes and governments in Canada.	Regina area staff and volunteers involved in community development work in social services, health care, education, planning and agriculture.
Employment and Immigration Canada	Three quantitative, mail-out surveys of volunteers (n = 1,780, response rate = 80%), staff members (n = 150, response rate = 44%) and consultants (n = 60, response rate = 57%) involved with the Community Futures Program.	Staff members, consultants and volunteers involved with the 426 Community Futures Committees and Business Development Centre Boards in all Canadian provinces and territories.
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	Qualitative consultations with 63 key informants, largely from Saskatchewan, but also from Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia.	Federal, provincial and municipal civil servants, leaders of non-governmental organizations, post-secondary educators and consultants.
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	Quantitative, telephone survey (n = 165, response rate = 50%) of economic development officers, and review of post-secondary programs.	Economic development officers working with Native communities across Canada.
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	Quantitative, mail-out survey (n = 110, response rate unknown) of EDAC members.	Professional economic developers working in all Canadian regions.

courses, and preference for course format and scheduling. Second, to assess the social, economic and political trends that could impact future demand for community development training, the University conducted an *analysis of need indicators associated with relevant social trends*. This analysis combined qualitative interviews with ten key government officials and five representatives of non-governmental organizations, with a review of the relevant social trend and policy literature. Third, to assess the adequacy of the current supply of community development education, the University conducted a *training availability survey*. This survey involved a mail-out questionnaire to all provincial and

territorial governments; a review of calendars from universities, colleges and technical institutes across Canada; and a review of national guides to college and university programs.

The Community Futures Training Project conducted three national quantitative surveys. One survey examined the personal characteristics and training preferences of volunteer board members with the Community Futures program across Canada (EIC, 1992c). The second and third surveys endeavored to assess the training needs of consultants and staff members working with Community Futures projects (EIC, 1992a, 1992b). All three surveys endeavored to assess respondents' demographic and professional characteristics, their level of activity and need for training in various community development areas, and their preferences for the delivery method, scheduling, location and certification of training. In each case, respondents identified and ranked their training needs from a close-ended set of options.

The Community Development Education Project organized its assessment of community development education needs in Western Canada through a qualitative process of consulting with key informants (Saskatchewan Rural Development, 1992a). The first stage of this process involved civil servants defining the basic categories of potential clients for community development education. The three categories identified were community development professionals, community development groups and entrepreneurs. For each of these three potential categories of educational clients, civil servants brainstormed a draft outline of the knowledge and skills necessary for such clients to contribute to community development processes. The three draft outlines were sent for review and feedback to 102 informants, selected because of their active involvement with community development. Qualitative feedback was gathered from 63 of these informants. On the basis of this feedback, the three draft outlines of community development knowledge and skills were refined, and an *overview and reference for designing educational programs* was created.

In assessing the education needs of economic development officers (EDO's), both the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers and the Economic Developers' Association of Canada employed quantitative surveys. CANDO (1993) conducted a telephone survey of EDO's working with Aboriginal communities. A sample of 331 EDO's was compiled from inventories created by CANDO and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. To determine the current availability of educational opportunities for EDO's working with Aboriginal communities, CANDO also reviewed the existing offerings of post-secondary institutions across Canada. EDAC (1994) conducted a mail-out survey of its membership. A total of 110 economic developers returned the survey, which combined open and closed-ended questions. CANDO and EDAC both endeavored to create profiles of economic developers' professional characteristics, learning needs, and preferences for the format and certification of training programs.

The most obvious characteristic shared by the research methods in these five needs assessments is the degree to which findings were constrained by the structures of the research instruments themselves. Four studies relied heavily upon closed-ended surveys, in which the parameters of possible results were determined by the structure of the questions and responses provided. The Western Ministers' study did not use a quantitative survey; however, it allowed its respondents to provide only qualitative feedback to a set of learning needs previously identified by civil servants. In all five cases, the learning needs of community developers were ascertained through research methods that set fairly rigid parameters on the participation of community developers themselves. The absence of community development methodology in these five needs assessments should be kept in mind as one reads the findings reported below.

FINDINGS

The findings of these five needs assessments concerning community development education in Canada, relate to a series of four issues: characteristics of community developers; learning needs; accreditation and delivery method; and recommendations and actions. For each issue, a summary table is provided to facilitate the comparison of results.

Whose Learning Needs?

A significant concern of the needs assessments reviewed in this article was to identify the characteristics of the community developers whose learning needs were being assessed. The Western Ministers' study was the only research project not to construct a profile of the demographic and professional characteristics of community developers surveyed. Table 3 provides a comparative summary of the respondent characteristics identified by each study.

Three significant issues can be identified from Table 3. First, with the exception of the University of Regina's needs assessment, it is clear that these research initiatives were oriented toward the learning needs of community economic developers, rather than community developers more generally. This orientation reflects the fact that community development is not as strongly recognized as a distinct field of practice in Canada as it is in the United States, and that the priorities of the government funding agencies behind most of these needs assessments were heavily weighted toward the economic sphere. Second, the gender balance of survey respondents varied with the form of community development being studied. In the University of Regina study, which focused on the social side of community development, nearly three-quarters of respondents were female. In contrast, less than one-fifth of respondents to CANDO's survey of economic development officers were female. Third, the respondents to these surveys were consistently well-educated, and typically middle aged. While the results presented in Table 3 are hardly surprising, they do provide an interesting profile of different types of community developers in Canada.

Table 3. Characteristics of Community Developers Surveyed

Study	*Respondent Characteristics*
University of Regina Extension	About 72% of respondents were female; 65% were between 30 and 45 years old; 20% were over forty-five years of age; less than 7% did not have some post-secondary education; nearly 23% had post-graduate university training; 51% worked in the social services sector; 19% were health care workers; 11% were community planners; and the remainder worked in education, agriculture, or as volunteers.
Employment and Immigration Canada	The mean age of consultants and staff members was 42 and 38 years respectively, while 74% of volunteers were over 40 years old. Women constituted 52% of staff members, but only 20% of consultants and 23% of volunteers. All three groups were largely university educated, predominantly in the areas of business, economics and social sciences. Consultants and staff members had primarily managerial backgrounds, while volunteers had either professional or managerial backgrounds.
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	Characteristics of respondents were not reported in this needs assessment. However, informants were asked to comment on the educational needs of three distinct categories of people: community development professionals; entrepreneurs; and community development groups.
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	About 78% of respondents were male, 67% were older than 35, 79% were Native, and 88% used English as their primary working language. 74% of non-Natives and 39% of Natives had completed a post-secondary degree; the majority of such post-secondary graduates completed business programs. Only one-third of respondents had more than five years of experience as an economic development officer. The majority of respondents lived in small communities with low rates of employment and high degrees of dependence upon government and natural resources.
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	Over 38% of respondents had more than 10 years of experience in the economic development field, while less than 35% had fewer than 4 years of experience. About 43% of respondents worked in urban settings, while 15% worked in rural settings and the remainder worked in both urban and rural settings. In terms of highest educational qualifications earned, 26% of respondents had post-graduate university degrees, 46% had undergraduate degrees, 16% had college diplomas, and 11% had high school diplomas. The most common academic background for respondents was marketing, planning, or geography (42%), followed by economics or finance (33%) and administration or information management (24%).

Training Needs of Community Developers in Canada

The principle focus of all five research initiatives reviewed in this article was to identify the most salient learning needs of community development practitioners. Four of the studies asked respondents to rank closed-ended sets of potential learning needs, while the Western Ministers' study solicited qualitative feedback concerning a list of learning needs generated by bureaucrats. Thus, the findings reflect the preferences indicated by respondents from a set of learning options defined by the researchers and advisory committees organizing each study. Table 4 summarizes the learning needs identified as the highest priorities by each of the five studies, and the subsequent discussion examines how those priorities were constructed.

The University of Regina investigated the interest level of respondents concerning a set of specific community development courses. Confronted with twenty course descriptions, respondents were asked to indicate which courses they "would definitely take." Over 53 percent of respondents indicated that they would take each of the four courses identified in Table 4. The EDAC survey identified respondents' professional development needs in a very similar manner. From a list of fourteen seminar topics, respondents were asked to select those that they "would like to see." Table 4 identifies the four most popular seminars, in which at least 49 percent of respondents indicated interest.

Employment and Immigration Canada used a more elaborate closed-ended instrument to identify respondents' learning needs. First, respondents were asked to identify their level of involvement and need for training in seven areas: assessing community needs, strengths and weaknesses; developing visions, goals, objectives and targets; community participation; plan management; assessing development projects; implementing projects and plans; and monitoring and evaluation. Staff members and consultants were asked to assess their involvement with and need for training in over fifty activities. Second, from the various activities listed in section one, respondents were asked to rank their top five training priorities. The training priorities of Community Futures staff and consultants were fairly uniform, and each group's top four priorities are listed in Table 4.

The Western Ministers' Community Development Education Project identified specific sets of knowledge and skill required by professionals, organizations and entrepreneurs to allow them to contribute to community development processes (Saskatchewan Rural Development, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d). Given that the needs identified for professionals and groups overlapped considerably, Table 4 identifies the needs of these categories together. Within each general category of knowledge or skill, several specific topics to be addressed by community development education were elaborated. The final ranking of topics was accomplished through the consideration, on the part of civil servants, of comments received from informants.

Table 4. Key Learning Needs Identified

Study	*Learning Needs*
University of Regina Extension	• community conflict resolution • community-based action research • empowerment through leadership development • funding community projects and programs
Employment and Immigration Canada	• for staff members: develop a vision with the community; explore future community development scenarios; conduct local economic analysis; and identify strategic activities • for consultants: improve analytical skills and problem solving; identify strategic activities; develop a vision with the community; and enhance human resource development • for volunteers: learning needs not systematically investigated
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	• for community development professionals and groups: theory, concepts and models; leadership skills; research and resourcing; planning; group networking; administration; communication skills; professional management; decision making skills; cultural considerations; human resource management; program and project development; joint venture management; and the use of tools and equipment • for entrepreneurs: personal assessment; theory, concepts and models; idea development; general research; planning; business start-up; business operations; personnel management; and public relations
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	• knowledge gaps: environmental legislation; business corporation acts; sources of capital; economic development in other Native communities; sources of labour market information; economic theory; business taxation; and land and resource management • skill gaps: making presentations; assessing economic or business opportunities and plans; developing plans; developing economic policy; motivating and supporting businesses; facilitating cultural expression; training; and managing natural resources
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	• local business retention • economic impact analysis • marketing and promotion • emerging economic trends

The CANDO needs assessment used a closed-ended survey to identify the knowledge and skills required to work effectively as an economic development officer in Aboriginal communities. From a set of eighteen knowledge requirements and twenty skill requirements, respondents were asked to rate the importance of different requirements, and to rate the sufficiency of their own knowledge or skill in that area. Knowledge requirements were divided into four groups: government support; community issues; business theory and tools; and

external sources of information. Skill requirements were also divided into four groups: economic and community development skills; economic and community planning skills; management skills; and communications skills. The major knowledge and skills gaps are reported in Table 4. In general terms, respondents considered themselves to be sufficiently knowledgeable concerning government support and community issues, but insufficiently knowledgeable concerning business theory and external sources of information. Respondents also considered themselves to be sufficiently skilled in communications, but insufficiently skilled in economic or community planning and development.

Accreditation and Delivery Issues

Interestingly, while the characteristics and learning needs of Canadian community development practitioners were extremely diverse, the five studies reviewed in this article found similar results with regard to preferences for the delivery methods and accreditation of educational programs. Table 5 outlines these findings.

Respondents in these assessments were strongly in favor of the formal certification of their educational experiences. Support for accreditation varied from 61 percent in the Employment and Immigration Canada study, to 95 percent in the CANDO study. Respondents' support for new accreditation processes in community development education is not surprising, given the scarcity of such accreditation in Canada. Few Canadian universities or colleges offer significant programs in community development, and only Saskatchewan has a provincial chapter of the Community Development Society. While many professional fields are as heavily certified and regulated in Canada as in the United States, there are virtually no nationally recognized standards for community development training. One exception is the Certified Economic Developer (Ec.D.) qualification. The Ec.D. is a formal designation awarded by EDAC to economic developers who have fulfilled educational requirements, had at least three years of professional economic development experience, successfully completed a special examination, and maintained current membership in EDAC.

Given the low population densities in many Canadian regions, distance education initiatives would seem appropriate. However, despite growing possibilities for distance learning through a number of technological means, the practitioners in these assessments expressed a clear preference for in-person workshops. The Employment and Immigration Canada and CANDO studies most forcibly rejected the use of distance education techniques, while the EDAC study found that only one-third of respondents would be willing to participate in training at a distance. These findings may reflect past experiences and characteristics of practitioners, but they may also reflect a conviction that the social nature of community development skills makes such skills difficult to learn through distance education strategies. More qualitative research methods could have examined the specific reasons for the apparent resistance of Canadian community developers to distance education delivery methods.

Table 5. Accreditation and Delivery Methods

Study	Accreditation	Delivery Methods
University of Regina Extension	77% of respondents indicated that organizing a certificate program would be a good idea, and 41% of respondents suggested they would be personally interested in acquiring such a certificate.	In-person workshops were the only delivery method identified in the survey, and respondents expressed a preference for evening classes or five-day intensive seminars during the fall or winter.
Employment and Immigration Canada	61% of staff members and consultants suggested that the formal certification of training was important; volunteers were not asked about their accreditation preferences.	Over 80% of respondents expressed a preference for in-person workshops; distance education was explicitly opposed by over 75% of volunteers and consultants, and over 67% of staff members.
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	Accreditation was not an issue investigated in this needs assessment.	Delivery methods were not investigated in this needs assessment.
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	Of the 84% of respondents supporting the development of a training program for Native economic development officers, 95% suggested that such a program should be formally accredited.	Respondents' preferences for delivery methods were (approximate percentages given): modular workshops (54%); university courses (16%); in-house training (15%); internship (6%); correspondence (4%); and no preference (5%).
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	The Ec.D. qualification is awarded by EDAC. 35% of respondents possessed the Ec.D., and 53% agreed that a new, advanced designation would be appropriate.	Respondents expressed a (non-exclusive) preference for week-long workshops (51%); shorter workshops (37%); correspondence courses (30%); and other methods (11%).

Recommendations and Actions

Table 6 identifies the major recommendations made by each of the five needs assessments reviewed in this article, and identifies the outcomes that have since been realized.

Based on its needs assessment, University of Regina Extension made eleven recommendations. These recommendations can be grouped into three major themes: Extension should proceed with developing and delivering a community development program; such a program should be offered at the certificate level,

Table 6. Recommendations and Actions

Study	Major Recommendations	Actions Accomplished
University of Regina Extension	To proceed with a certificate in community development, based upon the findings of the needs assessment.	The University of Regina implemented a Certificate in Community Development in 1994.
Employment and Immigration Canada	To design a training program based upon the learning needs and delivery format identified in the needs assessment.	A training course in community economic development and strategic planning was produced through the University of Guelph in 1992.
Western Ministers' Working Group on Diversification	To promote inter-provincial collaboration to create an efficient and effective system of community development education.	An inventory of existing community development programs in Saskatchewan and British Columbia was compiled in 1994.
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers	To establish a national, accredited program for Native economic development officers.	CANDO is now collaborating with Canadian post-secondary institutions to design a National Native Economic Developers' Training Program.
Economic Developers' Association of Canada	Explicit recommendations unavailable.	Results have been integrated into EDAC's ongoing professional development activities.

in evening courses during fall and winter, and with course content guided by the results of the University's interest survey and social trends analysis; and Extension should partner with key governmental and Aboriginal organizations in order to secure funding, market the program, and develop customized courses.

The Community Futures Training Project team made a series of recommendations concerning the design and delivery of a national training program in community economic development. With respect to training content, the team recommended a curriculum including the following areas: visioning; assessing community strengths and weaknesses; developing goals, objectives and targets; developing leadership and motivation; conducting needs assessments and evaluations; identifying strategic activities; resolving conflicts; enhancing community participation and social development; analyzing local economies;

and assessing the feasibility of proposed projects. With respect to the format of training, the project team recommended workshop delivery in regional or local centres. Distance education and computer networking were explicitly rejected. With respect to academic level and certification, the project team recommended that Community Futures training be offered at a university level of difficulty, and that some form of certification should accompany the successful completion of the training program.

The Western Ministers' Community Development Education Project made seven specific recommendations. First, given the diverse needs of those involved in community development, the content and format of each education program should be tailored to the particular needs of specific clients. Second, since there were already many relevant education programs in existence, improvements in community development education should be achieved through increased cooperation, coordination and strategic planning among clients and educators. Third, the Western provinces should cooperatively establish centres of excellence to improve the content, delivery and effectiveness of community development education. Fourth, community development education initiatives should be integrated into a wider process of building cultures and institutions where community development can succeed. Fifth, a comprehensive inventory of existing programs and resources in community development education should be compiled (Saskatchewan Economic Development, 1994). Sixth, each Western province should establish a representative strategic planning committee, agree on a definition for community development, and prepare a strategic community development education plan. Finally, the provinces should share their respective strategies, and identify inter-provincial opportunities for collaboration that would lead to a strategy for all four provinces.

On the basis of its needs assessment, CANDO recommended four specific actions: that a national accredited program be supported to meet the training needs of EDO's; that a partnership be established with Canadian universities and colleges, Native communities and Native training institutions to develop and deliver accredited training programs for EDO's; that a partnership be established with Canadian businesses and financial institutions to provide support for accredited training and development initiatives of Native EDO's; and that the core funding of the national accredited program be supported by the federal government.

While the recommendations put forward by these needs assessments were diverse, they shared a similar orientation. Rather than being directed toward the learning needs of community development practitioners, most recommendations were oriented toward the identification of activities in which the initiatives' sponsoring organizations could engage. In other words, rather than recommending action to improve educational opportunities for community developers, these studies tended to recommend actions to support the institutional needs of the university, government or association which initiated the research. This tendency was integrally related to the choices made with respect

to research methodology, and it helped explain the rather unimpressive current status of the programs and initiatives that ensued from these needs assessments. The University of Regina's certificate program was officially established in 1994, but it has yet to become fully operational. The Community Futures training course was never widely used, and Employment and Immigration Canada is no longer even involved with the Community Futures Program. The Western Ministers' Community Development Education Project stalled, without any meaningful inter-provincial collaboration having been accomplished. CANDO prepared a comprehensive list of Native economic developers' training needs, and established a curriculum development committee, but the outcome of these initiatives is still unclear.

CONCLUSIONS

The central issue which has structured this article is the assertion that the five research initiatives under consideration all endeavored to assess the educational needs of community developers, without using processes consistent with community development principles. This paradox originated in the top-down manner in which the five studies were initiated and organized. The research methods employed in these needs assessments limited the participation of community developers in identifying their own learning needs, and to a great extent, defined in advance the nature of the results obtained. In addition to being structured by the research methods employed, the recommendations from these five initiatives were oriented toward the capacities of the institutions involved, rather than toward the educational needs of community developers. While the needs assessments reviewed in this article provide important comparative data with respect to community development practitioners in Canada, they fall short of prescribing an adequate course of action for the education of these practitioners.

A review of recent needs assessments concerning community development education in Canada may be useful for practitioners, educators and researchers beyond the borders of Canada. Community development researchers can learn from the methodological issues examined in this article. The assessments reviewed above used conventional social science methodologies, such as surveys of practitioners, interviews with agency leaders, and reviews of existing programs. Community development researchers should be challenged to use community-based and participatory methods in the assessment of practitioners' educational needs. Communities with whom practitioners work should be actively involved in the building of educational programs that will shape those practitioners' activities.

Community development educators can usefully apply the core questions which structured the needs assessments reviewed in this article. Who are the practitioners seeking education in community development? What do these practitioners need to learn? How would these practitioners prefer to do this

learning? Do appropriate programs already exist elsewhere? Where do resources exist that could be adapted for these specific practitioners? Responding to these questions would help community development educators construct effective programs. Educators may also benefit from the "supply-side" observations made by the studies of CANDO and the University of Regina. These studies suggest that there is already a substantial amount of community development education happening in Canada. While there are few accredited programs in community development, there are many institutions offering relevant credit courses in fields such as social work, planning, community health, adult education, business management and the social sciences. There are also many delivery agents offering non-credit educational opportunities relevant to community development. Rather than starting from scratch, new community development education initiatives should endeavor to coordinate the activities, adapt the content, or refine the delivery strategies of existing programs.

Community development practitioners can think about the educational needs and preferences of Canadian practitioners, and consider the implications for their own professional development. While this review of these five research initiatives did not provide a systematic description of Canadian practitioners or their practices, it did provide a subtle portrait of the contexts and concerns of practitioners in Canada. The most obvious observation of this portrait is that practitioners constitute a very diverse group. Canadian community developers are characterized by demographic, sectoral and geographic diversity, as well as by a variety of roles such as employee, consultant and volunteer. Through reading about the educational needs of diverse practitioners elsewhere, those directly involved in community development work should be encouraged to reflect on their own educational needs, and on the means through which such needs could be most effectively met.

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THE CULTIVATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTERS: A LIFECYCLE MODEL

By Barbara Powell and Geoffrey Nelson

ABSTRACT

In this paper we describe a qualitative study of four Canadian neighbourhood centers jointly created by a sponsoring agency and community members to prevent problems of the children and adults living in these neighbourhoods. Individual and focus group interviews with staff, community members, and other agency workers were used to understand the lifecycles of these centers in the community development process. The results highlight the critical issues, tasks, processes, and systems interactions of the centers across the lifecycle. The role of the sponsor organization and the development of a broad base of support emerged as characteristics critical for the sustainability of the centers. The implications of these findings for community development practice are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The development of neighbourhood centers often results from a focus on community development, family support, or the prevention of children's mental health problems. The particular centers we studied were developed to address these problems in low-income neighbourhoods, with professionals from an external organization attempting to mobilize community members to address the various issues facing the neighbourhood. The purpose of this study was to understand the critical issues, tasks, processes, and systems interactions across the lifecycle of these centers. A brief review of the literature reveals differing inter-disciplinary perspectives on the lifecycle of organizations from the fields of organizational development, community psychology, and community development. An integrated model of the lifecycle of neighbourhood centers formed the conceptual framework that guided our inquiry into the lifecycles of four neighbourhood centers.

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Lifecycle of Organizations

Organizational Development. Business administration has a literature relating to the development of innovative businesses and the role of the entrepre-

neur. Quinn and Cameron (1983) summarized nine different models of organizational development. Although these models are based on different organizational phenomena, they all suggest a progression through similar lifecycles. Innovative businesses begin with a prime mover, a dynamic, visionary leader with power and lots of ideas who works to marshal resources and to establish a market niche. As the organization matures, there is a move from informality to formality, and, in the final cycle, an emphasis on adaptation and renewal. Since this literature focuses on business organizations which have a profit motivation, the generalizability of findings to non-profit neighbourhood centers which have a community development focus is limited. Nevertheless, the importance of the initial leader and the pull towards a more bureaucratic structure are themes that are echoed in the literatures of community psychology and community development.

Community Psychology. The field of community psychology has been concerned with the development of alternative settings. Alternative settings usually have a strong ideological base, combining a critique of mainstream services with a proposal for social change. Members often see themselves as part of a social movement (Reinharz, 1984). But over time, ideology and activism can sometimes take a back seat to pressing service needs (Reinharz, 1984). Similarly, while alternative settings often have a collectivist philosophy with a non-hierarchical structure, there is often a pull over time to become more bureaucratic and preoccupied with funding and survival (Riger, 1984).

Sarason (1972) has written about key factors in the initial phases of creating alternative settings, such as the need to examine one's assumptions, the importance of the leader, and confronting the myth of unlimited professional resources. Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) examined case studies of different organizations to develop a grounded model of organizational creation. Based on their review, they found that the translation of the vision/mission/idea of the original leader and core group into action and later the transmission of the vision from the planners to subsequent members of the organization are key task and process issues in the creation of alternative settings. Critical issues in the creation of settings were related to managing conflict, power, interpersonal difficulties, and the involvement of outside groups (Bartunek & Betters-Reed, 1987).

Both Sarason (1972) and Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987) warned that while stages help to provide an understanding of the external world, they can also distort it because stages are not distinct or clearly bounded. Furthermore, Sarason warned that the orientation of stages of growth suggests an inevitable process that is unfolding toward a pre-determined outcome, which is obviously not the case.

Community Development. Community development has a great deal in common with community psychology, with a shared emphasis on democratic process, voluntary cooperation, self-help, and the development of indigenous leadership. In community development, "the community's capacity to become functionally integrated, to engage in cooperative problem-solving on a self-help

basis, and to utilize democratic process is of central importance" (Rothman & Tropman, 1987, p. 9). Blum and Ragab (1985) traced the lifecycle of a grass-roots group engaged in community development. They studied activist neighbourhood organizations, which all shared an agenda of empowerment of local residents. These organizations were actually coalitions (i.e., churches and block clubs), not simply a single neighbourhood organization. Blum and Ragab (1985) identified several developmental stages through which these organizations progressed with each stage providing distinctive challenges and issues. Critical issues as the organization developed were: identifying an ideology, establishing a means of recruiting and building an organizational base, formalizing a structure, and establishing a relationship with its constituents and its external environment. Blum and Ragab (1985) concluded that it is essential that the creation of a social infrastructure accompany the development of a physical infrastructure, since neighbourhood revitalization is dependent upon resident participation. Furthermore, they noted that there is no stage of stability; rather organizations continually repeat the previous cycles, a finding supported by Crawley (1989), who studied other grassroots groups.

Blum and Ragab (1985) suggested that a neighbourhood organization must have a leadership core, legitimacy and project support from the external community, and an ongoing commitment to an empowerment ideology. They suggested that the role that an external sponsor played in the organizations was significantly related to the early development and success of these organizations.

The sponsor organization for the neighbourhood centers in this particular research also has a model of the lifecycle of a neighbourhood organization. The model was developed by drawing on the principles of community psychology and community development. The model conceptualizes neighbourhood organizations as moving through four stages of development: *initiating, building, stabilizing, and consulting* (M'Timkulu, 1982). The purpose of the initiating stage is to confirm the neighbourhood as "at risk," to introduce the concept of the neighbourhood center, and to reach neighbourhood members. During the building stage, the needs and resources of the community are assessed in detail. A facilitator seeks to engage residents in assessing the strengths and needs of the community. Members begin to get to know and trust one another and the concept of mutual aid is introduced. The stabilizing phase is focused on developing competence and leadership at the neighbourhood level. Planning becomes more systematic and the center develops linkages with other organizations in the community. This stage culminates in a transition in which the neighbourhood center becomes incorporated with full ownership and accountability at the neighbourhood level. The final stage is consulting, in which the sponsor agency offers regular consultation to the organization. There is a recognition that there will be fluctuations at this stage that will require a flexible approach to resources and relationships (McGrath, 1991).

Summary. These three perspectives all appreciate the developmental nature of organizations. An essential part of understanding the lifecycle of an organization is to understand the paths that transverse the lifecycle. These paths capture the tasks of the organization, the processes that the organization uses, and the systemic interaction it experiences not only with its constituency but also with the broader community of which it is a part. These paths interact with each other, enhancing one another so that process enhances task accomplishment, which, in turn, has an impact on larger systemic issues.

An Integrated Model of Lifecycle Change in Grassroots Organizations

Clearly there are predominant issues, tasks, processes, and systems interactions in the lifecycles of organizations which flow from the perspectives of organizational development, community psychology, and community development. These themes have been brought together in an integrated model of community development suggested by Jones and Silva (1991). They identified three components in their model: problem-solving, community building, and systems interactions. The problem-solving approach is task-oriented: a problem is identified; a decision is made about what to do about the problem; there is follow-up action and evaluation. The community building aspect of the model consists of entering the community, developing relationships, building an organization, enhancing community capacity, and phasing out. The systems interaction component of the model focuses on the change agent (the person seeking to make a change in the community), the change agent system which sponsors the change agent, the client system (the group on whose behalf the intervention is undertaken), the target system (the entity that has to be altered in some way), and an action system (the vehicle used to bring about change).

