

Community Change: Theories, Practice, and Evidence

EDITED BY KAREN FULBRIGHT-ANDERSON
AND PATRICIA AUSPOS



THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

ROUNDTABLE ON COMMUNITY CHANGE

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About the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change

The Roundtable on Community Change was established as a forum in which leaders working on some of the country's most innovative and promising efforts to revitalize poor communities can meet to discuss the lessons that are being learned by community initiatives across the country and to work on common challenges they are facing. Since 1995, the Roundtable has focused on the problems associated with evaluating community-based interventions and has issued several publications exploring various dimensions of evaluation theory, methods, measurement, and analysis. (See www.aspenroundtable.org.) This volume complements that line of work by distilling, from research and experience, the theories of change that appear to be guiding community change efforts and synthesizing evidence about the effectiveness of these efforts.

The Roundtable's other work includes projects to: increase understanding of the ways in which structural racism affects poor communities and the prospects for revitalization and improvements in the life chances of their residents; examine the contribution of community-building strategies to improving social, economic, and civic outcomes for children, youth, families, and neighborhoods; build the capacity of local governments and communities to work more effectively toward common goals; and explore and apply innovative learning methodologies to community-building topics.

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The authors and editors are solely responsible for the accuracy of the statements and interpretations contained within this publication. Such interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the contributing foundations.

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INTRODUCTION

Community Change: Implications for Complex Community Initiatives

KAREN FULBRIGHT-ANDERSON

Literature on urban community dynamics is replete with examinations of the process of decline. This focus on decline is evident in early and contemporary examinations of community life. As Phillip Clay observed in 1979:

The last ten years have witnessed an unprecedented analysis of the problems of the cities. The maladies of urban areas have been trumpeted by politicians, the media, and professional and academic journals. This depreciation is associated with the widespread and continuing loss of middle-class households, the exodus of industry and consequent loss of jobs, the decline of many public institutions, and the growing loss of confidence in city neighborhoods as desirable places to live.¹

Nearly twenty years later, Dennis Keating and Janet Smith noted little change in the focus of urban theorists, researchers and observers:

Theories of neighborhood change identify conditions that alter the status quo of urban neighborhoods. Particular attention has been given to the physical, institutional, and social factors that cause neighborhoods to become unstable or to decline.²

These examinations of the causes of inner-city blight have been helpful in raising awareness about the severity of the problems faced by poor communities, but do little to inform efforts to promote positive community change. The ability of residents, community-based organizations, funders, and policymakers to strengthen communities could surely be facilitated by information about interventions and factors that promote positive change in communities and foster community resilience.

A growing body of literature has begun to document encouraging lessons about interventions and factors that contribute to positive changes in communities. While the evidence base is, for the most part, neither strong nor robust enough to provide definitive answers to some of the most vexing questions about community change, the literature points to promising areas that deserve sustained, careful attention. The purpose of this volume is to pull such insights together in one place.

The volume includes reviews of literature from the following programmatic areas, hereafter referred to as strands—community building, neighborhood safety, education, employment, economic development, housing, youth development, and social services. The authors draw on the experiences of a range of community-based efforts to bring about positive community change, including formal organizations, such as community development corporations and comprehensive community initiatives, and less formal associations of community residents.

The comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) to which the authors refer in their chapters cover a range of efforts that include, but are not limited to, the classic CCIs that were started in the late 1980s and early 1990s primarily by national or community foundations. The classic CCIs sought to promote positive change in individual, family, and community circumstances in disadvantaged neighborhoods by applying the principles of comprehensiveness and community building to improve physical, social, and economic conditions. Lessons about the longer-term outcomes and effectiveness of these initiatives are limited, due in part to the challenge of evaluating them, insufficient evaluation time frames, and inadequate guiding theories of change. To maximize the lessons that could be learned about community change interventions, the authors did not limit their reviews to evaluations of classic CCIs. Rather, they included evaluations of other types of complex community change efforts as well as more narrowly focused efforts to improve community conditions within

specific strands. The volume provides exhaustive, interdisciplinary syntheses of basic research, evaluation reports, and other studies of place-based, community change efforts to improve conditions in urban neighborhoods. All of the source materials were published before 2003.

Each author attempts to specify the causal chain through which dominant strategies are expected to produce specific positive outcomes. Each elucidates connections between the strands and discusses the implications of these relationships for improving conditions in low-income urban communities. Understanding the theories of change that underlie initiatives sharpens planning and implementation, facilitates measurement and data collection, and strengthens the case for attribution of change in initiatives. Given the dual focus on theories of change and evidence, this volume will be a useful resource for a broad audience that includes students, foundation representatives, policy-makers, practitioners, technical assistance providers, and evaluators.

Part 1 of the volume addresses areas of intervention that have an explicitly community-level focus (community building, neighborhood safety, housing, and economic development), while Part 2 includes strands that traditionally focus on individuals rather than communities (youth development, education, social services, and employment). The opening chapter provides an exploration of the connections between social capital and each of the more programmatically focused areas of community building. In many ways this chapter by Andrea A. Anderson and Sharon Milligan forms the backbone for the remainder of the volume, since community builders embrace the notion that social capital is an important precursor to and outcome of successful community change work.

Anderson and Milligan note that relationships that may be taken for granted actually serve a larger purpose. Social networks and social ties contribute to informal social control, while neighboring behavior is key to the development and maintenance of social cohesion. The authors provide a rich discussion of the relationships among these elements and their relationship to other community outcomes. For example, they show that these social factors are positively correlated with civic participation and collective action, and are negatively correlated with criminal behavior in neighborhoods. They observe that although there is limited empirical work regarding effective ways to produce and promote social capital in poor neighborhoods, there is a wealth of practical knowledge that suggests its importance.

In chapter 2, Amie Schuck and Dennis Rosenbaum examine several neighborhood safety strategies, explicate their underlying theoretical frameworks, and evaluate the evidence about their effectiveness. They analyze evidence about interventions that address precursors to crime and identify approaches that have proven to be effective in this regard. For example, they review a substantial body of evidence that restricting opportunities for criminal behavior, such as by increasing the effort needed to commit a crime, can be an effective crime reduction strategy. At the same time, they question the degree to which the associated costs put this strategy out of the reach of low-income communities. Moreover, they raise concerns about the unintended consequences of these strategies, which can include the displacement of crime to unprotected areas. In their assessment of the benefits and problems associated with proven crime prevention strategies, Schuck and Rosenbaum challenge commonly held assumptions about the effectiveness of some widespread neighborhood crime prevention strategies, such as neighborhood watch programs. The authors also make a strong case for communities addressing problems of crime and violence at multiple levels—individual, social, and environmental—since all of these factors influence crime.

In chapter 3, Melvin LaPrade and Patricia Auspos review theories and evidence about strategies intended to improve the quality of life in low-income urban communities, using the built environment as the point of departure. The authors note that researchers have found that interventions to improve the built environment are helpful but not sufficient contributors to building strong, stable communities. Rather, a dual focus on physical conditions and social relationships appears to be a more effective approach. Thus, for example, early evaluations of interventions that use physical design principles to reduce crime and increase stability in low-income communities indicate that these interventions also engage in concerted efforts to bring people together and to facilitate the development of social ties among them. The authors also explore the role of homeownership and tenant management as strategies for building social capital and stabilizing or revitalizing neighborhoods.

In chapter 4, Héctor Cordero-Guzmán and Patricia Auspos distill lessons about the underlying theories and evidence regarding community economic development strategies and explore assumptions about the connections between community building and economic development. They examine evidence that

community-focused economic development efforts have helped provide residents with needed commodities and services, connected them to credit sources and financial services, and provided opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship. They also report evidence that bringing a major retail store into a commercial mall and physically revitalizing the mall can improve business for other merchants in the area, save time and money for residents, and help spur other development in the vicinity. Exploring the interaction between community building and community economic development strategies, the authors found a number of examples where business development strategies appeared to stimulate and benefit from efforts to build networks and social capital among local entrepreneurs. They conclude, however, that the role of communities in economic development will remain limited by actors, trends, and policies that are beyond the control of neighborhood groups.

Part 1 lays the groundwork for exploring how various interventions at the community level can improve conditions for individuals, families, organizations, and the community as a whole. These chapters also question the ability of social policy to affect social capital in urban neighborhoods and, in turn, the degree to which social capital can affect the process of community change. Part 2 of the volume examines whether and how social capital within communities affects the ability of community-based efforts focused on youth development, education, social services, and employment to improve the lives of individuals and families.

In chapter 5, Michelle Alberti Gambone examines the developmental needs of youth and the kind of support communities can provide to meet those needs. Through her extensive review and synthesis of the literature, she explains why young people must have supportive relationships with adults and peers, challenging and interesting learning experiences, meaningful opportunities for involvement and membership, and safe environments in order to develop in ways that lead to good long-term outcomes. She makes a persuasive case that neighborhood-based efforts to improve outcomes in the strands reviewed in this volume are important elements for improving developmental outcomes for youth. While education, safety, and community building are the most obviously related areas, community economic development and housing are also important vehicles for promoting positive youth development. Consequently, she argues that efforts to measure early outcomes for youth should focus not just on individual youth, as is the norm. Rather, measurement strategies must

also focus on the environments in which young people spend their time. She provides guidance on how to do this.

In chapter 6, Gail Meister provides additional evidence about the collective ability of neighborhood residents to affect the developmental outcomes of youth through an examination of four types of community-based interventions in education: community programs in schools, school programs in communities, community input into schools, and community run schools. She provides evidence that suggests ways in which communities can improve student behavior, resources for schooling, and educational outcomes. For example, she reports that community programs at schools and school programs in communities have been shown to improve student attitudes and behavior. The former programs also increased attendance and achievement for those whose parents were directly involved, and the latter did so when experiential learning was linked to classroom instruction and assessment. Alternatively, she does not find evidence that community input into schools increases school achievement or improves youth behavior. Rather, this strategy was associated with improved relationships between schools and communities and the allocation and targeting of resources to the schools.

Charles Bruner discusses five theories of change that guide social service systems reform and reviews implementation experience and evidence in chapter 7. The picture that emerges in this chapter is one in which less consideration is given to the role that community-based actors can play in moving forward systems reform than in the other chapters in the volume. This may be due to the dominant influence of professional bureaucracies. It may well be that the stronger the professional influence on reforms from administrators and social workers, the less community input is sought and the less attention evaluation gives to community-level impacts. Nonetheless, this chapter contains a thoughtful discussion of the guiding theories in this strand and carefully reports on the research that has tested the effectiveness of these different reforms. Bruner notes that most social service system reform efforts incorporate some aspects of each theory, suggesting that the path toward system reform is complex and multifaceted. He argues that in order to achieve change in neighborhood outcomes, there must be an investment of resources and a level of activity that exceeds what currently exists even within the most ambitious initiatives.

Patricia Auspos begins chapter 8 with a useful summary of how community conditions affect the experiences of residents in the labor market; she then

considers how employment initiatives might produce individual-level outcomes and community-level effects. She defines community impacts as encompassing not only the combined impacts on the individuals directly assisted by training programs but also the spillover effects on residents who did not receive training. These effects might be produced through social networks, for example, or through changes in neighborhood attitudes regarding work, or real or perceived changes in neighborhood opportunity structures. Auspos notes that her ability to draw firm conclusions is limited because, with the exception of some recent initiatives, this field has not given much attention to the potential impact of neighborhood-based employment strategies on the community as a whole. Nevertheless this chapter makes an important contribution to the field by proposing a theory that systematically explicates the pathways through which community-level effects might be achieved from relatively small-scale employment projects.

Implications for Knowledge Development and Practice

For most of the strands examined in this volume, there have been relatively few evaluations of community-based revitalization efforts and little basic research on the factors that contribute to healthy, safe communities in high-poverty areas. Many existing evaluations have focused on individual initiatives within the context of a single strand. This makes it challenging to examine interactions between strands and to draw conclusions that are generalizable beyond a particular intervention. Additionally, none of the efforts reviewed in this volume achieved the scale of neighborhood transformation that many hoped would occur. We need a better understanding of what is reasonable to expect community-based efforts to accomplish, particularly in light of local and macro contextual factors, such as racial dynamics and market forces. More information is needed about the level, breadth, and staging of efforts within and across strands, within multiple contexts, and with comparable goals if we are to gain a deeper understanding of the pathways to achieving community-level change in low-income communities.

In some strands, such as youth development, we have a stronger research base than others from which to move forward. For example, Gambone notes in chapter 6 that we have sufficient knowledge about what youth need from their environments to facilitate healthy youth development. She suggests that

attention needs to be focused on developing tools and techniques to assess and monitor the extent to which the features needed to promote healthy youth development are available in communities. The fact that relatively few low-income communities have been able to provide such an environment for vulnerable youth begs the question of how best to incorporate and institutionalize the features we know are needed to promote positive youth development into the fabric of high-risk communities.

For most strands reviewed in this volume, however, the authors not only stress the need for better measurement tools and techniques to assess connections, outcomes, and pathways of change, but also emphasize the need for more and better research about the approaches and strategies that are most likely to lead to the desired longer-term outcomes. For example, as noted in chapters 1 and 2, which focus on social capital and neighborhood safety, respectively, there is a dearth of information about the way to produce and promote the development of social capital. In chapter 8, Charles Bruner notes that the field has not invested sufficient resources into reforming social services, and thus we are unable to determine empirically the critical activities and events that lead to success. In chapter 9, Patricia Auspos observes that more information is needed to determine the scale of intervention that would start the process of community-wide change in the employment strand.

A systematic, knowledge-building approach, focused on low-income communities, is needed to provide more definitive evidence about effective community change interventions than currently exists. Community-based change efforts could benefit from empirical research designed to specify and test the pathways to achieving community-level change, delineating the early and intermediate steps and the connections between the elements in the pathway that lead to the ultimate goals. Such research needs to be conducted in multiple communities, subject to different contexts, over a sufficient time period to allow for the emergence of the interactions, correlations, and outcomes discussed in this volume.

The absence of a strong body of empirical evidence about community-based, community-driven change efforts limits the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn about the effectiveness of the various approaches and strategies reviewed in this volume. These limitations do not negate the promise of the correlations between activities and outcomes identified in this volume. Through

their syntheses of the fragmented literature that characterizes the community change “field,” and their explication of theories of change, the authors provide a foundation on which to structure practice that can be systematically tested and to build a cumulative body of knowledge about how to promote positive community change.

Collectively, the chapters stress the importance of attending to the interactions among the strands and adopting an integrative approach to community change. All of the authors make a strong case for broadening the traditional inward focus of each strand to a more systematic examination of the connections among them. A common theme is the correlation between social capital and beneficial outcomes in each strand. The authors suggest that it is important for community change efforts to take advantage of the interactions between the strands and for evaluations to capture these interrelationships. Doing so will promote a deeper understanding of the ways in which these relationships can reinforce or undermine efforts to improve community conditions.

The hope is that synthesizing lessons from theory, practice, and evidence about community change efforts in eight strands will provide guidance to those who work to improve conditions in low-income urban areas. The volume challenges the views of those who doubt the power and potential of low-income residents and the community-based organizations and associations that work on their behalf to make positive changes in their communities when they have the resources and capacity to do so. On the other hand, it raises critical questions about the scale of change that community based efforts can effect. Nevertheless, it offers encouragement to practitioners, researchers, and evaluators to continue to build and test theories about community change processes so that a deeper body of practical knowledge can be produced and utilized. Moreover, it suggests that funders commit sufficient resources over a reasonable period of time for capacity building, implementation, and knowledge development. All of these elements are needed to increase the possibility of producing community change in low-income urban areas.

Endnotes

1. Phillip Clay, *Neighborhood Renewal* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1979), p. 1.
2. W. Dennis Keating and Janet Smith. “Neighborhoods in Transition,” in *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*, eds. Dennis W. Keating, Norman Krumholdz, and Philip Star (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1996), p.24.

PART 1

Promoting Change through Community Level Interventions

Social Capital and Community Building

ANDREA A. ANDERSON AND SHARON MILLIGAN

This vision of a “built” community is one in which residents look out for both themselves and for others, creating environments in which a critical proportion of residents is positively invested. It follows that the community-building process would focus on providing ways for people in the neighborhood to connect meaningfully with one another. A strong or “built” community could be identified by: 1) a large number of block associations and civic participation (attendance at town meetings; voting; school board attendance), 2) stable local voluntary associations, 3) high levels of informal neighbor-to-neighbor interaction, or 4) all of the above.¹

A growing number of community-based professionals working to bring about fundamental and sustainable community-wide improvements in targeted low-income areas see themselves as *community builders*. Rather than focusing solely on programmatic interventions that directly impact housing, human services, economic opportunity or safety, this new movement is characterized by a belief that significant, sustainable community change can only be brought about by developing and utilizing the social fabric in the targeted communities. The central tenet is that tapping into the social life of the community is a key step in catalyzing collective action, building collaborative relationships among key community members, and building community capacity.

For many, community building begins with an investment in the neighborhood's social infrastructure. The development of healthy and vibrant social interactions in the community produce the conditions thought to be necessary for more formalized participation in community organizations and associations. The attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that develop as a result of social interactions within the neighborhood are increasingly seen as the elements of a community's **social capital**. Social capital, a relatively unheard-of concept a decade ago, has recently been widely used in the literature to describe the nexus of social factors that define a neighborhood's social life and fabric.²

In the context of a community setting, the term "social capital" refers to the specific processes among people and organizations, working collaboratively in an atmosphere of trust, that lead to accomplishing a goal of **mutual social benefit**. Social capital does not refer to individuals, the implements of production, or to the physical infrastructure. Instead, it is a relational term that connotes interactions among people through systems that enhance and support that interaction.³

While the term has been used in many different ways across a wide variety of empirical and descriptive studies, there seems to be broad agreement about its central elements. According to the most widely accepted definitions, social capital captures qualities inherent in social relationships—such as trust, shared norms and values—that arise in social groups and promote social organization, cooperation, and collective action for the common good. Social capital holds communities together and facilitates democratic decision making and economic and social development.⁴

This chapter provides a synthesis of social science literature on social capital, paying particular attention to its manifestations in low-income, urban neighborhoods and empirical evidence about its community-level outcomes. We begin with a broad discussion of how the concept of social capital has been used and the challenge of defining it, paying particular attention to the work of researchers whose conceptualizations have influenced the field of community building. We then turn our attention to the common elements that comprise this concept. Our objectives are to disaggregate and define the components of social capital and present empirical evidence

about the outcomes that have been associated with them. Following this, we attempt to reassemble the components of social capital into a coherent theory of change that shows the connections between the components and their collective contribution to community-building outcomes. In the next section we discuss some of the measurement issues involved in assessing social capital at the community level. We conclude with our thoughts about possible ways to facilitate the development of social capital.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993) has been credited with sparking tremendous interest in the concept of social capital. Since its publication, tremendous interest developed in the social sciences in applying the concept of social capital to research concerned with community well-being, democracy, economic development, public health, and political and civic participation in America and beyond. Although he did not originate the term, Putnam put forward the idea that social capital is a resource "that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" in terms that were most readily applicable to a wide variety of settings.⁵ Putnam's assertions about the salience of social capital have been provocative, and widely debated, yet the underlying principle of his earliest work has generated enormous interest in applying it to community building, economic development, and democracy building throughout the world.

Putnam's research, which looked retrospectively at the economic and civic capacity of two regions in Italy, demonstrated a correlation between the effectiveness of governments and the set of attitudes, relationships, and behaviors he saw as indicators of social capital. In the northern region, where government was effective and efficient, residents engaged in civic organizations, mutual aid societies, soccer clubs, literary societies, and unions—while little if any of this activity was found in the less civic southern region. He concluded that these civic activities nurture and reproduce a kind of capital that reinforces trust, norms, and networks—which, taken together, are important resources for the maintenance of a healthy society.

In subsequent work, Putnam applied his theory to the United States, where he found civic life to be generally on the decline, metaphorically deeming this

a nation of people who are “bowling alone.”⁶ This strong conclusion brought home the notion that America’s lack of social capital at the end of the twentieth century relative to earlier times was connected to many of the social ills the nation now faces:

Even those most sympathetic to the plight of America’s ghettos are not persuaded that simply reviving the social programs dismantled in the last decade or so will solve the problems. The erosion of social capital is an essential and under-appreciated part of the diagnosis . . . In any comprehensive strategy for improving the plight of America’s communities, rebuilding social capital is as important as investing in human and physical capital.⁷

There has been a tremendous interest within academic, government, nonprofit and philanthropic circles in the debate about the relative importance of social capital, for the nation and particularly for poor communities of color. This work offers a compelling explanation for the persistence of social problems in inner-city neighborhoods, and has particular applicability to the challenge of building communities in these environments. For many, the social capital thesis resonates with an earlier era of social science research spearheaded by William Julius Wilson’s work on the urban underclass, which highlighted the role that social isolation plays in the lives and life prospects of inner-city residents.⁸ The current work documenting the importance of social capital in American society is reminiscent of studies conducted by even earlier generations of researchers—particularly those from the Chicago School of Sociology—in which scholars have studied the connection between crime and the social organization of inner-city communities for more than fifty years.⁹

THE CHALLENGE OF DEFINING SOCIAL CAPITAL

When pundits refer to the value of social capital, do they mean the norms of cooperation that my neighbors and I agree on when forming a neighborhood association? Do they mean the social networks that are broadened when I meet people down the street for the first time? Or do they mean to say that the value of social capital lies in the actual reduction in crime that

results from the group's actions or in the organizational skills I develop as a member? Often, they seem to mean all three; even more often, they are not explicit about what they mean.¹⁰

Despite compelling theoretical arguments that support the role social capital plays across a variety of settings, there is little empirical *evidence* regarding social capital in neighborhoods. While community builders and theoreticians cite the important role of social capital in the lives of residents of low-income communities, there is little known about how it actually develops and operates in local communities, mainly because the most cited work has examined social capital at the national or regional level rather than at the neighborhood level. Many notable studies were based on secondary data drawn from large national surveys assessing the relationship between social ties and social trust and other outcomes of interest.¹¹ To date, we have few examples from primary research of how social capital operates at the neighborhood level.¹²

Part of the difficulty is that social capital is an intangible and imprecise concept. Conceptualization by a number of scholars in a range of disciplines has generated a wide range of definitions with no consensus on how to define the term precisely or to identify which of its features are most salient in neighborhood contexts. There are a few widely used indicators, such as access to social support networks, membership in organizations and voluntary associations, voter participation, and social trust. However, the many variations effectively undermine attempts to draw from this work a set of common features of social capital in urban neighborhoods.

After a decade of work, social capital has come to be associated with a host of behaviors and outcomes that are positive for individuals, social groups, communities, and society at large. Thus, one scholar has commented that “social capital [has] taken a circus-tent quality: all things positive and social are piled beneath it.”¹³

In an attempt to clarify this concept, a group of researchers and funders conducted the largest U.S. survey ever designed to measure the nation's stock of social capital.¹⁴ This survey addressed the “circus tent” problem by clearly defining a set of attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that are widely seen as markers of social capital.

Working with an expert panel, these researchers put forth a multidimensional definition of social capital that captured many of the elements others have examined in earlier research:

- Social and interracial trust
- Political participation in conventional and protest politics
- Civic leadership and involvement in groups, clubs, or local discussions about community problems
- Giving and volunteering to charities or special interest groups
- Faith-based engagement as members, participants, donors, and volunteers
- Equality of civic engagement across the community

Data was collected from a national sample of 3,000 respondents and representative samples in forty communities across twenty-nine states, covering an additional 26,200 respondents. The results of this survey allow researchers to tell the story of American participation in religious, civic, and political activities. Comparison of regions, cities, and broadly defined communities help to determine what socioeconomic outcomes are associated with high levels of social capital. What this data does not allow researchers to do, however, is tell the story of how social capital develops in any given **neighborhood**, and whether there are levers that can be manipulated to promote the development of better relationships among neighbors and more participation in the life of the community.

There are, however, two frameworks derived from empirical research that applied conceptualizations of social capital to community development in urban neighborhoods. Together, these frameworks provide a good starting point for exploring the ways in which social capital operates in urban communities and possible points of intervention in the development of social capital.

In one of the earliest empirically grounded studies of social capital in inner-city neighborhoods, Kenneth Temkin and William Rohe identified two dimensions of social capital that capture elements of neighborhood life that are relevant for community builders.¹⁵ The first dimension, *sociocultural milieu*, captures observable behaviors of neighborhood residents and their sentiments

toward their neighborhood. It includes neighboring behavior, sense of attachment and loyalty among neighborhood residents, and the ability of residents to leverage these characteristics into collective action. The second dimension, *institutional infrastructure*, captures the level and quality of organizational ability in neighborhoods that allows them to act on their common interest, and encompasses both the existence of neighborhood groups and the connections these groups are able to build with the wider community.

Building on this work and that of other scholars in the field, Ross Gittel and Avis Vidal developed a framework that predicts how social capital operates in the context of community development corporations (CDCs).¹⁶ They identified two types of social capital, bonding capital and bridging capital, which inform their assessment of social capital in the communities CDCs serve. *Bonding capital* is generated by primary relationships—such as kinship and friendship, and secondary relationships that develop informally through acquaintanceship and neighboring. Bonding capital connects neighborhood individuals and organizations to support information and resource sharing, and leads to the ability of community residents to come together around a common agenda. *Bridging capital* describes the connections between neighborhood members and individuals and organizations outside the neighborhood to share resources and information for problem solving. Community builders work to strengthen both types of capital, and the latter is critically important in the community revitalization context.

Our reviews of these and other studies of social capital suggest a small set of concepts related to attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that are common across research on social capital in urban neighborhoods. These concepts appear to be inextricably intertwined and include social networks, sense of community, and social cohesion. In the next section, we examine each of these dimensions of social capital. First, we review how these concepts have been defined and operationalized. Next, we review empirical research to find clues about how these elements relate to each other. Following this, we examine evidence about the ways in which these features are related to important community-building outcomes, such as community capacity and empowerment.

DISAGGREGATING THE ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social Networks

Because community builders believe that improving the social fabric of communities is a key to sustainable change, community builders are concerned with the network of social ties found in the neighborhoods they target for revitalization. Researchers generally speak about two types of social ties. Strong ties connect family members and friends to one another, and are important sources of aid for getting by¹⁷ and for survival and crisis management.¹⁸ So-called “weak ties” are found in acquaintanceship networks, and are important sources of everyday assistance, job information, and access to other instrumental and social resources.¹⁹

Social networks themselves cannot be used to differentiate one neighborhood from another, because they are largely relevant at an individual level of analysis. To combat this methodological problem, researchers define neighborhoods by how social ties are distributed. At the neighborhood level, networks of social ties are understood as either dense or loose.²⁰ Dense networks are ones in which everyone in the network knows everyone else and are contrasted with loose networks in which there is less overlap of social ties.²¹ Dense networks and loose networks are associated with different types of neighborhood-level outcomes.

While a large body of research analyzes whether social ties at the community level are still as important as they were in an earlier era,²² most researchers accept the importance of social interactions among residents as a given and use the quantity or quality of social ties to predict other features of community social life and social action.

Social Interactions Are the Building Blocks of Local Social Capital

Social networks form an important dimension of social capital at the neighborhood level because they are resources for individuals as well as communities as a whole. Donald Unger and Abraham Wandersman identify a number of functions served by neighbors that highlight the role social networks play in the lives of community residents and the way neighbors build social capital that benefits the community as a whole:²³

- Neighbors often serve as support systems for each other, providing material as well as emotional assistance in times of need;
- Neighbors may serve as a buffer against feelings of isolation, especially in large urban areas;
- Neighbors (and informal neighborhood leaders) may provide each other with links to information about organizations and services that are available both within and outside of the neighborhood;
- Neighbors are able to provide aid, in the form of daycare or emergency help; and
- Neighbors may “join together to exercise their political skills and to better the quality of their living environment.”

Through day-to-day interaction with each other, neighbors have the potential to serve as valuable sources of social support, providing material as well as emotional assistance in times of need. Neighbors often fill in the gaps left by poverty or lack of formalized services in a distressed, isolated neighborhood.²⁴ These relationships are important resources, despite the fact that dense networks of similarly situated people—particularly the poor—may be better at helping individuals get by than get ahead.²⁵

Social Networks and Community Outcomes

While the prevalence of social networks is largely associated with improved quality of life for residents, there is much evidence to suggest that social networks positively influence other community dynamics.²⁶ For example, networks of friends are associated with reduced crime and social disorder. Wesley Skogan, a noted criminologist, notes that “when residents form local social ties, their capacity for community social control is increased because they are better able to recognize strangers and more apt to engage in guardianship behavior against victimization.”²⁷

Similarly, Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel’s study of low-income housing co-ops in New York supports the notion that interaction with neighbors is an important component of social capital in poor communities.²⁸ Informal socializing with neighbors in the building, along with strong prosocial norms

and participation in the residents' council, was associated with better building conditions and lower levels of crime than buildings with less social capital. The neighboring component in particular was associated with better outcomes at the collective and individual levels:

. . . social capital in poor communities can support both survival on a day-to-day basis and improved educational and employment opportunities. Our ethnographic studies suggest that co-ops provide social capital that acts as the first line of defense in times of crisis (Leavitt and Saegert, 1990) In almost every co-op we have studied closely, residents also provide encouragement and practical assistance to each other in pursuing higher education and employment opportunities.²⁹

Researchers examining the connection between neighborhood social climate and participation in block associations have found that the nature of the social relationships in a neighborhood significantly predicts a neighborhood's ability to organize more instrumental types of organizations. Unger and Wandersman reported that informal assistance, through the types of neighboring behaviors identified above, facilitated block organizing.³⁰ This in turn opened doors for more social interaction, activism around particular neighborhood problems, and the development of familiarity with neighbors. In this same vein, Perkins found that neighboring, along with other social climate variables, such as perceived incivilities in neighborhoods, block satisfaction, and perceived block association efficacy, were significantly and positively associated with block level participation in the local residents' association.³¹

The density of social networks and the nature of the social ties that comprise them are associated with different types of neighborhood-level outcomes. Networks characterized by strong ties among family members and among friends are viewed as important sources of aid for getting by³² and for survival and crisis management.³³ Those networks characterized by weak ties, such as acquaintanceship networks, are important sources of everyday assistance, effective mechanisms for transmitting information, and useful connectors to other instrumental and social resources because they are varied and diverse.³⁴ As one scholar noted:

Where dense networks, in which everyone or almost everyone knows everyone else, are good for mobilizing [social support], widely dispersed ties to many kinds of people, even if these ties are casual acquaintanceships, are most important from the standpoint of job mobility, material aid, and so on.³⁵

A significant body of literature examines the ways in which different types of social ties serve different purposes. In 1973 Mark Granovetter, an economic sociologist, developed an argument about the social importance of “weak ties,” that has particular relevance for researchers who are interested in the utility of social networks.³⁶ Granovetter held that when individuals interact regularly only with an insular or close-knit group, they may experience difficulties in gaining access to things (good information or services) that require a diverse range of contacts and are less likely to be part of social networks that would inform them of societal issues and motivate civic participation. Individuals with contacts linking into diverse social networks (the *weak ties* among acquaintances), on the other hand, are much more likely to communicate with a wide variety of people, therefore being better informed about societal issues and more likely to engage in collective action.

Weak ties may be particularly beneficial to jobseekers who often find out about employment opportunities through a friend of a friend. Xavier de Souza Briggs has shown that living in a neighborhood with employed adults has a positive effect on young jobseekers in a straightforward way. Young people who participate in a local social network with people who are more connected and better off are privy to information that would otherwise be inaccessible to them. A growing number of studies support Briggs’ conclusion that living in a neighborhood with gainfully employed adults provides more than just role models. Indeed, such research indicates that doors can be opened as a result of being part of a social network that facilitates information sharing about opportunities within and outside of the neighborhood.³⁷

When we think about social networks, then, we should bear in mind that knowing, even casually, a wide variety of one’s neighbors is the key feature of this dimension of social capital for increasing access to important information in a community. It is important to avoid romanticizing the idea, or to pin too many hopes on the development of overlapping, dense social networks in dis-

advantaged neighborhoods. While it is important for residents of poor places to have bonds in the neighborhood for social support as well as bridges to others outside the neighborhood, research has shown that neighborhood poverty constricts the size and structure of social networks, particularly for black women. Poverty has also been found to limit the number of mainstream contacts that are accessible for both men and women.³⁸ As Xavier de Souza Briggs, Elizabeth Mueller, and Mercer Sullivan observed in their study of the social effects of nonprofit community development corporations on urban neighborhoods:

Though we know from case studies that neighboring and other community-oriented behaviors can be promoted, images of urban neighborhoods—poor and non-poor—swarming with dense, close relationships among large numbers of people are terribly misleading. More accurate is the image of many small worlds co-existing and coming into fairly limited contact in any shared space.³⁹

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

One of the most obvious outgrowths of neighborhood-based social interaction is the development of *sense of community*. Building a sense of community is often invoked as a key element to community-building success because it represents important attitudes and feelings that largely define healthy communities. Sense of community is a key concept in community-based research, and has been conceptualized by some influential theoreticians as “the glue that holds communities together.”⁴⁰

Sense of community has been defined as a strong attachment that people feel toward others based on where they live, work, or go to school, or with which groups they affiliate.⁴¹ Sense of community describes the extent to which people feel that they are part of a community that can be spatially or nonspatially defined. This concept taps into community members’ underlying feelings of belonging, togetherness, mutuality, and camaraderie that are theoretically linked to behaviors that enhance community life. While it may seem intuitive to think of sense of community in relation to one’s community of residence, there is a large body of research focusing on the role sense of community plays in a number of contexts. It has been examined in reference

to how people feel about living in particular cities, and it has also been studied in relation to small group processes in unions, the workplace, schools, colleges, and religious congregations. The sentiment captures how much people stick together or feel like members of an identified community that they both contribute to and benefit from.

Tremendous interest in sense of community motivated a concerted effort by scholars in the latter half of the twentieth century to define, operationalize, measure and study it and its impact on society.⁴² However abundant, this research literature is often difficult to interpret, as sense of community and its component elements—community attachment and community satisfaction—are often poorly defined and used interchangeably. As such, the task of clearly operationalizing this construct is difficult in basic research and in the applied research that would be of interest to community-building practitioners. Even if we focus on understanding sense of community from a community psychologist's perspective—since that field more than any other has placed sense of community at the center of its work—the task is incomplete:

To date, there have been less than 30 published research studies that directly measure a psychological sense of community. Although there are some common methodological and theoretical trends that run through these studies, there seems to be little trouble getting people to agree on a general definition of psychological sense of community, yet the development of a standardized, operational definition of the construct has eluded researchers. At least five measures of the construct have been developed, and there is still a lack of agreement as to what specific dimensions make up psychological sense of community.⁴³

Despite the lack of clarity in the literature, there are studies that are noteworthy in their attempts to tackle this definitional and empirical challenge. In one of the earliest attempts to operationalize and measure psychological sense of community empirically, Thomas Glynn created a survey that reflected attitudes and behaviors identified in the literature (and by expert judges) as related to the psychological sense of community (PSC) concept.⁴⁴ Glynn's measure tapped into six dimensions of PSC: "objective evaluation of community structure, supportive relationships in the community, similarity and relationship patterns

of community residents, individual involvement in the community, quality of community environment, and community security.⁴⁵ Glynn was also able to demonstrate a relationship between the attitudes and behaviors associated with PSC and perceptions of community satisfaction and community competence. While Glynn is credited with creating a measure that successfully differentiated between communities with high and low levels of sense of community, his work has been criticized because of its treatment of sense of community as an individual-level variable instead of one that truly measured sense of community as a characteristic of communities.⁴⁶ Our review of the literature found many references to his work, but few examples of how his measure has been used in the field.

The theoretical approach to PSC put forward by McMillan and Chavis and later operationalized by Chavis and colleagues appears to be the most widely accepted use of the concept and brings together many of the common themes from prior research.⁴⁷

Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met by their commitment to be together.⁴⁸

According to their definition, individuals demonstrate strong (or high) PSC toward a particular referent group in four ways:

- A feeling of belonging
- A feeling that they influence and are influenced by their community
- A belief that their needs can be and are being satisfied by the collective capabilities of the group
- A feeling of emotional connectedness or a strong sense of investment in the collective

These four dimensions—membership, influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs—can be readily applied to a variety of geographically bound and interest-oriented communities.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY OUTCOMES

It is widely believed that a sense of community is a precondition for resident participation in community organizations and local action. Indeed, community builders understand sense of community to be a precursor to effective community change:

There are certainly examples of community development initiatives that are cognizant of the importance of developing and improving both the social and physical characteristics of a neighborhood. The Dudley Street Initiative in Boston is a fine example of community building. The first several years of activity were spent developing a sense of community among neighborhood residents. Only then did community organizers turn their attention to housing production.⁴⁹

While a large body of work explores sense of community descriptively, there appears to be much less work that explores sense of community in a way that would allow for the testing of a cause-effect relationship between sense of community and other local characteristics or outcomes.⁵⁰ Furthermore, few of the studies of sense of community have been in poor communities, which may limit our understanding of how important sense of community is in relationship to the overall social capital in the types of neighborhoods community builders target.

David Chavis and Abraham Wandersman conducted one of the most extensive examinations of the sense of community concept in their analysis of cross-sectional, longitudinal data drawn from two studies of neighborhood organizations. They reported that sense of community plays a catalytic, if indirect, role in motivating participation in voluntary organizations:

In the neighborhood environment a sense of community can be both a cause and effect of local action. People feel more secure with their neighbors when they have a sense of community. They are more likely to feel comfortable coming to their first meeting of an association and because of regular communication among neighbors they are more likely to hear about it.⁵¹

While Chavis and Wandersman focused primarily on establishing a connection between sense of community and the longer-term outcome—resident participation—they also uncovered intermediate connections along that pathway and the preconditions for participation and empowerment, which are important to explore. Specifically, Chavis and Wandersman demonstrated that three factors directly related to sense of community—the perception of one’s environment, one’s social relations, and perceived ability to affect community life and exert control within community—also influence participation in community affairs. One of their key findings is that, quite often, sense of community and other important community attributes have a reciprocal relationship that makes determining causal connections among elements of community social capital difficult.

Their findings about sense of community have been supported by related research,⁵² which suggests that when neighborhood residents share a sense of community they are more likely to feel attached to the neighborhood, engage in neighboring behavior, and participate in collective efforts to make the neighborhood better.

Much of the remainder of what can be considered “sense of community research” is limited to defining its demographic correlates—that is, the types of people and places that tend to report a “high” sense of community, and the types of community or individual traits that appear to moderate its development. Most researchers contend that sense of community tends to be highest in places that are residentially stable and associated with neighborhoods that have high rates of homeownership or are characterized as safe and orderly.

These relationships are considered conventional wisdom even though there is some empirical evidence to the contrary.⁵³ For example, while it makes intuitive sense that sense of community would develop in places that are safe and orderly, and where fear of crime is therefore low, some researchers have suggested that there is a curvilinear relationship between local problems and sense of community. That is, a moderate degree of disorder and a moderate fear of crime may serve as a catalyst for the members of a community to come together to work on resolving threats.⁵⁴ In this case, coming together to work on a problem can be a precondition for developing a sense of community, instead of the converse.

Researchers also suggest that household composition may significantly influence how sense of community develops. Single adults and elderly residents living

alone tend to score lower on measures of sense of community than respondents who have small children, or couples.⁵⁵ On the other hand, parents with small children watch out for them as they play in local parks and in front of their homes, and as a result, they typically interact with and get to know the children and parents as well as other residents in their neighborhood.⁵⁶ These findings suggest that residents who have many social outlets outside of the community, or those who are more isolated from their neighbors for other reasons may not be as likely to interact much with neighbors. Consequently, single adults and homebound elderly are not as likely as parents with young children to experience a high degree of sense of community, even if they are long-term residents of the neighborhood. This suggests that household family composition may be a key to thinking about the types of strategies that a community-building effort may need to adopt in order to foster the development of sense of community in neighborhoods where it is low.

SOCIAL COHESION

Researchers use the term social cohesion in neighborhoods to characterize a community according to the extent to which residents share a sense of community, an attraction-to-place, patterns of regular interaction among themselves, and a sense of trust and mutuality. According to Buckner, “a neighborhood high in cohesion refers to a neighborhood where residents, on average, report feeling strong sense of community, report engaging in frequent acts of neighboring and are highly attracted to live in and remain residents of the neighborhood.”⁵⁷ While sense of community represents a set of important feelings about neighbors, social cohesion extends to a set of cognitive and behavioral patterns across a group of residents that can be used to distinguish a socially cohesive neighborhood from one that is less so. Social cohesion suggests that neighbors share a common sense of values, and that these common values produce a set of observable patterns in how people behave toward each other in private settings as well as publicly in the neighborhood.

Much of what is written about social cohesion focuses on commonly accepted values and norms that are realized in a given community. “Common values” in this sense does not refer to homogeneous ethnic, religious or political perspectives, necessarily, but rather to the goals of safety, decent housing, and orderliness that most of us hope to enjoy in our neighborhoods.⁵⁸

Social Cohesion Grows out of Social Contacts in a Neighborhood

Those who have studied the formation of a group or community's acceptance of norms for public behavior have found that regular social contacts are an important factor for transmitting common values and reinforcing social cohesion. Furthermore, a community with a high level of sense of community is expected to demonstrate high levels of social cohesion, in which members feel they are part of an extended family and exhibit the levels of trust and mutual assistance that reflect a willingness to stick together.

It is widely held that poor, ethnically heterogeneous communities with highly mobile populations are less able to support the types and level of social ties that are the precursors to social cohesion. Heterogeneous groups of poor people move in and out of low-cost, typically run-down areas, not staying long enough to establish the social ties and associations that form the basis of social cohesion among neighbors.⁵⁹

Even though poverty and its related conditions may seem like the most likely explanatory factors of the lack of social cohesion in a neighborhood, other factors may be more significant predictors of neighborhood social cohesion. The most immediate examples are racial and ethnic diversity. Researchers have found that racial—and especially ethnic—homogeneity promotes a level of acceptance and togetherness among neighborhood residents. Furthermore, racially and ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, and those in which people share socioeconomic status and other social characteristics, are more likely to develop social cohesion and shared norms because trust develops more readily in these settings. According to Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams, “residents of low-income *heterogeneous* neighborhoods tend to be more suspicious of each other, to perceive less commonality with each other, and to feel less control over their neighborhoods than do the residents of more homogeneous neighborhoods (emphasis added).”⁶⁰ The presence of a cultural group that dominates an area politically, economically, and culturally is cited as a predominant characteristic of neighborhoods that maintain high levels of social cohesion.⁶¹ Therefore, while racial and ethnic integration is a goal that is often associated with community building, practitioners must acknowledge and respect the role that shared racial and ethnic history plays in developing social cohesion, particularly in low-income areas.

Social Cohesion Provides the Foundation for Informal Social Control

Cohesive neighborhoods are often identified by their ability to act collectively to promote their own interests. One way this is done is by exerting what sociologists call informal social control,⁶² which is the willingness of neighbors to look out for each other and to intervene to stop crime, disorder, or behavior that they view as inappropriate. Effective informal social control allows communities to set standards for public behavior and to police themselves. In a cohesive community, people care about how other members of the group perceive them, and take care not to tread on the rules that govern public behavior.

In order to enforce social controls, residents require the ability to distinguish between community members and outsiders. The effectiveness of social control also requires a sense of trust that all members of the group accept community rules, and that punishment can be meted out without the fear of retaliation.⁶³ These informal controls are used to draw boundaries around the types of behavior that are acceptable, such as the upkeep of one's residence, refraining from public consumption of alcoholic beverages, and so on. Neighborhoods that are able to enforce rules about public behavior and proper maintenance of the physical environment demonstrate the power of collectively held values, which may be enforced through gossip, a carefully worded memo from the neighborhood association, or a knowing glance.⁶⁴

Social Cohesion, Informal Social Control, and Community Outcomes

Informal social control is a key community-building concept, with applications across many of the areas in which CCIs intervene. It is through contact with neighbors that shared values and norms are transmitted and maintained, resulting in the expectations about acceptable behavior that govern neighborhood action.⁶⁵ All communities have some level of informal social control, which can be exercised through a variety of means:

At the least formal end of the continuum is the individual acting alone or with the primary peer group to uphold social norms . . . in this case, social control is exercised through direct confrontation or more subtle peer group pressure . . . roughly in the middle would be a group of neighbors getting together to enforce local norms. For example, a group may form to deal with a local teenager who is causing trouble in the neighborhood.

The group does not have a name, does not really think of itself as a group or hold regular meetings, and has no purpose other than to address the problem immediately at hand . . . at the most formal end . . . are the neighborhood organizations . . . through various group activities they can help to define and reinforce informal norms for acceptable public behavior. Clean-up and beautification programs, for example, set a certain standard for property maintenance . . .⁶⁶

Researchers have documented how informal social control is used to promote a wide range of positive community outcomes:

The social dimension of neighborhood can be posited as affecting homeowners' maintenance behavior by encouraging them to conform to the other residents' norms as to what constitutes "minimum acceptable" neighborhood housing quality. Neighbors may consciously or unconsciously apply social pressure through threats of stigmatization or ostracism to those who do not acceptably maintain their dwellings . . . one would also expect to find that the greater the "cohesiveness" of the neighborhood, the stronger should be the aforementioned stimuli encouraging conformity by any given homeowner in that neighborhood.⁶⁷

There are real benefits associated with a cohesive community, not the least of which is a heightened ability and propensity to develop the capacity to engage in political or collective action on behalf of the community. Social cohesion, informal social control, and trust are directly related to a community's ability to come together and act collectively to combat violent crime and other anti-social behavior.⁶⁸ Informal social control is particularly important in regard to a community's ability to supervise teenagers and prevent juvenile delinquency, gang membership, and related youth-perpetrated crimes.⁶⁹ As Michelle Alberti Gambone notes in this volume, neighborhoods with strong informal control have lower juvenile delinquency rates than neighborhoods that lack monitoring and control.

The overall effects of social cohesion and informal social control are referred to in the literature as community competence, collective efficacy, or community empowerment, three terms which capture the ability to bring about

desired community goals.⁷⁰ The conceptual link across each of these manifestations of community power is the notion that communities in which there are informal and formal associations and a sense of familiarity, trust, and shared values are able to organize themselves to act collectively to bring about commonly understood goals. In contrast, communities that lack social cohesion and mechanisms to impose informal social controls are also less able to develop the capacities that advance community empowerment.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EMPOWERMENT

Our literature review supports the notion that social capital is an important resource for communities to consider as they assess their assets and devise strategies for renewal and improvement. While the case can be made for social networks, sense of community, social cohesion, and informal social control as precursors to community empowerment, the field still has not developed a cohesive theory of change about how these elements are related to each other in a causal chain.

Part of the difficulty in explaining the connection between social capital and empowerment is that—like social capital—empowerment is relevant at many levels of analysis.⁷¹ At the individual level, empowerment refers to beliefs about one's competence, efforts to exert control over one's environment, and an understanding of the sociopolitical environment.⁷² At the organizational level, empowerment refers to both the empowering practices of organizations that provide opportunities for people to participate and gain control over their lives, the degree to which organizations are empowered to deliver key resources to their constituents, and the ability of organizations to be catalysts for change within their sphere of influence.⁷³ At the community level, empowerment is generally understood as the ability of a community to initiate improvement efforts, respond to threats to quality of life, and provide opportunities for citizen participation.⁷⁴

In community settings, resident participation in collective action drives the empowerment process and is tied more closely than any of the other elements of social capital to empowerment at the individual, organizational, and community levels.⁷⁵ The pathway of change that promotes resident empowerment requires the development of a sustaining social network and a sense of

community at both the individual and group level. These concepts are intricately related to participation in collective voluntary activities, understood as both a cause and an effect of empowerment.

Some researchers limit the definition of the empowering manifestations of resident participation to those activities in which the individual has a role in decision making, such as membership on the governance board or steering committee of a CCI. Others recognize that participation in any organized activity in which the individual volunteers in order to achieve a common goal has value as part of the empowerment process.⁷⁶ In terms of building skills and competencies, as well as the felt sense of empowerment, participation in voluntary activities offers a number of opportunities to gain experience organizing people, identifying resources, and developing strategies for achieving goals.

At the organizational level of analysis, social capital plays itself out through two types of community organizations: those that are empowering, and those that are empowered. *Empowering* organizations are characterized by democratic and participatory decision-making structures and shared leadership.⁷⁷ An empowering organization “not only needs structures which enable participation and empowerment, but must also provide a climate which facilitates these processes. Constructive participation requires an atmosphere characterized by mutual trust, openness and honesty, and respect and concern for others.”⁷⁸ These are the types of organizations in which members feel supported and are encouraged to develop skills and competencies that enhance functioning in other settings. Empowering organizations promote the benefits and reduce the costs of participation for members, and offer members a chance to share experiences and develop a sense of identity with others.⁷⁹ An organization’s success as an empowering institution is often measured by assessing the degree of psychological empowerment of participants, which can be completely independent of actual organizational competence or effectiveness.

Empowered organizations are not necessarily those that are empowering for members, but they are the institutions seen as players in their communities and among peer organizations. These organizations thrive among competitors, accomplish their goals, and develop management and communication practices that enhance their effectiveness.⁸⁰ They consistently demonstrate the ability to identify and gain access to internal and external resources required to put plans in action. They also have the ability to network with other organizations

to share information, create a strong base of support, and collaborate to achieve common goals.⁸¹ An organization's power can also be reflected by the influence it exerts over the local environment and by its ability to become engaged in relevant policy debates.

A community's ability to mobilize resources toward common goals effectively hinges on the community's organizational resources as well as its social relationships. Thus, promoting the development of social capital can be an integral step in promoting community empowerment. Although our review suggests clearly the nonlinearity of the relationship between social capital and empowerment—largely due to the intervening role that resident participation plays in connecting elements of social capital to the processes we see as empowering for communities—it is safe to say that some level of social capital is required to mobilize communities to act collectively on their own behalf. Our framework highlights the role that social capital—meaning social networks, sense of community, social cohesion, and informal social control—plays as a *precondition* of collective action and collaboration, which lead to community empowerment. The model also suggests that social capital is *produced* as a result of collective action, making it difficult to distinguish social capital as product from social capital as resource. Social capital produced at one point in time for one purpose can be used at a later point for another purpose.⁸² Promoting even a small success in a community can jump start a process that will have benefits for years to come.

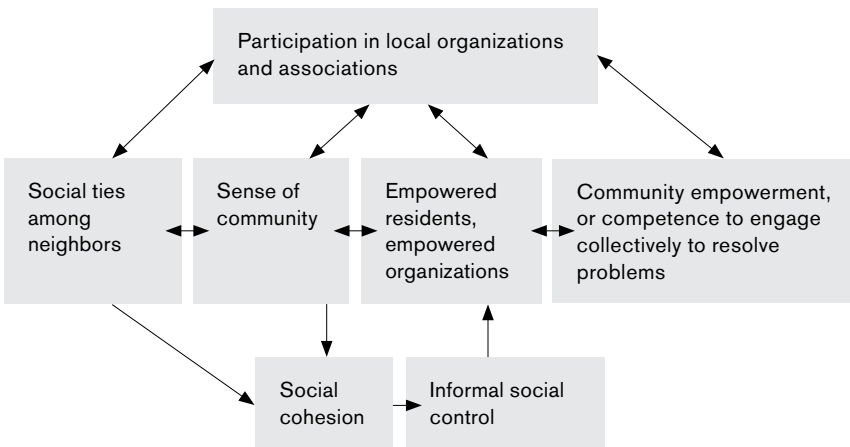
In the next section, we draw on these reviews to surface a *theory of change* that explains how social capital develops in a neighborhood and how it benefits community-based efforts to improve local conditions. In the final section, we address the limits of this model, and of the social capital concept generally, in relation to poor, inner-city communities.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: A Framework for Community Social Capital Development

Neighborhood residents involved in community building spend most of their time jointly working on productive activities that directly address the problems and opportunities to which they give high priority, whether it is cleaning up a vacant lot, planning a housing rehabilitation project, trying to improve school quality, or mounting a citizens’ patrol to prevent crime. As they do these things they are automatically building social capital—developing friendships and mutual trust, sharing and strengthening common values, learning how to work together as a team to get things accomplished, building confidence that they can achieve meaningful results, and strengthening their own institutions. This capital then spills over into the future.⁸³

Figure 1.1 represents how we understand these important attitudes, behaviors, and relationships coming together in a pathway of change that leads to community empowerment and to positive changes in community conditions. Notice that few of the connections are linear. As our review of the literature illustrates,

Figure 1.1: Social Capital and Community-Building Theory of Change



any model of social capital and its related components is recursive, with many of the elements understood as both *preconditions* and *products* of social capital formations. For example, social ties tend to increase the likelihood that residents will participate in neighborhood associations and the like, but participation can also create new opportunities to make new ties or to strengthen those that already exist. The next step in our model suggests that sense of community is a feeling shared by residents who get to know each other and begin to feel that they are part of a whole. These feelings increase the likelihood that community members will engage with neighbors informally and through organizations and associations. Here again, we see that the arrows in our model go both ways: sense of community *promotes* participation and yet it is also *promoted by* participation in local organizations. Likewise, social cohesion and the overlapping construct, informal social control, develop in communities where people know each other and come to share a common set of norms and values. Both social cohesion and informal social control predict a community's ability to come together and act in its own best interests, yet they derive, at least in part, from participation in local associations or organizations.

The literature shows that by far, the prevailing driver in community social capital development is participation in local organizations and associations, as this is linked to each of the elements of social capital as a precondition as well as an outcome. Most importantly, participation in local organizations is strongly connected to both the feelings of empowerment and actual empowerment at the individual and organizational levels. These outcomes, along with participation, are directly linked to community competence in bringing about desired changes, which are the ultimate goals of community building.

The multidirectionality of elements of our model complicates the task of telling the story of how social capital is produced in communities. Our theory building is also complicated by the conceptual overlap of the concepts themselves, and the similarity of many of the measurement instruments that have been developed to assess them, such as sense of community and social cohesion, which use very similar survey items. A further complication concerns levels of analysis: many of the concepts in the model are measured at the individual level of analysis through surveys or interviews that collect data from neighborhood residents, yet are aggregated to characterize attributes of the community as a whole. These are serious methodological challenges, and until now, few

researchers have been able to devise a strategy to capture the features of social capital by studying communities as a whole.

Despite these challenges, the literature allows us to present a model for understanding how the elements of social capital depend on each other and lead to community empowerment and to tangible community change.

A Word about Measuring Social Capital

A scan of measures of community social context indicates that few measurement tools have been designed, validated, and used in communities to measure social capital. Social capital measurement tools rely heavily on the use of surveys, but include some interview protocols; observational tools; checklists; measures of social relationships and networks in communities; and scales that assess attitudes and behaviors that are related to, or proxies of, various dimensions of neighborhood-based social capital, such as sense of community or neighboring.⁸⁴ There are also tools that can be used to document the breadth and depth of participation in neighborhood organizational and civic affairs, and measures of constructs that are widely viewed as key elements of social capital, such as social cohesion and informal social control. Despite the important work that has been done to develop measures, some gaps remain.

A major measurement challenge is developing community-level measures for social capital that go beyond aggregating its manifestation at the individual or organizational level. For a number of the dimensions of social capital, a key question at the community level is whether having a high average level of a particular dimension in the community is sufficient, whether it needs to be distributed in a particular way across the community, or whether it and other dimensions are required to improve a community's ability to produce better outcomes.

FINAL THOUGHTS: Community Building Creates Spaces for the Development of Social Capital

There is far less empirical work on how to produce or promote the development of social capital than one would expect, given the almost universally accepted view that this is an important attribute of healthy communities. We believe that this void is due at least in part to the challenges of defining and measuring social capital. Research on the dimensions of social capital that are most rel-

evant to neighborhoods may have somewhat limited applicability to distressed urban settings, since much of the published research is drawn from neighborhoods that are neither poor nor distressed.

Despite the dearth of research-based evidence, there is a wealth of practical knowledge that strongly suggests that creating social capital is an important part of community builders' work, and that it can be done in many ways. For example, community organizers have long operated with an understanding of the value a catalytic event can have on building a sense of community, which is necessary for mobilization. Raising consciousness about a catalytic event may cause residents to recognize a common threat to their well-being. Gentrification, the expansion of a local institution, or problems with the police may also foster the development of a sense of community among people who had never acknowledged a common plight before.

Even when community organizing to understand or combat neighborhood concerns is not the motive, community builders recognize the need to create opportunities for residents to get to know each other informally. Such gatherings serve as a precursor to building a sense of community, social cohesion, and the ability to exert informal social control. Social ties can develop as a result of participation in organizations and associations, such as churches, block associations, or local PTAs, which provide a forum for residents to interact regularly in the neighborhood. These participatory patterns are in some ways as important indicators of social organization as the prevalence of more formal community organizations, such as the CDCs or CCIs. Even activities that are designed to be recreational can have positive side effects related to the development of social ties, and thus social capital, in a given community. As Mercer Sullivan noted:

The difference between a socially organized and a socially disorganized neighborhood cannot always be attributed to the presence or absence of formal organizations. In some areas, informal networks of kin and friends, rather than formal organizations, are the threads that hold together the social fabric. Strong organizations themselves draw on local social networks.⁸⁵

Similarly, community builders can organize community gardens, community celebrations, study circles, cleanup campaigns, block parties, rummage sales,

block or building patrols, and other activities that require only a short-term commitment to help residents interact, get to know each other, and develop a sense of trust for each other. Social capital may also be fostered through support or affinity groups that form around a common interest. Quilting circles, single parent clubs, and local book clubs are examples of the types of informal groups that build community along lines of interest and affinity. There are also ways to build community across other interest groups, like those that form to support recovering addicts, recently released prisoners, or teens in trouble. These community-building activities can facilitate the development of a sense of community and set the stage for a wider range of social, economic, and political interactions with neighbors.

All opportunities for interaction occur in a physical space. Thus, place may be an important determinant of the development of social networks, and therefore social capital, in a neighborhood. Moreover, all places are not equal facilitators of social interactions between residents. As noted in the introduction to this volume, green spaces in a community create opportunities for social interaction, while places marred by physical deterioration and vandalism are associated with less social interaction.

Ethnographers have documented the importance of ordinary places in promoting the types of informal interactions among neighbors that are the building blocks of social capital.⁸⁶ Thus, the constellation of physical spaces that make up a neighborhood—private businesses, such as barber shops and stores; other community institutions, such as churches and schools; public land, such as parks and basketball courts; and private property, such as front porches—can be important settings for building and maintaining social capital in a neighborhood.

It is in this area that many of the themes highlighted in this volume come together. For example, economic development and microenterprises that create a rich network of small businesses in the neighborhood can create sites for the development of social capital. Projects focused on the physical conditions of neighborhoods and housing, which promote common spaces, such as parks, gardens, and courtyards where people can congregate, can facilitate social interaction. Crime prevention strategies that make the neighborhood safer, and consequently encourage people to spend time outdoors in common spaces, promote this dimension of social capital. And, as Gail Meister notes in this vol-

ume, schools can be an important setting for community residents to interact and to come together to address educational issues.

The simple core of social capital as a community concept is that people need to know their neighbors, interact with them, and develop a level of trust so that when a threat or need arises there is a network in place that can be built upon to address the problem collectively. Promoting casual interactions among neighbors, then, serves to create communities out of places where people had formerly interacted only as strangers, building social capital along the way.

Endnotes

1. Rebecca Stone, Lisa Dwyer, and Gayatri Sethi, "Exploring Visions of 'Built' Community," in *Core Issues in Comprehensive Community-Building Initiatives*, ed. Rebecca Stone (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1996), p. 21.
2. For a comprehensive review of the ways that the term social capital has been used in the literature, see Ellen Wall, Gabriele Ferrazzi, and Frans Schryer, "Getting the Goods on Social Capital," *Rural Sociology* 63, no. 2 (June 1998): 300–322.
3. Marshall Kreuter, Nicole Lezin, and Adam Koplan, "National Level Assessment of Community Health Promotion Using Indicators of Social Capital," *WHO/EURO Working Group on Evaluating Health Promotion Approaches* 21 (January 1997), p. 2.
4. See Robert D. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life," *The American Prospect* 4, no. 13 (spring 1993): 35–42; Putnam, "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," *The American Prospect* 7, no. 24 (1996): 34–48; Ross Gittell and Avis Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1998).
5. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 167.
6. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community," 1993; Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
7. Putnam, quoted by Marion Orr, *Black Social Capital: The Politics of School Reform in Baltimore, 1986–98* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kans., 1999), p. 4; the Putnam source is, "The Prosperous Community," 1993, pp. 39–41.
8. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
9. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).
10. Carla M. Eastis, "Organizational Diversity and the Production of Social Capital," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 42, no. 2 (September 1998), p. 66.
11. The General Social Survey (GSS) is one example of the secondary data sets researchers have used to study the relative decline of social capital. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam uses results from the GSS, national surveys conducted by the Roper Center and the League of Women Voters, and the

Labor Department's Current Population Survey (CPS), along with other secondary sources of survey data to illustrate his point about the decline in social capital and civic engagement. Other studies based on secondary data have had a major role in shaping how social capital is understood. See Ichiro Kawachi et al., "Social Capital, Income Inequality, and Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health* 87 (September 1997): 1491–98; Avery M. Guest and Susan K. Wierzbicki, "Social Ties at the Neighborhood Level: Two Decades of GSS Evidence," *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (September 1999): 92–111; Avery M. Guest and R. Salvador Oropesa, "Informal Social Ties and Political Activity in the Metropolis," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 21 (June 1986); Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy," *Science* 277 (August 15, 1997): 918–24; Sampson, "Linking the Micro- and Macro-Level Dimensions of Community Social Organization," *Social Forces* 70 (September 1991): 43–64.