All three components of the model contribute an essential ingredient. Problem-solving generates action; community building assures ownership of the action; systems interaction provides a broad base for the action (Jones & Silva, 1991). In actual practice, all components are interwoven and various tasks of each component occur contemporaneously.

Clearly the lifecycle of organizations does not occur only in an abstract, theoretical sense. Rather in the richness of its tasks, processes, and interplay with other systems, the lifecycle becomes vibrant through the lives of the staff and participants of the organization. They experience the ambiguity, emotional intensity, and stress of the dynamic ebb and flow which characterizes neighbourhood centers. Within this dynamic context this research occurred. The purpose of this research was to understand the critical issues, tasks, processes, and systems interactions that occurred across the lifecycles of four neighbourhood organizations, as experienced by staff and community residents.

METHOD

Research Context

The Canadian neighbourhood centers that formed the basis of this study were initiated by the community services department of a children's mental health center. This center has developed a framework for intervention that combined four distinct but interrelated concepts: social competence, social support, adult education, and community development. The vehicle for the realization of this intervention framework was the neighbourhood center. Four neighbourhood centers had been in operation for sixteen, ten, six and four years, respectively.

These neighbourhood centers were defined by their geographic boundaries. One center shared space with another neighbourhood organization in a community center, while the other three centers were located in townhouse units in public housing complexes. All of the neighbourhoods shared the characteristics of housing a high percentage of low-income residents and single-parent families. Residents in all four neighbourhoods were predominantly white.

Advisory Committee

An advisory committee with membership from each of the neighbourhood organizations was formed to provide input into the conception, design, implementation, and interpretation of this research. The committee was composed of two staff and four community residents, all women. Members of the committee formed a valuable link between the research project and the various neighbourhood centers, providing information, feedback, and sharing the findings of the research. The advisory committee selected potential participants for individuals or focus group interviews. Selection was based on how long someone had been involved with a neighbourhood center (so that he/she would be able to provide a perspective that spanned the lifecycle of the organization) and whether the person had been involved in more than one center.

Sample and Interviews

Individual Interviews. An interview guide was used for individual interviews. This approach provided a general outline of the issues that were covered with each participant but did not predetermine the specific wording or ordering of questions. The questions in the interview guide were organized chronologically and covered the following broad categories: activities, decision-making, organizational structure, relationships, personal involvement, and critical issues. All of the interviews were conducted by the first author and tape-recorded for later transcription.

Focus Group Interviews. Focus group interviews were conducted at each of the neighbourhood centers, and one additional group was conducted with other service-providers (school principal, housing authority staff, city staff) who had regular contact with at least one neighbourhood center. The focus groups ranged

in size from two to five members. Participants consented to having the session tape-recorded and the responses were also recorded on flip charts. Participants in both the individual interviews and focus groups were predominantly women between the ages of approximately 25 and 50. The one exception was the focus group of service-providers in which two men participated. The staff included directors of community services, program managers, and community workers. The four volunteers included three current members and one past member of the boards of each of the respective neighbourhood associations. The numbers of service-providers and volunteers who participated individual and focus group interviews are reported in Table 1.

Table 1. Methods and Numbers of People Who Provided Information

Data-gathering Methods (Number)	Number of Service-Providers	Number of Volunteers
Individual Interviews (13)	9	4
Center Focus Groups (5)	2	13
Service-Provider Focus Group (1)	6	–
Total	17	17

Data Analysis

The first author reviewed the transcripts of all interviews by listening to the tape and reading the transcript on line to correct errors made in transcription. Once the interviews were transcribed they were returned to the people interviewed to make additions, deletions, or corrections. Transcripts were coded using open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The first author began by coding a small piece of the data, a sentence or a paragraph, giving it a descriptive label or name. These codes were then sorted into the corresponding neighbourhood center and stage of development (initiating, building, stabilizing, consulting). Next, we focused on one stage and used the interview guide to establish some preliminary categories into which to sort the data (e.g., staff role, relationship between center and the sponsoring agency and organizational structure). Hence for each stage, we developed an overall data chart with the categories, stages, and the codes from the transcripts for each center. The emerging overall organizational framework that helped to frame the data had to do with issues, activities and roles related to either critical issues, tasks, processes, or systems interactions. The first author combined all of the responses from all of the focus groups responses from the neighbourhood groups and service-provider groups to each of the questions and coded these data. These data were then used to confirm the emerging analysis from the transcripts and also to add more description to the critical issues, tasks, processes, and systems interactions described in the interviews.

Caveats

Although it is helpful to understand developmental progression in stages, the assignment of stages is artificial; their boundaries are not distinct; and it is often difficult to sharply delineate between stages (Sarason, 1972). The developmental progression is not always linear or straightforward, rather there is an ebb and flow of moving forward and moving back. Similarly, although certain issues predominate in a particular stage, this does not mean that they are non-existent in other stages, or that issues are always resolved within a particular stage. Instead they spill over into other stages. Another issue in research that spans fifteen years is an awareness and a sensitivity to avoid imposing a current perspective on events that occurred in 1978. Many respondents noted how much prevention work has changed over this time period and how in retrospect they would have done some things differently.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We found that the data generally fit well with Jones and Silva's (1991) integrated model of community development (see Table 2). The four main components of intervention identified in the data were: critical issues, tasks, processes, and systems interaction. Critical issues refer to the challenges the centers must face to successfully move to the next stage. Tasks refer to the goal-oriented activities that Jones and Silva call problem-solving. Processes are the ways that community members and professionals work together on tasks to achieve their goals. Jones and Silva describe this component as community building. The final component, systems interaction, refers to the dynamic interactions between the various participants in the intervention process.

Tasks and processes unfold over time in a very fluid and organic fashion. We have borrowed the sponsoring agency's concepts of the stages of community development (initiating, building, stabilizing, and consulting), as they also seemed to provide a useful fit to the data. Throughout the presentation of findings, we denote markers which indicate the transition from one stage to the next.

The data are organized and presented according to the two dimensional matrix outlined in Table 2. The two dimensions are intervention components and stages. For each stage, we provide a brief case history of one of the centers to complement the thematic analysis that follows. We begin with a description of the initiating stage.

Initiating Stage

A **Case Study.** There was a great deal of interest in a new neighbourhood center after the success of Centers A, B and C. Funding became available for drug prevention activities and many of the partners involved with the other centers were eager to develop a center at site D. It was not difficult to choose D as the next site because earlier research on various social indicators easily identified D as an ideal location. There were problems with vandalism, drugs and youth

Table 2. Life Cycle of Neighbourhood Organizations

Intervention Components	Initiating Stage	Building Stage	Stabilizing Stage	Consulting Stage
Critical Issues	Developing Trust	Developing Credibility	Developing Autonomy/ Reputation	Maintaining Vitality
Tasks	Necessary Ingredients	Getting to Work	Launching Out	Maturity
Processes	Coming Together	Learning the Ropes	Taking Flight without Crashing	
Systems Interactions	Relationships with External Organizations		Securing Funds	Stable Relationships
		Volunteer Recruitment		

lacking access to recreation in a housing complex at D. The housing authority had begun programs at site D but were unable to sustain them without other partners and additional staff.

It was a slow start at D as one staff person began the outreach process of door knocking. At first, residents were distrustful of the neighbourhood center staff; thinking they may be "spies" for the housing authority, or the local children's aid society. The teenagers were the first to frequent the center. However, it was not until a few residents who were more widely known in the complex became involved that other residents started to come to the center. Residents came together over coffee to discuss what they could do in the neighbourhood. One of the first ideas was a "streetproofing" program for children. Programs were always geared to the interests of residents and there was a great deal of interest and support for teenagers' and children's activities. The first activity was a summer playground. A small core of four or five volunteers began to plan other activities for the children in the neighbourhood and soon after there were gymnastics and ladies' fitness groups.

Critical Issues. In the initiating stage, the overarching critical issue for the neighbourhood organization was *developing trust* between all community stakeholders and establishing a stable basis from which to proceed. All of the tasks and processes focused on this issue and its achievement. Initially, there were strong feelings of mistrust on the part of community residents in each of the four neighbourhoods towards agency staff members. As one worker stated, "I think the people in the housing complex were very distrustful of anybody who wanted to do something for them. Their experience was that nobody was trustworthy." As residents and staff became familiar with one another and began to work together, trust developed.

Tasks. The tasks during this stage were captured by the code *necessary ingredients*, consisting of tools and resources. The tools were the needs assessment techniques and prevention philosophy of the sponsoring agency. In the study, the sponsoring agency used a multi-method needs assessment approach to identify and select neighbourhoods for intervention: social indicators, rates under treatment, and key informant interviews (Milord, 1976). The prevention philosophy emphasizes a community-based, population-wide intervention. The resources were physical structures to house the center (usually a townhouse in a public housing complex), funding, and human resources. The staff of the sponsoring agency brought its knowledge and expertise, and neighbourhood volunteers brought their energy and commitment to these tasks. As one community resident commented:

> A lot of things wouldn't have happened if volunteers hadn't put in extra hours. The staff could organize things, they could advertise it, but it really took the volunteers to be out there working and to really promote what was happening.

Processes. In the initiating stage, the balance between task and process was more heavily weighted toward process. The code *coming together* refers to how

volunteers were recruited, how volunteers began to work together, the role of the staff in creating a comfort level for volunteers, and the way volunteers worked with staff. Staff persons met residents informally and knocked on doors to let people know about the center. Meetings were also held to inform people about the center and to find out what residents would like to see developed. In all four centers, "something for the kids to do" has always been the focus. Staff members encouraged people to come to the center and bring their friends and to make the center accessible, comfortable, and safe. Gradually, residents became more comfortable and began to take more responsibility for operating the center and programs.

Systems Interaction. A key part of procuring the necessary resources to start the neighbourhood centers was establishing *relationships with external organizations*. Local schools and the public housing authority donated space for the centers, which was critical for the initiation of the centers.

Summary and Discussion. To review, the critical tasks in the initiating stage involved securing staff, space, and funding, meeting and involving community residents, and developing working relationships. The transition from initiating to building was marked by the existence of a core group of volunteers that formed to work on particular programs.

Previous research from different disciplines has found a great deal of energy focused on developing ideas, marshaling resources, and building external support in the initial stage of new organizations (Bartunek & Betters-Reed, 1987; Blum & Ragab, 1985; Quinn & Cameron, 1983; Sarason, 1972). These activities also characterized the initiating stage of neighbourhood centers that we studied. The director of the community services department that initiated the neighbourhood centers had a vision for a community-wide approach to prevention, which formed the foundation for the centers. Developing relationships with community constituents and obtaining support from other organizations was important for getting started. Consistent with Sarason's (1972) assertion that new settings must confront the myth of unlimited professional resources, there was an explicit philosophy and practice within the neighbourhood centers that community volunteers were indispensable for the creation and operation of the setting. Agency staff members acted as catalysts for this involvement. The tools of needs assessment and prevention programs were more unique ingredients of the neighbourhood centers we studied, because of the explicit focus of the sponsor agency on the prevention of children's mental health problems.

Building Stage

A Case Study. The excitement and flurry of activity in the initiating stage gave way to the building stage. At Center C, a small core of interested residents formed the board and began to work together. Membership on the board was diverse. Women who lived in poverty and more middle-class women came together, but their skills and life experiences were very different. Some women could barely read, while others had advanced degrees. There were growing

pains as members of this fledgling group learned to work together. They had no shared language, or history. Whose ideas should be implemented? What would most benefit the community? These questions dominated their discussions. Sometimes a tension existed between programs that met the needs of the more middle class women on the board but not necessarily the needs of women who lived in the immediate neighbourhood. Some members dropped off, while others remained.

Staff members played an important role in helping people work together. They clarified what was said, diffused difficult situations with humor, and reminded the group members of their mutual interest in helping their community. Staff members also provided tangible support for volunteers, arranged childcare and provided transportation. They walked a fine line between giving guidance and avoiding controlling the volunteers. As the center grew and became stronger the program base expanded, and a committee structure developed to support the various activities (e.g., pre-school committee, newsletter production or clothing exchange).

Center C was becoming established not only in the immediate neighbourhood but also within the broader community. Links were forged with local schools, churches and businesses who provided students on placement, space for programs, photocopying and prizes for parties. The link with the sponsoring agency was strong; they hired and supervised the organization's staff. At times volunteers felt that the sponsoring agency was controlling, limiting their growth, but at the same time they also appreciated the "safety net" of a large organization, monitoring and keeping the center on track.

Residents involved in Center C experienced a great deal of personal growth and satisfaction as a result of their involvement. For example, they learned how to plan a pre-school program, or balance the financial records. There were a few residents who contributed a great deal to the neighborhood center and there was the risk of stress and burn-out of those highly involved individuals.

Critical Issues. In this stage, the overarching issue was *developing credibility*. The centers moved from ideas into the development of viable organizations. Having adequate staffing and recruiting a solid volunteer base are pivotal for translation of ideas into programs

Tasks. *Getting to work* describes the structures (board, committees) and activities (programs) that the organizations developed to respond to community needs. Programs developed at the four centers varied according to the self-defined needs of the residents. One center focused on street-proofing children and promoting drug awareness, while another developed a pre-school program. Programs for adult socialization ("Take a Break") also developed at the centers. The core group of volunteers developed into boards, while the staff roles in this stage were to help residents to develop skills, to support resident involvement (especially arranging childcare during meetings), to increase the visibility and attractiveness of the center to residents, and to assist the developing board.

Processes. The code *learning the ropes* captures volunteer roles and experiences and staff's roles as teacher and coach. As volunteers became more involved in the management of the center, they learned more about operating programs and meetings, the neighbourhood, and the sponsoring agency's prevention philosophy. It should also be noted that while turnover of volunteers in the centers was high, there was also a stable core of volunteers at each center. Some residents wanted to be involved only with programs, not the board or committees. Volunteers involved in this stage reported experiencing a great deal of growth and satisfaction with their involvement. One of the strengths of all the centers at this stage was the sense of ownership, energy, and commitment of the volunteers. In addition to this excitement and the positive experiences, residents also experienced stress, frustration, over extension, and burnout, which can lead to volunteer turnover. As one staff member remarked: "Living with crisis is a big part of life of some of the families in the neighbourhood." The staff role focused on teaching and coaching residents in the various skills of operating the center. One worker made this comment about the staff's role:

> You focus on four roles: facilitating group development, applying adult education as
> you teach roles; you practice personal support with individual people to strengthen
> them; and you do a lot of participatory community planning.

Systems Interaction. Ongoing *volunteer recruitment* was necessary for developing the skills of community residents and providing them with opportunities for operating the centers. At the same time, maintaining relationships with external organizations continued to be a key part of the staff role.

Summary and Discussion. By the end of the building stage, formalized committees were in place and a strong board could run meetings and set goals. Volunteers were able to take a fuller role in hiring and managing the center, articulating the model, and showing initiative in bringing ideas to the table. The relationships with external partners developed through the building stage were well-established and maintained.

Like Bartunek and Betters-Reed (1987), we found that the translation of ideas into concrete actions was important at this stage. The development of programs draws in more community members, which is also critical for ongoing volunteer recruitment (Bartunek & Betters-Reed, 1987; Blum & Ragab, 1985). Just as Blum and Ragab reported, we found that the sponsor organization played an important support role at this stage, teaching and encouraging community residents to take responsibility for the center.

Stabilizing Stage

A Case Study. The stabilizing stage represents a point where the enthusiasm and energy of the earlier stages is evident in a strong organization. At Center B at this stage there were committed volunteers who had a clear sense of the organization's mission. There were spokespersons who could represent the organization and a stable core of volunteers who took increasing responsibility for the

organization's operations (hiring, budgeting and advocacy). One tension at Center B was sometimes experienced when long-standing volunteers tended to overshadow new volunteers. For instance, the person who was the treasurer for many years did not want to give it up and new volunteers saw existing volunteers as highly skilled and did not feel confident in their own abilities. One of the experienced volunteers was a skilled spokesperson with years of experience, and others felt reluctant to take that role.

Center B continued to establish itself in the broader community by strengthening and extending the relationships forged in the building stage. The Center contacted more schools, churches and business groups to establish its credibility and reputation; it became involved in strategic planning exercises of other agencies; and it became an established site for other partners working in their community.

With increased responsibility for the Center resting with volunteers, the stage was set for incorporation, a point at which the volunteers took over responsibility for the organization. Volunteers at Center B remembered their mixed feelings. There was a strong drive for independence, but at the same time there was anxiety. Volunteers waffled between feeling stifled and cast adrift. The transition was no less difficult for the sponsoring organization. Should they rush in and rescue, or hold back and let the fledgling organization find its way?

Critical Issues. The critical issues in this stage are *developing a reputation* and *autonomy*. The centers were moving towards independence and working to secure funding and to become incorporated.

Tasks and Processes. The tasks and processes were strongly interrelated at this point. The code *launching out* includes an increasing program base and more formalized operations, the changing volunteer role to managers and employers, and the shifting of staff to even more of a non-directive support role. A tension in this stage concerned the relationships between new volunteers and the established group. Participants noted that it was important for the longer-term volunteers not to overshadow or dominate new recruits.

The code *getting ready to incorporate (taking flight without crashing)* encompasses the readiness of centers to become incorporated and the feelings and tensions experienced in negotiating this passage. The centers must be able to manage their operations and finances; they must have a sense of their own identity, mission, principles, and direction; and they must have leaders who can represent the organization. While there was excitement and anticipation at the prospect of becoming independent, there was also anxiety and concern about losing the safety net of the sponsoring agency. As one staff member stated:

> I think people on one hand felt reassured, because there was a certain safety that big brother was watching, taking care of, no matter what happened (the sponsor) would be there. When we started talking about separation and moving away from, there was a panic. And while (the center) really wanted its independence, at the same time, they were terrified of it, and they kept saying, "Well, what if this happens? What if that happens?"

Despite these mixed feelings, community residents reported feeling gener-
ally supported by the sponsoring agency during this transition.

Systems Interaction. *Securing funding* from external sources is a critical
part of the interaction with other systems at this stage. In their roles as represen-
tatives of the neighbourhood centers, community residents now took more of a
leadership role in negotiating funding from municipal and provincial sources.

Summary and Discussion. The presence of their own funding bases and
staff marked the transition from stabilizing to consulting. The organizations had
spokespersons, formal organizational structures, and involvement with other
service systems, and they have navigated the process of pulling away from the
sponsoring agency.

Like previous research on alternative settings (Reinharz, 1984; Riger, 1984),
we found that over time, funding became a primary concern of the centers and
that more formal organizational procedures developed. However, this was not
perceived as problematic, as residents did not become involved out of a strong
ideological commitment, but rather for their children and betterment of the
neighbourhood. Moreover, the centers maintained a great deal of informality
and a strong grassroots involvement. The need to pay attention to melding rela-
tionships between new and experienced volunteers and to passing on the preven-
tion philosophy were important ones for the centers (see Bartunek & Betters-
Reed, 1987; Blum & Ragab, 1985). Also, at this stage, a key task was to build
supportive relationships from external organizations, including funders, around
the centers, as they were preparing to become independent of the sponsor
organization.

Consulting Stage

A Case Study. Center A experienced the consulting stage not as a steady
state, but as a regular turnover of volunteers and staff. However, the infrastruc-
ture, the organization's reputation in the neighbourhood, policies, procedures,
funding and the shared history of its members all sustained the organization.

The board now assumed complete responsibility for the organization. At
Center A the board hired and supervised staff, managed the finances and han-
dled issues as they arose. There was a delicate balance in the relationship
between volunteer board members and paid staff. Often the board members felt
uncomfortable in this role because of their lack of experience, especially when
the staff had more history with the organization than the volunteers. It was some-
times frustrating for the staff when they felt they were providing supervision and
direction to the board instead of receiving supervision and direction from the
board. In this situation, the sponsoring organization played an important role as
consultant to Center A, as support and advisor to both the staff and the board.
The consultation occurred on a regular rather than a crisis basis, and the specifics
were written into a memorandum of agreement. For instance, at Center A the
consultant assisted in the development of policies and writing grant applica-
tions. At Center A, the consultant felt her role was important in a time of transi-

tion with new staff and board members, because she could provide a sense of history for new members and also remind them of the prevention focus of the organization.

Critical Tasks. The overarching critical task for the neighbourhood centers at this stage was *maintaining vitality*. To ensure vitality, the centers must continue to link with the community and agencies; they must continue to recruit volunteers and clarify roles; and they must maintain their sense of identity and commitment to a prevention orientation.

Tasks and Processes. The code *maturity* is an extension of the code *launching out* from the previous stage. At this point, the centers were well-known and established in their neighbourhoods. The centers had boards of directors and many programs; there was a blend of new and experienced volunteers; the centers could draw resources from other agencies; there were leaders who could facilitate the work and represent the interests of the centers; the centers had developed policies related to hiring, discipline, and dismissal; and close attention was paid to monitoring and accountability. Although maturity is not a steady state, a sense of history and the existence of an infrastructure supported the center in times of transition. As one volunteer said: "I'd say, don't forget where we came from."

Systems Interaction. At this point, the neighbourhood centers maintained *stable relationships* with external organizations and funders. Business between the centers and other agencies was transacted without the sponsoring organization.

Summary and Discussion. Most of the extant literature on alternative settings or neighbourhood organizations has focused on the early stages of development (Bartunek & Betters-Reed, 1987). Blum and Ragab (1985) referred to the latter stages of development as *regeneration and coalescence*, which they viewed as a resurgence of earlier stages rather than as a level of maturity. The centers we examined experienced increased autonomy and sense of ownership at this stage, which evolved from the previous stages. However, like Blum and Ragab (1985), we found that it essential to have a core of leadership, support from the community, legitimacy, a supportive external sponsor, and a cycle of vigilance which ensured ongoing reflection of and commitment to the prevention philosophy and resident participation.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

As one of the first pieces of research to examine the lifecycle of neighbourhood centers, we have illuminated some of the key issues and challenges in the development of such centers. We conclude with three of the main themes uncovered in our research, outlining their implications for practice in community development.

The first theme is the *role of the sponsoring organization*. In this case, a children's mental health center created a community services department, part of

whose mission was to initiate, nurture, and spin off neighbourhood-based organizations with a focus on community development, family support, and prevention. Because community development is a lengthy process, in which neighbourhood organizations proceed through several lifecycle stages, the ongoing support of the sponsor organization is critical. In the four centers that we studied, the allocation of staff resources by the sponsor organization was crucial to the success of this work. There must be some reallocation of resources from treatment to prevention to enable such initiatives in community development (Prilleltensky & Laurendeau, 1994). Otherwise, staff would be doing such work as an "add on" and would not be able to sustain the level of nurturance and guidance that is needed to create viable centers and move them to independence.

Besides providing a base of support for community development work, staff from the sponsor agency must have the requisite skills and perspectives to enable neighbourhood centers to grow and flourish. We found that staff must have a range of talents and skills, because their work is multidimensional. This includes technical skills, such as conducting needs assessments and developing prevention programs, and interpersonal skills, such as facilitating groups and providing support. These skills relate to the process and task dimensions of their work. Also they must be able to work with diverse groups, ranging from residents of low-income neighbourhoods to staff from other service agencies and funders. This relates to the systems interaction component of community development, which involves the participation of multiple stakeholders.

Moreover, we found that staff must have a working style that supports and encourages residents to take ownership for the setting and involves other services in supporting the fledgling centers. That is, they must play a role of resource-collaborator, rather than one of expert-technician (Tyler et al., 1983). Staff pass on their skills to residents who learn the ropes, and they provide support, as needed, to help the centers launch out and eventually to incorporate. Thus, the key skills flow from a philosophy of empowerment, which includes a vision for change and a view that residents have the strengths and capacities for growth and change (Prilleltensky & Laurendeau, 1994).

A second key theme, which echoes the findings of previous research (Bartunek & Betters-Reed, 1987; Blum & Ragab, 1985) is that neighbourhood centers must have a *broad base of support*. First and foremost, they must be supported by neighbourhood residents. We found in all of the neighbourhoods that the encouragement of residents to define their own needs and to participate actively in the development of the centers and its programs was critical for local ownership of the center. In a similar vein, Prilleltensky and Laurendeau (1994) assert that prevention activities should be guided by the values of self-determination and democratic participation. It is local residents who take primary responsibility for the operation and management of the centers.

At the same time, supportive relationships must be developed with a broad range of external organizations. Again, staff must be able to span existing boundaries to bring together residents and service-providers and to help develop

partnership relations between these different constituencies (Labonté, 1993). External organizations helped to select the neighbourhoods in which centers were initiated, and they provided tangible support. The housing authority provided a townhouse for the centers in three of the four neighbourhoods, and the municipal government provided some funding. This tangible support not only helped to provide stability for the centers, but it also helped them to gain positive visibility and recognition from the wider community.

The third and final theme pertains to the *sustainability* of neighbourhood centers. Community-based prevention programs are often seen as expendable during times of fiscal restraint, which we are currently experiencing. Having several supportive partners and funders, which was discussed above, may help to maintain centers during such periods. Also, the results of our study showed that a sponsor organization can help to prepare centers for independence and to provide ongoing consultation once they are independent. This technical support is also important for the sustainability of such projects.

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ASSESSING LOCAL SOCIOECONOMIC IMPACTS OF RURAL MANUFACTURING FACILITIES: THE CASE OF A PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL PROCESSING PLANT

By F. Larry Leistritz

ABSTRACT

This paper describes an integrated microcomputer model for assessing economic, demographic, public service, and fiscal impacts of resource and industrial development projects. The model is applied in projecting the socioeconomic impacts likely to be associated with the construction and subsequent operation of a corn wet milling plant which is being developed in a rural area of North Dakota. After presentation of the impact projections, major impact issues and management alternatives are discussed. Finally, conclusions and implications are presented. The impact analysis presented in this paper may provide a foundation for similar undertakings in other regions and/or for other types of projects. The results, however, are site specific.

INTRODUCTION

The economic and social consequences of projects, programs, and policies are frequently of concern to planners and policy makers (Leistritz, 1994). Efforts to anticipate the nature and magnitude of these effects are frequently termed *socioeconomic impact assessment* or *social impact assessment* (Halstead et al., 1991). The socioeconomic impacts of projects and programs include their effects on the economic, demographic, public service, and fiscal aspects of affected communities. These effects can be viewed as either positive or negative. In order to maximize potential benefits and to mitigate outcomes that are viewed as problematic, decision makers need information about the impacts that are likely to occur (Lansford & Jones, 1991; Siegel & Leuthold, 1993; Kriesel et al., 1988).

When manufacturing plants or other industrial facilities are proposed for location in rural areas, socioeconomic impacts are often an issue. Because many rural areas have experienced substantial periods of stable or declining employ-

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ment and population, substantial out-migration, and associated problems related to providing and financing public services and infrastructure, many state and local officials and private development groups have sought to encourage the location of manufacturing facilities in rural areas (Barkley, 1993; Lonsdale & Seyler, 1979). These facilities generally offer the benefits of new jobs and an increased local tax base, but problems may arise if a new plant leads to substantial numbers of inmigrants with whom the host community is not prepared to cope (Broadway, 1991).

In order for nearby communities to respond appropriately to the demands associated with a new industrial development project and its work force, an effective community planning process is essential. Such a planning effort in turn requires timely and reliable information concerning the potential local impacts of the facility. In the absence of such information, plans may be formulated and actions taken based on faulty assumptions, which may lead either to communities being unprepared to accommodate the project-related work force and population, or to over building of housing and public facilities. Past experience with large-scale development of energy resources in the western United States offers not only examples of effective planning to cope with project effects but also examples of substantial over building and consequent long-term fiscal problems for affected communities (Leistritz & Murdock, 1988). Timely impact analysis generally was an important factor in the more successful cases.

This paper briefly describes an integrated model for assessing economic, demographic, public service, and fiscal impacts of resource and industrial development projects. The model is applied in projecting the socioeconomic impacts likely to be associated with the construction and subsequent operation of a corn wet milling plant, which will process corn to produce corn syrups and a variety of by-products and is being developed in a rural area of North Dakota. The impact analysis presented in this paper may provide a foundation for similar undertakings in other regions. The results, however, are site specific.