12. See Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel, "Paths to Community Empowerment: Organizing at Home," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (August 1996): 517–50; Xavier de Souza Briggs, Elizabeth J. Mueller, and Mercer Sullivan, *From Neighborhood to Community: Evidence on the Social Effects of Community Development* (New York: New School for Social Research, Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, Community Development Research Center, 1997):139–171; Gittell and Vidal, *Community Organizing*; 1998, and Kenneth Temkin and William M. Rohe, "Social Capital and Neighborhood Stability: An Empirical Investigation," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 1 (1998), for notable exceptions.
13. Xavier de Souza Briggs, "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 1 (1998): 178.
14. The Saguro Seminar: Civic Engagement in America is an initiative of Professor Robert Putnam at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. The project focuses on increasing knowledge about levels of trust and community engagement and on developing strategies and efforts to increase this engagement. A signature effort has been a multiyear dialogue on building bonds of civic trust among Americans and their communities. Three dozen foundations, other funders, and the Saguro Seminar joined together to sponsor the largest-ever survey of nearly 30,000 Americans on civic engagement. More information on the Saguro Seminar, Better Together or the *Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey* is available at: <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/saguro/index.html>.
15. Temkin and Rohe, "Social Capital," 1998.
16. Gittell and Vidal, *Community Organizing*, 1998.
17. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998.
18. Carol Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).
19. The term "weak ties" was popularized by Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (May 1973): 1360–80; Mark Granovetter, *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).
20. See Matthew A. Crenson, "Social Networks and Political Processes in Urban Neighborhoods," *American Journal of Political Science* 223 (August 1978): 578–94 for an interesting look at differences in political behavior across close-knit and loose-knit neighborhoods.
21. Some influential theorists add a third dimension, a "closed network," as a critical element of social capital in a neighborhood. Coleman was particularly interested in the closure of intergenerational networks, which is defined as one in which the parents know the children their children know, and the parents of these children, allowing for better supervision and social control.

- See James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, supplement (1988): S95–S120; see also Robert J. Sampson, "What 'Community' Supplies," in *Urban Problems and Community Development*, ed. Ronald F. Ferguson and William T. Dickens (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999): 241–92.
22. See, for example, Guest and Oropesa, "Informal Social Ties," 1986; Guest and Wierzbicki, "Social Ties," 1999; Roger Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods, People, and Community* (New York: Plenum Press, 1984).
 23. Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 10, no. 5 (1982): 493–509.
 24. Stack, *All Our Kin*, 1974; Unger and Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," 1982. See also, Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "The Importance of Neighbors: The Social, Cognitive and Affective Components of Neighboring," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13, no. 2 (1985): 139–69.
 25. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 178.
 26. Robert J. Sampson and W. Byron Groves, "Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (January 1989): 774–802; Wesley Skogan, "Fear of Crime and Neighborhood Change," in *Communities and Crime*, ed. Albert J. Reiss Jr. and Michael Tonry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 209–23; John Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, "Community Attachment in Mass Society," *American Sociological Review* 39 (1974): 328–29.
 27. Skogan, "Fear of Crime and Neighborhood Change," 1986, p. 216.
 28. Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel, "Social Capital and the Revitalization of New York City's Distressed Inner City Housing," *Housing Debate Policy* 9, no. 1 (1998): 17–60.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
 30. Unger and Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," 1982.
 31. Douglas D. Perkins et al., "Participation and the Social and Physical Environment of Residential Blocks: Crime and Community Context," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (February 1990): 83–115.
 32. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 178.
 33. Stack, *All Our Kin*, 1974.
 34. Briggs and Mueller, *From Neighborhood*, 1997.
 35. Briggs, "Brown Kids," 1998, p. 188.
 36. Granovetter, "Weak Ties," 1973; Granovetter, *Getting a Job*, 1974.
 37. Briggs' research is reminiscent of the central thesis of William Julius Wilson's argument in *The Truly Disadvantaged*, that inner city youth were socially isolated from middle class blacks who offered access to the types of social capital we are talking about here.
 38. David A. Reingold, "Social Networks and the Employment Problem of the Urban Poor," *Urban Studies* 36 (October 1999): 1907–32.
 39. Briggs and Mueller, *From Neighborhood*, 1997, p. 204.
 40. Seymour B. Sarason, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974); David M. Chavis and Abraham Wandersman, "Sense

- of Community in the Urban Environment: A Catalyst for Participation and Community Development,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (February 1990): 55–81.
41. Katherine J. Klein and Thomas A. D’Aunno, “Psychological Sense of Community in the Workplace,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1986): 365–77; Mark A. Royal and Robert J. Rossi, “Individual-Level Correlates of Sense of Community: Findings from Workplace and School,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (October 1996): 395–416; John W. Lounsbury and Daniel DeNeui, “Collegiate Psychological Sense of Community in Relation to Size of College/University and Extroversion,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (October 1996): 381–94; Kenneth I. Pargament, “The Psychosocial Climate of Religious Congregations,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 11 (1983): 351–81. See also William B. Davidson and Patrick R. Cotter, “Measurement of Sense of Community Within the Sphere of City,” *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 16 (1986): 608–19; Vic M. Catano et al., “Sense of Community and Union Participation,” *Psychological Reports* 72 (1993): 333–34.
 42. See Thomas J. Glynn, “Psychological Sense of Community: Measurement and Application,” *Human Relations* 34 (1981): 789–818 for an extensive review of this literature.
 43. Jean L. Hill, “Psychological Sense of Community: Suggestions for Future Research,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (1996): 431–38.
 44. Glynn, “Psychological Sense of Community,” 1981.
 45. Hill, “Psychological Sense of Community,” 1996, p. 432. Hill summarized Glynn’s work into these useful categories.
 46. John E. Puddifoot, “Some Initial Considerations in the Measurement of Community Identity,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (October 1996): 327–36.
 47. See, for example, Anne Brodsky, “Resilient Single Mothers in Risky Neighborhoods: Negative Psychological Sense of Community,” *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, no. 4 (1996): 347–63; Christopher Sonn and Adrian Fisher, “Psychological Sense of Community in a Politically Constructed Group,” *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, no.4 (1996): 417–30.
 48. David W. McMillan and David M. Chavis, “Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1986): 6–23.
 49. Temkin and Rohe, “Social Capital,” 1998, pp. 61–88.
 50. See Hill’s work for a critical review of this literature.
 51. Chavis and Wandersman, “Sense of Community,” 1990, p. 73.
 52. The “Block Booster Project,” funded by the Ford Foundation, was an action research project that evaluated the role of block association participation in increasing crime prevention behavior, reducing the fear of crime, and increasing elements of social capital. See Paul Florin and Abraham Wandersman, “An Introduction to Citizen Participation, Voluntary Organizations, and Community Development: Insights for Empowerment through Research,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (February 1990): 41–54; Perkins et al., “Participation and the Social and Physical Environment,” 1990: 83–115; Douglas D. Perkins, Barbara B. Brown, and Ralph B. Taylor, “The Ecology of Empowerment: Predicting Participation in Community Organizations,” *Journal of Social Issues* 52 (1996): 85–110.
 53. See as an example Hill, “Psychological Sense of Community,” 1996.
 54. Chavis and Wandersman, “Sense of Community,” 1990.
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56. The noted sociologist, James Coleman, labeled this type of system a “closed intergenerational network” and identifies it as an important dimension of social capital.
57. John C. Buckner, “The Development of an Instrument to Measure Neighborhood Cohesion,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 16, no. 6 (1988): 771–91, quote p. 774.
58. Some “culture of poverty” adherents would characterize these as middle-class values, but we argue that everyone wants to live in a safe, orderly community. The ability to realize this aspiration may have more to do with the social cohesiveness of a group than the fact that safety and orderliness are not valued in the group at all.
59. Dina A. Rose and Todd R. Clear, “Incarceration, Social Capital, and Crime: Implications for Social Disorganization Theory,” *Criminology* 36 (August 1998): 441–80.
60. Stephanie W. Greenberg, William M. Rohe, and Jay Williams, *Safe and Secure Neighborhoods: Physical Characteristics and Informal Territorial Control in High and Low Crime Neighborhoods* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1982), p. 85.
61. Raphael Sonenshein, “The Battle Over Liquor Stores in South Central Los Angeles: The Management of an Interminority Conflict,” *Urban Affairs Review* 31 (July 1996): 710–72; Andres Torres, *Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).
62. Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, “Neighborhoods and Violent Crime,” 1997: 918–24.
63. Claudia J. Coulton, Jill E. Korbin, and Marilyn Su, “Measuring Neighborhood Context for Young Children in an Urban Area,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (February 1996): 5–32.
64. Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams, “Safe and Secure,” 1982.
65. Note, too, that norms and values are not always thought of as “positive:” the norms and values that govern the behavior of gang members are certainly strong and contribute to informal social control. There is also a very large body of research that looks to norms and values in poor communities as a way to account for the social pathology or culture of poverty that some have used to explain the persistence of socially unacceptable behavior and attitudes.
66. Stephanie W. Greenberg and William M. Rohe, “Informal Social Control and Crime Prevention in Modern Urban Neighborhoods,” in *Informal Citizen Action and Crime Prevention at the Neighborhood Level: Synthesis and Assessment of the Research*, ed. Stephanie W. Greenberg, William M. Rohe, and Jay Williams (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1985), pp. 86–87.
67. George Galster and Garry Hesser, “The Social Neighborhood: An Unspecified Factor in Homeowner Maintenance?” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 18 (December 1982), p. 239.
68. Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, “Neighborhoods and Violent Crime,” 1997; see also Sampson and Groves, “Community Structure and Crime,” 1989: 774–802 for an empirical test of social disorganization theory that supports the relationship between social cohesion and informal social control and reduced levels of neighborhood-level criminal behavior.
69. Sampson, “What ‘Community’ Supplies,” 1999; see also Ora Simcha-Fagan and Joseph E. Schwartz, “Neighborhood Delinquency: An Assessment of Contextual Effects,” *Criminology* 24 (November 1986): 667–703.
70. Eugenia Eng and Edith Parker, “Measuring Community Competence in the Mississippi Delta: The Interface between Program Evaluation and Empowerment,” *Health Education Quarterly* 21 (summer 1994): 199–220; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, “Neighborhoods and Violent

- Crime," 1997; Marc A. Zimmerman, "Empowerment Theory: Psychological, Organizational, and Community Levels of Analysis," in *Handbook of Community Psychology*, ed. Julian Rappaport and Edward Seidman (New York: Plenum Press, 2000).
71. Douglas D. Perkins and Marc A. Zimmerman, "Empowerment Theory, Research, and Application," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 23 (October 1995): 569–79.
 72. Marc A. Zimmerman has made an enormous contribution to the literature concerned with individual empowerment. See, for example, Marc A. Zimmerman, "Psychological Empowerment: Issues and Illustrations," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 23 (October 1995): 581–99. Marc A. Zimmerman and Julian Rappaport, "Citizen Participation, Perceived Control, and Psychological Empowerment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 16 (1988): 725–49; Marc A. Zimmerman and James H. Zahniser, "Refinements of Sphere-Specific Measures of Perceived Control: Development of a Sociopolitical Control Scale," *Journal of Community Psychology* 19 (April 1991): 189–204; Marc A. Zimmerman et al., "Further Explorations in Empowerment Theory: An Empirical Analysis of Psychological Empowerment," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 20 (December 1992): 707–27. See also Charles Keiffer, "Citizen Empowerment: A Developmental Perspective," *Prevention in Human Services* 3 (1984): 9–36.
 73. Keiffer, "Citizen Empowerment," 1984; Zimmerman, "Empowerment Theory," 2000; Barbara A. Israel et al., "Health Education and Community Empowerment: Conceptualizing and Measuring Perceptions of Individual, Organizational, and Community Control," *Health Education Quarterly* 21 (summer 1994): 149–70.
 74. Zimmerman "Empowerment Theory," 2000.
 75. Perkins, Brown, and Taylor, "The Ecology of Empowerment," 1996; Chavis and Wandersman, "Sense of Community," 1990; Zimmerman and Rappaport, "Citizen Participation," 1988.
 76. Zimmerman and Rappaport, "Citizen Participation," 1988.
 77. Zimmerman, "Empowerment Theory," 2000; Linda Pursely, "Empowerment and Utilization through Participatory Evaluation: Family Resource Organizations, Community," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1996).
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 80. Ibid.
 81. Ibid.
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 83. G. Thomas Kingsley, Joseph B. McNeely, and James O. Gibson, *Community Building Coming of Age* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1998), p. 34.
 84. See www.aspeninstitute.org measurement database for descriptions of most of the community-building measurement tools reviewed in this chapter.
 85. Mercer L. Sullivan, "Local Knowledge and Local Participation: Lessons from Community Studies for Community Initiatives," unpublished paper, Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families, New York, September 1996, p. 19.
 86. Mitchell Duneier, *Slim's Table: Race, Respectability, and Masculinity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

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Promoting Safe and Healthy Neighborhoods: What Research Tells Us about Intervention

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Achieving basic neighborhood safety is no easy task. The social, political, and economic forces that contribute to neighborhood stability and safety are complex, leading to a wide range of proposals for intervention.

Because crime and disorder are intimately linked to other neighborhood problems, proposals for increasing public safety and the quality of neighborhood life fall into several chapters in this volume. In this chapter, we are limiting our discussion to neighborhood-based interventions directed at reducing crime and violence. Admittedly, we could not resist the occasional temptation to go beyond this arbitrary boundary, given that various neighborhood problems share a set of common causal factors. But our mission remains unchanged—to explore what research reveals about how to promote safe and healthy neighborhoods.

First, we examine the meaning of key concepts, including such seemingly obvious ones as “neighborhood,” “neighboring,” and “neighborhood-based research,” and establish their importance in understanding crime and violence. Second, we describe the theory that underlies neighborhood-focused crime and violence prevention programs. Third, we describe and critically assess some widely admired neighborhood interventions. Fourth, we examine key issues that affect these programs. Last, we conclude with a brief assessment of the cur-

rent state of knowledge in the field and possible directions for future research and programming.

THE IMPORTANCE OF NEIGHBORHOODS

The Idea of Neighborhood

The concept *neighborhood* has a long history as a focal point for theory, research, and policy in the United States, but researchers have not agreed on an exact definition.¹ *Neighborhood* is generally defined spatially as a specific geographic area and functionally as a set of social networks.² Neighborhoods, then, are the spatial units in which face-to-face social interactions occur—the personal settings and situations where residents seek to realize common values, socialize youth, and maintain effective social control.

With advances in transportation and technology, many observers have argued that neighborhoods no longer provide all the important functions they once did.³ Today, many activities and relationships that in the past could only happen within a walkable geographic area—such as casual conversations with people one unexpectedly meets—now take place outside the neighborhood, including in “chat rooms” and websites where individuals share common values and interests, solve personal problems, and organize political action. This reality makes it necessary to consider the idea of “communities without propinquity,”⁴ that is, collectives that are not limited by geographic boundaries. In this context, individuals may belong to a number of different neighborhoods, defining neighborhoods as communities of interest. Yet it remains true that most individuals belong to only one geographic neighborhood in which they are physically, although not necessarily socially, close to other residents.⁵ And physical neighborhoods continue to exert a significant influence on individual and group behavior.

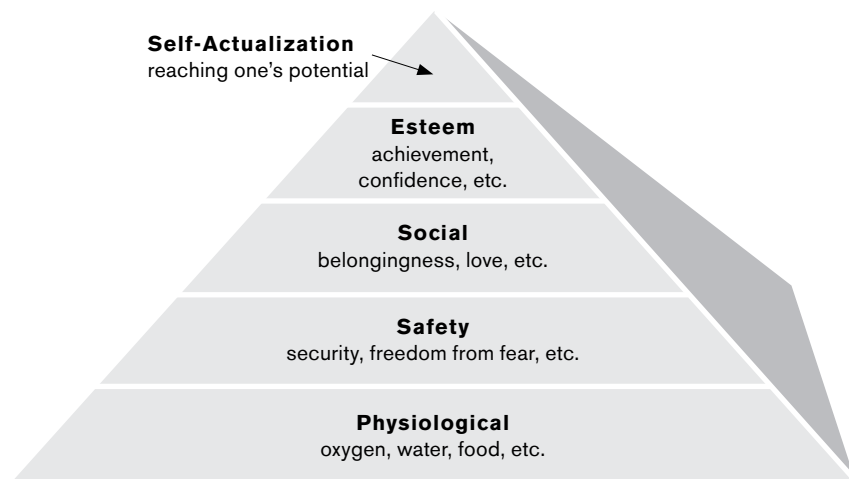
Neighborhood Influences on Human Development

Why are neighborhoods important? What is the role of neighborhood in shaping individual development and why is there a strong interest in neighborhoods as the unit of analysis for responding to crime? Abraham Maslow’s theory of motivation helps answer these questions.⁶ Maslow was an American psychologist and one of the cofounders of humanistic psychology in the 1960s. Maslow’s

theory articulates the process by which individuals progress from satisfying their most basic needs to meeting their highest need of “self-actualization,” i.e., fulfilling their greatest human potential. Human needs, in Maslow’s model, are organized in a hierarchy with survival, food, and shelter at its base (Figure 2.1). At progressively higher levels are the needs for security and social interaction, with the need to learn, grow, and reach one’s potential at the highest level. As lower level needs become reasonably satisfied, successively higher needs become more influential in motivating human behavior. When lower level needs remain unsatisfied, factors such as learning, creativity, innovation, or self-esteem remain stagnant, never rising to the surface.

In applying his hierarchy of needs to individual development, Maslow argued that safety needs are prepotent over human growth.⁷ He argued that in every individual there are two sets of forces. One set drives the individual to cling to safety out of fear—hanging on to the past, afraid to grow, afraid to take chances, afraid of independence, freedom, and separateness, forcing development to stagnate. The other set of forces propels the individual forward, towards wholeness of self, and the full development of capabilities, towards self-confidence and fulfillment in the face of the external world. Safety needs are the resisting forces that constrain human growth. Without the fulfillment of

Figure 2.1: Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs



Source: Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1968).

safety needs, argued Maslow, growth will not occur. Only individuals who feel safe in their environment dare to move forward, take risks in decision making, and actualize their human potential.

Neighborhood threats to personal safety are likely to damage personal growth and development. For young children, neighborhood violence is likely to compromise the development of both autonomy and trust. Because of the danger, parents often seriously restrict their children's movements, even to the extent of keeping them indoors and away from windows.⁸ These limitations compromise the child's sense of autonomy and trust by limiting opportunities for exploration and new relationships. In addition, in part because of the serious consequences of nonadherence, parents may employ harsher discipline to keep their children safe.⁹

A growing body of empirical evidence gives some weight to this theory. Surveys of youth exposed to neighborhood violence suggest that they are deeply affected.¹⁰ Most empirical work has focused on the psychological disturbances associated with violence exposure, particularly post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which occurs in response to an extreme stressor. The disorder is characterized by re-experiencing the event, avoidance behavior, psychic numbing and increased arousal.¹¹ In a sample of 221 youth ages seven to eighteen from a low-income housing development, Kevin Fitzpatrick and Janet Boldizer found that 27 percent of the sample met the criteria for PTSD.¹² PTSD is not, however, the only psychological disturbance associated with neighborhood violence. In a sample of more than 3,700 high school students, Mark Singer, Trina Anglin, Li Song and Lisa Lunghofer found witnessing violence and being victimized by violence were not only significantly related to PTSD, but also to anger, depression, anxiety, and dissociation.¹³

Experiencing violence encourages children to turn to violence and away from quieter, more constructive forms of self-assertion, like academic achievement. This has implications for the neighborhood and the child's future life chances. Empirical evidence from clinical samples consistently points to violent behavior as a consequence of exposure to violence.¹⁴ The aggressive reactions and behavior may come from several sources. Young children may act out in their play elements of the violence to which they are exposed. Adolescents may engage in high-risk aggressive behavior to address their fear and deny their own vulnerability.¹⁵ Youth may use aggressive behavior to

seek revenge or retaliation.¹⁶ To cope with violence in the world of inner-city neighborhoods, young boys and girls learn a “code of the streets,” i.e., the informal rules about how to negotiate potentially violent encounters, how to achieve respect, and how to avoid being disrespected.¹⁷ In these settings, African-American and Latino youth must often learn to threaten others with violence to avoid violence.

In addition, neighborhood violence increases the presence and harmful consequences of weapons, which people may carry out of fear of violence. Survey results indicate that witnessing violence and victimization are strong predictors of self-reported weapon carrying.¹⁸ In a 1994 study of high school males by Esther Jenkins and Carl Bell, weapon carrying was more highly correlated with violence exposure than with any psychological disturbances.¹⁹ Ironically, although the original purpose of weapon carrying may be to decrease victimization, in many situations it becomes the major contributor to youth as perpetrators of violence.²⁰

The psychoanalytic orientation of Jenkins and Bell, the social learning theory of Albert Bandura, and the social information processing theory of Kenneth Dodge, John Bates, and Gregory Pettit all provide theoretical explanations for the aggressive behavioral response to violence exposure.²¹ While each theoretical explanation may have a different causal pathway—psychological disturbance, imitation, or distorted cognitive processing—the conclusion is the same: neighborhood violence creates a self-perpetuating cycle in which violence leads to more violence. Somewhere and somehow, the cycle of violence must be broken.

With aggressive behavioral responses in children comes also a decline in academic performance.²² The learning problems may result from the child being distracted by increased psychological arousal, the development of a cognitive style of coping that uses deliberate memory lapses in order to deal with stressful events, or fatigue due to disruptions in sleep patterns.²³ It has been argued that exposure to chronic violence impairs learning by diminishing the child’s problem-solving capacity. Violence exposure can lead to the avoidance of aggressive-assertive behaviors, which are necessary for problem solving.²⁴ Thus, by inhibiting academic achievement, aggressive behavior indirectly affects the individual’s life chances by reducing future employment and economic opportunities.

In addition, neighborhood violence often takes place in a larger context of multiple risk factors. That is, individuals who are exposed to high levels of neighborhood violence are also more likely to be members of troubled, low-income families, have mental health and substance abuse problems, and few education or employment prospects.²⁵ This constellation of risk factors creates enormous challenges for many, for whom the trauma of neighborhood violence is often the straw that breaks the camel's back.²⁶ Included among these consequences are the labeling and negative responses that such youth receive from school and criminal justice officials, which may, in turn, lead to deviant self-identities, affiliation with deviant subcultures, and future criminality.²⁷

Finally, race is of critical importance in the equation for understanding the dynamics of high-crime neighborhoods. Over the past fifteen years, the criminal justice system has engaged in an all-out war against street-level drugs and violence in low-income, minority neighborhoods. Moreover, the criminal justice system has allowed race and class variables to influence every decision, from stopping and arresting people to convicting and sentencing them, resulting in the disproportionate deprivation of liberty for low-income persons of color.²⁸ The effects of race, class, and gender in criminal justice decision making raise an important set of questions that have not been carefully studied regarding the negative impact of imprisonment on marriage, children, employment, neighborhood social control, and other factors critical to the health of urban neighborhoods.²⁹ The question of whether aggressive criminal justice actions in high-crime areas are ultimately good or bad for the target neighborhood is emerging as a subject of serious debate and research.

In sum, at the most basic level, neighborhood safety is a necessary condition for an individual to grow and develop and to become a fully functioning, healthy, productive member of society. Neighborhood safety not only affects an individual's likelihood of engaging in future crime and violence, but also his or her problem-solving capabilities, academic achievement, family functioning, and employment prospects. Further, by not allowing individuals to reach their full potential, neighborhood crime and violence—and the criminal justice system's current response to these problems—robs the neighborhood of important resources. It reduces the capacity of these individuals to contribute in positive ways to neighborhood prosperity. It reduces the emotional and material resources that a neighborhood can call upon in times of need. In this

way, neighborhood crime not only deprives individuals (victims, offenders, and other fearful residents) of the opportunity to reach their full potential, but it deprives society of its capacity to be fully functioning.

Neighboring as Context

Earlier we defined neighborhoods as specific geographic areas where sets of social networks form. Additionally, we argued that at the most basic level, neighborhood safety affects the individual's ability to grow and thrive. Neighborhood safety, however, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for unlocking human potential. A neighborhood provides more than just a safe place to grow. It provides a context, a common understanding of identity, a set of interaction patterns, and a sense of belonging. As Andrea A. Anderson and Sharon Milligan note in this volume, a neighborhood can provide the social conditions needed for neighboring behavior, in which people care for one another and protect each other from harm. In this context, a neighborhood has three crucial components: social, cognitive, and affective.³⁰

The *social component* refers to the networks or linkages among residents, including informal and formal social supports (emotional, instrumental, and informational). This component captures both the social control and social support functions of neighboring. As Michelle Alberti Gambone notes in this volume, residential networks provide an important social control function through the supervision, monitoring, and sanctioning of youth and others in need of oversight.

The *cognitive component* comprises residents' beliefs about the neighborhood's physical and social characteristics. It involves residents' developing "social maps" for managing their neighborhood.³¹ For example, residents construct a variety of beliefs about the neighborhood, such as, "This is a safe place to live" or "My neighbors are nice people I can trust." This type of cognitive mapping helps residents make decisions about where and when it is safe to walk and how to interact with neighbors.

Neighboring also has an *affective dimension*, which includes feelings of membership and belonging, attachment to the neighborhood, and impulses to provide assistance in times of need. The affective component captures a sense of mutual assistance and community that encompasses feelings of membership and belonging with others in the neighborhood.³² It also encompasses an emotional vested interest in the success or failure of the neighborhood and neighbors.

Thus, for many individuals, the neighborhood is more than just a physical environment. It provides important social networks that meet social and emotional needs. Individuals with fewer material resources, including transportation, are less mobile³³ and thus would appear to be more reliant on the social networks in their geographic neighborhood. Hence, the geographic neighborhood may play a more crucial function for individuals with fewer resources.³⁴ For many urban residents, neighborhood must be a safe place to live, where they can identify with neighbors, develop healthy interactions, assemble resources and support, and feel welcome. This is a substantial challenge in high-crime environments.

NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Locus of Initiative

The neighborhood-based approach to crime prevention is built on the notion that social engineering at the neighborhood level can interrupt or short-circuit criminogenic processes. This assumption applies to individual processes (e.g., low self-control, hyperarousal, cognitive functioning, etc.), as well as social and macro processes (e.g., poverty, inequality, opportunity, etc.). Essentially, the central hypothesis is that neighborhood-based programming can promote personal development and psychological well-being, healthy patterns of interaction, and positive social-structural environments.

There are many different types of neighborhood-based interventions. One important distinction is the source of the driving force for the intervention: Is it imposed from outside the neighborhood (by professionals, with theories), developed from within (by community actors, making demands) or designed by a collaboration that spans neighborhood boundaries?

From outside. Some neighborhood-based interventions, for example, are simply imposed on neighborhood residents by individuals and institutions outside the neighborhood. Many early situational crime prevention strategies fall into this category. Urban planning strategies, for example, in developing plans for new or reconstructed communities, might take into account crime prevention objectives in the design and placement of roads, sidewalks, parking lots, and the like. These designs are often executed before residents begin to live in the target area.

From within. Other interventions are developed by a particular neighborhood's residents and their organizations. These strategies rest on the assumption that local residents and neighborhood leaders can design and implement successful safety strategies on their own. To some, this "philosophy may amount to throwing people overboard and then letting them design their own life preserver."³⁵ Others argue, however, that the process of mobilization can effect change and provide much-needed feelings of empowerment.

Building partnerships. Some programs are designed by building partnerships among residents and organizations from both within and outside the neighborhood. The argument is that the solution must involve local residents and local institutions in a central way, but these contributors must be linked to sources of knowledge and larger structures of power. This approach provides local residents with both the opportunity to define what is important, as well as the means to effect change. In a broad theoretical sense, these collaborations or partnerships strengthen the vertical and the horizontal relationships that characterize neighborhoods. The horizontal dimension of a neighborhood refers to the social relations among individuals and groups that share a common residential space, including complex expressions of affection, loyalty, reciprocity, or dominance among residents, expressed through informal or organized activities. The vertical dimension of a neighborhood refers to the connections among local institutions and sources of power and resources in the larger society.³⁶ Serving as a vehicle to bring people together, a partnership creates interaction among residents and organizations that serve the neighborhood. The expectation is that this interaction will create a bond among participants, thereby increasing the collective capacity to mobilize, participate, and cooperate. In addition, a partnership links residents and organizations to larger sources of power, increasing the neighborhood's capacity to rally resources. In sum, adopting this perspective implies that the success or failure of partnerships is largely based on the ability of partnership members to strengthen both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the neighborhood.

Each of these approaches has advantages and disadvantages, and indeed, they are not mutually exclusive. Engaging community residents in community change is a central tenet of community-building efforts. At the same time, most advocates of neighborhood-based programming argue that interventions

should include individuals and organizations that are both internal and external to the neighborhood. The extent to which this can work for all neighborhood problems is, however, an empirical question that still needs to be assessed. We should point out that there can be neighborhood-related problems that residents do not recognize—or at least do not recognize as quickly as criminal justice agencies that have access to more information about crime patterns. A serious violent crime, for example, is a relatively rare event, and as such, criminal justice representatives may see patterns much more quickly than residents. Thus, many interventions may fall under the rubric of neighborhood-based programming if they include a neighborhood focus.

These ideas do raise the question: what makes a neighborhood-based intervention different from other types of interventions? To put it simply, a neighborhood-based intervention sees the neighborhood as the object of change, seeking to change not only individuals but also neighborhood conditions. Thus, whether the neighborhood-based program comes from outside, within, or some combination, it can be distinguished by the importance placed on improving the neighborhood. Regardless of the type of intervention, the utility of neighborhood-based programming in preventing and controlling crime lies in its ability to link known causes and promising solutions. That is, the success or failure of neighborhood-based initiatives will depend on whether they can accurately delineate the causes of neighborhood problems, develop appropriate solutions, effectively implement those solutions, evaluate their level of success, and modify the actions (based on this feedback) to yield larger and/or more cost-effective outcomes.

Uncertain Theory and Developing Definitions

Although we have seen dramatic growth in neighborhood-based programming to prevent crime and violence,³⁷ neighborhood-based crime prevention remains in its infancy. Its boundaries, terms of reference, and defining characteristics are subject to continuing controversy and debate.³⁸ It is a developing topic, without agreement on theory, policy, strategies, or even techniques. We will add our views to this conversation.

Definitions. Neighborhood-based programming to prevent crime and violence is a subtopic of the broader area of community crime prevention. Tim Hope, a

leading scholar in the area, defines it as:

actions intended to change the social conditions that are believed to sustain crime in residential communities.³⁹

We have borrowed and changed Hope's definition:

actions intended to change the causal processes believed to develop and sustain crime in specific geographic locations.

First, we want to recognize that neighborhood crime prevention may or may not involve attempts to change the underlying social conditions that cause crime. Situational crime prevention⁴⁰ emphasizes the importance of modifying the physical and social environment in which crime occurs, not necessarily the social or individual predisposition to offend. Second, our definition emphasizes understanding the causal processes of crime. Causal processes convert a risk into an actual consequence. It is the difference between recognizing that poverty contributes to criminal offending and understanding *how* poverty contributes to criminal offending. Does poverty affect criminality through deprivation of resources, the development of psychological consequences, new opportunities for offending, or a combination of factors? By unlocking the specific causal processes we can be more coherent in theorizing, more targeted in neighborhood-based programming, and more precise in measuring program effects.

Our definition recognizes that criminality develops over the course of a life. The factors that sustain criminality and encourage persistent offending, as well as those that contribute to desistance, should be identified and addressed.

Our definition also assumes that causal processes reflect a two-way interplay between underlying factors. For example, Laura Dugan used the National Crime Victimization survey to assess the impact of victimization on household mobility. Analyzing data from 22,375 households, she found a positive association between mobility and criminal victimization near the home. Moving may be seen as a crime prevention strategy for some victims. However, Dugan's analysis raises a larger issue of a directional reciprocal relationship between crime and residential mobility. That is, crime leads to higher levels of residential mobility, which in turn leads to higher levels of crime.⁴¹

Last, our definition calls for neighborhood-based crime prevention programming in *specific geographic locations* rather than “residential communities.” Community-wide intervention may not be necessary if the problem is associated with specific addresses, housing complexes, or social groups within the neighborhood.

Identifying causal processes. Returning to causal processes, we can propose at least five causal questions that neighborhood stakeholders can ask themselves when facing a serious crime problem:

1. Why is crime higher in this neighborhood than in other neighborhoods, or why has crime in this neighborhood increased?
2. Why are certain individuals or structures more likely to be the victims or targets of criminal activity than other persons or structures?
3. Why are certain individuals more likely to commit crime than others?
4. Why do some—but not all—individuals with risk factors engage in criminal activity more often than individuals without risk factors?
5. Why do certain individuals persist in criminal offending while others desist?

Most researchers have focused on the first two questions. The most frequent answer to the first question involves “social disorganization,” that is, the breakdown of informal social controls in a neighborhood. In recent years, the empirical evidence on community social organization and crime has grown exponentially. An important proponent of this perspective is Robert Sampson who, with his colleagues, has explored the relationship between criminal behavior and neighborhood social organization, using data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN).⁴² Drawing on Albert Bandura’s concept of collective efficacy, Sampson and his colleagues argue that the most important aspect of community social organization that affects crime rates is the social network (psychological support, mutual exchanges, and intergenerational ties). The social network, or collective efficacy, which as a concept combines aspects of informal social control and social cohesion, is the mechanism that mediates the relationships among neighborhood social organization characteristics and neighborhood crime rates.

Testing their hypothesis, Sampson and colleagues found that relationships among neighborhood-concentrated poverty, residential instability, and homicide rates were largely mediated by collective efficacy.⁴³ That is, poverty undermines feelings of collective efficacy among neighborhood residents, which in turn weakens informal social controls against violent behavior. These relationships remained significant even after controlling for important individual-level factors that are known to affect homicide rates, such as gender, race/ethnicity, age, marital status, homeownership, and mobility. The Sampson team concluded that collective efficacy is an important link in understanding when and how neighborhood social disorganization is translated into high rates of neighborhood criminal behavior. In contrast, the most frequent answer to the second question involves criminal “opportunity.” By a large margin, the causal processes involved in opportunity reduction have been the most frequent targets of community crime prevention initiatives.

Neighborhood-based crime/violence prevention programming could begin with any one of the five questions above. For example, recent neighborhood-based programming, including many comprehensive community programs, are directed at causal processes involving individual liabilities (question 3), although they require collective efforts to achieve these goals.

Causal questions and the associated processes are important because they focus intervention efforts in specific directions. That is, the causal question offers a framework for developing specific interventions. Each question carries with it a set of assumptions about the problem and encourages a specific focal unit of analysis.

To some extent, these same causal questions can be used to understand both antisocial and prosocial behavior in the neighborhood. Let’s take the example of community mobilization as a strategy for community crime/violence prevention. The original causal questions regarding criminal behavior can be reconceptualized and directed toward citizen participation in crime prevention:

1. What processes account for higher levels of citizen participation at certain times or in certain locations?
2. Under what conditions is citizen participation more likely to occur successfully?

3. What factors increase the likelihood of citizen participation?
4. What processes account for the continuation of citizen participation?

Although these questions are not new to community mobilization, framing them in this manner raises several important issues. First, it highlights the conceptual distinction between theories of problem causation and theories of change. That is, neighborhood-based crime prevention initiatives can be understood in terms of two conceptually distinct theoretical frameworks. Theories of causation focus on understanding the causal forces behind the target problem, while theories of change focus on the mechanisms needed to construct an effective solution to the problem. Neighborhood-based programs can, and often do, have more than two theories operating simultaneously. Particular interventions can employ multiple theories of causation and multiple theories of change.

Second, this framework raises the question of whether the processes involved in theories of causation and theories of change are similar or different. The social worlds of crime and crime prevention are not independent. Arguably, the stronger the prosocial, procommunity processes in a given neighborhood, the greater the pressure for conformity, and the weaker the antisocial and deviant forces. It follows that if opportunities and pressures for prosocial behavior can be strengthened, delinquency and crime can be reduced.

Too often, there is a disconnect between the causes of crime and proposed solutions. Preferably, some of the causal processes targeted by crime prevention programming would be similar to those that drive offending behavior. There is, for example, an extensive body of literature discussing individual risk factors for criminal activity, including hyperactivity, attention deficit, impulsiveness, withdrawal, anxiety, antisocial behaviors (drugs, alcohol), favorable attitudes towards crime, and poor family interaction.⁴⁴ Neighborhood-based or even school-based crime prevention programs rarely address these issues, and instead focus almost entirely on the threat of punishment for delinquent acts.

Even in their current form, crime prevention initiatives might achieve higher levels of effectiveness by examining the factors that encourage citizen participation in prosocial activity and finding ways to involve members of the neighborhood who are at greatest risk of law-violating behavior. If community leaders can design programs that will involve youth from high-risk environments in prosocial, neighborhood activities, this participation is likely

to lower their individual liability to engage in criminal conduct (cause number 3 above). A closer linkage of the causes of and the solutions to problems would be beneficial.

The Guardian Angels present a good example of the application of both theories of causation and theories of action. This national organization recruits youth living in high-risk environments and channels their energies into pro-social crime prevention activities. While making subways and neighborhoods safer, they meet their individual needs for social belonging, status, and recognition. All humans have social needs. Some are able to meet such needs by serving as a cheerleader, honor roll student or football player. Others, especially those who feel blocked from these opportunities, are likely to take on antisocial roles to achieve the same need gratification—roles ranging from illicit drug user to youth gang members. Thus, we can identify similar causal processes involved in both prosocial and antisocial behavior at the individual level.

Neighborhood factors that sustain crime. To increase the chance that neighborhood-based crime prevention programming will reflect a nuanced understanding of crime, our conceptual definition emphasizes factors that both *develop* and *sustain* crime. This emphasis is based on several qualifying conclusions derived from research suggesting there may be:

- An increased awareness of and participation in program
- Different processes that account for the development versus the continuation of criminal activity
- Different groups involved, each responding to different causal processes
- Different processes at work in the development of criminality at different stages in the life course

These qualifying conditions can be applied to any of the previously mentioned causes. For example, one may discuss the factors that develop and/or sustain individual offending, or one may discuss factors that develop and/or sustain high levels of offending in a specific area. As with the causal questions, these qualifying conditions can be generalized beyond criminality to prosocial behaviors and crime prevention. For example, one can examine the

factors that develop and/or sustain citizen participation or one can examine the appropriate causal process to employ with a specific group to stimulate participation. Thus, these qualifying conditions can be applied both to theories of causation and action, although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to debate the efficacy of the above conditions.⁴⁵ Rather, the purpose is to highlight some important theoretical qualifications that neighborhood-based crime prevention researchers and practitioners need to contemplate to refine their interventions.

NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME REDUCTION PROGRAMS: THEORIES APPLIED

Theoretical frameworks classifying neighborhood-based crime and violence prevention efforts include public health models,⁴⁶ risk factor models,⁴⁷ and developmental, community, and situational prevention models.⁴⁸ Although these schemes are helpful, the categories are often overlapping and the distinctions frequently counterproductive.

While this chapter has been influenced by attempts to classify neighborhood-based crime prevention strategies, decisions about what to include were driven largely by a utilitarian “grounded theory” perspective—that is, special attention is given to programs that have received serious attention from researchers, practitioners, and policymakers. Although not comprehensive, the studies reviewed here represent a range of neighborhood-based crime prevention efforts and provide information about the potential benefits and pitfalls of the approach being examined. Community mobilization, situational prevention, and comprehensive community interventions have shown some promise as neighborhood-based prevention strategies, though the evidence is mixed.

Community Mobilization

Community mobilization programs include a diversity of programs that seek to prevent crime by organizing citizens at the grassroots level. Community mobilization strategies may include efforts to improve community organization, reduce criminogenic commodities, such as alcohol, drugs, or guns, and reduce opportunities for criminal behavior. Community mobilization efforts

directed at crime prevention have historically been associated with two strategies—Neighborhood Watch and Citizen Patrols.

Neighborhood watch/block groups. Neighborhood Watch or Block Watch programs have been the primary form of collective citizen crime prevention over the last twenty-five years. Neighborhood watch-type activities are intended to provide an organizational framework for citizen participation in local crime prevention activities. These programs are based on the belief that neighborhood residents are in the best position to monitor individuals and activities in their communities. Such programs typically involve “citizens coming together in relatively small groups (usually block clubs) to share information about local crime problems, exchange crime prevention tips, and make plans for engaging in surveillance (‘watching’) of the neighborhood and crime-reporting activities.”⁴⁹ Although watch-type organizations are a common feature of American communities, their exact number is unknown. Using 1992 national survey data, Garrett O’Keefe and his colleagues reported that 42 percent of all American households reported a Neighborhood Watch organization in their community, and two-thirds of the programs had been “extensively implemented.”⁵⁰

Neighborhood watch-type programs across America involve a wide variety of activities. James Garofalo and Maureen McLeod’s national survey, which collected information from 550 neighborhood watch programs, found the most popular activity was a property-marking program called Operation Identification (80.6 percent), followed by home security surveys by local police identifying security weaknesses (67.9 percent). Interestingly, 38 percent of the groups reported participating in more general community-oriented activities, such as insurance premium deduction surveys, quality-of-life measures, and medical emergency measures.⁵¹

Garofalo and McLeod also found that neighborhood watch groups were predominantly voluntary, with few professional staff members, little outside funding, and no formal budgets. They were predominantly located in residential areas dominated by white, middle-class homeowners who had resided in the area for five or more years. As a note of caution, we point out that this is an older study with a poor response rate (only 26 percent).

Theoretically, neighborhood watch-type activities address crime through the causal processes of informal social control and opportunity reduction.

Through increased social contact and interaction, these programs are intended to reduce crime and fear of crime by increasing residents' social bonding, support, and cohesion.⁵² Additionally, through increased surveillance and monitoring of the neighborhood, these social groups seek to reduce opportunities for crime.

Evaluations of neighborhood watch-type programs have shown mixed empirical support. The best way to make sense of these conflicting results is to notice an apparent inverse relationship between the scientific rigor of the methodology and the likelihood of reporting program success. Evaluations reporting the greatest success are more likely to have weak methodologies.

In support of neighborhood watch-type programs, numerous evaluations have found that participants report less property victimization than nonparticipants, and in a smaller subgroup of studies, target areas reported sizable drops in property crime after program implementation.⁵³ However, the majority of evaluations have employed weak designs (simple one-group pre-test/post-test design) with numerous threats to validity.⁵⁴ A few more scientifically defensible evaluations of neighborhood watch-type activities have shown reductions in fear of crime and property crime.⁵⁵ However, these watch programs were typically part of comprehensive initiatives in which the independent effects of the watch activity component are not easily determined.

The best data on the effectiveness of neighborhood watch-type programs comes from four large-scale evaluations in Chicago,⁵⁶ Minneapolis,⁵⁷ Seattle,⁵⁸ and London.⁵⁹ The general pattern of results can be summarized as follows:

- An increased awareness of and participation in program
- No change in crime rates
- No change in resident's fear of crime
- No change in resident's social cohesion
- No change in other intermediate social processes

The most rigorous impact assessments provide little empirical evidence for crime reduction effects that are attributable to neighborhood watch-type activities. However, the evaluations do illuminate several important concerns about this type of community crime prevention. Table 2.1 contains an outline of

Table 2.1: Problematic Neighborhood Watch Assumptions

Assumption 1. Neighborhood Watch can be implemented to provide residents with opportunities for participation.

Assumption 2. Most residents, regardless of social, demographic, or neighborhood characteristics, will participate in Neighborhood Watch activities if given the opportunity.

Assumption 3. Meeting interaction and discussion will produce immediate effects, including consensus about problem definition, reduction in fear of crime, increased group cohesion, and increased participation in crime prevention actions.

Assumption 4. Neighborhood Watch activities can and will be sustained.

Assumption 5. Collective citizen actions will reduce criminal activity and disorder in the neighborhood, which in turn will reduce fear of crime and promote other neighborhood improvements.

Source: Adapted from Dennis P. Rosenbaum, “The Theory and Research Behind Neighborhood Watch: Is It a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy?” *Crime and Delinquency* 33, no. 1 (1987): 103–34, p. 104.

five problematic assumptions underlying neighborhood watch-type programs. Arguably, failure of any of these assumptions would hinder the success of the program.⁶⁰ The research literature suggests that many of these assumptions are not defensible.⁶¹ Further, mobilizing and maintaining citizen participation is most difficult in neighborhoods where it is most needed. Participation levels remain low in high-crime, low-income, predominantly minority, heterogeneous neighborhoods, even after substantial organizing efforts.^{62, 63} Additionally, in neighborhoods defined by high levels of disorder, crime, mutual distrust, transience, and a history of poor police-community relations it seems unrealistic to ask residents to work together as a team, keep an eye out for suspicious persons, and report crime to police.⁶⁴

Citizen patrols. Another community mobilization strategy is the active patrolling of neighborhoods by citizens who are not sworn law enforcement officers. Citizen patrols represent a straightforward attempt by neighborhood residents to increase surveillance and send a message to deviant residents, especially drug dealers, that “we control this area.” During the past forty years, there have been a variety of citizen patrols.⁶⁵ In the 1960s, citizen patrols were most often asso-

ciated with African-American groups attempting to prevent abuse and violence from urban police (for example, the Black Panthers in Oakland, California) and Southern white groups.⁶⁶ In the 1970s and 1980s, citizen patrols were typically used in middle-class neighborhoods to act as the eyes and ears of the police. By the 1980s and 1990s, citizen patrols became predominantly associated with fighting open-air drug markets and drug houses in inner-city neighborhoods.⁶⁷ Today, citizen patrols address a wide range of problems, function in a variety of neighborhoods, and can be distinguished along several dimensions:

- Function: protection of individual residents, deterrence of crime and disorder, identification of problem areas, reporting of incidents to the police
- Surveillance area: buildings, neighborhood streets, public transportation, and college campuses
- Mode of transportation: foot, bicycle, horse, scooter, or motorized patrol
- Policies about responding to incidents: reporting versus intervention or arrest
- Size: local, citywide, national

National estimates of the prevalence of citizen patrols are difficult to obtain. In a 1975 national survey, Robert Yin and his associates estimated the number to be merely 800.⁶⁸ A 1992 national survey of American households found that 10 percent of households reported an active citizen patrol in their neighborhood,⁶⁹ which implies thousands of active patrols. Sometimes patrols are affiliated with neighborhood-watch programs. In a 1984 national survey, 12 percent of the neighborhood-watch programs reported having a formal patrol component.⁷⁰

Evaluations of citizen patrols have produced mixed results. In the only national study, Yin and his colleagues concluded that citizen patrols “may be” effective in increasing residents’ perception of safety.⁷¹ However, the study relied primarily on anecdotal evidence. In an evaluation of a well-organized paid citizen foot patrol in Columbus, Ohio, Edward Latessa and Harry Allen reported that the targeted areas experienced a reduction in crime.⁷² More recently, citizen patrols appeared to have reduced violence and increased feelings of safety in the Netherlands.⁷³ In contrast, evaluations of the Guardian Angels in San Diego neighborhoods (and on New York City subways) revealed little impact on levels of crime.⁷⁴ Caution must be exercised when interpreting these

findings because of limitations in the research designs.

Another important question is how the public and the police view citizen patrols. In general, local citizens have given favorable ratings to citizen patrols, while local police have been less accepting.⁷⁵ Although the reservation of police administrators to endorse citizen patrols is due, in part, to turf issues and control of the crime-fighter role, they also voice legitimate concerns about vigilantism, and the more subtle racism possibly generated by citizen patrols. With a long history of vigilantism, the United States has plenty of room for concern that certain subgroups of the community will attempt to enforce norms that are prejudicial to other groups. When citizens organize to stop crime and crime nonetheless continues to get worse, they naturally ask why. The answer may often be ill-informed, leading citizens to stereotype and blame certain groups and individuals for the problem.

Nonetheless, citizen patrols can be a positive force in the community. For those citizens who are invested in the neighborhood and care about maintaining its quality of life, patrols offer a vehicle for deterring crime and establishing social control over contested physical space. Yet local organizers must be ever mindful of the purpose and methods of the patrol. They must also be careful to avoid cooptation by the police or risk becoming indiscriminate defenders of police actions. The problem of racial profiling among police officers applies equally well to citizen patrols.

Is it worthwhile? Despite growing participation in neighborhood watch programs and citizen patrols, scientifically rigorous evaluation has failed to find consistent crime reduction benefits or significant increases in quality-of-life measures. While these programs may provide additional eyes and ears for the police, improve police-community relations, reduce crime and disorder, and strengthen social control and social support mechanisms, evaluators have yet to document such results. The lack of scientific evidence for surveillance-type programs may be attributed to poor evaluations. There have been very few scientifically rigorous evaluations of these types of crime prevention activities.⁷⁶ A series of well-controlled experiments might well produce more promising results.

The failure of neighborhood watch programs, however, may reflect a deeper problem with the underlying theory. That is, these programs may be based on false

assumptions about the social ecology of high-crime neighborhoods. The cookie-cutter approach to neighborhood crime prevention has promoted watch-type organizations widely, even in neighborhoods where they appear to be inappropriate. In heterogeneous neighborhoods where there is high population turnover, for example, asking residents to come together in mutual support and trust to develop a system of surveillance against strangers and suspicious persons makes little sense.

Even in neighborhoods where neighborhood watch programs seem more appropriate, organizers need to address factors that contribute to the maintenance of successful programs. Stated simply, most watch-type programs do not last. They are organized to respond to a public safety crisis, and members generally lose interest when the crisis is over. Successful maintenance of collective community action requires leadership, continuous group structure, resources, a full agenda, and regular rewards for members.⁷⁷ For this reason, multi-issued community organizations that address a wide range of neighborhood problems are encouraged over single-issue surveillance programs.

Situational Crime Prevention

Historically, the field of criminology has been preoccupied with research seeking to understand offender motivation, with limited attention given to situational or environmental factors that may encourage or discourage offending behavior. Community crime prevention, in contrast, has focused more on social and situational measures that can restrict opportunities for crime. Situational crime prevention measures exemplify this approach.

The core ideas associated with situational crime prevention can be traced back to the work of the British Home Office in the 1970s. Home Office researchers and practitioners undertook a wide array of projects aimed at reducing specific factors associated with particular types of crime. Scholar Ronald Clarke characterizes situational crime prevention as:

comprising measures directed at highly specific forms of crime that involve the management, design, or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent way as possible so as to reduce the opportunities for crime and increase its risks as perceived by a wide range of offenders.⁷⁸

Over the years, Clarke has slightly amended his definition to include an explicit discussion of rewards, strengthen the theoretical basis, and expand the classification of strategies.⁷⁹ However, the substance of the situational crime prevention paradigms has remained relatively unchanged since its introduction.

The situational crime prevention paradigm is composed of three elements: (1) a theoretical framework, (2) a methodology for addressing specific crime problems, and (3) a set of opportunity-reducing techniques.⁸⁰

Theoretical framework. Traditionally, situational crime prevention efforts have been associated with defensible space, rational choice, environmental criminology, routine activities, and opportunity structure theories.⁸¹ These theories share a common element—the emphasis on the environment. This shift in focus from offender to offending situations assumes that (1) crime results from stimuli in the environment; and (2) through the management, design, or manipulation of the environment, the stimuli can be altered, decreasing or removing the inducement for criminal offending. Researchers who advocate situational models argue that adopting this approach is more advantageous than an offender-based approach because the environment is more stable, predictable, and more easily manipulated.⁸²

Methodology. One of Clarke's primary goals when conceptualizing situational crime prevention was to emphasize a more scientific framework for dealing with crime. His methodological framework is Kurt Lewin's standard action research model adapted with an opportunity-reduction emphasis.⁸³ The model consists of five sequential stages: "(1) collection of data about the nature and dimensions of the problem, (2) analysis of the situational conditions that permit or facilitate the commission of the crimes in question, (3) systematic study of possible means of blocking opportunities for these particular crimes, including analysis of costs, (4) implementation of the most promising, feasible, and economical measures, and (5) monitoring the results and dissemination of experience."⁸⁴ Of course, this approach is not unique to situational crime prevention activities and has been adapted widely for problem-oriented policing and more recent law enforcement initiatives.⁸⁵

OPPORTUNITY-REDUCING TECHNIQUES

Clarke originally defined twelve strategies available to situational crime prevention planners. Each strategy addresses one of three motivational concerns for potential offenders—increasing the effort, increasing the risk, and reducing the rewards associated with criminal conduct. Later, Clarke with Ross Homel expanded the typology to sixteen strategies to address several emerging concerns. First, new research challenged the exhaustiveness and mutual exclusiveness of the original twelve categories. The authors decided that several categories could be divided to increase internal consistency. Second, critics argued there was a need to incorporate more social and psychological contexts of offending, specifically, a classification of psycho-emotional responses associated with participating in criminal events. Thus, the authors added “inducing guilt or shame” as a fourth motivational concern.⁸⁶ Their new classification covers the following dimensions:

Increase the effort. These strategies focus on the amount of effort needed to commit a criminal act and attempt to reduce crime by making the targets of crime harder to access or otherwise obstructing the commission of crime. They include several crime prevention measures:

- Target hardening: steering locks, bandit screens, slug-rejecter devices
- Access control: fenced yards, entry phones, identification badges
- Offender deflection: graffiti boards, physical barriers
- Controlling facilitators: gun controls, credit card photos, caller ID

Increase the risk. These strategies focus on the risk associated with committing crimes and attempt to reduce crime by increasing the real or perceived risk of detection and apprehension. They include:

- Entry/exit screening: baggage screening, automatic ticket gates, merchandise tags
- Formal surveillance: security guards, burglar alarms, speed cameras, and auto-locator antitheft devices

- Employee surveillance: park attendants, pay phone location, closed-circuit television system
- Natural surveillance: street lighting, defensible space, neighborhood watch

Reduce the rewards. These strategies focus on taking the profit out of crime by decreasing the economic gain associated with offending:

- Target removal: removable car stereo, exact change fares, phone card
- Property identification: property marking, vehicle licensing, personal identification numbers for car radios
- Reducing temptation: gender-neutral phone lists, off-street parking
- Denying benefits: graffiti cleaning, rapid repair, “bum-proof” benches

Induce guilt or shame. These strategies focus on inducing guilt, shame, or embarrassment of participating in crime and include:

- Rule setting: customs declaration, income tax returns, new local ordinances
- Strengthening moral condemnation: shoplifting is “stealing,” roadside speedometers, only idiots drink and drive
- Controlling disinhibitors: drinking age laws, ignition interlock, and server intervention
- Facilitating compliance: improved library checkout, public lavatories, trash bins

Applications of Situational Crime Prevention

Situational crime prevention covers a wide range of anticrime activities. In this section we will briefly review some evaluation studies that assess the impact of specific situational crime prevention measures. Much of the classic research on this topic has been conducted in Britain. The examples we have selected cover a wide range of criminal settings, are based on carefully designed evaluations,

and illustrate important concepts, such as crime displacement. We believe the findings are relevant to the United States and can usually be applied to urban settings. These studies underscore the potential effectiveness, as well as drawbacks, of this approach to crime prevention.

Preventing post office robberies. Paul Eklom evaluated a program to reduce post office robberies in London, England.⁸⁷ After analyzing the problem, the government proposed upgrading counter security screens in 1,300 substation post offices. The screens provided a physical barrier between the cashier and the customer, which reduced post office robberies by an estimated 40 percent.

Eklom's evaluation highlights some unintended consequences of new crime prevention measures. The decrease in successful robberies was offset by an increase in failed robbery attempts, which resulted from robbers having switched to a new method during the raid—use of a firearm instead of a sledgehammer. The failures, argued Eklom, were the result of psychological disadvantage imposed on the robbers when they switched from sledgehammer to gun.⁸⁸

This example raises several considerations. First, it illuminates the complexity of the causal process of *opportunity*. If the robbers were switching methods during the raid, does this mean they were simply unaware of the upgraded security screens? Had they been aware, would they not have been deterred from attempting the robbery? Situational crime prevention efforts seem to be more successful when accompanied by active public education campaigns. Thus, opportunity-reduction processes are likely to be more effective if an offender perceives that a reduction in opportunity has occurred.

Second, is the primary goal to promote the public good or public safety? The switch to firearms carries more potential for harm. Robberies were reduced, but at what cost? Are the more dangerous consequences for victims of armed robbery worth the benefit of reducing the number of robberies? Evaluations of community crime prevention programs should consider qualitative trade-offs as well as quantitative goals.

Another unintended consequence of upgrading the screens was an increase in robberies of stamps and cash being delivered to the substation post offices. This type of displacement challenges the basic premise of situational crime prevention that criminal behavior is purely opportunistic and will be stopped

when opportunities are removed. Ekblom's findings suggest that some persons are highly motivated to commit crime. When their original plans are thwarted, they will seek alternative methods and locations to commit crime.

Reducing vandalism and crime on public transportation. Barry Poyner describes a situational crime prevention initiative to reduce vandalism on double-decker buses in England.⁸⁹ The problem was costing the transportation company approximately a quarter million pounds annually. An analysis showed that most of the vandalism was being committed by school-age children on buses with a driver too busy to notice the incidents. The solution was to increase surveillance by installing closed-circuit television cameras. However, because of the expense, cameras were installed in only five buses out of a fleet of eighty. In addition, only two of the cameras actually worked. At the same time the cameras were installed the bus company initiated an antivandalism education campaign.

The video evidence of vandalism proved helpful in identifying and neutralizing the perpetrators. There was a roughly two-thirds drop in repair costs throughout the entire fleet, not just on buses with cameras. These findings suggest that the public education campaign may have played a larger role than the actual video cameras in preventing vandalism, but more controlled research is needed to confirm this suspicion.

Maryalice Sloan-Howitt and George Kelling report on a situational crime prevention effort to eliminate graffiti from New York subway trains. Previous efforts, such as graffiti-proof paint and securing the rail yard, were unsuccessful. An analysis revealed that it was very important to the artists for their work to "get up" and for people to see it. The program was designed to deprive the artists of their audience through a rapid cleanup policy. All vandalized subway cars were immediately taken out of service and cleaned, eliminating the gratification that vandals got from seeing their work on public display. Within five years, the New York Transit Authority achieved remarkable success in ridding its 6,245 subway cars of graffiti.⁹⁰

Eliminating undesirable cruising by teens in cars. John Bell and Barbara Burke report on a situational crime prevention effort in Arlington, Texas, to reduce the nuisance problem of cruising by 4,000 teens on weekend evenings

on a busy commercial street. Initial efforts, such as stepped-up traffic enforcement and barricades, had unintended consequences. The increased traffic enforcement angered parents of teens who were ticketed, since they often paid the tickets, and the barricade reduced cruising on the targeted street but diverted the teens to residential areas, causing complaints from local residents. The ultimate solution was based on the idea of deflecting potential offenders. Teens were provided with a place, a large parking lot, where they could cruise with the blessing of the city. The costs for rental of the lot, traffic enforcement, and maintenance were high, but judged to be cost-effective in eliminating the original problem.⁹¹

Reducing prostitution in London. In the mid-1980s a multiagency situational crime prevention approach was adopted to reduce prostitution in London's Finsbury Park area. The government introduced an extensive program of road closures to reduce "curb-crawling" or cruising for prostitution.⁹² In a relatively short period, the area was transformed from a "noisy hazardous 'red light' district into a relatively tranquil residential area."⁹³ The area experienced a reduction in both prostitution and crime in general.

Targeting revictimization. Situational crime prevention shows considerable promise for addressing the important problem of repeat victimization. A fundamental question in crime prevention is deciding where and how to deploy resources.⁹⁴ Logically, limited resources ought to be allocated to those persons at greatest risk of criminal victimization. As it turns out, there is an extensive literature showing that initial victimization increases one's risk of subsequent victimization,⁹⁵ suggesting that resources be focused on previous victims.

The problem of repeat victimization has received far more attention in Great Britain than in North America.⁹⁶ One of the most well-known victim-focused evaluations involved the antiburglary project on the Kirkholt housing estate in Rochdale, England, in the mid-1980s.⁹⁷ The initiative involved a package of interventions concentrating on previously victimized residents. The interventions included: (1) installing security hardware, (2) removing coin-fed gas and electric meters, (3) a scheme of property post coding, (4) neighborhood watch set up around victimized properties, and (5) community support for burglary victims. After the interventions, repeat victimization declined by

80 percent. Three years after the intervention, the burglary rate was 25 percent lower.

In the United States, Robert Davis and Barbara Smith reported on a field test of a victim-focused crime prevention program.⁹⁸ One group of victims (robbery, burglary, and assault) received instruction in prevention measures and was offered home security hardware. Another group received traditional crisis counseling, but no crime prevention assistance. The group that received prevention training was 33 percent less likely to be revictimized than the controls. However, the sample size was small and the differences were only marginally significant.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) represents a specific type of situational crime prevention that uses defensible space theory to focus on modifying the physical environment. Its underlying idea is that crime opportunity is a function of several factors: target, risk, effort, and payoff. Criminal offenders are viewed as rational and influenced by the costs and benefits of criminal acts. If the risk associated with criminal acts can be increased to outweigh the benefits, crime will be reduced.

The Hartford Experiment was a residential test of the CPTED model (OTREP). Started in the fall of 1974, the program consisted of a three-pronged approach: changing the physical environment, community organizing, and improving police-community relations. The physical alterations included restricting vehicular traffic, building cul-de-sacs to define neighborhood boundaries, narrowing streets, and making streets one-way. An interdisciplinary team of specialists, sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) collected five waves of evaluation data from 1973 to 1979, including resident and police surveys, official crime data, traffic and pedestrian counts, and interviews with community leaders.

Significant changes were reported in key outcome measures. Residents were more likely to perceive their neighbors as resources, to keep an eye on neighbors' homes, and to intervene when suspicious activities occurred in the neighborhood. Thus, territorial behavior, or what is referred to in the social capital literature as informal social control, was enhanced. Moreover, residents' perceptions of neighborhood crime trends, as well as their fears of robbery and

burglary, were lower than would be expected in the absence of intervention.

Floyd Fowler and Thomas Mangione made several important observations and recommendations about CPTED.⁹⁹ First, they argued that changes in the physical environment could serve as a catalyst for improving neighborhood conditions. Second, using physical design is a viable way to help residents gain control over their community and reduce their fear of crime. Third, CPTED can take considerable time to be institutionalized—at least five years. Thus, residents, researchers and policymakers need to be realistic in their evaluations and assessments.

Fourth, changes to the physical environment are more expensive to institute than changes in the social environment. However, Fowler and Mangione argue that while physical changes are more expensive, they are easier to achieve and sustain. Increasing social cohesiveness, for example, is more elusive than increasing surveillance opportunities. Finally, CPTED can be successfully implemented with existing community resources and support.

Summary of Situational Crime Prevention

An extensive literature indicates an association between crime and the physical environment.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, the above examples of situational crime prevention strategies indicate that some situational measures can be successful in reducing some levels of crime. However, as Nick Tilley points out, we still need to know which measures work best, in which combination, and under what conditions.¹⁰¹ Also, current empirical evaluations of situational crime prevention strategies fail to test the processes in the model.¹⁰² That is, how do specific environmental designs promote opportunity-reduction (do they modify a potential offender's perception of risk, costs, benefits, or difficulty?), and how does opportunity-reduction translate into lower levels of crime? Additionally, the multidimensional nature of many current situational crime prevention efforts makes it difficult to isolate the specific dynamic of each component.¹⁰³

Finally, while situational crime prevention has received considerable attention lately, it leaves plenty of room for serious criticism. Adam Crawford lists nine major problems with the situational crime prevention paradigm (Table 2.2).¹⁰⁴ Several focus on the narrowness of situational crime prevention problem solving. Although these techniques can be applied both to violent crime and property crime, effectiveness has been demonstrated most convincingly

Table 2.2: Criticisms of Situational Crime Prevention

- It over-prioritizes property crimes in public places
- It addresses symptoms and not causes
- It is only ever temporary
- It may encourage a (blind) faith in technology, which may be unwarranted
- There are other things, which are more important than crime prevention
- Surveillance can be highly intrusive
- It is social divisive
- It may increase the social concentration of crime through displacement
- It has adversative cultural implications

Source: Compiled/Adapted from Adam Crawford, *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices* (London: Longman, 1998).

with property crime. More work is needed to show how situational crime prevention measures can reduce violence in inner-city neighborhoods (e.g., security enhancements in public housing).

The more damaging criticism of this approach to crime prevention focuses on possible unintended consequences. Information about alterations in the physical environment conveys knowledge not only to potential offenders, but also the general public. Bars on windows and iron gates may reduce opportunities for crime, but they are important contributors to fear of crime.¹⁰⁵ Environmental modifications may enhance fear and increase avoidance behavior, which in turn may reduce the community's capacity to exercise surveillance, mobilize itself, or maintain social cohesion.¹⁰⁶ Thus, specific situational efforts to reduce specific crimes may have much broader and more significant impacts on the community.

Per-Olof Wikstrom argues that situational prevention measures are unlikely to affect people with low self-control (who will offend regardless of the risk) or people with high self-control (who would not offend in spite of opportunity).¹⁰⁷ Wikstrom suggests that situational prevention is only effective for people in the medium self-control range. This begs the question: what does the distribution of self-control look like in the general population? Depending on the answer, situational crime prevention measures may be effective with few or many citizens. But this restriction on the effectiveness of situational prevention

would seem to apply only to strategies that rely on the perception of risk rather than access. When situational measures effectively reduce access or opportunities to commit specific crimes in specific settings, the individual's motivation becomes an irrelevant factor.

Defensive space initiatives and CPTED have also shown great promise. In fact, many defensive space and CPTED ideas have been institutionalized into modern architecture and urban planning; features such as security alarms, titanium locks, shatterproof windows, effective lighting, and nonobscuring landscape have become standard on most new commercial buildings and homes. In addition, new housing developments and commercial complexes are often laid out to maximize security. The placement of cul-de-sacs, one-way streets, parking lots, street lighting, and sidewalks is designed to reduce crime.

This type of social engineering raises several questions. First, if economically disadvantaged groups are less likely to purchase these security measures, is society simply encouraging "rational criminals" to prey on the most vulnerable populations? Is social engineering exacerbating the cycle of victimization and violence by further widening the divide between the haves and the have-nots?

Second, while these initiatives can be beneficial in reducing crime and increasing safety, are they also capable of fulfilling individual needs related to human development? What are the effects of these initiatives on human development? In this chapter, we have argued that individuals must feel safe in their environment. Indeed, some defensive space applications have achieved this objective. There is, however, more to building an urban environment than asking whether crime and fear are reduced. The social ecology that is produced should be conducive to healthy human development. This point is not new. Many psychologists, urban planners, and architects deal with this issue every day. Like them, we believe that developmental theory and the study of human factors needs to be integrated into conceptualization of defensible space and CPTED initiatives.

No discussion of situational crime prevention would be complete without addressing the issue of displacement. In theory, through environmental manipulation, these strategies interrupt the causal processes involved in criminal events. In this model, the disruption of these processes results in the event not occurring. We would not expect the potential offender to simply look for another opportunity to offend. In fact, there is a significant body of empiri-

cal evidence indicating that situational crime prevention strategies often move crime around or displace it.¹⁰⁸

The literature identifies six distinct types of crime displacement—territorial, temporal, tactical, target, functional, and perpetrator.¹⁰⁹ A social harm perspective—where harm is viewed as the negative consequences associated with some action or event—provides another way of looking at the displacement problem. In other words, some types of displacement may be more harmful than others. We can conceptualize situational crime prevention strategies with the following displacement effects:

- No displacement
- Displacement with no change in harmful consequences
- Displacement with a decrease in harmful consequences
- Displacement with an increase in harmful consequences

Certainly, crime prevention with no displacement implies the greatest harm-reducing benefit, and displacement with a decrease in harmful consequences also suggests a beneficial effect. Thus, displacement should not be viewed as a simple yes/no proposition that either denies or confirms the value of situational crime prevention. But each situation should be carefully examined to estimate various displacement effects that seem plausible—something that is rarely done by evaluation researchers.

Take the example of territorial or geographic displacement across neighborhood boundaries to illustrate variations in the damage caused by displacement. In the scenario of “displacement with no change in harmful consequences,” we can envision a situational strategy that simply displaces crime from one urban neighborhood to another urban neighborhood. Assuming the neighborhoods are similar, the program has simply moved the harmful consequences from one group of residents to another. The sum total effect is no overall change in the level of harm to the larger community.

We can also envision scenarios in which the displacement effect either increases or decreases the harmful consequences. For example, a situational strategy that displaces crime from a more socially organized neighborhood to a less socially organized neighborhood is more likely to produce harmful con-

sequences. That is, heterogeneous, high-poverty, disorganized communities are less likely to have “firewalls” to reduce the harmful consequences of crime. Firewalls refer to the individual and organizational capacity to disrupt negative processes. This includes the attributes of social capital, such as social networks, that are discussed by Anderson and Milligan in this volume.

In contrast, displacing crime from a less to a more socially organized neighborhood is likely to produce less harmful consequences because these communities are more likely to have “firewalls” that protect them from the negative consequences of crime. In addition, because of these “firewalls” these communities may be more successful in minimizing the crime displacement effect or reducing it quickly over time. Thus, evaluators may observe a displacement effect, but one that decreases over time because of the high individual and institutional capacity of the community.

In sum, if the strategy of choice is some type of situational crime prevention, then researchers and practitioners should not ignore the potential for displacement. Too often police and community leaders focus exclusively on the target area and eliminating specific problems in that area. Ignoring the underlying social conditions that breed crime and the existence of motivated offenders who are driven to commit crime can lead crime prevention planners to ignore the potential harm of displacement.

COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY PROGRAMS AND PARTNERSHIPS

Another approach to community crime prevention is the creation of comprehensive community partnerships. Over the past decade, with support from federal agencies and private philanthropy, community partnerships have been used increasingly to address complex social problems. A variety of important social problems have been tackled with this methodology, including tobacco, alcohol and substance abuse, economic deprivation, school reform, and public safety.

Partnerships are created when relevant agencies, organizations, and the public are summoned to act as “co-producers” of community crime prevention. These coalitions of interested parties often imply a long-term commitment to achieving shared goals. Partnerships can include representatives from

Table 2.3: Ten Functions of Community Partnerships

1. Broaden the mission of member organizations and develop more comprehensive strategies	6. Increase participation for diverse sectors and constituencies
2. Develop wider support for issues	7. Exploit new resources in a changing environment
3. Increase the influence of individuals and community institutions over community policies and practices	8. Increase accountability
4. Minimize duplication of services	9. Improve capacity to plan and evaluate
5. Develop more financial and human resources	10. Strengthen local organizations and institutions to respond better to the needs and aspirations of their constituents

Source: Compiled/Adapted from David M. Chavis, "Building Community Capacity to Prevent Violence through Coalitions and Partnerships," in *Community Justice: An Emerging Field*, ed. David R. Karp (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), p. 83.

government agencies, voluntary organizations, community grassroots groups, churches, business groups, and other groups that have a vested interest in the neighborhood. They can vary in type, size, membership composition, organization, decision making, and orientation to the problem.¹¹⁰

Based on a review of the literature, David Chavis compiled a list of ten functions community partnerships are potentially capable of providing (Table 2.3).¹¹¹ By serving these functions, partnerships are expected, in theory, to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of community crime prevention efforts. In the next section, we review several recognized, and arguably important, partnership-style prevention initiatives. These programs have been selected because they are among the best-evaluated cases, show some evidence of success, and illustrate the complexity and diversity of community partnerships. The target of these initiatives is drug abuse and/or violence, and the interventions are often focused on youth in the community.

Midwestern Prevention Project

Several community-based initiatives have adopted a comprehensive approach to the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse outside a criminal justice paradigm. A good example is the Midwestern Prevention Project (MPP), which sought to implement a comprehensive multilevel community-based intervention to reduce gateway drug use (cigarette, alcohol, and marijuana) among adolescents.¹¹² The program was initiated in 1984 in fifty schools in fifteen communities spread across eight counties in Kansas and Missouri. Under a quasi-experimental design, eight schools were randomly assigned to the program or control groups, twenty schools rescheduled their existing program and were assigned to the program group, and fourteen schools that could not reschedule their existing program were assigned to the control group. The project components include (a) mass media education, (b) school-based education, (c) parent education and organizing, (d) community organizing and coordinating, and (e) health policy.¹¹³ Program schools received all components. Control schools received only (a) and (d).

Analysis after the first year indicated that prevalence rates for monthly and weekly use of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana in the program schools was far less than in control schools. Although prevalence rates for all three substances increased over time, the rate of increase for the program schools was half that of the control schools.¹¹⁴ An evaluation restricted to the eight schools randomly assigned to the study revealed significant differences in prevalence for cigarette and marijuana use, but not alcohol use. The Midwestern Prevention Project was equally effective in reducing drug use among both high-risk and general-population students.¹¹⁵

Class of 1989 Study. The Class of 1989 Study represents another comprehensive community substance abuse initiative, a component of the Minnesota Heart and Health Program (MHHP). This population-wide research and demonstration project to reduce cardiovascular disease in three communities from 1980 to 1993¹¹⁶ was designed to test the efficacy of a school-based, social-influence, smoking-prevention curriculum delivered to the Class of 1989 during their sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. The curriculum focused on the prevention of tobacco use by influencing the social and psychological factors that were known to encourage the onset of smoking. Seven community-wide

strategies supplemented the school-based intervention: (a) cardiovascular risk factor screening, (b) health education, (c) community mobilization, (d) continuing education of health professionals, (e) mass media education campaigns, (f) adult education, and (g) youth education. Using a quasi-experimental design, a single target community was matched with a comparison community. The target community received both the school-based social influence curriculum and the community-wide interventions, while the comparison community received neither.

Measurement of program effects was accomplished by annual surveys of the students. Measures for tobacco use included saliva samples and a self-reported smoking history.¹¹⁷ The findings suggest that the combined school and community interventions produced a significant reduction in smoking among targeted adolescents. However, only a single pair of communities was studied and some key findings were the result of data analysis at the individual rather than community level.

Project Northland. In a similar intervention, Project Northland targeted alcohol use among the class of 1998 in northeastern Minnesota communities. School districts were selected because of their high prevalence of alcohol-related problems. Twenty districts were blocked by size and randomized to an intervention and reference conditions.¹¹⁸ The interventions included behavioral curricula, peer participation, parent involvement/education, and community task force activities. The program was evaluated by surveying students in the sixth-grade cohort in the fall of 1991 (baseline), and in the springs of 1992, 1993, and 1994.

At the end of three years, the experimental schools reported far lower monthly and weekly alcohol use than the comparison schools. Additionally, students in experimental schools were more likely to report resisting peer influences to use alcohol, to believe that fewer people in their age-group drank, and to have parents talk with them about alcohol. Project Northland appeared to have a greater influence on students who had not used alcohol at the beginning of sixth grade than students who had. These effects on alcohol use and alcohol-related attitudes are noteworthy, given the relatively strong research design.¹¹⁹

The positive effects of the above-cited programs are in sharp contrast to the weak or nonexistent effects of stand-alone school-based drug prevention pro-

grams, especially the world's largest and most popular program, D.A.R.E.¹²⁰ Hence, these demonstration programs illustrate the relative value of mounting comprehensive initiatives and creating community-wide norms against drug abuse and violence.

Operation Weed and Seed. Comprehensive programs have also been introduced in the criminal justice arena. Weed and Seed is a federally funded collaborative effort among federal, state, and local government agencies and private organizations to improve the quality of life in targeted high-crime areas. It is designed to “weed out” criminal activity and then “seed” the neighborhood with social and economic interventions to stabilize and restore the area. Weed and Seed initiatives generally consist of four elements: (1) suppression, (2) community-oriented policing, (3) prevention, intervention, and treatment, and (4) neighborhood restoration.¹²¹ Coordinated by federal U.S. Attorneys, these local programs are typically structured as a coalition of law enforcement, social service, and community organizations. Starting up in three cities in 1991 with only a half-million dollars, the Weed and Seed program had grown to more than 200 sites by 1999, with approximately \$49 million of funding.¹²²

Early evaluations of Weed and Seed revealed that the majority of Weed and Seed programs focused on cleaning up neighborhoods via law enforcement (“weeding”) rather than improving education, health care, social services and employment opportunities (“seeding”).¹²³ Nevertheless, these programs did begin building bridges for the first time between government and private agencies. Groups that ordinarily did not communicate with each other (e.g., police, prosecutors, neighborhood residents, recreation directors) did come together in committees to share information, solve problems, and coordinate efforts. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, Weed and Seed helped redefine, in part, the nation's response to violence and disorder.

A more recent evaluation of Weed and Seed offers some positive results regarding its effect on crime and quality-of-life measures. Terence Dunworth and Gregory Mills evaluated programs in eight sites—Hartford, Connecticut; Mamee and Sarasota Counties in Florida; Shreveport, Louisiana; Las Vegas, Nevada; Akron, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Seattle, Washington. According to their report, drug crimes decreased in four locations, personal crimes decreased in three, and residents' perceptions of the

area and the police improved in five.¹²⁴ However, the results were not universally positive. Salt Lake City and Las Vegas showed little change in crime rates. Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, and Shreveport also registered little change in residents' perceptions of public safety or severity of neighborhood crime. The authors concluded that the more successful Weed and Seed programs were those that (1) focused on smaller areas, (2) had active and constructive leadership, and (3) adopted bottom-up, participatory decision-making approaches.

Communities That Care. Communities That Care is a community-based risk- and protective-factors approach to the prevention of adolescent health and behavior problems, which is based on the premise that successful intervention depends on a community's identifying and responding to risk factors.¹²⁵ Furthermore, success depends on the community's ability to strengthen protective factors that insulate children from problems (by reducing the impact of the risk factor or changing the way the individual responds to the risk). The Communities That Care model has five steps:

1. Involve key leaders
2. Form a community board
3. Conduct a community risk assessment
4. Plan the program
5. Establish, institutionalize, and evaluate the program¹²⁶

The five steps involve: (1) community-directed decision making, (2) a locally driven understanding of the problem, and (3) a theory-driven prevention plan.

This approach is grounded in a large body of criminological research that identifies a myriad of risk factors that contribute to delinquency and adult offending. Less is known about the relative merits of various protective factors. Recently, however, some controlled evaluations have been able to document the effectiveness of youth violence prevention programs that are consistent with this inclusive model.¹²⁷ While these delinquency prevention programs involved multiagency partnerships, the evaluators have focused on individual outcome measures. Thus, we remain ignorant of the processes involved and the critical components responsible for the observed reductions in youth violence.

The Communities That Care model has received a great deal of national attention as a framework for approaching community crime and drug problems. The Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is using the model as a blueprint for its nationwide comprehensive strategy to prevent and control serious juvenile offending.¹²⁸ The OJJDP plan is a comprehensive strategy that incorporates two main components: (1) preventing youth from becoming violent, and (2) improving the juvenile justice system to respond to delinquent offenders through a system of graduated sanctions and a continuum of treatment alternatives.

The OJJDP comprehensive strategy is guided by six principles: (1) strengthening the family, (2) supporting and strengthening core social institutions (schools, churches, youth service organizations, community organizations), (3) promoting delinquency prevention, (4) intervening immediately and effectively, (5) establishing a system of graduated sanctions, and (6) identifying and controlling the relatively small group of individuals who are serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. In addition, the strategy incorporates the philosophy of balanced and restorative justice by including restitution and community service.¹²⁹

SUMMARY

Comprehensive community programs have shown some promise for improving neighborhood safety. By most accounts, the comprehensive community programs to reduce substance abuse can be considered successful. Using controlled research designs, evaluators have been able to demonstrate that these research-based programs, when implemented with high fidelity, can significantly reduce substance abuse and violence among targeted populations. However, the causal mechanisms involved are not well documented. Also, researchers have yet to demonstrate that such programs can be successfully implemented in the most needy communities. Although these demonstration initiatives have targeted disadvantaged areas of Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota, few would argue that these communities suffer from the same overwhelming comorbidity of problems that characterize areas of Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, or other big cities. The most needy areas often suffer from a lack of infrastructure necessary for successfully implementing com-

prehensive community models. Additionally, even if a suitable infrastructure exists, the comorbidity of severe problems (violence, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse) makes it dramatically more difficult for these programs to influence behavior significantly.

The Weed and Seed model is highly touted for building partnerships among law enforcement, community, and other agencies, but additional caution is in order when discussing the short- and long-term benefits. First, more controlled local evaluations are needed before we can be confident that the apparent crime-reduction effects are due to the interventions and not to other factors. Second, even if the effects are due to early enforcement efforts to weed out targeted offenders, the idea that an infrastructure can be created (or strengthened) to reduce criminogenic factors in the community remains to be seen. Unfortunately, the seeding component of the Weed and Seed program rarely receives the attention and resources that it needs. Seeding the community with preventive services and opportunities (protective factors) is no easy task, as we have seen repeatedly.

Understanding partnerships in theory. Although many researchers, practitioners and policymakers have embraced the partnership approach, a paucity of good research persists on the factors that contribute to successful neighborhood-based crime prevention partnerships. Good measurement, however, should be preceded by clear conceptualization. In our definition of neighborhood-based crime prevention, we argued that crime prevention initiatives have at least two conceptually distinct theories operating simultaneously—a theory of problem causation and a theory of change. That is, the partnership approach reflects specific beliefs (and knowledge) about the problem and potential solutions.

First, with regard to the theory of problem causation, the partnership approach postulates problem etiology as a complex, dynamic phenomenon. The presence of complex problems requires the application of complex solutions. At the most basic level, this complex dynamic assumption implies that crime problems should be understood in terms of the influences of processes and domains. As stated earlier, processes are the causal processes through which destructive behavior is encouraged or discouraged. In contrast, domains represent the hierarchy of nested influences on individual behavior—i.e., individual attri-

butes, family, school, neighborhood, and the larger social, political, and economic influences. Using these dimensions as points of reference, we can sketch out five basic scenarios for neighborhood-based partnership interventions:

- Target one process with one domain for all members of the neighborhood. For example, focus on opportunity reduction in one domain of functioning, such as increased supervision by family members.
- Target one process within multiple domains for all members of the neighborhood. For example, focus on opportunity reduction across several domains of functioning, such as increased family supervision, school supervision, and neighborhood supervision. In this case, each domain is hypothesized to affect the individual, creating a cumulative effect.
- Target one process within multiple domains for specific members of the community. For example, focus on opportunity reduction across several domains; certain domains are expected to affect specific individuals. In this case, no cumulative effect is hypothesized.
- Target multiple processes within multiple domains for all members of the neighborhood. For example, focus on opportunity reduction, social support, and self-efficacy across several domains for each individual. A cumulative effect is expected.
- Target multiple processes within multiple domains for specific members of the community. Different combinations of processes and domains affect different members of the neighborhood. For example, focus on opportunity reduction, social support, and self-efficacy across several domains. This is analogous to casting a wide net. If one casts a large enough net, then all members of the neighborhood will be included.

The Midwestern Prevention Project (MPP) is a good example to help clarify these basic scenarios. The MPP partnership approach is based on the notion that a single process, multiple-domain intervention would be effective in reducing adolescent substance abuse. As described earlier, the MPP was a community-wide intervention that targeted individual norms about substance

abuse. The domains targeted included the individual, the family, the school and associated peers, and the community. The key underlying assumption is that by changing the norms about substance abuse, the program could prevent individual drug use and abuse.

This illustration, however, raises several questions. First, are substance abuse norms the only causal process in substance abuse behavior? Stated differently, would targeting multiple processes be a more effective and efficient approach to neighborhood-based substance abuse prevention than focusing on a single process? Second, is substance abuse behavior changed for all members of the MPP target audience, or is the program ineffective for certain individual subgroups? Third, are all members of the target audience affected by all of the domains? What about youth who don't attend school, parents who don't participate, peers who continue to hold pro-substance abuse beliefs? Do we really need to target all the domains, or do some domains have a disproportionate influence on behavior? Does the relative influence of different domains change over time, such as parents with young children and peers in adolescence?

Clearly, the process of developing, implementing, and evaluating partnerships is complex. To advance our understanding of the conditions for effective community partnerships, we must clarify assumptions about problem etiology, domains of influence, and the causal processes that link inputs, outputs, and outcomes. More research and theorizing are needed to articulate and evaluate the different structures of successful partnerships. Furthermore, we must weigh impact against cost. Partnerships that seek to maximize impact by attacking multiple causes within multiple domains may do so at considerable expense. Efficiency and cost are important issues that should be factored into the equation when deciding whether or not to invest in a particular partnership configuration.

Regarding the theory of change, the partnership approach assumes that individuals and agencies representing different perspectives, skills, and experience can provide more effective solutions to neighborhood problems than single agencies or a single perspective. In this context, the partnership approach is considered superior because it can rally a wide range of individual and organizational support. The underlying assumption is that the structure of individual, organizational, and interorganizational interaction will determine the success or failure of neighborhood crime prevention. In this context, partnerships are attempts to increase cooperation and resources by giving individuals and orga-

nizations a vested interest in the outcomes of a specific intervention. Whether these arrangements are cost-effective remains to be seen.

COMMUNITY POLICING

What is community policing? One set of interventions worthy of mention is the nationwide movement to change the style of policing in urban neighborhoods through community policing, which involves a set of propositions, assumptions, and new approaches to police-community relationships. Actions carried out under the community-policing umbrella are not always neighborhood-based. They can be imposed from outside or they can be a collaboration between the police and the community. In any event, it is the community side of the model that deserves some attention here.

Arguably, the community policing era, roughly 1970 to the present, is only the third period in the history of American police reform, following the political era, 1840s–1920s, and the reform era, 1920s–1960s.¹³⁰ Emerging from the ashes of the urban riots of the 1960s and from the failure of urban police to develop meaningful and respectful relationships with African-American neighborhoods, community policing was an attempt to recognize and respond to the needs of the community. The debate over the definition of community policing has been contentious at times, and police departments have implemented hundreds of diverse programs under this one label. Nevertheless, there is some agreement in the literature about common elements. Community policing can be distinguished from previous approaches along four basic dimensions: philosophical, strategic, tactical, and organizational.¹³¹ At the philosophical level, community policing encourages strong citizen input into police decision making, and offers a broader view of the police function that extends beyond crime fighting to solving problems, preventing crime, and generally improving the quality of neighborhood life. Citizen input in the form of advisory boards, community meetings, and surveys is encouraged. Citizens are expected to have some say in the prioritization of neighborhood problems, the deployment of police resources, and the type of policing they will receive.

At the strategic level, community policing often results in a re-orientation of street-level operations to increase face-to-face contact between police and citizens, such as more foot patrol, door-to-door contacts, and community

meetings. Other operational changes include geographic-based deployment of personnel, which requires individual and group responsibility for smaller geographic areas on a 24-hour basis rather than larger areas for an eight- to ten-hour shift. One component of this new emphasis on place rather than time is the use of permanent assignments. The potential benefits of this approach are many: Officers and citizens become familiar with one another, begin to develop trust, and establish the basis for a mutually respectful working relationship. Other benefits include officers' increased knowledge of local problems, troublemakers, and resources. While permanent beat assignments are very popular among citizens, they are problematic for the police. Officers are promoted to new assignments or elect to move elsewhere. As officers become more familiar with the neighborhood, the risk of police corruption increases, although good supervision can be preventative. As a result of these and other problems, permanent assignments are difficult to implement. Ultimately, responsibility for neighborhoods occurs at the command level. At a minimum, to address the problem of officers being unfamiliar with the neighborhoods and residents they police, many cities are establishing residency requirements. Requiring that officers live within the city boundaries will help, but in larger cities, this will not solve the problem at the level of beat assignment. Officers are likely to live and work in different places.

Community policing at the strategic level also includes an emphasis on preventing crime and solving neighborhood problems.¹³² This model encourages police officers to go beyond responding to individual incidents and taking reports to address underlying problems and conditions in the neighborhood. This requires careful problem analysis, good data, and community involvement. Community policing could involve a new relationship between police and youth—one not based on conflict and hostility. For younger children, police can serve as mentors and role models. For adolescents, police can begin to bridge the gap by facilitating an open dialogue about concerns and prejudices.

At the tactical level, where philosophies and strategies are translated into real action, community policing can take on many faces. In addition to creating more opportunities for positive interaction with citizens (which requires the police to get out of their cars), community policing calls for mobilizing citizens, building partnerships with other organizations, and engaging in systematic problem solving. In the more progressive police departments, mobilization and

problem solving are intimately linked, and the long-term goal is to establish self-regulating neighborhoods.

Smart community-oriented police organizations do not define their range of partnerships exclusively in terms of total community membership (e.g., Neighborhood Watch) or total law enforcement membership (e.g., FBI-DEA-local police task force). They recognize that linkages must be created with other institutions and agencies (ranging from local churches to other city departments) to leverage resources for local problems. These smart police organizations recognize something that traditional police agencies do not, namely, that the police alone cannot achieve public safety.

Finally, community policing can be conceptualized as a series of potential changes at the organizational level. Various changes within the police organization are considered necessary to achieve a new style of policing at the neighborhood level. Among these are: (1) changes in organizational structure, decentralizing, flattening, creating teams, and civilianizing, (2) changes in management, a mission statement that reflects new policing values, strategic planning, supervisory coaching and mentoring, and empowering of officers, (3) changes in information management to establish new systems for evaluating personnel, units, and programs, and new systems for crime analysis, mapping, and resource deployment. Whether new information technology will be used to further the goals of community policing or to move policing in another direction remains to be seen.

How prevalent? Community policing has received worldwide attention, and most police organizations claim to be practicing it in some capacity. One national survey, for example, found that 64 percent of local police departments in the United States, serving 86 percent of all residents, had full-time officers engaged in community policing activities in 1999, compared to 34 percent of departments serving 62 percent of residents in 1997.¹³³

How effective? Is community policing effective and beneficial for neighborhoods? The jury is still out, and the evaluation findings to date have been mixed.¹³⁴ Some reasonably good evidence suggests that community-policing tactics can reduce fear of crime, improve police-community relations, and stimulate more positive attitudes among police personnel. We have less evidence

that community policing can reduce levels of crime and disorder or change the actual behavior of citizens or police. As an exception, one of the more rigorous evaluations has shown positive results in Chicago neighborhoods on many of these outcomes.¹³⁵

Community policing is attractive in theory, but has faced an uphill battle to convince police officers and citizens to accept new roles and responsibilities. Despite these constraints, many determined police executives and community leaders have persisted in their reform efforts and, consequently, have recorded some notable successes. The larger problem lies in the changing landscape of policing and the challenge posed by competing paradigms.

As they conceptualize and measure such interventions, researchers often ask what is community policing? We raise this question here not to introduce a detailed critique, but to entertain a brief discussion on the battle that is being waged to shape the direction of American policing, and hence, the future of community policing. The ambiguity of the concept has allowed competing definitions and practices to arise, some of which have little in common with the core elements outlined above. In fact, one can make the argument that the community-policing paradigm is currently in danger of being replaced by a new model: zero-tolerance policing. Zero-tolerance policing has become intertwined with order maintenance policing, which is based on the broken-windows theory.¹³⁶ This approach encourages the police to crack down on minor violations of traffic laws, city ordinances, and misdemeanors, under the assumption that unpunished minor violations lead to more serious crime. On a positive note, police attention to neighborhood disorder problems is consistent with one tenet of community policing—being more responsive to citizen concerns. Community surveys consistently show that urban residents want the police to treat incivility and vandalism as high priorities. While some police departments, such as the NYPD, credit these tactics for the sizable declines in crime during the 1990s, the scientific evidence that disorder policing will reduce crime has become the subject of debate among criminologists and police analysts.¹³⁷

Notable problems. The disadvantages of zero-tolerance policing and its methods of aggressive policing have received increased attention in media, academic, and community circles. The central criticism is that, regardless of its potential

to reduce violence, zero-tolerance policing produces a number of unacceptable side effects in the community. Public perceptions of police brutality, racial profiling, and distrust of the police, especially in minority communities, are increasingly the subject of media reports, serious research, and litigation.¹³⁸ Surveys in twelve U.S. cities in 1998 showed that African Americans were roughly twice as dissatisfied with the police as whites.¹³⁹

Critics argue that zero-tolerance policing is insensitive to the true needs of the low-income and minority communities that are recipients of these actions. Aggressive policing to reduce violence is not simply about policing minor infractions. Without full community support, many police departments are sending in special paramilitary units whose members have little familiarity with the target neighborhoods. Their primary objective is to make drug or gun arrests, and individual police performance is judged accordingly. Hence, direct accountability to the neighborhood is lacking. The situation is complex in high-crime neighborhoods and requires a sophisticated police response.

The danger from unilateral and aggressive policing is that tensions with the police will escalate, civil liberties will be violated, and communities will be less empowered in the end. As Jack Greene (2000) observes,

Just as important, zero-tolerance policing may be returning the community to a passive role in crime and order maintenance in favor of a more aggressive zero-tolerance policing, while satisfying short-term interests in gaining order, may actually return the police and the community to a conflictual relationship and active role on behalf of the police.¹⁴⁰

Today, as a result of falling crime rates and aggressive policing practices that often masquerade under the guise of community policing, we face a situation in most major U.S. cities in which the primary problem in minority neighborhoods is not increasing crime or disorder, but rather the deterioration of police-community relations. Over the past decade, riots, investigations and consent decrees by the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, as well as numerous lawsuits filed by individual citizens, suggest a serious problem.

Community policing, as outlined above, offers a real solution to this growing problem. Joint police-community problem-solving initiatives—with open, two-way communication and a focus on building comprehensive part-

nerships that attack the problem from all sides—hold considerable promise. This approach has been effective in addressing other social problems, and there is no compelling reason to believe that it cannot be applied to the problem of public safety.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Researchers, community members, and other stakeholders face a variety of problems and issues when seeking to understand and effectively respond to crime and violence at the neighborhood level.

Defining the Problem

The first challenge for those interested in mounting neighborhood-based crime and violence prevention programs is reaching some consensus on the selection of target problems. The outcome depends on who is invited and whose input is sought. Agencies prefer to address problems in which they can draw on prior experience and success with routine strategies. Their strategic approach also varies, depending on their organizational history—for example, police and probation officers hold quite different views about what strategies and tactics will be effective in preventing youth violence. Citizens, too, have their own perspectives, preferring to address immediate neighborhood concerns and wanting problems removed regardless of the costs involved. Communities with high levels of heterogeneity and transition can experience difficulty achieving a consensus on what constitutes a problem, given the diversity of values, norms, and conceptions of desirable neighborhood. Partnerships, if they include strong leadership and seek to be inclusive, can help in the problem identification stage. However, the dangers of under- and over-inclusion are real and should be approached with caution.

A critical part of problem definition is developing a shared understanding of the causes of the problem. As we have hinted throughout this chapter, problem definition plays a critical role in shaping individual and organizational responses. For example, if the crime problem is seen as resulting from individual characteristics (such as impulsiveness, low self-control, or lack of skill), community interventions are more likely to target individuals and employ such strategies as impulse control or skill development. If the problem is defined in

terms of social conditions such as social disorganization or poverty, the community is more likely to develop intervention strategies that focus on community organizing or empowering disfranchised groups. Without a clear and shared understanding of the problem, it is difficult to develop coordinated intervention strategies that will reduce crime and violence. Pushing all parties to think openly and creatively at this stage (prior to the commitment of resources) is very important for maximizing impact. Otherwise, participating partners will resort to business as usual.

The problem definition issue is reflected both in theoretical conceptualizations of crime and in attempts to prevent it. Some have argued that crime is primarily the result of individual differences in ability to regulate behavior,¹⁴¹ while others contend that crime is the result of macrostructural forces, such as poverty, social disorganization, segregation, and so on.¹⁴² Still others argue that situational aspects of the environment are the principal causal factors.¹⁴³

Neighborhood-based crime prevention efforts parallel diverging theoretical models. Some prevention programs focus on individual behavior by targeting self-regulation or teaching social skills.¹⁴⁴ Others focus on reducing the impact of social changes through community mobilization.¹⁴⁵ And still others apply target-hardening approaches to reduce situational opportunities and inducements to engage in criminal behavior.¹⁴⁶

In reality, research indicates that individual, social, and environmental factors all influence crime. Moffit (1990), for example, reported that individuals with attention deficit disorder who had little family adversity show low rates of delinquency.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, individuals with attention deficit disorder *and* high family adversity were at high risk for developing delinquency. To achieve crime prevention goals, theoretical models need to reflect the complex interactions among individual, social, and environmental factors.¹⁴⁸ In addition, neighborhood-based crime prevention interventions need to reflect the complex organizational and implementation issues for responding to crime at multiple levels.¹⁴⁹ If communities can attack the problem at multiple levels with complementary partnership resources, maximum impact should be achieved. The fundamental problem is that the scientific knowledge of problem etiology with respect to crime is substantial, while knowledge of the processes and effects of complex interventions remains embryonic.

Forming Working Partnerships

If neighborhood crime problems are to be addressed effectively, individuals and agencies must be persuaded that (1) a serious problem exists, (2) effective prevention strategies can be constructed, and (3) the community has the ability and resources to design and implement these strategies. For many neighborhood interventions, this involves mobilizing neighborhood members and organizations to participate in the planning of such strategies.¹⁵⁰ The argument runs deeper, as noted by Anderson and Milligan in this volume. Citizen participation increases the impact of interventions by reducing social disorganization, promoting strong community norms against criminal behavior, and creating community ownership and investment in prevention activities.

Unfortunately, there is very little research on the makeup of successful partnerships to increase neighborhood safety.¹⁵¹ Theoretically, membership, structure, and dynamics of a partnership should have a significant impact on program outcomes. If partnerships and collaborative efforts are to become the predominant way of promoting neighborhood safety, we need a much better understanding of the conditions and configurations that promote successful outcomes. One of the biggest difficulties facing partnerships is achieving and maintaining cooperation among partners. Initial enthusiasm often masks problems at both the strategic and practical levels.¹⁵² As a result of suspicion, ignorance, and stereotyping, multiagency partnerships tend to be fragile. Neighborhood-based crime prevention is often only one component of a multi-issue agenda, and has to compete for time, attention, and resources with other factors. In addition, organizational structure and strength can hamper collaborative processes. Often, individuals representing organizations from the voluntary sector have difficulty dealing with the rules and regulations of larger, more formalized organizations.¹⁵³ Also, partnerships are very easily undermined by the individual or organizational self-interests of key personnel.¹⁵⁴

Evaluation

Evaluation research applies scientifically based research designs and methods to build useful knowledge for decision making about social interventions. The purpose of evaluation is to answer questions and provide direction for participants in a given situation.¹⁵⁵ The paucity of scientifically rigorous evaluations regarding neighborhood-based crime prevention is a glaring deficit in this field.

In the majority of cases, researchers have employed methods that limit our confidence in the findings. As a result, many of the claims made by politicians and practitioners rest on flimsy empirical foundations.

This lack of evaluation severely restricts our ability to argue for specific neighborhood-based programs. Without a substantial body of evaluation research indicating what works—and under what conditions—and what does not work, those engaged in neighborhood-based crime prevention strategies may be continually reinventing the wheel, or embarking on wasteful and mis-conceived adventures.

Disentangling the cause and effect and the clarification of causal processes is at the heart of the problem of neighborhood-based evaluation research. Essentially, when evaluating a program, researchers are attempting to establish causal mechanisms and linkages between the clearly defined interventions and specific outcomes. While this task is not simple, it is central to developing an understanding of neighborhood crime prevention. Often, evaluations of neighborhood-based programs do not lay out or “unpack” the causal processes involved in intervention efforts.

In this chapter we have emphasized the importance of specifying the theory of problem etiology and the theory of change. Program failure can easily result from the breakdown or mis-specification of any of the dimensions or causal processes. Hence, it is important that each of the critical links in the causal chain be assessed when evaluating neighborhood-based programming. We have argued that there is a compelling need to test the causal linkages and assumptions in our theoretical models. Recently, the Aspen Institute Roundtable has suggested an approach for articulating the theory, measurement, and analysis behind efforts to evaluate community initiatives.¹⁵⁶ Drawing on this framework, we are currently encouraging antiviolenace partnerships in ten cities to adopt a theory-driven approach to both strategic planning and evaluation.¹⁵⁷

In the absence of a detailed discussion of evaluation issues, we should simply note that rigorous scientific evaluations are often fraught with epistemological, methodological, and conceptual difficulties. Neighborhood intervention research has unique measurement issues, threats to validity and reliability, and implementation integrity problems. Evaluation research can be costly, time-consuming, and disruptive. It may divert practitioners' attention away from the task of service delivery. It can also be threatening, as it can expose inadequa-

cies, conflicts, and even incompetence. For evaluation research to be maximally useful, researchers and practitioners must resolve these issues and find ways to work together under new arrangements.

Measurement

If we are seeking to create healthy, fully functioning neighborhoods, then more attention is needed to how we conceptualize and measure both this goal and the various pathways needed to achieve it. What constitutes a healthy neighborhood? And what causal processes must be activated to achieve this goal? In recent years, much attention has been given to the social organization of the neighborhood and its capacity for self-regulation as a sign of health. We believe this attention is appropriate, if placed in a broader conceptual framework. We also recommend that researchers work with communities to develop more sophisticated systems of measurement to monitor current conditions, estimate the effectiveness of local interventions, and empower local residents to pursue neighborhood improvements.

Certainly the neighborhood's ability to exercise informal social control (e.g., ability to intervene and prevent deviant behavior, the ability to encourage prosocial behavior) is considered a central mechanism of self-regulation in the service of public safety. As Sampson and his colleagues have shown,¹⁵⁸ in Chicago neighborhoods where residents expressed strong feelings of "collective efficacy" (defined as a combination of social cohesion and shared expectations for informal social control of public space) rates of violent crime were lower than in low-efficacy neighborhoods. Thus, collective efficacy is considered a primary causal mechanism in the link between social organization and crime prevention, and therefore, should be considered for inclusion in most community measurement plans.

Much more work is needed to understand whether (and how) collective efficacy can be modified through social intervention. Can communities, for example, be mobilized to participate in collective crime prevention functions, such as the beat meetings hosted by the police in Chicago,¹⁵⁹ and will participation in this type of activity enhance feelings of efficacy? In this chapter we have suggested, for example, that building partnerships is one vehicle for problem solving and community empowerment. Certainly, much better measures of partnership functioning and impact are needed. But the partnership model

raises important questions about the relationship between formal and informal social control, especially with respect to public safety. When are external allies helpful and when are they harmful? When are the police, for example, helping to empower local residents, and when are they providing control, suppression, and order maintenance at the expense of community self-regulation? This is a critical question, which begs for ongoing monitoring of neighborhood perceptions and conditions. Experience tells us that public safety is the product of multiple partnerships, but the terms and conditions of those partnerships should be carefully measured.

With respect to outcome measurement, the challenge in the public safety domain is to move beyond traditional law-enforcement driven measures of performance (e.g., crime rates, arrests rates, conviction rates) to community-driven measures that reflect an interest in larger quality of life issues (e.g., residents' fears, perceptions of physical and social problems, use of the neighborhood, communication and social participation patterns, etc.). The community, with assistance from researchers, should be able to collect data on a wide range of community indicators to better understand itself and improve collective efficacy. We encourage web-based surveys and chat rooms for this purpose and encourage greater outside investment in technology for low-income families.

As part of this measurement process, communities should document the type and level of citizen involvement in preventative processes (e.g., levels of participation in public meetings, Internet dialogue, types of problem-solving strategies employed). Measures of linkages are especially important for establishing that neighborhoods are able to leverage external resources, while at the same time maintaining some control over their fate. Several researchers—especially Duffee¹⁶⁰ in Indianapolis and Skogan¹⁶¹ in Chicago—have done an excellent job of conceptualizing and measuring various dimensions of police-community interactions in the context of community policing. These studies should serve as models for measurement in other aspects of community life.

The measurement of macro-level forces affecting neighborhoods is equally important, so that community stakeholders can better understand the factors that constrain social organization and perhaps deserve more political attention. Structural characteristics of the neighborhood that have been shown to affect social organization include economic indicators (e.g., income, unemployment, financial dependency on others, and investment potential—all reflecting the

level of concentrated poverty) and social indicators (e.g. homeownership and residential stability; population density, mixed land use). Social and demographic factors that may limit a community's capacity to act collectively on shared norms should also be measured (e.g., racial diversity, income diversity, perceived dissimilarity, levels of distrust).

Social science inquiries into urban neighborhoods have uncovered the dynamics of community life, but our knowledge of social interventions—their inputs, processes, and effects—remains very limited. We encourage researchers to be creative as they assist stakeholders in conceptualizing and measuring the social, political, and economic impact of complex community initiatives.

Broader Theoretical Concerns: Special Attention to Diversity

This chapter has given insufficient attention to the importance of diversity (in the broadest sense) in the planning and implementation of neighborhood crime prevention initiatives. All neighborhood groups should participate in crime prevention activities. Neighborhood crime prevention strategies require the involvement of individual residents, parents, educators, service providers, business owners, criminal justice agents, and others. The cultural perspectives of different groups affect their views on parenting, teaching, and the acceptability of certain types of behavior. For initiatives to be adopted and used by neighborhood members, they must be acceptable to neighborhood members. This is best accomplished when residents are involved in tailoring the intervention, make it their own, and take ownership of the strategy.

Any discussion of society's response to crime would be negligent if it did not include race and social class. The criminal justice system inevitably plays an important role in neighborhood-based initiatives, and in light of growing evidence of racialized responses by criminal justice organizations,¹⁶² the role of community members in planning and sanctioning coordinated anticrime strategies has never been more important.

Values and Ethics

Values and ethics are often-overlooked subjects when analyzing neighborhood safety programming. Academics are often trained to be objective and value-free, but at times this posture can be problematical. In her eloquent book, *Within Our Reach*, Lisbeth Schorr details the highly successful community

intervention, Homebuilders, which is widely viewed as an innovative effort to keep families together. By all measures, Homebuilders has been successful in achieving its goal of family reunification. However, in *The Book of David*, Richard J. Gelles vehemently criticizes Homebuilders, arguing that the goal of seeking family reunification over child safety is absurd. Should an assessment of urban programs reach beyond the question of empirical goal attainment? Schorr is correct in identifying Homebuilders as a “successful” family reunification program—though Gelles questions the validity of that goal. How should we resolve this dissonance?

These questions, which are not simply a matter of academic debate, are particularly important when dealing with safety issues. The consequences of being wrong are severe. Real families lose their children, individuals lose their freedom, accused individuals suffer stigma, some die. The need for sound neighborhood-based programming in the public safety realm to identify and deal with individuals is critical, and this point is often lost in macro-level analyses of structural factors. We no more want a child being removed inappropriately from parents than we want a child victimized by parents who should have been removed. Each action has great consequences for the child and the family. Policymakers and researchers need to be aware of these issues. They need to fully understand that the stakes are often very high in the area of neighborhood safety.

Improve the Community, Deter the Criminal

Crime is a serious and costly social problem that touches every neighborhood in this country. The knowledge base for developing effective neighborhood crime prevention initiatives has expanded significantly in recent years. When targeting these processes, certain interventions have been fairly successful in reducing the prevalence of crime in specific areas. Whether this knowledge can be used to produce sustained reductions in neighborhood crime rates is an important social policy question.

Since the mid-1960s, the United States has been embroiled in a war against crime, and has sought to control crime through the traditional responses of deterrence, incapacitation, and (occasionally) rehabilitation. The results of this law-enforcement approach are apparent. Expanded criminal codes and enforcement have produced huge jail and prison populations,¹⁶³ disproportionately

persons of color. While many policymakers have sought to justify these actions by citing reductions in crime rates, regardless of the merits of this argument (which are debatable), the financial and human costs of these policies are enormous and underestimated.

Although the criminal justice system is a necessary component of neighborhood crime prevention, it is not sufficient and can easily be overused. Clearly, the criminal justice system, as currently structured, is extremely limited in its capacity to prevent neighborhood crime. Hence, the best bet for promoting safe and healthy neighborhoods is to achieve broad understanding of the causes and impacts of violence and work to develop a broad array of preventive responses.

One important insight to emerge from scientific inquiry into neighborhoods in the past few decades is that problem behaviors tend to cluster in geographic areas and within individuals and families. Consequently, these behaviors tend to reinforce one another. Delinquency, violence, dropping out of school, teen pregnancy, and substance abuse often co-vary. As a result, new models are emerging for improving neighborhood safety and health, beginning with the premise that organizing around broad goals at the neighborhood level will result in improved quality of life for local residents. Inherent in these new models is the belief that traditional approaches to improving social conditions are not effective at the neighborhood level and that communities and regions play a much larger role in producing real change. These new models are diverse, but mutually supportive. Individual and family interventions are now giving greater attention to early intervention in the life cycle. Community models now recognize the need for achieving justice through harm reduction and offender reintegration rather than through isolation and retribution. Restorative and community justice models are enticing because they offer justice by linking community and agency resources through a process that may strengthen collective efficacy at the neighborhood level.¹⁶⁴ Technology models are seeking to empower communities with web-based information networks, while pursuing resources to close the “digital divide.” Finally, macrolevel interventions are needed to regulate the economic and government forces that have historically resulted in community decline and disinvestment and provide new opportunities that can discourage crime.

Despite gaps in knowledge, progress has been made in designing successful neighborhood crime prevention initiatives. The recent developments in

neighborhood-based programming have ignited hope—a hope that crime-ridden neighborhoods can become safe and healthy places for residents to raise children and achieve a reasonable quality of life. Comprehensive community programs have shown some success and are being replicated in many locations. However, there is much more we need to understand and much more we need to do. To take the lead from Penelope Tricket and her colleagues, today’s residents deserve the best we can offer with our current knowledge; tomorrow’s deserve better.¹⁶⁵

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Improving a Neighborhood's Residential Environment: Pathways to Physical and Social Change

MELVIN LAPRADE AND PATRICIA AUSPOS

Improvements in housing and physical infrastructure have long been seen as vital components of revitalization efforts in neighborhoods that have suffered from years of neglect, abandonment, disinvestment, and population loss. Numerous studies document the benefits that individuals and families derive from living in decent housing and the negative consequences of being inadequately sheltered. In addition, a growing body of literature suggests how the housing and physical conditions that characterize poor inner-city neighborhoods affect the well-being of the community as a whole. Rundown housing, abandoned buildings, empty lots, graffiti-covered buildings, garbage-strewn streets, and high-rise public housing developments are not just public eyesores, but also areas where crimes are likely to be committed and where residents feel isolated from their neighbors and alienated from their surroundings. It is not surprising, therefore, that the housing literature suggests that community-based efforts can not only improve the quality of housing and the physical environment, but also help to build social capital, reduce crime, and contribute to neighborhood stabilization.

This chapter presents several theories about how community-based efforts can improve the residential environment and other conditions of their neighborhoods, examines the evidence about the theories, and identifies some

indicators that can be used to determine whether the anticipated outcomes are being achieved. We discuss theories and evidence of change with respect to two broad and interrelated categories of factors that are believed to affect community well-being—those that focus on the physical environment and those that focus on the social or human environment. In section 1, we examine the outcomes that can result from improvements in the neighborhood's housing and physical infrastructure and their potential contributions to increased neighborhood stability. As part of this discussion, we explore housing design issues and their hypothesized connections to crime, feelings of safety, and social capital. We also review theories and findings from basic research about the relationship between open spaces and community well-being. This section concludes with a review of several theories of change and supporting evidence that explain the pathways by which the cumulative effects of housing renovation and production might, over the long term, improve the overall well-being and stability of a distressed neighborhood.

Section 2 focuses on the human or social dimension of housing while simultaneously addressing the need for physical shelter. We begin with an examination of the potential advantages of linking social service delivery with housing assistance in order to increase the human capital of residents in low-income housing. Next, we review what is known about using tenant management and other organizing efforts as ways to develop social capital among low-income housing residents.

In section 3, we examine theories and evidence about the connections among homeownership, social capital formation, increased property values, and increased neighborhood stability—a topic that has received considerable attention in recent years.

Section 4, the concluding section of the chapter, interweaves information from the earlier sections to present a composite theory of change for the housing strand, briefly discusses indicators and measures that can be used to determine whether the anticipated outcomes are occurring, and summarizes what has been learned about the role that housing initiatives can play in neighborhood revitalization.

This chapter focuses on the effects of neighborhood-based strategies to change neighborhood conditions by working within the neighborhood itself. It does not therefore discuss organizing or lobbying efforts that a community

organization might undertake in order to change federal, state, or municipal housing policy, zoning laws, or planning procedures; strategies to win additional resources or services; or ways to alter discriminatory practices by lending institutions, real estate companies, or landlords. To an extent, these are sub-strategies in the service of the broader interventions discussed here. If successfully implemented, they could facilitate, supplement, or lead to the implementation of the approaches discussed here, but they are not substitute activities for these neighborhood-focused interventions.

Similarly, the chapter does not address the controversial issue of whether efforts to disperse low-income inner-city residents into housing in surrounding suburban communities is a more effective way of increasing outcomes for children and families than neighborhood-centered interventions.¹ In addition, this chapter does not address gentrification or efforts to create mixed-income communities in public housing.²

SECTION 1 | Community-Based Efforts to Improve the Neighborhood's Physical Environment: Strategies and Outcomes

For the past few decades, the reclamation of abandoned buildings and lots and the development of new housing units for low-income renters have been high priorities for inner-city residents and major targets of neighborhood policy. The involvement of neighborhood groups in these activities has been spurred by the growing demand for affordable housing, the federal government's withdrawal from low-income housing production, and the large-scale abandonment of inner-city properties by private sector landlords and investors as well as their withdrawal from the housing market in distressed inner-city areas. Community Development Corporations (CDCs), the community-based organizations that have been most active in the housing field, had produced an estimated 320,000 units of housing across the country by 1990. In the early 1990s, they were producing about 23,000 units of housing per year nationwide.³ Nonprofit housing construction was particularly significant in some cities. In Boston, for example, nonprofits were responsible for about 90 percent of the affordable housing produced during the 1980s. In the South Bronx, nonprofit organizations have produced more than 15,000 low-income housing units.⁴

Housing production and rehabilitation has frequently been done in tandem with cleanups of the surrounding area, reclamation or creation of parks, community gardens, and other public places, and general infrastructure improvements.⁵ Neighborhood-based interventions in recent years have also focused on cleanup of toxic waste areas, lead poisoning prevention, and other environmental improvements.

Theoretical Framework

The most immediate and fundamental outcome of efforts to improve the quality and supply of housing and the use of open spaces and related physical features is that residents will experience higher levels of satisfaction with the neighborhood and, if they live in new or rehabilitated housing, with their own dwellings. A considerable body of literature suggests that such efforts might, in addition, improve the quality of life in distressed neighborhoods by positively affecting health, crime and safety, and social interactions among residents. As discussed later, all these improvements could cumulatively contribute to and reinforce residents' satisfaction with their neighborhood and possibly lead them to make further improvements. Higher levels of satisfaction could in turn lead to increased neighborhood stability as more residents stay in the neighborhood rather than move out. A related theory of change tracks changes in the attitudes and behavior of private sector landlords and investors in response to improvements in the neighborhood's physical environment and the expansion and stabilization of the resident base. The result could be the restoration of the neighborhood's housing and commercial real estate markets. The remainder of this section examines in more detail the hypotheses and evidence about these effects.

Improvements in Housing Quality

The assumption is that residents who live in new or renovated housing will experience increased residential satisfaction and increased neighborhood satisfaction because their living conditions will have improved. The fact that the neighborhood is improved when renovated housing or new housing replaces substandard, run-down, or abandoned buildings or vacant lots tends to be demonstrated by the physical evidence itself rather than by research studies. It is typically documented in specific communities by before and after photographs or written descriptions of the restored areas, windshield surveys, block-by-block

inventories, and the like. These improvements have been demonstrated often enough that, by now, evidence about the physical improvements in housing and the neighborhood are often documented or demonstrated by production statistics alone, for example, by quantifying the number of houses or apartment units/buildings that have been built or rehabilitated or mapping the areas or blocks that have been restored.

Evidence that improvements in the housing and physical conditions of a neighborhood lead to increased residential and neighborhood satisfaction is principally based on research that shows that these factors correlate with higher levels of satisfaction. Studies also suggest that dwelling satisfaction and neighborhood satisfaction reinforce each other,⁶ supporting the view that residents in new or rehabilitated housing are especially likely to feel more satisfaction with the neighborhood. Other research suggests that the correlation between improvements in low-income housing and higher residence and neighborhood satisfaction may not be completely straightforward, however. Several studies suggest, for example, that residential satisfaction depends not just on the physical design or structure of low-income housing but also on how well the buildings are managed and maintained.⁷ It should not be assumed that all new housing will be well maintained and well managed since, as several recent studies point out, managing low-income housing poses more challenges than carrying out the physical development.⁸

Research by Xavier de Sousa Briggs and Elizabeth Mueller on three CDC housing communities—Whittier Alliance in Minneapolis, Urban Edge in Boston, and New Communities Corporation in Newark—provides some empirical evidence that supports the hypothesis that improvements in housing and other physical conditions can lead to higher residential and neighborhood satisfaction. Briggs and Mueller conducted surveys of residents in the CDC housing and residents in matched comparison areas in which there were no CDCs. They then compared the responses of the two groups, and used ethnographic data to interpret and extend the findings. Based on the survey findings, Briggs and Mueller report that “overall CDC residents were more satisfied with their current housing, and more likely to rate it better than their previous housing than members of a comparison group, once demographic differences between the two groups were accounted for.”⁹ Outside observers also rated the physical condition of the CDC buildings higher than that of the comparison-area

buildings, especially the common areas and building exteriors. In addition, “the CDC neighborhoods fared better than the comparison areas in residents’ ratings of physical conditions, with fewer major problems (such as abandoned cars and illegal dumping) reported.”¹⁰ Residents continued to have major concerns about safety and drug use, however. These findings provide evidence that housing improvements and other physical renovations do produce higher levels of residential and neighborhood satisfaction.

Removal of lead paint and toxic substances. Neighborhood improvement efforts that focus on lead abatement in older buildings and toxic waste cleanups can have positive effects on the health of neighborhood residents as well as on the quality of the residential environment. Lead contamination is a particular concern because of its hazards for children. Numerous studies document that children with elevated lead levels in early childhood later showed decreased school performance and increased school failures.¹¹ Even low or moderate levels of lead poisoning are associated with diminished IQ, reduced physical stature, hearing loss, decreased hand-eye coordination, shortened attention span, aggressive behavior, and learning disabilities. High levels of lead poisoning can cause mental retardation, coma, convulsions, and even death.¹² The risk is especially great for children of color and lower-income populations because they are often concentrated in housing where they are likely to be exposed to hazardous substances. African-American children, for example, are five times more likely than white children to suffer from lead poisoning.¹³

Federal legislation passed in 1992 (Title X of the Housing and Community Development Act, or the Lead-Based Poisoning Prevention Act) outlines several approaches for preventing lead poisoning, removing lead paint from homes, and identifying and treating children already harmed by lead exposure. It also provides guidelines for action for an array of groups, including community-based organizations (CBOs). Addressing the issue provides opportunities for CBOs to develop initiatives that can advance health outcomes and offer economic opportunities and jobs for local businesses and residents. Several successful models are discussed by Marva Williams and Marti Wiles, who also cite studies that show that well-executed lead control efforts have been successful in lowering blood lead levels for six months to a year, and in some cases as long as 3.5 years.¹⁴

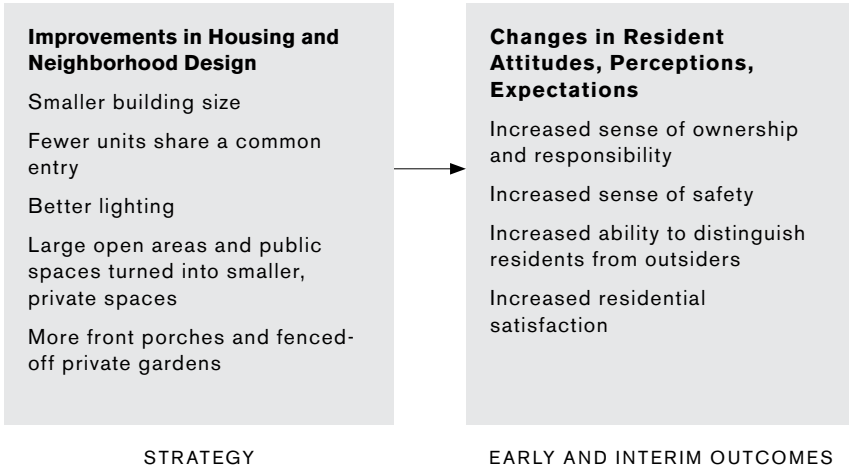
Cleanup of toxic waste areas also has potential for producing better health outcomes for residents as well as making the neighborhood more physically appealing. However, the data linking toxic waste sites to health problems are less well documented than the association between the presence of lead and child health outcomes and education performance.

Improvements in housing design: Developing “defensible space.” Another body of research suggests that the physical design of low-income housing units can affect the quality of life in a neighborhood by affecting patterns of social interaction, crime rates, and residents’ perceptions about safety.