IMPACT ASSESSMENT MODEL

The model used in this analysis, referred to as the Microcomputer Economic-Demographic Assessment Model (MEDAM), consists of four modules: an economic (input-output) module, a demographic module, a service requirements module, and a fiscal impact module (Figure 1).

The economic module provides estimates of gross business volume (gross receipts) for each sector of the local economy and of secondary employment resulting from a given project. This module utilizes a fixed input-output framework to estimate the level of gross business volume for each economic sector required to satisfy a specified level of sales to final demand. Project-related expenditures must be provided by the user for each of the first five years after the project start date and every fifth year for the next twenty years. Also, for the

Project Expenditures

⬇

ECONOMIC MODULE
(Input-Output)

⬇

Gross Business Volume by Sector

Secondary Employment

⬇

Direct Project Employment
and Percent of Workers
Who Immigrate ➘

Residential Location
of Project-Related
Workers �

Percent of Immigrant
Workers Who Bring
Families ➘

DEMOGRAPHIC
MODULE

⬇

Project-Related Population by Age and Gender

by Jurisdiction

⬇

SERVICE REQUIREMENTS
MODULE

⬇

Requirements for Selected Public

Services

⬇

FISCAL IMPACT
MODULE

⬇

Public Sector Revenues

Public Sector Costs

Net Fiscal Balance

Figure 1. Conceptual overview of MEDAM data and output flow.

same years, the user must estimate the number of project construction and operational workers.

Application of the project expenditures to the input-output interdependence coefficients (multipliers) yields estimates of business activity (gross receipts) for each sector of the economy. Dividing the business volume of each sector by the productivity ratio (gross business volume to employment ratio) for that sector gives estimates of secondary (indirect and induced) employment. For the initial implementation of MEDAM in North Dakota, interdependence coefficients and productivity ratios from the North Dakota input-output (I–O) model were utilized (Coon & Leistritz, 1989). For a discussion of alternatives for obtaining similar coefficients for other states or regions, see Otto and Johnson (1993) and Brucker et al. (1987).

The North Dakota I–O model has 17 sectors and is based on primary survey data (Coon & Leistritz, 1989). The model is closed with respect to households, and the total gross business volume (gross receipts) of the trade sectors is used (for both expenditures and receipts in the transactions table) rather than value added by those sectors. The rationale for using the North Dakota I–O model, rather than an alternative such as IMPLAN, was that the model has been extensively used and tested in the state (Leistritz et al., 1990; Coon & Leistritz, 1989). In particular, model-generated estimates of personal income for the years 1983–1993 were compared to those reported by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis. The mean absolute percentage error (MAPE), which is the average of the absolute values of the percentage differences between estimates, was 7.7 percent. The Theil U1 coefficient, which has a minimum value of zero in the case of a perfect forecast and a maximum of one when the prediction method is a naive no-change extrapolation, had a value of 0.045.

The demographic model uses a combination of user-supplied and model-supplied data. The user provides estimates of project construction and operational employment, while estimates of project-related secondary employment come from the economic module (Figure 1). The user estimates the percent of workers of each type who will inmigrate to the area (or possibly commute on a weekly basis during the construction period), the percent of relocating construction workers who will bring families to the area, and the percent of workers of each type who will locate in each of the affected jurisdictions. The model uses these data, together with information regarding typical demographic profiles of workers of each type, their families and the incidence of multiple job holding per household, to compute estimates of project-related population by age and gender for each of the affected jurisdictions. Demographic profiles for each worker type were drawn from data on work forces at other large-scale industrial and resource development projects (Leistritz & Murdock, 1986).

The services module is the third major component of MEDAM. This module contains a set of default per capita service requirements that are used to estimate additional service needs likely to be associated with a specific project. The serv-

ice areas for which needs are estimated include housing, schools, medical services, social services, law enforcement, fire protection, water/sewer, and solid waste. Default values for the initial implementation of the model were drawn from national standards believed to be applicable to rural areas or state standards for North Dakota (Coon et al., 1993). Service requirements estimated by the model are only those associated with the impact population (i.e., additional or inmigrating population associated with the specific project).

The final component of MEDAM is the fiscal impact module. This module develops estimates of additional revenues and expenses for state government, county government, city government, and school districts that result from a specific project. The user's specification of jurisdictions of interest determines the counties, cities, and school districts for which fiscal analysis will be conducted. The user also is required to determine if each jurisdiction will have adequate infrastructure or if capital expenditures will be required. State and local government default revenue and expense estimates are incorporated in the fiscal module. Users can alter any of these default rates.

The default rates used in the initial implementation of MEDAM were developed from analysis of recent data for rural areas of North Dakota (Coon et al., 1993). Changes in state and local tax collections were estimated based on historic relationships between tax collections (e.g., sales tax) and the change in the relevant tax base (e.g., retail sales). For local units of government, added property tax revenues were estimated by applying the statewide average property tax rate to the estimated taxable value of project facilities (if applicable), other business structures, and residences resulting from the industrial development and associated population growth. Estimates of additional costs for state and local governments are based on the number of new, project-related residents or (for schools) the number of new students. The per capita cost estimates are based largely on the experience of North Dakota counties and cities that sustained substantial growth associated with energy resource development. In sum, the fiscal module provides estimates of additional project-related revenues, costs, and net fiscal balance (the difference between revenues and costs) and a summary of any capital expenditures.

The MEDAM model was written for IBM–PC and compatible computers with a minimum of 128K of memory (Leistritz et al., 1994). It is a compiled BASIC program that runs under the Disc Operating System (DOS) environment.

The MEDAM model was developed at North Dakota State University in order to make most of the capabilities of mainframe models available to microcomputer users (Leistritz et al., 1994; Coon et al., 1993). The model is based on a mainframe model (SEARS), which has been previously described by Hamm et al. (1984). The model appears to be superior to many microcomputer-based systems in its capability to address both short- and long-term effects of proposed projects, with MEDAM projections being available for the first five years and every fifth year thereafter for 20 years, whereas many microcomputer based

models have much shorter time horizons (Halstead et al., 1991; Lansford & Jones, 1991). The MEDAM model also allows the spillover effects of a project on neighboring jurisdictions to be assessed, providing impact projections for up to six counties, six cities, and six school districts in each model run, whereas many models provide projections for only a single county, city, or district (Halstead et al., 1991; Siegel & Leuthold, 1993).

Developing a model that would be suitable for use on most microcomputers required some critical design decisions. The most salient of these was that MEDAM differs from many mainframe models in that baseline projections are not provided. (For a review of mainframe models, see Leistritz et al., 1986.) The rationale for imposing this limitation was to ensure the feasibility of implementing the model on microcomputers, including those with limited data processing and storage capacity.

ESTIMATING IMPACTS OF A NEW AGRICULTURAL PROCESSING PLANT

Application of the model is illustrated by estimating the impacts of a corn wet milling plant proposed for development in a rural area of southeastern North Dakota. The plant will process more than 25 million bushels of corn annually, potentially producing corn syrups, starch, corn gluten meal, corn gluten feed, and corn germ. Construction of the $261 million plant is expected to take about 19 months, with about 1,000 construction workers being employed at the peak of activity. Once in operation, the plant will employ about 150 persons directly (Leistritz, 1995). [Construction began during the summer of 1995. The analysis on which this paper is based was initiated late in 1994 and completed in April of 1995.]

The plant will be owned and operated by a producer cooperative (ProGold Limited Liability Company, or ProGold). As a result, profits will be distributed to ProGold's farmer-members, most of whom reside in the counties surrounding the plant. While several sites for the plant were initially considered, ProGold announced during the course of the study that a plant site near the town of Wahpeton, North Dakota, had been selected.

Site Area Attributes

The area where the plant was to be located is basically rural and agricultural in nature (Figure 2). Four miles from the plant site are Wahpeton, North Dakota, with a 1990 population of 8,751 and its twin city of Breckenridge (located in Wilkin County, Minnesota) with a 1990 population of 3,708. Other towns either (a) are located 30 miles or more from the site or (b) had 1990 populations of less than 1,000. The Fargo-Moorhead Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), with a 1990 population of about 158,000, is located about 60 miles from the site. The towns near the site had experienced moderate population decreases (4 percent to 11 percent) during the 1980s, but more recent expansions by several local manu-

facturers led to reduced unemployment rates and to some local population growth, at least in Wahpeton which registered a population gain of 4 percent from 1990 to 1992. In October 1994, Richland County (Wahpeton) reported only 2.9 percent of its labor force unemployed, while Cass County (Fargo) had an unemployment rate of 1.6 percent.
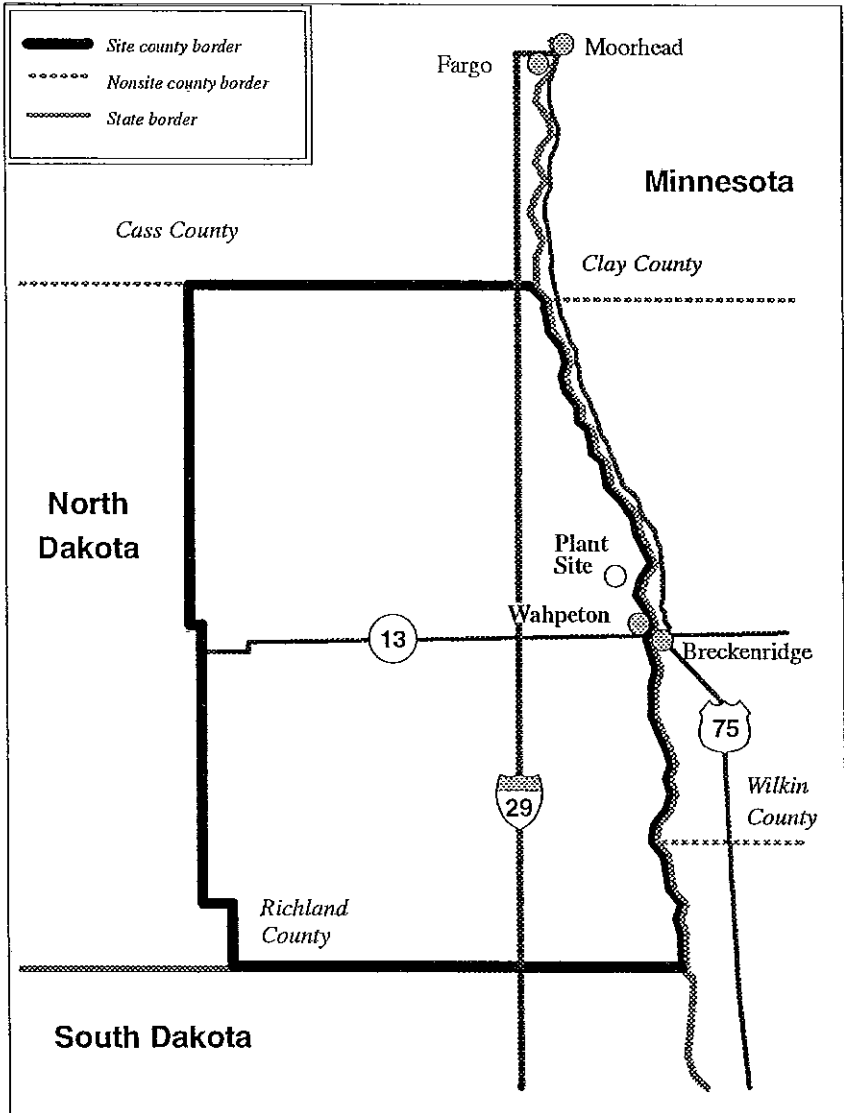
Figure 2. Region of influence of corn processing plant.

Economic Impacts

Although the total cost of constructing the ProGold plant was estimated to be about $261 million, only a portion of this cost represented expenditures to entities within the project's region of influence (generally defined as eastern North Dakota, northwestern Minnesota, and northeastern South Dakota). For example, plant equipment alone will amount to about $70 million, virtually all of which will be purchased outside the region. Information on construction expenditures by type and the percentage of each category likely to represent payments to entities within the region was obtained from ProGold officials. These expenditures were then allocated to the appropriate economic (input-output) sectors of the MEDAM model. The plant construction expenditures expected to be received by entities within the region totalled about $113.6 million, or about 43.5 percent of the total plant construction expenditures.

Information on operation expenses by type and the percentage of each category likely to be expended within the region was obtained from ProGold, and the regional expenditures were allocated to the economic (input-output) sectors. Expenditures to the *agriculture, crops* sector reflect the fact that, if the ProGold plant were not present in the region, corn growers could sell their grain to other markets (probably outside the region). On the other hand, the plant's corn purchases can be expected to have a positive effect on regional corn prices (Johnson, 1994); this price enhancement effect was reflected in the estimates reported here. Expenditures to the *households* sector included both salaries and wages for plant employees and the profit distribution to ProGold members. (It was assumed that 80 percent of the profits distributed ultimately are reflected in dividends to the farmer-owners of the cooperative.) The annual plant operations expenditures in the region totalled $75.8 million, or about $505,000 per direct job. This was a substantially higher level of regional expenditures per direct job than typical for rural manufacturing facilities. The high level of expenditures is attributable to (1) the capital-intensive nature of the facility, (2) the project's positive impact on regional corn prices, and (3) the distribution of profits to farmer-owners within the region.

The construction of the plant was expected to require about 1,800,000 hours of construction craft workers. In addition, a number of management employees, vendor personnel, maintenance employees, and outside inspectors would be involved. The total workforce was expected to peak at about 1,000 workers. The crafts for which the demand will be greatest will include pipefitters, electricians, ironworkers, millwrights, and cement finishers. The operations workforce was expected to total 150 workers.

Input-output coefficients incorporated within the MEDAM model were used to estimate the secondary and total effects of plant construction and operation (Table 1). The $113.6 million in direct impacts during the construction phase resulted in an additional $181.4 million in secondary impacts for a total, one-time construction impact of $295 million. About 38 percent of this ($111 mil-

lion) was estimated to occur in 1995 and the remainder in 1996 (Table 1). The estimated annual direct impacts (regional expenditures) during plant operation were estimated to total about $76 million. These led to an additional $175 million in secondary impacts, for a total annual impact of $251 million (Table 1). This included about $90 million in additional *household* sector gross receipts, which indicated that personal incomes of area residents would be increased by about $90 million annually during plant operation. Other sectors receiving substantial impacts included *retail trade, agriculture, manufacturing*, and *communications and utilities*.

Secondary employment resulting from facility construction and operation was estimated to total about 1,070 in 1995, rising to about 1,780 in 1996, and then stabilizing around 2,700 during the operational period. Sectors with substantial employment gains included *retail trade, professional and social services, business and personal services*, and *communications and public utilities*. The estimated secondary employment effects of the project obviously were quite substantial, particularly compared to the project's operational employment of 150 workers. These large secondary effects resulted from the very high

Table 1. **Estimated Economic Impacts of Construction and Operation of ProGold Corn Processing Plant, 1995-1999**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Input-Output Sectors					
	Thousands of Dollars				
Agriculture, crops and livestock	4,741	7,487	27,850	27,850	7,850
Construction	2,555	4,430	8,922	8,922	8,922
Transportation	436	695	2,008	2,008	2,008
Communication and utilities	3,363	5,699	16,582	16,582	16,582
Manufacturing and agricultural processing	1,947	3,106	24,065	24,065	24,065
Retail trade	45,079	69,699	51,097	51,097	51,097
Finance, insurance and real estate	6,280	10,354	11,888	11,888	11,888
Business and personal services	1,665	2,905	4,269	4,269	4,269
Professional and social services	2,537	4,486	6,004	6,004	6,004
Households	39,162	69,605	89,104	89,104	89,104
Government	3,038	5,276	8,090	8,090	8,090
Other[a]	167	287	513	513	513
TOTAL	110,971	184,029	251,192	251,192	251,192
Employment					
	Persons				
Construction	650	1,000	0	0	0
Operational	0	120	150	150	150
Secondary	1,072	1,779	2,701	2,701	2,701

[a]Includes nonmetal mining, coal mining, thermal-electric generation, petroleum exploration/extraction, and petroleum refining.

level of local expenditures per direct job (previously noted). Monitoring the local economic effects of the project to determine if these benefits are, indeed, realized would be an important topic for future research.

Demographic Impacts

To estimate the effects of a project like the ProGold plant on an area's population, it was necessary to estimate the percentage of the project-related workers who will relocate to the area (or conversely, to estimate the percentage of the new jobs that will be filled by the area's unemployed or by local residents who enter the labor force). Because of the very low level of unemployment in the area and the likelihood that other projects in the region will be placing additional demands on the local labor pool, it was assumed that 80 percent of the construction jobs, 70 percent of the plant operations jobs, and 60 percent of the secondary jobs will be filled by nonlocal workers.

Another critical assumption concerned the percentage of nonlocal construction workers who will bring families to the area. Because of the temporary nature and typically short duration of many construction jobs, nonlocal workers often choose not to relocate their families but rather to seek work-week accommodations near the project site, returning to their permanent residences on weekends when possible (Leistritz & Murdock, 1986). The tendency for a majority of the nonlocal construction workers to choose not to relocate their families has been reported in connection with recent construction projects in North Dakota (Bradberry, 1994; Mandt, 1994). In view of these trends, it was assumed that only 25 percent of the nonlocal construction workers would bring families to the area.

A third important factor in determining the community-level impacts of a project was where the relocating workers (and weekly commuters) choose to locate. The assumed residential location pattern was developed based on several factors, including (1) settlement patterns associated with other large industrial projects in the Northern Great Plains (Leistritz & Murdock, 1986), (2) recent experience with construction projects in rural North Dakota (Bradberry, 1994; Mandt, 1994), and (3) the actual residential pattern of the operations work force of the largest agricultural processing plant in Richland County. The residential location assumptions developed for the ProGold plant are summarized in Table 2. About 42 percent of the construction workers were assumed to reside in Richland and Wilkin Counties and about 50 percent in the Fargo-Moorhead area (Cass and Clay Counties), with the other 8 percent residing elsewhere.

The operations workers were assumed to live primarily in Wahpeton (45 percent) and Breckenridge (20 percent), with lesser numbers living in the smaller towns of Richland and Wilkin Counties. About 7 percent were assumed to commute from Fargo-Moorhead. The distribution pattern for the secondary workers was estimated to be quite different. A large portion of the secondary economic effects were projected to arise from the plant's profits, most of which will be distributed to the cooperative's farmer-owners. Because of the wide dispersal of

Table 2. Estimated Residential Location of ProGold Plant Workers

Residential Location by Worker Type	Construction Workers	Operation Workers	Secondary Workers
	-------------- Percent --------------		
Counties			
Richland	28	55	16.5
Wilkin	14	31	7.5
Cass	35	5	30.0
Clay	15	2	5.0
Other Counties	8	2	41.0
Towns			
Wahpeton	22	45	15.0
Breckenridge	10	20	5.5
Fargo	35	5	30.0
Moorhead	15	2	5.0
Other Locations	18	28	44.5

these individuals (within the general region of influence), it was assumed that 41 percent of the secondary employment would be outside the four-county area (Table 2).

The population implications of project construction and operation are presented in Table 3. Based on the assumptions outlined earlier, the project will result in a total of 3,436 persons inmigrating to the region by 1996 (at the peak of construction) and 3,211 by 1999 (a typical year of plant operation). The construction phase population growth would include roughly 800 new residents in Richland County, about 400 in Wilkin County, slightly more than 1,000 in Cass County, and about 300 in Clay County (Table 3). Wahpeton would gain about 680 new residents in 1996, Breckenridge about 280, and Fargo slightly over 1,000. Once the facility is operational, Richland County will have about 650 new residents, Wilkin County about 310, and Cass County about 890.

The population impacts can be placed in perspective by comparing the population increases associated with ProGold development with the 1990 population of some of the affected jurisdictions. Richland County was projected to have a population increase of about 810 in 1996, or about 4.5 percent of the county's 1990 population. Wahpeton was expected to gain 678 persons (7.7 percent) in 1996.

The inmigrating population associated with ProGold will require housing and a variety of public services and facilities. In the next section the implications of the project for housing, schools, and other public services are discussed. Specific projections are provided for those counties and cities for which the level of inmigration appears to be large enough to potentially require impact management planning: Richland County, Wilkin County, Cass County, Wahpeton, and Breckenridge.

Table 3. Inmigrating Population by Worker Type and Place of Residence, ProGold
Construction (1996) and Operation (1999)

Location/Year	Worker Type			Gender		
	Construction	Operation	Secondary	Male	Female	Total
Regional Impact:						
1996	1,280	247	1,909	2,139	1,297	3,436
1999	0	310	2,901	1,786	1,425	3,211
Richland County:						
1996	359	137	314	512	298	810
1999	0	170	477	359	288	647
Wilkin County:						
1996	179	76	142	252	145	397
1999	0	95	217	172	140	312
Cass County:						
1996	446	14	577	657	380	1,037
1999	0	16	869	494	391	885
Clay County:						
1996	192	2	97	196	95	291
1999	0	2	148	84	66	150
Wahpeton:						
1996	281	110	287	426	252	678
1999	0	140	437	318	259	577
Breckenridge:						
1996	130	48	106	180	104	284
1999	0	64	158	123	99	222
Fargo:						
1996	446	14	577	657	380	1,037
1999	0	16	869	494	391	885
Moorhead:						
1996	192	2	97	196	95	291
1999	0	2	148	84	66	150

Public Service Impacts

One of the most obvious implications of the population influx associated
with construction and operation of the ProGold plant will be the need for hous-
ing or work-week accommodations for the workers and, in many cases, their
families. The MEDAM model was used to estimate the housing units that will be
required to accommodate the inmigrating (relocating) project-related popula-
tion, based on coefficients that specify the housing type preferences of workers
of each type. The coefficients used in this analysis were based on information
about the housing patterns of workers associated with other industrial develop-
ment projects in the region (Bradberry, 1994; Mandt, 1994; Leistritz & Mur-
dock, 1986) and are shown in Table 4. These coefficients indicate, for instance,
that only 10 percent of the inmigrating construction workers will desire single-
family houses, while 30 percent would prefer apartments. About 30 percent of
the construction workers would prefer mobile home (including RV and travel
trailer) accommodations, and 30 percent will be housed in motels, rented rooms,

Table 4. Housing Requirements by Worker Type

Worker Type	*Single-Family Houses*	*Multi-Family Apartments*	*Mobile Homes[a]*	*Other[b]*
	Housing Type			
	----------------- Percent -----------------			
Construction	10.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
Operations	60.0	25.0	15.0	0.0
Secondary	40.0	40.0	15.0	5.0

[a]For construction workers, this category includes RVs and travel trailers.

[b]For construction workers, this category includes motels. For secondary workers, this category includes younger workers who live with their parents.

and similar work-week accommodations. Similar interpretations apply to the coefficients for the other worker types.

The housing requirements projected to be associated with ProGold construction and operation are summarized in Table 5. In 1996, an estimated 445 housing units or single worker accommodations would be required in Richland County, 220 in Wilkin County, and 605 in Cass County. Wahpeton would need to accommodate about 375 workers or families while Breckenridge would need about 155 additional units. During the transition from plant construction to operation, the total number of units needed would decrease while the demand for single-family houses would increase. The demand for multi-family housing would change only slightly, while the demand for mobile home and other housing would drop substantially.

Table 5. Housing Requirements Associated with ProGold Development, 1996 and 1999

County/City/Year	*Single-Family Houses*	*Multi-Family Apartments*	*Mobile Home*	*Other*	*Total Units*
	Housing Type				
Richland County:					
1996	120	149	100	76	445
1999	142	121	49	13	325
Wilkin County:					
1996	59	73	50	38	220
1999	69	57	23	6	155
Cass County:					
1996	159	213	133	100	605
1999	197	195	74	24	490
Wahpeton:					
1996	105	126	83	61	375
1999	125	109	43	12	289
Breckenridge:					
1996	41	51	36	27	155
1999	49	41	16	4	110

Among the various public services likely to be affected by growth and development, the public schools are often of concern. Projections of the impact of construction and operation of the ProGold plant on school enrollments are summarized in Table 6. Richland County is projected to have an increase in primary and secondary school enrollments of 137 in 1996 and 134 in 1999. The 1999 project-related students would be concentrated in grades K-8 (102 out of 134 students, or 76 percent). About 88 percent of the increase in Richland County school enrollments would occur in Wahpeton. In the same year, Wilkin County was estimated to have 64 additional primary and secondary students, and Cass County about 180 additional students. Project-related school enrollments were projected to be relatively stable after 1999.

Impacts of the inmigrating population on a variety of other public service dimensions were estimated by the MEDAM model, using a series of per capita rates applied to the inmigrating population for each affected jurisdiction. The rates used to estimate requirements and demands on medical services, social services, law enforcement, fire protection, water, and solid waste were based on national and/or state standards for rural areas (Coon et al., 1993). The impact estimates that resulted when these rates were applied to the inmigrating population associated with ProGold development are shown in Table 7.

The estimates presented in Table 7 indicate that the total regional impact of the ProGold plant construction on medical services would be sufficient to require the services of 1.1 physicians and 13.7 hospital beds in 1996, while the additional regional population associated with plant operation would require 1.0 physician and 12.8 hospital beds in 1999. In 1999, the region would also need about 1.6 social workers, 4.8 law enforcement officers, 6.2 total law enforce-

Table 6. School Enrollment Increases Associated With ProGold Development, 1996 and 1999

County/City Year	School Enrollment Increase		
	K-8	9-12	Total
Richland County:			
1996	105	32	137
1999	102	32	134
Wilkin County:			
1996	52	16	68
1999	49	15	64
Cass County:			
1996	132	41	173
1999	135	43	178
Wahpeton:			
1996	89	20	109
1999	90	28	118
Breckenridge:			
1996	36	8	44
1999	35	11	46

Table 7. Public Service Requirements Associated With ProGold Development, 1996 and 1999

Location/Year	Medical Services		Social Workers	Law Enforcement		Crimes			Fire Department			Water Consumption	Solid Waste
	Physicians	Hospital Beds		Officers	Total Workers	Total	Violent	Property	Fighters	Trucks	Pumpers		
						Number						gallons/day	lbs./day
Total Regional Impact:													
1996	1.1	13.7	1.7	5.1	6.7	90.7	2.0	88.7	5.1	0.3	0.3	652,840	15,118
1999	1.0	12.8	1.6	4.8	6.2	84.8	1.9	82.9	4.8	0.3	0.3	610,090	14,128
Richland County:													
1996	0.3	3.2	0.4	1.2	1.6	21.4	0.5	20.9	1.2	0.1	0.1	153,900	3,564
1999	0.2	2.6	0.3	1.0	1.3	17.1	0.4	16.7	1.0	0.1	0.1	122,930	2,847
Wilkin County:													
1996	0.1	1.6	0.2	0.6	0.8	10.5	0.2	10.3	0.6	0	0	75,430	1,747
1999	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.6	8.2	0.2	8.1	0.5	0	0	59,280	1,373
Cass County:													
1996	0.3	4.1	0.5	1.5	2.0	27.4	0.6	26.8	1.5	0.1	0.1	197,030	4,563
1999	0.3	3.5	0.4	1.3	1.7	23.4	0.5	22.8	1.3	0.1	0.1	168,150	3,894
Wahpeton:													
1996	0.2	2.7	0.3	1.0	1.3	17.9	0.4	17.5	1.0	0.1	0.1	128,820	2,983
1999	0.2	2.3	0.3	0.9	1.1	15.2	0.3	14.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	109,630	2,539
Breckenridge:													
1996	0.1	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.6	7.5	0.2	7.3	0.4	0	0	53,960	1,250
1999	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.3	0.4	5.9	0.1	5.7	0.3	0	0	42,180	977

ment workers, and 4.8 fire fighters. The additional regional population would require about 610,090 gallons of water and produce about 14,128 pounds of solid waste daily. The interpretation of other estimates in Table 7 is similar.