Oscar Newman’s theory of defensible space, for example, argues that the physical design of housing developments can directly affect the incidence and types of crimes that are committed within them. The theory is supported by a series of studies that examined crime in public housing developments and found a correlation between crime and physical design features, such as building height and the number of units sharing a common entry.¹⁵ Crime rates were higher in buildings that had more floors and in developments that housed more families. The type of crimes committed also varied according to the physical design of the housing. Residents of large, multifamily units experienced more crime than residents in single-family dwellings, and were subject to both burglaries and robberies, while their counterparts in single-family dwellings experienced only burglaries. The higher crime rates in large, multifamily dwellings resulted from robberies committed in the interior common areas, such as lobbies, stairs, and elevators. Newman’s studies involving twenty-nine public housing sites and forty-four moderate-income communities in Newark, St. Louis, and San Francisco confirmed that project size and the number of families sharing a common entry in a building account for most of the variation in crime rates.

Several factors explain the connection between these physical features and the incidence of crime, according to Newman.¹⁶ Large buildings mean that many families share common entries and interior corridors, elevators, and stairs; as a result, individual residents do not feel that they “own” these public areas or need to take responsibility for them. The physical configurations also tend to discourage residents from using public areas and interacting with their neighbors, making it difficult for them to distinguish building residents from outsiders. As

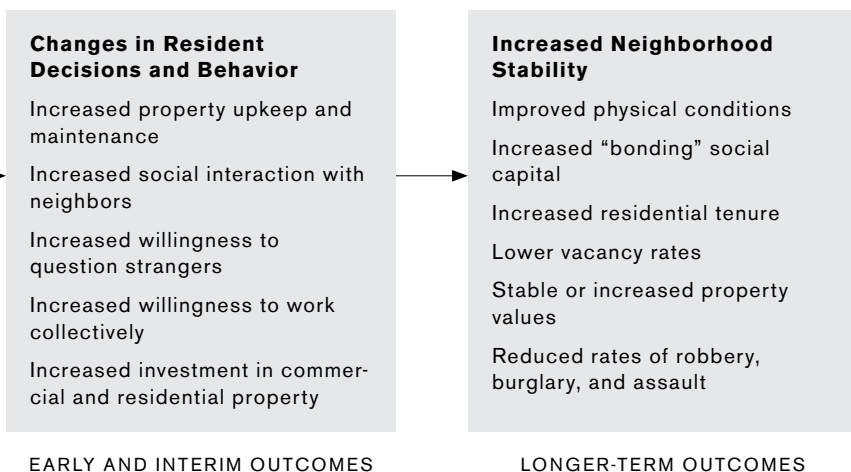
Figure 3.1: Theory of Change: Effects of Improved Housing and Neighborhood Design on Neighborhood Stability



a result, they are unlikely to feel that they can work in partnership with their neighbors or control what goes on in the interior and exterior public areas.

In addition, the larger the size of the housing developments and the greater the number of families who live in them, the more likely the residents are to feel physically and socially isolated from the rest of society. Newman explains, “The apathy that comes from stigmatization leads to neglect and withdrawal, first on the part of the residents, then by housing management, and finally by the municipal agencies that service the project; police, education, parks and recreation, refuse collection, and social services. A large project provides a continuous area in which gangs can operate, allowing even one gang or group of drug dealers to contaminate all of its public space.”¹⁷ Finally, as Amie Schuck and Dennis Rosenbaum argue in this volume, regardless of how the residents behave, physical design elements affect a potential offender’s decision about where to engage in criminal behavior.

Drawing on these findings, defensible space proponents have developed a set of design principles and practices to guide new construction efforts or the rehabilitation of existing low-income housing developments. These guidelines pertain to the number and type of housing units in a development, lighting and fencing, use of streets, backyards and front yards, the creation of private



places or smaller scale areas out of public spaces and large open areas.¹⁸ The recommendations also stress the critical importance of involving residents and other neighborhood stakeholders and key agencies in the planning and design process, precepts that are consistent with community-building principles.

The underlying rationale or theory is that designing housing communities in accordance with defensible space principles can change resident behaviors in ways that reduce crime and contribute to greater neighborhood stability. The early and intermediate outcomes in the hypothetical pathway of change that explains these long-term changes are shown in Figure 3.1.

There is some empirical evidence that after housing developments have been redesigned to meet defensible space guidelines, residents have taken on more responsibility for maintaining the safety or upkeep of their units, crime rates and fear of crime have dropped, and property values have risen. In a 400-unit low-rise public housing development in a high-crime area in the South Bronx, for example, the public grounds—which had been taken over by drug dealers and gangs—were redesigned, divided into smaller areas, fenced off, and assigned to the care of individual residents.¹⁹ The point was to see whether the residents would adopt these areas as their own and take responsibility for maintaining and securing them. They responded as hoped, and even extended

the notion of privatization by adding their own fences and other demarcations in the newly defined back and front yards. Over time, they expanded their maintenance and upkeep efforts to include the public sidewalks and areas in front of their homes. The development's overall crime rate (including breaches of housing authority rules) dropped in the first year after the redesign, as did monthly rates of burglary, robbery, and assault. The number of residents who reported feeling free to question strangers on the project grounds rose, and fear of crime fell dramatically. Studies of related efforts in other locations report similar findings.²⁰

Other studies suggest that crime rates and fear of crime can be reduced when defensible space principles are coupled with efforts to get residents in low-income housing to participate in anticrime initiatives with other neighborhood groups. It is not clear, however, whether the same results would be found if either strategy were pursued independently. For example, Oscar Newman presents evidence showing that a year after a declining neighborhood in Dayton, Ohio, was redesigned to form several "mini-neighborhoods" by gating off areas, changing traffic patterns, and mobilizing neighborhood residents, a local hospital, and the police department in an expanded policing effort, the overall crime rate and the rate of violent crimes declined even as citywide rates increased.²¹ Crime in contiguous areas also went down. A survey of residents found that just over half the residents thought there was less crime after the first year, and many residents reported that drugs, crime, and house and car theft were less of a problem than before the changes. Almost two-thirds of the residents thought the neighborhood was a better place to live, and more than one-third said they knew more of their neighbors than they had previously. Property values also increased (at a higher rate than in the city at large), vacancy rates went down, and families with children began to move in. In contrast, crime and abandonment increased in a neighboring community that had been experiencing similar deterioration, but where no reclamation efforts were made.

Newman stresses that the successful transformation of the Dayton neighborhood required a "comprehensive approach" that went beyond improving the physical features of the neighborhood by enclosing and gating it.²² Other critical elements included the high level of citizen participation (residents from every street were involved), the provision of loans for first-time home buyers,

collective efforts to enforce code requirements on landlords, and increased efforts by police task forces. Newman also emphasizes the importance of homeownership (40 percent of the families should be homeowners, he says) and having a predominance of single-family units rather than multiple-family dwellings in stabilizing a neighborhood where renters were typically given six- to twelve-month leases. These caveats suggest that this approach may not be appropriate for all types of neighborhoods. Indeed, Newman specifically notes that the approach may not work in neighborhoods in which residents feel they have already lost control.

In a review of Newman's work, community development expert Avis Vidal cautions that Newman's one-year follow-up is too short to assess the effectiveness of the intervention.²³ Because the residents' "active assumption of responsibility for what goes on in public spaces is essential to the success of the redesign effort," she argues, it is important to distinguish whether the changes in behavior result entirely from the redesign or in part from the efforts to engage residents in planning and design. She suggests that, if the former is the case, the effects should persist beyond the first year; if the latter is the case, the effects should decline over time. It could also be argued that the expanded police presence in the neighborhood might have been a contributing factor in the decreasing crime rates and increasing property values that Newman found. Overall, Vidal concludes that well-designed housing is not sufficient to eradicate crime in urban neighborhoods but it can make an important contribution to neighborhood well-being by reducing the fear of crime.²⁴

Briggs and Mueller's study of CDC housing developments in three cities provides additional evidence that redevelopment efforts that employ the physical design principles of defensible space theory, engage residents, undertake related improvements in streets and parks, and pursue other anticrime strategies can decrease crime rates and increase residents' sense of safety in very distressed urban areas.²⁵ In all three cities, outside observers rated the CDC housing more highly in terms of physical conditions (especially with regard to common areas and building exteriors) than buildings in the comparison area. CDC residents felt their new residence was superior to and safer than their previous housing, as were the physical conditions in the immediate neighborhood, as measured by such indicators as abandoned cars and illegal dumping. Nevertheless, residents had continuing concerns about safety and drugs.

Significantly, in the two communities in which CDCs involved tenants in activities to improve neighborhood safety, residents' survey responses indicated that they had less fear of crime and greater confidence that something was being done to make the environment safer, than their counterparts in the comparison neighborhood. In addition, evidence suggests that there had been a decline in assault rates in one of the areas. Briggs and Mueller conclude that the safety improvements did not stem just from physical design. Rather, they were "incremental and hard-won," and required a considerable investment on the part of CDC staff to organize tenants and develop partnerships with community police.²⁶

Briggs and Mueller conclude that CDCs can positively affect neighborhood crime and safety through their roles as real estate developers, community organizers, and service providers, and the combination of activities they pursue "are much more substantial social interventions" than block-watch activities that involve "organizing crime-related meetings of concerned citizens during times of crisis."²⁷ Nevertheless, they point out that the overall victimization rates among the CDC residents were three times the national average.

Improving the physical design: Adopting Traditional Neighborhood Design.

Proponents of the New Urbanism or "Traditional Neighborhood Design" (TND) argue that the physical design of a neighborhood can help build a sense of community among residents by providing opportunities and venues for social interaction. Efforts to involve residents in designing the neighborhood, thereby creating an "architecture of engagement," are also important.

The New Urbanism and TND approaches have been most commonly adopted in new housing developments for the middle class, but an article by Stephanie Bothwell, Raymond Gindroz, and Robert Lang argues that they are equally applicable in redesigning low-income communities.²⁸ Many of the guidelines parallel the principles and practices of defensible space design. These include engaging citizens in developing a vision, creating a structure of lots, blocks, and streets that clearly defines the public and private realms and provides a framework for expression of the individual within the community; providing a network of streets, civic cultures, and open public spaces to establish a well-defined civic realm; and drawing design guidance from the local context and vernacular traditions. The emphasis in the New Urbanism, however, is on

creating opportunities for social interaction in order to create a sense of personal connection and support rather than to develop a sense of ownership that leads to a greater sense of responsibility and efficacy.

According to Bothwell, Gindroz, and Lang, applying these TND principles to the redesign of Diggs Town, a low-rise public housing project in Norfolk, Virginia, “transformed a socially alienated and distressed neighborhood into a socially integrated and functional life.”²⁹ They credit the approach, which created front yards and porches and well-designed streets, with “facilitating the social exchanges that create social capital.”³⁰ As a result, they argue, residents were more likely to sit on their front porches and interact with or keep an eye on their neighbors. The physical redesign also brought the area more into line with the condition and architecture in the rest of the city, thereby reducing the stigmatizing effects of living in a public housing development.

Based on their field studies, the authors conclude that “people who are confident that they live in a respectable place are more secure about establishing and maintaining contact with others.”³¹ They propose a three-stage theory of change that draws on the literature on social ecology and social capital:

1. Physical design affects the rate and nature of social interaction.
2. The rate and nature of social interaction affects the rate at which people participate in civic life.
3. The rate of participation in civic life helps determine the quality of social and economic life in the community.

Bothwell, Gindroz, and Lang argue that their field notes on the interactions within the Diggs Town community provide preliminary evidence to support the first and second axioms, and offer “a first tentative step” towards showing the connection between TND design and improved social life. They do not present much supporting evidence in their article, however, and note that there is a need for additional research that uses a more rigorous research design such as a quasi-experimental methodology and deeper ethnographic work. They also caution that because the physical revitalization of Diggs Town was undertaken in conjunction with an intervention to improve social services, education, and employment services, it is difficult to isolate the spe-

cific effects of the physical design changes from the effects of participation in these other services.

As noted, other researchers are less convinced by the evidence marshaled to date that physical design can by itself create a sense of community, although they recognize that it can be an important contributing factor. After reviewing the literature on defensible space and TND, for example, Vidal concluded that “there is no clear evidence that good urban design fosters stronger communities,” but felt there was sufficient evidence to show that “site and neighborhood designs that do not create defensible space do seem to undermine the possibility of community in poor neighborhoods.”³²

Urban streetscaping. In recent years, researchers have begun to consider the role of vegetation (grass and trees) on residents’ feelings of safety, on the presence of physical and social incivilities, and on reports of crime. Findings from this research have been based largely on observations of existing conditions or testing residents’ responses in a laboratory setting rather than assessing the effects of an intervention. As such, it is unclear that introducing vegetation to barren spaces would yield similar findings. However, the consistency of the findings suggests that interventions in this area may contribute to neighborhood well-being.

Research has shown that exposure to the urban environment can have negative or positive effects. For example, it has been documented that while mental fatigue can be a precursor to aggression and violence, exposure to vegetation can reduce such fatigue.³³ It is therefore not surprising that researchers have documented a correlation between the presence of grass and trees and feelings of safety, social interactions, and decreased crime.

In a study of inner-city, public housing residents in Chicago, researchers found that tree density and grass maintenance had strong effects on residents’ sense of safety.³⁴ Residents had a positive response to scenes that showed high densities of widely spaced trees, providing greater visibility and openness. Green spaces have the added benefit of creating opportunities for community building. Andrea Faber Taylor and her colleagues observed higher levels of play and adult supervision in areas with vegetation as compared with relatively barren spaces.³⁵

Researchers have also documented a relationship between physical and social incivilities and green spaces. Another study of inner-city Chicago found

that graffiti, vandalism, noise, and other incivilities were systematically lower in neighborhood spaces with trees and grass than in comparable barren spaces.³⁶ Similarly, an informal study of thirty-one sites in Riverside, California, found that 90 percent of the surfaces in landscaped areas were graffiti-free, while the same percentage of surfaces in areas that were *not* landscaped showed evidence of graffiti or vandalism.³⁷

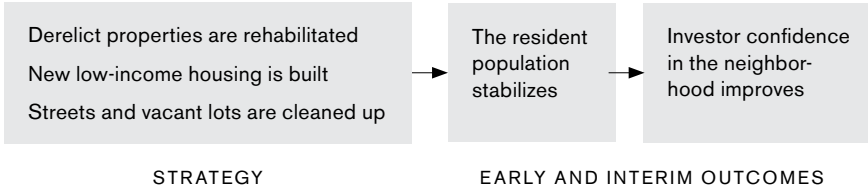
Perhaps the strongest evidence of the negative relationship between vegetation and crime comes from research by Frances Kuo and William Sullivan. The authors examined the level of vegetation and police department Unified Crime Reports in the Ida B. Wells public housing development in Chicago, Illinois, which is, as they noted “one of the 12 poorest neighborhoods in the United States.”³⁸ Kuo and Sullivan found that the low-rise buildings that had the greatest levels of grassy areas and trees were significantly less likely to have reported crimes than those with the lowest levels of such vegetation.³⁹ This relationship held true when the authors controlled for four other factors that have been shown by researchers to be related to crime rates: the number of apartments in each building, vacancy rates, the number of occupied apartments in each building, and building height. Moreover, Kuo and Sullivan reported that high levels of vegetation not only correlated with fewer crimes overall, but also with fewer violent and property crimes.

Longer-Term Outcomes and Pathways of Change

Ultimately, the early and interim outcomes discussed previously—improved housing quality and use of physical space, improved health outcomes, increased social interaction among neighbors, reduced crime, reduced fear of crime—could lead to greater neighborhood well-being by stabilizing the resident population, stabilizing the housing and commercial real estate market, and increasing the neighborhood’s social capital. We now examine the pathways of change that explain how these long-term effects might be produced and the empirical evidence that support the hypotheses.

One pathway of change focuses on the long-term outcomes that can result from successful efforts to increase resident satisfaction with their own dwellings and with the neighborhood in general. It is based on research suggesting that neighborhood residents who are satisfied with their own dwelling and with the neighborhood in general are more likely to stay in a neighborhood than to

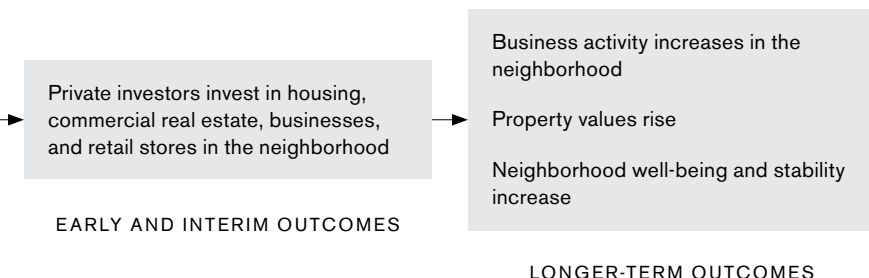
Figure 3.2 : Theory of Change: Effects of Housing and Physical Improvements on Neighborhood-Level Investment



move out. As George Galster argues, “CDC actions that supply appropriate dwellings for residents, improve the general upkeep of the area, reduce crime, or weave a tighter social fabric are likely to abet residential satisfaction and thereby significantly reduce out migration of current residents.”⁴⁰ Residential stability is considered to be an important ingredient of neighborhood stability and well-being.

Another pathway of change tracks the changes that can occur among two other groups that have a stake in the neighborhood and can affect neighborhood development: private landlords and investors. The two pathways intersect because improving the physical environment of the neighborhood and stabilizing the residential base are thought to be important steps in restoring private sector investment and business activity in poor neighborhoods.⁴¹

In her study of concentrated housing production in severely devastated sections of the South Bronx, Brooklyn, Newark, and Chicago, Avis Vidal explains why areas that had suffered very high rates of arson, abandonment, and population loss gave priority to replacing the housing stock. This “would stabilize the population, restore the functioning of the housing market, and reestablish the market for commercial activity that would, in turn, support new businesses to fill vacant lots and boarded-up storefronts,” Vidal writes.⁴² She does not fill in the intermediate steps, which would presumably entail changes in the perceptions, evaluations, and behavior of private sector landlords and investors that relate to their confidence in the neighborhood and its future. The result is that landlords and investors decide to maintain and/or improve their property and make new or additional investments in housing or commercial real estate instead of allowing their buildings to deteriorate or abandoning them alto-



gether. The factors that appear to influence such decisions in different neighborhoods and among different types of owners or investors are discussed by George Galster and by Sean Zielenbach.⁴³ Rachel Bratt adds that having some examples of well-managed low-income housing in the neighborhood can show lenders, investors, and concerned neighbors that low-income housing development is a worthwhile investment.⁴⁴ The implicit pathway of change suggested by this model is shown in Figure 3.2.

Vidal reports on several instances in which housing efforts spearheaded by CDCs and other community-based groups and intermediaries have been instrumental in helping to stabilize, and “in extreme cases” even reestablish, local housing markets and stimulate private sector investment in housing, commercial real estate, and retail businesses.⁴⁵ In the South Bronx, for example, where CDCs produced over 15,000 units of housing, neighborhood shopping districts have revived, private investors are investing in them, and private developers have taken over and rehabilitated numerous apartment buildings formerly owned by the city. In the smaller Central Ward in Newark, where CDCs built 2,500 housing units, market rate investments have returned, and a for-profit developer undertook a townhouse development in the 1980s. Smaller-scale efforts have been successful in helping to stabilize markets that were in decline and had experienced disinvestment in less distressed areas, according to Vidal.⁴⁶ Paul Grogan and Tony Proscio discuss similar developments in depressed neighborhoods in Kansas City, Cleveland, and elsewhere.⁴⁷ Vidal points out that rehabilitating and managing even a few buildings can be instrumental in retaining local purchasing power and sustaining the fabric of a neighborhood if the buildings would otherwise be abandoned by private sector landlords, putting a whole

block at risk. In many neighborhoods, stemming a decline may be a necessary first step before starting a long-term recovery.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, as discussed in more detail below, Vidal cautions that the “housing first” philosophy that drove the reconstruction of the South Bronx might be less compelling in other locations that have not suffered such severe devastation.⁴⁹

Another way that the rehabilitation and construction of subsidized affordable *rental* housing could contribute to greater neighborhood well-being and stability is through positive spillover effects on property values on adjoining blocks. To date, there are not a lot of data available on this issue. A recent review of the literature noted that the findings are inconclusive, although the latest research suggests there are small positive effects on housing values on adjacent blocks.⁵⁰ Findings on the spillover effects of the construction of low-income *owner-occupied homes* on property values on adjoining blocks—for which there is better evidence—are discussed in section 3.

SECTION 2 | Linking Efforts to Improve the Neighborhood’s Physical and Social Environments: Strategies to Develop Human Capital and Social Capital within the Context of Low-Income Housing

The literature reviewed in the previous section indicates that while the physical condition of a neighborhood is an important element in community revitalization efforts, there are clearly limitations to the degree to which changes in the physical environment alone can produce stronger communities. This section examines the additional potential for change provided by linking efforts to strengthen the neighborhood’s social fabric with efforts to improve the physical environment. One approach—linking service provision with housing assistance—focuses on developing the human capital of low-income housing residents and increasing their self-sufficiency. Another—providing opportunities for tenant management and other tenant organizing activities—focuses on developing social capital among low-income housing residents, affecting how they interact with each other and whether they develop bonding and bridging ties.

Improving Human Capital by Linking Residents to Social Supports and Employment Services

Linking residents in low-income housing to employment and training services, health care, and social service supports so that they can become more self-sufficient is another strategy that could help to improve neighborhood conditions as well as individual outcomes. The underlying rationale is that coordinating housing assistance with service delivery will increase access to and use of needed services and improve the quality and effectiveness of the services by ensuring that the residents' needs are dealt with in a holistic fashion. At the individual level, this is expected to increase human capital and produce better outcomes relating to employment, health, and so forth. Connecting residents of low-income housing to jobs, health care, and other needed supports and services is also expected to increase their ability to meet rent payments and decrease incidences of major hospitalization or institutional care.

If done at a sufficient scale, improved outcomes at the individual level could lead to improved outcomes at the community level. For example, if a large number of individuals who would otherwise move out of housing because they lack jobs and cannot pay the rent or because they need to be hospitalized, are instead able to stay in their housing, there may be more residential stability in the neighborhood. There may also be a greater supply of social and human capital, if a large number of individuals in low-income housing are able to develop a greater sense of responsibility for their own lives, translate that feeling into positive actions, and improve their human capital skills. This matters at the community level because social capital and human capital can be tapped and put to use on behalf of the community and its residents. Merely increasing the supply does not ensure that the supply will be tapped or activated on behalf of others, however.

Three principal types of programs have attempted to link residents in low-income housing with services and supports. First, since the mid-1980s, the federal government (primarily, the Department of Housing and Urban Development) has sponsored a number of initiatives that seek to increase family self-sufficiency by linking residence in public housing developments or other types of subsidized housing with participation in employment-related services and other needed services and supports. The types of services offered, forms of coordination arrangements, and combination of incentives and mandates for participation have dif-

ferred, but the goal of helping families who live in subsidized housing to become more economically independent has remained a constant.⁵¹

Second, many CDCs and other CBOs have taken on responsibility for providing or coordinating social and/or employment-related services to the residents of their low-income housing units. A third approach, supportive housing, combines services and housing assistance for special-needs populations, such as individuals who have AIDs, are substance abusers, or are mentally ill—individuals who need special assistance if they are to maintain their own apartments.

Because many of the evaluations of the programs just described focus on implementation rather than outcomes, there is not much evidence about their effectiveness. One study of a prototype comprehensive service center for public housing residents found that participants who used the center showed “increased educational aspirations, higher self-esteem, and a greater sense of control over one’s life”—attributes that could be assets for the community—but no evidence of higher economic status in the short term.⁵² When available, findings from the evaluations of two ongoing and large scale initiatives that provide employment services and other supports to public housing residents will provide additional evidence about the effectiveness of multifaceted efforts to improve opportunities and living conditions in public housing communities. The goal of Hope VI is to revitalize public housing communities by combining physical reconstruction of public housing with community-building efforts and an array of social services.⁵³ The Jobs-Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families aims to increase employment and earnings among public housing residents by saturating the developments with a range of services, incentives, and social supports that promote work.⁵⁴ Both initiatives have a strong resident engagement component.

Briggs and Mueller’s study of three CDC housing communities showed that coordinating services with housing increased the residents’ access to employment services, but did not determine whether participation was maintained or whether the services were effective.⁵⁵ Case studies and operational lessons about the types of services that CBOs and CDCs offer to the residents of their low-income housing communities, an analysis of the factors that appear to influence how service programs and housing programs can reinforce each other, and the implementation challenges of mounting such initiatives are also available.⁵⁶

Evaluations of the first generation of supported housing show it to be a cost-effective strategy that increased the length of time residents were able to remain in housing and reduced incidences of emergency care treatment and institutionalization, at least in the short term.⁵⁷ Recent studies of efforts to coordinate employment assistance with supportive housing for individuals who face multiple barriers to employment show some promising interim results on employment, earned income, and entitlement dependence, and have sparked interest in applying this approach to other place-based initiatives.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the lack of evidence about long-term outcomes and effectiveness makes it difficult to judge the assumptions about the potential benefits of coordinating housing support and service delivery as a strategy for increasing human capital in distressed neighborhoods.

Expanding Social Capital through Tenant Management and Tenant Organizing

As Andrea A. Anderson and Sharon Milligan note in this volume, social capital is increasingly viewed by community builders as a critical factor in achieving significant and sustainable positive community change. This section discusses the role that social capital is thought to play in improving or maintaining the residential environment of place-based communities. A key link is that the degree of social interaction and perceptions of neighborhood friendliness appear to be positively correlated with neighborhood satisfaction.⁵⁹ In addition, Kenneth Temkin and William Rohe show that neighborhoods with higher levels of social capital—defined in terms of institutional infrastructure and “sociocultural milieu”—are more likely to remain stable over time.⁶⁰ They argue that “the social capital model of neighborhood change has more explanatory power than other models based on traditional explanatory variables such as the age of housing stock, distance to the central business district, and mortgage credit availability.” The specific aspects of social capital that appear to matter the most are a sense of loyalty and attachment to the neighborhood and a belief that it is a good place to live.

It follows that improvement efforts that succeed in expanding the neighborhood's supply of social capital can contribute to neighborhood stability. Most of the literature on the relationships among housing, the formation of social capital, and increased neighborhood stability has focused on the effects

of homeownership, as will be discussed in section 3. Nevertheless, a number of recent studies suggest there may be a connection between efforts to involve the residents of low-income rental housing in tenant management and other organizing activities and the formation of social capital. The findings suggest that these efforts might contribute to the long-term stability and well-being of the neighborhood for many of the same reasons that homeownership does.

Empirical evidence suggests that providing residents an opportunity to participate in the management of low-income housing can increase their satisfaction with their homes and neighborhoods and build or expand social capital, although difficulties can also arise.⁶¹ Several studies suggest that the most effective way to build social capital among housing residents is by providing opportunities and supports for them to manage their residences. Briggs and Mueller's research on three CDC housing communities in three major cities, Urban Edge in Boston, New Community Corporation in Newark, and Whittier Alliance in Minneapolis, led them to conclude that while good physical design, improved physical conditions and a greater sense of safety may facilitate the development of social capital in very poor urban communities, such conditions are not sufficient to create it.⁶² They found that residents' interactions with neighbors did not increase merely because they lived in housing that the residents judged to be safer and better designed than their previous housing. Where CDCs were able to expand residents' casual ties and networks of acquaintances, it was because the CDC staff made intensive, ongoing, sustained efforts to create social connections among the residents. Efforts to involve tenants in building management or engage them in neighborhood-wide organizing efforts around safety and land use were especially effective approaches, according to Briggs and Mueller.

They conclude that the small-scale co-ops that required participation in tenant associations as a condition of residence in Whittier Alliance housing "did more to build social connections and a sense of community among residents than any other CDC activity we studied."⁶³ Compared to residents in CDC-housing in the other two cities, residents in the Whittier Alliance buildings were much more likely to report having a number of acquaintances within their building. Briggs and Mueller point out that such ties are useful in developing "bonding" social capital that can provide everyday favors, build informal social controls among neighbors and their kids, and promote collective activism and

feelings of safety. Indeed, Whittier residents were more likely than the residents in the other CDCs or in the comparison areas to say they would directly approach a neighbor about a behavior problem. In contrast, residents in the Urban Edge CDC, which concentrated on involving residents in neighborhood-level organizing efforts around safety in a public square and the surrounding area, had significantly larger acquaintanceship networks at the neighborhood level than did their counterparts in the matched comparison location. Finally, residents in New Community, the CDC housing in Newark, New Jersey, where the CDC management did not sponsor resident co-ops or attempt to organize the residents around neighborhood issues, reported smaller acquaintanceship networks at the building and neighborhood levels than did the CDC residents in the other locations. Confidence in their neighbors' supportiveness was also lower among the CDC residents in Newark than among their counterparts in Boston and Minneapolis. How much these differences are due to the different organizing and management practices is not clear. Citing research that shows that the most disadvantaged individuals feel more isolated from neighbors and the supports they can offer, Briggs and Mueller note that the residents of the New Community housing in Newark may lag behind the residents of CDC housing in the other cities on social capital indicators at least in part because they are more likely to suffer from chronic poverty and joblessness.

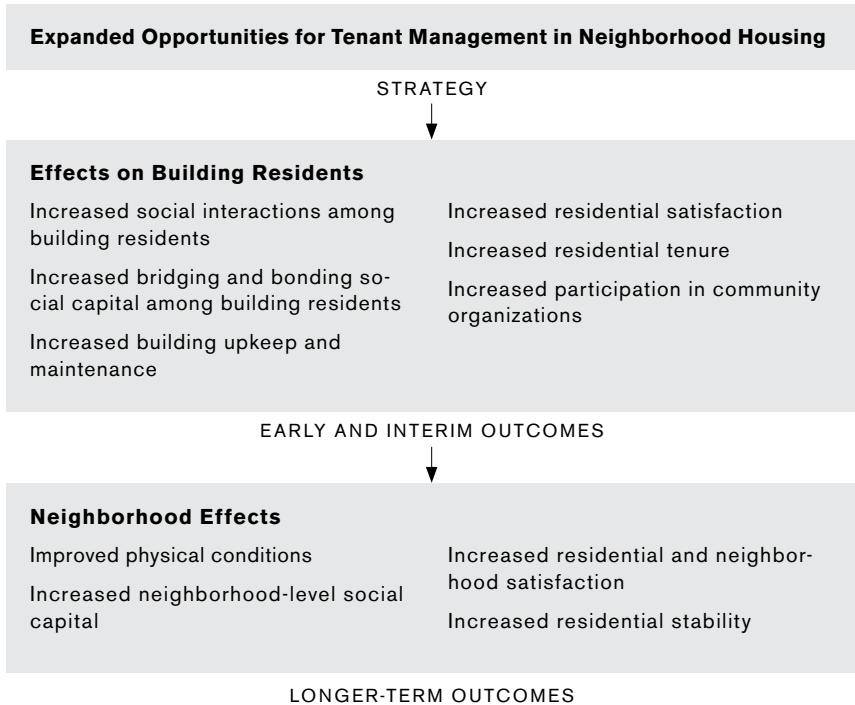
Additional evidence about the relationship between tenant management and social capital formation is offered in Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel's studies of *in rem* buildings in New York City.⁶⁴ *In rem* buildings are buildings that were taken over by a New York City government agency after the owners defaulted on their property taxes. The city subsequently sold the buildings under a variety of arrangements. Saegert and Winkel found higher levels of social capital in the *in rem* buildings that became tenant-owned co-ops than in those that were bought and managed under other conditions. Their findings are based on an analysis of a survey administered to 2,985 residents in 487 *in rem* buildings in Brooklyn. Social capital was measured by fourteen survey questions relating to informal participation in building activities, leadership activity, the perceived prosocial norms of other building residents, and participation in the basic tenant association. In addition, the authors' note that ethnographic studies of social capital in these co-ops showed that they produced both "support" social capital and "leveraging" social capital. That is, co-op residents provided

encouragement and practical assistance to each other in pursuing higher education and employment opportunities and were commonly able to use the skills they developed in running a building to advance their education and employment status.⁶⁵

Involving tenants in building ownership and management also had positive effects on the community at large, since tenants “who were more engaged in the formal and informal social organization of their co-ops felt more confident of their social participation skills and were more likely to be involved in community organizations” and more likely to vote.⁶⁶ Interviews with community leaders also suggested that co-op leaders tend to be more involved in efforts to improve living conditions and opportunities in poor neighborhoods. Another potential benefit to the community is the effect that co-op ownership or management has on residential staying power. According to Saegert and Winkel, tenants with higher incomes, more education, or more personal resources tended to move out of most of the buildings they studied, but in the co-op buildings, such individuals tended to stay and use these resources to improve the living conditions in the building. Figure 3.3 summarizes the intermediate and long-term effects that can result from this strategy.

An issue not directly addressed by Saegert and Winkel is whether the tenants in the co-op buildings were more connected to each other and to outside resources because the experience of co-operative ownership/management was more likely than other management arrangements to create these forms of social capital or because the tenants had additional reserves of human and social capital from the start. Robert Lang and Steven Hornburg’s commentary states that Saegert and Winkel show that “co-ops succeeded in *producing* much higher levels of social capital than CDC buildings” (emphasis added), but the evidence in the articles seems more ambiguous.⁶⁷ Saegert and Winkel themselves talk about the “higher levels of social capital *found* in tenant owned-coops” (emphasis added),⁶⁸ and point out that “as time goes on, co-ops are more likely to attract a population with more human capital, even if they have low incomes.” In addition, their ethnographic data suggest that new tenants are chosen for the likelihood that they will participate in the tenants’ association and for the skills they can bring as members. Saegert and Winkel also note that tenants who are involved in antisocial or illegal behavior are likely to move out of the co-ops under the force of social pres-

Figure 3.3: Theory of Change: Effects of Expanded Opportunities for Tenant Management on Residents and Neighborhood



sure. These findings suggest that while the experience of tenant management can certainly expand social capital by facilitating the creation of associational ties among residents, there may also be a predisposition to interact with others and to become involved in community affairs among the individuals who become residents in such buildings.

Saegert and Winkel's conclusion that tenant management may offer the same types of incentives to maintain property and participate in neighborhood improvement efforts as does homeownership, with a similar potential for social capital development, is an intriguing one.⁶⁹ (The connection between homeownership and social capital is discussed in the following section of this chapter.) More work needs to be done, however, to analyze the relationship between co-op management and social capital formation.

Other questions that require further investigation are whether it is feasible to develop tenant management in all types of low-income rental housing or

among all types of tenants, and how well tenant-managed buildings are managed and maintained. A full discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this chapter,⁷⁰ but it should be noted that several recent studies stress that successfully involving residents in housing management requires considerable staff support. Briggs and Mueller write, for example, that their “data provide strong evidence that the notion that resident associations can be largely self-sustaining is a myth. . . .”⁷¹ Similarly, Saegert and Winkel point out that developing successful co-ops requires a lengthy “investment in independent organizing, training and technical assistance.”⁷² Vidal, too, comments on the need for “strong resident organization” to support resident management, and echoes Briggs and Mueller’s emphasis on the difficulty of “creating and sustaining this kind of social organization in a community of seriously disadvantaged residents.”⁷³

SECTION 3 | Homeownership and Neighborhood Stability

Considerable attention has been focused in recent years on the connections among homeownership, individual and family well-being, and neighborhood stability. The potential for increasing homeownership as a strategy for neighborhood renewal in poor communities is another topic of growing interest in the community-building field.

Studies document the economic benefits of homeownership in terms of positive effects on upward mobility, wealth accumulation, and the intergenerational transfer of resources.⁷⁴ Homeownership is also thought to produce such benefits as increased self-esteem, sense of control, and life satisfaction. Research also shows that the children of homeowners are less likely than the children of renters to drop out of school, be arrested, or become pregnant.⁷⁵ However, as Peter Rossi and Eleanor Weber point out, many of the positive assumptions about the benefits of homeownership are not based on solid empirical research.⁷⁶ In addition, most studies on the effects of homeownership compare middle- and upper-class owners with middle- and upper-class renters, and it is not clear that the findings hold up among low-income homeowners.⁷⁷ When William Rohe and Michael Stegman studied the effects of homeownership on the self-esteem, sense of control, and life satisfaction of low-income owners, for example, they found no significant differences in self-esteem or sense of control

between low-income homeowners and renters, although they found significant effects on increased life satisfaction.⁷⁸

More recently, scholars have begun to explore the relationship between homeownership and community well-being and neighborhood stability. A growing body of evidence, discussed later, shows that compared with renters or absentee landlords, resident homeowners are more likely to maintain their residence, engage in civic activities, have higher levels of satisfaction with their housing and their neighborhoods, feel more attachment to their neighborhoods, and move less frequently—all of which are thought to contribute to neighborhood stability. This research is now being supplemented with empirical findings from case studies of the effect of homeownership programs on housing markets in actual neighborhoods. Other publications describe promising program models for promoting or supporting low-income homeownership and offer advice about “best practices” and operational lessons.⁷⁹

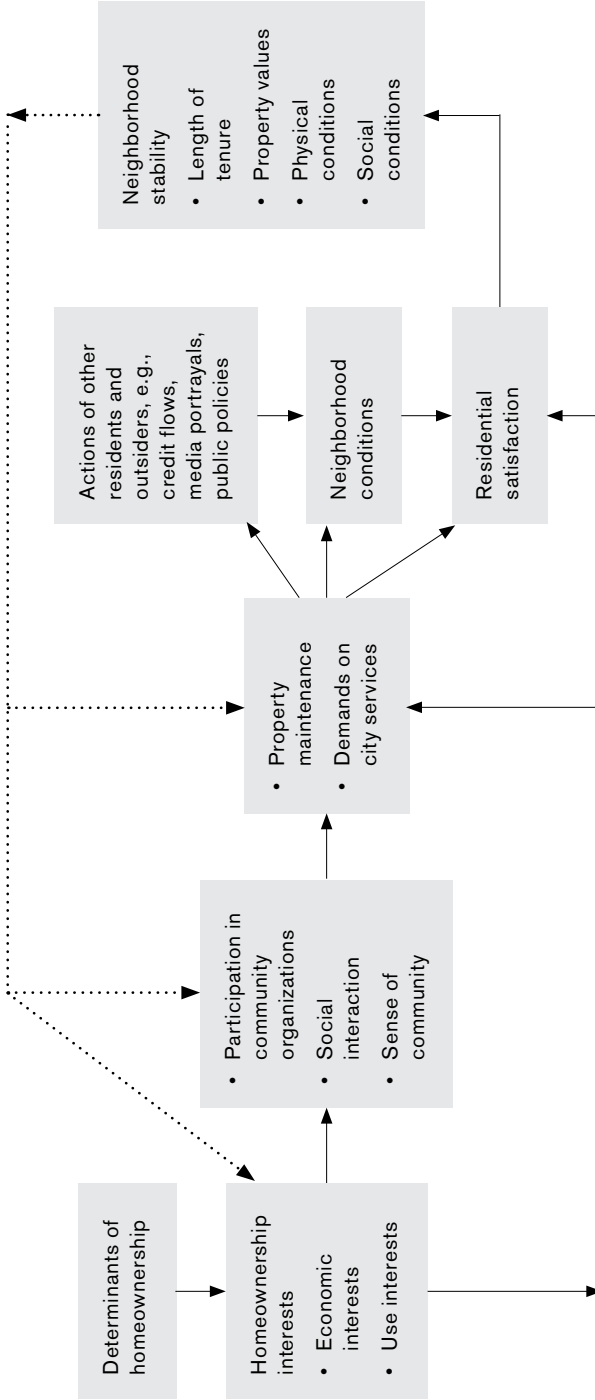
The remainder of this section explicates the theories of change about how and why increased neighborhood homeownership should improve community-level conditions, and examines the empirical evidence that supports the theories.

Rohe and Stewart's Theory of Change

The most comprehensive work on this topic has been done by William Rowe and Leslie Stewart, who have developed a theoretical model that explains the connection between homeownership and neighborhood stability, amassed the empirical evidence that supports the theory, and provided a new analysis that demonstrates a connection between increases in homeownership rates and increases in property values.⁸⁰

The Rohe and Stewart model (shown in Figure 3.4) argues that homeownership causes changes in individual behavior, not just that homeowners have different characteristics from renters, and that it is these differences in behavior that create the benefits that flow from homeownership.⁸¹ According to the theory, homeowners act differently from either renters or absentee landlords because they have both “economic interest” and “use interest” in their property. In contrast, renters and landlords tend to have one type of interest but not both. Economic interest motivates homeowners to maintain or improve their property because it offers an opportunity for financial gain

Figure 3.4: Conceptual Model: Effect of Homeownership on Neighborhood Stability



Source: William M. Rohe and Leslie S. Stewart, "Homeownership and Neighborhood Stability," Figure 1, "Conceptual Model: Effect of Homeownership on Neighborhood Stability" *Housing Policy Debate* 7(1):37-81. © 1996 Fannie Mae Foundation, Washington, D.C. Reprinted with permission.

or wealth accumulation. Use interest motivates them to maintain or improve their property because ownership makes it more difficult and more costly for them to move.

Rohe and Stewart explain how a heightened interest in maintaining or improving a personal residence and longer length of tenure can lead homeowners to interact more with their neighbors, participate in community organizations designed to protect their interests, and develop a strong sense of community or psychological identification with the neighborhood. The combination of enhanced personal interest and greater community involvement can produce two intermediate outcomes: increased property maintenance and greater demands for public and private services. These intermediate outcomes can contribute directly to improved neighborhood conditions by improving the level of physical maintenance and indirectly by bringing better services or more resources into the neighborhood. Rohe and Stewart hypothesize that such improvements in neighborhood conditions should produce higher levels of resident satisfaction, which in turn will lead to greater neighborhood stability, as measured by longer lengths of tenure, stable property values, improved property upkeep, and stable social conditions.

Rohe and Stewart's review of the extensive literature on the effects of homeownership finds considerable empirical support for their theory. They cite several studies that show that homeowners are more likely than renters to participate in local organizations even after controlling for differences in socioeconomic characteristics.⁸² Rohe and Stewart also cite studies that suggest a relationship between homeownership and informal interactions with neighbors, but they note that the findings are less extensive and less consistent than the evidence on civic participation.⁸³ They report there is not much information available on the links between homeownership and psychological identification with a neighborhood, but the little there is suggests that homeowners are more committed to their neighborhoods.⁸⁴

Considerable evidence documents that homeowners are more likely than landlords to make physical repairs and spend more money on them, Rohe and Stewart note.⁸⁵ These findings have led several scholars to recommend increasing the rate of homeownership as a strategy to improve housing conditions in lower income areas.⁸⁶ An enhanced physical environment should also result, according to Rohe and Stewart, because homeowners are more likely to be in-

volved in local organizations that engage in lobbying or other efforts to protect local property interests or to change local, state, or federal policies that affect neighborhood conditions. Successful examples include actions by neighborhood groups and the passage of federal legislation like the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and the Community Reinvestment Act.⁸⁷ Rohe and Stewart also cite evidence from a number of studies that show that resident homeowners are more satisfied than renters with their living units and their neighborhoods, even after controlling for socioeconomic differences.⁸⁸

Given that homeowners are more likely than renters to participate in neighborhood improvement groups, devote resources to property maintenance and upkeep, and are more satisfied with their housing and their neighborhood—all of which are interim outcomes in their theory of change—Rohe and Stewart’s model predicts that increased homeownership should also have a positive effect on four longer-term outcomes, namely: the length of residential tenure, local property values, property conditions, and neighborhood social conditions.

Rohe and Stewart found considerable evidence in the literature to support the hypothesis about residential tenure. Numerous studies document that homeowners are much less likely than renters to be planning to move or to have moved recently, even after controlling for differences in socioeconomic characteristics.⁸⁹ They note, however, that the implications of longer tenure for low-income homeowners are not so clear, and the results may be confounded by the fact that low-income residents may stay longer because they lack opportunities to move rather than because they choose to stay.

Rohe and Stewart found almost no research that documented the relationship between homeownership and property values. They therefore conducted an original analysis, using homeownership and neighborhood data constructed from the U.S. census for 1980 and for 1990, to explore more fully the connections between homeownership and length of residential tenure and between homeownership and neighborhood property values. Their analysis showed that census tracts with a higher proportion of homeowners did have lower turnover rates, even after controlling for family characteristics and housing characteristics. Their analysis also demonstrated that higher rates of homeownership were positively associated with higher property values. They conclude that “modest increases in homeownership rates . . . may increase neighborhood property values over time.”⁹⁰ As discussed later in this section, two studies published after

Rohe and Stewart's article provide additional evidence linking homeownership programs to higher property values in poor neighborhoods.

Evidence on the other hypothesized outcomes of homeownership in low-income neighborhoods is less extensive and less compelling, according to Rohe and Stewart.⁹¹ For example, because homeowners are more likely to invest in maintenance and improvement in their property and more likely to participate in neighborhood improvement associations, it is expected that owner-occupied properties in low-income neighborhoods should be in better condition than rental units. For the same reason, the overall physical condition of a low-income neighborhood with a higher proportion of homeowners should be better than that of a low-income area with a higher proportion of rental units. Rohe and Stewart found little research that addresses these assumptions directly, but they do cite a British study that found serious problems in the condition of housing units owned by low-income owners because the ownership initiatives had failed to take into account the "running costs" of maintenance.⁹² Similarly, a recent study of low-income homeowners in the United States who purchased their homes through the Habitat for the Humanity program stressed that, in order to meet the continued costs of housing and home repair, a substantial portion of the homeowners need ongoing financial support, in addition to an initial subsidy. The Habitat for Humanity study also pointed out that basic maintenance is an unpredictable cost that is likely to increase over time.⁹³

Another potential long-term outcome is improved social conditions, although Rohe and Stewart acknowledge that there are few reasons to expect that homeownership would have positive effects on neighborhood social conditions. Nevertheless, a study by Richard Green and Michelle White shows that the children of homeowners are less likely than the children of renters to drop out of school, be arrested, or become pregnant.⁹⁴ Green and White found these positive relationships to hold true across four different data sets, after controlling for a wide range of socioeconomic differences among the sample members. Rohe and Stewart characterize Green and White's findings as "surprisingly strong and consistent" and "intriguing" but caution that additional research is required "to verify and explain them."⁹⁵

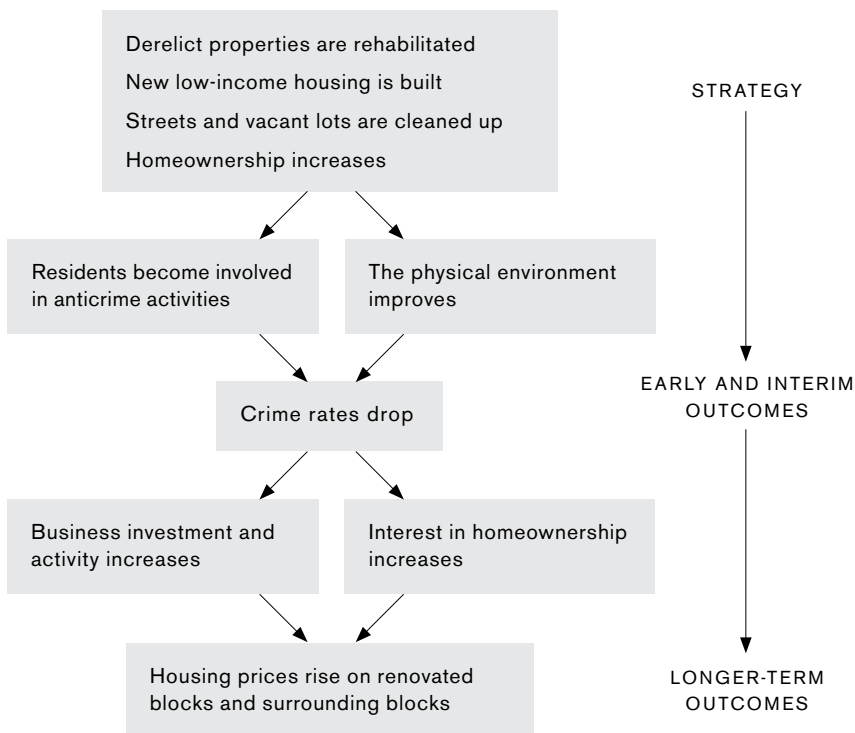
Other Theories of Change

A somewhat different theory of change about how increased homeownership contributes to neighborhood improvement has been proposed by Lindley R. Higgins, who examined the community-level effects of low-income homeownership in case studies of five urban neighborhoods in four cities (Kalamazoo, Houston, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.).⁹⁶ Higgins suggests that an increase in homeownership is instrumental in changing perceptions of the neighborhood and its viability among residents and outside investors, and these changes in perception lead to changes in behavior that affect residential real estate markets, commercial activity, and crime rates. According to Higgins, homeownership programs can reduce crime by providing a greater incentive for residents to become involved in crime prevention programs and to work cooperatively with the police. Conversely, lower crime rates make neighborhoods more attractive for homebuyers and business investors, which affects housing prices and the business environment. This theory of change is shown graphically in Figure 3.5.

Higgins' case studies of five urban neighborhoods where CDCs created significant numbers of affordable homes found that real estate values were subsequently higher in three neighborhoods and found other indicators of positive effects on the local real estate market in a fourth neighborhood.⁹⁷

A pathway of change that explains the potential spillover effects of homeownership programs on surrounding property values is discussed in a study of the effect of homeownership programs in two New York City neighborhoods.⁹⁸ Authors Ingrid Gould Ellen and colleagues suggest that there are three ways in which an initiative that subsidizes the construction of affordable, owner-occupied houses in a distressed urban neighborhood can have a positive effect on housing prices on surrounding blocks. First, new housing construction that improves the physical appearance of the neighborhood, reduces the noise level or level of disorder, or improves the quality of local services can help boost property values on surrounding blocks by making the neighborhood a more attractive place to live. Second, increasing the number of homeowners in distressed communities can lead to higher property values if their greater financial stake in the neighborhood leads them to take better care of their homes than renters do. Third, property values may increase because of population changes. For example, increased opportunities for homeownership may attract higher-income households, or a general growth in the residential population can lead

Figure 3.5: Theory of Change: Spillover Effects of Homeownership on Neighborhood Property Values



Source: Lindley R. Higgins, "Measuring the Economic Impact of Community-Based Homeownership Programs on Neighborhood Revitalization" (2001).

to increased commercial activity and economic growth that makes the neighborhood increasingly desirable.

Their study of two of New York City's largest subsidized homeownership programs, which constructed new homes and renovated existing homes in very distressed neighborhoods, found evidence of significantly increased property values on neighboring blocks.⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, the study found that larger projects tended to have greater effects on housing prices. The authors note, however, that additional research is required to determine whether or how much of the rise in property values results from the effect of transforming vacant and derelict buildings into a more pleasant physical environment, the effect of attracting higher-income residents into the neighborhood, or the effect of increasing the rate of homeownership in the neighborhood.

Caveats about Using Homeownership as a Revitalization Strategy

Despite the evidence showing the potential benefits of homeownership at both the individual and the community level, Rohe and Stewart raise several caveats about homeownership promotion as a strategy to revitalize low-income communities. They note, for example, that most of the research is based on middle- and upper-income homeowners, and it is not known whether low-income homeowners, who have less money and who have made relatively small investments in their properties, will behave similarly in maintaining their property and joining neighborhoods groups. The British experience of inner-city homeownership is a case in point: the homeowners' lack of income to make needed repairs resulted in what has been described as "the privatization of squalor."¹⁰⁰

Rohe and Stewart therefore caution that homeownership should not be encouraged among individuals and families who have highly variable incomes or flat income trajectories because they are unlikely to be able to afford their housing over the long term. They also warn against promoting low-income homeownership where houses are in very bad repair or in areas where neighborhood conditions show little promise of producing stable or higher property values or improved social conditions.

The experience of the low-income homeownership programs in the United States that provide training in basic maintenance and budgeting skills as well as financial subsidies offers some promise, however.¹⁰¹ Even more encouraging are the studies by Higgins and by Ellen and colleagues, already discussed, which show positive effects of homeownership on property values and other conditions in quite distressed neighborhoods. Higgins tried to determine whether the homeownership programs in the five neighborhoods he studied had broader revitalizing effects on neighborhood commercial activity and crime rates in addition to raising property values. He found evidence of increased retail sales in two of the three neighborhoods in which such data were available and evidence of sharp declines in crime rates in three cases.¹⁰²

Evidence of Threshold Effects

An unanswered question is whether it is necessary to achieve a "tipping point" or threshold level of homeownership in order to affect any of the measures of neighborhood stability. Rohe and Stewart caution that reaching any kind of scale would be difficult if the supply of housing is insufficient or if public sub-

sidies are unavailable. In any event, they stress that homeownership programs should be targeted to current neighborhood residents rather than outsiders, in order to avoid or minimize the effects of gentrification.¹⁰³ As described earlier, Newman noted that having a 40 percent homeownership rate was important in the efforts to stabilize the Dayton neighborhood.¹⁰⁴ A recent study by George Galster, Roberto Quercia, and Alvaro Cortes suggests that having a rental-occupancy rate of no more than 85.5 percent may be a critical threshold for neighborhoods, because after that critical level is reached, further increases in the rental-occupancy rate are associated with higher-than-anticipated increases in several indicators that are negatively associated with community well-being, namely, the percentage of households with female heads-of-household, the unemployment rate, and the poverty rate.¹⁰⁵

Higgins defines developmental threshold effects in terms of people's willingness to invest in a neighborhood rather than in terms of an absolute level of homeownership.¹⁰⁶ He hypothesizes that as people's perceptions of neighborhood viability increase there should be "an observable point at which investment in the neighborhood would begin to increase at a greater rate" and become self-sustaining. Based on evidence of housing prices and commercial activity, he concluded that one of the five neighborhoods he studied had reached such a developmental threshold and "turned around," while two other neighborhoods showed some of the signs that a threshold had been reached. His research suggests that the following factors play an important role in when or why some neighborhoods reach a threshold and some don't: the concentration of housing development, in both space and time; whether the effort is new construction or rehabilitated housing; proximity to the central business district; and the baseline economic conditions of the neighborhood when the housing development begins.

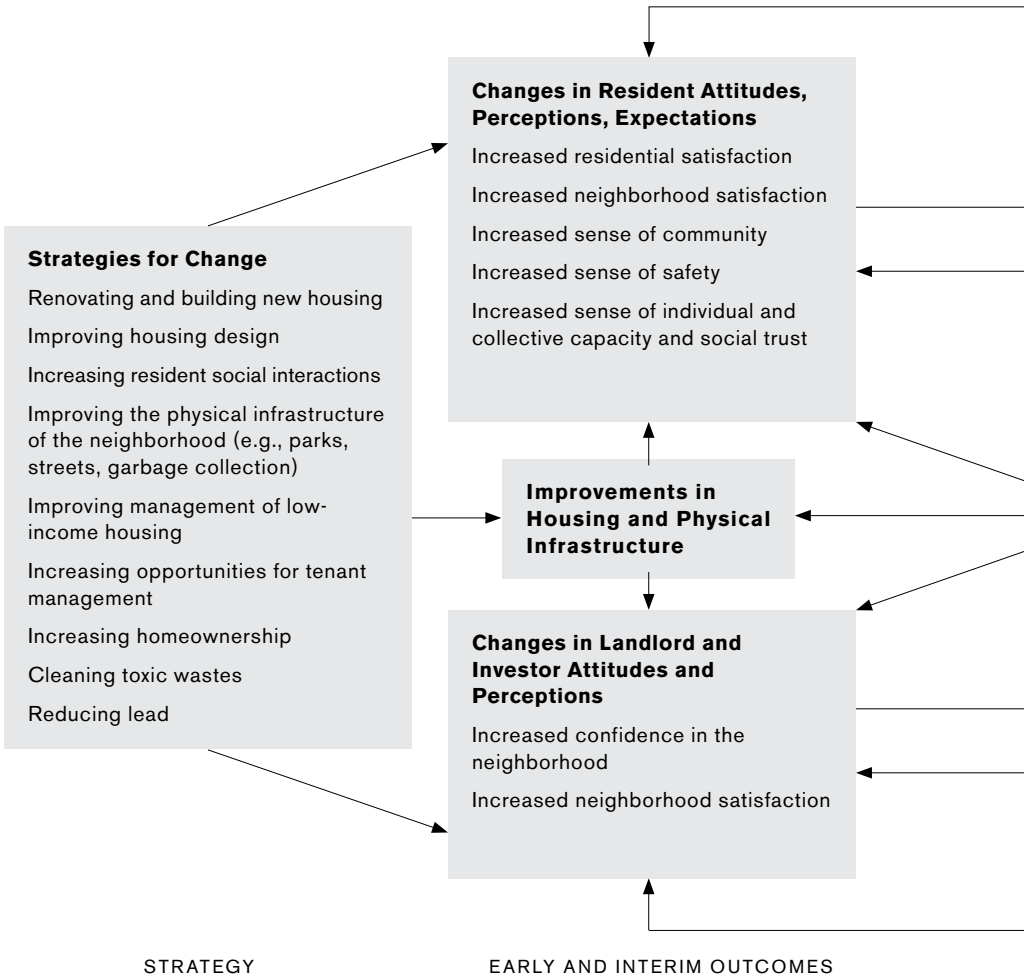
SECTION 4 | Housing as an Entry Point or Core Component of Neighborhood Revitalization Efforts

A Composite Theory of Change

When the elements of the theoretical and empirical literature discussed in this chapter are pulled together, a composite theory of neighborhood change that uses the physical environment as a core component begins to emerge. Shown graphically in Figure 3.6, the composite presents an array of intervention

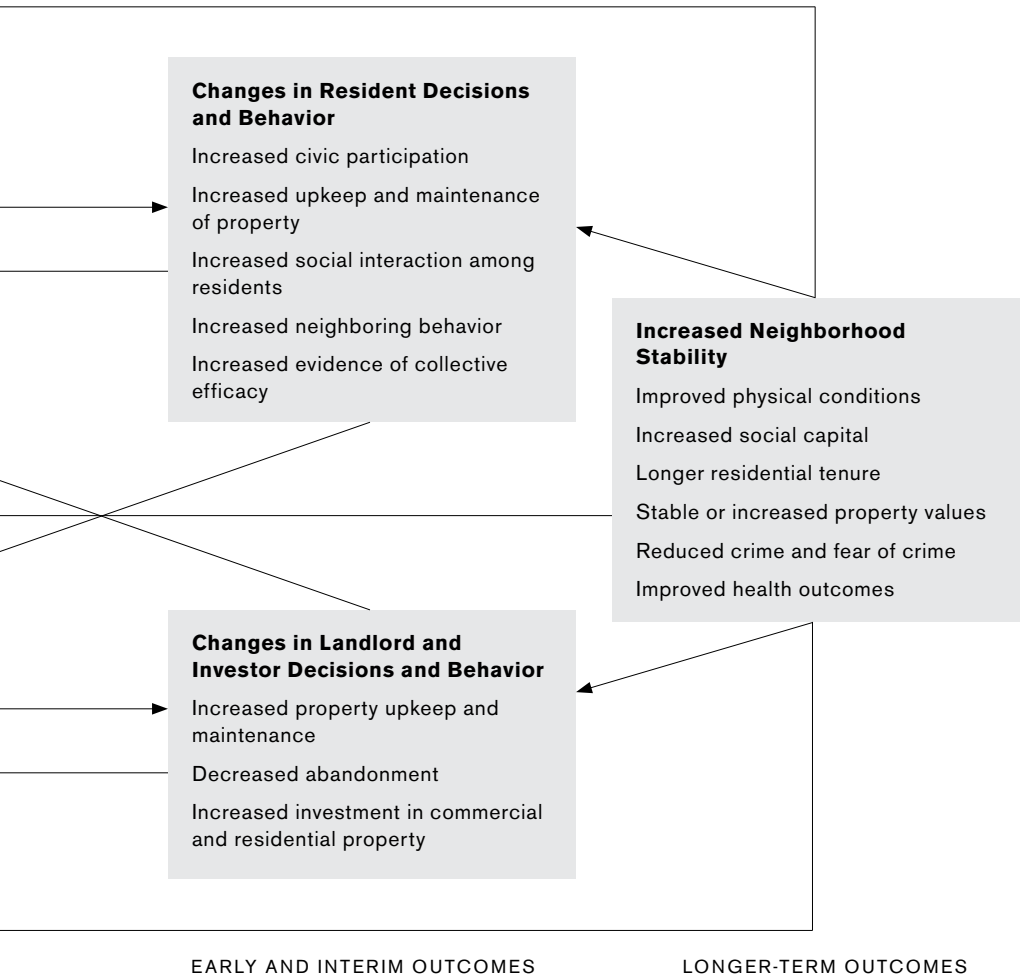
strategies and the early, interim and longer-term outcomes that can result. Among the early and interim outcomes are increased residential satisfaction, increased social interaction, increased upkeep and maintenance of property, increased civic participation, increased neighborhood safety, and increased neighborhood satisfaction. Among the longer-term outcomes are increased residential tenure, reduced residential mobility, increased private sector investment in neighborhood real estate and commercial markets, steady or increased property values, enhanced social capital, and reduced crime and fear

Figure 3.6: Composite Theory of Change: Effects of Improvements in Housing and Physical Infrastructure



of crime, all of which are considered to be indicators of the overall stability and well-being of a neighborhood.