Fiscal Impacts

The fiscal impact component of MEDAM develops estimates of a project's effects on the revenues and expenditures of state and local governments (counties, municipalities, and school districts). Estimates of changes in public sector revenues are based on changes in (1) income — personal income tax, (2) business receipts — corporate income tax, (3) retail sales — sales tax, (4) property value — property tax, and (5) population — highway, liquor, and tobacco taxes and user fees (Coon et al., 1993). State transfer payments to local governments are estimated from changes in population and school enrollments. Estimates of capital costs for new public facilities (if required) are based on the estimated needs of the inmigrating population. Capital costs that cannot be funded from current revenues are assumed to be amortized over 20 years at 7 percent. Changes in operating expenses for the various levels of government are estimated based on changes in population or school enrollments. The impact estimation procedure is based on the experience of communities that were affected by various forms of industrial and resource development (Leistritz & Murdock, 1987; Leistritz et al., 1981).

Discussions with company and local government officials during the course of the study revealed that the plant will make minimal direct demands on local services. For example, ProGold will develop its own water supply and water treatment system. However, the local tax status of the plant also was unclear at the time of the study, with a variety of tax incentives or deferral options under discussion. As a result, the fiscal analysis reported here includes neither taxes to be paid directly by the plant nor costs that may be incurred by state or local government in providing services to the facility.

Estimates of the effects of the ProGold project on state government revenues and expenditures are summarized in Table 8. The state was expected to receive substantial additional revenues from sales and use tax, personal income tax, and corporate income tax, as well as from highway taxes. In a typical year of plant operations (e.g., 1999), the ProGold project was expected to result in $2.4 million in sales and use tax revenues, $1.2 million in personal income tax revenues, and $0.3 million in corporate income tax revenues, for a total of $4.6 million of added revenues. (As noted previously, the estimates in Table 8 do not include any taxes that may be paid directly by the ProGold facility. Rather, these estimates reflect taxes resulting from the project's multiplier effects within the state economy.)

Additional state government expenditures were based on the magnitude of the project-related population and school enrollments. State capital expenditures (for highway improvement) were estimated to be spread over the first two years of the development period (Table 8). The fiscal impact of ProGold on

Table 8. Changes in Revenues and Expenditures and Net Fiscal Balance for State Government and Richland County Associated with ProGold Development, 1995-2019

Year	State Government					Richland County				
	Additional Revenues[a]	Additional Expenditures	Net Fiscal Balances	Capital Expenditures[b]	Net Fiscal Balance After Capital Expenditures	Additional Revenues[a]	Additional Expenditures	Net Fiscal Balance	Debt Service[c]	Net Fiscal Balance After Debt Service
					--- $000 ---					
1995	3,232	1,399	1,833	566	1,267	84	74	10	0	10.0
1996	5,206	2,452	2,754	566	2,188	160	147	13	13.4	−0.4
1997	4,634	2,462	2,172	0	2,172	161	116	45	13.4	31.6
1998	4,634	2,462	2,172	0	2,172	161	116	45	13.4	31.6
1999	4,634	2,462	2,172	0	2,172	161	116	45	13.4	31.6
2000–2015 (Annually)	4,634	2,462	2,172	0	2,172	161	116	45	13.4	31.6
2016–2019 (Annually)	4,634	2,462	2,172	0	2,172	161	116	45	0	45.0

[a]Tax revenues do not include taxes that may be paid directly by the ProGold facility.

[b]State capital expenditures for highway improvement are spread equally over the first two years of project construction.

[c]Assumes that capital expenditures of $141,900 for roads are incurred in the first year of project construction and amortized over 20 years at 7 percent.

North Dakota state government was projected to be positive for all years. Once the facility was in operation and capital expenditures had been completed, the estimated state government revenues were projected to exceed expenditures by more than $2 million annually.

Estimated changes in revenues and expenditures of Richland County government resulting from ProGold development are also summarized in Table 8. Additional revenues come from local property taxes and from state transfers (primarily highway fund transfers). The tax revenues do not include taxes that may be paid directly by ProGold. During a typical year of plant operations (e.g., 1999), Richland County government was estimated to receive about $131,000 in additional local property tax revenue and $30,000 in added state transfers, for a total of $161,000 in added revenues (Table 8). Additional expenditures would include about $39,000 for general government operations, $33,000 for road maintenance, $17,000 for health and human services, and $27,000 for other county government functions, for a total of $116,000. Subtracting the added expenditures from the added revenues gives a net fiscal balance before debt service of about $45,000, which implies that added county revenues associated with growth will exceed the added expenditures by about $45,000 annually. In addition to the current expenses for county government operations, Richland County was estimated to incur capital costs of about $141,900 for road improvements. The debt service column of Table 8 reflects the amortization of this initial capital cost (assumed to be incurred in 1995) at 7 percent over 20 years. The net fiscal balance after debt service during a typical year of plant operation will be about $31,600.

Estimated changes in revenues and expenditures for Wahpeton city government are summarized in Table 9. Major revenue sources included local property taxes, user fees, and special assessments. Capital expenditures for sewer, water, and solid waste facilities were assumed to be funded from special assessments and user fees. Capital expenditures for street improvements (estimated to total about $180,100) were assumed to be incurred during the first year of project construction (1995) and amortized over 20 years at 7 percent. For a typical year of plant operation (e.g., 1999), the city will have a net fiscal balance of about $75,000 before debt service and $58,000 after debt service. (Fiscal impacts for other municipalities were estimated to be similar in nature, but less in relative magnitude, than those for Wahpeton.)

Estimated changes in revenues and costs of the Wahpeton school district are also summarized in Table 9. Additional revenues came from local property taxes (about 53 percent) and state transfers (about 47 percent). During a typical year of plant operation (e.g., 1999), the district's additional project-related revenues would total about $410,000 while its additional operating costs would total about $394,000, for a balance of revenues over operating costs of about $16,000. However, if capital expenditures for school expansion are required, the district's financial picture would be less favorable. Assuming that capital expenditures of about $1 million may be required (roughly $7,600 per new elementary student

Table 9. Changes in Revenues and Expenditures and Net Fiscal Balance for Wahpeton City Government and Wahpeton School District Associated With ProGold Development, 1995–2019

Year	Wahpeton City Government					Wahpeton School District				
	Additional Revenues	Additional Expenditures	Net Fiscal Balance	Debt Service[a]	Net Fiscal Balance After Debt Service	Additional Revenues	Additional Expenditures	Net Fiscal Balance	Debt Service[b]	Net Fiscal Balance After Debt Service[c]
					- - - - - $000 - - - - -					
1995	198	170	28	0	28	198	191	7	0	7.0
1996	370	316	54	17	37	388	389	−1	96.2	−97.2
1997	342	267	75	17	58	410	394	16	96.2	−80.2
1998	342	267	75	17	58	410	394	16	96.2	−80.2
1999	342	267	75	17	58	410	394	16	96.2	−80.2
2000–2015 (Annually)	342	267	75	17	58	410	394	16	96.2	−80.2
2016–2019 (Annually)	342	267	75	0	75	410	394	16	0	16.0

[a]Assumes that capital expenditures of $180,100 for streets are incurred in the first year of project construction and amortized over 20 years at 7 percent. Capital expenditures for water, sewer, and solid waste are assumed to be funded from special assessments and user fees.

[b]Assumes that capital expenditures of $1,021,401 are incurred in the first year of project construction and amortized over 20 years at 7 percent.

[c]Tax revenues do not include taxes that may be paid directly by the ProGold facility.

and $12,000 per new high school student), the annual debt service requirement would be about $96,200 for 20 years. This would result in a net fiscal balance after debt service for a typical year of plant operation of about –$80,200.

The figures in Table 9 do not include any taxes that may be paid to the Wahpeton school district directly by the ProGold plant. These payments may offset part or all of the annual deficit, but to the extent that they do not, the probable consequence would be some increase in local tax rates.

IMPACT ISSUES AND MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES

The purpose of this section is to identify some of the more salient impact issues that have been revealed by the projections and to suggest some possible alternatives for dealing with these issues. While the construction and operation of any major project can be expected to cause changes in many aspects of the nearby communities and their economic and social systems, the areas that appeared likely to be most substantially affected by development of the ProGold plant were housing and public facilities, particularly schools.

Housing

Housing appeared to be the most immediate concern of decision makers of jurisdictions near the plant site, and particularly in Wahpeton. Local sources reported that a substantial percentage of the current work force of Wahpeton's major employers live in other communities and commute to work. While some commuting is expected in rural areas, it appears that Wahpeton has been suffering a shortage of housing in the price range that would be affordable to rank-and-file plant workers. This problem is not unique to Wahpeton; a statewide housing study conducted in 1992 revealed that almost 26 percent of renters statewide were experiencing affordability problems, along with about 7 percent of home-owners (Browne et al., 1992). This study also identified housing shortages in communities that had been successful in attracting large employers as a priority problem.

In response to the added housing demands anticipated as a result of ProGold development, a multi-county task force made up of local and state officials and private sector stakeholders has been formed. The projections from the ProGold impact study are being used by this group as their principal source of information on likely future housing needs. However, at the time of this writing, questions remain concerning the auspices, responsibilities, and resources of the task force.

Public Infrastructure

The impact projections help identify areas where additional public infrastructure investments may be needed. In general, the largest infrastructure investment requirements appeared to be in the areas of education and transportation. Because much of the transportation investment will likely be

provided by the state, the public schools appear to be the service area requiring the greatest local investment. Wahpeton in particular may need to consider a major expansion of its school facilities because its school system has been operating near capacity. While the need for expansion cannot be attributed solely to ProGold development, ProGold will be a major factor affecting the need for school expansion. The fiscal impact analysis also indicated that school districts will be the local government units that will experience the greatest financial pressure as a result of ProGold related growth. Clearly, the public schools will be an area requiring concerted community planning. Local school officials appear cognizant of the potential pressure on school facilities and are using the impact study as a source of planning information. The impact projections do provide some assurance to local officials regarding the long-term need for school facilities. That is, once project construction is completed, the project-related school enrollments are expected to be relatively stable through the operating life of the facility.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Additional processing of agricultural commodities has often been advocated as a high priority economic development strategy for rural communities. The analysis of the potential socioeconomic impacts of the ProGold project highlights the substantial economic benefits that expanded agricultural processing can offer. However, the analysis also indicates that such projects can lead to population inmigration and to increases in service demands. It appears that socioeconomic impact assessment methods, such as the microcomputer model used in this study, can provide information that is useful to local groups that must plan to meet these needs.

The MEDAM model can be particularly useful to community developers and local planners because it addresses both short- and long-run effects of proposed projects and also addresses spillover effects to neighboring jurisdictions. The set of integrated economic, demographic, public service, and fiscal impact projections provided by the model can serve as a basis for community-level evaluation of a project's benefits and costs, as well as providing a point of departure for local planning to meet the needs associated with development.

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COMMUNITY READINESS AND PREVENTION PROGRAMS

By Joseph F. Donnermeyer, Barbara A. Plested,
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ABSTRACT

Community norms and values are important factors affecting the support of community-based development efforts. This is particularly the case when the programs are prevention efforts, including drug education programs. The purpose of this article is to describe a way to measure the readiness of a community to support drug prevention education. The readiness scale was based on the classic community development models of the social action process (Beal, 1964) and the innovation decision-making process (Rogers, 1994). Development of the scale was based on construction of 45 anchor rating statements for five dimensions of a prevention program and nine stages of community readiness. The community readiness scale was designed for use by community development practitioners working in the field of prevention, through key informants interviews with selected community leaders. Results from 45 communities indicated a bi-modal distribution of readiness levels. Implications of the results and experiences in developing and measuring community readiness are discussed in terms of community-based strategies and the potential to apply the concept of readiness to other areas of community development.

INTRODUCTION

Large cities and small towns alike are increasingly confronted by a host of problems that call for community-based prevention efforts. These problems run the gamut from health and nutrition issues (sexually-transmitted diseases, eating disorders, cancer, and heart disease), to public safety issues (drug use, gangs, violence, crime, child and spouse abuse); from environmental issues (water and air quality, solid waste disposal and landfills, litter and recycling) to social problems (homelessness, poverty, literacy) and personal problems (depression, suicide).

As an issue reaches a critical level of awareness among the public, the political system reacts by proposing federal, state and local initiatives to prevent

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or solve the given problem (Wade, 1989; Boggs, 1991). These clarion calls for action inevitably attempt to incorporate grassroots strategies based on feedback from the public, all of which are aimed toward development of programs for implementation at the local level.

Nowhere is the factor of community support more apparent than in the area of drug abuse prevention and education. After a decade of decline, drug use, especially among young adults and adolescents, is once again rising. Further, rates of substance use are nearly identical for urban, suburban, and rural youth (Donnermeyer, 1994). Via the Drug-Free Schools Act and other efforts of various federal, state and local government agencies, toward prevention of substance abuse, there have been hundreds of attempts to establish community-based prevention programs aimed at reducing rates of usage among adolescents. Some prevention programs are poorly conceptualized and are not based on sound epidemiological information and tested scientific theories of risk factors associated with substance abuse. Other prevention programs are poorly planned and implemented, or simply lack sufficient funds to carry out program goals (Beatty & Cazares, 1984). However, a large share of the failure is attributable to the fact that prevention programming often receives little or no moral support in many communities, and some prevention efforts are met with outright resistance (Hawkins et al., 1994). Failed programs may be the result of the simple fact that implementation was attempted before the community was ready to accept the idea that there was a problem and that something needed to be done; and neither success nor failure can be attributed to the soundness of the concept of prevention or the quality of planning put into a program's blueprint for action. In other words, the relative level of a community's readiness to accept and support a program is a key element in its success, and one that is often neglected during the planning process.

The purpose of this article is to more fully define the concept of community readiness and to describe a way of measuring readiness so that prevention programmers specifically, and community development practitioners in general, have available a tool that improves chances for success by their becoming more cognizant of the importance of timing in the planning and implementation of programs (Lackey & Pratuckchai, 1991). Toward this end, the article will (1) define the concept of community readiness; (2) describe the development of a scale of community readiness for drug abuse prevention efforts which utilizes anchor rating statements and key informant interviews; (3) present the results of initial findings from application of the community readiness scale; and (4) discuss implications of community readiness for prevention programs and of its application to other community development efforts.[1]

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[1] This article expands on a previous article on community readiness by Oetting et al. (1995). Please refer to Oetting et al. (1995) for a more detailed description of the initial development of the community readiness scale.

THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY READINESS

One of the few attempts to systematically study a community's readiness level comes from research by Miller (1990), who examined readiness of a community for a public education program on wastewater treatment alternatives. Miller began by distinguishing between three types of readiness: individual, group and community. Individual readiness is based upon psychological needs, which is an individual's dissatisfaction based on the perception of a discrepancy between what is expected and what is reality. Group readiness is similar to individual readiness because it is also based upon the identification of a need or discrepancy between expectations and reality. However, the decision-making process of the group can modify the way in which problems are identified, solutions are examined, and action is taken. Group readiness is a slower process because decision-making involves more than one person. Values and norms salient to the need or issue are shared and require consensus among members. Leadership within the group becomes an important dimension because members of the group vary in their influence on decision-making (Miller, 1990).

In many ways, community readiness is no different from group readiness, including shared norms and values, group decision-making and the dimension of leadership (Miller, 1990). However, a community is a unique type of human grouping. According to Warren (1978), a community is a combination of people and groups which perform certain functions that are locality-based, including the production/distribution/consumption of goods and services, socialization, social control, social participation and mutual support. What makes a community a unique social group is how one becomes a member. The minimal membership requirement is that of residence. Residence, and therefore membership, is determined by address: an individual is eligible to vote, pays taxes and in other ways has the opportunity to participate in the life of the community and in community-level decision-making based on this address (Warren, 1978; Rogers et al., 1988). In many American communities, however, a high percentage of members participate minimally or not all in community decision-making (Rogers et al., 1988). They fail to vote, do not show up for public hearings, do not attend council meetings of their elected representatives, refuse to sign petition drives, never join local volunteer groups, and are unwilling to establish friendships with and assist neighbors. Usually only a small percentage of members participate actively and fully in the life of a community. These few express their participation through neighborhood associations, civic groups and political parties and other groups that engage in the five locality-based functions outlined in Warren's (1978) definition.

The uniqueness of community leads to two implications for the concept of readiness. The first is that readiness is based on the consensus of values and norms between groups and organizations within the community (Garkovich, 1989). Hence, the three types of readiness (psychological, group and commu-

nity) described by Miller (1990) represent three different levels of decision-making respectively: the psychological or individual level, the intragroup or inter-individual level, and the intergroup or inter-organizational level. Second, since participation in community affairs is limited, expressions of community values and norms are distributed unevenly. What this means is that local leaders and professionals who have a stake in the issue under consideration, sometimes referred to as gatekeepers and stakeholders, become very important for assessing community readiness (Simpson & Simpson, 1979; Mays & Beckman, 1989).

Based on the above considerations, a definition of community readiness was developed that plays off Warren's (1978) concept of community and Miller's (1990) distinction between individual, group, and community levels of readiness: community readiness is the relative level of acceptance of a program, action or other form of decision-making activity that is locality-based.

A SCALE OF COMMUNITY READINESS FOR PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Stages of Community Readiness

The idea that communities have stages of acceptance or readiness is not a new one. Community readiness is implied in the concept of the social action process, which has been part of the community development literature for decades and continues to be an important theme up to the present time (Alinsky, 1946; Beal, 1964; Warren, 1978; Kaufman, 1985; Garkovich, 1989; Littrell & Hobbs, 1989). The social action process, according to Garkovich's (1989) review, assumes that communities are *action fields* with various degrees of overlapping interests among individuals and groups concerning local issues. Alinsky, Beal, Warren, Kaufman, and many others describe this social action as a series of stages which begins with a convergence of these interests, progresses through development of an action plan and concludes with its implementation.

The community readiness scale for prevention programs was based upon revision and expansion of two well-known processes that have been utilized in community development for several decades. The first is the *social action process* of Beal (1964) and the second is the *innovation decision-making process* from Rogers' diffusion of innovations model (1994). Both processes refer to how decisions are made, but at two very different levels of readiness (Miller, 1990). However, their stages are parallel, and are defined in a way so that they represent a logical progression along a continuum. The social action process describes decision-making at the community level, and includes the five stages: (1) stimulation of interest: an initiation set or small group of community members (and possibly outsiders) develop an early interest in a new idea or practice; (2) initiation: a larger group (called the diffusion set) considers the new idea or practice and alternative ways for implementation; (3) legitimation: community leaders decide whether or not to proceed with an action; (4) decision to act: a

specific plan of action is developed; and (5) action: the plan is implemented. Rogers' innovation decision-making process also has five stages: (1) knowledge: an individual becomes aware of a new idea or practice; (2) persuasion: an individual develops an attitude (favorable or unfavorable) about the new idea or practice; (3) decision: an individual makes an initial decision to adopt or not adopt the new idea or practice; (4) implementation: an individual tries out the new idea or practice for the first time; and (5) confirmation: an individual decides to use the idea or practice again (perhaps with modifications).

However, neither the social action process nor the innovation decision-making process are adequate, especially when the focus is on a community's readiness to adopt a prevention program. The first shortcoming is that the knowledge stage and the stimulation of interest stage of the two processes respectively do not describe in enough detail the process that a community goes through as it attempts to define the local situation and whether or not some type of action is required. The second inadequacy is later on in the process, when communities have already initiated one type of program or another, but must consider its redefinition, modification or expansion. In other words, the confirmation stage and the action stage of the two processes respectively fail to recognize that prior experience (in many cases, previously implemented programs) may either help or hinder new initiatives of a related nature. Sometimes turfism and the vested interests of existing programs may reduce support or even create opposition for new efforts, while at other times the new program or action benefits from these groups (Fitzpatrick & Gerard, 1993). This was an important consideration since it would be rare today to find a community that has not already started some form of drug abuse prevention program. However, prevalence rates among different age groups are constantly changing, different types of illicit substances go in and out of fashion, and new federal and state initiatives are always occurring with changeovers in administrations. New community-based prevention programs are constantly being initiated, and rarely in an environment where something similar has not already been attempted, and may be currently on-going. The same situation is probably true for most other community-based issues and actions, from wastewater treatment to business retention and expansion programs.

Several preliminary models, with stages ranging from five to ten, were proposed. The authors debated the merits of these models and consulted with prevention program practitioners in order to test out these ideas. Eventually, a nine-stage community readiness model was developed (Table 1) and settled upon as most promising for field testing.

On one end of the scale is *community tolerance*, which refers to the case where the situation is not only considered normal, but in the case of drug abuse, abstinence would be considered deviant. On the other end of the scale is the stage of *professionalization*. This stage refers to the case of a community that not only supports a program, but constantly reviews and revises the program in

Table 1. Stages of Community Readiness for Prevention Programs

Stage	*Characteristics*
1. Community tolerance	Community norms encourage substance-using behavior. However, norms may indicate that substance-using behavior is appropriate for only certain groups and not for others (i.e., by gender, race, social class, or age). Norms may indicate specific social contexts in which substance use is appropriate.
2. Denial	Community norms do not approve of substance-using behavior. There may be no recognition that there is a local problem, or there could be some recognition of a problem but a feeling that nothing needs to be done or nothing could be done about it. It is possible that community may be aware of a problem, but it is among a group in which it is perceived that nothing can be done or should be done. Note: It is possible that some communities actually have no problem, in which case the denial stage is an inaccurate description of readiness.
3. Vague awareness	There is a recognition that substance-using behavior is a local problem, but little or no specific knowledge of its extent and nature. Knowledge is limited to stereotypes and anecdotes. Leadership and motivation to do something about the problem is minimal.
4. Preplanning	There is a recognition that substance-using behavior is a problem. Community leaders and/or a group of community members have discussed the situation and defined the problem, but do not necessarily have good information on factors influencing substance use. There may be a committee, but there is no real planning of actions to address the problem.
5. Preparation	There is a definition of the local problem and an understanding of at-risk groups for substance use. There is general, anecdotal information about prevention and educational programs. There is a committee or identifiable group of leaders who are actively developing a plan of action and soliciting support for programming.
6. Initiation	A program has been started and staff (paid or volunteer) are either in training or have recently been trained. Support from key leaders is positive and enthusiastic and community-wide support may also be in evidence. The program may still be considered on trial, and has not yet been reviewed or evaluated, and the program has not been renewed or continued past initial period of support and funding.
7. Institutionalization	The program is currently running and has established funding. There has been a program around long enough to have experienced staff. There is little perceived need to expand or change the program. There may be some routine measurement of prevalence rates of substance use locally, but no in-depth evaluations of program effectiveness or of changing program needs.

Table 1. Continued

Stage	Characteristics
8. Confirmation/expansion	The standard program continues to receive support and is perceived by community leaders as useful and may also receive widespread support/recognition in the community at large. The original program has been evaluated and revised to some extent, and new programs to address new and related problem areas are being developed. Data on extent of the problem locally and on risk factors associated with substance use are collected periodically.
9. Professionalization	A multi-objective program that identifies and targets specific at-risk groups in the community has been developed. The program receives support locally from community leaders and community members. Data on prevalence rates and risk factors are collected periodically and used by staff to adjust program goals and target high risk groups. Staff are highly trained and periodically receive in-service training.

order to proactively target specific situations in the community as problems develop.

The community readiness scale in Table 1 includes two early stages, where the social action and innovation decision-making processes have none. These are the *denial* and *vague awareness* stages. The *denial* stage is akin to the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome. At this stage, the community recognizes, for example, that drug abuse can be a problem, but a problem in other communities. The *vague awareness* stage describes a community where there is recognition of a local problem, but awareness is in terms of anecdotes. There is no sense of the true scope of the problem or motivation to try new initiatives.

The four middle stages encompass a considerable amount of the stages the social action and innovation decision-making processes have already described. The *preplanning* stage is similar to the stimulation of interest and knowledge stages respectively, that is, there is recognition of a problem and agreement that something needs to be done. The *preparation* stage refers to when individuals and groups within the community decide that some type of action should take place, and begin to examine various alternatives, their costs, and their benefits. The *initiation* stage is when a trial program is launched or tried out and is similar to the implementation and action stages. *Institutionalization* is a stage that is very similar to the confirmation stage in the innovation decision-making process. It refers to a community readiness level in which programs have been implemented and are operating (that is, they are past the stage of being tried out), but there is no sense of evaluating and adjusting on a regular and systematic basis. The feeling among local supporters is that the program is doing fine and there is no sense in "fixing something that is not broke." The final two stages in the community readiness scale go beyond those identified in either the social

action process or the innovation decision-making model. *Confirmation* and *expansion* refers to a situation in which standard programs are operating, and there is planning for new programs or revisions of those in operation. *Professionalization* is achieved in communities if established programs are periodically being revised, initiation of new efforts is a regular feature, and these activities are supported by local leaders and gatekeepers.

Measuring Community Readiness

An anchor rating technique was adopted for development of descriptors for each of the nine stages (Smith & Kendall, 1963). Anchor rating is a technique that utilizes experts in order to develop statements that describe stages in a process. In this case, the experts were individuals associated with administration of drug abuse prevention programs. Initial statements are developed, then reviewed by experts, then revised and reviewed again. Drafted statements go through several iterations before field testing can occur.

The authors confronted an immediate problem relative to development of a community readiness scale. Community-based programs include several dimensions, and statements representing each stage for each dimension had to be developed. In the case of prevention programming, and based on the authors' own experiences and in consultation with prevention program practitioners, five dimensions were identified. These were: (1) the prevention program itself; (2) knowledge about prevention programming; (3) leadership and community involvement; (4) information about the problem locally; and (5) funding/support for prevention programming. This meant that 45 anchor statements (five dimensions by nine stages) had to be developed.

Experts ranked a large pool of potential anchor statements along a continuum representing the nine stages of the community readiness scale. Experts could rate a statement anywhere between stages, or directly on a specific stage. This allowed for the assignment of numerical scores for each expert's rating of the anchor statements. From this, averages were calculated to match up anchor rating statement with a single stage of the community readiness scale. Anchor statements with averages midway between stages were eliminated, as well as statements with standard deviations larger than the numerical space between stages. This expert ranking procedure was conducted several times until a pool of 45 anchor statements was developed.

Table 2 includes the anchor statements that were subsequently used to measure readiness for prevention programming based on the key informant interviews during the first field test. These statements were developed and refined through a series of validity and reliability tests during two pre-tests with prevention program practitioners (Oetting et al., 1995). The process of measuring community readiness was relatively straightforward. Interviews with key informants included a short set of open-ended questions about drug education and prevention programs. Then scores representing readiness stages for each of the five dimensions were developed based on comparing answers by key infor-

Table 2. Anchor Rating Statements By Readiness Stage

A. Prevention Programming

1. Why should we be trying to prevent that behavior?
2. Prevention programs won't work here.
3. There aren't any immediate plans, but the community will probably do something sometime.
4. There have been community meetings or staff meetings, but no final decisions have been made about what we might do.
5. One or more programs are being planned and staff are being selected and trained.
6. One or more prevention programs are being tried out now.
7. One or more programs have been running for several years and are fully expected to run indefinitely, no specific planning for anything else.
8. Several different programs in both the community and schools are running, covering different age groups and reaching a wide range of people.
9. Evaluation plans are routinely used to test effectiveness of many different programs, and the results are being used to change and improve programs constantly.

B. Knowledge About Prevention Programming

1. Why would we want to do anything about that?
2. Nothing can be done or nothing will work here.
3. Heard about prevention programs, but no real information about what is done in the programs or how it is done.
4. Some leaders are actively seeking information about prevention programs.
5. Community knows generally about the content of standard programs, who runs them and who the clients would be.
6. Community has an exaggerated belief in the effectiveness of a local program or stereotypes general belief without supporting data that a program is a failure.
7. Community has specific knowledge of local programs or programs including staffing, training of staff, and clients involved, but minimal awareness of need for other programs.
8. Considerable knowledge about a variety of different programs that are being run.
9. Accurate knowledge about how well local programs are working, their benefits and limitations; a lot of information about programs aimed at other age groups.

C. Leadership and Community Involvement

1. A very large proportion of males and/or females in this community routinely engage in the behavior.
2. There is no need, people in the community wouldn't support any attempt at prevention.
3. People have talked about doing something, but so far there isn't anyone who has really taken charge.
4. There are identifiable leaders who are trying to get something started, a meeting or two may have been held to discuss problems.
5. Leaders and others have been identified; a committee or committees have been formed and are meeting regularly to consider alternatives and make plans.
6. A program or programs are being run and supported by their own groups or committees; little coordination or overall planning.

Table 2. Continued

7. School authorities and political leaders are solid supporters of a continuing basic program.

8. Authorities, program staff and community groups are all supportive of extending efforts to reach other people and high risk groups.

9. Authorities support programs, staff are highly trained, community leaders and volunteers are involved and an independent evaluation team is functioning.

D. Knowledge About the Problem

1. There is little or no community belief that the behavior is a problem or causes problems.

2. Yes, that behavior is a problem, but there is no problem in this community.

3. Some people here may have this problem, but community has no immediate motivation to do anything about it.

4. There is clear recognition that there is a local problem, but detailed information is lacking or depends on stereotypes.

5. Information on local prevalence is available, but only the broad outlines have been published or presented to the community at large.

6. Information on local prevalence has been widely disseminated to both community leaders and the general community.

7. Detailed information about local prevalence is available; it has been disseminated widely and people know where to get specific information.

8. There is considerable specific knowledge about prevalence and of etiology, risk factors, and consequences.

9. There is considerable specific knowledge about prevalence, etiology and consequences, and efforts to keep up with research and program-related literature.

E. Funding for Prevention

1. Why would anybody spend money to prevent that?

2. Prevention programs cost too much. This place is poor.

3. It should be possible to fund a program, but not sure how much it would cost or where the money would come from.

4. A committee or person is finding out how much this would cost and is considering where the funds might come from.

5. Costs in staff time and dollars are known. A proposal for funding has been written, submitted, and may have been approved.

6. There is funding for a running program, but it is only from grant funds, outside funds, or a specific one time donation.

7. A considerable part of support of ongoing programs is from local sources that are expected to provide indefinite and continuous funding.

8. There is continuous and secure funding for at least two basic programs and some funding for additional prevention efforts.

9. There is continuous and secure funding for basic programs, evaluation is routinely funded, and there are substantial funds for trying new programs.

mants with the anchor rating statements. A preliminary set of inteview questions were developed and reviewed by several of the same experts in prevention programming used in the process of creating anchor rating statements (Table 3). In addition, the questions were initially field tested in 20 communities in order to check for whether or not key informants gave responses that were relevant to measuring community readiness along each of the five dimensions.

Since communities are groups in which many members fail to participate, it was felt that assessing the views of local leaders and *gatekeepers* was the best strategy (Simpson & Simpson, 1979; Mays & Beckman, 1989). The goal was a practical and usable tool. Prevention programmers have limited time and resources to conduct comprehensive and scientifically representative surveys of community members (often program guidelines severely limit or even prohibit use of funds for research). Assessing community readiness should be something that can be completed through interviews with a small number of key informants, that is, with community members who would know the views of local leaders and gatekeepers (Spradley, 1979; Shaffir & Stebbins, 1991). In terms of

Table 3: Key Informant Interview Questions

1. What types of drug prevention programs or activities have occurred in your community?[a,b]
   a. How long have these programs been in your community?[a,b]
   b. Who is served by these programs?[a,b]
   c. Is there a need to expand these services? If no, why not?[a,b]
   d. Are there plans to expand? If yes, what are the plans?[a,b]
   e. How are these programs viewed by the community?[b]

2. What is the general attitude about substance abuse in your community?[c,d]
   a. Does the community see substance abuse as a problem?[c,d]
   b. Would or does the community support a prevention plan? If yes, how?[c]
   c. Are the leaders in your community involved in prevention efforts? (list)[c]
   d. What community organizations have a focus on prevention? (list)[c]

3. Is there information available on local substance abuse prevalence? If yes, from whom?[d]

4. How is that information disseminated? And to whom?[d]

5. Who provides funding for these programs and how long will it continue?[e]

6. What is the community's attitude/belief about funding prevention programs?[e]

7. Is your community aware of the costs of running a prevention program?[e]

8. Are you aware of any proposals that have been written that address the issue of prevention? Are any funded or waiting?[e]

9. What are the primary obstacles to prevention efforts in your community?[a,b,c,d,e]

10. What is the next step your community needs to take in the area of prevention?[a,b,c,d,e]

[a]Prevention Programming

[b]Knowledge About Prevention Programs

[c]Leadership and Community Involvement

[d]Knowledge About the Problem

[e]Funding for Prevention Programs

prevention programs, four types of key informants were identified: (1) a school counselor or staff member with responsibility for alcohol and drug abuse education and/or counseling (replacements could include a school drug use prevention coordinator or volunteer, a health science teacher or the principal); (2) a community authority, such as the mayor (replacements could include a city or county council member); (3) a local media representative (preferably the editor of the local newspaper, but a newspaper or radio reporter who covers local events could serve as replacements); and (4) a community leader in the area of drug abuse prevention, such as a program chair (replacements could include an official of a parent/teacher organization or member of the school board with an interest in the topic).

Initial Results

Key informant interviews were conducted in 46 communities with populations below 10,000 from throughout the United States. This limitation was imposed in order to assure that during this first full-scale field test problems of defining the community boundaries of large metropolitan areas was not a confounding factor. Also, the 46 communities were not randomly selected. Their inclusion was based on the authors' personal knowledge of prevention program practitioners and advocates. These individuals helped identify key informants within each of the four categories to be interviewed.

Key informants were interviewed by telephone. The first full-scale field test was considered successful for several reasons. First, remarks of individual key informants were very consistent in rating a community on each of the five dimensions. Generally, if one dimension was at the stage of *preplanning,* the other dimensions were either at the same or adjoining stages. This made it easier than anticipated for the authors to arrive at a combined score and to place a community at a certain level of readiness. Second, key informants from the same community were consistent. There was no case where key informants disagreed by more than one stage on any one dimension. Third, key informants, based on the judgments of interviewers, were knowledgeable of the community and where it stood on drug abuse prevention programs. One concern was that key informants may exhibit either a too cynical or a too pollyanna point of view. Although that is certainly possible, there were no cases in this field test where an interviewer felt that the key informant was not attempting to be realistic. As a result, no interviews were thrown out.

Initially, a minimum of four key informants was thought to be necessary in order to assess readiness. However, in smaller communities, it is possible to get by with a minimum of two key informants. Little new information was gathered after the first two interviews were completed; the remaining two interviews were largely redundant. Although using more key informants is certainly desirable, it is not necessary if time and resources are in short supply.

As anticipated, key informants were likely to be community members who are part of the initiation set or diffusion set (Beal, 1964), or at later stages, to be

individuals who would help carry out the action. At first it was thought that this might present a biased assessment, but experiences from the first full-scale field test now indicate that community readiness can be measured in no other way. Key informants must be members of the community with some knowledge or potential interest in prevention programming before they are can respond to questions along the five dimensions from which readiness levels are determined. In other words, it is essential to interview gatekeepers and stakeholders (Mays & Beckman, 1989). It is can be argued that focus groups, comprehensive community surveys, and non-random surveys at supermarkets and shopping malls, town meetings and other community events could be used to measure readiness levels. One area for future testing would be to compare the results of key informant versus other information-gathering techniques.

Another potential problem, which the initial field test could not help evaluate, is the use of the same key informants over a period of time as a community-based program moves forward (or backward) from one readiness level to another. It is possible that bias in their assessments could be introduced by repeated interviews. One way to avoid this problem is for the community development practitioner to create a pool of potential key informants. If readiness levels are to be assessed periodically, such as after an intervention that attempts to move a community to a new stage of readiness, then one (or a few) additional key informants could be used in order to examine the extent they agree with the initial group. Another possible solution is to rotate interviews within a pool of key informants.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of communities from the initial field test. Three important findings are immediately apparent. First, there were no communities found at either extreme of the readiness scale. In other words, communities neither tolerated drug use nor had arrived at the stage of professionalization in regard to prevention efforts. This does not mean such communi-
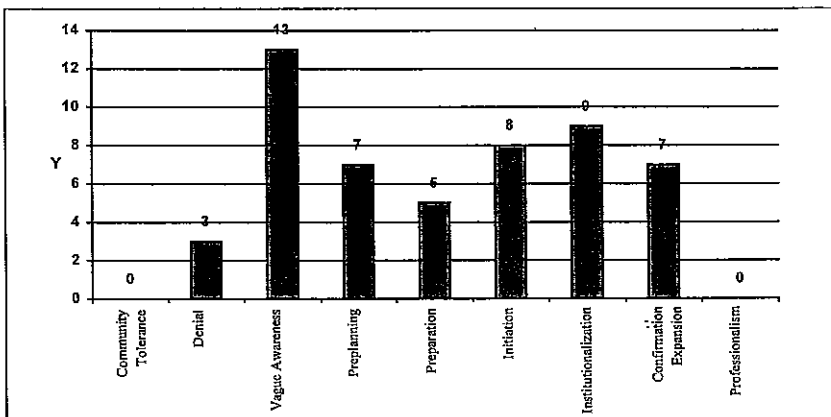
Figure 1. Frequency distribution: Results of first field test of community readiness scale (N=46).

ties do not exist. The field test was not meant to be comprehensively representative of American communities. Second, within the seven middle stages, there was a great deal of variability in readiness levels. This confirms what practitioners have long noted, that support for prevention programming is community specific. Third, these initial results showed a bi-modal distribution of community readiness. One cluster of communities was found at or around the stage of *vague awareness*. These communities were struggling with defining the problem locally. The practitioner who finds this level of readiness would have many excellent opportunities to conduct awareness programs and educational seminars that would move the community up to the preplanning stage. These could be community-wide activities, but it would also be a good idea to target local leaders and gatekeepers.

A second cluster of communities centered around the *institutionalization* stage and the two stages either side of it. These communities already had programs up and running, but they varied in how well they were supported and in their potential to continue, revamp and expand. During these stages, the practitioner could be engaged in networking activities, that is, facilitating community supporters and encouraging program staff to evaluate and revise their own efforts. The practitioner can also be important at these stages in helping the community to identify outside expertise, speakers for recognition banquets, development of news stories about the prevention program for the local press, and other activities that promote continuing support.

COMMUNITY READINESS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT APPLICATIONS

The first and most obvious use of a readiness scale is to measure the status of a community relative to its ability to support a program. Community readiness is not unlike *rapid rural appraisal*, which is used in the field of international agricultural development as a way to assess the needs and potential barriers to use of new farming techniques within a village or small area (Carruthers & Chambers, 1981; Gow, 1990). Rapid rural appraisal was developed as a way of overcoming the expense and time associated with data collection and analysis of more comprehensive needs assessments, and as a way of linking research and action more directly (Gow, 1990). Neither community readiness nor rapid rural appraisal are meant to be substitutes for rigorous scientific research. However, both were designed to help the practitioner more systematically assess the local situation and go beyond his/her personal impressions of what to do next. Both were also designed to help the practitioner interact with persons who are important to the program or action being considered for adoption.

A second advantage of readiness for community development practitioners involved in prevention programming is in the identification of strategies for helping programs to start, and to receive continued local support for programs already in existence. The suggestions listed in Table 4 are not meant to be com-

Table 4. Community Readiness and Community Development Strategies

Stage	*Strategies and Goals*
1. Community tolerance	Small group and one-on-one discussions with community leaders in order to identify perceived benefits of drug use and how norms reinforce use.
	Small group and one-on-one discussions on health, psychological and social costs of drug use with community leaders in order to change perceptions with those most likely to be part of the initiation set that begins development of programs.
2. Denial	Educational outreach programs on health, psychological and social costs of drug use to community leaders and community groups interested in sponsoring local programs.
	Use of local incidents that illustrate harmful consequences of drug use in one-on-one discussions and educational outreach programs.
3. Vague awareness	Educational outreach programs on national and state prevalence rates of drug use, and prevalence rates in other communities with similar characteristics to community leaders and possible sponsorship groups. Programs should include use of local incidents that illustrate harmful consequences of drug use.
	Local media campaigns that emphasize consequences of drug use.
4. Preplanning	Educational outreach programs that include prevalence rates and correlates/causes of drug use to community leaders and sponsorship groups.
	Educational outreach programs that introduce the concept of prevention and illustrate specific prevention programs adopted by other communities with similar profiles.
	Local media campaigns emphasizing consequences of drug use and ways of reducing demand for illicit substances through prevention programming.
5. Preparation	Educational outreach programs open to the general public on specific types of prevention programs, their goals and how they can be implemented.
	Educational outreach programs for community leaders and local sponsorship groups on prevention programs, goals, staff requirements and other start-up aspects of programming.
	Local media campaign describing benefits of prevention programs for reducing consequences of drug use.
6. Initiation	In-service educational training for program staff (paid and/or volunteer) on drug use consequences, correlates and causes, and nature of problem in local community.
	Publicity efforts associated with kick-off of program.
	Special meeting to provide update and review of initial program activities with community leaders and local sponsorship groups.

<div align="center">Table 4. Continued</div>

Stage	Strategies and Goals
7. Institutionalization	In-service educational programs on evaluation process, new trends in drug use, and new initiatives in prevention programming. Either trainers are brought in from the outside or staff sent to programs sponsored by professional societies.
	Periodic review meetings and/or special recognition events for local supporters of prevention programs. c. Local publicity efforts associated with review meetings and recognition events.
8. Confirmation/expansion	In-service educational programs on conducting localized epidemiologies in order to target specific groups in the community for prevention programming. Either trainers are brought in from the outside or staff are sent to programs sponsored by professional societies.
	Periodic review meetings and/or special recognition events for local supporters of prevention programs.
	Results of research and evaluation activities of the prevention program are presented to the public through local media and/or public meetings.
9. Professionalization	Continued in-service training of staff.
	Continued assessment of new drug-related problems and re-assessment of targeted groups within community.
	Continued evaluation of program effort.
	Continued update on program activities and results for benefit of community leaders and local sponsorship groups and periodic stories through local media and/or public meetings.

prehensive, but do illustrate ways in which prevention program practitioners, and community development specialists in general, can help carry action and decision-making forward so that the community moves to the next level of community readiness.

Strategies associated with the first four stages (community tolerance through preplanning) are largely awareness-creating in nature. Activities at the stage of community tolerance are restricted to behind-the-scenes activities which the community development practitioner could engage in on a one-on-one and small group basis. At the denial stage, the emphasis is on awareness creating relative to the harmful effects of drug use, while at the vague awareness stage, the emphasis shifts more towards knowledge of drug use prevalence and local examples of the costs of using drugs if such anecdotes are available. At the preplanning stage, educational efforts about the concept of prevention and the philosophies of various programs may be more effective. It is not until a community is beyond the denial stage that a publicity campaign through local media and other information dissemination outlets is recommended (i.e., newspaper ads, billboards, radio and television announcements).

Associated with the stages of preparation and initiation comes the need for information of a more specific nature about systematic identification of the drug problem locally, and about how to plan and implement a prevention program. The initiation stage begins the need for some type of staff training. Activities suggested at the institutionalization stage are designed to encourage an already existing program toward self-evaluation and revision. In-service training is especially important at this stage as well as at the confirmation/expansion stage. At these two final stages, it is also important to continue to review program activities with local leaders and sponsorship groups, and on occasion to initiate publicity efforts through public meetings and local media outlets.

A third use of community readiness is as a tool to augment other forms of program evaluation. Periodic assessments of readiness can be used to monitor community support for a program. Related to this is that the key informants used in community readiness can help practitioners identify objections and negative perceptions that some community members and groups may have of a prevention program, and how program staff and supporters can overcome them. Finally, community readiness can be used to identify and solve potential territorial problems that may arise when a new initiative is introduced in a community that has programs of a related nature.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to define the concept of community readiness, describe the development of a community readiness scale for prevention programming in the area of drug abuse, and outline ways in which readiness can be used by community development practitioners for increasing local support of programming efforts of all sorts. Utilizing anchor rating statements and key informants provides a way of measuring community readiness without incurring the costs of more comprehensive and time-consuming needs assessments.

Preliminary results indicate that a useable scale can be developed. Comments from prevention programmers who assisted in development of the community readiness scale indicated that if it had been available, they would have used it to help design their original program. Others suggested that it is a useful way for a new administrator to get introduced to the community. One commented that the nine stages of community readiness, and the five dimensions of prevention programs are something that can be "kept in the back of the head," and used on an everyday basis during regular interactions with clients, program board members, and sponsors.

The readiness scale for prevention programming in the area of drug abuse will continue to undergo revisions. Meanwhile, scales for other types of programming can be developed and tested, ranging from such closely related problems as alcohol abuse to areas such as health and nutrition, public safety, the environment, various social problems, and local economic development among others. The stages of readiness may need to be modified as the diversity of issues

expands (perhaps there will be entirely different stages for different issues), but it is more likely that the primary investment will be in development and testing of reliable and valid anchor rating statements and of appropriate key informant interview questions. The authors make this supposition with some confidence, since this readiness scale was based upon the prior work of Beal (1964) and Rogers (1994), as well as the more recent attempts by Miller (1990).

A future area of research is to examine the co-variance of readiness for programs within specific problem areas with characteristics of the community. It could provide a way of identifying general traits of communities with various readiness levels. For example, it is already known that alcohol abuse prevention is more difficult to introduce in communities whose employment base is dominated by occupations where drinking is part of the after-work lifestyle (Hawkins et al., 1992). But beyond anecdotal accounts that point to high levels of tolerance in certain communities, what are the characteristics of areas associated with other levels of readiness? Do these vary by the employment and economic make-up of a location, or the demographic composition of an area, or cultural factors associated with religious denominations and other local groups who influence the socialization and social control functions of a community?

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BLACKS AND THE CONTINUING QUEST FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT IN SIX FLORIDA COMMUNITIES

By James Button and Matthew Corrigan

ABSTRACT

One of the anticipated results of the civil rights movement in the South was increased economic opportunity for blacks. Yet, little is known about contemporary black employment in the South and the factors related to it. This study is a longitudinal examination of this issue in six carefully selected Florida communities which highlights the relative importance of political and community contextual variables in the hiring of blacks. The results suggest that black resource variables (black population and applicants) are significant in the private sector employment of blacks while political variables are less important today than in the 1970s.

INTRODUCTION

While the civil rights movement in the South has been important in improving the political situation of blacks, the economic advancement of blacks has been much more precarious. The achievement of fundamental political rights has not always been translated into improvement in employment opportunities (Davidson, 1972; Keech, 1968). Moreover, the 1980s seem to have been a period of little or no economic progress for most blacks, particularly in the nonmetropolitan South (Lichter, 1989). Reduced federal enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action guidelines (Farley & Allen, 1989: 281), along with increased competition for jobs from white women and minorities (Freeman & Holzer, 1985; Jaynes & Williams, 1989), decreased job opportunities for blacks generally since the late 1970s. In addition, racial discrimination, although more subtle and indirect than in the past, continues to hamper blacks in every aspect of the employment process (Cotton, 1989; Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987).

Other scholars have been more sanguine about recent black economic progress in the South and the role of various political factors. The civil rights movement served ultimately to improve the racial climate in the South. Indeed,

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there is evidence that antiblack prejudice declined faster in the South than elsewhere in recent times (Firebaugh & Davis, 1988), and this may have reduced resistance to black employment. The mobilization of blacks politically, especially the election of blacks to public office, has helped to break down barriers of discrimination in employment and to encourage blacks to participate more fully in the employment process (Button, 1989). Similarly anti-discrimination and affirmative action programs often have been key factors in boosting job opportunities for blacks (Heckman & Payner, 1989; Jaynes & Williams, 1989; Leonard, 1984). Finally, the increased urbanization and industrialization of the South have produced more and better jobs for both whites and blacks (Hogan & Featherman, 1977), a trend that continued into the 1980s.

Despite these varying claims, we know relatively little about contemporary black employment in the South and the factors related to it. This study is an attempt to address this gap in the literature. It is a longitudinal look at black employment in a variety of businesses within six carefully selected Florida communities (Button, 1989). In addition, we attempted to explain levels of black employment by investigating political and contextual factors that have been relatively unexplored. Community characteristics, employers' racial attitudes, and black political representation are potentially important variables about which little is known. Finally, we gathered our data on black employment at the level of the firm, interviewing employers directly about their hiring practices. This, too, is a unique approach to this subject area (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991).

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of our analysis was twofold. First, the changing nature of black employment was examined with comparisons of black employment over time in various businesses. Second, multivariate analysis was utilized to isolate the important contextual, political, and attitudinal variables which affected black employment.

The state of Florida was originally selected for this study because it was a "manageable and accessible unit" for analysis (Button, 1981:462). More important, the state contains the necessary range of political and socioeconomic environments typical of the South (Key, 1949). The northern part, or panhandle region, is representative of the mainly rural, relatively poor, agricultural-based Deep South (or Old South). The southern (mainly coastal) region is typical of the more urbanized, faster-growing, and relatively middle-class Rim South (or New South (Christian & Marshall, 1978). An analysis of economic growth and employment in the South in the 1970s and 1980s concluded that a sharp division was emerging between rural and urban areas due to the growing prominence of industries in urban regions versus the lack of job opportunities in the rural South (Lyson, 1989).

Political culture is important in race relations (Matthews & Prothro, 1966), and thus for the original investigation, three cities from the Old South region and three within the New South region were chosen. While these cities appear to be representative of these regional variations, they were not selected randomly, and therefore we do not claim generalizability.

In addition to the rural/urban dichotomy, the other major factor that influenced community selection was the relative size of the black population. This factor has also been important when exploring the political and economic conditions of blacks in the South (Key, 1949; Keech, 1968). Keech found a direct relationship between the size of the black electorate (which approximated the size of the black population by the 1970s) and gains for blacks until a threshold point of white fear and resistance is encountered (1968: 101–102). If the population of a city is between 30 and 50 percent black, opposition from whites is greatest. When blacks become a majority, gains accrue once again to them as the black majority is able to counter white resistance. Thus the six communities for this study were also selected along a continuum of black population size ranging from relatively small (approximately 10–29 percent of the community's population) to relatively large (more than 50 percent of the population). Table 1 summarizes the types and general characteristics of the selected cities.[1]

Table 1. Typology of Communities

City Characteristics		Old South	New South
Low Percent		Crestview	Titusville
Black (10–29 percent)	Population (1990)	9,886	39,394
	Percent Population Change (1970–1990)	19	23
	Percent Black (1990)	20	11
	Per Capita Income (1989)	$8,643	$14,274
Medium Percent		Lake City	Daytona Beach
Black (30–50 percent)	Population (1990)	10,005	61,921
	Percent Population Change (1970–1990)	–6	27
	Percent Black (1990)	38	31
	Per Capita Income (1989)	$10,086	$11,901
High Percent		Quincy	Riviera Beach
Black (over 50 percent)	Population (1990)	7,444	27,639
	Percent Population Change (1970–1990)	–12	23
	Percent Black (1990)	61	70
	Per Capita Income (1989)	$10,369	$14,674

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, *1990 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, Florida,* Section 1, pp. 2–10, 107–111.

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[1] Gretna, the smallest of the communities and the only one lacking a full range of city services and businesses, was replaced by Quincy in 1991. This new community is located in the same county and therefore represents the same political and social setting. However, Quincy is a somewhat larger (in terms of population) and more developed community than Gretna and therefore more comparable to the other communities in the study. The businesses sampled for this study in the 1970s were all in Quincy and were therefore usable for the current survey.

The method of analysis of black employment in these communities consisted of an attempt to replicate the survey of businesses which was originally carried out in 1976–1977 (Button, 1981). That survey involved the random selection of a variety (in terms of size and services offered) of private sector establishments, and a personal interview with the owner or manager of each to gain information related to hiring and promotion practices.[2] A good number (46 percent) of businesses originally surveyed were still viable and willing to be surveyed again; the remainder were purposefully selected to approximate the characteristics of the original sample.[3] Black-owned businesses were few in number and relatively atypical, and were therefore excluded.

The kinds and numbers of establishments replicated or newly selected were restaurants (29); industrial or manufacturing firms (24); retail stores and banks (59); motels and apartments (33); and recreational establishments (12) including movie theaters, bowling alleys and country clubs. The total sample size was 157. Relatively more establishments were sampled in the larger cities(the number varied from 37 businesses in Daytona Beach to 20 in Quincy). As in the 1970s survey, manufacturing or industrial firms were chosen randomly from local Chamber of Commerce listings while all other establishments were randomly selected from local telephone directory Yellow Page listings. Interviews were carried out between October 1991 and July 1992, and the refusal rate of interviewees averaged two per city but no more than four in any one community. (A letter of introduction from the local mayor encouraged participation). Not only were the businesses sampled the same or similar to those surveyed in the 1970s, but the questions posed were also the same (along with some additional questions relevant to looking at more recent factors that may affect black employment).

FINDINGS

Descriptive Analysis

Longitudinal comparison is possible through an examination of the data in Tables 2 and 3. Both tables contain the two types of community groupings explained above (the Old South/New South grouping, and the percentage black

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[2] All but four interviewed managers were white, and all interviewers (the two authors and a research assistant) were also white. The authors conducted over 90 percent of the interviews.

[3] The two samples are very similar in terms of kinds and size of businesses:

Types of Businesses	1976–77 Sample		1991–1992 Sample	
	(N)	Percent	(N)	Percent
Restaurants	31	19	29	19
Industries	25	15	24	15
Retail stores and banks	56	34	59	38
Motels and apartments	35	22	33	21
Movie theaters, bowling alleys, country clubs	16	10	12	8
	163	100	157	101
Average number of employees	38		43	

population grouping). The tables also contain data for the various types of businesses and employment skill levels.[4]

This longitudinal comparison reveals that overall black employment decreased slightly (from an overall average of 19 percent in 1970s to 17 percent in However, this decrease in employment concealed a wide variation in occupational level. Mean percentage of blacks hired on the professional and managerial level showed the largest increase from the 1970s (from 2 to 9 percent) among the three levels of employment. Blacks in skilled positions also represented an increase from the earlier study (from 12 to 16 percent). Black advancement to higher levels were found mainly in industries, restaurants, and retail stores. The source of the overall decline in black employment could be found at the unskilled level. The mean percentage of blacks hired at the unskilled level dropped 11 percent from the 1970s (from 31 to 20 percent). While the proportion of blacks in the labor force of these communities remained about the same over this time period, the recent economic recession reduced black employment disproportionately in many of the businesses.[5] In addition, the decrease at the unskilled level may be explained by the general loss of jobs due to macro-level changes in the U.S. economic system (Farley & Allen, 1989).

The comparison of data over time by type of community confirms the importance of the relationship between black population and black employment. Only the majority black communities had a clearly increased black employment record when compared to the 1970s, especially at the professional and skilled level (an increase from 1 to 20 percent on the professional level and from 20 to 32 percent on the skilled level). This improvement was evident in motels and apartments, retail stores and banks, and restaurants. In contrast, low-percentage black cities actually declined in black employment at all levels, especially in industries and retail stores. Medium-percentage black cities show modest increases at higher levels of black employment, particularly in industries and restaurants; black employment at unskilled levels dropped noticeably in retail stores, banks, motels and apartments.

For Old South communities, overall black employment was down from the 1970s (from 24 to 19 percent). The decline can be attributed to the dramatic loss of unskilled positions for blacks in the Old South cities studied (from 42 to 20 percent). Advances in black employment in the Old South communities were greatest in restaurants, retail stores and banks, with increases apparent at the professional and skilled levels.

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[4] The business owners separated their employees into the three requested job classifications professional (supervisory positions), skilled (some formal training required), and unskilled (no training required). The Department of Labor's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was used as a resource when clarification of the skill levels was required.

[5] According to employers, the number of black workers had declined by an average of 21 percent the previous two years. Overall employment was reported to have declined only 1 percent over this time period. Employers claimed that the recession was the primary reason for the decline.