Several things are worth noting. First, the pathways of change generally work at or through multiple levels to produce their community-level effects. One typical pathway, for example, starts at the *community level* with collective or institutional action to change the objective conditions that define the residential environment. Changes in the objective conditions trigger changes at the *individual level*—changes in the attitudes, perceptions, expectations, and



behaviors of individuals—which when aggregated, produce further changes at the *community level*, i.e., changes in the objective conditions and characteristics of the neighborhood. Another pathway starts with collective or institutional action, but produces community-level effects by shaping neighborhood residents' collective identity, patterns of social interaction, and behavior as part of a social community. The outcomes at both levels contribute to the overall outcome of increased neighborhood stability. A third pathway works primarily at or through the *institutional level*, by producing changes in neighborhood-based organizations. It includes such outcomes as expanded capacity among the neighborhood-based groups that carry out the improvement strategies, and an expansion of networking ties and partnerships with other organizations both within the neighborhood and with outside groups. These ties not only strengthen the institutional fabric within the community (an institutional level outcome), but also produce *community-level effects* by developing stores of social capital that can be put to good use in other projects and lead to additional resources for the neighborhood.¹⁰⁷

Second, as George Galster points out, a single strategy can produce multiple outcomes that reinforce and strengthen the effects of other outcomes. This is true of outcomes across different strands as well as across different levels. As we have seen, for example, a number of improvement strategies are thought to increase residential satisfaction *and* strengthen social capital within the community. Third, as Galster also notes, the direction of change is not unilateral. Instead, there are many reciprocal relationships, reinforcing connections, and spillover effects among the various kinds of change that take place. For example, cleaning up vacant lots and refurbishing abandoned buildings not only improves these specific conditions, but may spur other landlords, homeowners, or tenants to make repairs and improve the appearance of their buildings, increasing the likelihood that the effects will persist and that the residents will stay. Similarly, some key features—such as social capital—can be both inputs and outcomes of change in this strand. Finally, housing improvements can lead to positive outcomes in other strands, such as neighborhood safety and security, health, and employment.

Measures and Data Sources

A variety of data sources, measurement tools, and research instruments are currently available to document and measure the inputs and outputs of neighborhood change that relate to the physical and residential environment. As indicated in the composite theory of change discussed in this chapter, qualitative and quantitative data on a broad spectrum of characteristics and outcomes is required, including the physical condition of property and streets, residents' attitudes and feelings, patterns of social interaction, housing market conditions, and crime and safety.

Information about the physical condition of a neighborhood and its housing stock is quite tangible and accessible, and can be described, documented, and measured by direct observation, as in a windshield survey. The number of abandoned buildings, vacant or overgrown lots, abandoned cars, graffiti on public buildings, and illegal dumping areas can be counted or plotted on a block by block basis, for example. Other measures of housing conditions and the local housing market—e.g., homeownership rates, property values (prices and rents), incidences of code violations, vacancy rates, abandonment statistics, residential loans per housing unit, mortgage statistics, investment and mobility patterns—can be compiled from public records and administrative data.

Phillip L. Clay provides a good introduction to the indicators, measures, and data sources that can be used to assess a neighborhood's housing conditions and physical status, and distinguishes between “negative” and “positive” indicators or trends.¹⁰⁸ Dennis Culhane and Amy Hillier note that recent efforts to develop neighborhood-based data sets that integrate several types of administrative records can be helpful to neighborhood-based groups in planning small-scale revitalization or large-scale redevelopment projects.¹⁰⁹ Several other publications offer more technical discussions of specific measures of property values, housing indicators, and related neighborhood conditions that have been used to track changes in specific neighborhoods.¹¹⁰

Traditionally, measures that relate to the characteristics of the housing market (e.g., property values and vacancy rates), the physical condition of local property, and the mobility of the residential population have been used as key indicators of neighborhood stability or well-being. Temkin and Rohe's research showing that social capital contributes more to neighborhood stability than such standard indicators as residential stability, vacancy rates, and the age of

housing stock¹¹¹ suggests that it is also important to have good measures of social capital. Residents' satisfaction with their dwellings and their neighborhoods and their perceptions about crime levels and fear of crime are typically documented through surveys, personal interviews, ethnographic research, or focus group discussions. Additional information about measurement tools, instruments, and administrative data sources can be found at the website of the Roundtable on Community Change at www.aspenmeasures.org.

Despite recent advances, the methodologies and data sources that are currently available to researchers in the housing field remain insufficient for planning and evaluation purposes. Experts have expressed concerns about the limited availability of baseline data needed to track changes in housing values and related changes in neighborhood conditions, for example, and note that it is still difficult to quantify the impacts of community development and replace anecdotal evidence with hard data.¹¹² Other researchers point out the inadequacy of current data for planning purposes and lament the lack of evaluations that can identify which strategies are effective in which types of areas and the scale of reclamation efforts that are needed in order to make an impact.¹¹³

Housing as a Core Component of Neighborhood Change: Lessons from Experience

As suggested in section 1, many neighborhood revitalization efforts have used housing as the entry point for their work. Nonetheless, Avis Vidal has concluded that there are several reasons why this "housing first" rationale is less compelling today than in the 1980s. First, although the availability of affordable housing is still a key concern in many poor communities, few are as physically devastated as the South Bronx in the 1970s. In addition, housing development has become more difficult and riskier for neighborhood organizations, because of environmental issues and changes in the way projects have to be financed. Finally, there is a growing recognition that even when poor neighborhoods have a supply of decent housing in place, other improvements and supports are still needed.¹¹⁴

Experience has shown that, at the very least, low-income rental housing production and reclamation has to be followed with successful housing management, which is much harder to do well.¹¹⁵ Experience has also shown that many residents of low-income housing need additional aids and support if they

are to find and retain jobs, deal with health or abuse problems, become active members of their communities, and be effective parents. Many neighborhood initiatives and/or neighborhood organizations that started with housing production have expanded to offer other types of services to neighborhood residents. These include such highly successful ventures as Bethel New Life in Chicago, the New Song Community in Sandtown-Winchester, and New Community Corporation in Newark. Some organizations have moved into social services and related efforts through their role as managers of residential properties; others have developed services for a broad array of neighborhood residents, not just the tenants of the buildings they built or maintain. Finally, as noted earlier in this chapter, there is a considerable body of literature that suggests that improvements in housing and the physical environment are not sufficient to build a sense of community in low-income distressed areas. Instead, concerted efforts are needed to bring people together and develop ties among them.

Experience suggests, nevertheless, that while housing production cannot by itself solve all the problems of very distressed neighborhoods, it can provide an effective organizing lens or entry point that can lead neighborhood organizations over time to deal in a more comprehensive manner with a broad array of neighborhood problems. In addition, the experience of CDCs and CCIs in recent decades suggests that housing and physical reclamation projects can be very effective ways to engage large numbers of residents in revitalization efforts.¹¹⁶ There are several reasons for this. Neighborhood improvement efforts that focus on housing and public spaces address needs that are typically of very high priority and immediacy to many residents in severely distressed neighborhoods. Activities such as planning and visioning efforts, cleanup campaigns, and related neighborhood safety improvement efforts offer opportunities for a wide range of residents to participate. Such efforts also have a great advantage in mobilizing residents and winning their support because they can produce tangible results fairly quickly. All these factors can give residents a sense of investment in an initiative and make them feel responsible for the results. The physical reclamation of public areas, vacant lots, and abandoned buildings can also offer opportunities for training and employing neighborhood residents, thus adding to the supply of human capital in the neighborhood.¹¹⁷

Finally, successful housing production and other physical reclamation projects can have the potential to increase a neighborhood's supply of social

capital by strengthening and building capacity in the institutional or organizational infrastructure of the community. Vidal considers this outcome to be as important an asset as the physical improvements such projects make. She explains: “Carefully crafted successful projects attract new financial resources, which make possible more visible improvements in disinvested neighborhoods. These, in turn, draw new grassroots leaders to the field at the same time that they generate increased access to financial and political support. People are attracted to things that ‘work.’ The cycle appears to feed on itself, but hard work lies behind the apparently self-reinforcing dynamic.”¹¹⁸ Related research documents that the increased reputation and visibility of neighborhood groups that carry out successful housing projects are instrumental in attracting the new financial resources. Expanded network connections and partnership arrangements are also important outcomes that can lead to other revitalization efforts in the future.¹¹⁹

In contrast, focusing on homeownership promotion would seem to have less potential as a starting point for a broad-based neighborhood revitalization initiative because it offers less opportunity to engage a wide array of residents and produces less tangible results in its early phases. Homeownership promotion does seem to have considerable potential as a component in a revitalization strategy or in tandem with other strategies, however. Because the strategy requires neighborhood organizations to develop partnership arrangements with an array of organizations, both inside and outside the neighborhood, successful programs can help to strengthen the institutional infrastructure in the neighborhood, as discussed earlier.¹²⁰ As Rohe and Stewart point out, homeownership programs can also capitalize on one of a neighborhood’s greatest assets: the large supply of structurally sound houses that can be acquired, rehabilitated, and resold at affordable rates.¹²¹

CONCLUSION

The experience of the past thirty years has shown both the success and the limitations of neighborhood revitalization efforts that focus only or primarily on housing production and rehabilitation of the physical environment. There is much that neighborhood groups can do and have done to enhance their neighborhoods’ residential environment by improving housing and other physical

features. The results have been substantial and have improved the living conditions of many neighborhood residents. There is evidence to suggest that, if done on a sufficient scale, physical rehabilitation can help renew private investment in housing and commercial real estate and restore, or at least stabilize, the local housing market. Nevertheless, these efforts have not yet succeeded in transforming very distressed neighborhoods into viable communities.

The emerging body of research suggests, moreover, that while it is possible and important to create a physical environment that is more hospitable to social interaction and less conducive to crime, such efforts alone are not sufficient to bring people together and build the kind of social capital and social cohesion that are important to maintaining strong vibrant communities. To do this requires concerted efforts on the part of building managers or nonprofit groups to get residents involved in activities and keep them engaged.

Increasing opportunities for homeownership or tenant management also appear to be promising ways to develop social capital and ensure the maintenance of the housing stock and general physical environment. Questions remain, however, about the possible scale of such efforts, and about the wisdom and potential effectiveness of promoting homeownership or tenant management in very distressed neighborhoods where housing values are unlikely to rise and many prospective buyers are unlikely to have sufficient resources to meet unanticipated expenses and maintenance costs.

Finally, although the theories discussed here suggest that if the development and maintenance of low-income housing is to make a greater contribution to neighborhood revitalization, it should be coupled with strategic interventions that address related aspects of community well-being, the evidence of such improvement still needs to be developed.

Endnotes

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Community Economic Development and Community Change

HÉCTOR CORDERO-GUZMÁN AND PATRICIA AUSPOS

A main operating assumption of Community Change Initiatives (CCIs) is that communities in general, and community-based organizations in particular, can improve economic opportunities and outcomes in their communities through community economic development.¹ It is hoped that by stimulating business activity in the local neighborhood, community economic development programs can enhance the quality of economic life by

- expanding access to capital and stimulating asset accumulation;
- increasing local access to consumer goods and services;
- expanding the local entrepreneurial base;
- expanding local employment opportunities;
- giving neighborhoods more control over ownership of local resources; and
- connecting residents and businesses to the regional economy.

It is also assumed that, if operated at sufficient scale, community economic development projects might have considerable potential to help jump-start neighborhood revitalization. It should be stressed, nevertheless, that the challenges can be daunting and failure among specific projects is not uncommon. A principal difficulty is that the local neighborhood is not a self-contained economic

unit, but part of and profoundly affected by larger markets and higher levels of economic activity and decision making.

Moreover, community-level efforts may stimulate a greater number of healthy businesses or additional employment opportunities for local residents without affecting a neighborhood's overall economic condition. This can happen, in part, because the broad economic trends and governmental policies that were instrumental in creating the conditions that led to isolated neighborhoods of persistent poverty continue to have a major impact.² As Otis Johnson, former Executive Director of the Chatham-Savannah Youth Futures Authority, notes: "it has been difficult for community-building initiatives to establish guideposts for planning around economic revitalization because it is the realm in which poor communities have the least control over what happens."³ All this suggests that even though community residents and organizations are necessary for community economic development, they are not sufficient to bring about the changes needed to reduce community poverty and inequality.

What is especially significant about community economic development as an approach is not just that it focuses on economic development in a specific neighborhood, but also that it focuses on the process of *community building*. The "community" aspect of community economic development has three important dimensions. First, it is assumed that the community will play an active role in the economic development process and gain access, participation, and ownership of the economic activities in the locality.⁴ Second, it is argued that community development strategies and community-building activities can contribute to sustained economic development (and vice versa).⁵ Third, the field looks for outcomes relating to community building and community development in addition to economic outcomes.⁶ In this sense, community is treated as both an input and an output in community economic development.

From an economic perspective, the primary purpose of community economic development is stimulating local job creation and aggregate business activity. Increasing the quantity and quality of jobs available in the neighborhood and ensuring that local residents are hired are also common objectives, as are altering the mix of businesses in the community so residents can have greater access to basic consumer goods and services. Increasing the access, participation, and ownership of community residents in the economic activities of the locality is another common objective.⁷ Some community economic

development initiatives focus on developing internal community resources by stimulating entrepreneurship, reducing barriers to credit, and providing technical support and assistance to firms and businesses. Others focus on attracting outside investments and metropolitan businesses to the local economy.

Efforts to stimulate business activity in the neighborhood might also produce other beneficial community effects, such as:

- Improvements in the general appearance and physical infrastructure of the community
- Strengthened institutional capacity
- Development of community leaders and role models
- Increased community pride

These outcomes could subsequently help to stimulate additional development, as explained in the next section of this chapter.

Although community economic development has been practiced since at least the 1960s, studies of community-level outcomes that focus on community causes and community agency are still quite rare.⁸ It is only in the last twenty years that the effects of communities and community-based organizations on community economic development have been analyzed systematically and that the unit of analysis has shifted from the state, the region, the city, or the metropolitan area to the community or, in some cases, the inner-city.

This literature organizes the array of community economic development activities into a variety of different, sometimes overlapping, categories but there is general agreement on the core or basic activities.⁹ This chapter focuses on four strategies available to CCIs for stimulating economic development:

- Strategies to increase asset accumulation and access to capital
- Strategies for improving the general business climate, including physical infrastructure improvements
- Strategies for assisting business development directly
- Strategies to link citywide economic development with employment opportunities for local residents

Workforce development strategies to improve local residents' preparedness for and access to jobs, which are also important aspects of community economic development, are discussed by Patricia Auspos in the final chapter of this volume.

This chapter discusses several common approaches to community economic development, the expected community-level outcomes, and the extent to which expectations are supported by the empirical literature. In keeping with the emphasis laid out here, the chapter discusses community development strategies and economic development strategies and the interaction between the two. It draws on a variety of sources, including academic treatments; reviews and analyses; case studies that explore and assess particular development initiatives or analyze the role that various types of community groups can play in the economic development process; and government documents and reports. The chapter is comprehensive but is not meant to be an exhaustive review of everything written in the field of community economic development.¹⁰

This chapter is primarily focused on laying out potential pathways of change and identifying the kinds of outcomes—both economic and community-building—that CCIs and other community change efforts might produce. A few nontraditional measures or measurement approaches are discussed in the text or endnotes of the chapter, but interested readers are referred to the Aspen Roundtable measurement website (www.aspenmeasures.org) for information on the community economic development measures and data sources that were compiled in preparing this chapter. A detailed discussion of measurement instruments and techniques, both traditional and nontraditional, which can be used to analyze community economic development can be found in a review paper by John Gaventa, Janice Morrissey, and Wanda Edwards.¹¹ Sean Zielenbach presents an index of community-level measures he used to study economic revitalization in low-income communities across Chicago, with a discussion of why the data and measures are not fully able to capture and explain the process.¹²

It should be recognized from the outset that current data sources and measures are inadequate to the task. As shown throughout this chapter, community economic development efforts need ways to measure changes in social capital and community capacity as they relate to economic development—e.g., strengthened social and network ties, increased local ownership, control, and

access to resources—as well as improvements in economic conditions or the general business climate. Progress has been made in some areas,¹³ but to evaluate fully the kinds of effects described here, additional nontraditional measures and more data sources on local/small areas need to be developed.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows:

Section 1 lays out a composite theory of change for community economic development initiatives, identifying the menu of strategies that might be used, a potential sequence of outcomes, and the ways in which economic development strategies and outcomes and community development strategies and outcomes can build on and reinforce each other.

Section 2 discusses the roles that community residents and organizations can play in community economic development projects, and the activities in which CCIs typically become involved.

Section 3 analyzes the economic development and community development approaches in more detail. It describes specific strategies associated with each approach and their rationales. It then discusses each strategy's expected outcomes, the evidence about its effectiveness, and examples of successful implementation.

SECTION 1 | An Overview Theory of Change

This section presents an overview or composite theory of change that synthesizes the multiple outcomes and pathways of change associated with each of the strategies discussed later in this chapter. The theory of change laid out here captures the community aspects of community economic development as well as the economic aspects and identifies potential synergies among economic development, housing revitalization, crime reduction, and social capital formation. Thus, it takes into account both the contributions that community building can make to economic development and the contributions that economic development can make to community building, and treats community as both subject and object of the action. In contrast, there has been a tendency to write

about economic development and neighborhood social conditions as distinct entities rather than as interrelated aspects of neighborhood life.¹⁴

The theory presented here draws heavily on work done by Avis Vidal and by Mark Bendick and Mary Lou Egan.¹⁵ Vidal's 1992 study of the development activities of Community Development Corporations (CDCs) across the country proposes a sequential pathway of change in community economic development projects and identifies possible outcomes that include community-building outcomes as well as economic ones.¹⁶ Her 1995 article provides additional evidence about long-term pathways of change and potential spillover effects in revitalization efforts that combine business development with infrastructure improvements and commercial real estate development.¹⁷ Paul Grogan and Tony Proscio's book on urban neighborhood revival also notes the interconnections among commercial revitalization, housing reinvestment, and efforts to restore public order without elaborating specific pathways of change.¹⁸

Bendick and Egan have looked specifically at the interconnections between community development strategies and business development strategies, the ways progress in one area can stimulate progress in the other, and the potentially synergistic effects of pursuing both types of activities simultaneously.¹⁹ They show how community development can potentially create business opportunities by creating new markets and reducing operating costs; and how business development can potentially contribute to community development by expanding employment, improving consumer services, creating business markets, rehabilitating real estate, and fostering role models and community leaders.

Other studies—notably ones by Lisa Servon and by Ross Gittel and J. Phillip Thompson—highlight the interconnection between economic development and social capital formation by focusing on how community-based social networks can stimulate small business development and how business development efforts can stimulate the formation of social networks that enhance community development in other ways.²⁰

The overview theory of change shown in Figure 4.1 begins on the left with the particular projects a CCI might adopt in order to spur economic development in a community. As discussed in detail in section 3 of this chapter, they can include both targeted economic development strategies and community development strategies, namely:

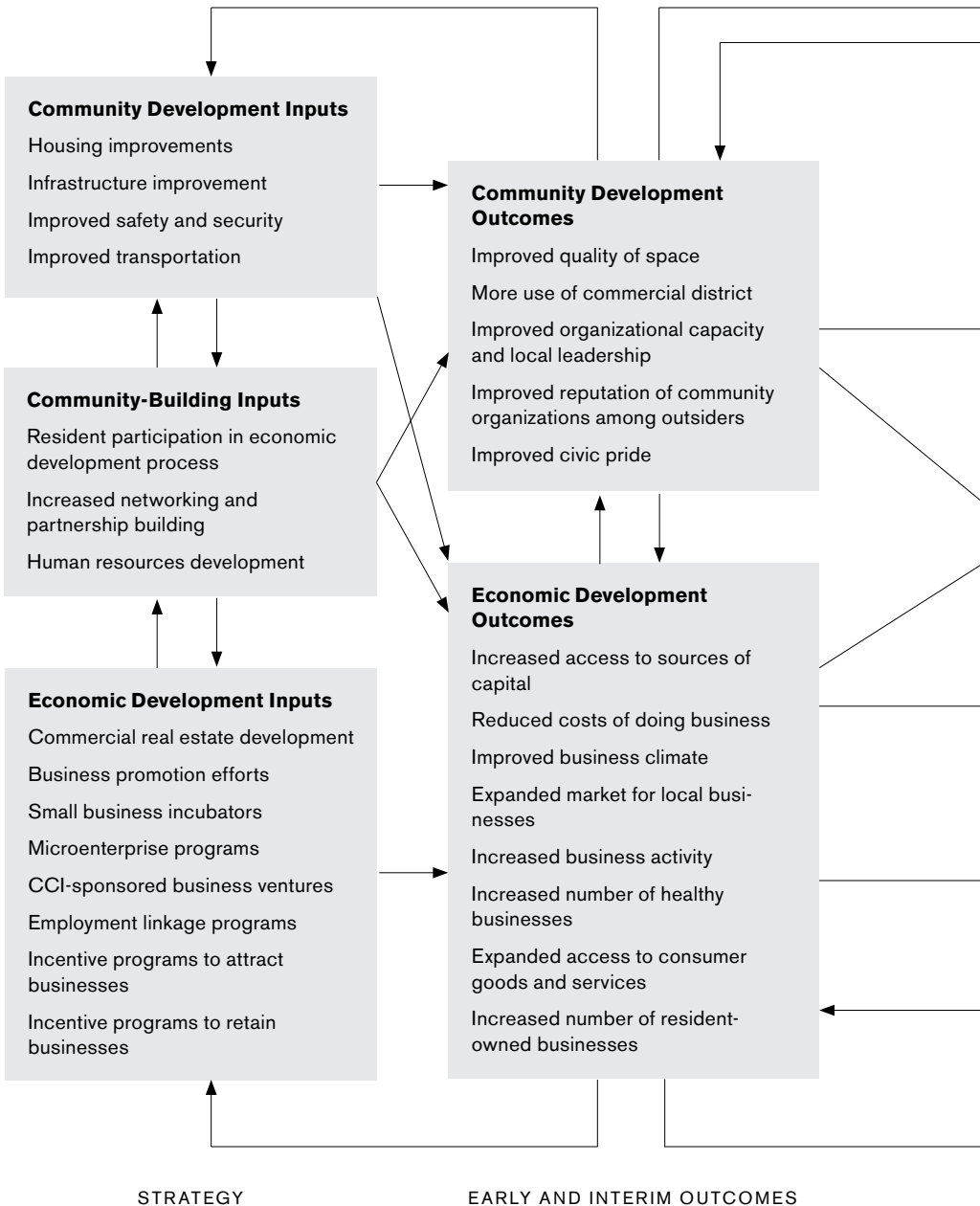
- Efforts to promote asset accumulation and access to capital among community residents
- Projects to improve a neighborhood's physical appearance or the safety of its commercial or residential areas
- Efforts to organize community groups around economic development projects or to connect local residents or organizations to outside networks or institutions important to the process
- Targeted economic development projects aimed at developing and expanding local businesses, promoting local entrepreneurship, bringing businesses into the community from the outside, or creating employment opportunities for local residents
- Workforce development and job brokering strategies to prepare local residents for jobs in or outside the community

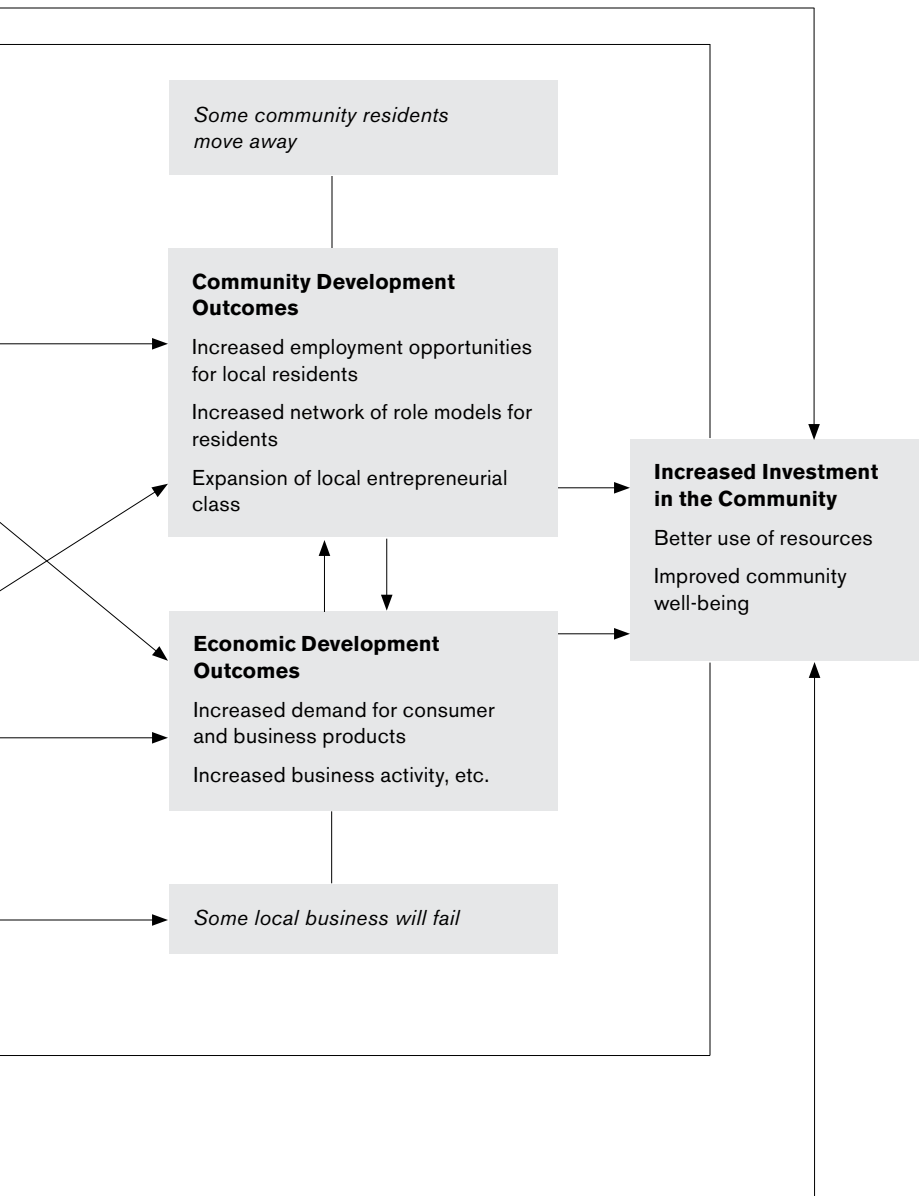
Early Outcomes

The early outcomes that will result from the successful implementation of these projects can include a range of **economic outcomes**, such as:

- Increased asset accumulation
- Increased community access to sources of capital
- Improvements in the general business climate
- An increase in the number of healthy businesses (as measured by increased sales, increased number of new and repeat customers, and increased income)
- An increase in the number of healthy businesses owned by local residents
- Increased employment opportunities for residents
- Increased entree into the economic mainstream for some residents
- Improvements in the price, quality, or mix of goods and services that are available locally to community residents
- Growth in the size of the local entrepreneurial class

Figure 4.1: Overview Theory of Change for Community Economic Development





EARLY AND INTERIM OUTCOMES

LONGER-TERM OUTCOMES

Cumulatively, these economic outcomes will help plug leaks from the local economy and increase local tax revenues.

In addition, community development and business development strategies can produce positive **outcomes on the physical infrastructure** of the neighborhood, such as improvements in the:

- Quality of the physical space
- Reach or maintenance of local transit
- Safety of the commercial district or residential sections

Such outcomes benefit residents directly by improving the quality of space in which they live, work, shop, or do business, and indirectly by encouraging more people to come into the commercial area to spend or invest, and by sending a more positive signal to outsiders about the neighborhood. They also help business by creating new markets and reducing operating costs.

To the degree that community groups and community organizations are actually involved in planning, implementing, organizing, or overseeing local economic development activities, other **community-building effects** are likely to result. These include:

- Improved organizational capacity and enhanced leadership potential in local residents and organizations
- Expanded networks among local business owners
- Expanded connections between local individuals, businesses, and organizations and external groups important to economic development
- Enhancements in the reputation of community groups among outside organizations
- Increased numbers of residents who can serve as resources and mentors for neighborhood youth through their success in employment or entrepreneurship

Interim Outcomes

The interim outcomes will potentially be evident on both the economic development and the community development side, and reflect changes in attitude and behavior among community residents as well as outsiders.

The main **interim economic outcomes** relate to increases in consumer demand. As a result of the changes described above, residents' pride in their neighborhood might increase, and more residents and nonresidents might come into the commercial area to work or shop. Their presence could stimulate demand, and business opportunities could further expand. If large enough, these economic effects could have a multiplier effect on the neighborhood economy, stimulating increased asset formation, increased expenditures, and additional business activity. More business activity could lead to additional hiring, which could further increase demand, and so on. The presence of more resident entrepreneurs and more residents who are employed could strengthen and add to community social capital by providing a core of residents who can serve as role models and sources of information about employment for other residents. Increased asset accumulation could in turn contribute to increased homeownership rates among neighborhood residents, which could have additional beneficial effects for the community, as discussed in the chapter by Melvin LaPrade and Patricia Auspos in this volume.

Enhanced organizational capacity, expanded connections, and improvements in the reputation of local groups and the community in general among outsiders are important **intermediate outcomes on the community development** side. They could contribute to more tangible economic outcomes in the longer term by making it more likely that (1) outside groups will view the neighborhood in a positive light, want to do business or projects in the community, or provide resources to the community; and (2) community groups will be able to put the additional resources to effective use. Expanded organizational capacity and leadership among local groups are important resources that can be utilized in other community projects.²¹

Long-Term Outcomes

All of the early and interim outcomes are cumulative and build on and reinforce each other. In the longer-term, they can potentially lead to more investment and reinvestment in the community, or what Zielenbach calls "the rein-

tegration of the neighborhood into the market system.”²² Vidal suggests that the restoration of the private investment market can produce improvements in local services and greater political efficiency²³ and Zielenbach argues on correlational evidence that improved economic conditions lead to improved social conditions.²⁴

Several additional points should be noted about the theory of change presented here.

First, although the discussion proposes a progression of outcomes stemming from specific types of activities, there are many possible starting points for the process, and many potential points of intersection among separate projects. Whatever the starting point, a particular activity or item might serve as an output in one sequence and an input in another. For example, expanded network ties—among local business owners and between local business owners and outside sources that can provide information, financial resources, or other supports—is an element of social capital that can both contribute to economic development and be created by it.

In addition, it is not clear whether the sequence of actions makes a difference. For example, Bendick and Egan suggest that successful business development can stimulate community development if local business owners use some increased profit to help improve and maintain their storefronts and make other improvements in the commercial district.²⁵ Conversely, another common approach is to use community resources to improve the commercial district with the aim of stimulating business development. The intersection between the two approaches helps explain the potentially synergistic effects if both are pursued. Bendick and Egan argue that the processes are interconnected and produce interim outcomes that build on and reinforce each other to yield cumulative long-term effects that are greater than either type of activity could produce if pursued separately.

Second, this chapter lays out an array of strategies that are thought to be effective in stimulating economic development at the community level without attempting to judge which approach would be the most effective engine for revitalizing a particular community. There are two principal reasons for this. There is not much evidence to show that one strategy is more effective than another in producing benefits for the community overall. Noting that much of the important theoretical work on community economic development remains

to be done, several authors warn that few if any studies provide good evidence or clear guidance about what communities should do or the relative effectiveness of different approaches.²⁶ As a result, Vidal cautions, scholars and practitioners must rely on examples from “best cases” to assess whether initiatives are likely to produce the anticipated effects.²⁷ In addition, the choice of a strategy depends very much on an assessment of local circumstances, resources, assets, capacity, needs, and objectives. An approach that makes sense in one community may not be appropriate for others.²⁸ It should also be recognized that the programs and strategies discussed here are difficult to implement and replicate.

This chapter does, however, present some information, based on the literature, about the likelihood that the desired outcomes will in fact result, and attempts to identify which outcomes are most likely to result from which types of activities. It is argued, for example, that certain kinds of businesses and business development strategies are more likely than others to generate jobs for local residents, improve resident access to consumer goods and services, or contribute to the development of local role models and community leaders. The specific pathways of change associated with different strategies and approaches are discussed in detail in section 3.

Third, some of the positive effects and benefits of community economic development are likely to be offset or reduced by other results, as indicated by the italicized outcomes in Figure 4.1. If some residents who benefit from the economic development activities—by opening or expanding successful businesses, getting jobs or developing leadership abilities—move out of the community as their personal economic situations improve, for example, there will be a corresponding loss of social capital in the community.²⁹ This is another reason why efforts to link community development and economic development can produce synergistic effects on community well-being: improvements in other aspects or areas of the community—infrastructure improvements, particularly in housing, improvements in schools, and so forth—may influence the decision to stay in the community. Increased development can also have negative effects on other neighborhood conditions, such as pollution, congestion, noise, and so forth. Similarly, the overall community benefit will be less if competition from new businesses leads older businesses into bankruptcy or forces them to reduce staff, or if increases in speculative investments price the locals out of the real estate market. These examples suggest that the impact of

community economic development might not be experienced as beneficial by all groups in a community.

SECTION 2 | The Role of Community Residents and Groups in Community Economic Development

The previous sections have stressed how important community is to community economic development. This section analyzes in more detail the roles that residents, organizations, and CCI collaboratives can—and should—play in community economic development. As discussed in section 3 of this chapter, involving community residents and organizations in economic development has payoffs—in terms of strengthened institutional capacity and individual or organizational leadership—that go beyond the specific economic products that may result.

There are several stages at which community residents and organizations, including CCI collaboratives, can be involved and several functions they can fill in the economic development process, namely:

- Planning, designing, approving an overall plan of action or specific economic development projects
- Networking and building partnerships among local groups and between local groups and external organizations
- Lobbying and advocating to get the resources, supports, and approvals to carry out specific projects
- Implementing the planned projects
- Monitoring the implementation of specific projects, assessing the results, and modifying plans as necessary

Planning, Designing, Approving Plans

A particularly common form of community involvement is soliciting resident views about the problems that need to be addressed, what can be done about them, and what outcomes should be aimed for. Resident opinion can be elicited directly in public forums or meetings, or through surveys conducted door-to-

door or by mail. Or it can be registered or channeled through individuals or groups representing the community at public meetings or on the boards of local organizations. Residents and community organizations can also play a role in researching economic issues and conditions, or commissioning such work by local groups or outside organizations, such as universities, that have an interest in local initiatives.³⁰

Any strategic attempt to bring about community economic development in poor neighborhoods must begin by taking stock of local groups and institutions in order to involve them in the development, design, and implementation of economic development programs. Several types of community organizations and institutions can help orchestrate resident involvement, including CDCs,³¹ other community-based organizations involved in employment training or workforce development, civic groups, block associations, and faith-based institutions. Other groups that are instrumental in the community economic development process and should be included in the planning and development stages are local business groups and associations, local educational institutions, and political organizations. Developing consensus and an action plan among all these varied constituencies can pose great challenges.³²

However, not all communities have organized groups advocating for programs and services. In many neighborhoods, the community economic development process has to be preceded (or at least accompanied) by a community-building process to organize community residents and groups and build local action networks.

Blakely discusses a planning process designed to help communities formulate the strategies that should be pursued to maximize the internal use of local resources and minimize the negative impact of “external forces,” such as economic downturns and recessions, speculation, divestment, and capital flight on the community.³³ The first step is to identify which sectors play a dominant role in the local economy in jobs, sales, taxes, and linkages to other local industries. The second is to identify important linkages between the local and the external economy. The third is to assess the local potential for economic growth, stability, and decline, and the factors that could initiate each trend. The final step is to identify the major contingencies that are important to the local population and political leadership and that might affect the community’s jobs, sales, incomes, revenues, labor market, and quality of life.

Building Partnerships

The need to develop broad coalitions and partnerships among a variety of local actors is a critical part of the community economic development process that requires network building and networks management.³⁴ Coalition building is a social and developmental process and relations need time to be developed, nurtured, and positioned to lead to positive results.

Because external actors can influence the planning, development and execution of projects, it is important for community groups to develop good relationships with outside groups as well as local groups. The main actors that can affect the local economic development process from outside the community, and with which community groups need to develop ties, are city, state, and federal government, for-profit corporations, and banks and other financial institutions.³⁵ Intermediary organizations can be helpful in developing these ties.³⁶

Lobbying and Advocating

In addition to registering public opinion and developing an action agenda, a community may also need to mobilize residents and organizations to win support from outside organizations, government agencies, or politicians; gain an equitable share of available resources; or have community residents included in decision making. Efforts to change zoning or tax policies and practices may be necessary, for example, and it may be advantageous at times for communities to join together in citywide coalitions to maximize their strength and address systemic biases in decision making and allocation processes. Typical targets of communal action are city hall, banks, federal grant programs, and big development projects. Public budgeting processes, hearings on public incentives, and the process of planning and winning approvals for large public/private economic development projects are useful vehicles for advocacy efforts. Communities should note, however, that several studies suggest that the process of planning and gaining approval for big development projects or projects that involve government subsidies have provided very limited opportunities for citizen participation.³⁷

Implementing Planned Projects

There are several types of community-based organizations that typically undertake economic development projects and have the necessary experience

and technical expertise to carry them out. Chief among them are community-development corporations, the oldest of which date back to the 1960s. CDCs are community-based in two senses: their work is typically focused on a particular neighborhood, and/or they are resident-driven or community-controlled through resident membership in the organization or its board. There is some controversy, however, about how well CDCs represent the community's interests, and whether, over time, they tend to lose their grass roots connections.³⁸

Early CDCs had a comprehensive focus on community needs, while subsequent generations of CDCs tended to adopt a narrower approach, focusing on smaller development projects that centered on low-income housing development, commercial real estate development, and other physical infrastructure improvements. More recently, a number of CDCs have begun providing services to residents in CDC-built properties. The most successful have expertise in planning projects, assessing markets, putting together financing packages and deals, as well as physical construction work.³⁹ CDCs have also played a key role in helping commercial banks develop business in low-income communities by serving as intermediaries between the banks and fledgling businesses or home buyers in the neighborhood. The CDCs help mainstream banks identify viable business opportunities, assess risk, and develop appropriate loan packages.⁴⁰

Community development financial institutions (CDFIs)—community development banks, bank-owned CDCs, community development credit unions, community development loan funds, and microenterprise loan funds—represent another type of community-based organization that can play a critical role in implementing projects. Established to fill perceived gaps in credit and financial services in poor neighborhoods, some CDFIs have also been involved in carrying out economic development projects, as discussed in more detail in section 3 of this chapter.

Community colleges can also play a key role serving as workforce development training centers and as sources of technical expertise in small business development programs.⁴¹ As discussed later in this chapter, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) can play an important role in recruiting, training, and referring community residents for job openings that result from First Source agreements in economic development projects.

The important community-building effects that can result from the involvement of such organizations in community economic development projects are a major theme in this chapter and its theory of change.

Monitoring Projects and Assessing Results

Community residents and community groups can play a key role in monitoring the progress of community or citywide economic development activities and ensuring that their results are well documented. This might entail ongoing oversight to ensure that community issues and interests are represented in planning, implementing, and evaluating economic development projects. The importance of engaging community residents and groups in the process of evaluating community change efforts is emphasized in Brown, for example.⁴² Another activity is monitoring to ensure that projects are meeting their goals, proceeding on schedule, and complying with agreements on job creation, hiring standards, and so forth. Community groups can bring pressure on city officials to ensure that this happens. Monitoring the allocation of resources to ensure that the neighborhood receives an equitable share is another potential function for community groups.

CCI Roles

Although CCIs have typically not directly undertaken economic development projects, they have engaged in all of the other activities discussed above.⁴³ A particularly important role for CCIs and other community revitalization efforts, Robert Giloth suggests, is to facilitate the integration of economic development with employment training and human services provision.⁴⁴ Even if they do not undertake a specific economic development project, CCIs contribute to economic development by building or maintaining the social and physical infrastructure of low-income communities.

SECTION 3 | Community Economic Development Strategies and Outcomes

Experts on community economic development have categorized a range of approaches and strategies.⁴⁵ This chapter organizes its discussion around strategies that recur in most analyses: strategies to increase asset accumulation and

access to capital within the community; strategies for improving the general business climate; strategies for directly assisting business development, attraction or retention; and strategies to link other economic development efforts to community employment efforts.

Strategies to Increase Access to Capital and Stimulate Asset Building

As a substantial literature documents, residents and businesses in poor neighborhoods, especially those with high concentrations of minority residents, have historically had great difficulty accessing capital because they have not been viewed as good credit risks by traditional lending sources.⁴⁶ In the past, redlining limited the number of banks in poor urban areas, depriving residents of such traditional banking services as savings and checking accounts. Even where banks do offer services, low-income residents continue to face structural barriers, such as minimum deposit requirements, high service fees, and complex paperwork and procedures. As a result, residents use alternative—and more costly—financial services offered by pawnshops, loan sharks, predatory lenders, and check cashing businesses. Some improvements have been made in recent years as a result of the passage of the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977, which requires commercial banks to extend credit in all parts of the markets they serve, including low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. Nevertheless, poor communities, especially those with high concentrations of minorities, still lack access to mainstream economic services, and current trends in the banking industry continue to deter banks from making small loans to low-income customers and businesses.⁴⁷

The lack of access to traditional banking has impeded asset accumulation in poor, inner-city communities, with potentially negative effects on the communities as well as on individual residents. A recent paper by Deborah Page-Adams and Michael Sherraden summarizes the research evidence about the effects of asset accumulation on personal well-being, economic security, civic behavior and community involvement, women's status, and the well-being of children.⁴⁸ A number of the studies they reviewed found positive relationships on many of these outcomes, but it should be stressed that the studies were of varying rigor and many studied the effects of specific types of asset ownership—notably, homeownership and business ownership. The ways in which

homeownership contributes to community well-being are discussed in the chapter by LaPrade and Auspos in this volume. The evidence that business development can benefit the community as a whole is discussed later in this chapter.

Creating alternative banking institutions to serve inner-city neighborhoods.

Monitoring compliance with the CRA and exerting pressure on or providing inducements for commercial banks to do more business in low-income and minority neighborhoods is one strategy that neighborhood groups can engage in to increase their community's access to capital.⁴⁹ This might be done in alliance with groups in other neighborhoods or with nationally based advocacy groups.

Another approach is to develop alternative neighborhood financing and banking institutions that can meet the needs of low-income residents and their communities. Several types of institutions and programs have been pioneered in recent years to do this, including community development credit unions, community development banks, community development venture capital funds, and Individual Development Accounts. The challenges, accomplishments, and limitations of operating these institutions and programs are discussed here. It should be stressed at the outset that their successful operation requires considerable technical expertise and good management skills.

CDFIs. Community development finance institutions provide loans, technical assistance, venture capital investments, and basic financial services to individuals or locations that commercial institutions are unlikely to serve because the services are considered too risky or too expensive. CDFIs include community development banks, bank-owned community development corporations, community development credit unions, and community development loan funds. Their activity has been enhanced by the Community Development Financial Institutions Act of 1994, which provides equity investments, loans, and grants.⁵⁰

Community development credit unions. Credit unions are not-for-profit financial cooperatives owned and controlled by their membership. The members typically have some connection with each other, e.g., employment, residence, or church membership. Community credit unions provide low-cost financial services. They charge lower rates for fees and services, and pay higher interest rates on savings. They also help members move into the economic mainstream by

providing financial education and counseling; enabling them to develop good credit histories; and brokering outside resources through partnerships with community colleges, local and state government, mainstream credit unions, banks, and other CBOs.⁵¹

Several recent reports suggest that community credit unions can also play an important role in community development by creating network bonds that help “catalyze community interest, commitment and activity” and by providing opportunities for leadership development and community empowerment. Because the membership controls the credit union, which in turn, controls some of the community’s economic resources, they are likely to use their financial reserves to make loans to locally based small businesses, cooperatives, or nonprofits or to low-income housing enterprises, for example. To date, however, these community development efforts have not been well documented and some questions have been raised about the growth and overall financial stability of some community credit unions.⁵²

The most recent review of CDCUs concludes that “properly deployed, the CDCU model addresses the needs of low-income constituents and communities in an effective and efficient manner” but also cautions that an estimated 50 percent of CDCUs that started in the 1990s failed.⁵³ The chief reasons for failure, according to this report, were: unqualified management and boards; inadequate capital, liquidity, bookkeeping and staffing; insufficient range of services; insufficient collaboration with community partners; and inadequate use of existing programs and financial institutions that could support their efforts.

The author concludes that the need for CDCUs continues to grow but the industry faces strong barriers to growth, including a lack of qualified managers. The report recommends the following strategies to strengthen and expand the industry:

- Working more effectively with existing resources in the community
- Developing replicable portfolio and liquidity strategies
- Developing and promoting entrepreneurial training

Community Development Banks. Community development banks are another financial enterprise that can provide loans and other financial services to low-

income neighborhoods. Their primary mission is to take a proactive role in promoting the comprehensive development of a community, and not just to provide credit and financial services. As of 2002, there were only six such banks in the United States.

The oldest and best known is Shorebank Corporation, which began operating in 1973 when it purchased the failed South Shore Bank in a troubled inner-city neighborhood in Chicago.⁵⁴ The intent of the founders of Shorebank Corporation was to show that a regulated bank holding company, working with complementary development organizations, could become a vehicle for stabilizing and revitalizing a neighborhood characterized by years of disinvestment, redlining, and economic and physical decline.

South Shore Bank quickly became profitable. It continues to function as a full-service commercial bank, making both commercial and residential loans, and has helped to develop a large group of small-scale rehabbers who rehab, hold, and manage properties in the neighborhood. Shorebank Corporation has also spawned a number of subsidiary companies and affiliates, including a real estate development company, a minority venture capital fund, and a not-for-profit organization that focuses on human development programs. The corporation began replicating its development banking approach in other communities in 1986, and currently operates in Chicago, Cleveland, Michigan, and the Pacific Northwest. It has also helped establish locally managed loan programs in Bangladesh and Northern Ireland.

Shorebank Corporation reports that since 1973 it has invested more than \$1 billion in its target communities and in minority-owned businesses and continues to operate at a profit. In 1994 alone, its development subsidiaries in Chicago rehabilitated or constructed more than 200 housing units and placed 275 individuals in jobs.

Despite such success, the number of community development banks is likely to remain small, a recent case study suggests, because considerable operational challenges are entailed in their development.⁵⁵

Vidal has concluded that although there is limited information about their financial performance and cost-effectiveness, CDFIs are “potentially attractive community development instruments” because they successfully target their services to people and places with restricted access to credit and other financial services and have pioneered effective business practices that can serve as models

for commercial banks.⁵⁶ For example, according to Vidal, “leading-edge CDFIs are demonstrating that it is possible to do business profitably in low-income neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color.” In addition, they have developed products and processes that can be used by conventional institutions that are struggling to meet their CRA obligations. CDFIs also serve an important function by handling financial transactions that appear to be too small to be attractive to commercial banks and thrifts.

Vidal cautions, nevertheless, that CDFIs operate on too small a scale and offer too limited a range of services to fill, by themselves, the gap left by mainstream institutions. Their inability to provide checking accounts remains a particular problem, for example. Nor are they equally effective at providing access to all types of financial capital. Vidal notes, for example, that many of these institutions are more likely to make money available for housing development or homeownership than for business start-ups or expansion. She concludes, therefore, that

even if [CDFIs] were to expand substantially . . . they are not the answer to the problem of providing equal access to credit and financial services in poor inner-city communities that have seen massive disinvestments. Continuing pressure on conventional financial institutions to address this issue is clearly required.⁵⁷

Kirsten Moy and Alan Okagaki offer a more pessimistic assessment of the future role of CDFIs in community economic development.⁵⁸ They argue that while the size and number of CDFIs has grown tremendously in recent decades—there are now 365 certified CDFIs, with an estimated \$4.6 billion in total assets—they are less and less competitive with mainstream banking institutions as sources of financing for low-income communities. Changing conditions and practices in the banking industry (e.g., developments in telecommunications and information technology, mergers and consolidations, increased functional specialization, growth of secondary markets) have left CDFIs at an increased disadvantage in terms of their size, sophistication, and range of financing tools. Moy and Okagaki conclude that considerable effort must be spent on developing the infrastructure of the industry if CDFIs are to continue to be an effective conduit for the flow of capital into low-income communities.

Community Development Venture Capital Funds. Community development venture capital (CDVC) funds make equity investments in businesses, essentially buying a partial ownership share, in order to help create jobs for low-income individuals and strengthen the economy in distressed regions. These venture capital funds target businesses that are likely to be overlooked by traditional venture capital investors because of their size, geographic location, or industry focus. A recent overview report on the field identified more than fifty CDVCs providers across the country that are actively investing or in formation.⁵⁹ Banks and financial institutions provide most of the CDVC dollars, followed by philanthropic foundations and the federal government. In addition to focusing on companies that have job creation potential, some venture capital funds apply additional social screens, requiring, for example, that their portfolio companies hire specific populations of workers and provide health insurance and other benefits. Many give preference to companies that are owned by women or ethnic minorities. Most CDVC funds provide intensive technical assistance to the companies in which they invest, in order to increase the companies' level of knowledge and market readiness. According to the overview report, the relative youth of the industry (most CDVCs were less than five years old in 2001) makes it difficult to draw conclusions about overall financial performance. Nevertheless, two of the oldest funds have created more than 4,000 jobs at an average cost that is considerably less than that of the jobs created through Small Business Investment Companies, the report notes. Most CDVC-created jobs are manufacturing jobs in rural areas.

Stimulating individual savings. The creation of Individual Development Accounts (IDAs) is an emerging antipoverty strategy that promotes asset accumulation among low-income households by providing opportunities and incentives for opening personal savings accounts. IDAs provide matching funds to individuals who make deposits in savings accounts that are to be used for financing postsecondary education or job training, buying a first home, or starting a small business. Participants typically receive financial education and counseling about how to save and how to use their investments wisely. Community organizations began operating IDAs in the early 1990s, and they are now supported by state and federal legislation. As of the end of 2000, there were more than 250 IDA programs in communities across the country.⁶⁰

A key research question is whether participation in IDA programs increases the likelihood of residents not only saving money, but also becoming successful homeowners or microenterprise entrepreneurs, and whether reducing some of the institutional barriers that appear to inhibit saving can increase asset accumulation among the poor. As described in Michael Sherraden, Deborah Page-Adams, and Lisa Johnson, an ongoing nationwide demonstration is documenting the experience of 2,000 participants in IDAs at thirteen sites across the country and addressing some of these research issues.⁶¹ In the meantime, preliminary information from an assessment of an early-starting IDAs suggests that IDAs have the potential to facilitate saving and asset accumulation in low-income households, but the provision of support services is critical, and some participants will require fairly intensive case management. In addition, participants who are saving for homeownership and business development capital may need additional assistance in deciding the best use of their savings.⁶²

Targeted lending for specific economic development purposes. A third strategy is the development of targeted lending programs that offer special funding arrangements, counseling, and other supports for low-income individuals who want to buy a home, start a business, or become self-employed. While these programs, like IDAs, typically focus on individuals and measure success in terms of individual-level outcomes, they clearly have the potential to be a component in a community-building or community development strategy. For more on targeted lending programs that help low-income individuals finance mortgages and the connections between housing, homeownership, and neighborhood revitalization, see the chapter by LaPrade and Auspos in this volume. Microenterprise programs that provide entrepreneurial training and financing are discussed later in this chapter in the section on business stimulation strategies.

Strategies to Improve the General Business Climate

The community economic development literature discusses a number of strategies for improving the general business climate or environment within a community. They include efforts to

- improve the physical infrastructure, appearance, and safety of commercial areas in the neighborhood (commercial revitalization strategies);

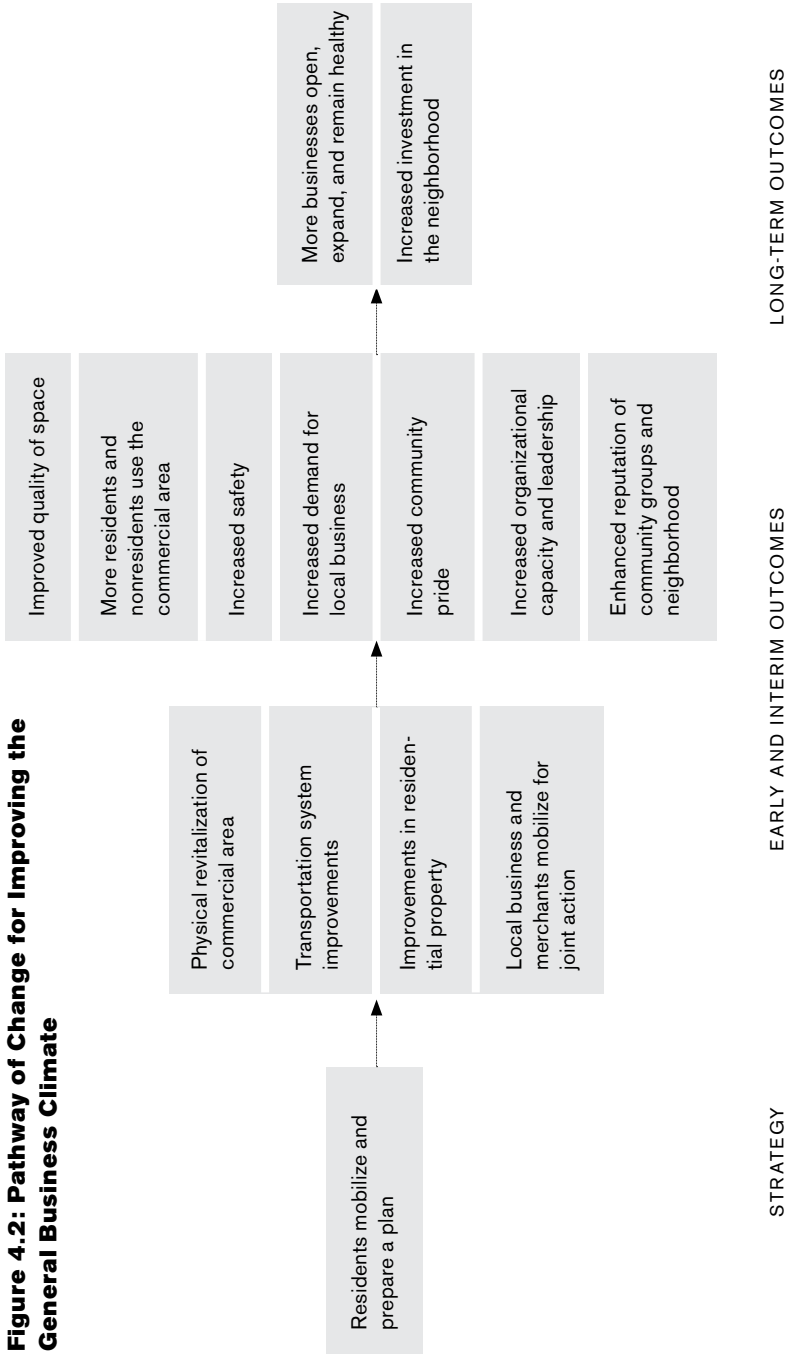
- improve the quality or quantity of residential housing and the safety of residential neighborhoods;
- improve the transportation system that serves the community;
- organize groups of businesses or merchants to work together for common ends; and
- market and promote the local neighborhood as an area for shopping, dining, visiting, etc.

Some of these strategies are considered economic development efforts because they aim to increase the demand for goods and services in the neighborhood and encourage businesses and other institutions to locate or invest in the community. Others are more commonly thought of as community development strategies, but since they also can improve the local business environment, they contribute indirectly to economic development. What both types of strategies have in common is that they all can help create conditions that, in the long run, will encourage businesses to open, enable them to remain economically viable, and stimulate additional investment in the community. The rationale and outcomes or pathways of change associated with the major strategies are discussed here and shown graphically in Figure 4.2.

Improvements in the physical infrastructure of the community. Strategies to improve the physical infrastructure of a community can be considered economic development strategies to the extent that they help promote business development and business investment as well as improve the appearance of the neighborhood.

Improving the physical quality and appearance of commercial areas can be done by developing commercial real estate to make the building stock more usable and attractive; upgrading building facades and improving window dressing; and improving the appearance of the streets by increasing trash collection, removing graffiti or turning it into a tourist attraction (as has been done in Harlem). Better lighting and streetscaping also help. The direct effects of such efforts are improvements in the quality of neighborhood space or reduction in the area's physical blight. Such improvements are desirable by themselves, and also set

Figure 4.2: Pathway of Change for Improving the General Business Climate



the stage for other positive outcomes in the longer term. For example, the improvements can help raise the overall level of business activity in the neighborhood by providing additional space for businesses, merchants, and restaurants, and encouraging more residents and nonresidents to shop in neighborhood stores and patronize neighborhood businesses.⁶³ As a result, other businesses may become interested in locating in the area, and an overall higher level of economic activity might be maintained.

Vidal lays out what translates into a theory of change about the way that economic development projects can cumulatively have important community-level effects apart from increasing the level of business activity. She suggests that commercial real estate development and other improvements in blighted commercial areas can not only improve the quality of overall space in the community (*an early outcome*), but also strengthen the capacity of local organizations to do such work and their reputation and relationships with outside groups. Seeing what is accomplished by local groups and experiencing positive relationships when working with them can produce more favorable attitudes about the neighborhood and its organizations among outside groups, for example. These changes in attitude, capacity, and behavior serve as both *interim outcomes and indicators of future success*. They can result, *in the longer term*, in an increased willingness on the part of outside groups to fund projects and invest money and other resources in the local community. In the long run, the community benefits from having access to additional resources and experienced organizations with the capacity to use them efficiently.⁶⁴

The physical renovation of a commercial area can also spark other types of investment in the community in the long term. As Bendick and Egan explain,

The appearance of commercial strips along major thoroughfares often is a primary influence on the opinions of decision-makers from outside the community, such as politicians and bankers, about the conditions of the neighborhood. Thus, visible improvements in commercial areas increase the willingness of bankers to grant mortgages to rehabilitated housing on adjacent streets.⁶⁵

Improving the local transportation system by repaving or repairing streets, improving parking facilities, changing public transportation routes or schedules,

or improving waiting conditions by providing benches or shelters, better lighting, etc., can help make travel in and out of the commercial area more attractive, safer, and easier for both residents and nonresidents. This can increase the number of people who come into the area to shop or work, thus expanding consumer markets, increasing the level of aggregate business activity, and making it easier for local businesses to find employees. It has also been argued that increased foot traffic in a commercial area can by itself contribute to less crime and a sense of progress, which increases community pride and encourages investment.⁶⁶

Improving the residential housing stock by new construction or rehabilitation and increasing the proportion of residents who become homeowners can help stabilize the residential population. This can in turn help to maintain or increase consumer demand for goods and services and send a positive signal to potential investors. The strategy can be especially important if it helps retain middle-class residents who might otherwise move out of the community. Housing rehabilitation and construction can also provide employment opportunities for local residents.⁶⁷

Improving the safety of the commercial area can be a byproduct of other activities or an action strategy by itself. As discussed in the chapter on community safety by Amie Schuck and Dennis Rosenbaum in this volume, communities or businesses can work to deter crime by improving street lighting, hiring security guards or lobbying for more police presence, rehabilitating abandoned buildings, and developing empty lots. If residents and outsiders feel safer, they are more likely to come into a commercial area to shop.⁶⁸ As noted, increasing the foot traffic in a commercial area might by itself help reduce crime.⁶⁹

Evidence on effectiveness. Vidal's study of 130 CDCs in twenty-nine states provides some evidence about the community-level effects of commercial redevelopment.⁷⁰ Researchers found that the vast majority of CDCs engaged in commercial redevelopment had made "a substantial improvement in the quality of [office, retail, or industrial] space" and felt that the CDCs would be able to sustain the improvements. However, the amount of property affected was "very modest."⁷¹ The indirect or spillover effects of these efforts on improving

the neighborhood's general appearance; increasing interest and activity among bankers, private developers and local government; and increasing residents' sense of community pride were judged to be much smaller and harder to maintain, according to Vidal.⁷² Nevertheless, she did find that some CDCs had been successful in stimulating other improvements in the quality of community space, increasing the level of interest among bankers and developers, and enhancing local leadership. The vast majority of CDCs engaged in commercial development were judged to have strengthened their visibility and reputation among outside groups. Not surprisingly, Vidal's study found that "the level of impact on a neighborhood is strongly and positively related to the scale of CDC production."⁷³ Thus, relatively small-scale development efforts produced relatively small-scale neighborhood effects.

The CDCs in Vidal's study also experienced project failures, typically because of poor or inadequate planning, inadequate organizational capacity, or a weak economic market. Common problems at the planning stage include underestimating construction costs, overestimating the market for a space, underestimating property maintenance costs, and overestimating community support. Inadequate organizational capacity was manifested as weak management, lack of technical skills, and inexperienced staff. To counter such problems, Vidal recommends providing up-front money for planning, providing better or more timely technical assistance, expanding training opportunities and developing mentor relationships for staff, and supporting more community outreach activities.⁷⁴

Collective efforts by business owners to improve business conditions and markets. Organizing local merchants or business owners to work together is another strategy that can produce improvements in the local business environment. A group of store or restaurant owners can together pursue improvement activities or maintenance that would be too costly or difficult for each to do alone. If public supports are lacking, for example, a group of local merchants might share the cost of hiring a security guard or a street cleaning crew, or arrange common opening and closing hours. They could also undertake joint advertising or promotional campaigns to increase consumer demand. Bendick and Egan report on a successful joint effort to promote the restaurants in a Korean section of Los Angeles among a non-Korean clientele, and another suc-

cessful effort to turn a section of Pittsburgh into an area where nonresidents come to dine. Community festivals can be another way to strengthen community ties, promote local businesses, and entice nonresidents to a community. Bendick and Egan note that while there are some successful initiatives, others have had only “minimal” effect. Success is much harder to achieve in areas that lack an ethnic flavor that is appealing to outsiders or have a reputation of being unsafe, they caution.⁷⁵

Linking business development with community development. Bendick and Egan explicitly propose that there are synergistic effects from pursuing business development and community development in tandem; the interconnections outlined above help to explain why that should be so.⁷⁶

Other evidence supports the notion that the community-level effects are greater when several revitalization efforts are undertaken simultaneously. In the South Bronx, for example, the combination of significant housing development coupled with efforts to rehabilitate dilapidated storefronts and provide support to local merchants is credited with reviving neighborhood commercial districts and stimulating significant private investment after years of neglect.⁷⁷

Strategies for Business Stimulation, Attraction, or Retention

In addition to pursuing strategies to improve the general business climate in the community, CCIs can focus on aiding the creation or expansion of small businesses in the neighborhood; attracting established businesses into the area; or retaining existing businesses that could expand their markets and improve production and reduce costs by relocating. Frequently, these business development efforts are undertaken in tandem with physical revitalization efforts, especially with commercial real estate development.

The theory of change discussed here and shown in Figure 4.3 is derived from a number of studies and what they suggest about the outcomes that might result from the various strategies discussed in this section.

In the short term, business stimulation strategies might result in several **direct economic benefits** for local residents. Specifically, they could help to:

- Increase the overall level of business activity or the number of healthy businesses

- Increase employment opportunities for local residents
- Increase the number of resident entrepreneurs
- Expand, diversify or improve the supply of goods and services available to residents
- Stem leakages from the local neighborhood economy

Each of these outcomes could also be a step along a pathway of longer-term economic change. For example, achieving an overall increase in the level of local business activity or the number of healthy companies, and/or improving the local shopping options might encourage more residents to shop locally. This increased demand could, in turn, help promote additional investment, which could lead to more jobs and more business development, a phenomenon known as economic multiplier effects.

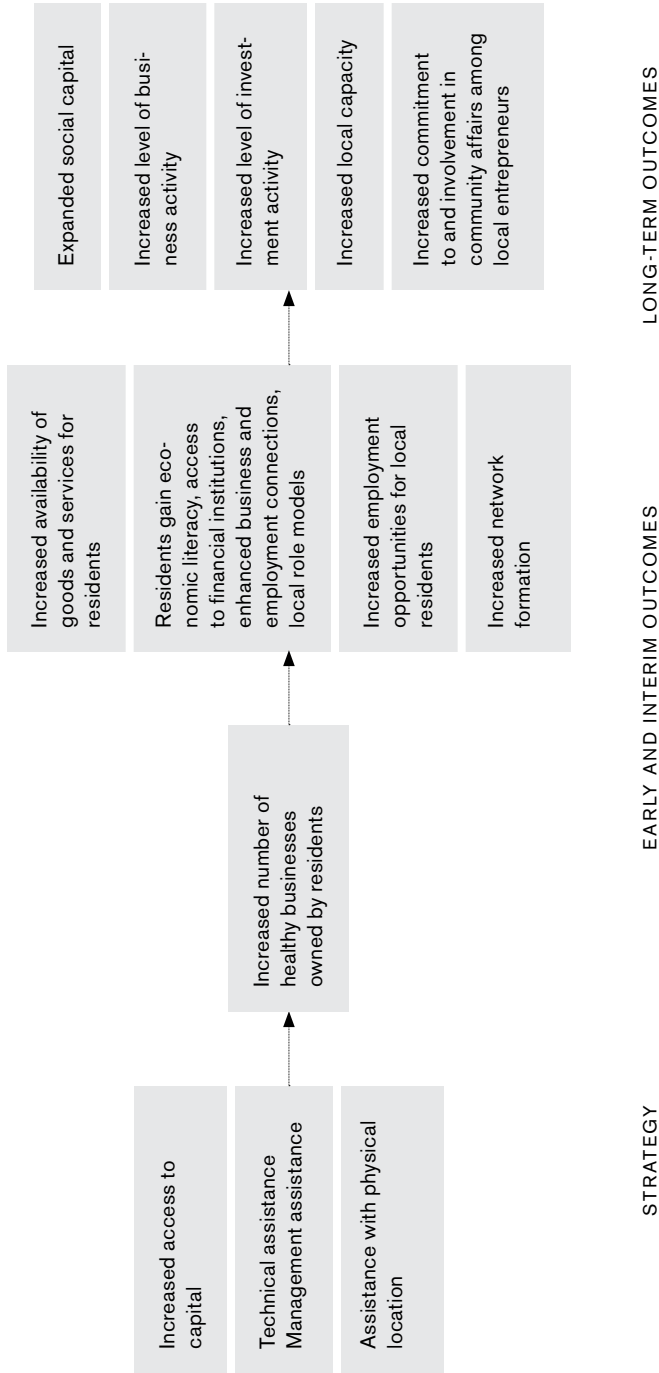
Business stimulation strategies can also produce important **community-building outcomes** by

- developing human resources that have been under utilized;
- increasing the supply and capacity of local leadership;
- developing local role models who can provide mentorship, guidance, and resources for young residents; and
- building networks and social connections among residents, local organizations, and outside groups.

In the longer term, these community-building effects can help improve the capacity of the community to solve its own problems and enhance its reputation with external groups, as well as reinforcing and contributing to economic growth. The added community capacity can be used to bring additional resources into the community and to make better use of what is available.

The evidence suggests that, in practice, different business development strategies may not be equally successful in producing the anticipated outcomes in all areas. As will be discussed, a business development strategy that promotes local entrepreneurship may not be as effective in meeting residents' needs as consumers as one that brings in a major supermarket, for example. Conversely,

Figure 4.3: Pathway of Change for Small Business Assistance and Entrepreneurship Stimulation



importing businesses from the outside may not have the kind of community-building outcomes or employment effects that local business development produces. Decisions about the best strategy to pursue should depend upon local resources and conditions.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: PROMOTING SMALL BUSINESS OWNERSHIP AMONG COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

This approach focuses on stimulating local entrepreneurship and creating or expanding locally owned small businesses. It includes efforts to create vehicles for asset formation and access to capital and financial services among inner-city residents as well as strategies to encourage the start-up of new local firms, promote entrepreneurship among local residents, and increase the efficiency of existing firms.⁷⁸

A major reason for stimulating local entrepreneurship rather than attracting outside development is to ensure that the benefits of economic development accrue to the community and its residents rather than to external developers.⁷⁹ Locally owned businesses are thought to have several advantages over outside businesses as a source of economic activity and community development within poor, inner-city neighborhoods.⁸⁰ Evidence shows, for example, that small businesses owned by African Americans are significantly more likely than ones owned by whites to hire African-American workers.⁸¹

Increasing the number of resident-owned businesses can also have important community-building effects if successful business owners serve as community leaders and role models. Noting the influence and prestige that entrepreneurs have in American society, Bendick and Egan argue, “If minority ethnic groups or economically distressed neighborhoods do not enjoy a proportionate share of business owners, they are deprived of a political, social, and psychological resource.”⁸² They also emphasize the important role that hardworking, successful, local business owners and their employees can play as role models and resources for neighborhood residents, especially for minority youth. Finally, developing networks of resident business owners can increase the supply of social capital in the neighborhood by potentially developing feelings of trust and reciprocity among residents and strengthening the institutional infrastructure in the neighborhood.

Nevertheless, CCIs and other community-based organizations face considerable challenges in developing locally owned businesses that will be eco-

nomically viable. Small businesses have historically high failure rates because they typically lack access to capital and experience management difficulties; those that are located in inner-city poverty areas face additional problems because of the weak economic markets and generally poor business conditions in their neighborhoods. As a result, scholarly opinion remains quite divided about whether small business development can be a major tool for inner-city economic development and job creation.⁸³

The literature on community economic development suggests that small business assistance programs must address two primary problems that plague their target businesses: the need for capital for start-up and expansion purposes, and the need for ongoing management support and other technical assistance. A number of recent studies also point out the importance of developing networks that can connect local entrepreneurs to each other and to outsiders in order to increase their access to markets, information, and other resources, and reduce business costs.

Access to capital. Small businesses owned by members of minority groups, especially African Americans, have historically experienced greater difficulty than white-owned businesses in getting conventional financing. Bates found that black-owned businesses received smaller loans than white-owned firms with similar characteristics and suggests that unequal treatment by lenders is a major obstacle to raising capital in black-owned businesses.⁸⁴ He argues that limited financial capital stunts the potential growth of black-owned firms and depresses firm size which in turn reduces survival probabilities.⁸⁵ There is also some evidence that smaller firms have a more difficult time taking advantage of government contracts because programs are structured for larger firms. This too has limited the growth potential of inner-city, minority-owned businesses.⁸⁶

Technical assistance and other supports. Poor management and related issues also contribute to small business failures. Programs that tried to stimulate small business formation in poor inner-city areas in the 1960s provided sizeable amounts of money as loans to small business owners, but failure rates were quite high because there was little or no training in how to operate and maintain a business. Current wisdom therefore stresses the importance of providing *ongoing* training or technical assistance and other supports as well as start-up assistance.⁸⁷

Network connections. Recent studies document the importance of both internal and external network connections among small businesses. Several studies of networks among inner-city entrepreneurs (often members of the same ethnic group) show that members' feelings of trust and reciprocity promote business activity in a variety of ways. They can reduce the cost of doing business because the network members are more likely to transact business through informal arrangements based on trust and thus avoid contract and legal fees. The networks also promote information sharing and joint problem solving, facilitate hiring and recruitment, and function as rotating credit unions, thus becoming a source of cash.⁸⁸ However, because the insularity of closed systems can also limit growth and expansion, scholars stress that inner-city businesses also need to be part of networks that can connect them to outside sources of information and resources. All this suggests that efforts to strengthen existing social networks and develop new ones among entrepreneurs and would-be entrepreneurs might be an important component in a business development strategy in the inner-city.

Two promising models to promote and support small business ownership among residents of chronically poor communities are *microenterprise programs* and *small business incubators*. These approaches are designed to help the types of individuals who are likely to live in chronically poor, inner-city neighborhoods; they address problems associated with the economic conditions that prevail in such communities; and they foster community building by developing networks among program participants and linking them to institutional resources both in and outside the neighborhood. *Worker cooperatives* are another option.

Microenterprise programs. Microenterprise programs are revolving loan funds that promote self-employment and entrepreneurship by providing small loans to individuals—most frequently, women and minorities—who have historically been outside the economic mainstream and do not have access to traditional sources of capital.⁸⁹ Most microenterprise programs also provide management training and/or technical assistance, although the form and amount of training and assistance varies across the different program models.⁹⁰ A 1994 survey documented more than 200 microenterprise programs in forty-four states, which had cumulatively over the previous ten years served more than

200,000 individuals, loaned more than \$44 million and assisted 54,000 businesses in disadvantaged communities in both urban and rural areas.⁹¹

Although designed to serve the poorest of potential entrepreneurs, microenterprise programs in this country have not been successful in serving the “truly disadvantaged” or enabling most participants to become self-sufficient, according to a study by Lisa Servon.⁹² Rather, the participants typically represent a more advantaged subset of disadvantaged women—ones who tend to be highly motivated, relatively well-educated, and relatively better-off financially—and most supplement their business income with income from other sources. This finding is consistent with the results of an early evaluation of the Self-Employment Investment Demonstration (SEID), which operated in five states between 1988 and 1993 to test the potential of helping AFDC recipients work their way off welfare through self-employment.⁹³ It is also consistent with Bates’ finding that “successful loan programs assisting small minority (and non-minority) businesses have targeted higher income, better educated owners who possess appropriate skills and experience for operating viable small businesses.”⁹⁴

Even if microenterprise programs do not move poor women out of poverty, they can produce important outcomes. Servon notes, for example, that microenterprise programs help participants develop economic literacy skills, self-esteem and a sense of accomplishment, and also contribute to community building by developing networks, relationships, and feelings of trust and reciprocity at both the individual and institutional levels. Their community development potential is an often-overlooked benefit that distinguishes microenterprise programs “from mainstream financial institutions and from many other social welfare programs,” Servon argues.⁹⁵ She explains that the peer group supports and cooperative decision making that were part of the microenterprise programs she studied provided important opportunities for the entrepreneurs to discuss their problems, build confidence, develop trust, and break out of the isolation that characterizes many self-employed individuals. In addition, they helped participants develop professional contacts with other entrepreneurs, business consultants, and financial institutions, enabling them “to access previously inaccessible resources, ranging from credit to mentoring.”

Servon’s research suggests that the experience of being part of such networks also helped develop an interest in “giving back to the community” and led to increased involvement and participation in community affairs on the

part of participants. Nearly 20 percent of the women interviewed for her study said that being part of the microenterprise program had had “a lot” of impact on their civic participation or participation in social activities, and another 25 percent said it had had “some” impact.

Servon also found that the interorganizational connections that microenterprise programs developed—through partnerships or networking arrangements with other service organizations, training or business groups, and banks or other financial institutions—strengthened the institutional capacity of the host organization and the “institutional infrastructure” of the community. While concluding that microenterprise programs have the potential to play a role in community development, Servon cautions that “the scale of the activity is far from that which would be necessary to transform a community.”⁹⁶

Small business incubators. Small business incubation programs focus on addressing the ongoing need for technical assistance, management assistance, and other supports in new businesses. They are small business assistance programs that provide entrepreneurs and small firms with advice, counsel, support services, and connections to external resources and networks. Incubators are usually housed in buildings (sometimes renovated as part of a commercial revitalization effort) where companies can co-locate and share rent, space, secretarial assistance, and business services and equipment. Incubator staff provides the incubator firms with advice, mentoring, management expertise, research support and guidance in developing strategic plans, and assistance in making connections with outside groups. The expected outcomes are that business incubators will increase the rate of new business formation; decrease the failure rate of new enterprises; increase the rate of development in new enterprises (i.e., help them grow more quickly and more efficiently); and increase the efficiency of the dissolution process if a business fails.⁹⁷ Nationwide, the number of small business incubators has grown from twelve in 1980 to more than 900 in 2001.⁹⁸

Using mainly self-reported data from small business incubators, a nationwide study found that business incubation programs use low subsidies to create new jobs and offer a good return on investment.⁹⁹ Overall, incubator companies created jobs and experienced healthy growth, and those that “graduated” from the incubator after two to three years reported high survival rates. Analysis of the macroeconomic effects of business incubators in

four communities found “spillover” effects on the local economy, in terms of indirect job creation and local tax production. In addition, community stakeholders felt that the incubators that focused on empowerment of women and minorities and neighborhood revitalization had done a good job in assisting minorities and female entrepreneurs and enhancing the local business climate. The authors of the report encourage investment in small business incubators as an economic development tool but caution that sponsors should target business incubators that attempt to follow “best practices” and that develop companies that fit with the resources of the local community. The report also highlights the importance of developing standard impact measures and data collection tools that can be easily used at the local level. Several other studies discuss lessons and best practices about setting up and operating business incubators, based on the experience of business incubator practices and programs across the United States.¹⁰⁰

Cooperative associations. The formation of cooperative associations is another method to stimulate local entrepreneurial activity and develop a sense of ownership among neighborhood residents. There are two basic types of cooperatives: consumer cooperatives, such as food cooperatives, credit unions, and co-op bookstores, in which the consumers own stock in the cooperative and pool their resources to obtain competitive prices; and producer or marketing cooperatives, in which the workers pool their resources to own, manage, and operate the business.¹⁰¹

Nancy Conover, Frieda Molina, and Karin Morris’ review of more than fifteen cooperatives found that the associations created a median of forty-four jobs per program, and wages were slightly higher than average for the various occupations or industries. Only three of the programs were able to return profits to their members and very few were able to provide fringe benefits.¹⁰² The cooperatives did, however, provide other services (such as literacy and English language training) to their members. The workers were generally satisfied with working in a cooperative and felt that they were able to develop and exercise their leadership skills.

Community roles. Wim Wiewel, Michael Teitz, and Robert Giloth cite evidence that community-based organizations can successfully operate small

business assistance programs, but Bendick and Egan suggest that specialized organizations that have technical knowledge of business operations may be a more appropriate vehicle to operate such programs and provide the supports and assistance that new companies need.¹⁰³ Even if they do not directly operate such programs, CBOs and CCIs can be helpful in identifying and supporting organizations that have the technical expertise to develop such programs; identifying and assessing residents who are interested in becoming entrepreneurs or expanding an existing business; and connecting would-be entrepreneurs to business development programs in other locations.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: PROMOTING COMMUNITY-ORIENTED BUSINESSES

A growing body of work focuses on the potential benefits to be derived from the development of businesses that can not only become viable economic enterprises but also provide products and services that are useful to the community and that build other community assets.¹⁰⁴ These business ventures include childcare services; home health care for the elderly or disabled; food services; transportation services; services related to housing construction, rehabilitation, repair, or management; and businesses that contribute to environmental improvements, such as lead reduction and asbestos removal.

The development of such businesses embodies the principle of “double social utility” because they address two or more problems and have the potential to yield several types of benefits to the neighborhood and its residents.¹⁰⁵ Because they represent a key point of intersection among service programs, employment programs, economic development, and even housing efforts, they are an area to which one might look for synergistic effects. The potential outcomes include:

- *Benefits to residents who receive services*

CBO- or resident-operated businesses may have greater capacity to deliver services in ways that are more sensitive to and respectful of ethnic or cultural differences and otherwise better-tailored than traditional social service agencies to meet the needs of residents in very distressed communities. A National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED)

publication notes that these types of business ventures have the potential to provide “more humane and cost-effective services while focusing on making the dependent self-reliant.”¹⁰⁶ Another recent study concludes that community-based service enterprises offer possibilities for introducing systemic change in the way services are funded, conducted, accessed, and evaluated.¹⁰⁷

- *Benefits to residents, who can be hired as employees or become self-employed*

Business ventures of the sort discussed here are thought to have considerable potential as sources of employment for low-skilled, entry-level workers, especially when they are linked to locally based training and hiring efforts. Local businesses that provide home health care and childcare services are usually seen as having the greatest potential for hiring local residents. These types of jobs may be especially appealing for local residents who lack skills and work experience, do not want to travel outside the neighborhood, or seek flexible or part-time employment. Enterprises that train and hire local residents in asbestos removal, lead reduction, or housing construction have also been successful in placing neighborhood residents in jobs and helping local firms win government contracts for lead removal.¹⁰⁸

- *Benefits to the owners or operators of the businesses*

Community-oriented business ventures have the potential to become revenue-generating sources for CDCs and other CBOs as well as for individual entrepreneurs. The multiple businesses operated by New Communities Corporation, for example, were begun with contributions from private philanthropy but have become self-supporting. To ensure that this happens, NCCED points out that it is important that these activities be regarded and treated as economic enterprises and not just as service delivery programs.¹⁰⁹ Emily Gantz McKay and Cristina Lopez caution, however, that certain types of community-oriented business ventures—such as daycare centers—are likely to require ongoing subsidies.¹¹⁰

- *Benefits to the community at large*

An additional argument for developing local opportunities to operate such businesses is that it makes sense to have the economic and other benefits that can accrue from them go to local residents rather than outsiders.¹¹¹ Such endeavors can help to “reestablish democratic accountability, reinforce community ownership and allow recycling of funds locally,” it is argued.¹¹² Social capital and social network theory suggest that the community as a whole can also benefit from the increased organizational capacity that is developed within the community and the strengthened social networks that are fostered by the entrepreneurial activities and the relationship building that occurs among the clients and the employees in the neighborhood.

All of these types of business ventures have been successfully operated by CDCs and other community-based organizations as well as by private-sector entrepreneurs who reside in the neighborhood. If operated by private sector entrepreneurs, the development of such ventures can be stimulated and supported by microenterprise programs, small business incubators, and other types of intermediaries that can provide administrative services, brokering expertise, contract management, seed capital, and serve as liaisons to lending institutions.

CDC or CBO-operated businesses. The literature on community economic development includes numerous case studies of successful community businesses providing home health services, meals, daycare, or transportation to community residents.¹¹³ Prominent and frequently cited examples include large, multifaceted, and mature CDCs such as New Communities Corporation (NCC) in Newark, New Jersey, and Bethel New Life in Chicago. More recently, CCRP, a CCI in the South Bronx, has made this a focus of its economic development efforts.

NCC has developed, for example, an extended-care home health care agency with more than 100 employees, five infant and childcare centers (operated through a subsidiary), and transportation serving participants in the health and daycare programs.¹¹⁴ Another subsidiary manages the NCC housing units, and a related company provides security guards. NCC also operates

a food service/restaurant that serves its daycare agencies and elderly programs and sells products in the supermarket chain that NCC was instrumental in bringing into the neighborhood. All these business ventures benefit from the central purchasing, supply, and accounting services that NCC has developed. Though started with philanthropic support, most of NCC's service ventures have become self-supporting, and the neighborhood has achieved a considerable measure of self-sufficiency in meeting some of the social service needs of its residents.

NCC's business enterprises have also been linked to workforce development and employment efforts. As a spinoff of its transportation program for residents, for example, NCC set up a vehicle maintenance and repair center for its fleet of vans, and developed a training program for local residents. Successful graduates can be hired by NCC businesses or placed in jobs outside the community, referred by NCC's employment center.

Bethel New Life in Chicago and CCRP in the South Bronx have also developed local businesses to serve community needs and train and hire residents to fill the jobs. Bethel New Life specifically applies the principle of double utility in its approach to economic development and has pioneered efforts to train locally operated enterprises to win contracts for asbestos removal and lead reduction.¹¹⁵

Intermediary-based programs. An article by Ross Gittell and Phillip Thompson discusses another model for developing community-oriented businesses, the Neighborhood Entrepreneur Program in the low-income housing industry in New York City.¹¹⁶ Operated as an experiment by the city's housing agency and an intermediary, the NYC Housing Partnership, NEP helps local entrepreneurs purchase, manage, and develop low-income rental housing that was taken over by the city when the original owners abandoned it. The Housing Partnership played an important role as an intermediary, according to Gittell and Thompson, because the private businesses that were members of the partnership were able to develop trust relationships with the inner-city entrepreneurs and connect them to important sources of information and financing.

Gittell and Thompson's analysis of the program and its effects illustrates all of the types of benefits described above as well as the value of developing internal and external networks among inner-city entrepreneurs. The local entrepreneurs who operate the buildings gain income and enhanced capacity and

connections to sources of business expertise and financing provided through the intermediary organization, the New York City Housing Partnership. The tenants gain from living in well-managed buildings. Some also benefit from being placed in construction or maintenance jobs by the local housing entrepreneurs. Overall, however, the project's employment-generating potential for the tenants proved to be less than anticipated, according to the evaluation of NEP's employment component.¹¹⁷ This report concluded that the results are consistent with those of welfare-to-work programs and demonstrate how difficult and costly it is to employ a population who, like the NEP tenants, are inadequately prepared for work, have significant childcare responsibilities, and long histories of substance abuse, domestic violence, and/or poor mental health.

Gittell and Thompson identify a number of community-level benefits that result from NEP, including an improved environment, increased community capacity, and increased access to resources. According to Gittell and Thompson, preliminary information shows that the neighborhood entrepreneurs operate more efficiently than the city or outside property managers.¹¹⁸ They are more cost-conscious and make efforts to establish personal relations with and among the tenants. These relationships and the "information exchange" that results "helps reduce drug dealing and related crimes in the building and the surrounding neighborhood and protects their investments."¹¹⁹

The community as a whole also benefits because the local entrepreneurs have a vested interest in improving and maintaining the quality of the local environment: They want to ensure that they have good long-term tenants. This leads them to work together and/or with CBOs to "exert significant leverage in negotiating services from local government agencies" and other community improvement efforts.

Gittell and Thompson argue that the NEP approach is particularly useful in businesses in which having a good reputation in the community and knowledge of the target population gives inner-city entrepreneurs a clear competitive advantage. They suggest that community-based health care and employment placement and training are other areas in which local entrepreneurs would have similar advantages and produce synergistic effects, such as reductions in costly patient visits and increased worker productivity.

In a related approach, some CDCs are developing strategies to nurture supplier networks, wherein minority-owned and female-owned businesses can

respond to procurement opportunities with large local corporations, hospitals, military facilities, and governmental agencies or port authorities.¹²⁰

Small business and self-employment examples. Not all efforts to develop businesses that have double social utility need to be as ambitious as NEP. A recent review of the field provides a number of case studies of small-scale service-oriented businesses operated by individual entrepreneurs.¹²¹ For example, Home Health Care Services is a female-owned microenterprise that hires and trains certified nurses aides or licensed nurses to deliver home health care services in an African-American community on Chicago's south shore. This business is operated from a small business incubator that provided a short-term capital loan and start-up planning. Other successful businesses of this type have been developed by worker cooperatives. Nevertheless, the authors of the review caution that most new service enterprises will require long-term subsidies and ongoing support and management assistance and will continue to operate on a small scale.

CDCs and CBOs can use federal grants awarded through the Job Opportunities for Low-Income Individuals (JOLI) program to provide technical and financial assistance to develop self-employment ventures and other business opportunities for low-income individuals. The Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation in New York City, for example, is using a JOLI grant to train and support neighborhood residents who are interested in establishing themselves as licensed childcare providers in their own homes. When the women are licensed and registered with the welfare system, the childcare services they provide for welfare recipients and former welfare recipients can be paid by the local welfare department.¹²² Bethel New Life used a JOLI grant to train local contractors in lead abatement and lead hazard control and helped them form a joint business venture. Working together, the local contractors successfully won forty-three lead hazard control projects, worth more than \$660,000.¹²³

BUSINESS ATTRACTION STRATEGIES

Proponents argue that attracting new businesses to the neighborhood can bring in more jobs and income than the community could generate internally by developing new small businesses. The opening of a well-established firm or

manufacturing company is also recommended for its high visibility.¹²⁴ Large retail stores may also be better able to meet local residents' basic shopping needs. On the downside, as already noted, outside businesses may be less likely than "home-grown" businesses to hire local residents, especially those who are members of minority groups; offer fewer opportunities to develop community leaders and role models for local residents; and might put some local establishments out of business.

Three approaches are typically discussed in the community economic development literature: combining the physical redevelopment of a commercial area with specific efforts to attract a major retail chain store as an anchor store in the revitalized shopping district; offering tax credits or other business incentives on a project by project basis; or designating the neighborhood as part of an economic zone that offers special tax breaks or other incentives to outside businesses that locate inside the zone. The latter two approaches entail decision making at the city or state level, not just at the community level.

A key decision is what type of businesses to recruit to the neighborhood. Business attraction efforts have traditionally focused on attracting manufacturing firms to a locality.¹²⁵ More recently, attention is being paid to super markets, big retail stores, back-office operations, and service-oriented businesses in tourism and entertainment, health care, technology, or insurance. Different types of businesses are likely to have different effects on generating employment, meeting consumer needs, and community building.

Attracting retail establishments as anchor stores in malls or commercial strips. Several studies document the potential benefits of a strategy combining the physical revitalization of an inner-city commercial strip or shopping mall with attracting a major retail chain store, such as a supermarket or drugstore, as an anchor tenant in the revitalized shopping district. This approach remains controversial, however, because it can spark opposition from local business owners who worry about increased competition and higher rents. Examples of successful efforts include: The Tacolcy Economic Development Corporation in Miami's Liberty City neighborhood rehabilitated a small neighborhood mall after riots in the early 1980s and brought in a Winn Dixie supermarket as the anchor. Newark's New Community Corporation recruited a Pathmark supermarket as the anchor in its Central Ward commercial strip. And after

years of bitter controversy, the Abyssinian Development Corporation and the Community Association of East Harlem Triangle opened a Pathmark supermarket in Harlem in 1999.¹²⁶ Encouraged by the early successes in Liberty City and Newark, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), a national nonprofit community development intermediary that works with CDCs across the country, launched The Retail Initiative (TRI) in 1994. Supported by ten institutional investors, TRI is a commercial real estate equity fund that works with local organizations to bring supermarkets to low-income neighborhoods. The Harlem Pathmark that opened in 1999 was one of the first TRI projects to reach completion. TRI also developed a shopping center anchored by a Shaw's Supermarket in New Haven, Connecticut, and has other projects underway in other cities.¹²⁷

Effects on consumer spending and local business activity. In all the cases just mentioned, the new supermarkets quickly became profitable, validating the claim of a healthy consumer market to be tapped in inner-city areas.¹²⁸ Several other recent economic assessments document the profitability and retail sales potential of inner-city areas.¹²⁹

Research in Newark also showed positive benefits on the consumer spending patterns of neighborhood residents: a local survey found that Pathmark shoppers who had formerly traveled by bus or taxi to suburban markets or shopped at neighborhood mom-and-pop stores had cut their food bills by 38 percent.¹³⁰ Anecdotal evidence suggests that in New Haven, residents are also now shopping locally and saving the cost of transportation to outlying neighborhoods.

Spillover effects. Drawing customers to an anchor store can generate business for other stores or services located close by, according to Vidal.¹³¹ The Liberty City mall's viability helped sparked the construction of mid-rise apartment complexes within easy walking distance as well as the opening of a branch campus of a community college across the street from the mall. Similarly, the Community Development Corporation of Kansas City, Missouri's successful development of a shopping center in an abandoned hospital site helped spark additional investment along a commercial street, resulting in the development of a second small shopping center and the construction of a new branch of the public library. The development of the Pathmark store in Harlem helped

spur private investment in other retail development projects in the immediate neighborhood.¹³²

On the other hand, the introduction of a major supermarket chain may have a negative effect on the sales activity of competing local retailers—such as mom-and-pop convenience stores—and spark opposition from them. Bendick and Egan note, however, that local merchants can protect themselves by offering value-added services that outsider firms and large chains cannot match, such as extended hours, informal credit, staff members fluent in several languages, and auxiliary services, such as check-cashing. To support local businesses, some redevelopment projects have set aside a proportion of available mall space for those who can meet strict standards regarding financial strength and retail ability.¹³³ Competition can benefit consumers, of course. Anecdotal evidence from Harlem, for example, suggests that smaller grocery stores in the neighborhood have improved the quality of their products and services since the new supermarket opened.¹³⁴

Employment effects. The opening of a large retail store provides new employment opportunities, but not necessarily for local residents. To enhance this possibility, it might be important to negotiate hiring agreements as part of the initial deal. The literature on the retail development projects already discussed does not provide information on their employment effects on neighborhood residents. However, a family-owned chain of grocery stores that expanded into a racially diverse, economically depressed neighborhood in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1997 is reported to have provided more than 100 jobs for local residents.¹³⁵

Community-building effects. Vidal's study of CDC's business development efforts documents some of the community-building potential of such initiatives, in terms of enhancing the capacity of local organizations and leaders and improving their reputations with outsiders.¹³⁶ Another type of community-building outcome was found in Liberty City, Florida, where the commercial revitalization project resulted in the formation of a local merchants' association, which proved instrumental in helping preserve the shopping area during a second bout of rioting some time later.¹³⁷

Potential for replication. The retail successes described above are encouraging, but it should be noted that major revitalization projects involve intensive effort, large amounts of capital, and considerable risk. Vidal cautions that CDC efforts at commercial development have been “rarer and riskier” than their efforts to develop affordable housing, explaining that the process is less standardized, appropriate anchor tenants are hard to identify, and not all CDCs are adept at marketing.¹³⁸ Wiewel, Teitz, and Giloth note that commercial revitalization strategies are most often successful when the neighborhood has moderate income levels, a controllable pace of change, and few nearby competitors.¹³⁹

Efforts to attract other types of businesses. Economic development initiatives that focus on attracting other, less consumer-oriented types of businesses are likely to have somewhat different effects on the neighborhood economy. Attraction strategies work to the extent that they use local suppliers, labor, and other resources. Bendick and Egan discuss bringing back-office businesses into inner-city neighborhoods, for example.¹⁴⁰ While this strategy could increase the level of business activity in the neighborhood, and possibly provide jobs for local residents, it seems less likely than a commercial development project to affect the mix, quality, or supply of goods and services available to local residents, at least in the short term.

Using economic incentives to attract businesses. State and city governments can offer an array of economic incentives to attract businesses, including tax incentives, capital formation assistance, property development, zoning flexibility, and labor-related assistance.¹⁴¹ A related approach that has been increasingly used in the past thirty years in the United States is to offer what amounts to a package of incentives in defined geographic areas, typically known as enterprise zones. Business taxation and regulation are reduced and access to capital is facilitated in order to stimulate economic investment and activity within the zones. A number of states created enterprise zones in the 1980s, and in 1994 a federal initiative designated nine empowerment zones and ninety-five enterprise communities.¹⁴² The zone areas typically encompass more than a single neighborhood, but inner-city neighborhoods can be included within the designated zone.

The rationale for offering such incentives is that the market economy has imperfections, and the private sector alone cannot and will not develop the inner-city. Harvard economist Michael Porter has argued that incentives are needed to compensate companies for the added costs of doing business in the inner-city, which has special difficulties stemming from a history and continued prevalence of discrimination against inner-city residents and their neighborhoods. Disadvantages include high taxes and business costs relative to other areas, as well as crime and the increased business risks associated with it.¹⁴³ Other obstacles are posed by poorly maintained infrastructure, burdensome regulations and permit requirements, environmental pollution, and poorly funded and supported education and training systems.

The ability to offer incentives lies with the city, state, or federal government, and is outside the control of the local community, which may need to lobby or work closely with political and government officials to package incentives or to win empowerment or enterprise zone designation.

A number of questions persist about the effectiveness of the business incentive strategy in general and the enterprise zone approach in particular. Some analysts question, first, whether the offered incentives affect a company's decision to relocate and what types of businesses may be affected; second, whether the relocating company offers employment opportunities to local residents; and, third, whether tax incentives are a cost-efficient investment, or whether they make the cost of job creation too high.¹⁴⁴

Gaventa's review of the literature notes that many economists and policy analysts consider incentives, including tax abatements, to be an ineffective way to promote business activity. He cites evidence indicating that firms that relocate to the inner-city would have moved there in the absence of incentives, and surveys that show that the availability of incentives is rated quite low on a scale of factors that influence decisions about where to locate a business.¹⁴⁵ Greg LeRoy reviews evidence suggesting that large corporations are the chief beneficiaries of tax abatements and credits and that the policy can cost governments large sums of money.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, a study of California's enterprise zones found that zone incentives did very little to influence plant location or increase job creation and business investment in the designated areas.¹⁴⁷ LeRoy recommends that to make tax credits and abatements more effective, cities should analyze how much these devices cost them in forgone revenue and monitor

the performance of companies that get the credits. Additional suggestions for making tax credits more effective can be found in writings by Keith Ihlanfeldt and in Larry Ledebur and Douglas Woodward.¹⁴⁸

Vidal's review concluded that although the data are not always of the highest quality, the weight of the evidence is "not encouraging" about the potential of state-sponsored enterprise zone programs to increase employment among residents in neighborhoods with high unemployment rates.¹⁴⁹ She suggests that these programs were poorly designed, because they failed to offer sufficient incentives for hiring local residents; offered investment credits that were not linked to the types of jobs that local residents were likely to qualify for, and did not provide opportunities to prepare residents for employment. Vidal concludes that the current federal enterprise zone initiative has greater potential for creating jobs for residents of poor inner-city neighborhoods and achieving the goals of community economic development because it addresses some of these issues.¹⁵⁰ Evaluation of the first round of enterprise zone (EZ) sites is in progress.¹⁵¹

Other evidence about the effects of business incentives on increasing inner-city employment is also somewhat discouraging. A study found that three government subsidy programs offered in the 1980s, for example, generated "far fewer job opportunities than anticipated" for individuals who had low incomes, were long-term unemployed, or were members of minority groups, largely because the programs were poorly monitored and enforced. Moreover, the jobs that were created were often of uncertain duration or quality.¹⁵² More promising results from several programs that not only tie incentives to hiring commitments but work to develop a pool of qualified job applicants from poor neighborhoods are reported in Molina and discussed below.¹⁵³

BUSINESS RETENTION STRATEGIES

To implement this approach, neighborhood organizations work to promote the stabilization of existing businesses and industrial districts in order to retain jobs, increase the local tax base and consumer shopping and service options, and avert deterioration of local commercial centers. The literature seems to discuss such strategies primarily in terms of averting big industrial or manufacturing plant shutdowns, a situation which is not likely to be the major problem in many poor, largely minority inner-city neighborhoods. However, some of the same strategies might be applicable in efforts to keep

small, local establishments from closing or in conjunction with the type of commercial strip revitalization efforts discussed in the preceding section.

The early outcomes of such efforts are the company closings or relocations that were averted by community action. The longer-term effects relate to the benefits of keeping those companies in the neighborhood: retention of jobs, maintenance of infrastructure, more stable employment opportunities, and so forth.

Wiewel, Teitz and Giloth suggest that local organizations can play several roles in business retention efforts. They can help to identify business problems; organize leaders; provide technical assistance and loan packaging; organize collective services (such as security provision or employment referral); launch industrial real estate projects (e.g., industrial parks or incubators); or advocate for public policies to benefit specific industrial locations, economic sectors, and firm sizes.¹⁵⁴ Chicago's Clybourn Corridor Planned Manufacturing District (PMD), an ambitious citywide effort of this type, was created to retain manufacturing firms and fight the industrial flight and land speculation associated with rezoning. It is also a good example of the role that community-based organizations and local economic development groups can play in addressing the needs of a particular community and developing a metropolitan policy that has an impact on local economic development.¹⁵⁵

An approach that has generated considerable interest in recent years is having a local organization or organizations work simultaneously with a number of firms in the same economic sector in order to develop employer networks, set industry-wide training standards, and create client-focused and career-directed employment opportunities for community residents. This type of "sectoral strategy" combines supply and demand side interventions in an effort to increase the employment prospects of low-income persons and, at the same time, change the efficiency, institutional practices, and training routines of employers in key occupations and industries in the metropolitan region.¹⁵⁶ Successful efforts can help employers meet their hiring needs (increasing the likelihood that they remain in the neighborhood) and improve employment opportunities for local residents.

Ordinarily, competing firms in the same sector do not have a clear incentive to cooperate with each other. However, when these firms are located in the same area, they can benefit from working together on employment training, conditions, standards, and other aspects of work that increase the productivity

of the workers and the effectiveness, profitability, and viability of the firms. The Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership (WRTP), for example, an organization with labor and corporate management representation, is designed to build high-performance workplaces that emphasize ongoing worker education and innovation. It encourages members to develop and share best practices in three main areas: workplace education, future workforce development, and plant modernization. By developing a network of firms that cooperates on key issues and works to overcome common problems through collective action, the WRTP is able to increase performance and productivity in the workplaces of its member firms and provide workers with additional education and training opportunities, higher wages, and more employment security and stability.¹⁵⁷

Some of the ideas generated and developed out of sectoral strategies have been implemented in broad metropolitan level jobs initiatives, such as the Milwaukee Jobs Initiative. Annette Bernhardt and Thomas Bailey review some industry-specific efforts to implement sectoral strategies around the country, such as Cooperative Home Health Care Associates (CHCA) in the Bronx, Asian Neighborhood Design in San Francisco, Project Quest in San Antonio, Pioneer in Seattle, and the Berkeley Foundation.¹⁵⁸ Ongoing projects at the Aspen Institute's Economic Opportunity Program and Public/Private Ventures are studying the effects of sectoral strategies on improving participants' employment outcomes and achieving systemic change in the employment sector they target.¹⁵⁹ Additional information on several of these sectoral programs and the role of community-based organizations in them can be found in the chapter on employment by Auspos in this volume.

Strategies to Link Citywide Economic Development Efforts to Community Employment Efforts

The evidence just presented on the limited success of past efforts to increase local employment by attracting new businesses into inner-city areas suggests the importance of linking economic development with workforce development efforts in the community. A strategy that appears to be more successful in several major cities is offering business incentives in exchange for specific guarantees about hiring community residents and following up with efforts to ensure that the businesses are supplied with a steady flow of job applicants who meet the hiring criteria.

In these employment-linkage programs, city governments pass a local ordinance that ties public subsidies for businesses to job creation efforts for unemployed or low-income residents from specified neighborhoods. A number of First Source hiring agreement ordinances were passed in the 1980s, requiring an employer to consider applicants from a specified pool of job-seekers in exchange for subsidies.¹⁶⁰

A 1995 assessment of such programs concluded that their effectiveness was limited in practice by inadequate enforcement, outreach, and recruitment in the target neighborhoods.¹⁶¹ A new study of mature First Source programs in Portland, Oregon, and Berkeley, California, highlights the potential for using employment linkage programs as a mechanism to increase employment among residents of poor, inner-city neighborhoods and ways to avoid some of the problems identified in earlier efforts.¹⁶²

Program details vary, but two aspects are key, according to the study. First, businesses that receive certain wide-ranging forms of assistance from the city (e.g., loans, grants, or other financing assistance; zoning or building permits, property tax exemptions) are mandated to sign agreements requiring them to hire or consider hiring job applicants from a pool provided through a specified referral network composed of a variety of community-based organizations. Second, community organizations are actively involved in recruiting, training, screening, and referring qualified community residents to the available jobs.

Getting employers actively involved so that they uphold and implement their agreements is also critically important. Staff in both cities feels that penalties for noncompliance are important in getting employers to take the requirements seriously, especially at the start of the program, but over the long term, the ability to provide a stream of qualified, entry-level workers to fill jobs is essential to maintaining employer interest.

The program outcomes reported in Molina's study suggest that these types of programs can be effective in placing low-income community residents who have limited work histories and multiple barriers into jobs that pay above the minimum wage, on average. The study also found evidence of community-building effects, such as evidence of increased capacity in the organizations responsible for recruiting and referring local residents for jobs, improved relationships between the employers and the neighborhood groups, and expanded

job networks among community residents, who said they had not previously known about the business where they were now working.¹⁶³

CONCLUSION

This chapter shows that community economic development programs can provide significant benefits to the residents of urban neighborhoods by providing much-needed commodities and services, such as childcare, transportation, and home health care, as well as access to credit and financial services and employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. The role that community-based organizations can play in economic revitalization will continue to be limited, however, by economic actors, trends, and policies that are beyond the control of any one neighborhood.

Although the literature suggests that there should be mutually reinforcing and beneficial effects between community-building efforts and outcomes and economic development efforts and outcomes, there is not yet much evidence of such effects beyond strengthening the capacity of local organizations that do economic development work. The supporting evidence is largely lacking or weak, in large part because there have been few systematic efforts to articulate and then evaluate or document the hypothesized synergies and outcomes.

Similarly, there are not many empirical studies that systematically explore and document the potential synergies between business development, housing development, neighborhood safety, and neighborhood economic recovery. There is some evidence that suggests that large-scale efforts that couple economic development with deliberate efforts at crime reduction and/or efforts to build or maintain low-income housing can be mutually reinforcing, as in the South Bronx, but these examples need to be more carefully documented and analyzed. Whether such efforts can lead to broad-based and sustained neighborhood revitalization without displacing low-income residents also remains to be seen.

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127. For more information on the initiative, see LISC's website at www.liscnet.org.
128. Indeed, according to Vidal in "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995, the Winn

- Dixie supermarket in Liberty City became a leader in sales and profitability in the chain. Similarly, Woolworth's inner-city stores had higher profit margins than their suburban stores, according to Bendick and Egan, "Linking Business Development," 1993, pp. 7–8. For the profitability of the Harlem Pathmark and other successes, see Grogan and Proscio, *Comeback Cities*, 2000, and Alison Paddock, "Bright Lights, Big City: Do Urban Markets Represent the Food Industry's Final Frontier?" *Grocery Headquarters: April 1999*, available at www.liscnet.org.
129. See Grogan and Proscio, *Comeback Cities*, 2000; Paddock, "Bright Lights," 1999; ICIC Research Facts, Initiative for a Competitive Inner City at www.icic.org.
 130. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995, p. 211.
 131. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995.
 132. Grogan and Proscio, *Comeback Cities*, 2000.
 133. Bendick and Egan, "Linking Business Development," 1993.
 134. Grogan and Proscio, *Comeback Cities*, 2000.
 135. Paddock, "Bright Lights," 1999.
 136. Vidal, *Rebuilding Communities*, 1992.
 137. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995.
 138. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
 139. Wiewel, Teitz, and Giloth, "Economic Development of Neighborhoods," 1993, p. 91.
 140. Bendick and Egan, "Linking Business Development," 1993.
 141. See, for example, Gaventa, Morrissey, and Edwards, *Literature Review*, 1995.
 142. For information on the federal initiative, see <http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/ezec>. The federal program was selecting localities for Round III of funding and replacing Enterprise Communities with Renewal Communities in the fall of 2001. The revised program offers a different package of incentives from the original. According to Michael Wolf, there was a shift in emphasis during the 1980s away from efforts to use zone incentives to attract new small businesses to the inner-city, in favor of efforts to attract businesses of any size, and to retain existing businesses in urban, rural, and suburban areas. See Michael Wolf, "Enterprise Zones: A Decade of Diversity," *Economic Development Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1990): 3–14.
 143. Michael Porter, "New Strategies," 1997, pp. 11–27; Porter, "The Competitive Advantage," 1995, pp. 55–71.
 144. Gaventa, Morrissey, and Edwards, *Literature Review*, 1995, p. 54.
 145. *Ibid.*
 146. Greg LeRoy, *The Use and Abuse of Public Incentives in the Quest for Jobs* (Chicago: Federation for Industrial Retention and Renewal, 1993).
 147. David E. Dowall, "An Evaluation of California's Enterprise Zone Programs," *Economic Development Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (November 1996): 352–68.
 148. Keith R. Ihlanfeldt, "Ten Principles for State Tax Incentives," *Economic Development Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (November 1995): 339–55; Larry C. Ledebur and Douglas Woodward, "Adding a Stick to the Carrot: Location Incentives with Clawbacks, Recisions, and Recalibrations," *Economic Development Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (August 1990): 221–37.
 149. Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995, p. 181.

150. Specifically, Vidal notes that the array of incentives are more oriented toward labor than business investment, the availability of Social Service Block grant funding makes it possible to address issues like job readiness and social isolation, and there is a focus on strategic planning. (Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities," 1995, pp. 187–88.) See also Gaventa, Morrissey, and Edwards, *Literature Review*, 1995.
151. For early findings on implementation, see Marilyn Gittell et al., "Expanding Civic Opportunities: Urban Empowerment Zones," *Urban Affairs Review* 33 no. 4 (May 1998), and The Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, *Empowerment Zone Initiative: Building a Community Plan for Strategic Change, Findings from the First Round of the Assessment* (Albany: State University of New York, 1996). Additional evaluation work is being conducted by Abt Associates.
152. Center for Community Change, *Bright Promises*, 1990.
153. Frieda Molina, *Making Connections: A Study of Employment Linkage Programs* (Washington D.C.: Center for Community Change, 1998).
154. Wiewel, Teitz, and Giloth, "Economic Development of Neighborhoods," 1993.
155. For details, see Donna Ducharme, "Planned Manufacturing Districts: How a Community Initiative Became City Policy" in *Harold Washington and the Neighborhoods: A Progressive City Government in Chicago, 1983–1987*, ed. Pierre Clavel and Wim Wiewel (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991): 221–37. For additional case studies, see Neil S. Mayer, *Saving and Creating Good Jobs: A Study of Industrial Retention and Expansion Programs* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Community Change, 1998).
156. See, for example, Laura Dresser and Joel Rogers, *Rebuilding Job Access and Career Advancement Systems in the New Economy* (Madison, Wis.: Center on Wisconsin Strategy, 1997).
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159. Maureen Conway and Ida Rademacher, *Measure for Measure: Assessing Traditional and Sectoral Strategies for Workforce Development* (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute, October 2000) and Lily Zandniapour with Kathy Ade, *Sector Employment Development Learning Project (SEDLP) Research Brief no. 1: Key Findings from the Baseline Survey of Participants* (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute, July 2000).
160. Okagaki, *Developing a Public Policy*, 1997.
161. Okagaki, *Developing a Public Policy*, 1997, citing a 1995 study conducted by the Association of Community Organizers for Reform Now (ACORN).
162. Molina, *Making Connections*, 1998. Both are city-sponsored programs that target their employment efforts to residents of particular neighborhoods within the city.
163. Molina, *Making Connections*, 1998. For more discussion on the importance of the last outcome, see the chapter by Auspos in this volume.

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PART 2

*Promoting Change through
Community Based Individual and
Family Interventions*

Community Action and Youth Development: What Can Be Done and How Can We Measure Progress?

MICHELLE ALBERTI GAMBONE

Communities in general, and those involved in formal Complex Community Initiatives (CCIs) in particular, are increasingly faced with the challenge of planning and taking actions to increase the odds that more of their young residents will experience a healthy childhood and make a successful transition to healthy adulthood. This has been particularly challenging when addressing the needs of adolescents (ages ten to eighteen) because, until quite recently, there has been less clarity and consensus about what social policies and interventions can—or should—do for this age group than there has been about what to do for younger children (up to age ten).

As with any efforts at intentional community action, the stakeholders involved in trying to create a healthier environment for adolescents are grappling with two fundamental questions: (1) What are effective strategies for reaching our goals? and (2) How will we know if we are succeeding?

The purpose of this chapter is to address these questions by extracting from the youth development field a general model, or constructing a theory of change, that synthesizes current thinking and research about how communities can fortify their activities on behalf of youth. This model can then be used to help inform decisions about what community strategies should be tried and/

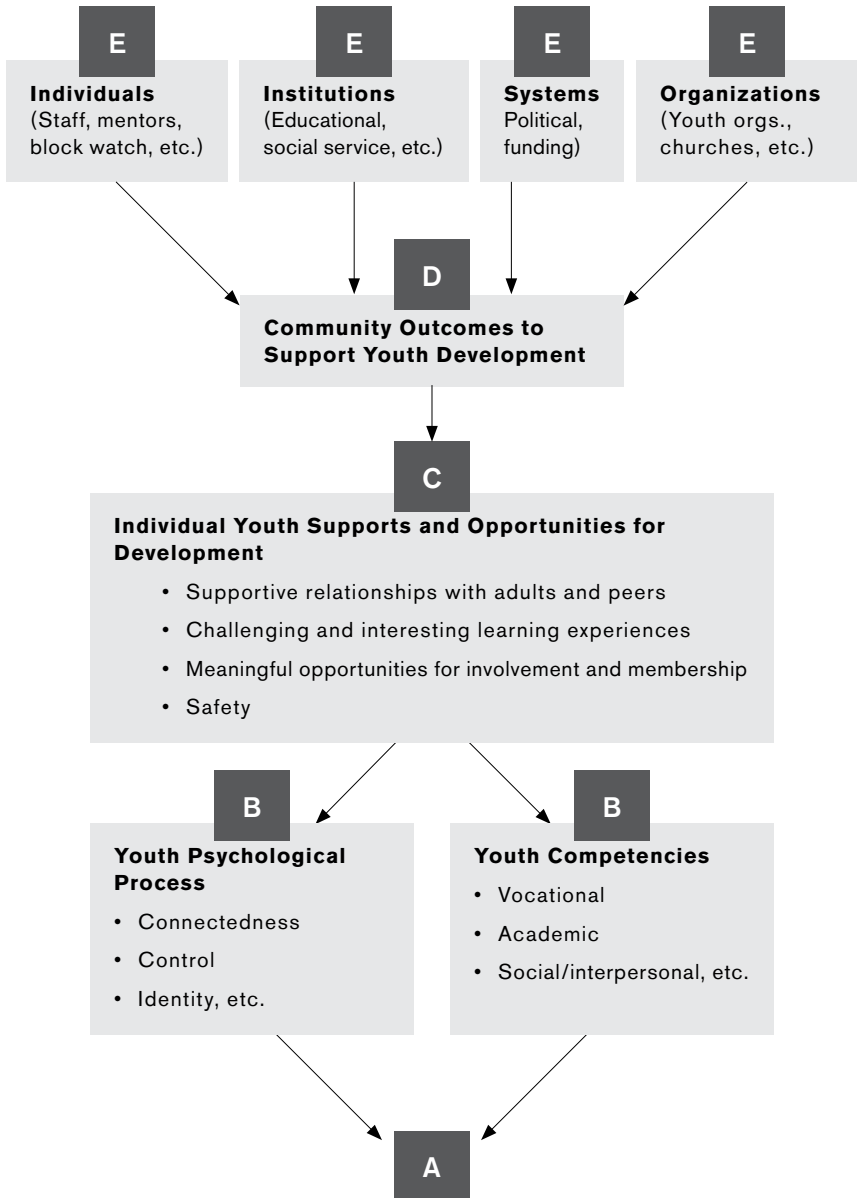
or strengthened, and to guide the process of assessing whether these strategies are effective. The model presented here is based on a review of the literature on theoretical models about youth development, models of community planning about the well-being of youth, and research on the effects of the social environment on adolescent development.

The greatest strength of this model is that it can be stated in simple terms—it can be readily understood by those who are not trained in youth development. The greatest shortcoming of this model is that it can be stated in simple terms—it arouses suspicion in some because it resonates with common sense and lacks the complexity that many associate with something that is scientifically based.

There are two straightforward and distinct, but equally important, components of this theory of change model. Before turning to this model, it is important to consider first the role of each component in planning for and assessing progress in strengthening community supports for youth development.

The first component is the part of the model that explains youth development. The goal here is not to explain everything known about human development in all its richness and complexity. This is, in fact, a vast field of knowledge with multiple academic disciplines devoted to exploring and refining understanding of how personalities and lives are shaped. Rather, the goal here is to draw on theory, research, and practice to define clearly—and focus on—the elements of youth development that are critical to understanding the role the social environment plays in shaping the developmental process. We need to understand these elements well so that we can create public policies and interventions to shape the social environment in ways that result in maximizing the number of youth who experience good outcomes as they move into adulthood. Proponents of a youth development approach in policy have devoted much of the last decade to distilling and disseminating just this type of information to the field. The youth development component of the model is represented by elements in boxes A, B, and C in Figure 5.1. The next task is to use this understanding of the developmental process to draw again on theory, research, and practice to define—and focus on—the features that need to exist in communities so that young people have the best chance of experiencing healthy growth and attaining positive outcomes in their early adulthood. Defining this community component allows us both to explore the strategies that can be

Figure 5.1: Youth Development Theory of Change



used to strengthen these features of communities and to define some of the early markers or outcomes of community action for youth development that can be used to assess progress in CCIs (or other interventions). The community component of the model is represented by the elements listed in Boxes D and E of Figure 5.1.

The general model's first component—youth development—is described in the next section. We then turn to the second component—the community—and discuss its features, strategies for strengthening these features, and some examples of how to measure progress at the community level. This is then followed by a more general discussion of the implications of this theory of change for assessing community action for youth development.

THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT COMPONENT

Consensus about what constitutes a “youth development” approach to social policy has begun to emerge as the field has matured. In fact, the history of how this field developed its focus on key policy components has direct implications for identifying *and* assessing community strategies for youth. While this story is well known to those working in the field, it is instructive to retell part of it here because it leads directly to the theory of change that undergirds most of what is now defined as a youth development approach.

Long-Term Outcomes

As a field of social policy, youth development has long-standing consensus about the basic goals for youth—that they become: healthy, economically self-sufficient young adults, who have good family and social relationships and who play a positive role in their communities (Figure 5.2).

But in many communities, particularly those that are economically disadvantaged, disproportionate numbers of young people have not been reaching these goals.¹ Intentional strategies were needed to increase the numbers of youth achieving these outcomes—but the thinking about what those strategies should be has undergone significant change over the last decade.

For a long time, social policy and interventions for youth focused on trying to improve long-term outcomes by “fixing young people’s problems” when they got off track. The desired outcomes were clear (Figure 5.2), so programs were

designed to train or change youth in some direct way to achieve these outcomes. We waited until young people exhibited some problem or high-risk behavior, and put them in a program for six months or a year, and expected the problem to be solved. An unemployed young person was placed in a job training program, one with no high school diploma in a GED program, and teen parents into a parenting program.

But evaluations of these programs consistently showed that in the long run young people who participated in them were *not* more likely to experience positive outcomes than those who did not participate. Programs designed to remediate educational failures, unhealthy sexual activity, criminal activity, unemployment, etc., were not showing significant success with youth.² Policymakers and other funders began to question why.

Why Remedial Programs Don't Work

Some argued that it was the young people themselves who were too problematic or intractable to “fix.” But there were many advocates, researchers, and organizations with expertise in youth development who argued that these interventions were not working because they were narrowly focused on specific problems and modeled on programs originally designed to train adults. These efforts were not appropriate for children in the midst of adolescence.³

Proponents of a youth development approach made presentations, convened meetings, and wrote papers and reports in an attempt to convince decision-makers that it was not the youth who were the problem. Rather, a new approach was needed. The underlying theme of these efforts can be summarized briefly. Traditionally, the field was asking the right question (are more

Figure 5.2: Youth Long-Term Outcomes

Economic Self-Sufficiency

- Adequate education
- Living wage job
- Discretionary resources

Healthy Family and Social Relationships

- Physical and mental health
- Good caregivers/parents
- Dependable family and friendship networks

Community Involvement

- Taxpayers, law-abiding citizens
- Members of churches and other organizations
- Voters

young people reaching a healthy early adulthood?), but asking it at the wrong time, and therefore reaching the wrong conclusion—that nothing works.

We were waiting until young people were in late adolescence, and asking: are they graduating? getting jobs that pay a living wage? waiting to have babies until they are in a position to nurture and support them? And, perhaps most importantly, are remediation programs helping more of them do these things? And the answer was no. The reason was that these programs were not informed by the fundamental developmental tenet that healthy outcomes are the result of a lengthy, complex process of human development. They cannot be achieved by waiting until the end of the process to redirect the behavior of adolescents who have gone off track in their path to adulthood.

Public policies dealing with adolescents were ignoring the most basic, universal truths about the developmental process. It has long been accepted, and recognized in public policies and programs for young children (birth to age nine), that development is a process of babies, toddlers, and children interacting with their environments to learn new things about themselves and the world. As they do this they mature, move from stage to stage of development, and reach new developmental milestones. We do not question that the pace and success of moving from one level of development to the next, as babies become toddlers and toddlers become children, depends in large part on stimulation in their environment.

We know that young children actively and naturally seek the experiences and relationships they need to grow and will get them any way they can. Every day we see children make toys out of whatever is available if there is nothing in the environment to stimulate them, or find creative ways to demand the attention they need if it is not provided by those around them. The social environment clearly provides the building blocks children need to grow, and we take this into account in public policies and programs for young children. Programs like Early Start, Head Start, and the current focus on high-quality childcare and after-school programs are based on an understanding of the need for enriched environments to keep the developmental process on track.

This process of development is no different for adolescents. But as children move into early adolescence (ages ten to twelve) and their teen years, there has been a tendency to lose sight of the fact that they are still children in the process of development. This is in part because as adolescents become more complex,

adults find it harder to see the direct relationship between the social environment and the accomplishment of developmental milestones. It is also, in part, because the developmental tasks are more complex, and the social sciences have not been as clear about the way the environment affects development for this age group. The abundance of theoretical perspectives has led to emphasizing different factors as key to the developmental process.