Table 2. Reported Mean Percentage of Black Employees in Private Establishments (1976-1977)

Kinds of Establishments	Community Groupings[a]					
	All Communities	Old South	New South	Low Percentage Black	Medium Percentage Black	High Percentage Black
All establishments	19[b] (2[c],12[d],31[e])	24 (3,16,42)	14 (1,7,21)	11 (2,6,21)	19 (2,9,31)	28 (1,20,42)
Restaurants	25 (0,13,41)	30 (0,13,48)	21 (0,13,33)	11 (0,6,20)	25 (0,5,48)	41 (0,35,54)
Industries	21 (5,20,29)	27 (10,16,45)	15 (2,15,12)	22 (7,18,40)	20 (5,25,15)	20 (4,18,21)
Retail stores and banks	16 (3,10,27)	22 (3,14,43)	7 (2,2,11)	6 (3,3,16)	13 (6,9,25)	27 (0,17,47)
Motels and apartments	17 (0,2,24)	14 (0,0,18)	18 (0,3,30)	14 (0,3,22)	24 (0,4,33)	12 (0,0,18)
Movie theaters, bowling alleys and country clubs	23 (0,18,32)	32 (0,25,48)	11 (0,10,16)	8 (0,8,16)	12 (0,10,19)	42 (0,38,67)
	N=163	N=57	N=106	N=60	N=62	N=41

[a] All community samples were weighted equally in this analysis so as to control for variations in number of businesses sampled from one community to another.

[b] Mean percentage of all employees who are black.

[c] Mean percentage of professional or managerial employees who are black.

[d] Mean percentage of skilled or semi-skilled employees who are black.

[e] Mean percentage of unskilled or menial employees who are black.

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Table 3. Reported Mean Percentage of Black Employees in Private Establishments (1991-1992)

Kinds of Establishments	Community Groupings[a]					
	All Communities	Old South	New South	Low Percentage Black	Medium Percentage Black	High Percentage Black
All establishments	17[b] (9[c], 16[d],20[e])	19 (12, 20,20)	15 (5, 11, 21)	6 (1, 5, 12)	14 (5, 11, 19)	31 (20, 32, 31)
Restaurants	23 (12, 26, 26)	26 (16, 30, 32)	20 (8, 21, 19)	9 (2, 10, 23)	16 (4, 19, 25)	58 (45, 61, 38)
Industries	20 (8, 24, 23)	28 (11, 37, 24)	12 (5, 11, 22)	17 (0, 18,4)	23 (10, 27, 23)	20 (10, 25, 28)
Retail stores and banks	15 (11, 14, 16)	17 (14, 16, 15)	12 (6, 11, 17)	2 (1, 2, 11)	8 (5, 8, 5)	32 (23, 30, 31)
Motels and apartments	14 (3, 5, 21)	10 (0, 0, 16)	16 (4, 7, 24)	6 (2, 4, 13)	15 (3, 2, 23)	25 (3, 15, 29)
Movie theaters, bowling alleys and country clubs	14 (5, 8, 20)	13 (10, 10, 19)	14 (0, 5, 20)	2 (0, 1, 3)	14 (0, 0, 21)	43 (29, 38, 58)
	N = 157	N = 62	N = 95	N =51	N = 58	N = 48

[a] Community samples were weighted equally so as to control for variations in number of businesses surveyed from one community to another.

[b] Mean percentage of all employees who are black.

[c] Mean percentage of professional or managerial employees who are black.

[d] Mean percentage of skilled or semi-skilled employees who are black.

[e] Mean percentage of unskilled or menial employees who are black.

The New South cities displayed very marginal improvement in overall black employment over time (from 14 to 15 percent). Yet like the Old South cities, blacks progressed markedly in the New South in restaurants, retail stores and banks. Importantly, the mean percentage of blacks employed did not increase noticeably in motels and apartments (14 to 16 percent) in the New South communities where these establishments have been such a vital part of the economy. Black employment did show some improvement, however, at the professional and skilled levels.

Focusing on the current data (Table 3) shows that the mean percentage of black employees in businesses in all six communities was 17 percent. In comparison, the black population averaged 38.5 percent and the proportion of blacks in the county labor force(age 16+), the regional labor market, averaged 17 percent. By occupational level, blacks had a mean percentage of employment of 9 percent in professional and managerial positions, 16 percent in skilled jobs, and 20 percent in unskilled employment. Analysis by type of business reveals that restaurants and industrial firms had the highest percentage of black employees (23 and 20 percent respectively); motels, apartments, and recreational businesses had the lowest (14 percent for each). Professional opportunities for blacks were best in retail stores, banks, and restaurants; skilled black workers were employed most heavily in restaurants and industries while those blacks employed in motels, apartments, and recreational facilities had mainly unskilled positions.

Examination of the recent data by community groupings highlights the relationship between the proportion of blacks in the population and black employment. An average of 31 percent of all employees were black in high-percentage black communities. This is twice the rate of medium-percentage black communities and five times the number in low-percentage black communities. In the majority black communities, opportunities for blacks were better in all types of businesses and at all levels, with the exception of industries which had a slightly better record in medium-percentage black cities. Communities with a relatively small number of blacks had little black employment with an overall rate of 6 percent and relatively few opportunities for skilled or professional work.

The Old South/New South dichotomy shows that black employment was better in the Old South than in New South communities (19 and 15 percent). This finding was apparent in the 1970s survey as well. This comparison conflicts with other studies (Falk & Lyson, 1988; Lyson, 1989) that highlight the employment opportunities available in urban/suburban areas of the South. The tourist-centered economies of the New South cities in this study may account for this finding since tourist areas rely more upon motels and other recreational services for their growth rather than the industrial growth in the New South that is described in the studies noted above.

For example, Daytona Beach is known as "The World's Most Famous Beach" with its emphasis on beach activities and auto racing. Titusville is adja-

Table 5. Comparison of the Significance of Independent Variables Tested in the 1970s and 1990s[a]

	Total Percent Blacks Employed		Percent Black Professional or Managers		Percent Black Skilled or Semi-skilled		Percent Black Unskilled or Menial	
	1976-1977	*1991-1992*	*1976-1977*	*1991-1992*	*1976-1977*	*1991-1992*	*1976-1977*	*1991-1992*
Number of employees	no[b]	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
Type of business	no	yes(+)	no	yes(+)	no	no	no	no
Percent black applicants	yes(+)	yes(+)	no	no	yes(+)	yes(+)	yes(+)	yes(+)
Affirmative action	yes(−)	no	yes(+)	no	no	no	yes(−)[c]	no
Percent black customers[f]	no	no[d]	no	no	no	no	no	no
Lack of qualified black applicants[f]	no	yes(−)	no	no	no	yes(−)	no	no
Employer racial attitude[f]	no	no[e]	no	no	no	no	no	no

[a] For complete regression and path analysis results from the 1970s see Button, 1989.

[b] Indicates whether the variable is significant and the + and − indicates the direction of significance.

[c] The negative sign may indicate that employer support of affirmative action may have lessened black employment at the lowest skill level. Yet, at the professional level the sign is positive for the 1970s data. Again see Button, 1989 for further analysis of affirmative action in the 1970s.

[d] As noted, this variable is highly intercorrelated with percent black applicants in the 1990s data.

[e] As noted, this variable is highly intercorrelated with lack of qualified black applicants in the 1990s data.

[f] Information on these three variables was not collected for the entire sample in the 1970s.

Thus, the recent employment of other minorities was not significantly associated with black employment at any occupational level.[7]

However, the results indicated an important barrier to black employment. The lack of qualified black applicants, or at least this claim among employers, was a statistically significant factor in two of the four regression equations. Interestingly, this finding was not apparent at the highest level of employment where it would be most expected. Nonetheless, 40 percent of surveyed employers indicated that there were relatively few qualified blacks to hire for the positions they were seeking to fill. This factor was not a significant variable for explaining black employment in the 1970s survey, thus suggesting that job skill requirements have advanced, or that blacks are relatively more unskilled today, or both. However, the claim of "unqualified blacks" has sometimes been used by business owners and managers as an acceptable reason for refusing to hire blacks due to race (Jaynes & Williams, 1989), and we did find a positive and significant relationship between this claim and our measure of negative attitudes toward blacks among employers. Thus business owners or managers with the strongest antiblack feelings[8] were most likely to perceive blacks as not qualified for employment, and were therefore least likely to hire them.

Black resource and contextual variables, specifically the proportion of blacks in the population, were significant in two of the regression analyses. These variables are important for their influence on black applicants. The black population is the basis for a potential black work force and customers. Black customers seem to motivate black applicants by creating conditions known to favor the hiring of blacks. Employers frequently claimed, for example, that it was good for business to hire more blacks when there was a noticeable black clientele. This phenomenon may also function in the reverse manner; that is, increased black hiring may encourage black customers. The proportion of customers who are black has increased since the 1970s (from an average of 20 to 27 percent), and not surprisingly, this factor was not significant in of the 1970s data. In addition, another resource variable, the proportion of adult blacks in the county's labor force, was found to have a significant and direct effect at the highest level of employment (professionals and managers). This suggests that at higher job levels requiring greater qualifications and education, the pool of potential black employees is expanded by recruitment on a regional rather than strictly local basis.

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[7] While 22 percent of business owners or managers claimed that they employed some racial or ethnic minorities (primarily Hispanics) other than blacks, this variable was not significantly correlated with any level of black employment, nor was it statistically significant in any of the regression equations. This study did not explore the employment of white women and its possible effect on black employment.

[8] Even when controlling for community contextual variables and characteristics of the firm (number of employees and type), employers' racial attitudes were significantly associated with perceptions of black applicants' qualifications.

These black resource variables, along with black job applicants, explained much of the variation in black employment among communities.[9] In majority black communities, for example, not only was black population relatively high but black customers averaged 50 percent (compared to 17 percent in the other cities) and black applicants averaged 58 percent (compared to 20 percent in other communities). In Quincy and Riviera Beach, business owners or managers were much more likely to claim that black hiring was good for business.

Likewise differences in jobs for blacks between Old and New South cities may be accounted for by these factors. Compared to New South cities, businesses in the Old South averaged more black applicants (36 to 28 percent), more black customers (31 to 21 percent), and more blacks in the county's labor force (24 to 9 percent). (The black population, on the other hand, was relatively the same size.) Moreover, the political culture variable (coded *1* for Old South cities and *0* for New South cities) was not statistically significant in any of the equations, as hypothesized, further highlighting the importance of resource variables in these communities.

Most interesting, however, is the finding that neither of the political variables (support for affirmative action and black political representation) was statistically significant in any of the path analyses. In terms of affirmative action, only 12 percent of the owners and managers said they had implemented such a program and were going out of their way lately to hire blacks. Support for affirmative action had a statistically significant effect on black employment, particularly at the professional or managerial level, in the 1976-1977 study. By the 1990s, however, support for this controversial program had declined and it was no longer influential in explaining black employment. In fact, many employers made a point to emphasize that they tended to hire the most qualified applicants regardless of race.

Black elected officials were moderately effective in the 1970s survey in terms of encouraging black applicants for jobs and promoting black hiring (Button, 1989). Their impact in the 1990s was difficult to measure because this variable was so highly intercorrelated with black population ($r = .93$). It is apparent that blacks had achieved proportional representation in most of these communities. When regressed separately, black population explained significantly more variation than did black elected officials. Thus, it was impossible to gauge the independent effect of black officials in this analysis. However, when asked directly whether any local public officials or groups had urged them to hire more blacks, only three owners or managers answered affirmatively and all three

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[9] The percentage of black applicants alone explains much of the variation in black employment. It may be argued that the use of this variable oversimplifies the hiring process. Not surprisingly, however, relative size of the black population and black customers are both significantly related to black employment when black applicants is removed from the equations. This is the case for every regression analysis except at the professional or managerial level.

mentioned particular groups, not officials, which had encouraged black employment. This finding suggests that the direct impact of black officials in private sector employment is negligible today.

CONCLUSIONS

A major finding of this study is that black resource variables clearly were the most important in the 1990s in explaining rates of black employment in these six communities. This finding is apparent regardless of level of employment and community characteristics. Thus, the relative size of the black population, black customers, and black applicants are by far the most significant factors in explaining the degree to which blacks are employed in these businesses. This finding contrasts sharply with the results of our comparable survey in the latter 1970s. Political variables, especially affirmative action and local black representation, were statistically significant determinants of black employment in the 1970s, yet not so significant in the 1990s. The ideology of free enterprise has gained renewed emphasis and resists government interference in private businesses (Keech, 1968).

The current data also reveal an important barrier to black employment. The claim by employers about the lack of qualified blacks to fill jobs is a significant impediment for blacks. Yet, this claim was often linked to antiblack attitudes among employers. This evidence suggests that some business owners or managers are racially discriminating against black applicants but camouflaging this action in the guise of blacks not being qualified. Interestingly, this variable was significant at the skilled but not at the highest level of employment. Interviewed business owners or managers with antiblack attitudes often described blacks as lazy, welfare dependent, and prone to drugs and/or crime. These characteristics were much less frequently ascribed to blacks who typically applied for higher level positions.

Analysis by type of business reveals that employment opportunities for blacks were better during the early 90s in industries, restaurants, retail stores and banks, while recreational establishments, motels and apartments offered blacks mainly unskilled jobs. An important explanation for this is the finding that blacks were less likely to patronize recreational businesses (especially country clubs and motels) than they were stores and restaurants. Black customers, as we have reported, were an important stimulus to black hiring.

Black employment was also better in the Old South than in New South communities, although these differences were not statistically significant when controlling for other variables. This surprising finding, which was also discovered in the 1970s survey, suggests that the New South may not be as progressive in offering economic opportunity to blacks as suggested by the literature. This finding was consistent through all levels of employment and all types of businesses with the exception of motels and apartments. Again, the importance of black resource variables is highlighted since the Old South communities had

more black applicants and customers than the New South communities.

Longitudinal comparison of the current data with the previous study shows that overall black employment decreased slightly between the 1970s and the early 1990s. Yet, this decrease conceals a wide variation among employment levels with more blacks progressing to managerial and skilled positions but not being replaced by other blacks at the unskilled levels in the 1990s. The reasons for the decline in blacks at lower job levels included the recent recession, but our data do not indicate that increased competition from other minorities was a factor. The longitudinal analysis also highlights the importance of the relationship between black population and black employment. The majority black communities experienced a clear record of improvement in black employment over time, especially at the professional and skilled level. This type of substantial improvement was not apparent for the medium-percentage black and low-percentage black cities, suggesting that Keech's claim about white resistance in communities with less than a black majority is still valid.

This study indicates that politics may no longer be very important in the private sector employment of blacks. The changed role of black public officials and the reduced emphasis on affirmative action have clearly affected black employment. With less government intervention into the employment process, black resource variables have become even more vital in the employment process. In addition, less government intervention (Button, 1989) may make it more difficult to identify racial discrimination in employment. However, less government intervention did not prevent some blacks from improving their employment opportunities at higher and better paying levels. Thus the quest for black economic equality continues, but certainly the nature of the struggle has changed.

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AN AP
ASSIMILA
RESIDENT
By Carol Mulford

Extensive racial residential segregation c
segregation may be a factor that impedes
this paper, residential segregation is expl.
ses are tested by analyzing Census data
analyses revealed that residential segrega
of segregation between Anglos and Hispa
ties where social class differences betwee:
residential segregation levels were most e
tics with larger minority populations, in ol
for community development specialists an

INTR

Throughout recorded history, hu
by residential segregation. Persons
teristics have tended to live in close
those with different characteristics
1985; Lowry, 1960; Park, 1916). In tl
teristic which has been correlated n
Understanding how patterns of resi
important because there is evidence
affect the way people of varying rac
Residential patterns may be both a refl
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undermines the social and economic
(Galster, 1987; Massey & Denton, 19
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The need for understanding pattern
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residential segregation between three ethnic groups including Bl
ics, and Anglos (non-Hispanic Whites). This study is limited to
communities because there are numerous communities in this regir
tively small, that have a large enough population base from all
groups to make the analysis possible. This is not true for commu
regions of the country.

Although already voluminous, it is critical that extensive rese
dential segregation processes continues as this issue is so vital in A
This article will attempt to make several additions to the residentia
literature. First, the theoretical framework of this article places raci
segregation within the larger assimilation process (Gordon,
McLemore, 1991), and tests the extent to which those factors leadi
assimilation also lead to greater residential integration (Masse)
1984). Second, this article uses data from both 1980 and 1990; whi
analysis of recent trends in the extent of residential segregation. Thi
sons are made of the residential segregation of three racial and et
Fourth, the analysis is extended to smaller, nonmetropolitan comr
are often excluded in residential segregation studies. Finally, ins
from the analysis are used to suggest strategies for community &
specialists.

Theoretical Framework

Historically the United States has been described as the
Nations"—the "first self-created people in the history of the world"
1943, p. 115). Yet the romantic notion of America as the internatic
pot has been based on both fact and fiction. While assimilation, inde
mation are not uncommon processes, they have not occurred unequi
processes of assimilation and amalgamation have progressed i
quickly for some racial and ethnic groups than others. While &
processes have occurred, many have questioned the loss of subgre
which often happens with the assimilation of a minority group into tl
culture (McLemore, 1991).

Gordon (1964, 1978) developed a theoretical framework ou
process of assimilation, where he divided assimilation into three rela
pendent but interrelated subprocesses: (1) cultural assimilation, (2
assimilation, and (3) marital assimilation. The first subprocess, cult
lation, is the most general and usually, at least initially, precedes th
temporally. From that point all subprocesses may be underway simi
although the rate at which each type of assimilation occurs depends
in the preceding list. Cultural assimilation is simply the acquisition
nant group's culture. It includes the adoption of such elements as r
toms, language, and traditions. Most groups living within the Unite
achieved an adequate degree of cultural assimilation to at least a
function in this society. However, a group may assimilate cultu

necessarily proceeding through the remaining stages.

The second subprocess, structural assimilation, shows vast differentiation among groups. Structural assimilation is defined as the large scale entrance of the subordinate groups into the cliques, clubs, and institutions of the dominant group, on a primary group level (Gordon, 1978). McLemore (1991) further divides structural assimilation into secondary structural and primary structural assimilation. Secondary structural assimilation refers to nondiscriminatory, though often impersonal sharing. It can be measured by the degree to which the dominant racial group and the subordinate racial group share the same occupational, educational, political, public recreational and neighborhood settings.

Primary structural assimilation captures the more personal and individual aspects of intergroup contact that often follow secondary structural assimilation. It can be measured by the extent of close personal interactions between the dominant racial group and subordinate racial groups in churches, families, neighborhoods and clubs. The third subprocess, marital assimilation, inevitably follows primary structural assimilation (Gordon, 1978).

This study is concerned primarily with the secondary structural assimilation process of residential segregation. From Gordon's perspective, individuals prefer to live near and interact with those who share similar characteristics. As individuals and groups become more similar, or as the differences between them become less meaningful, assimilation is more likely to occur at both the secondary structural and the primary structural level. Gordon identified two important variables that differentiate groups or social aggregates which can impede or facilitate the degree of structural assimilation. These variables are ethnicity and social class. Ethnicity is defined by Gordon as consisting of religion, race and national origin. Of these factors, race is the most readily observable through phenotypical characteristics, and thus its impact on assimilation, in general, and residential segregation, in particular, is most pronounced. In the United States, racial classification is categorical and largely unaffected by structural factors (i.e., social class and geographical proximity).

The second critical factor in Gordon's model is social class. Persons with similar levels of income, education, and occupation tend to have more in common, and these similarities enhance the assimilation process. Studies have consistently shown that social class has always been a major factor contributing to residential segregation for all minority groups, although the relationship between race and social class is extremely complex, and the process by which they impact residential settings is multifaceted (Galster & Hill, 1992). Social class was identified as a relevant factor in early studies of racial residential segregation which were conducted by the Chicago School of human ecology (Park, 1916; Burgess, 1925; Park & Burgess, 1925). From their viewpoint, the community was portrayed as a dynamic adaptive system. Ecological and economic factors operated within the community as organizing agents of impersonal competition (Burgess, 1925). Through these factors the wealthiest individuals obtain the most preferred residential areas, followed by the next most wealthy

community members who obtain the next most preferred areas. The most disadvantaged community members are relegated to the least desirable residential areas (Duncan & Duncan, 1955; Farley, 1977; Massey & Denton, 1985; Massey & Eggers, 1993; Simkus, 1978).

In addition to race and social class, numerous other variables are likely to impact residential decisions. A critical aspect of Gordon's assimilation perspective is that he believes that spatial and structural factors can increase or decrease cultural diversity both within and across racial and social class lines. Consequently, these factors may have important implications for residential segregation. Spatial variables include different regions of the country and rural compared to urban or suburban communities. Since this study was limited to one region of the country, the type of community was utilized as the lone spatial factor. Gordon argued that as a result of developments in rapid transportation, increasing mechanization and mass communication that the cultural diversity between groups in different parts of the nation and in different types of communities has narrowed. Consequently, he maintained that the impact of spatial factors on assimilation processes has been reduced. With spatial factors having less impact, differences in ethnicity and social class are more discernible and subsequently more important. As a result, racial groups will become more aware of social class similarities and differences, and these similarities and differences will take on increased importance for assimilation processes.

The structural variables include those factors that represent the arrangement and pattern of the community that may have implications for residential segregation. Structural variables to be explored in this analysis include the percent of the population that is minority, the year that the community was incorporated, and the total population of the community.

Thus, in utilizing Gordon's assimilation perspective to understand racial residential segregation, it would be expected that social class factors would have a strong relationship with racial residential segregation, and this relationship is likely increasing with time. The spatial and structural factors are also expected to have an important effect and these effects need to be statistically controlled to make the social class analysis meaningful. For this paper, social class will be operationalized as the income differential between the various racial groups in each city. It is expected that in cities where the gap in social class between Anglos and minority groups is greater, the degree of residential segregation between these groups will also be greater.

Previous research provides insights about the expected relationships between the spatial and structural variables and residential segregation. Although little systematic research has been conducted on the relationship between type of community and residential segregation, empirical evidence suggests that patterns of segregation are more extensive in nonmetropolitan communities than in metropolitan areas (Hwang & Murdock, 1983; Murdock et al., 1994), and that within metropolitan areas, dissimilarity measures are consistently lower for suburban communities than for central cities. However, as the

number of Black residents in the suburbs increases, it appears that they congregate in what quickly becomes a Black suburb. Thus the central city segregation is often reproduced in the suburbs (Massey & Denton, 1988b). Consequently, in this paper, it is predicted that the extent of segregation will be greater in nonmetropolitan communities than in metropolitan communities. Further, metropolitan suburbs are expected to have lower rates of residential segregation than central cities. Based on Gordon's contention that spatial factors are becoming less relevant in assimilation processes, this relationship should be weak and/or declining.

Relative to the structural variables, researchers have consistently found higher levels of segregation where minority populations are larger. For instance, Massey and Denton (1987) reported that the spatial segregation between Blacks and Anglos was especially high in metropolitan areas with high Black concentrations. This type of segregation is usually further exacerbated by a rapid influx of a racial minority population (Massey & Denton, 1987). Thus, in areas where the proportion of the minority population is greater, the extent of residential segregation is expected to be greater.

Two other variables that researchers have found to be important in residential segregation processes include the size of the city and the age of the city. Typically researchers have found that segregation levels increase as population size increases (Hwang & Murdock, 1988). It has been suggested that one reason for this is that in larger cities, it is more likely that there are sufficient numbers of minority members to establish and inhabit ethnic enclaves. Further, central cities tend to be more segregated than suburbs, as discussed earlier, and they also have larger average populations. Regarding the age of the city, older cities have generally been found to be more segregated than more recently developed cities because of the physical structures and established boundaries that were built during eras when segregation was more normative and more consistent with public policy (Gordon, 1978; Massey & Denton, 1988a). Recently, Farley and Frey (1994) found segregation scores were lowest in young southern and western cities. Thus, for this study, it is hypothesized that residential segregation will be more extensive in larger and older cities.

In sum, this study will explore the degree of residential segregation between three racial groups that include Anglos (non-Hispanic Whites), Hispanics, and Blacks, and the following hypotheses will be empirically tested:

H1) The level of residential segregation from Anglos will be greater for Blacks than for Hispanics.

H2) In cities where social class differentials between Anglos and minorities are greater, the level of residential segregation will also be greater.

H3) The strength of the relationship between social class and racial residential segregation will increase over time.

H4) Residential segregation levels will be greatest in nonmetropolitan communities, will be least in suburban communities, and will be intermediate in metropolitan central cities.

H5) As the proportion of the population of a city that is minority increases, the level of residential segregation will also increase.

H6) As the age of a city increases, the level of residential segregation will also increase.

H7) As the population size of a city increases, the level of residential segregation will also increase.

METHODS

The analysis is based on city-level data from the 1980 and 1990 Censuses of Population and Housing. The analysis utilizes data from cities in the four southwestern states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. To be included in the analysis, the city had to meet the criteria of having a population of 1,000 or more and having at least 100 residents from the three racial groups of nonhispanic White (Anglo), Hispanic, and Black in 1990. These limitations were imposed because it was assumed that for residential segregation to occur, some minimal numbers of both total population and the different racial groups were required. A total of 797 cities met these criteria and were included in the analysis.

Measurement of Variables

The dependent variable for this analysis was the level of racial residential segregation. Racial residential segregation levels in each city were determined by computing indexes of dissimilarity. The computation of this index considered the racial composition of each census tract making up a city, and compared it with the racial makeup of the city as a whole. The possible range of scores for the index of dissimilarity was from 0 to 100. The interpretation of the dissimilarity index was the percent of the population that would have to change residences for each neighborhood to have the same racial makeup as the overall city. Thus, a higher index was interpreted as meaning a more segregated community. For each city, three racial residential dissimilarity indexes were computed, showing the degree of residential segregation between each of the three major racial groups. Indexes were computed for the degree of Anglo/Hispanic segregation, Anglo/Black segregation, and Black/Hispanic segregation.

Several independent variables were utilized in this study. The primary independent variable was the degree of income differential between the various racial groups in each city, which was our measure of social class. These measures were developed by determining the proportion of the households for each racial group that are in various income categories, and then computing dissimilarity indexes as suggested by Marshall and Jiobu (1975). Possible ranges on

this variable were from 0 to 1, with a higher score indicating greater differences in the incomes of households from the different racial groups. Generally, for cities in this study, differences were greatest between Anglos and Blacks in comparison to other racial combinations, and income differential scores decreased slightly between 1980 and 1990.

A second independent variable was the type of city, where three categories were utilized: the central cities of metropolitan areas, suburban cities of metropolitan areas, and nonmetropolitan cities. Overall, the analysis included 329 central cities, 274 suburban cities, and 194 nonmetropolitan cities. In the regression models, dummy variables were utilized. The first dummy variable compared suburban cities with those that are not suburban, while the second compared nonmetropolitan communities with the two categories of metropolitan communities.

Other independent variables utilized in this study included the proportion of each city comprised of each racial group. For the cities utilized in the analysis, the percent Black ranged from less than 1 percent to 88 percent, with a mean score of 9 percent. The percent Hispanic ranged from 1 percent to 96 percent, with a mean score of 23 percent.

Another independent variable was the year that the city was incorporated, which ranged from 1850 to 1980. About one-half of the cities have been incorporated since 1950. The final independent variable in the analysis was the total population of the city. To avoid problems of heteroskedasticity, the log of this variable is utilized during the regression analysis.

FINDINGS

Data in Table 1 show the mean racial residential dissimilarity indexes for the three racial combinations for both 1980 and 1990. The Scheffe test was used to determine significant differences. This table makes it apparent that neither Hispanics nor Blacks had been completely structurally assimilated into the dominant Anglo culture. As predicted by the first hypothesis, Anglo/Black segregation was significantly greater than Anglo/Hispanic segregation for both 1980 and 1990. In 1980, the mean dissimilarity index was 26.9 for Anglo/Hispanics, 45.1 for Anglo/Blacks, and 38.4 for Black/Hispanics. Table 1 also shows that for all three racial combinations, the extent of residential segregation decreased between 1980 and 1990. By 1990, the mean dissimilarity indexes were 26.2 for Anglo/Hispanics, 39.5 for Anglo/Blacks, and 32.9 for Black/Hispanics.