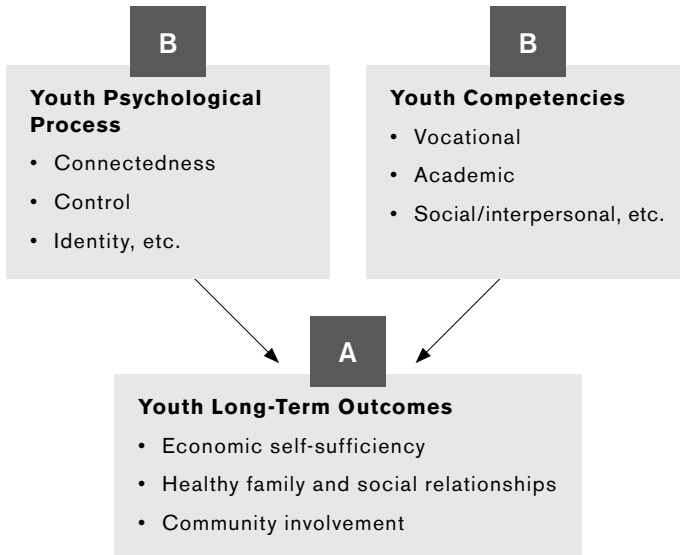
Psychoanalytic theorists emphasize the need for healthy relationships with parents and peers; cognitive developmental theorists emphasize opportunities to practice increasingly complex cognitive tasks; symbolic interactionist theorists emphasize the opportunities to take different social roles and see the self and situations from other perspectives; and social learning theorists emphasize the need for social models that demonstrate the links between behavior and its resulting rewards or punishments.⁴

Even with this variation in theoretical emphases, youth development advocates successfully put forth convincing arguments that achieving positive outcomes in early adulthood is the result of a lengthy process of developing the abilities and characteristics needed to reach these goals. If they are to be successful, programs, services, and policies need to contribute to this process rather than remediate problems.

Developmental Outcomes as the Path to Long-Term Outcomes

Once this premise was accepted, the question that arose was: How will we know early on whether adolescents are on the path to achieving the desired long-term outcomes? While investors and policymakers began to change their discourse from “intervening” to fix problems to “supporting” development, they still sought evidence showing that limited investments were leading directly to the preferred outcomes.

In response, a number of key organizations, such as the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, Search Institute, Carnegie Council on Adolescence, and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, reviewed the academic research on adolescents in order to incorporate specific developmental outcomes related to desirable outcomes in adulthood into the frameworks they disseminated. The motivation was to identify developmental outcomes with research support that linked them in some way to long-term outcomes (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Youth Developmental and Long-Term Outcomes

The most promising approach was to focus on the differences between youth engaged in risk behaviors that often have long-term negative consequences (e.g., drug use, unprotected sex, school failure, criminal activity) and youth who did not. These reviews yielded two types of outcomes: youth competencies, or skills, and psychological traits.⁵

A mix of competencies, or skills—such as conflict resolution, decision-making, interpersonal, and critical thinking skills—and psychological traits—self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, identity, and self-worth—were included as developmental outcomes in policy-driven models of youth development because existing research showed that young people who exhibited these abilities fared better than those who did not, at least in their risk behaviors and school performance (Table 5.1).⁶

This resulted, early on, in programs designed and funded to address selected elements of competencies or psychological traits. Some were successful in improving selected developmental outcomes in the short term. But ultimately, funders and policymakers wanted to know if discrete programs could show that improving one or two developmental outcomes led to better long-term outcomes for participants.

While a program may successfully increase a young person's communi-

cation or conflict resolution skills, that alone does not necessarily mean that particular youth will graduate from high school or get and hold a decent job.

Once again, when these programs were evaluated to see if they produced better long-term outcomes, almost everything fell short—leading again to the conclusion that nothing works. It was not that focusing on developmental

Table 5.1: Youth Developmental Outcomes

Projects/Authors	Competencies and Assets
<p>HHS (Health and Human Services)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Connection • Control • Identity • Temperament • Age at puberty • Cognitive development
<p>Pittman and Wright (Center for Youth Development and Policy Research)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and physical competence • Personal and social competence • Cognitive and creative competence • Vocational competence • Citizenship competence
<p>Matter of Time (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive development (knowledge, critical thinking, academic achievement) • Social development (communication skills, relationships with peers and adults) • Physical development (health, less risk) • Emotional development (identity, control) • Moral development (values, responsibilities)
<p>Great Transitions (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Master social skills • Cultivate problem-solving skills • Acquire technical capabilities • Become ethical • Learn requirements of citizenship • Respect diversity

B

Table 5.1: Youth Developmental Outcomes (continued)

Projects/Authors	Competencies and Assets
Peter Scales	N/A
Search Assets (Peter Benson et al.)	Internal Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social competence (planning and decision making, interpersonal, cultural, conflict resolution) • Positive identity (self-esteem, sense of purpose, belief in future) • Positive values (caring, equality and justice, responsibility) • Commitment to learning (achievement, engagement, homework, bonding)
Connell, Aber, Walker (Aspen Institute Roundtable, 1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Productive • Connected • Able to navigate
Community Change for Youth Development (Public/Private Ventures)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-efficacy • School performance • Low risk taking
Youth Development Mobilization (Center for Youth Development and Policy Research)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity (safety and structure, membership and belonging, self-worth, mastery, future, responsibility, autonomy, spirituality, self-awareness) • Social, civic, and cultural competencies • Physical and emotional health competencies • Intellectual and employable competencies
Communities That Care (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachment (positive relationships) • Commitment (investment in future) • Beliefs (positive moral behavior and action)
Oakland Blueprint for Youth (Urban Strategies Council)	N/A

B

outcomes does not lead to better long-term outcomes, but rather that the assessment of strategies for youth was ignoring the basic developmental tenet: Becoming a psychologically healthy, competent person is a lengthy and complex process. The field was ignoring both what is known through common sense and through research: there is no one-to-one correspondence between a specific psychological characteristic and success as an adult, and success as an adult requires more than one area of competence. No single experience or environment is going to provide a young person with everything needed for success as an adult; participation in one program or organization certainly cannot ensure that any individual will attain the desired long-term outcomes.⁷

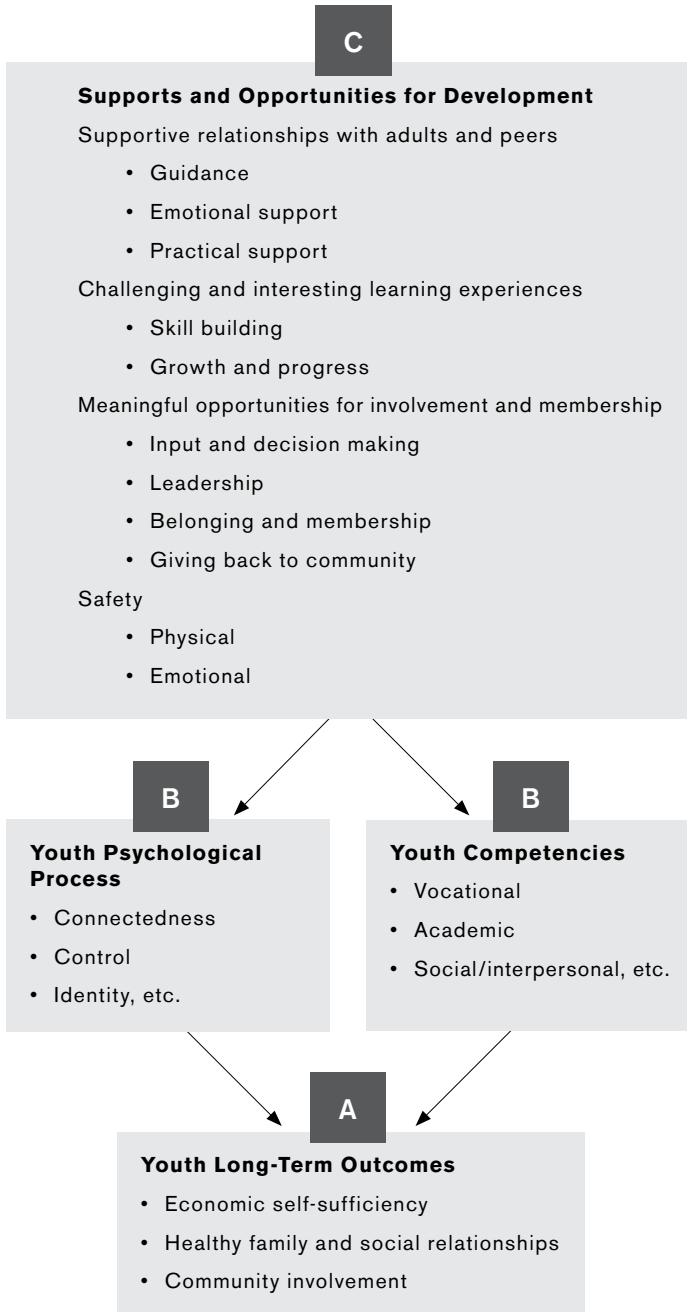
Supports and Opportunities as the Path to Developmental Outcomes

The implication is that in order to achieve the developmental outcomes that are required for success as an adult, all of the environments in which young people spend time would have to be assessed and strengthened to ensure that they provide the supports and opportunities that are the critical building blocks for development. Whether these were called inputs, supports, resources, or something else, the consistent, underlying message was that taking a truly developmental approach requires ensuring that *all* youth experience—over time (from birth to age eighteen), across all settings (families, schools, organizations, and communities)—environments that have the characteristics that continuously fuel growth.

At first glance, a review of the literature on youth development and models of community planning and strategies for youth seems to produce an unwieldy group of lists of critical factors in adolescent development. But across the literature there is a consistent and relatively short list of supports and opportunities around which there is consensus which can be extracted as representing the necessary and sufficient conditions for development (Figure 5.4). These are:

- Supportive relationships with adults and peers
- Challenging and interesting learning experiences
- Meaningful involvement and membership
- Safety

Figure 5.4: Necessary Conditions for Successful Youth Development



This list includes the experiences that are common in some form across developmental theories. They are reflected in most current theoretical frameworks about youth development, and they also appear in all of the major community initiatives focusing on the needs of adolescents (Tables 5.2 and 5.3).⁸ The only area that is not explicitly mentioned by a majority of the theoretical frameworks is safety, although it is implicit in most; in the practice models (initiatives), safety is included in nearly all.

These supports and opportunities represent the relationships and experiences all young people will seek—and get—from their environments as a natural part of the developmental process. All young people will form relationships, seek challenges, find groups to belong to, take on roles as leaders with their peers, and find a way to feel safe, whether it is intentionally provided for them or not. The following review of research shows that each of these experiences is linked to the desired longer-term outcomes.

Supportive relationships with adults and peers. The research is clear that from infancy on, a critical factor in healthy development is support from the people in the environment. Supportive relationships are those in which adults commit time and interest, are affectionate, support youths' personal responsibility, set clear and consistent expectations, and deliver consequences that promote competence rather than emphasize failure.⁹ Relationships with adults and peers are the source of emotional support, guidance, and instrumental help that can contribute to better decision making, lower levels of stress, higher academic achievement, healthier relationships, and lower levels of drug and alcohol use.¹⁰

Challenging and interesting learning experiences. Learning experiences, which can also be fun, are essential in order for youth (especially adolescents) to experience a sense of growth and progress in developing skills and abilities. Whether in school, sports, arts, employment, or other areas of interest, young people are engaged by, and benefit from, activities in which they experience a sense of competence and productivity.¹¹ Conversely, they are bored by activities that do not challenge them.¹² Often in adolescence, this boredom can lead to participation in high-risk activities (e.g., drug use, vandalism) which are more likely to be avoided if youth have healthier options that contain the appropriate blend of challenge and accomplishment.¹³

Table 5.2: Youth Development Models

	SUPPORTIVE RELATIONSHIPS	CHALLENGING AND INTERESTING LEARNING EXPERIENCES	MEANINGFUL INVOLVEMENT AND MEMBERSHIP	SAFETY
Theoretical Frameworks				
Bernard (1991)	x	x	x	
Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1995; 1992)	x	x	x	
Center for Early Adolescence (Scales, 1991)	x	x	x	
Center for Youth Development and Policy Research (Zeldin, 1995; Zeldin et al., 1995)	x	x	x	
Connell and Gambone(1998)	x	x	x	x
Connell, Aber, and Walker (1995)	x			
Gambone and Arbreton (1997)	x	x	x	x
Pittman and Wright (1991)	x	x	x	x
Price et al. (1990)	x	x	x	
Search Institute (Leffert et al., 1997; Benson, 1993)	x	x	x	
U.S. Departments of Education and Justice (1998)	x	x	x	x
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1997; 1996)	x	x		
Community Initiatives				
America's Promise	x	x	x	x
Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, Youth Development Mobilization (YDM)	x	x	x	x
Hawkins, Catalano and Associates, Communities That Care	x	x	x	
Marion County Commission on Youth (MCCOY), Indianapolis Youth Initiative	x	x	x	x
National Urban League, Youth Development Mobilization Initiative (YDMI)	x	x	x	x
Public/ Private Ventures, Community Change for Youth Development (CCYD)	x	x	x	x
Search Institute, Healthy Communities-Healthy Youth Initiative	x	x	x	
Urban Strategies Council, Oakland Blueprint for Youth	x	x	x	x
W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Kellogg Youth Initiative Partnership (KYIP)	x	x	x	x

Table 5.3: Developmental Supports and Opportunities

Projects/Authors	Supports and Opportunities for Youth Development
HHS (Health and Human Services)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family (parent-child relationships, parental practices, family structures, family dysfunction) • Peers (groups, friends) • Community (culture, support, youth organizations) • Social (economic and employment, discrimination/prejudice, educational institutions)
Pittman and Wright (Center for Youth Development and Policy Research)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety/structure • Belonging/group membership • Self-worth/contributing • Independence/control • Closeness/relationships • Competence/mastery • Diverse opportunities/exploration
Matter of Time (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to socialize with peers and adults • Develop skills • Contribute to community • Belong to a valued group • Feel competent
Peter Scales	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive interaction with adults and peers • Structure and clear limits • Physical activity • Creative expression • Competence and achievement • Meaningful participation in school and community • Opportunities for self-definition

C

TABLE 5.3: Developmental Supports and Opportunities (continued)

Projects/Authors	Supports and Opportunities for Youth Development
<p>Great Transitions (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value placed in constructive groups • Form close, durable relationships • Sense of worth • Reliable basis for decisions • Use support system • Constructive curiosity and exploring behavior • Be useful to others • Believe in future
<p>Search Institute</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support (family, neighborhood, school) • Boundaries and expectations (adult role models, positive peer relationships, high hopes) • Empowerment (community values youth, service, safety) • Constructive time use (programs, religious community, home supervision)
<p>Connell, Aber, Walker (Aspen Institute Roundtable, 1995)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships with family • Relationships with peers • Relationships with others
<p>Community Change for Youth Development (Public/Private Ventures)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult support and guidance • Gap activities • Work as developmental tool • Youth involvement • Support through transitions
<p>Youth Development Mobilization (Center for Youth Development and Policy Research)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People (emotional, motivational, and strategic support) • Opportunities (to learn and explore new skills for group membership, contribution and service, employment) • Places (for safe activities during nonschool hours)
<p>Communities That Care (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to be positive contributor • Skills • Recognition

C

TABLE 5.3: Developmental Supports and Opportunities (continued)

Projects/Authors	Supports and Opportunities for Youth Development
School and Community Support Programs (Price et al., 1990)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to learn new skills • Opportunities for active participation • Clear expectations • Responsiveness and continuity over time • Predictable environment
Oakland, Blueprint for Youth (Urban Strategies Council)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring adult • Safety • Goods, services, and developmentally appropriate activities • Knowledge and respect for other cultures • High-quality education • Work, entrepreneurship, and community service • Central, active roles in planning and decision making
Departments of Education and Justice (1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships with caring, competent, and consistent adults • Access to enriching learning experiences • Access to safe and healthy environments • Involving families and youth in program planning
America's Promise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing relationships with caring adults • Safe places and structured activities during nonschool hours • Opportunities to give back • Developing marketable skills through effective education • Healthy start, healthy future
Marion County Commission on Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supportive relationships with adults and peers • Challenging and interesting learning experiences • Meaningful involvement and membership • Safety

C

TABLE 5.3: Developmental Supports and Opportunities (continued)

Projects and Authors	Supports and Opportunities for Youth Development
Youth Development Mobilization Initiative (National Urban League)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to high-quality education • Opportunities during nonschool hours for developmentally challenging and appropriate activities • Connection with at least one caring adult • Safety • Basic nutrition, physical and mental health care • Opportunities for work, entrepreneurship, and community service • Active roles in decision making • Knowledge and respect for one's own and others' culture
Kellogg Youth Initiative Partnership (W. K. Kellogg Foundation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consistent, ongoing relationships with adults • Opportunity to intentionally participate in own development • Active decision-making role in issues that affect their lives • Opportunity to contribute as partners in community

C

Meaningful opportunities for involvement and membership. Adolescents need ample opportunities to try on the adult roles they are preparing for. There are a number of ways in which this can be accomplished. As part of their need for autonomy, young people must begin participating in making age-appropriate decisions for themselves and others, such as deciding what activities to participate in and setting group rules for classrooms, teams, and organizations. They also need opportunities to take on leadership roles, perhaps as peer counselors and mediators, team captains, council members, and organizational representatives, which allow them to begin practicing for adult roles. These opportunities help foster a greater sense of shared responsibility and respect, better decision making, and a sense of belonging and membership.¹⁴ A sense of belonging is key to forming a feeling of attachment and responsibility to something outside oneself. Young people develop these connections through active participation in groups (clubs, teams, churches,

organizations, etc.), which fosters a greater ability to take the perspective of others and a sense of responsibility—both critical to decision making, a sense of competence, better performance in school, and a decreased likelihood of gang involvement, delinquency, and violence.¹⁵ Adolescents also need to experience themselves as individuals with something of value to give back to their communities. These opportunities are linked to a greater sense of competence and self-respect, attachment to community, tolerance of others, and fewer risk behaviors.¹⁶

Safety. A sense of safety is basic and critical. Its absence can have profound effects on the choices and decisions young people make. Without it, adolescents can doubt the prospect of a future and develop the “learned helplessness” often associated with victimization. When young people feel safe, they are less likely to participate in a number of high-risk behaviors that can derail or delay healthy development.¹⁷

Like young children, if adolescents do not find the healthy versions of these supports in their environments, they will create them for themselves. If they do not feel supported by their primary caregivers, they will turn to other relationships for emotional sustenance, advice, and help—whether healthy or not. If they do not feel challenged or engaged by the activities adults provide, they will seek experiences on their own—even if it means putting themselves at risk. If they do not have positive, productive groups to belong to, they will create their own—even if it is a gang. And if they do not feel safe, they will do whatever is necessary—even if it means carrying a weapon.

These supports and opportunities are the linchpins of what is known about youth development. They represent an understanding of what youth need in their day-to-day lives to stay on track, and they constitute a lens through which to view the social environment when planning community strategies to improve youth outcomes. Whether an environment is a school, a program, an organization, or a community, the focus needs to be on whether it is providing the conditions—supports and opportunities—that are necessary for young people to mature in the healthy ways that lead to good long-term outcomes. This has clear implications for community action.

COMMUNITY ACTION AS THE PATH TO DEVELOPMENTAL SUPPORTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

As we have become clearer about what it really takes for all young people to become healthy adults—consistently being exposed, from infancy on, to environments that provide the relationships and experiences they need to mature—it has also become clearer that strategies to improve youths' outcomes need to focus on strengthening environments rather than on changing individual youth.

This argues for a comprehensive, community-wide approach to youth development of the type that many CCIs are taking to improve other areas of social life. A number of efforts are underway that focus on youth development as a “strand” of social life. These efforts, however, are in their early stages and cannot yet provide direct evidence that a broad set of community planned and implemented activities aimed at increasing developmental supports and opportunities in the social environment does, in fact, lead to better outcomes for youth.

We can, however, mine the research on how key people, organizations, and institutions in communities influence the course of development for youth, particularly in economically disadvantaged communities—the targets of many CCIs.

This research on the key elements in each setting that provide developmental supports and opportunities to young people can be used to fill out the theory of change with the activities that communities can undertake to improve outcomes for youth (Boxes D and E in Figure 5.1).

We know, for example, what families of youth in disadvantaged communities need to ensure their youth reach good outcomes, even if they live in poverty. We know that neighborhoods with a sense of community cohesion, in which neighbors monitor and control the behavior of youth and participate in local organizations, have fewer youth participating in high-risk behaviors, especially when these neighborhoods are poor. We know that youth who attend school, and spend their out-of-school time in activities and organizations that are rich in supports and opportunities, have better developmental and long-term outcomes than youth who do not. And we know that other services for youth and their families in impoverished communities, such as health, recreation, law

enforcement, and juvenile justice are more effective when the institutions that provide them are restructured to be responsive to the communities they serve.

The remainder of this section details the specific features of families, neighborhoods, employers, youth organizations, schools, and other institutions that increase the developmental supports and opportunities for youth in communities and summarizes some of the research that supports these features.¹⁸ These features represent both the *strategies*, or pathways, to improving youth outcomes, and the *early outcomes* that communities can use to gauge the progress of the activities they implement along the pathway of achieving better outcomes for their youth.

Why This Approach to Community Strategies?

Research on the effects of poor neighborhoods on youth development is in the early stages. We know that youth from neighborhoods with high concentrations of poor families, few middle-class families, large numbers of unemployed adults, and large proportions of single-parent, female-headed households tend to fare worse than other youth in terms of both development outcomes across childhood and in the longer-term outcomes of early adulthood.¹⁹ But it is only recently that studies have been published that incorporate into their theorizing and measurement strategies how and why these conditions come about in the first place and affect the development of youth.²⁰ The most comprehensive set of analyses of evidence to explore connections between neighborhood poverty and youth development were conducted by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and published in 1997.²¹ SSRC's findings represent a great step forward in understanding poverty, particularly two conclusions.

First, while neighborhood conditions are often significant predictors of youth development, family factors (home environment, provision of learning experiences, relationships with mother, etc.) were more important.²² That is, the degree of neighborhood poverty did predict how well children and youth fared in terms of cognitive and behavioral outcomes, but family factors were more important. This suggests to the editors that “. . . it appears families still should be viewed as the key agents in promoting positive development in children.”²³

Second, after considering the critical family-level factors, there are two primary dimensions of neighborhoods that have important effects on development: (1) social capital and relationships, and (2) institutional resources. While

the evidence is still accumulating on exactly how these neighborhood factors affect a family's ability to raise healthy children, there are some interesting areas now being explored.

Following James Coleman's theory of social capital, researchers have begun to examine how social relationships in neighborhoods affect development, both directly and through their effects on parenting strategies.²⁴ For example, neighborhoods with a high "childcare burden" and low "supervision and control" of children have higher levels of child maltreatment and poor outcomes (e.g., violent crime, drug trafficking, juvenile delinquency, teen childbearing), which are thought to result from low numbers of adults available to "supervise, care for, and support children and involve themselves in neighborhood institutions."²⁵

Researchers have also begun to examine the evidence that supports a "neighborhood resource theory" that the quality and quantity of local resources available for families and their children affects developmental outcomes. That is, evidence is mounting that neighborhoods with good, accessible institutions and services, such as parks, libraries, childcare facilities, and schools, are associated with better cognitive and behavioral outcomes for youth.²⁶

Taken together, this research supports an approach to strengthening communities for youth development that entails strengthening (1) the capacity of the family, and other adults, to provide good developmental experiences for youth, (2) the organizations and programs in which young people spend their free time, and (3) schools and other institutions available to families and young people in their communities. The remainder of this section explores what those approaches and their early outcomes would look like.

STRATEGIES AND EARLY OUTCOMES FOR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES TO SUPPORT YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Strengthening the Capacity of Community Adults to Provide Supports and Opportunities for Youth

A broad range of outcomes—including health, maltreatment, cognitive development, school performance, school completion, and high-risk behaviors—are influenced by youth's relationships with the significant adults in their lives, and by the relationships among the adults they interact with. Recent research

has focused on how these influences differ for youth in economically impoverished neighborhoods when compared with those living in more advantaged neighborhoods, and on how young people with healthy outcomes differ from those with more negative outcomes, even when they live in similarly impoverished communities.

Based on this research, the features of communities that most affect families' ability to support adolescent development and can be used both to guide and monitor the activities' early progress include ensuring that:

- parents and families have access to strong support networks among other families;
- families know about and have affordable access to alternative care and positive activities for their youth;
- families have effective communication networks with other adults, such as childcare workers, counselors, and teachers who can provide needed service for youth; and
- families are knowledgeable about effective parenting practices.

Like any youth, those from disadvantaged neighborhoods are most profoundly affected by the quality of parenting they receive. Parents who use “authoritative” parenting techniques, characterized by a commitment of time and interest, positive affect, encouraging youths' input and responsibility, setting clear and consistent expectations, and using discipline strategies that emphasize rewards for good behavior, tend to raise children who experience healthier outcomes—especially in disadvantaged communities.²⁷

But there are also other ways that parents in these neighborhoods affect the developmental course of their children. Parental ability to guide children through situations fraught with danger and teach them strategies for dealing with the negative conditions of impoverished neighborhoods, their ability to monitor and control their children's behavior, and their ability to access safe, supervised programs for children is associated with a range of more positive outcomes for youth.²⁸

The social environment for parents also affects their ability to ensure good outcomes for their children. Living in neighborhoods in which there are other

adults and institutions available to share the “childcare burden,”²⁹ having rich associational networks among parents,³⁰ and experiencing role modeling and support from other parents³¹ are also important factors associated with better outcomes for youth in disadvantaged communities. Young people, especially teenagers, also seem to benefit indirectly from good parenting through their association with peers who grow up in families in which good parenting practices and strategies are used.³²

The other adults in impoverished neighborhoods also play an important role in young people’s developmental process. Neighborhoods where informal social control is strong, where other adults are also active in monitoring the activities of youth—especially that of teenage peer groups in public spaces—have lower rates of delinquent behaviors by youth than neighborhoods without this involvement. These neighborhoods are characterized by a high degree of community monitoring, high numbers and quality of social ties among adults, organizational participation by adults, and a consensus around youth behavior.³³

Therefore, the features of neighborhoods that communities can strengthen to increase supports and opportunities for youth include strategies that ensure:

- Neighbors know, and initiate constructive interactions with, youth living in their community; and
- Neighbors communicate openly and constructively with each other, with parents, and with other adults responsible for youth.

Finally, employers can also play a significant role in supporting development as young people take jobs during high school. While there is currently no research focusing explicitly on the effects of employers on youth from disadvantaged communities, there is a large body of findings on the effects of employment on teens. Jobs, especially for impoverished youth, can be a powerful developmental experience,³⁴ but they can also have a negative effect on outcomes if they are not developmentally supportive. Jobs in which young people work too many hours, are poorly supervised, and learn no new skills are often associated with poorer school performance and an increase in risk behaviors, such as stealing, drinking, smoking, and cutting school.³⁵ However, jobs in which youth work an appropriate number of hours (fewer than twenty), have a good relationship with their supervisors, have some input or control over their work, and learn new skills, are associated with more positive outcomes. These outcomes include better in-

terpersonal and job skills, lower risk of dropping out of school and engaging in substance abuse, and a greater chance of enrolling in post-secondary school.³⁶

To ensure that adolescents have work experiences that support rather than derail development, communities should use strategies to encourage employers of youth to structure work for youth, as closely as possible, around the parameters that comprise a developmentally positive experience.

Increase the Number and Quality of Developmental Activities for Youth

Young people have, on average, between six and eight and one-half hours of free time available during the school day. The average youth spends about a half hour a day on homework and another half hour a day on household chores, leaving between five and seven hours each day for other activities.³⁷ During the summer, this time can double for those who are not employed. Research shows that staying on course for healthy development is significantly affected by whether young people experience critical supports and opportunities during their free time (after school, weekends, and summers). For this to happen, the free-time activities available must be structured to lead to opportunities.

Communities can work towards ensuring that youth spend their time in such settings by implementing and monitoring strategies so that activities for youth are characterized by:

- Low student to staff/volunteer ratios (about fifteen to one)
- Safe, accessible and reliable activities and spaces
- Flexibility in allocating resources
- Range of diverse, interesting, and skill-building activities
- Continuity and consistency of care
- Ongoing, results-based staff and organizational improvement process
- Youth involvement in decision making (for activities and for organizations)
- High, clear, and fair standards for staff and youth
- Community engagement

Impoverished communities have significantly fewer institutions that can provide the types of developmental activities to youth that fuel a healthy growth process than do more economically advantaged communities.³⁸ Many youth in poorer communities—especially older adolescents—are not engaged in activities that provide developmental supports and opportunities,³⁹ and some parents in poorer neighborhoods are unaware of, or are unable to benefit from (because of cost, transportation, and timing), organizations and resources for youth that do exist in their communities.⁴⁰

Wherever these free-time activities and programs are located—whether in schools, youth organizations, recreation centers, churches, or parks—research is converging on a set of characteristics of the organizations and their activities that are necessary to provide developmental supports and opportunities.⁴¹ These are the features that communities should use to plan, and monitor the early progress of, their activities aimed at providing high-quality developmental experiences for youth.

Reform and Integrate Schools and Other Public Institutions and Services Affecting Youth

Research on strategies to reform schools in disadvantaged communities has made great progress over the last decade, although research on reforming other public institutions has not yet been as conclusive. Reforming and coordinating any public institution, however, to provide the supports and opportunities youth need will continue to be a formidable but essential challenge.

Both research and practice in the field of educational reform are now yielding evidence about the critical features of successful school and school district reform. In order to improve outcomes for youth, communities can plan and implement strategies to strengthen public schools that will ensure that:

- students interact with adults in small groups on a regular basis, over extended periods of time during the school day and over multiple years;
- teaching methods reflect established best practices for maximized student engagement and learning;
- school policies and practices ensure collective responsibility for educational professionals and provide opportunities for parents and other community adults to monitor and contribute to student success; and

- schools and other institutions are linked in ways that maximize continuity and consistency across settings and foster ease and quality of communication with youth and their caregivers.

First, reform should focus on building stronger relationships among youth, educators, and parents. Specifically, schools should lower student-adult ratios to no more than fifteen to one during core instruction and should keep the same group of adults with students for longer periods of time during the school day and across multiple years. Through these commitments, the schools recognize the importance of building stable, intensive, mutually accountable relationships among educators, youth, and families. Research on urban schools implementing these critical features demonstrates significant gains in quality of relationships, student conduct, and student academic performance.⁴²

Second, schools should deliver standards-based instruction using strategies that maximize student engagement in their learning. Schools and school districts will need to set and communicate high, clear, and fair standards for student behavior and knowledge and be able to implement the instruction necessary for students to meet these standards. Many successful urban schools employ instructional strategies driven by careful analysis of individual students' work in relation to these standards. These schools implement instructional strategies found to close the gaps between current levels of student work and the performance standards.⁴³

Third, schools and school systems should adopt and implement policies assuring collective responsibility for student success among the professionals and personnel working with students in the schools and school district and parents and other community stakeholders, including the staff of other public institutions serving students. District policies should enable school staff to allocate available resources—including time, staff, space, and money—flexibly to respond to student instructional needs at the school level; encourage parents to participate in an ongoing and informed way in the monitoring and improvement of student learning; and make sure other agencies working with their students live up to joint commitments to particular outcomes and standards for practice.⁴⁴

Finally, all three sets of critical features must comprise an overall action strategy for transforming schools. Community stakeholders must recognize that any one or two of these alone is not sufficient to assure that all youth in eco-

nomically disadvantaged communities experience the supports and opportunities their educational experience must contribute to their overall development.

Over the last ten years, other institutions—in health care, juvenile justice, welfare, and law enforcement—have also been trying a variety of avenues to achieve systemic reform in order to attain better outcomes for adults and youth. But research has been much less conclusive in these areas than in others included in this theory of change. We do know some things about what practices yield better outcomes for residents of impoverished communities, but we are still unclear on how to make effective, large scale changes in the way many of these systems operate. Our best information, garnered mostly from reviews of effective community programs,⁴⁵ gives us ideas through examples of strategies these institutions could use to improve their effectiveness in economically disadvantaged communities.

Based on the reviews that do exist, the community strategies and early outcomes that represent a pathway to better long-term outcomes for youth include ensuring community institutions:

- Locate services for youth and their families in the community
- Ensure services are safe and accessible
- Have cooperative relationships with each other and with families of youth
- Employ individuals who are equipped, empowered, and expected to (1) respond to community needs, be accessible to community youth and families, and be respectful of the community; and (2) establish practices necessary to provide supports and opportunities to youth in direct contact with their systems

For example, we know that accessibility is of critical importance. Where services are located, their hours and cost can affect whether babies and toddlers are immunized, whether teens use health clinics, especially for contraceptive services, whether city recreation department centers are used, and whether adults can take advantage of employment training.

We also know that families and children fare better when there is a coordinated, cooperative approach across institutions than when services are fragmented and isolated. We know that when programs and services are brought into the community, involve families and youth cooperatively in their efforts, and are re-

sponsive to the particular needs of individuals and neighborhoods, they are better utilized and more effective. For example, some of the community-based safety efforts in which police and community members together run Police Athletic League centers; in which police officers move into the community and participate in sports, family, and other activities at community centers and work closely with youth counselors and advocates; or in which police officers are incorporated into community youth activities and act as mentors and advocates, have shown significant effects in decreasing the crime rate in the targeted neighborhoods.⁴⁶

And we know that the type of training staff receive, especially regarding practices with youth and responsiveness to families' and youths' needs, is critical and often underestimated in importance.⁴⁷

While the research on developmentally supportive features of other institutions included in this framework is less conclusive than in other areas, common sense, practice, and what we know about other organizations and institutions seem to provide a strong enough basis to guide activities to strengthen these institutions in communities.

As communities move towards a more holistic approach, they are trying to implement strategies that address many, if not all, of these very diverse settings—from families and neighborhoods to entrenched institutions. In order for stakeholders to make decisions about the effectiveness of the strategies they try, they must be able to assess, early on, whether their efforts appear to be on the right track. The next section addresses this issue.

MEASURING EARLY OUTCOMES OF COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

In the long run, a CCI or any other community wide initiative seeking to improve outcomes for youth will need to assess each element of the youth development model. Specifically, the long-term and developmental outcomes and the supports and opportunities need to be examined in the human development component. Similarly, the early outcomes, and the activities implemented by individuals, organizations, and institutions to improve the outcomes of the community component need to be assessed.

The measurement focus of this project, however, and of most of this section, is to understand the issues around assessing the early outcomes of community

activities on behalf of youth. To date, the focus of measurement strategies has been on the individual youth, rather than on the environments in which young people spend their time, as the mechanism for evaluating interventions. But with a holistic, long-term approach to strengthening settings to support the development of all youth, communities need feedback on the effectiveness of their strategies well before significant numbers of the youth living in them reach their long-term goals. For this reason, this chapter includes suggestions about how to track the progress of an initiative at the community level. The companion “measure catalog” designed by the Aspen Roundtable contains descriptions and samples of existing tools that can be used make these assessments.⁴⁸ However, at some point stakeholders will also need to link the outcomes of their community strategies with the experiences and outcomes of the youth who live there.

MEASURING COMMUNITY STRATEGIES AND EARLY OUTCOMES

In order to monitor the early progress of a community initiative, two types of assessments are needed: (1) implementation of activities or strategies, and (2) achievement of short-term goals (early outcomes). The first type of assessment is what we traditionally call “implementation” research. It is a straightforward (in theory) process of documenting what types of activities are undertaken by an initiative. In practice, even this basic type of information collection can become complicated by the number of activities implemented, the variety of stakeholders initiating and participating in them, and the use of more “informal” strategies, such as block parties or homework clubs that can be hard to track. The most difficult part is deciding which activities are the most important to document and who will be responsible for doing so. Once those decisions are made, most of the tools needed for documenting family and neighborhood strategies entail collecting information, such as attendance logs, meeting notes, and event logs. For organizational and institutional changes that might occur (for example, professional development and staff training, volunteer recruitment, space additions, new or expanded activities), community-based organizations are usually responsible for the documentation of their own activities.

The second type of assessment is even more complex, and is the step that is usually left both unspecified and unmeasured. Knowing whether activities

have produced their intended early outcomes requires knowing *why* these specific activities were implemented (i.e., how are they linked to the desired later outcomes). This is where it can become especially useful to have an explicit theory of change. Using the model linking community action, youth development, and outcomes discussed in the first three sections of the chapter, we can start to specify some of the community-level markers of progress on the path to long-term goals by taking each of the pathways to change presented in the previous section (individuals, organizations, institutions) and offering some sample indicators and ideas for how they might be measured.

INDICATORS AND MEASURES OF EARLY OUTCOMES

The early outcomes and sample indicators listed in Table 5.4 (Appendix A) come directly from the research reviewed in the previous section about why and how each strategy is expected to be linked to better developmental and long-term outcomes for youth. These indicators are of four basic types: (1) perceptions and experiences, (2) practices and behaviors, (3) policies and procedures, and (4) objective conditions. In each community area, there are both formal and rigorous ways to assess the outcomes and less formal strategies that can be used when necessary (Table 5.5, Appendix B).

Perceptions and Experiences

There are a number of indicators across the outcome areas that require collecting information on the experiences and perceptions of residents and organizational and institutional staff. This information can be collected less formally through having neighborhood associations, block captains, or other key residents host house parties where these topics can be discussed (e.g., information about access to activities for youth, residents' comfort in correcting or reporting youth misbehavior, how well acquainted neighbors are, knowledge of student performance; treatment by agency staff).⁴⁹ A somewhat more formal method for collecting these data in neighborhoods and other settings is to hold structured focus groups. The most systematic method is to implement community-wide surveys. At present, the type of questions asked are, for the most part, not captured with any uniformity in existing instruments. Communities interested in these issues are currently devising such tools on their own.

Practices and Behaviors

In each outcome area, including parenting, neighborhoods, employers, youth organizations, schools and other institutions, there are a variety of practices and behaviors that are the target of activities implemented by communities. While it is possible to have informal discussions and focus groups about these issues, it is usually best to reserve this technique for collecting information on the practices and behaviors of others. That is, in small group settings, most individuals know the “socially desirable” response and are unlikely to report behavior of their own that does not fit these expectations. They will, however, report observing or experiencing less desirable behaviors by others.

If an outcome is critical in the theory of change (for example, quality of instruction in schools, parenting practices, or neighborhood interactions) there are also some observational measures of outcomes available. For the most part, however, these need to be implemented by trained professionals.

Policies and Procedures

As with measures of perceptions and experiences, there are few systematic protocols for collecting information on the policies and procedures that guide the organizations and institutions that touch the lives of youth and their families. Stakeholders who are interested in documenting these policies and how they might change as a result of an initiative’s implementation of activities (for example, youth worker training policies, professional development for teachers, school district policies, law enforcement and juvenile justice policies, recreation department hours) are faced with defining on their own which policies and procedures are key to their efforts and designing methods to collect this information.

Objective Conditions

A number of early outcomes require measures of objective conditions, which need to be obtained from different administrative entities. For example, the number of recreation centers or youth organizations in a neighborhood, service slots available by age, adult to youth ratios, and location of social services are all data elements that should be available from the relevant agency or institution. There are a few protocols already developed to collect some data. For example, the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research has a well-developed Community Youth Mapping Strategy to be used by community organizations and youth in

partnership to collect information on activities, organizations, and other resources in neighborhoods available for youth. Public/Private Ventures has protocols developed for its Community Change for Youth Development Initiative to document programs and activities for youth and a process for geographically mapping organizations and services for youth. But beyond the area of youth activities and organizations there are few protocols that can be used from one community to the next to facilitate the collection of this data.

SUMMARY

In order to track the progress of a community initiative for youth, and ultimately to be able to judge whether the theory of change the initiative is operating under is correct, stakeholders need to have a mechanism both for documenting what they do and for judging whether those activities are creating the intended conditions in their community. At the same time that activities are planned, a plan needs to be developed for how an initiative's managers will know early success at the community level. The indicators of early outcomes, data collection strategies, and measures presented here can be used to begin to create such a plan; but there also need to be human and financial resources available to carry it out.

CONCLUSION

The movement in the youth development field away from trying to change people toward trying to change environments mirrors the movement now underway in communities undertaking CCIs. As community planners and policymakers, our goal is not to explain human behavior in all its complexity. Our goal is to create public policies and interventions most likely to maximize the number of people who experience good outcomes. This requires focusing on what can be controlled—the environment. As with youth development, CCIs in general operate on the principle that you get the results you want for individuals by building into their communities the supports and experiences that give people the tools necessary to achieve good ends. This, however, does not ensure these good ends for each individual. It simply increases the likelihood that a larger proportion will get to good ends. We all know that some

people with many problems in difficult circumstances will nevertheless achieve good outcomes; conversely, people with few problems in advantageous circumstances sometimes nevertheless experience negative outcomes.

Clear research exists on what young people need from their environments in order to have the best chance of becoming healthy adults, even when those environments are economically disadvantaged. Some of this evidence, presented in this chapter, has already begun to influence some of the major community efforts underway on behalf of youth. It needs to continue to be incorporated into both the planning and assessment of such efforts if significant increases are to be made in youth outcomes.

For example, as community stakeholders plan strategies across the different strands that CCIs address (e.g., education, housing and neighborhood conditions, employment, neighborhood safety, service, community building) a “youth development” approach can be brought in by asking whether a strategy in any of these strands can be linked to one or more of the developmental features we aspire to in communities. Overall, a long-term plan should include a complement of strategies that ensure all of the community pathways to healthy youth development are strengthened. Strategies to address a neighborhood’s physical conditions might include activities/plans that affect the levels of adult-youth interactions in neighborhoods that lead to the types of monitoring and relationships that support youth development. As noted in the chapter by Melvin LaPrade and Patricia Auspos, characteristics in a neighborhood’s physical environment can facilitate social interaction, which in turn can help strengthen developmental features in a community.

At the same time, as Gail Meister notes in this volume, communities can plan the reform of educational settings so they provide better learning experiences for youth, or work to increase the extent to which neighborhood businesses hire their local youth for part-time work. And community-building strategies, at the heart of many CCI activities, could be intentionally used to increase adult-youth interaction. At the same time, such activities can provide opportunities for meaningful involvement for youth as planners and decision makers and can do so through community service opportunities. Finally, as noted by Amie Schuck and Dennis Rosenbaum in this volume, neighborhood safety efforts could directly increase the sense of cohesion and safety in a community, increase monitoring of youth behavior, increase adult-youth interac-

tions in the neighborhood and provide opportunities for families to get to know each other.

Many of the activities across the different strands of community life can be used to strengthen the environments for youth. But ultimately, ensuring that youth development is being adequately addressed or that a “developmental” approach is being taken would require assessing the extent to which all of the developmental features are available in youth’s environments over time.

The implications of this approach for assessing the effectiveness of community strategies is that we need the techniques and tools to monitor the early outcomes of these strategies at the community level well before we should expect to see change in the long-term outcomes of individual youth. These are the necessary conditions that need to exist before significant numbers of youth can be expected to reach healthy adulthood. While some of the tools exist to measure early outcomes, there is still much work to be done in creating more systematic assessment tools so we can start to draw firm lessons across communities about the best strategies to implement on behalf of youth.

To make progress in this field, intentional efforts need to be directed to developing the kind of community-level indicators and measures that can be used both to inform and evaluate community initiatives.

This effort will require collaboration between applied and academic researchers and between researchers and those who design initiatives. In the case of the former pairing, applied researchers have knowledge about where tools are needed, while academic researchers typically have the flexibility needed to focus time on basic research and measurement development. In the case of the latter pairing, researchers need to contribute to initiatives the best available evidence about the critical pathways that should be part of the work that gets implemented on the ground.

To support this knowledge building agenda, public systems and institutions need to be motivated, perhaps through policy requirements, to expand their data collection from the individual level to community level so that they can track the supports that are available to individuals across systems. Finally, all of these efforts require funding to carry out the work and insure that key stakeholders have access to the information such efforts would generate and the capacity to utilize it.

APPENDIX A

Table 5.4: Early Outcomes and Indicators of Community-Based Youth Development Initiatives

Community Strategy	Early Outcomes
<p>Strengthen Families’, Neighbors’, and Employers’ Capacity to Support Youth Development</p>	<p>Developmentally supportive parenting practices</p>
	<p>Parents who have access to other care-givers of youth</p>
	<p>Strong neighborhood support networks</p>
	<p>Strong neighborhood cohesion</p>
	<p>Neighborhood monitoring</p>
	<p>Developmental employment practices</p>

Sample Indicators

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of time parents spend with children • Percent of parents using authoritative discipline practices • Percent of parents who have consistently high expectations and deliver fair consequences | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of children report affectionate relationship with parent • Percent of parents involved in PTA |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of parents who know staff at schools and other youth organizations and feel comfortable talking with them • Percent of parents who know where youth can go for activities and how to enroll youth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of staff at schools and other youth organizations who communicate with each other about youth |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Density of ties among neighbors • Percent of neighbors who provide "help" to each other | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rate of interaction among parents of neighborhood youth |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility rate in neighborhood • Attachment to neighborhood | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in neighborhood organizations |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of adults who know names of neighborhood youth and their parents • Number of adults who are likely to correct behavior of neighborhood youth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of adults who interact regularly with youth in neighborhood |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervision policies (adults available to youth) • Training practices (youth receive skill training) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hours youth work (nonschool hours, not late night hours, fewer than twenty hours per week total) • Wage and promotion structure (opportunities for promotion and responsibility) |

Table 5.4: Early Outcomes and Indicators of Community-Based Youth Development Initiatives (continued)

Community Strategy	Early Outcomes
<p>Provide Free-Time Activities That Support Youth Development</p>	<p>Available programs and activities during nonschool hours</p>
	<p>High-quality programs and activities during nonschool hours</p>
<p>Reform Schools</p>	<p>Teaching methods reflect best practices</p>
	<p>School policies ensure collective responsibility</p>
	<p>Schools linked to other institutions to ensure continuity across settings and communication with other caregivers</p>
<p>Reform Other Institutions</p>	<p>Services located in community</p>
	<p>Services are safe and accessible</p>
	<p>Staff are knowledgeable about, responsive to, and respectful of families and youth in the community</p>

Sample Indicators

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of volunteer opportunities available • Number of jobs, internships, apprenticeships available • Number of recreation centers and youth organizations serving neighborhood | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of slots/programs available for appropriate activities, by age • Number of nonorganization-based activities available for teens |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent time youth spend in activities with low staff/volunteer to youth ratios • Proportion of staff trained in youth development practices | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of activities planned by youth • Youth included in decision-making bodies |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of time students spend in instruction with adult to youth ratio of 15:1 • Percent of time students engaged in cooperative learning | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of time students engaged in project based activities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff assessments linked to student performance • Staff involved in decision making about resources and strategies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information on student performance made available to the community on a regular basis |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School staff has contact information on youth organizations serving its students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools hold periodic meetings with key staff from other youth organizations |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average distance to “service” center (recreation, police, health care, welfare, etc) | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of transportation • Hours of operation in evenings and on weekends | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact information widely publicized |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of residents on advisory boards or other decision-making bodies • Percent of staff available who speak same language as clients | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of staff receiving professional development opportunities |

APPENDIX B

TABLE 5.5: Measuring Early Outcomes of Community-Based Youth Development Initiatives

Community Strategy	Early Outcomes
<p>Strengthen Families’, Neighbors’, and Employers’ Capacity to Support Youth Development</p>	Developmentally supportive parenting practices
	Parents who have access to other caregivers of youth
	Strong neighborhood support networks
	Strong neighborhood cohesion
	Neighborhood monitoring
	Developmental employment practices
<p>Provide Free-Time Activities That Support Youth Development</p>	Available programs and activities during nonschool hours
	High-quality programs and activities during nonschool hours

Sample Indicators

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House meetings hosted by neighbors • Focus groups with youth and parents • Surveys of parents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of youth • Reports by teachers and other youth workers |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus groups with parents • Surveys of parents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of youth workers • Surveys of school staff |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House meetings hosted by neighbors • Focus groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood survey of adults |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City administrative records • Neighborhood organizations' records | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with neighborhood associations • Neighborhood survey of adults |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus groups with neighborhood youth and parents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood survey of adults and youth |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of employers' written policies and guidelines • Interviews with business associations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employer surveys • Youth surveys |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City department of recreation records • Employer survey • School district records and/or secondary school survey | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth organization survey • Survey of youth |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus groups with youth • Focus groups with youth workers • Surveys of youth and youth workers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of written organizational policies and practices • Observation |

TABLE 5.5: Measuring Early Outcomes of Community-Based Youth Development Initiatives (continued)

Community Strategy	Early Outcomes
<p>Schools</p>	<p>Teaching methods reflect best practices</p>
	<p>School policies ensure collective responsibility</p>
	<p>Schools linked to other institutions to ensure continuity across settings and communication with other caregivers</p>
<p>Other Institutions</p>	<p>Services located in community</p>
	<p>Services are safe and accessible</p>
	<p>Staff are knowledgeable about, responsive to, and respectful of families and youth in the community</p>

Sample Indicators	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School District records • Focus groups with youth • Interviews with school administrators and staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of youth and school staff • Observation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus groups with school staff • Focus groups with parents • Interviews with PTA representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of parents and school staff
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveys of school staff • Surveys of staff in youth organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent surveys
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City records • Agency records 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Department of transportation records • Survey of agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood survey
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of agency documents and written policies • Client survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood focus groups and surveys

Endnotes

1. See, for example, Robert I. Lerman, "Youth in the Nineties: Recent Trends and Expected Patterns," in *Dilemmas in Youth Employment Programming: Findings from the Youth Research and Technical Assistance Project*, vol. 2, ed. Thomas J. Smith and Michelle Alberti Gambone (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1992): pp. 193–244.
2. See, for example, Gary Walker and Frances Villela-Villela, *Anatomy of a Demonstration: The Summer Training and Education Program (STEP) from Pilot through Replication and Postprogram Outcomes* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1992); Jean B. Grossman and Bonnie Halpern-Felscher, *Research Findings on the Effectiveness of Youth Programming: Support for a Developmental Approach* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1993); Thomas J. Smith and Michelle Alberti Gambone, "Effectiveness of Federally Funded Employment Strategies for Youth," in *Dilemmas in Youth Employment Programming*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas J. Smith and Michelle Alberti Gambone. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1992), pp. 15–57.
3. Karen Pittman and Marlene Wright, *Bridging the Gap: A Rationale for Enhancing the Role of Community Organizations in Promoting Development* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, 1991); Michelle Alberti Gambone, *Strengthening Programs for Youth: Promoting Adolescent Development in the JTPA System* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1993); Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *Great Transitions: Preparing Adolescents for a New Century* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1995); Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Out-of-School Hours* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1992).
4. Gambone, *Strengthening Programs*, 1993.
5. For a review of the research on the characteristics distinguishing youth "resilient" to risk from those who are not, see Bonnie Bernard, *Fostering Resiliency in Kids: Protective Factors in the Family, School, and Community* (Portland, Ore.: Western Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1991); and Robert Blum and Peggy Rinehart, *Reducing the Risk: Connections That Make a Difference in the Lives of Youth* (Minneapolis: Division of General Pediatrics and Adolescent Health, University of Minnesota, 1997). For research on the relationship of risk behaviors with long-term outcomes see Lerman, *Youth in the Nineties*, 1992, or Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *Great Transitions*, 1995; or Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *A Matter of Time*, 1992.
6. Pittman and Wright, *Bridging the Gap*, 1991; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *Great Transitions*, 1995; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, *A Matter of Time*, 1992; Peter Scales, *A Portrait of Young Adolescents in the 1990s: Implications for Promoting Healthy Growth and Development* (Carrboro, N.C.: Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991); James P. Connell, J. Lawrence Aber, and Gary Walker, "How Do Urban Communities Affect Youth? Using Social Science Research to Inform the Design and Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives," in *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts*, ed. James P. Connell et al. (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute, 1995), 93–126; Urban Strategies Council, *Call to Action: An Oakland Blueprint for Youth Development* (Oakland, Calif.: Urban Strategies Council, 1996).
7. One effort to move away from the lists of competencies and traits used in many frameworks has been proposed by James P. Connell and Michelle Alberti Gambone, *Youth Development in Community Settings: A Community Action Framework* (Philadelphia: Community Action for Youth Project, 1998). We argue that lists of competencies have promoted a fragmented approach to youth by encouraging funders and programs to focus on one or two narrow developmental

outcomes as a means of achieving long-term success (as evidenced by the proliferation of self-esteem programs, problem-solving and decision-making curricula, sexual abstinence clubs, drug prevention programs, violence prevention programs, etc.). We argue that a more holistic list of accomplishments—learning to be productive, to connect, and to navigate—which are evidenced through behavior, serve as better developmental markers of being prepared to make the transition from adolescence to adulthood. The argument for this approach, however, is relatively new and does not represent a consensus in the field.

8. Each framework and initiative is listed in the bibliography. Many of the reports on frameworks include summaries of research linking the supports and opportunities to developmental outcomes and long-term outcomes and are written for practitioners.
9. Cynthia Sipe, *Mentoring: A Synthesis of Public/Private Ventures' Research 1988–1995* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1996); Shepherd Zeldin, Mary Kimball, and Lauren Price, *What Are the Day-to-Day Experiences That Promote Youth Development? An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Adolescents and Their Families* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, 1995); Smith and Gambone, "Effectiveness of Federally Funded Employment Strategies," 1992; Bonnie Bernard, *Fostering Resiliency in Kids*, 1991; Public/Private Ventures, *Community Ecology and Youth Resilience: A Report to the Annie E. Casey Foundation* (Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1994).
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Theories of Change for Community Interventions in Education

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Better schools and educational outcomes are key elements in revitalizing distressed communities. Schooling is a means of improving the life chances of children and, directly or indirectly, the quality of life of adults as well. The good news is that there is no lack of ideas for how to make schools better. In the past fifteen years especially, successive waves of reform have washed over schools. The bad news is that most schools in distressed communities do not add value to students' lives. Too often they warehouse students or—worse—expose them to drugs and violence within school precincts. Curricula seldom relate to issues and problems that pertain to students' lives and communities. Instructional methods reinforce student disengagement and passivity.

School staff are often discouraged or indifferent. Those who care feel unable to change conditions dictated by a distant central office, inadequate resources, or inflexible union rules. Often staff are racially, ethnically, linguistically, and/or socioeconomically different from their students and the rest of the community. They know little about their students' lives except for the problems of poverty that students bring with them to the school, which is ill equipped to address them. Many staff members believe that their students cannot learn, and that the community does not care.

Schools fail to provide their students with systematic opportunities for healthy development. Consequently, students end their school careers with

poor skills and low academic achievement. They are not prepared for work, further education, or productive citizenship.

School reform has not been part of most community change initiatives to date, and for good reason. Schools are hard to include because of their insularity, bureaucracy, and political charge. As Clarence Stone put it, “despite wide recognition of the importance of schools, they remain marginal players in most efforts at community revitalization. The fortress school continues to stand as an obstacle to the renewal of the city and its neighborhoods.”¹

Fortunately, there are examples of communities that have galvanized reform in their schools.² Yet knowledge about how communities can improve schools and why certain initiatives seem to work lags behind. And while a number of careful, full-scale evaluations are currently underway, the field lacks a wide-angle view of the theories of change that underlie the range of possible community interventions in education.

This chapter seeks to fill that gap. We have reviewed the extensive literature on what comprehensive community initiatives or other community groups can do, as initiators or main actors, to improve public elementary and secondary schools and related educational outcomes in their communities. Drawing on this literature, the chapter presents a generic or composite theory of change about how communities can improve education and community outcomes, and five component theories, based on specific types of interventions. Each of the theories identifies specific short-term, intermediate, and longer-term outcomes and suggests how they relate to each other.

Several challenges made the task of analyzing and synthesizing the material on community interventions in education particularly difficult. First, the literature employs multiple definitions of the term “community” to mean:

- Individual residents in a school’s immediate geographic or catchment area
- Nonprofit and community-based organizations (e.g., congregations, advocacy groups, youth-serving organizations, universities, foundations, service clubs)
- Local, state, or federal government officials and agencies that relate to a school’s students, families, or neighborhood

- Informal community groups (e.g., social clubs)
- Professionals, merchants, or other commercial enterprises in a school's catchment area
- Sector (e.g., the business sector or the independent sector) in a city
- Geographic area (e.g., school neighborhood)

Moreover, the literature often includes parents when referring to community, although there is a whole other literature on parental involvement in education. Similarly, educators and students themselves figure in some definitions of the school community but are usually not included in references to the community.

This chapter incorporates material relevant to these multiple definitions of community. It can be argued that any commensurate loss of precision is offset by the greater variety of promising theories and strategies that can be included. It can also be argued that the more inclusive approach accurately reflects a reality in which an increasingly diverse array of actors and strategies shapes education reform.

A second challenge is to limit the inquiry to outcomes at the community level, as distinct from the individual, family, or institutional level. While school reform is essentially an institutional-level outcome, it has implications for individuals, families, and communities as well. The inquiry includes pure community-level outcomes, such as more participatory democracy and stronger communities. However, other outcomes may be framed in terms of changes to the *aggregate* of students or families within a school community.

Another challenge was to categorize the profusion of interventions and initiatives that emerged from the literature, using a classification framework based on five broad types of community interventions.³ Studies, reports, evaluations and other documentation on specific interventions were grouped within types by model. A theory of change was then constructed for each document that was examined.⁴ Next, a theory of change for each type of intervention was constructed through systematic analysis of the theories of change suggested by each piece of documentation. The strong congruence of the theories of change within each type served as confirmation of the typology.

Arranged in a continuum that moves from less to more change in core school functions, the five types of community interventions to improve schools and educational outcomes are:

Community programs in schools encompass the placement of services and programs for children, families, and other community members at or near schools. This chapter focuses on models that seek to engage schools as active partners in these programs and services rather than merely using them as facilities for service delivery. School-linked services and community schools are the principal examples.⁵

School programs in communities denote initiatives in which the community furnishes the means or the impetus for school learning. This incorporates three different models: service learning, community study, and school-based economic development programs. School-to-work programs are considered along with other community study approaches in this type.

Community input consists of initiatives in which citizens, residents, and community groups influence school goals, structures, or practices. Three kinds of intervention are considered: community inquiry, advocacy, and assorted partnerships. Citywide school reform efforts in which community groups or coalitions play leading roles are included in advocacy.

Community and school change describes coordinated efforts to effect significant changes in schools and communities. The chief exemplars are community-building initiatives by organizers or universities that reach out to individuals, groups, and institutions in the community and to educators.

Community-run schools refer to initiatives in which community individuals, groups, or institutions help organize and operate public schools, as in charter schools.

Although the interventions are not mutually exclusive—in fact, one type may incorporate or lead to another—they are distinct and entail substantive differences in timing, stakeholders, strategies, and the specific nature of the changes they seek. Nevertheless, these interventions are expected to produce a number of similar *outcomes*. That is, community interventions in education generally need leadership, vision, and collaborative planning in the short run, and in the long run generally promise to deliver improvements in student learning and ongoing reform. This chapter's composite theory of change highlights the similarities across the five types of community interventions. Differences

across types show up more clearly in the finer-grained theory of change constructed for each type. The rest of this chapter is organized as follows:

Section 1 presents the composite theory of change for community interventions in improving education. It provides an overview of the short-term, intermediate, and longer-term outcomes that are common to three or more of the five types of community interventions.

Section 2 reviews the literature behind the composite and component theories of change. For each of the five types of interventions, it presents a model of the change that is sought, explains the rationale that drives the action, elucidates a theory of change with short-term, intermediate, and long-term outcomes, and discusses the evidence that supports the theory.

Section 3 touches briefly on some measurement issues relating to the theories of change.

Finally, section 4 offers concluding comments, and suggests how various stakeholders in a comprehensive community initiative might make use of the typology and theories of change.

SECTION 1 | A Composite Theory of Change Across Five Types of Community Interventions

It is possible to construct a composite, or generic, theory of change based on the common outcomes in the five types of community interventions for improving education. While a composite eliminates the unique outcomes for particular types and obscures the distinctive pathways among them, it can nonetheless serve as an overview and summary of expected pathways of change.

Table 6.1 presents such a composite. The table displays the outcomes suggested by the literature on three or more of the intervention types. The outcomes are laid out in a logical sequence, which does not necessarily reflect their sequencing in the theory of change generated by each separate type of intervention.

Short-Term Outcomes for Community Interventions in Education

Across all five types of interventions, the short-term outcomes relate to the process of getting the initiative up and running. Typically, this involves developing a common vision of change or a set of agreements and galvanizing leadership and support among residents, parents, and community groups. The

Table 6.1: Composite Theory of Change for Community Interventions in Education

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
Leadership, sponsorship, vision, and commitment	Quality service or program; implementation of improvement strategies	Healthy development Improved student attitudes and participation
Collaborative planning	Parent and community involvement	Student learning and achievement
Staffing	Improved relationships	Sustainable reform
Resources	Improved schooling	More participatory democracy Stronger community

specific assortment of individuals and groups will vary according to the type of intervention pursued. The various actors then engage in a collaborative planning process, which will typically include such issues as staffing, mobilizing resources, and training and technical assistance.