Table 2 provides the result of the regression analyses. Regression models were run with the residential dissimilarity indexes as the dependent variables and income differentials, type of community, percent Black, percent Hispanic, year incorporated, and total population as the independent variables. Models were run for both 1980 and 1990 for each racial combination. The results of the regression analysis show the relationships between each of the independent

Table 1. The Mean Racial Residential Dissimilarity Index for Three Racial Combinations
in Cities in the Southwest in 1980 and 1990
(N=797)

Racial Residential Dissimilarity Index*	Anglo/Hispanic	Anglo/Black	Black/Hispanic
Mean			
1980	26.9	45.1	38.4
1990	26.2	39.5	32.9
Range			
1980	5–66	5–98	6–92
1990	5–63	5–92	5–86

*ANOVA with Scheffe Test shows that the mean Anglo/Hispanic dissimilarity index is significantly lower than the Anglo/Black or Black/Hispanic indexes.

variables and the dependent variable. An overview of the regression models shows that most of the variables were significantly related to the degree of residential segregation, and the relationships were in the direction predicted by the hypotheses. The independent variables were able to explain the greatest amount of variation in Anglo/Hispanic segregation (45 percent in 1980, and 46 percent in 1990), followed by Anglo/Black segregation (28 percent in 1980 and 37 percent in 1990), and were able to explain the least amount of variation in Black/Hispanic segregation (17 percent in 1980 and 23 percent in 1990). The regression models were able to explain a greater amount of variation in 1990 than in 1980.

The second and third hypotheses concerned the relationship between the social class composition of the city and the extent of residential segregation. As expected, in communities where the differences in the income levels of the various racial groups were greater, the extent of racial segregation was also greater. This relationship held for each racial combination and for both years of the study, thus providing support for the second hypothesis. Of special significance, for both Anglo/Black and Black/Hispanic segregation, the relationship between income differentials and segregation was substantially stronger in 1990 than in 1980. For Anglo/Black segregation, the beta coefficient increased from .15 in 1980 to .24 in 1990, while for Black/Hispanic segregation, the beta coefficient increased from .13 in 1980 to .26 for 1990. This finding substantiated the third hypothesis and the expectation, based on Gordon's assimilation model, that social class variables will become increasingly important in determining assimilation processes.

The next independent variables in Table 2 were the dummy variables for type of community. Generally, the relationship between these variables and residential segregation were quite weak and often statistically insignificant. The relationships that were significant indicated that, as expected, segregation levels were greater in nonmetropolitan communities than in metropolitan communities regardless of whether the metropolitan community was suburban or central

Table 2. Regression Analysis Showing the Unstandardized Regression Coefficients, Standardized Regression Coefficients (in parentheses), F-Value and R-Square (N=797)

Independent Variables	Anglo/Hispanic				Anglo/Black				Black/Hispanic			
	1980		1990		1980		1990		1980		1990	
Intercept	175.21*	(.00)	190.81*	(.00)	371.51*	(.00)	339.32*	(.00)	281.04*	(.00)	247.53*	(.00)
Income Differential	33.71*	(.30)	33.83*	(.28)	16.35*	(.15)	27.30*	(.24)	11.29*	(.13)	23.45*	(.26)
Type of Community (Dummy)												
Suburban	1.08	(.04)	1.67*	(.07)	-1.10	(-.03)	-0.80	(-.02)	-2.73*	(-.08)	-1.64	(-.06)
Nonmetropolitan	5.67*	(.19)	6.48*	(.23)	10.11*	(.22)	8.53*	(.22)	3.04	(.08)	2.35	(.07)
Percent Black	15.72*	(.14)	14.63*	(.13)	38.21*	(.22)	38.82*	(.26)	20.82*	(.14)	24.62*	(.19)
Percent Hispanic	30.02*	(.42)	24.12*	(.40)	7.85*	(.07)	7.69*	(.09)	6.60	(.07)	8.39*	(.12)
Year Incorporated	-0.10*	(-.25)	-0.11*	(-.29)	-0.18*	(-.30)	-0.17*	(-.33)	-0.14*	(-.27)	-0.13*	(-.29)
Total Population (log)	3.05*	(.28)	3.66*	(.37)	1.11	(.07)	1.46*	(.11)	2.07*	(.15)	2.07*	(.18)
F-Value	77.42*		91.60*		36.82*		61.40*		19.55*		35.45*	
R-Square	.45		.46		.28		.37		.17		.23	

*Statistically significant at the .05 level

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city. In Table 3, additional data show the mean residential dissimilarity indexes for the three types of cities for the three racial groups for both 1980 and 1990. This table shows that, as predicted by the fourth hypothesis, segregation levels were greater in nonmetropolitan communities than in either suburban cities or central cities. That these relationships were not especially strong supports Gordon's contention that spatial factors will be less critical as improved communication and transportation reduce cultural differences from community to community.

Regression results also indicated that as the proportion of the population that is minority increased, the extent of segregation also increased. This finding provides support for the fifth hypothesis. Not surprisingly, the proportion of the population that was Black was most strongly related to the extent of Anglo/Black residential segregation, while the proportion of the population that was Hispanic was most strongly related to the extent of Anglo/Hispanic population. For both 1980 and 1990, the percent Hispanic was the strongest variable in explaining Anglo/Hispanic segregation. In 1980, the beta coefficient for this variable was .42, while it was .40 for 1990.

The regression analysis found a strong and consistent relationship between the year that the city was incorporated and the amount of racial residential segregation. As predicted by the sixth hypothesis, segregation scores were lower in more recently developed cities. To show the power of this variable, for both Anglo/Black and Black/Hispanic segregation, the year that the city was incorporated was the most important independent variable for understanding the variations in the dependent variable. Finally, it was found that there was a consistent, positive relationship between the total population in the city and the residential segregation score. That segregation was more extensive in larger cities is in agreement with the seventh hypothesis.

Table 3. The Mean Racial Residential Dissimilarity Index for Three Racial Groups for Central Cities, Suburban Cities, and Nonmetropolitan Cities in 1980 and 1990 (N=797)

Type of City	Mean Racial Residential Dissimilarity		
	Anglo/Hispanic	Anglo/Black	Black/Hispanic
Central city			
1980	26.4	43.4	39.3
1990	25.8	37.6	33.3
Suburban city			
1980	24.0	39.5	34.5
1990	23.7	34.8	29.6
Nonmetropolitan city			
1980	31.9	55.9	42.3
1990	30.4	49.3	37.0

*An ANOVA with Scheffe Test reveals that for all three racial combinations, the dissimilarity index for both suburban cities and central cities is significantly lower than for nonmetropolitan cities.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has explored the degree of secondary structural assimilation as determined by the degree of racial residential segregation for various racial combinations living in communities in the Southwest. It is immediately apparent that neither Hispanics nor Blacks have been completely structurally assimilated into the dominant Anglo culture. This is especially true for Black Americans, as the extent of residential segregation from Anglos is much higher for this group than for Hispanics. It is also apparent that levels of residential segregation vary extensively from one community to another. Levels of residential segregation did decline slightly between 1980 and 1990 in the communities studied in this analysis.

The results of this analysis provide support for the theoretical framework that was derived from an assimilation model developed by Milton Gordon (1964, 1978). It appears that these factors related to greater assimilation can also lead to reduced residential segregation. Gordon predicted that social class would have a significant effect on the extent of residential segregation for all ethnic groups. This contention was supported by the data. Perhaps more importantly, Gordon predicted that over time, social class factors would become more apparent and important in assimilation processes as spatial and regional factors became less important. This analysis provided support for this contention, as the relationship between social class and racial residential segregation was substantially stronger in 1990 than in 1980. To extend this finding, it would be expected that in years to come, the role of social class in assimilation processes in general, and residential decisions in particular, will become increasingly important.

The relationship between the extent of residential segregation and the other variables used in the analysis was as expected and consistent with previous research. That is, residential segregation levels were most extensive in non-metropolitan communities, in communities with larger minority populations, in older cities and in larger cities.

The implications of this research for community development specialists are extensive. Racial division remains a major drawback to community development efforts, and residential segregation is a major source of racial division. It could be argued that our nation will never be totally color blind as long as residential segregation persists. With this in mind, the reduction of residential segregation should be a prominent goal of community development efforts. Obviously, the reduction of residential segregation is a complex endeavor, and it is a problem that is not going to disappear overnight. However, research reported here clearly shows that racial residential segregation was most extensive in communities where social class differences between the races were most extensive. Consequently, successful community development efforts that improve the socioeconomic standing of minority residents and thus reduce the gap between majority and minority residents, will likely lead to reduced residential segregation and subsequently to the removal of some community development barriers.

This leads to the critical question of how to improve socioeconomic conditions for minority members. Some of the more popularized explanations for the poverty and economic problems of minority populations have focused on a range of individual and cultural deficiencies. This cultural deficiency model (Baca Zinn, 1989) has assumed that the poor are characterized by a value system of low aspirations and low motivation to work, and thus the key is to change these aspirations and motivations. An alternative view, more firmly rooted in social science theory and research, focuses on structural factors, such as continued discrimination and industrial restructuring, as the major sources of poverty (Albrecht & Albrecht, 1996; Shulman, 1990; Wilson, 1987).

Structural causes of economic problems largely require structure solutions. Community development efforts emphasizing structural solutions would include the expansion and improvement of existing industries and the attraction of new industries. In extensively segregated communities, however, such efforts may not greatly benefit minority members. Thus, community development efforts focused directly at minority members may be essential. Horton (1992), for example, convincingly argues the need for Black community development efforts that would include economically autonomous Black institutions and inclusive leadership. Horton further points out that the community development literature has largely ignored racial issues in general, and specifically the development of minority communities. We concur, and strongly encourage research effects on the relationship between segregation and development, and how to improve development efforts in minority communities. This task is somewhat overwhelming, but community development efforts that do not extend to all segments of the community are destined to have, at best, limited success.

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RETIREMENT MIGRATION DECISION MAKING: LIFE COURSE MOBILITY, SEQUENCING OF EVENTS, SOCIAL TIES AND ALTERNATIVES

By William H. Haas III and William J. Serow

ABSTRACT

Post-retirement migration behavior and the decision-making process which underlies this behavior continue to attract scholarly interest. Based on a small self-selected sample of recent retiree migrants to Western North Carolina, this paper provides initial answers to the following questions:

1. Do retirement migrants exhibit high mobility throughout their life course?
2. How are events in the retirement migration process sequenced and what is the timing between events?
3. What, if any, pre-existing social ties did migrants have to the host community?
4. To what degree were alternative retirement destinations considered?

Approximately half (45 percent) of the respondents reported a remote daydreaming period before they started to make serious plans for their move in retirement. Comparisons of the timing of planning, retirement and move indicate much of the formal planning for the move may occur after retirement. Retirement is not simultaneous with the migration event; rather on average two years passes between retirement and the move. Two thirds of the sample had pre-existing social ties. Hence the majority of the migrants were not strangers making a "cold call" to the area. Friends in the locale were the most prevalent tie, accounting for one third of all pre-existing ties. Return migration to the native area or to a previous residence together account for more than a quarter of the ties; children or other family living in the area account for slightly less than a quarter. Prior vacation experiences account for only 14 percent of the unique ties to the region. The paper concludes with the implications of these results for those communities which have embarked on a strategy of recruiting retirement-aged migrants.

INTRODUCTION

Research on the etiology of later life migration started four decades ago with Manley's (1954) pioneering work, followed a decade later by Lenzer (1965) and

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Goldscheider (1966). Another decade or so passed before great interest in the topic arose upon the release of microdata files from the 1980 census. Since that time a regular series of papers considering a delimited number of topics may be found in the literature.

Push and pull factors involved in retirement migration have been given considerable attention (see, most recently, Haas & Serow, 1993). Additionally, a taxonomy of elderly migration has been developed (Wiseman & Roseman, 1979) and life course has been used as a framework for migration studies (Yee & Van Arsdol, 1977; Graves, 1979; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979; Oldakowski & Roseman, 1986; Litwak & Longino, 1987). Finally, some progress has been made toward a model of migration in later life (Wiseman, 1980; Haas & Serow, 1993). Despite this long history and the diligence of a number of scholars, a number of interesting issues still need fuller consideration.

1. Do retirement migrants exhibit high mobility throughout their life course?

The level of socioeconomic status (i.e., education, occupation and income) of migrants reported in previous studies may lead to the reasonable expectation that these individuals have migrated a number of times throughout their adult life. The tendency of some individuals to move frequently was noted as early as Ravenstein (1885; 1889). Because the customary sources of migration data—censuses, in particular—do not ask about migration history, much of our knowledge on this relationship comes from analyses of population registers (Goldstein, 1964), one-time additions to regular surveys (Taeuber et al., 1968) or regular longitudinal surveys such as the Panel Survey of Income Dynamics (Morrison & DaVanzo, 1986). Other special purpose surveys which deal especially with retirement migration, such as the Cape Cod Retirement Migration Study (Cuba, 1989; 1991; Cuba & Longino, 1991), have also incorporated lifetime mobility measures.

Educational opportunities and career development would have required changes in residence. Such migration, in turn, may predispose them to make a retirement move, as they may have relatively few deep roots in a community. Additionally, if migration is common, it may not be perceived as being particularly difficult. Perhaps to a lesser degree occupational travel also can condition individuals to a retirement move. Encounters with different people and places, through travel, can open up new horizons for later life relocations. Hence life course migration and travel need to be assessed among retirement migrants.

2. How are events in the retirement migration process sequenced? a. How long before the move did migrants consider and then make serious plans about migration? b. What is the timing and sequencing of retirement and then migration to the new community?

Questions on the timing and sequencing of migration among pre-retirees are very important in determining which age groups should be the focal point for promotions of a community as a potential retirement destination. Retirement migration involves at least two decisions: *whether* to move, and, if so, *where?* From the community's perspective, the amount of time that passes between the

first and second decisions can be critical. If the decision is made to move, then the potential migrant becomes a prospective migrant. To this prospective migrant, the choice of community becomes the crucial element and information about alternative destinations now is of great relevance. It is at this stage in the process when those communities who wish to attract retirees must act.

Only Haas and Serow (1993) have reported some initial findings on the sequencing and timing of planning, retirement, and the actual move. More attention needs to be given to this aspect of retirement migration decision making.

3. What pre-existing social ties did migrants have to their new community? Do these pre-existing ties serve as a pull factor attracting migrants to the host community or as an information source about the new area?

This question has been discussed in the literature, although research in this area is still developing. Families' influence on later life moves has been discussed (Gober & Zonn, 1983; Bultena & Marshall, 1970). Place of birth is a pull factor for a minority of elderly migrants (Rogers, 1990; Rogers & Belanger, 1990; Serow & Charity, 1988; Longino, 1979; Serow, 1978). Finally, a number of researchers have noted that many individuals often vacation repeatedly at sites which eventually become their retirement destinations (Cuba, 1989; Cribier, 1982; Yeatts et al., 1987; Karn, 1977). Yet no comprehensive inventory of migrants' previous ties to the community has been conducted. Six different social ties are investigated in this study.

4. To what degree are alternative retirement destinations considered?

About half of previously reported retirement migrants considered only one location (Cuba & Longino 1991; Karn, 1977; Law & Warnes, 1982). Cuba (1991) notes that individuals often vacation repeatedly at sites which eventually become their retirement destinations (Cuba, 1989; Cribier, 1982; Yeatts et al., 1987; Karn, 1977). In addition, destination selectors (i.e., those who choose between alternative locations) have very few alternative sites in mind (Gober & Zonn, 1983). Such a restricted search may indicate there is no real comparison of place utilities, rather just predetermined utilities and a search for a site fitting those parameters (Roseman, 1983). Haas and Serow (1993) suggest that regional migrants may follow the destination specific vacation site migration trajectory, while national migrants are more likely to be destination selectors. The degree to which alternative sites are considered seriously will shed additional light on the degree to which migrants consider alternative sites.

The answers to four questions should be of considerable interest to those communities which have decided to embark on a course of attracting retirees as part of their overall economic development strategy. We will deal here with issues which indicate not only who among pre-retirees are likely to relocate upon retirement, but also when in the pre-retirement phase decisions about the move are made and the role which individuals' ties to specific places and the characteristics of places themselves play in the decision-making process.

METHODS

In July 1992 a pilot study was conducted in order to pretest a survey instrument. Telephone interviews were conducted with ninety-nine older adults who had moved to Asheville, North Carolina, in later life. Respondents were obtained by mailing post cards to the mailing list of the North Carolina Center for Creative Retirement's College for Seniors. Interviewees were drawn from those who responded to the mailed inquiry.

The telephone interview took approximately one half hour to complete. Besides the basic social, demographic and economic characteristics, the interview schedule inquired into planning for the retirement move, push and pull factors involved in the migration decision, alternative retirement migration locations considered, ties to western North Carolina via past vacationing or family, and the timing of key events such as planning, retirement and the actual move. Although nonrandom in nature, the sample is not especially unusual in basic demographic characteristics of retirement migrants (Table 1).

Previous Residence

Most respondents (80 percent) had moved to western North Carolina from outside the southeast and seven had returned to the United States for this move. The northeast was the origin of a plurality of respondents, with New York being the modal state (n=20). The industrial midwest (Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin) was the second largest origin region. Intraregional migrants included seven moving from elsewhere in North Carolina, four from contiguous states and eight from the rest of the south.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Description of the Sample, North Carolina Retirees

Sex:		
	Male	38%
	Female	62%
Race:		
	White	100%
Age:		
	Mean and median	69 years
	Range	53-85 years
Educational Attainment:		
	High school	6%
	Some college	12%
	College degree	41%
	Graduate degree	41%
Marital Status:		
	Married	72%
	Widowed	
	Before relocation	7%
	After relocation	7%
	Divorced	8%
	Single	6%

N = 99 respondents

Push Factors

The relative importance of nine specific push factors which may have motivated respondents to leave their previous communities are displayed in Table 2. Climate was the most salient of the push factors, followed by problems of urban environments (e.g., crime, congestion, pollution) and some financial issues (property tax rates and cost of living). To a lesser degree other financial issues (income and sales tax rates), availability of medical services and leisure activity, and absence of family at the place of origin served as push factors.

Pull Factors

The fifteen factors which to greater or lesser degree were important in attracting migrants to western North Carolina are listed in Table 3. Environmental factors such as climate (i.e., four mild seasons) and scenic beauty are the most important of these pull factors. More than ninety percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that these were important considerations. These factors were followed in importance by the availability of cultural and recreational opportunities (important to eighty percent). Proximity to medical care and learning

Table 2. Influence of Push Factors in North Carolina Retires' Decisions to Move

Question: Here is a list of reasons others have indicated prompted them to consider moving AWAY from their communities when they retired. Were these reasons important in your decision to move AWAY from your home upon retirement?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean	Median
Previous climate was not to your liking	50.6	27.5	3.3	4.4	14.3	2.0	1
Problems of urban areas such as crime, congestion, pollution	24.2	16.5	1.1	7.7	50.5	3.4	5
Property tax rate	19.1	14.6	3.4	15.7	47.2	3.6	4
State income tax rate	8.0	9.2	5.7	16.1	60.9	4.1	5
Sales tax rate	9.1	2.3	5.7	15.9	67.0	4.3	5
Cost of living	20.0	15.6	10.0	15.6	38.9	3.4	4
Few or no family members residing in the area	26.1	9.1	2.3	6.8	55.7	3.6	5
Lack of medical facilities in the area	4.4	4.4	1.1	6.7	83.3	4.6	5
Lack of leisure and recreation activities in area	5.6	14.4	0.0	10.0	70.0	4.2	5

N = 99 respondents.

Table 3. Influence of Pull Factors in North Carolina Retirees' Decisions to Move

Question: Were the following factors important in ATTRACTING you to Western North Carolina?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean	Median
Business or employment opportunities	3.1	2.1	0.0	4.2	90.6	4.8	5
Climate — warm year around	58.9	22.1	8.4	3.2	7.4	1.8	1
Climate — four mild seasons	76.0	18.8	0.0	2.1	3.1	1.4	1
Cost of living	20.8	33.3	10.4	11.5	24.0	2.8	2
Cultural amenities	57.7	21.6	9.3	1.0	10.3	1.9	1
Closer to your family	6.3	6.3	5.3	9.5	72.6	4.4	5
Housing costs	27.4	23.2	10.5	7.4	31.6	2.9	2
Later life learning opportunities	41.5	18.1	12.8	2.1	25.5	2.5	2
Medical care	41.2	25.8	6.2	4.1	22.7	2.4	2
Planned retirement communities	14.4	11.3	3.1	8.2	62.9	3.9	5
Recreational opportunities	44.3	35.1	4.1	2.1	14.4	2.1	2
Return to native area	12.4	4.1	3.1	0.0	80.4	4.3	5
Scenic beauty	86.6	10.3	0.0	0.0	3.1	1.2	1
Modest tax rate	10.9	16.5	13.2	7.7	41.8	3.3	3

N = 99 respondents.

opportunities were ranked as important by two thirds. Financial issues—modest housing and other living costs—made up the next tier of reasons. As with push factors, family concerns were not of great importance in this population.

RESULTS

Life Course Mobility

These data do not allow for a comparison with non movers. Still this group was mobile before retirement relocation.[1] The average respondent had lived in

[1] Number of Different States or Countries of Residence

	Mean	Median	Range	Only One
Communities as child	2.4	1	1 - 25	59%
Communities as child (for spouse)	2.1	1	1 - 10	47%
Communities as adult	7.5	2.5	1 - 40	10%

two or three different places during childhood and a **mean** of more than seven as an adult. The mean was highly affected by a few "chronic movers" (with as many as forty adult places of residence). Still the **median** exceeded two, and only one tenth lived their entire adult lives in one community. Similarly, 40 to 45 percent of respondents reported at least occasional travel as part of their own or their spouse's occupations. This degree of lifetime mobility was somewhat greater than that reported in the Cape Cod Retirement Migration Study, where the mean and median number of previous residences were 2.8 and 2.0, respectively (Cuba & Longino, 1991, p. S35).

Sequencing of Events in the Retirement Migration Processes

There was some disagreement within the sample as to which partner in a couple initiated thinking about the retirement migration process. Male respondents either shared the credit with their spouses or took full credit for this initial consideration, although more than a fifth of female respondents considered themselves as the partner who first thought about a move. No matter which partner considered the move first, both sexes overwhelmingly agreed that their spouse immediately concurred with the idea of moving in retirement.

Nearly half (45 percent) of those interviewed reported they had daydreamed about a move in retirement. These informal or fanciful thoughts typically began to occur about seven years before the move.[2] The desire for an improved physical and social climate were the most prevalent reasons which prompted people to start this remote or daydreaming stage. The difference between the beginning of daydreams and actual retirement averaged between four and five years.

When asked, "How many years before you retired did you start to make formal plans to move in retirement?" the average response was 2.4 years. The formal planning process or near stage was differentiated from daydreaming by engaging in such active steps as visiting areas (53 percent), making plans to purchase housing (26 percent), reading about locales (8 percent), making a list of important characteristics of a retirement location (3 percent) and writing to different locales (3 percent).

Retirement migration includes two elements: withdrawal from the labor force and relocation. Most respondents took the traditional sequence: retirement and then a change of permanent residence. Yet, the responses illustrated variations to the traditional sequence.

Retirement of respondent and (when applicable) spouse before the move to western North Carolina occurred in seventy of ninety-nine cases. The average time between retirement and the move was two years. Where an intact couple was the unit of observation the household's time of retirement was based on the

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[2] Timing of Retirement Migration Events

	Daydreams	Formal Plans	Retirement	
Mean Years	6.9	4.4	2.0	Migration Event

last individual in the work force. Thirty six couples reported both spouses had worked; among these, males were the last to retire in sixteen cases, females in fourteen cases, and in six cases the couple retired in the same year. The average time between the spouse's retirement and migration was 4.5 years. A sizable minority (30 percent) of the households reported an individual working after their retirement move to western North Carolina. Most frequently only one of the spouses worked (twenty-three males) yet in two cases both spouses worked. Nineteen respondents gave reasons for remaining in the labor force. Occupying time was the most prevalent (13) reason. In three cases the husband was transferred to the area before retirement and in another three cases respondents replied they needed the income.

Migration for most respondents (78 percent) took the form of leaving the locale in which they last worked. A small group of retirees (17 percent) had made a second move in retirement. Motivation for the second move arose mostly from problems with previous locations (8) or loss of a spouse (5).

Pre-Existing Social Ties to the Host Community

It is reasonable to argue that previous or existing social connections to a region will cause the region to be considered as a retirement relocation site. Six social ties to the area are often considered. These ties include being a native, previous residence, children, other family, friends, as well as frequent visits. Such connections make potential migrants cognizant of regional amenities; some of these social ties may hold an emotional value, which, like amenities, can act as a pull factor.

Analysis will proceed considering the number of singular or unique social ties to the region. Singular ties indicate individuals with at least one previous substantial contact with the region. Multiple ties may also exist. Examples of multiple or compounding ties would be natives or those with a previous residence who may have left family or friends behind and who may have returned to visit these individuals. The following data are based on the ninety-nine valid responses to questions on social connections.

Native North Carolinians comprised a small minority of the sample: four respondents were native to the region and an additional four were married to natives. Three of the respondents with native spouses had previously lived in the region. These native spouses were not the product of marriages after the retirement move.

Previous residents (non native) made up a slightly larger proportion of the respondents: eleven had lived in the region in the past. Three other individuals had lived elsewhere in the state. Additionally, forty-one respondents had lived in states contiguous to western North Carolina at some time in their lives.

Children can be a powerful pull factor in migration. Prior to their migration, nineteen respondents had children who resided in western North Carolina. Eleven of these retiree households had not previously resided in the area; hence their children were their unique connection to the area. Those with children in

the area expressed greater agreement for the salience of family as a push (66.7 percent) and pull factor (73.7 percent) compared to the overall sample responses on push (35.2 percent) or pull factors (12.6 percent).[3]

Relatives (other than offspring) may not be as powerful a connection to the region as children, yet they can still represent an important emotional bond and source of social support in later life. Fifteen of those interviewed had relatives living in western North Carolina before they made their retirement move. In only five cases did relatives provide the unique tie to western North Carolina. Data from the push and pull factors indicated the salience of other family members as a social tie, although this tie was not as strong as that of children.[4]

Friendship may not provide the depth of emotional bonds offered by children and other relatives. However, friends may be a valuable source of information about the desirable amenities in a region. Thirty-eight people reported that before they retired to the area, they had good friends who lived in the region. Twenty-two of those with good friends in western North Carolina had neither family living in the region nor previous community residency. Friends were a prevalent social tie to the area. Yet, friends appear to have been less of a pull factor than were children or other family members.[5]

Vacationing patterns provide another link to a potential retirement migration site. Eight individuals had vacationed often in the region, but seven of these had ties to the region by previous residency and/or family members residing in the area. An additional twenty three respondents replied they had sometimes been in the area on holiday, only eight of whom had no previous connections to western North Carolina.

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[3] Respondents with children in the area:
Family are an important reason:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Percent Agreement
To leave previous residence (n=18)	7	5	66.7
Attracting respondent to area (n=19)	10	4	73.7

[4] Respondents with family members other than children in the area:
Family are an important reason:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Percent Agreement
To leave previous residence (n=8)	1	2	37.5
Attracting respondent to area (n=11)	5	1	54.5
	Very	Somewhat	
Relatives influential in decision to move to area (n=12)	7	5	

[5] Friends are an important reason:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Percent Agreement
Attracting respondent to area (n=37)	5	4	24.3
	Very	Somewhat	
Friends influential in decision to move to area (n=38)	5	17	

In summary, sixty-six of ninety-nine respondents had previous social ties to the region. The previous ties were:

8 North Carolina natives (respondent or spouse)
11 non natives previously lived in western North Carolina
11 children migrated first—no previous residency
5 relatives migrated first—no previous residency
22 good friends—no family or previous residency
9 vacationed often (1) or sometimes (8) in WNC-no previous connections with WNC

Alternative Destinations

Table 4 indicates that fully two thirds considered locations outside of North Carolina. On the average approximately two different sites outside of North Carolina were considered. Relatively remote and diverse sites (e.g., in California, Florida, Arizona, and Texas) were as prevalent as sites in contiguous states. Interestingly, only two fifths of those who considered alternatives outside of North Carolina reported serious consideration of them. Only a quarter of the sample thus may have been truly destination seeking. This lends support to

Table 4. Alternative Retirement Locations, North Carolina Retirees

Considered alternatives outside of North Carolina	66%
Mean number of alternatives outside of North Carolina	1.9
Mean number of communities in alternative sites	
First alternative site (n=66)	1.8
Second alternative site (n=37)	1.9
Third alternative site (n=14)	2.0
National alternative sites	
California	11.2%
Florida	8.8%
Arizona	7.2%
Texas	1.6%
Regional alternatives sites	
South Carolina	11.2%
Virginia	8.8%
Tennessee	4.0%
Georgia	4.0%
Seriousness of consideration of alternatives outside of North Carolina (n=66)	
Very serious	19.4%
Somewhat serious	19.4%
Not at all serious	61.2%
Considered alternative regions in North Carolina	31.6%
Mean number of communities	1.8
Mean number of communities considered in western North Carolina	1.8

N = 99 respondents.

Cuba's (1991) thesis that most migrants have only one destination in mind and the only decision is whether or not to migrate. Another aspect of Cuba's argument was not supported, however. Repeated vacationing was the least prevalent of the singular ties to the region. This may well be because the majority of migrants were not intraregional, as was true in Cuba's study of Cape Cod. Distances to western North Carolina may make summer homes or weekends in the mountains less feasible and not as dominant a tie to the area as true for Cape Cod. Rather, friends, perhaps in the role of informants about the area, along with the pull of previous residence and family, dominated the tie to western North Carolina.

DISCUSSION

This exploratory study is based on a convenience sample. As such, one cannot simply generalize from our findings to other situations. Yet, some of the findings of this pilot study are similar to those from previous research on retirement migration. Married couples dominated these middle to upper-middle class persons (Cuba & Longino, 1991). Push and pull factors reported by these migrants were very similar to reports from previous research (Cuba & Longino, 1991). Migration streams reported also appeared to be fairly traditional.

This study extends the literature in the area by ascertaining lifetime mobility of migrants. It is important to pursue this line of inquiry as it might be assumed frequent travel and previous migration are predisposing factors towards migration in later life. Those who are well traveled or have often moved in their lives may not find it as disrupting to move later in life. In these circumstances, a retirement move is less likely to break ties to a native area or the so-called home community, nor is it as likely to be a move away from family. While relocation was not the norm for the respondents or their spouses as children, as adults they had moved more frequently and many experienced occupational travel.

Two lines of further inquiry need to be undertaken in this area. First, it would be informative to compare the lifetime mobility experience of a matched group of retirees who did not make a move in later life. What characteristics of individuals make them more or less prone to retirement migration? A second line of investigation would be to investigate migrants' feelings about lifetime mobility and its influence on retirement migration. If individuals feel that their own history of previous moves makes them more prone to a retirement move and if those with little or no previous mobility indicate a strong preference to remain in place, then the identification of prospective migrants becomes that much simpler for the community seeking new residents.

A second facet of retirement migration this study begins to explore is the timing and sequencing of events. Nearly half (45 percent) the respondents reported they had daydreamed about a retirement move on the average of seven years before the move. Such fanciful thought occurred almost four and one half years before respondents report taking steps toward serious consideration of retire-

ment locations. This is the first true empirical referent to what had previously been suggested as remote thoughts about retirement relocation (Haas & Serow, 1993). Research needs to be undertaken on the implications of the types of retirement relocation consideration (daydreaming then formal plans *vs.* only formal planning) and the length of time given to each. These variables may influence satisfaction with overall migration and/or with site location and the distance of the move (national *vs.* regional).

The timing between retirement and relocation offered an interesting result. Nearly a third of the sample had a household member (usually the husband) who remained employed after the retirement move. Among those who responded, the primary reason for working was to occupy time, rather than a job transfer as had been previously speculated (Haas & Serow, 1993).

Comparisons of the timing of planning, retirement and move indicated much of the formal planning for the move may occur after retirement. Formal plans for the move began two and a half a years before retirement. Yet, retirement was not simultaneous with the migration event; rather on average two years passed between retirement and the move. Retirement then may offer additional time for travel and reflection to consider the move and possible locations.

These issues—migration history and sequencing of events—come together in the discussion of social connections to the host community. While preliminary in nature, this study still offers the most comprehensive inventory of retirees' previous ties to the community. Two thirds of the sample had pre-existing ties. Hence the majority of the migrants were not strangers making a "cold call" to the area. Friends were the most prevalent pre-existing social tie to the community, but instead of a pull factor they may have served more as a source of information about the area. Note among those with children in the area, three fourths agreed family was an important pull factor, and among those with other family members in the area, slightly more than half agreed; yet only a quarter of those with friends in the area replied that the friends were an important pull factor. One explanation for the disparity is that friends were influential as a source of information about the area. Friends were named as a source of information, making the area particularly interesting, by one fifth of those who responded to an open ended question.[6]

Perhaps more than in previous research these migrants were destination selecting, with sixty-six percent of respondents reporting considering states other than North Carolina and multiple locations within these states. Yet, when asked how seriously they considered the alternative locations, slightly less than two fifths indicated that they had given them serious consideration. It might be reasonable to expect ties to the region to serve as powerful pull factors. Hence those with pre-existing social ties would have been less likely to consider other

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[6] The disparity between the reports of friends attracting and being influential (nearly 60 percent) may be an artifact of the placement of the question. The latter was placed immediately after the question inquiring if good friends lived in the area.

locations seriously. Yet the difference in the number of social ties between those who had given serious thought about alternatives and those who had not was minimal (1.15 serious *vs.* 1.23 not serious). Further research is needed on the differential effect of different types and degrees of depth of these ties.

Implications for Recruiting Migrant Retirees

Many communities are recognizing the economic potential arising from the expenditures of retirement migrants (Serow & Haas, 1992; Bennett, 1993). There are now guidebooks (Fagan, 1989; Severinghaus, 1989) and actual programs designed to lay out the steps needed to attract migrant retirees to a community for economic development purposes. Several implications for recruiting retirement migrants also can be gleaned from the literature on the retirement migration decision making process.

The most salient implication for recruiting retirement migrants drawn from the present study is the number and nature of pre-existing social ties to the host community. Marketing a community's attractions to a cold audience may not be as productive as moving through established social networks. As an example, existing retirement migrants might be contacted (e.g., through civic organizations they have joined) and be encouraged to recommend the community to friends as a place to vacation and consider for retirement. Potential migrants also may be identified through recently resettled children and other family members.

The finding that two thirds of the migrants had previous social contacts does not imply that effective migration recruitment should ignore the traditional methods of promoting an area (e.g., magazine articles, mailings, or advertisements). Rather, our findings argue for an exploration of other avenues and reconsideration of the allocation of marketing resources.

A second result which has implications for recruitment of retirement migrants is the consideration of alternative destinations among actual and potential migrants. While many migrants do consider alternative sites, they consider relatively few such sites, and for the majority little serious consideration is given to those alternatives. From the potential host community's point of view, intensive follow up on inquiries and leads may be especially fruitful as there will probably be relatively few competitors for the inquiring potential migrants. Some migrants considered diverse and distant sites, although not seriously. Early screening of potential migrants may suggest whether they find a locale's amenities (e.g., climate and geographical features) truly attractive or that they find other areas more attractive. This information may help make follow up more efficient. Our data also reveal as much if not more consideration given to competing locales within a region, rather than distant and more diverse sites. Hence more attention should be paid to a site's comparative advantages over neighbors versus distant sites. This does suggest a relatively low comparative value of centralized (at the state level, for example) versus diverse (at the county or community level) efforts at retiree recruitment.

Finally, the data on timing of migration decisions indicated that a rather narrow window of the formal planning process surrounded either side of the retirement event. Ascertaining the age distribution of recent retirement migrants into the area may help better target those in the formal planning process. Marketing to fifty-year-olds in an early daydreaming stage before serious site consideration occurs may not be as worthwhile as focusing on those in their early sixties who have entered the formal planning process stage. These few brief examples illustrate some of the policy and programmatic aspects of the recent research into the retirement migration decision making process.

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RURAL MIGRATION: WHAT ATTRACTS NEW RESIDENTS TO NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS

By Leigh J. Maynard, Timothy W. Kelsey, Robert J. Thee and Panajiotis Fousekis

ABSTRACT

Understanding the reasons people move to rural communities is important if communities intend to use in-migration as a way of revitalization. This study uses the experience of three non-metropolitan counties in Pennsylvania to explore which community characteristics have the greatest influence on people's decisions to move to rural areas. Personal characteristics affected how in-migrants evaluated prospective rural residential locations. Higher income in-migrants placed a high priority on job opportunities, housing quality, a short commute to work, quality of schools, and low local taxes. Lower income in-migrants were more likely to value a location near family and friends. Ability to own a home, housing costs, and local taxes also were important.

INTRODUCTION

Many rural communities in the United States are losing population. Local governments in these areas must cope with shrinking tax bases, declining tax revenues, and large service infrastructures and capital investments that are increasingly difficult to maintain with declining population and tax bases. Combined with recent reductions in federal support to local governments, costly federal and state program mandates and taxpayer resistance to raising taxes, many local governments are beginning to face serious problems in financing critical public services.

The objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between the reasons people move to rural communities and the characteristics of in-migrants, using the experience in three non-metropolitan counties in Pennsylvania. The identified relationships, if any, can be used by communities to understand why they may or may not attract new residents, and possibly to develop strategies to attract more new residents. The study explores which characteristics have the greatest influence on people's decisions to move and also reveals how the inter-

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relation of these characteristics may affect attitudes towards mobility. Previous mobility studies are reviewed, before describing the survey instrument and analytical methodology. The results are discussed, followed by the study's implications.

Background

Mobility studies typically follow either a behavioral approach or an institutional approach (Cadwallader, 1992). The behavioral approach, which is used in this study, focuses on individual, micro-level data and emphasizes the individual's perception of an environment as a determinant of behavior. The behavioral approach is demand side oriented, but tends to neglect societal and institutional constraints (which are the focus of the institutional approach).

In the broadest sense, the voluntary decision to move stems from perceived stress in the current location (push factors), expected ease of realizing greater satisfaction elsewhere (pull factors), or a combination of both (Rossi, 1980). Determinants of migration include income differentials, cost of living differentials, employment opportunities, education, age, provision of local government services, and quality-of-life factors (Long, 1988; Cadwallader, 1992).

After the decision to move has been made, Cadwallader (1992) lists four major variables used to evaluate potential destinations: proximity to a major city, general economic conditions, proximity to close relatives, and proximity to recreational opportunities. More specific evaluation criteria include employment prospects, expected wage levels, commuting time, cost of living, housing cost and tenure opportunities, state and local taxes, status, safety, quality of schools, climate, and congestion (Wolpert, 1965; Brown & Moore, 1970; Pickvance, 1974; Speare et al., 1974; Morris & Winter, 1978; Cadwallader, 1992).

Williams and Jobes (1990) interviewed recent in-migrants to identify the relative importance of economic versus quality-of-life factors in the relocation decision. The results indicated an association between the respondents' socio-economic status and their reasons for relocating. Households of higher socio-economic status were more likely to include economic criteria in their choice of a new residential area, while lower socio-economic status households tended to be motivated mainly by quality-of-life considerations.

Hourihan (1984) used a path analysis to demonstrate that the attractiveness of perceived community attributes of urban Irish neighborhoods, including housing type, length of residence, life cycle, and social variables, were strongly influenced by residents' personal characteristics. Furthermore, Hourihan was able to quantify the causal roles that perceived community attributes and personal characteristics played in contributing to community satisfaction.

Hourihan's findings motivate the position taken in this paper that discretionary residential choices are made with the awareness of how perceived community attributes affect expected satisfaction. A measurable indicator of this awareness is an individual's ranking of the importance of various community

attributes. The impact of personal characteristics on relocation decision criteria can then be modeled to identify which community attributes are most likely to attract new residents who share a particular set of personal characteristics.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data for this study were gathered through a 1993 telephone survey of new residents in three contiguous non-metropolitan counties located north of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. New residents were defined as people who had moved into the three counties during the five-year period 1988–1992. These residents were identified by using a randomly selected list of county residents, telephoning them, and interviewing those who had lived in the county for five or less years.

Data from the United States Census of Population and Housing (1991) on county-level population changes between 1985 and 1990 were used to identify high growth, no growth, and negative growth counties. One county was selected from each list: Butler County's population grew by 4.06 percent between 1985 and 1990; Venango County's population remained relatively stable with 0.56 percent growth; and Mercer County lost 1.07 percent of its population during this time period. Population growth increased with proximity to Pittsburgh, the largest nearby city.

The purpose of selecting neighboring counties from each growth category was to mitigate the confounding effects of non-discretionary moves. A substantial portion of the new residents who indicated job- or military-related reasons for moving to their current location may have had few options regarding the general location. However, residents retain the freedom to choose a residential location within commuting distance of their new job, based on their preferences.

For each county, 200 new residents over the age of 18 were surveyed. The survey included questions concerning previous residential location, housing tenure before and after the move, reasons for moving away from the prior residence and to the current residence, employment status before and after the move, household age profile, and household income. In addition, respondents were asked to rank the importance of several community attributes, evaluate their satisfaction with the previous and current residence, and rank each of the three selected counties with respect to housing price and quality.

The majority of respondents were young. More than a third (36 percent) were between 25 and 34 years old. Almost three-quarters were younger than 45. This age breakdown differs from the age distribution of all residents in the case study counties, but reflects the higher mobility of younger people. Young people were more likely to move into the counties than were older people.

Annual household income exceeded $25,000 for 63 percent of surveyed households, and exceeded $40,000 in 34 percent of the households. Butler County, which is adjacent to Pittsburgh, appeared to have attracted the wealthiest new residents on average, followed by Mercer and Venango Counties.

Respondents were relatively well educated. Ninety-one percent had at least a high school equivalent education, while 28 percent had completed college (Table 1). More than half of the respondents were employed. Of those without employment, 42 percent were homemakers, 30 percent were retired, 12 percent were unemployed, 7 percent were disabled, and 6 percent were students. One third of the employed new residents lived and worked in different counties.

Table 1. Schooling Completed by Respondents

Grade	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Grade school	9	1.5
Some high school	39	6.6
High school/GED	235	39.5
Some college/technical school	145	24.4
Graduated from college/technical school	104	17.5
Advanced college degree	63	10.6

The respondents moved from a variety of states, but 59 percent had moved within Pennsylvania. On average, the respondents had spent 15 years in their previous community before moving to the counties under study. Almost two thirds of the households surveyed owned their current residence, and 54 percent had owned housing in their previous location.

The most commonly cited reasons for moving into the current location were family/marriage (29 percent), job related (25 percent), preference for a rural community (19 percent), short commute (16 percent), purchase of a home (12 percent), and cost of living (10 percent). Reasons given for moving out of the previous community were very closely related, but also included congestion, crime, and poor local economic conditions.

Table 2 lists various community attributes and summarizes respondents' ratings of the influence each had on their decision to move into the new location. The possibility of bias arising from these prompted responses must be acknowledged, although the selected community attributes corresponded closely to those reported by respondents in the earlier unprompted survey question discussed above. The ability to own a home was most frequently cited as very important, followed by cost of housing, nearness of friends and family, quality of schools, cost of living, and job opportunities. Cultural opportunities were rated as very important by only 7 percent of the respondents.

The order of rankings changed somewhat when the important and very important categories were combined. Two community attributes, job opportunities and ability to own a home, dropped three places in the rankings. Those who did not have a job when they moved to the county were expected to be very concerned about job opportunities, while those who already had a job might not have found this factor important. Thus, it is not surprising that responses in the

Table 2. The Importance of Selected Community Attributes in the Residential Location
Decision, as Reported by Survey Respondents

Community Attribute	*Percent of Respondents*				
	Not Important or N/A	*Important*	*Very Important*	*Rank (Very Important)*	*Rank (Important or Very Important)*
Ability to own home	32.8	29.5	37.7	1	4
Housing cost	27.1	37.7	35.2	2	2
Nearness of friends and family	38.7	26.3	35.0	3	5
Quality of schools	45.5	22.7	31.8	4	6
Cost of living	28.6	40.2	31.2	5	3
Job opportunities	52.5	17.5	30.0	6	9
Housing quality	25.8	47.5	26.7	7	1
Distance to work	47.1	30.2	22.7	8	8
Local taxes	46.3	33.2	20.5	9	7
Cultural opportunities	56.6	36.2	7.2	10	10

job opportunity category concentrated at the extremes of very important or not important. The same was true to a lesser extent regarding ability to own a home.

Quality of housing ranked seventh out of ten when only very important responses were considered, but ranked first when both important and very important responses were combined. Apparently housing quality was important not so much because it attracted people to a given location; rather, a prospective location might be rejected if it did not meet a certain acceptable level of housing quality.

An ordered logit regression analysis was used to quantify the relationship between community attributes and personal characteristics. One regression was performed for each of ten community attributes, where the dependent variable reflected whether the respondent ranked a given community attribute not important, important, or very important. The community attributes selected for study were: ability to own a home, job opportunities, cost of living, local taxes, housing quality, commuting distance, quality of schools, nearness of friends and family, housing cost, and cultural opportunities.

Independent variables for each of the regressions were selected from a list of twelve personal characteristics. A personal characteristic variable was included in a regression if previous studies had found it to be useful in explaining residential choice or if there were *a priori* expectations of its significance on conceptual economic grounds. The personal characteristics considered in this study were as follows.

Annual Household Income. This variable can take on four values: $10,000 or under, $10,000–$25,000, $25,001–$40,000, over $40,000.

Respondent's Age. Age of respondent.

New Home Owner. The variable is equal to one if respondent did not own a home in their previous community, but does currently own a home in the study county; and zero otherwise.

Owned Home in Previous Community. The variable is equal to one if yes; and zero otherwise.

Homemaker. The variable is equal to one if the respondent was not employed due to occupation as a homemaker; zero otherwise.

Retired or Disabled. The variable is equal to one if the respondent was not employed due to retirement or disability; zero otherwise.

Student. The variable is equal to one if the respondent was a student; zero otherwise.

Children Living at Home. This variable is equal to one if there were household residents under age 18; zero otherwise.

Held Job in County of Current Residence. This variable is equal to one if the respondent worked in the study county before moving into that county; zero otherwise.

Live and Work in Same County. The variable is equal to one if the respondent lived and worked in the same county; zero otherwise.

Moved within Pennsylvania. The variable is equal to one if the respondent moved to the study county from within Pennsylvania; zero otherwise.

Years Lived in Previous Community. The number of years the respondent lived in their previous community.

ESTIMATION RESULTS

Logit regression results for eight of the ten community attributes studied are shown in Table 3. Results for the housing cost and cultural opportunities regressions are not shown because coefficients on the independent variables and/or equations were statistically insignificant. Housing cost was either *important* or *very important* to 73 percent of the respondents, but the ratings were not affected by the respondents' personal characteristics. Cultural opportunities were rated the least important community attribute by the respondents, and ratings were similarly unaffected by personal characteristics. All but one of the remaining eight regressions were statistically significant at the .01 level (housing quality was statistically significant at the .10 level).

The results portray an image of the attributes different demographic groups deemed most important when choosing to move to a new community. Higher income respondents placed a high priority on job opportunities, housing quality, a short commute to work, quality of schools, and low local taxes. Retired and disabled persons were likely to value a location near family and friends. Younger respondents were likely to place a high priority on the cost of living, school quality, and especially the opportunity to buy a home. Households with children placed a high priority on the quality of schools, as expected, as well as on the ability to own their own home.

Table 3. Logit Regression Results Using Subjective Importance Ratings of Community Attributes as Dependent Variables

Independent Variables	*Buy Home****	*Job Opportunity****	*Cost of Living****	*Local Tax****
		Dependent Variables		
Intercept A	0.482	-1.07	1.992	-0.846
	(0.471)	(0.501)	(0.464)	(0.476)
Intercept B	-1.03	-1.993	0.169	-2.443
	(0.473)	(0.507)	(0.455)	(0.485)
Income	1.338	0.250 **	0.029	0.201 **
	(0.099)	(0.106)	(0.096)	(0.098)
Age	-0.032 ***	0.004	-0.020 **	-0.007
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)
New home owner	1.99 ***	-0.867 ***	0.126	1.058 ***
	(0.251)	(0.252)	(0.230)	(0.244)
Owned home before	1.09 ***	-0.290	0.241	0.995 ***
	(0.236)	(0.245)	(0.225)	(0.240)
Homemaker	0.300	0.257	-0.244	0.014
	(0.263)	(0.265)	(0.249)	(0.251)
Retired or disabled	0.526	-0.606	0.226	0.034
	(0.354)	(0.397)	(0.337)	(0.346)
Student	0.193	0.932 *	-0.316	0.294
	(0.530)	(0.523)	(0.502)	(0.507)
Children at home	0.423 **	0.275	0.211	-0.073
	(0.195)	(0.203)	(0.188)	(0.193)
Held job in county	0.037	0.966 ***	-0.051	-0.087
	(0.178)	(0.186)	(0.171)	(0.175)
Live and work in same county	-0.269	0.924 ***	-0.362 *	-0.225
	(0.214)	(0.222)	(0.207)	(0.211)
In-state move	-0.066	-0.516 ***	-0.307 *	0.353 **
	(0.175)	(0.183)	(0.168)	(0.173)
Years lived in previous community	-0.003	-0.013 *	-0.012 **	-0.009
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)

Standard errors in parentheses
* denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.10
** denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.05
*** denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.01

Table 3. Continued

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables			
	Housing Quality*	Commuting Distance***	Schools***	Family***
Intercept A	0.085 (0.480)	-1.058 (0.486)	-0.194 (0.501)	1.650 (0.468)
Intercept B	-2.10 (0.470)	-2.632 (0.499)	-1.400 (0.506)	0.467 (0.463)
Income	0.276 *** (0.098)	0.346 *** (0.102)	0.221 *** (0.106)	-0.316 *** (0.098)
Age	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.025 *** (0.010)	0.006 (0.009)
New home owner	0.042 (0.233)	-0.132 (0.242)	0.053 (0.250)	0.499 ** (0.235)
Owned home before	-0.056 (0.227)	0.070 (0.239)	0.379 (0.248)	0.213 (0.229)
Homemaker	0.096 (0.252)	0.337 (0.252)	0.377 (0.261)	-0.169 (0.252)
Retired or disabled	0.229 (0.340)	-1.406 *** (0.412)	-0.557 (0.400)	0.578 * (0.346)
Student	0.228 (0.509)	0.069 (0.509)	0.121 (0.523)	0.012 (0.514)
Children at home	0.301 (0.191)	0.083 (0.193)	1.571 *** (0.204)	0.025 (0.191)
Held job in county	0.113 (0.173)	0.723 *** (0.177)	-0.360 * (0.186)	-0.298 * (0.173)
Live and work in same county	-0.126 (0.209)	0.349 * (0.260)	0.093 (0.218)	0.218 (0.208)
In-state move	0.216 (0.170)	0.283 (0.178)	-0.114 (0.183)	-0.631 *** (0.171)
Years lived in previous community	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.019 *** (0.006)

Standard errors in parentheses
* denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.10
** denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.05
*** denotes Pr{> Chi-square} <.01

The expressed importance of these attributes also delineated which demographic groups might be more likely to move to a specific rural area. Housing cost was most important to younger people, households with children at home, first time home buyers, and current homeowners. Low local taxes was most important to those with more income and new homeowners. Local taxes was also statistically significant for those moving in-state, suggesting that low taxes can help attract new residents from other nearby communities.

Not surprisingly, job opportunity was most important to those with higher income, students, people who already had a job in the county, and those who lived and worked in different counties. It was not important for new homeowners, people moving within the state, and those who lived many years in their previous home. Shorter commuting time appeared to be an important goal for residents who worked in a given county before moving there.

The closeness of friends and family were important for retired and disabled persons, and new homeowners. Those with higher income, those holding a job in the county previous to their move, and those moving in-state were less likely to cite it as important. Economic reasons seemed to overshadow social concerns for these latter groups.

Some community attributes were strongly associated with only one or two personal characteristics. Housing quality was only associated with higher income respondents. Residential choice based on the quality of schools was also linked to higher income respondents, and not surprisingly, households with children. It was less likely to be important for those who had a job in the county before the move, suggesting that many of these moves were due to economic or commuting reasons.

Specific recommendations for communities intending to use in-migration as a revitalization strategy will depend upon the circumstances of the community (such as distance to new job opportunities and existing jobs, current population, local resources, and history), but several attributes should be considered especially important. The quality of local schools and the level of local taxes were very important for new working-age residents' decisions to move into a community. These two attributes may be contradictory concerns, in that higher educational quality can cost more and thus force up local taxes, which makes finding a balance between quality and cost an important concern.

Economic factors were also important, but the results suggest that they should not be the sole focus of revitalization efforts. Even if more job opportunities arise in the community, if the community is not an attractive place to live new workers may decide to live in a nearby community. Similarly, newly hired employees at jobs in nearby communities may decide to move into the community due to these factors, even though they were employed in that different municipality.

CONCLUSIONS

This study suggests that migrants' personal characteristics do affect how they evaluate prospective rural residential locations. The community attributes most frequently cited as being very important in deciding where to live were the ability to own a home, housing cost, nearness of friends and family, and the quality of schools. High housing quality did not appear to be a decisive factor in choosing a new location, but the results suggested that low housing quality may be a considerable deterrent to prospective residents.

This study surveyed people who moved to the three study counties, but not the people who considered moving there and either chose to remain in their present location or moved to another area. While the households who considered and then rejected the study area would be extremely difficult to identify, information concerning reasons for rejection would be helpful in planning strategies to attract new residents. The quality of survey information used in this study would also be improved if all adult members of each household were surveyed, rather than only one. Again, this would have posed practical difficulties; a feasible compromise might involve combining a survey with a limited number of focus group sessions. Finally, an examination of the community attributes of respondents' actual residential choices at a much finer level of detail than the county level would be useful in determining the extent to which the respondents' choices were consistent with their reported decision criteria.

Many of the community attributes considered most important by the survey respondents were only partially under the control of community decision makers, particularly in the short run. This would suggest that communities who want to use newcomers as a way of revitalization may only have limited short term control over attracting more new residents. Since this study showed that personal characteristics are related to the relative attractiveness of different amenities, however, does imply that this may be a viable community development strategy in the long term.

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BOOK REVIEWS

MOORE, ALLEN B. and RUSTY BROOKS. *Transforming Your Community: Empowering for Change.* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Co., 1996, 190 pp.) hardcover.

Writing essentially a "how to" book on community economic development, the authors have, I think, succeeded in making the approach accessible to the public. There are chapters on specific types of projects, such as preservation, attracting tourism, and job growth, each amply illustrated with examples from the authors own extensive work in Georgia and other places.

Moore and Brooks have provided interdisciplinary theoretical support for their "action learning process." They use Freire's model of adult learning for empowerment along with concepts from education and management, namely, Mezirow's and Revans. From Mezirow, they introduce *disorienting dilemma* as the disrupting condition/influence that in being resolved will inspire an action learning process among individuals and groups. Revans contributes to understanding of the action learning process with descriptions of British coal miners who, when engaged in the process, demonstrated "that there is no learning without action and no real action without learning" (p.7). While interesting and informative, I'm not convinced that the resulting theoretical rationale, even when supplemented by community scholars Warren, Wilkinson, Christenson, Cary, and others, would satisfy critics who claim that community development is atheoretical at worst, "soft" at best. To satisfy them, it seems, we must offer fully specified and operational theories of process.

First things first. My immediate fear upon seeing "community *economic* development" was that the book would represent the "process be damned, the end justifies the means" camp of economic development. My fears were unwarranted. They state in the preface that, "our view of community economic development is distinctly different from others," because they practice a "bottom-up action learning/action planning" strategy, with experts best cast as informants and facilitators. I found the book a comfortable read.

The book's first 2 chapters provide the theoretical framework, and definitions of community economic development, laying the foundation for the chapters on specific activities which follow. The model starts with recognition of a problem (disorienting dilemma), interaction among groups about the problem leading to generation of solutions through group process and shared community vision, action learning, community action culminating in community transformation. While the model is not novel, in fact, it should be familiar to anyone who has engaged in community development, it is presented in a manner that doesn't