Intermediate Outcomes for Community Interventions in Education

All five types of interventions identify intermediate outcomes that stem from the successful implementation of the proposed reform. At a minimum, the reform is expected to result in the introduction of a high-quality educational program or service. In addition, it is expected that the process of getting the reform in place will increase parent and community involvement, improve the way various community groups and institutions relate to each other, and lead to other improvements in the school.

All five types of community interventions should increase parent and community involvement in education through the process of reform, meaning that parents help their children learn at home, become active in planning for services they will receive, or further their own education. Increased involvement can also mean that parents and community members volunteer in the interventions, serve on decision-making bodies, give input on community needs, take part in public meetings, or monitor implementation of reform strategies. For

community groups, the formation of additional alliances and stepped-up advocacy for children are indicators of greater involvement.

Improved relationships or increased social connections—among parents and teachers, between students and teachers, and between educators, students and the community—are identified as intermediate outcomes in three types of community interventions in education.

Four of the five interventions identify improvements in schools and the education system as an intermediate outcome. This might include an improved climate in a school, the adoption of new curricula or more effective instructional arrangements, changes in assessment techniques, the development of new relationships with the community, or any number of other innovations.

Longer-Term Outcomes for Community Interventions in Education

All five types of interventions identify long-term outcomes that relate to student achievement or well-being, sustainable institutional reform, and stronger communities.

Three of the interventions aim to contribute to students' healthy development, a broad category under which most of the other student outcomes could theoretically be subsumed. Two perspectives on healthy development are evident in the literature. One defines healthy development as the reduction of stress on children and their families through prevention or treatment. The other defines development as growth and progress along psychological, social, moral, and other dimensions.

More specifically, the interventions aim to improve student attitudes about education, including motivation, sense of belonging, and perceptions of adults, school, and work. Increased participation can be measured in terms of attendance, behavior, graduation and dropout rates, and pursuit of postsecondary education.

All five interventions identify increased student learning and achievement as long-term goals. The typical measures are improved scores on standardized tests, but some supplementary or alternative measures are also mentioned in the literature.

Sustainable reform, another widely cited goal, can apply to schools or human services systems. School reform is sustainable to the extent that schools are transformed—reinvented or recultured, to adopt the terminology some in-

terventions use—and to the extent that new relationships with communities are institutionalized. Stable funding is also important to sustaining the reform. In the case of community-run schools, sustainable reform is achieved if other schools or the entire district adopt the advocated reforms.

The last two longer-term outcomes—more participatory democracy and stronger communities—pertain to adults more than to students. The reforms and the process of getting them adopted are expected to increase engagement in public life, as indicated by more opportunities for and higher levels of resident participation in civic affairs, reform efforts, and political processes. Commentators look for this increase in participatory democracy to stimulate social renewal and/or economic revitalization, thereby improving the quality of life.

SECTION 2 | Five Types of Community Interventions

This section describes the five types of community interventions in schools. The discussion of each intervention explains the rationale; articulates a theory of change; identifies some early, intermediate, and long-term outcomes; and discusses the evidence and literature supporting the theory.

TYPE I: COMMUNITY PROGRAMS AT SCHOOLS

Placing community programs in schools aims to improve schools and educational outcomes. The strategy does not attempt to alter school relationships or practices directly. This chapter examines two major models: (1) school-linked services, which involve collaborations between schools and agencies or community groups that provide human services and programs, and (2) community schools, which seek to reinstate schools as community centers. Schools might collaborate with community groups and agencies to provide school-linked services, or use school facilities for programs that respond to a wide range of community needs and interests.

The specific programs and services of both models range widely, reflecting local needs and resources. Programs might include referral or direct service for health, mental health, social welfare, and employment assistance, as well as tutoring, homework assistance, Boy Scouts, computer clubs, mentoring, and childcare.

Rationales for Community Programs at Schools

The literature advances three distinct rationales for community programs at schools. The first suggests that the human service system is too fragmented, inefficient, inaccessible, unresponsive, and ineffective to meet the needs of children and families. Offering integrated, comprehensive services in conjunction with schools is expected to make the system work better, improve services, and remove barriers to learning.

The second rationale is that communities are in decline partly because they lack a center to help generate social capital. Schools are currently too isolated from their communities to fulfill this role. They are also an underused part of the infrastructure of community assets. Community schools that address the needs of community residents and use school facilities for a wide range of purposes will not only prepare children for adulthood, but also increase civic participation and improve community life.

Finally, communities are viewed as lacking adequate or appropriate opportunities for youth development. There may not enough or the right kind of programs, or they are not offered at the right times and places to provide safe, supervised, constructive activities and positive relationships with adults. Placing recreational and academic support programs at schools extends the school day, and provides positive experiences for youth.

Theory of Change for Community Programs at Schools (Type 1)

Although there are separate literatures for school-linked services and community schools,⁶ there is a great deal of conceptual overlap between school-linked services and community schools, including common historical roots. Accordingly, this chapter presents a single theory of change that blends the two models and smooths over differences among the profusion of site-specific programs. Table 6.2 lists the short-term, intermediate, and longer-term outcomes for these community programs.

Short-Term Outcomes for Community Programs at Schools

Both models of community programs identify short-term outcomes relating to the steps involved in getting the program up and running and laying the groundwork for effective service delivery. The importance of several tasks is emphasized in the literature:

Table 6.2: Theory of Change for Community Programs in Schools (Type 1)

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
<p>Leadership and Commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political, agency, and school leaders commit to collaboration for school-linked services or schools as community centers. Concrete agreements are fashioned. <p>Collaborative Planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leaders, frontline staff, and/or community members are involved in planning. Agreements about “owning” the program and working together are operationalized. <p>Knowledgeable and Skilled Staff</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff and volunteers are trained in procedures and best practices. Coordinators are energetic, resourceful, and tied into the community. <p>Earmarked Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resources are acquired and/or shared. <p>Information Systems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Systems are established. Communication among partners and with the public is established and maintained. 	<p>Quality Service</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offered programs and services are comprehensive, integrated, and accessible. The appropriate quantity and quality of programs and services are delivered. <p>Community and Parent Involvement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents and community are involved in negotiating, planning, delivering, and/or evaluating programs and services. Parents are more involved in their children’s education. <p>Program Integration into School</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff and operations of school-linked services are integrated into school functioning. Program is visible in the school. <p>Family Empowerment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Families serve as their own advocates. Families work toward their goals. <p>Responsive Schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School climate improves. Schools restructure teaching and learning. 	<p>Healthy Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child and family well-being increases through reduction in stressors and augmentation of developmental supports. <p>Improved Student Attitudes and Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Behavior in school and community improves. Attendance, promptness, and graduation rates rise. <p>Student Learning and Achievement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Test scores and other measures increase. <p>Systems Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human services system is integrated and comprehensive. Service fragmentation and duplication decrease. Individual agencies are restructured for better service. <p>Stronger Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizens participate in lifelong learning. Civic responsibility increases. Quality of life improves.

Winning leadership and commitment from key stakeholders in the schools, communities, and service agencies. Various commentators stress the importance of winning the approval of political and administrative leaders in order to establish school-linked services. Community school initiatives may need the endorsement of education and community leaders. Several studies note the importance of developing concrete agreements, preferably written, which spell out specific policies and procedures for collaboration.

Developing a collaborative planning process that includes the major stakeholders. Commentators suggest the individuals who should be involved in collaborative planning and which agency or group should own the program. Evidence on the effectiveness of different approaches is mixed, however. Thus, Mary Wagner, Lynn Newman, and Shari Golan's study of California's Healthy Start program found that shared leadership, joint decision making, and a sense of ownership did not affect service effectiveness, while a report on Missouri's Caring Communities initiative linked growth in relationships and alliances among various service providers to a corresponding increase in knowledge of student and family needs and improved planning.⁷

Developing skilled and knowledgeable staff. The literature also stresses the need for qualified program staff and volunteers, and highlights the importance of training and technical assistance. Dianna Gomby and Carol Larson's review of the empirical work on staffing reinforces the notion that staff training and leadership are critical factors in providing school-linked services.⁸ John Kalafat and Robert Illback concluded that the coordinator, staff, volunteers, and the school principal were the most important factors in the success of ten well-functioning family resource and youth centers in Kentucky.⁹ Some studies identify staff traits, such as energy, resourcefulness, persistence and managerial style, as crucial.¹⁰

Earmarking resources. Commentators agree that the planning and operation of community programs at schools require specifically earmarked and timely infusions of resources. While there is some emphasis on shared resources as key to collaboration and integration, commentators are generally unconcerned about where resources come from and whether they are fresh or reallocated.

Development of information systems for program operators. The community schools literature stresses the need for ongoing information from the

public about community needs, while the school-linked services literature focuses on documenting individual needs and services.

Intermediate Outcomes for Community Programs at Schools

Once policies, procedures, staff, resources, and information systems are in place, a series of intermediate outcomes can mark progress toward the ultimate goals of improved schools and educational outcomes. The interim outcomes identified in the literature relate to the quality of programs and services, the degree of parent and community involvement, integration of the program into the school, family empowerment, and broader-based school reforms.

Service quality. The literature provides a variety of indicators for assessing the quality of services. Commentators on school-linked services generally agree that services should be comprehensive and integrated, but differ on the definition of those terms. Comprehensiveness, for example, may refer to a continuum of prevention, early intervention, and treatment for diverse constituencies, or to a continuum of referral, direct service, and advocacy, or may consist of still other elements. The literature includes multiple dimensions for measuring the quality of service delivery, including numbers served, types and orientation of services, duration, patterns of use across populations, delays in accessing services, exits from service, and client satisfaction. There is consensus that programming should be diverse and accessible enough to attract people of various ages, needs, and interests.

Empirical evidence suggests that quality service programs have been established in some schools in California through Healthy Start.¹¹ Carol Nasworthy and Magdalena Rood indicate that teachers and parents in Texas perceived that the Cities in Schools programs met their service targets.¹²

Increased parental and community involvement. Locating community programs at schools is expected to increase parent and community involvement in the schools. Indicators can include volunteering in a program activity, participating in governance of the program, contributing resources, or joining advocacy efforts. Some commentators expect that parents will feel more comfortable at the school, become more interested and involved in school activities, and possibly increase their involvement in their children's education at home. In a review of data from evaluations of forty-nine community schools, Joy Dryfoos reported that nearly a quarter of these programs experienced increases in parent involvement.¹³

Family empowerment. A few commentators predict that progressive involvement in school-based programs will empower families to access services they need, act as their own advocates, and reach their own goals. Indeed, Dryfoos found that programs reported better access to health care services for children in community schools.¹⁴

Integration of the program into the school. Some commentators anticipate that community programs will be integrated into the schools' own operations, and as communication and joint staff activities increase, teachers', parents', and students' belief in the program's efficacy and importance will grow. Evidence from several studies suggests that such integration is problematic, however. Wagner and Golan found evidence that services were integrated into schools in California's Healthy Start initiative, but early findings from Missouri's Caring Communities program indicate that school staff's initial expectations for help from service personnel were disappointed.¹⁵ Claire Smrekar's case study of four Kentucky family resource centers notes the irony that practices like having separate entrances for service centers at schools to protect parents' privacy actually keeps teachers from appropriate knowledge of and involvement in their students' lives.¹⁶

Broader school reform. Expectations about the effects community programs might have on schools range from moderate improvements in climate and curriculum, such as greater teacher sensitivity to youth issues and more community resources for enrichment, to a profound restructuring of classroom and school practice, such as a developmental focus and systematic removal of barriers to student learning. Only a few commentators, however, expect schools to change much as a result of integrating community programs. Evidence from actual programs is mixed: Elaine Morley and Shelli Rossman's study of seventeen sites nationwide describes school restructuring that has resulted when Cities in Schools programs brought services to schools.¹⁷ However, Wagner and Golan found that even integrated programs were unrelated to schoolwide improvements, and that neither inter-staff communication nor integration was related to increased student attendance or achievement.¹⁸

Longer-Term Outcomes for Community Programs at Schools

In the longer term, community programs at schools are expected to enhance child and family well-being, improve education outcomes, accomplish systems change in human services delivery, and produce stronger communities.

Healthier children and families. Numerous commentators expect that increased access to high-quality services and developmental supports aimed at prevention and treatment will reduce stresses, unmet needs, and risk behaviors and contribute to family strength, safety, and children's resiliency.¹⁹

Improved school outcomes. Some commentators also predict that students will feel more positive about school, and consequently attend more, be more engaged in schoolwork, and experience fewer behavior problems. As a result, students will be more likely stay in school longer, return to school if they drop out, and enter postsecondary education. A number of commentators expect students to score higher on standardized tests, get better grades, make academic progress, and be better prepared for the workforce.

Evidence is mixed that community programs in schools are achieving the longer-term outcomes of child and family well-being and school achievement. The Cities in Schools studies by Nasworthy and Rood as well as Morley and Rossman report signs of healthy development, improved student attitudes and participation, and, according to parents, improved student learning and achievement.²⁰ Kalafat and Illback also saw student behavior improve.²¹ Anne Lewis found that students' discipline problems and tardiness decreased, attendance went up, and achievement increased, though only for children whose parents were directly involved in the initiative.²² Lisbeth Schorr reports progress in some areas for some students in Missouri's Caring Communities program, but not for others.²³ Wagner and Golan's study of Healthy Start showed no improvement in students' substance abuse, sexual activity, gang activity, or even school attendance.²⁴ Dryfoos reported that in thirty-six programs, academic gains were reported, though in a small number of cases only those who received special services experienced such gains.²⁵ Dryfoos also found that nineteen programs reported improvements in school attendance.

Systems reform. It is expected that community programs in schools can advance systems reform in human service delivery. Indicators that such change is occurring can include evidence that a youth development infrastructure is

being created, processes are being reformed, agencies are being restructured, and partnerships that reduce fragmentation, duplication, and cost are being sustained.

Stronger communities. Finally, a few proponents argue that community schools will produce stronger communities by improving the quality of life and providing opportunities for participation in lifelong learning, leadership development, and the exercise of civic responsibility.²⁶

TYPE 2: SCHOOL PROGRAMS IN COMMUNITIES

A second type of community intervention to improve schools places school programs in communities, or connects school learning to the community or to real-world problems as experiential or contextualized learning. This chapter focuses on three experiential learning models: service learning, community study, and school-based community economic development enterprise. In practice, schools often combine service with community study, and community study with school-based economic development.

Service learning is usually defined as student performance of community service with systematic opportunities for reflection on that experience. Students might volunteer in a soup kitchen, check on the well-being of senior citizens, and help out at nursing homes, other schools, or any number of other settings. While students usually volunteer their labor, some programs offer them stipends or other remuneration.

Community study, also called community-based or community-focused learning, makes community the curriculum. Examples include environmental inventories, oral histories, and school community newspapers. Another approach is to link the classroom to the world of employment. For example, school-to-work programs, which combine formal classroom study with work experience in businesses and community agencies, may offer apprenticeships, internships, job shadowing, mentoring, or other community employment. Career academies provide career-themed learning and workplace experience.

School-based economic development. Equally varied but less common, this approach involves students in selling goods and services. Examples include student-run daycare, print shops, photography studios, construction companies, and catering businesses. Among the best-known programs is Rural Entrepreneurship through Action Learning (REAL) in the Southeast.²⁷

Both service learning and school-to-work programs are widespread and have been bolstered by recent legislation. In contrast, school-based enterprise is comparatively rare and appears to be more rural than urban.

Rationale

The literature provides a set of common rationales for placing school programs in the community.

Because of changes in families and the workplace and erosions in civil society, youth lack opportunities for healthy development. Youth are isolated from adults and significant events in the social environment. Trapped in compulsory youth, they are suspended between dependence and independence without a constructive role in the community. Their lack of social connectedness breeds cynicism and risky behavior. Service learning, school-to-work, and school-based economic development enterprise respond to these problems.

Youth are unprepared to take on adult roles, especially work. They lack job-related experience. Perhaps because there has not been a coordinated system to link youth with employers, employers harbor negative perceptions of youth's work attitudes and skills. School-to-work programs are responses to these problems.

Schooling, as conventionally constituted, holds students back. Curriculum and instruction are so abstract and irrelevant to students' current and future lives that many become unmotivated and drop out. Not only do schools separate knowledge from application, they also misconstrue knowledge as fixed and simplistic. Moreover, schools foster individual competition, and thereby fail to acknowledge the social dimension of learning and problem solving. Schools are often isolated from their communities. They are out of step with the changing economy and technological advances, are politically passive, and do not contribute to their communities' infrastructure. Community study, school-to-work, and school-based economic enterprise are seen as remedies to these problems.

Finally, the quality of community life is in decline. A shrinking economic base means a lack of job opportunities for youth, especially in rural areas. The environment is also being compromised. A hidden curriculum that discounts minority and rural cultures speeds the decline. Community study and school-based enterprise are expected to stem the decline.

Theory of Change for School Programs in Communities (Type 2)

The scope and depth of literature on school programs in communities varies by program. Although one commentator has noted that research on experiential education is still in an early stage of development overall, much has been written on service learning and school-to-work programs. The service learning literature includes several thoughtful multimethod surveys conducted in the 1980s and, more recently, an extensive case study of a social justice course in a Catholic school that required students to volunteer in a community soup kitchen. The school-to-work literature includes some large-scale quantitative studies, mixed method studies, and case studies.²⁸

The literature on other community study and community economic development programs is fairly modest and tends to consist of anecdotal accounts or program descriptions.²⁹

Table 6.3 lays out a theory of change across the several experiential learning models.

Short-Term Outcomes for School Programs in Communities

The short-term outcomes identified in the literature relate primarily to the steps involved in getting the program in place. These entail developing leadership and vision, establishing a collaborative planning process, and making arrangements for staffing, resources, and communication among the key players.

Developing leadership and vision. School programs in communities can be initiated and led by a committed individual or group from a school, the community, or an existing coalition. Several studies suggest the important role that vision can play in implementing experiential learning programs. Thus, James Youniss and Miranda Yates concluded from their case study of a social justice course in a Washington, D.C., Catholic school that successful community service programs are integral to a school's identity and mission and have an explicit ideological frame.³⁰ The erosion of a vision, in the case of Milwaukee's districtwide school-to-work program, considerably weakened implementation of what was to be a far-reaching program.³¹ What counts for vision in the literature ranges from the adoption of a political-moral ideology, such as democratic activism, to the promotion of key principles, such as the integration of work-based and school-based learning. Some commentators cite the need to specify goals and even suggest formalizing them in a compact.³²

Table 6.3: Theory of Change for School Programs in Communities (Type 2)

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
<p>Leadership and Vision</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School, community group, or existing coalition gathers support for the experiential education vision. • Partners adopt a shared vision (mission, themes, or ideology). <p>Collaborative Planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partners (possibly through intermediaries) plan for community learning venues, especially for school-to-work. • Teachers plan together. <p>Staffing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School personnel take the lead. • School-to-work initiatives designate a nonteaching coordinator to work out logistics. <p>Resources and Training</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community venues or issues are identified and developed. • Teachers learn together and learn from each other. <p>Communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents and the public are informed. 	<p>Curriculum Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community-based learning curriculum is framed around meaningful projects or issues. • Curriculum builds in reflection. • Curriculum integrates community-based and school-based instruction. <p>Implementation of Experiential Learning Activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activities provide personal support. • Activities provide developmental opportunities. <p>Improved Community Perceptions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members see students in new light. <p>Improved Youth Attitudes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students see adults and themselves in new light. <p>Increased Social Connections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students feel more connected to peers, school, and community. 	<p>Healthy Youth Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students develop psychologically, morally, socially, and intellectually. <p>Citizenship</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students value and increase their community activity. • Students learn the skills of community life. <p>Career Awareness and Preparation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students increase knowledge of careers. • Students plan for the future. • Students' employability skills increase. <p>Student Learning and Achievement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding grows. • Knowledge of community-based learning situations increase. • Test scores may increase. <p>Educational Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dropout rates may decrease. <p>Sustainable Reform</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools institutionalize experiential learning. • Employment and training agencies routinely work with schools and employers. <p>Stronger Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities are revitalized economically. • Social capital increases.

Developing a collaborative planning process.³³ A variety of partners needs to be involved in the collaborative process. While intermediaries may convene the partners and smooth the way, school personnel are key players, especially in school-to-work initiatives. In these programs, it is also important that someone, often a nonteaching coordinator, establish contact with employers and broker job placements. Research supports the view that collaboration between the school and its community partners cannot be left to chance or goodwill.³⁴ In a study of four New Futures cities, Gary Wehlage and his colleagues reported a high level of commitment, both from school personnel and other partners, in his study of four New Futures cities; however, this finding was not replicated as fully in other studies.³⁵ Collaboration also applies to teachers, who need to learn and plan together for experiential education.

Staff development. Several studies emphasize the importance of ongoing staff development for teachers involved in experiential learning.³⁶ Teachers need to know, for example, how to develop, adapt, and integrate experiential learning into the curriculum, and need to learn about community development. They may acquire the requisite understanding either through hands-on experience or training, which includes opportunities for dialogue and reflection with other teachers. A side benefit is that they may end up as community experts.³⁷

Access to resources. Successful programs, school-to-work in particular, need resources, such as stable funding and technical support, in addition to community venues for student study and work.

Communication. Communication—among collaborating partners and with the public—is also vital in such initiatives. A study of state and local implementation of national school-to-work standards found that parents and others in focus groups supported experiential learning when they understood it.³⁸

Intermediate Outcomes for School Programs in Communities

Intermediate outcomes for school programs begin with the successful implementation of the key features of community-based instruction and experiential learning activities and move on to the changes that such learning experiences are expected to produce in student attitudes and social connections, and the way students are viewed by local adults.

Implementation of a community-based learning curriculum. The empirical literature prescribes three basic features in the design of an experiential

learning curriculum: It should be framed around meaningful projects or issues, build in opportunities for reflection, and integrate community-based instruction with school-based instruction. The importance of crafting community-based experiences that are locally and personally relevant and socially useful is stressed in a number of empirical studies.³⁹

Building in opportunities for students to reflect on their experiences is meant to help them make academic and personal sense of the roles they are taking in the community. Several studies suggest that this process is critical to changing attitudes and behavior. In their study of twenty-seven strong community service programs, Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin determined that the presence of a formal and at least weekly reflective seminar proved the single strongest factor in explaining positive student change, a finding replicated by others.⁴⁰ The integration of community-based instruction with school-based instruction is considered especially crucial in school-to-work programs.

Implementation of experiential learning. A defining feature of experiential learning is that it enables students to apply their learning and engage productively in the real world. Commentators advance two principle ways of ensuring that this can happen. Some assert that the most effective service learning experiences provide *developmental opportunities* in which students make difficult judgments, accept blame or praise, and consider new ideas. Others urge the provision of personal support for students in school-to-work programs through individualized career and educational guidance, mentoring, and smaller school environments. Most commentators assume that giving students options for participation and placement makes their experience more meaningful and enhances other outcomes.

Improved community perceptions of youth. As students create products of value in the real world, it is anticipated that the community will begin to see them and their schools in a new light.

Improved attitudes and perceptions and social connections among youth. Student perceptions, attitudes, and behavior are likely to change as they become more motivated, construct new self-images, and feel more positive toward adults. For example, Conrad and Hedin compared student outcomes across four different forms of experiential education (service, outdoor adventure, career experience, and community study/political action), and found that student attitudes toward adults improved in all but the career experience model.⁴¹

Evidence is mixed about the extent to which such positive attitudes carry over to school performance. Thus, Choya Wilson's evaluation of Milwaukee's school-to-work program reported that teachers perceived that their students showed increased enthusiasm and higher levels of interest and effort.⁴² They caution, however, that much work remains to be done, despite improved data on behavior, discipline referrals, and truancy.

Students' social connections are also expected to expand. Contact with a wider range of people and problems, and more congenial interaction with adults is expected to increase youths' feelings of connectedness both to the community and to their peers.

Longer-Term Outcomes for School Programs in Communities

The long-term outcomes for interventions that place school programs in communities include, for individuals, enhanced development along a variety of dimensions, enhanced citizenship, improved employability preparation, and increased educational achievement. Some observers also expect experiential learning to produce lasting changes in schools and communities.

Healthy youth development. Enhanced psychological, moral, social, and intellectual development among student participants is expected to be a primary longer-term outcome of experiential learning. In general, students who participate in experiential learning are expected to be increasingly autonomous and independent and to make a successful transition to adulthood. Increases in moral reasoning, personal sense of responsibility, and open-mindedness and related attributes are expected to increase. Students' social skills are also expected to improve.

Decades of research support the view that community-based learning contributes to healthy development. Richard Kraft, Dan Conrad, and Diane Hedin cite dozens of studies showing gains in multiple measures of students' self-esteem, self-concept, sense of efficacy, and personal responsibility. Both individual identity and one's membership in a particular community are influenced.⁴³

Enhanced citizenship. Citizenship can be enhanced as students develop a positive view of being active in the community and come to believe that differences among community members can be negotiated and that they themselves can make a difference. Experiential learning also helps students learn about and

develop the skills of community life, such as organizational processes. Several researchers report on studies that show long-term effects of community service on civic participation, such as voting, joining voluntary organizations, and holding leadership positions in the community.⁴⁴

Improved employment preparation. School-to-work programs in particular, although not exclusively, are expected to increase student career awareness, ability to plan for the future, and basic employability skills. Commentators discuss career awareness with regard to career paths, workplace norms, and the role of bias and discrimination in employment. Enhanced ability to plan for the future relates to the identification of career goals, the ability to handle career transitions, and the development of strategies for obtaining the necessary credentials and jobs. Employability skills not only include punctuality, regular attendance, and the ability to follow directions, but also the ability to function as a team member, readiness for entrepreneurship, and the ability to get high-skill jobs.

There is evidence that experiential learning enhances students' career awareness and readiness by improving their attendance, dress, and communication skills.⁴⁵ Conrad and Hedin showed that career experience was more likely than other types of experiential learning to increase career awareness. They note, however, service learning and community study also increased career awareness, and that information about careers can be conveyed equally well in classrooms.⁴⁶

Improved educational outcomes. The literature also describes expectations that experiential learning will produce gains in student learning, achievement, and educational participation. Some commentators describe their expectations in general terms of more efficient learning and more holistic understanding. Others anticipate that experiential learning programs will induce more students to enter and/or complete postsecondary education and training, and some set very precise targets on such measures. Relatively few commentators, however, claim that experiential learning will increase school achievement, lower dropout rates, or increase graduation rates.

Limited empirical evidence exists. Conrad and Hedin reported that students found experiential learning personally significant, and that it increased specific though not general knowledge about their placement.⁴⁷ In contrast, Wehlage reported that authentic instruction and assessment, of which expe-

riential learning was a part, produced higher academic achievement especially by the most economically and educationally disadvantaged students.⁴⁸ Progress toward graduation and/or higher graduation rates were reported by James Kemple and JoAnn Rock, Martha Martinez and colleagues, and again for the most economically and educationally disadvantaged by Wehlage.⁴⁹

Improvements in schools and communities. Finally, some commentators expect experiential education to produce lasting changes in schools and communities. They anticipate the transformation of curriculum and instruction. They also look toward the spread of reform, from career academies to whole schools, from schools to districts and communities, and from state and local education agencies to employment and training agencies. Commentators' expectations for experiential education's impact on communities include economic revitalization, social revitalization, and school reform. Changes profound enough to suggest that sustainable reform had been achieved in schools were reported by a number of researchers.⁵⁰ In contrast, the federal School-to-Work Office's early results suggested mixed success at the local level in achieving the partnerships, realignment of resources, and interlocking policies that are prerequisites for sustaining school-to-work programs and broader educational reform.⁵¹ The literature does not yet offer evidence for or against the outcome of stronger communities, though stronger communities remain a keen hope for experiential education's proponents.

TYPE 3: COMMUNITY INPUT

A third type of community intervention is input by citizens and community organizations on goals, structures, and educational practices through community inquiry and advocacy.

Community inquiry. This denotes a class of processes in which the public, usually at the request of educators, systematically identifies and examines issues related to schooling. These dialogues, forums, study circles, or town meetings, generally involve the community broadly, but may first involve one or more small groups in identifying issues and possible choices. While inquiries elicit participants' personal experience, assumptions, and interests, they are generally apolitical.

Advocacy. This type of intervention involves disparate efforts by community groups or coalitions to press their vision of education reform. As systems

advocacy, as opposed to individual or case advocacy, these efforts may entail organizing parents or other community residents, whose personal concerns help formulate the reform agenda in some advocacy initiatives. In others, personal concerns lend support for neighborhood or citywide issues that have already been identified. Citywide advocacy tends to involve interest groups coalescing around a reform agenda, which produces a decided political cast that does not always correspond to partisan politics.

Rationale

The literature offers fairly clear rationales that can be summarized as:

Current school reforms are not working. The educational system needs to redefine and update its mission, but educators cannot agree on goals. Change requires public input.

On the one hand, schools are not listening to parents, the business community, or taxpayers, nor to teachers and principals. On the other hand, the public is disengaged. Public frustration and skepticism have reached the point that support even for the concept of public education has eroded. No organized public represents the public's interests. Community inquiry brings the public back to the table. Advocacy also brings the agenda of particular stakeholder groups to the table *and* helps shape reforms that will work.

Race and cultural differences in schools create barriers that must be addressed. Schools provide inadequate services to poor, minority, limited English-speaking, and immigrant children because their parents are isolated and rendered impotent. Only strenuous advocacy will get these children appropriate educational services. Further, schools cut students off from their communities by taking learning out of a community's social context. Bringing communities more directly into dialogue and decision making with schools will ease this problem.

Theory of Change for Community Input (Type 3)

The literature on community input includes descriptions, normative guides, and empirical work.⁵² The community inquiry literature is heavily weighted toward the descriptive and normative. Case studies predominate in the advocacy literature, and are generally thorough and thoughtful.⁵³

The outcomes suggested by a theory of change that captures the main features of this type of community intervention in education are shown in Table 6.4.

Short-Term Outcomes for Community Input in Schools

Both advocacy and inquiry efforts begin by seeking to transform the concerns of disparate individuals or groups into public problems that the larger community or coalition adopts as its own. These initiatives need to develop a process for public talk, which typically requires a community organization or coalition to spearhead the effort. The steps in the process, shown as outcomes in Table 6.4, begin with issue identification and exploration, and end with consensus building and mobilization.

Issue identification. The first step is to identify educational issues of concern for parents and community residents, which might be done through home visits, focus groups, resident surveys, or other community organizing activities. Small group deliberation may precede community-wide participation.⁵⁴ Issues around which communities have coalesced include drugs, violence, lack of parent and community involvement, high student/adult ratios in school, inequitable discipline for minority students, and insensitivity to cultural differences.

Issue exploration. Efforts to explore the issues in more detail may require obtaining additional data about the problem and its proposed remedies. Case descriptions of reform in Chicago document such efforts among a variety of community groups.⁵⁵ To gain clarity, public inquiry discussions should encourage participants to air divergent perspectives, question assumptions, and debate the pros and cons of possible solutions.

Building community capacity. Involving parents and residents in identifying, researching, and analyzing issues and mobilizing support can build community capacity in several areas. Participants develop knowledge and skills through their experiences as well as through formal leadership training, when available. Community capacity increases as individuals gain insights on the status of specific issues and learn how school and community systems operate and how power is used. Mary O'Connell and Josie Yanguas and Sharon Rollow describe how a citywide teachers' strike and neighborhood power struggle in Chicago created indigenous leaders, while Aurelio Montemayor describes how parent experience in delivering speeches, running meetings, and organizing conferences for other parents increased community capacity in San Antonio.⁵⁶

Table 6.4: Theory of Change for Community Input (Type 3)

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
<p>Process for Public Talk</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community group, institution, or coalition sponsors process for public input. <p>Issue Identification</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal concerns and interests are transformed into public problems. <p>Issue Examination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data gathering to flesh out issue occurs. <p>Community Capacity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community members gain knowledge and skills on specific issues and participatory democracy. <p>Consensus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stakeholders find common ground. <p>Mobilization of Support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alliances are made with other individuals, groups, or sectors in the community. 	<p>Action Plan and Action</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information is disseminated to public and officials. Multiple tactics are used to impel official acceptance of the reform agenda. Plans include community monitoring of implementation and impact. <p>Implementation of Improvement Strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools begin implementation of reforms. <p>Improved Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents, community members, and educators increase knowledge and respect for each other. Authentic dialogue takes place. <p>Mutual Accountability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educators and community accept their respective responsibilities for education. <p>Improved Education System</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools and systems function better. 	<p>Student Learning and Achievement</p> <p>Improved Student Attitudes and Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendance and attainment increase. <p>More Participatory Democracy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents and community participate more in school and public life. <p>Stronger Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public work gets done. <p>Sustainable Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public stays tuned in to issues. School officials respond more readily to issues.

Consensus building. Shared understandings that cumulate from the early stages of the process help participants find common ground and reach consensus on solutions. Some commentators point out that stakeholder groups reach consensus on a vision or reform agenda because of *overlapping* interests, not necessarily because of *shared* values.⁵⁷

Mobilization of support. A number of commentators describe the mobilization of support that parallels consensus-building in successful community input initiatives as a two-tiered system, with a tight, committed inner core, and a looser network of outside supporters. The inner core coalesces first and then reaches into the broader community for the outer tier. Local political culture largely determines where it makes sense to solicit support, which might include block clubs, families, political leaders, business leaders, unions, churches, community associations, or other groups. Sooner or later, successful efforts also recruit allies within the education system. The literature documents both success and failure in consensus building. According to Marilyn Gittell and O'Connell, citywide school decentralization succeeded in Chicago because of the inclusive, cohesive coalition that formed. Reform efforts failed elsewhere because no coalition materialized.⁵⁸ The importance of consensus building is also stressed by Anna Speicher, Donald Moore and colleagues, and Clarence Stone.⁵⁹

Intermediate Outcomes for Community Input in Schools

The intermediate outcomes in community input initiatives relate to the community group's ability to win official support for their reforms and implementation.

Development and implementation of action plans. Community inquiry and advocacy initiatives must develop and carry out plans to win support for their reform agenda from the educators who can implement it. Commentators recommend that the group's action agendas include plans to disseminate information through the media and to monitor the implementation of the proposed reform.

The literature on successful community inquiry and advocacy efforts identifies tactics that have proven successful in winning commitments from policymakers and educators.⁶⁰ A controversial issue is when to confront and when to cooperate with education authorities. Researchers report that successful groups were flexible in the action stage, cooperating or confronting authorities as warranted.⁶¹ Some studies underscore the importance of outright political activ-

ity, such as state-level lobbying, in successful citywide efforts.⁶² Moore and colleagues found that the tactics of eight successful advocacy efforts included negotiating as well as organizing protests and filing litigation.⁶³ They concluded that effective groups commanded the competent use of multiple tactics. They note, however, that their recommended advocacy strategies have been most efficacious when authorities were only moderately resistant to the advocacy agenda, and unpredictable in high-resistance situations.

Implementation of school reforms. The implementation of action plans should lead to the implementation of the proposed reforms. The literature describes an array of specific reforms that community initiatives can champion. Some that have been implemented include hiring more minority school personnel, adopting culturally sensitive materials, training staff on cultural differences, upgrading physical facilities and curricula, creating new roles for families in education, and decentralizing schools.

Improved relations between schools and community. The implementation of the reforms should lead to improved relationships between schools and community, mutual accountability, and improvements in the educational system. Local school and community partnerships in particular are expected to result in improved relationships between parents and teachers, and between educators and the community. Toni Jones and Lilian Marti reported more open discussions, more negotiation of parent roles, greater teacher awareness and appreciation of parents, and greater sensitivity to minority parents by the parent-teacher organization in Milwaukee and San Diego as a result of community input.⁶⁴ Yanguas and Rollow found the community increased its trust and respect for competent school officials regardless of their race or ethnicity after a protracted struggle for balanced community input.⁶⁵

Mutual accountability requires the community's active involvement in monitoring implementation and impact, as well as in accepting responsibility for the education of *all* children. Tony Wagner relates how parents agreed to take greater responsibility for improving education and were more ready to support profound changes in their schools after participating in community goal-setting.⁶⁶

Educational reform. The specific improvements in the education system that result from community input initiatives depend on the particular reforms that are pursued. More generally, some commentators expect improvement in

school climate, or more resources for education. Others want to see changes in curriculum, instruction, and assessment that will make for a more successful and equitable daily school experience for all students. Speicher finds evidence of continuing improvement in the allocation and targeting of resources to schools, such as increased school budgets, more texts and supplies, and better repair and maintenance through the intervention of a parents' group in Washington, D.C., and the institution of regular public hearings.⁶⁷ On the whole, however, the evidence that such changes have been accomplished is quite limited.

Longer-Term Outcomes for Community Input in Schools

The literature on community input in schools focuses on three types of long-term outcomes: improved outcomes for students, outcomes relating to community processes, and outcomes relating to the potential for achieving sustainable change.

Outcomes for students. Relatively few commentators predict that community input in schools will improve student attitudes and participation or increase student learning and achievement. Some, however, expect that students will develop more positive views of their identity, capabilities, and ties to the community. Others expect to see increases in attendance and graduation rates in elementary and secondary schools as well as college, reductions in the number of students who fail or are identified for remedial and special education, and increases in standardized tests scores, homework completion, and literacy. Jones and Marti did find that students participated more through increased homework completion, but Barry Rutherford and colleagues found that increased achievement was the least documented outcome across the nine middle schools in their study.⁶⁸

Outcomes for the community and its schools. By contrast, commentators on community input, especially community inquiry, strongly predict it will lead to increases in participatory democracy and sustained reform in local schools. They say citizens will feel more empowered and be more likely to participate in public life. School-community partnerships will grow, and parents and community members will be more likely to step up in school affairs. Greater public support is expected to give reform more staying power. Finally, communities are expected to benefit from increases in practical problem solving that gets public work done. Speicher found evidence of this in Washington,

D.C., where increased numbers of parents mobilized to take on other issues in addition to the one that galvanized them initially.⁶⁹ There is also evidence that parents felt more confident getting involved in school affairs and testifying in public about problems and solutions. Speicher also reported that the community remained more aware of school issues and that school officials reacted more readily as new issues arose. Rutherford and colleagues reported that the establishment of school-community partnerships strengthened the community's ties to school as evidenced by ongoing provision of financial resources, hands-on help, and participation in decision making.⁷⁰ Finally, Richard Hula and colleagues noted that some parts (school-to-work) of an otherwise-defeated reform agenda survived changes in sponsors and stayed on the policy agenda because they succeeded in attracting coalitions.⁷¹

TYPE 4: COORDINATED COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL CHANGE

A fourth type of community intervention is coordinated change in communities and schools. These interventions are most frequently based in the community and build on community organizing efforts that organizations or coalitions sponsor, or on institutional partnerships. They can also be initiated and managed at schools. The reform agenda may include one or more of the other types of interventions discussed in this chapter.

Although there are few prototype models, the number of communities and schools involved in coordinated change is growing. For example, a network of Alliance Schools in the Southwest has grown up through local organizing efforts of the Industrial Areas Foundation, which numbered 146 in Texas alone in the late 1990s.⁷² Similar models were developed in other cities, and a loose network of those who work with university-assisted schools also exists.⁷³

Rationale

The literature suggests several problems that coordinated community and school change initiatives address:

Schools' purview is too narrow. Either schools attend to children's intellectual development alone, or, if they do acknowledge social and psychological development, they target therapeutic interventions to children alone, and not to families and communities. The toxic social environments in which some children and families live can be overcome through a concerted effort by social

and other agencies. The school is a logical center for marshalling those community forces.

Schools currently do not seek to develop students' instrumental intelligence, a requisite capacity for rebuilding cosmopolitan neighborly communities of the kind that John Dewey envisioned. A coordinated agenda for schools and other community groups will promote community improvement and produce future citizens who will be able to sustain it.

Schools cannot prepare students for success in the twenty-first century workplace without active support from their parents and communities. But parents and communities are unaware and unengaged, largely due to their economic and political marginalization. Their mobilization will fuel appropriate activism in school and community.

Schools are not democratic institutions, but autocratic, top-down bureaucracies that import practice from external experts without regard to local conditions or teachers' potential for indigenous invention. Cut off from their students' families and communities, schools cannot promote students' full academic and social development. The expression of educators' and the community's concerns and creativity will help schools become more effective.

Theory of Change for Community and School Change (Type 4)

The small but growing literature on coordinated community and school change consists mostly of normative pieces and extended descriptions and case studies.⁷⁴ Commentators acknowledge their debt to seminal thinkers like Lewin, Dewey, and Alinsky and the fields of community development, community health, psychology, and other disciplines.

Despite disparities in the way business is done in the different models of coordinated change, this chapter represents the models in a single theory of change. Table 6.5 lists the outcomes for each period.

Short-Term Outcomes for Community and School Change

As in the interventions already discussed, the initial outcomes in the theory of change relate to the steps involved in getting the educational reform up and running, which involves coalition building, development of a public agenda, collaborative planning, the provision of training and technical assistance, and an infusion of resources.

Coalition building. The first outcome in coordinated community and school change initiatives is often the formation of a core community coalition. Congregations, universities, or other community groups typically sponsor or convene these coalitions. Partners commit to collaborate and may adopt a set of operating principles or a specific reform agenda. The difficulties of achieving full and equal participation from all interested parties have been documented in several studies. Ethnographic research on James Comer's School Development Project indicates that the model works best when the principal is committed to it, teachers understand it, and parents and educators believe it will achieve its purposes.⁷⁵

Developing a public agenda. Reflection, consisting of personal reflection and public inquiry, is fundamental to neighborhood-based community and school change initiatives. A public agenda is developed through the identification of individual concerns and issues as expressed and explored in a series of home visits, house meetings, and community meetings for community residents and reflective dialogue sessions for educators. The products of reflection and inquiry are awareness of assumptions and beliefs, common understandings about problems and solutions, and consensus for action.

Collaborative planning. Collaborative planning may proceed from collaboration among community residents to collaboration with educators, then with the community at large, and eventually with public officials. School-based models seem to rely more on fixed committees for planning. Esther Robison's evaluation of the collaboration among the Children's Aid Society, two schools, the community school district, and the New York City Board of Education underscores the importance of ongoing collaborative planning.⁷⁶ She found that the original agreements gave flexibility to the collaborative and built in opportunities for the parties periodically to review and reaffirm their goals. This made collaboration easier, as did sharing facilities.

Providing training and technical assistance. Formal or informal training and technical assistance facilitate reflection and collaborative planning. In the community, these supports develop leadership, enhance skills of public life, and increase savvy about school change. In schools, they increase educators' knowledge and skills in order to implement substantive improvements.

Infusion of resources. Increased resources will generally be required to enable the community and educators to participate in collaborative planning

Table 6.5: Theory of Change for Community and School Change (Type 4)

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
<p>Coalition and Commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congregations, universities, community groups, or schools initiate the core coalition. • Partners commit to collaborate. <p>Reflection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public agenda is built up from individual concerns and issues. • Participating community members and educators are aware of their own and others' assumptions. • Participants find common ground and forge a consensus for action. <p>Collaborative Planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning includes the core coalition, community at large, educators, and public officials. <p>Training and Technical Assistance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community participants develop enhanced leadership skills and knowledge about systems change. • Educators develop enhanced knowledge and skills for best practice. <p>Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community economic and/or institutional resources are augmented. 	<p>Improved Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members and educators are more comfortable with each other. • Educators appreciate family and community assets. <p>Parent and Community Engagement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents and community members are more active in school affairs and supporting education. • New supportive alliances develop. <p>Improved School Climate and Practice</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools engage in community problem solving. • Schools restructure teaching and learning. • Schools enhance community access to social or material resources. <p>Implementation of Other Action Strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities exhibit new democratic norms. • Communities act cohesively. 	<p>Healthy Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students develop cognitively, ethically, intellectually, linguistically, psychologically, and socially. <p>Improved Student Attitudes and Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attendance, behavior, and attainment improve. <p>Student Learning and Achievement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standardized test scores increase. <p>Sustainable Reform</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections between communities and schools are stronger. <p>Stronger Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social capital increases. • Community revitalization efforts succeed. <p>More Participatory Democracy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civic engagement increases.

and later to implement improvement strategies. Some argue that the coalition's material support of the community—for example, through jobs, business incubation, or pooled purchasing from local enterprises—provides necessary stability and helps persuade the community of the initiative's value. Lee Benson and Ira Harkavy and Richard Murnane and Frank Levy found that a lack of community resources and stability in communities in Philadelphia and Austin, respectively, kept residents from engaging in coordinated change efforts.⁷⁷ The former concluded that community economic development was almost a precondition for engaging the community in planning.

Intermediate Outcomes for Community and School Change

The theory of change for coordinated community and school change interventions identifies several intermediate outcomes, including changes in how the various partners relate to each other, parental and community engagement in schools, improvements in schools, and changes in community action.

Improvement in relationships. Improved relationships among the various partners are central outcomes to most coordinated community and school change efforts, and are the single most important element in some. The theory is that parents and teachers will feel more comfortable with each other and grow to appreciate each other's contributions to the growth and well-being of the children. Empirical observations provide some support for the theory. Paul Heckman and F. Peterman described how teachers in their six Educational and Community Change Project schools began to see children's families and communities as assets and valued parents' input.⁷⁸ Parents whose children attended schools that were part of the James Comer and Edward Zigler initiative reported feeling that the school was open and welcoming and invited their participation.⁷⁹

Increased parent and community engagement. The process engenders increased parent and community engagement in education and other areas. Parents participate in school decision making, actively support children's learning, and may be more motivated to continue their own education. Increased engagement by community groups, as evidenced by greater advocacy for children, increased coalition membership, and the formation of new alliances, develops social capital among institutions. Various studies provide examples of increased parent and community engagement. Comer and his colleagues docu-

mented parents' greater involvement in their children's education and renewed interest in furthering their own.⁸⁰ Robison saw parents become more active in democratic decision making and participate in helping networks in their neighborhoods.⁸¹ Dennis Shirley recounted parent participation, their emergence as leaders, and the development of new community-level collaborations in Texas.⁸² Benson and Harkavy cautioned, however, that collaboration is still not the norm within their university despite its leadership role in forming collaboratives with external community groups.⁸³

Improvements in schools. As specific reform strategies are implemented, commentators expect nothing less than wholly reinvented schools to result, in which students and teachers create knowledge and engage in community problem solving, and in which the entire community can access programs and services.

Educational changes of considerable magnitude are detailed in several studies. Robison reported that within two years of being established by the Children's Aid Society and New York City school authorities, IS 218 had implemented supports for individual and community development that made a completely new kind of institution out of the existing parts.⁸⁴ Heckman and Peterman described the institution of team teaching, multi-age classrooms, and children's involvement in helping to determine the curriculum in Educational and Community Change Project schools.⁸⁵ Murnane and Levy found new curricula, instructional practices, and other changes in a Texas Alliance school.⁸⁶ Matia Finn-Stevenson and Barbara Stern detected a trickle-up effect of developmentally appropriate curriculum from the preschools through regular schools that participated in the Comer and Zigler Initiative.⁸⁷ The one significant point of disagreement among commentators is whether educators alone or educators and parents should be involved in making decisions and implementing the curricular and instructional reforms.

Improvements in communities. It is further expected that the new type of school will stimulate the development of new social networks. A new civic culture, characterized by democratic norms, dialogue, and mutual accountability, will pervade the community.

Longer-Term Outcomes for Community and School Change

Improvements in outcomes for students. Healthy development and improvements in student learning and achievement represent the chief longer-term outcomes of coordinated community and change initiatives for some commentators. For the Comer and Zigler initiative, healthy development encompasses progress along six developmental pathways: cognitive, ethical, intellectual, language, psychological, and social.

Attendance, graduation, and postsecondary enrollments will increase and dropout rates decrease, and some commentators predict improved standardized test scores.

Heckman and his colleagues found students more engaged in learning, fewer behavioral problems, and encouraging results for student and adult acquisition of new knowledge and skills after four years.⁸⁸ Robison reports that at one reformed school in New York, former troublemakers became social leaders, and destruction of school property, including graffiti, was absent.⁸⁹ Moreover, just six months after the school opened, its eighth graders had higher attendance and test scores in math than did a comparison group. Finn-Stevenson and Stern report a steady rise in test scores for the Comer and Zigler schools they studied.⁹⁰ Murnane and Levy cited student admission to a selective public secondary school in Austin as an indication of improved participation and achievement.⁹¹

Sustained institutional reform. Several commentators anticipate that school reform will be sustained because of the stronger connection between the schools and their communities and lower turnover among school staff. Progress toward sustainable change is nonetheless slow, and it is not clear how long it will take for fully realized community schools of this kind to be established in particular sites.

Stronger communities. Coordinated community and school change initiatives will also have positive effects on the larger community, some commentators assert. Coalition members, as well as students, are expected to gain knowledge and insight. Community and family problems will be ameliorated, and social capital will increase. The enhancement of social capital will in turn spur the metamorphosis of these troubled communities into communities marked by high levels of civic engagement, ongoing public energy for revitalization, and opportunities for participatory democracy. Heckman and colleagues report that community members increased their knowledge and accomplish-

ments, an indication of a strengthened community.⁹² However, they observed that community insiders valued growth in public knowledge and community mobilization, while outsiders valued knowledge about access to power.

TYPE 5: COMMUNITY-RUN SCHOOLS

A fifth type of community intervention is for communities to operate their own schools, such as charter schools. These publicly funded schools are typically organized by private parties, community groups, or coalitions, and operate under special government charters. They may be newly created schools or conversions from existing public or private schools.

The rapid spread of charter schools constitutes a movement that has been described in *Education Week* as a sister to school-based management and a kissing cousin of public school choice.⁹³ Minnesota granted the first charter in 1991, and by the late 1990s, twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia passed charter legislation.⁹⁴ Federal support for charter schools became available in 1994. Estimates of the number of charter schools in operation grew from about 300 in the 1996–97 school year to more than 800 in 1998–99, and this number is expected to continue to grow.⁹⁵ Except for safety and civil rights, most charter schools are not subject to the rules that apply to other public schools, and therefore vary tremendously in curriculum, instructional focus, structure, sponsorship, staffing, and size. Most charter schools are elementary schools, although some span all grades. They tend to have smaller enrollments than other schools in their states. Some screen students for admission, though they are generally racially, ethnically, and economically diverse.

Rationale

The literature suggests four distinct but related rationales for community-run schools:

Regular schools limit educational choices. School districts assign students to particular schools, and then fail to provide meaningful curriculum or appropriate educational experiences. This is particularly true for racial, ethnic, and linguistic minority students, and students at risk of school failure. Charter schools will be able to offer tailored curricula and instructional approaches.

Regular schools are not responsive to their communities. Schools that make education the exclusive province of professional educators fail to make use of rich, reality-based community resources. Charter schools will be better connected to their communities and have access to more appropriate resources for their students.

Innovation in regular schools is stifled by a lack of genuine decision-making authority, lack of help from central offices, and contractual constraints. Freed of bureaucratic restrictions, charter schools will make and act on better decisions.

Regular schools focus on inputs instead of outcomes. School districts' monopoly over regular schools allows for inefficiency and stifles innovation. Consequently, regular schools are not turning out students who are prepared for twenty-first century jobs. As creations of a free market, leaner and meaner charter schools will produce students who are better able to compete in the global economy.

Theory of Change for Community-Run Schools (Type 5)

The literature on charter schools includes policy analyses and legislative summaries, normative commentary, anecdotal or journalistic program descriptions, and a small but growing number of reports of systematic inquiries. As many commentators note, charter schools are still young and can offer only early lessons at this point.

Despite the extensive variation among charter schools, a theory of change can be constructed for community-run schools (Table 6.6).

Short-Term Outcomes for Community-Run Schools

The short-term outcomes are defined by the steps involved in the process of establishing the charter school.

Sponsorship. Sponsorship entails convening those who will organize the school and obtaining the charter. In addition to technical expertise and political acumen, sponsors should have deep community roots and strong ties to teachers. Sponsorship can vary considerably. Educators are typically included in the sponsoring group, but private corporations and labor unions have also signed on. Sponsorship can make a political statement. Amy Stuart Wells and Julie Slayton found that sponsors in California's urban areas tend to be racial

or ethnic minority groups whose schools are designed to focus on a particular heritage.⁹⁶ Districts often interpret this kind of design as a move toward insularity and re-segregation that will harm students.

Autonomy and accountability. Charters grant schools greater autonomy than other public schools in exchange for greater accountability. Autonomy is derived from waivers from regulations governing personnel, procurement, budgeting, curriculum, and instruction. The exact nature of accountability depends on the outcomes specified in a school's charter. Although the state or other agencies may have legal responsibility for evaluating a charter school's success at the end of the charter period, some commentators call for charter schools to monitor their own progress and make adjustments accordingly. The literature provides numerous examples of how charter schools are doing this. Stella Cheung's review of thirty-one successful charter schools in nine states found that they all used multiple criteria, including a combination of standardized tests, teacher assessment, and portfolios, to assess student learning.⁹⁷ Charter schools have also set targets for outcomes relating to student attitudes and behavior, staff development, parent involvement, school climate, fiscal management, and program activities. The Massachusetts Department of Education found that eighteen of twenty charter schools used portfolio assessment, and seven schools were working on other performance-based assessment systems.⁹⁸

Access to funding. As freestanding entities, charter schools must have access to an adequate supply of funds. The resources available to them will depend, in part, on the allocation formulae for education funding, whether the amount is fixed or fluid, their ability to collect compensatory funding, and diverting funds from other schools. There is widespread agreement that charter schools should have access to start-up funds.

RPP's study shows that inadequate resources—specifically the lack of start-up funding—created difficulties for 59 percent of the 227 charter schools surveyed.⁹⁹ The study also found that many charter schools did not claim federal funding, notably Title 1, to which they are entitled. Eric Premack reported anecdotally that shortages of suitable, affordable facilities represented a resource problem for California charter schools.¹⁰⁰

Staffing. Charter schools usually have considerable latitude in staffing. They have been criticized, however, for hiring unlicensed, nonunion teachers and staff and offering substandard pay and benefits. Some commentators think it important

Table 6.6: Theory of Change for Community-Run Schools (Type 5)

Short-Term Outcomes	Intermediate Outcomes	Longer-Term Outcomes
<p>Sponsorship</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals, community groups, agencies, private firms, existing schools, or coalitions obtain charters to operate schools. <p>Autonomy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • States and districts waive regulation for charter schools. • Charter schools are legally autonomous. <p>Accountability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter schools set goals. • Charter schools monitor their progress toward goals. <p>Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter schools access start-up funds. • Charter schools obtain adequate resources to operate effectively. <p>Staffing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter school staff members are qualified to teach. • Charter schools provide adequate pay and benefits. • Charter school administrators possess or access business expertise. <p>Technical Assistance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter schools have access to technical assistance for budget and management. 	<p>Empowered Staff</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter school teachers make decisions about school design and personnel. <p>Quality Program and Family Choice</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families enroll their children in charter schools. • Families maintain students' enrollment and attendance in charter schools. <p>School District Support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Districts offer services to charter schools. • Districts provide oversight. <p>Parent Involvement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents are involved in charter schools. • Requirements for involvement are feasible for all parents. 	<p>Student Achievement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Test scores show gains. • Students progress on other measures. <p>School Viability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter schools meet their goals. • Charter schools' charters are renewed. <p>Increased Reform</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other schools learn from charter schools. • District relationships with other public schools are altered. <p>Cost Savings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter schools provide cost-effective education.

that staff actively choose to work at a particular charter school. Because a charter school is a small business as well as a school, some commentators recommend that administrators be qualified to make decisions on budget and management.

Intermediate Outcomes for Community-Run Schools

The intermediate outcomes flow from changes in how the charter schools operate on a day-to-day basis, including staff empowerment, educational programming, parental choice and involvement, and support from the local district.

Staff empowerment. Teachers in charter schools generally exercise decision-making power over innovations and hiring. Such power is expected to confer professional empowerment and satisfaction. Premack notes that teachers in California charter schools valued their ability to regulate their own and their colleagues' work.¹⁰¹ Sautter confirms that staff at a charter school in Minnesota derived professional satisfaction from having more autonomy.¹⁰²

Quality educational programming. Charter schools are expected to offer excellent programs, but the literature has not yet defined the general attributes. RPP documented that the ability to implement particular innovations was the chief motivation for fully two-thirds of the sponsors of newly created charter schools.¹⁰³ However, a review of Colorado's charter schools found that some of their "innovative" approaches were not unique to charter schools and may actually lean toward the traditional. Charter school innovations include an infusion of technology, an emphasis on vocational preparation, bilingualism, and nontraditional scheduling.

Family involvement. Greater family involvement is another expected intermediate outcome for community-run schools. Families initially become involved by choosing to send their children to a charter school and quite often, demand exceeds supply.¹⁰⁴ Nationwide, 45 percent of charter schools surveyed by RPP had instituted some kind of requirement for parental involvement, and over one-third of the charter schools visited by researchers exhibited extensive and systemic parent involvement. Some charters have set targets for parent involvement, and may compel parents to sign compliance contracts, which may discourage already burdened low-income parents from enrolling their children.

Support from the school district. Support from school districts is recognized as an important element in charter school development. Commentators

recommend that charter schools purchase services from their districts and accept district oversight. Given the rationale that school districts hamper innovation, an irony of the charter school movement is that all charter schools seem to rely on district personnel for their daily operations to some extent. Enumerating the ways that a school board showed support for one charter school, Doug Thomas and Kim Borwege noted that the school board members were knowledgeable about the school, showed trust in its personnel, and gave them sufficient time to plan and implement innovations.¹⁰⁵

Longer-Term Outcomes for Community-Run Schools

In the long term, it is expected that community-run schools will produce measurable improvements in student achievement, continue to be chartered, and lead to similar reforms in other schools. In addition, a small number of observers think they have the potential to produce cost savings.

Student achievement. Increased student achievement is a critical longer-term outcome for charter schools, but it is still premature to look for such long-term evidence. Standardized test scores are a typical measure of achievement, but some commentators suggest that other indicators are preferable. Possible alternatives include assessments of student ability to learn across disciplines, think critically and creatively, and solve problems. Knowledge of another language and employment-related skills are also valued. These outcomes could be measured by reviews of portfolios and other performance-based assessments.¹⁰⁶

The literature does provide some evidence that charter schools are producing educational gains. The thirty-one schools that Cheung studied tended to state their goals for student achievement on standardized tests in raising average performance above the national average or advancing at least one grade level each academic year.¹⁰⁷ The Massachusetts Department of Education reports that, out of eight charter schools for which data was available after two years of operation, six showed academic gains.¹⁰⁸ The most dramatic gains were reported by a charter school operated by the private firm SABIS, in which students gained 1.5 grade equivalents in seven months and moved from below average to at or above average on all measures.

Institutional viability. Because—unlike most regular schools—charter schools can have their charters revoked, school viability is a critical longer-term outcome. Commentators suggest assessing school viability in terms of levels of

enrollment and attendance and success in renewing the charter. Other longer-term outcomes that could affect viability are dropout rates and student self-confidence.

Expanding reform to other schools. Proponents expect that chartering some schools will lead to thoughtful competition that will stimulate improvement in other schools. Although widely held, this expectation is largely untested. The lack of a dissemination system for communicating best practice from charter schools to other schools is a major potential obstacle, according to the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Some commentators also believe that charter schools will force district-level reform, and there is evidence to support this view. Wells and Slayton document a redefinition of power relations, especially in four of the five suburban-rural charter schools that were created by the districts themselves.¹⁰⁹ Premack reports that the nontraditional relationship some district boards have with charter schools in California is leading them to offer service choices, provide better service, and demand more accountability from other schools.¹¹⁰

Cost savings. Only a few proponents predict that charter schools will save money, and the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory cautions that charter schools may exact hidden costs from families.

SECTION 3 | A Word on Measurement

This section highlights some measurement issues relating to the outcomes and indicators touched on in the discussion above.

Attributing outcomes to a particular intervention is problematic. In many cases, schools adopt multiple reforms simultaneously or operate them concurrently. Qualitative approaches to measurement, such as interviews and participant observation, may be especially useful in sorting out probable effects.

The diversity of specific programs within intervention types and models represents great richness and an evaluation headache. Evaluators should make sure they are measuring outcomes that can legitimately be expected at a given point in the life of an initiative.

Data should be disaggregated for various student and parent populations. Common variables for disaggregation are race/ethnicity, limited English proficiency, low-income status, and gender.

Measuring parent involvement in school is relatively straightforward (number of attendees at events, hours logged in classrooms or visits to a parent center, parent satisfaction) compared with measuring parent involvement in children's education away from school. The difficulty arises in taking account of the many subtle forms that might be included: reading aloud, asking about homework, providing supplies and an environment conducive for schoolwork, talking about the news, taking advantage of community-based learning. At the same time, measures should be sensitive to the different meanings of collaboration in different settings, and the changing nature of collaboration over time.

Objections to standardized test scores as measures of achievement are well known and include the low level of what is tested, biases against certain groups, low norms, exclusion from testing of certain students, the influence of test preparation and student accountability, and incomparability of results when tests change. Test scores are widely used, however, in part because they are convenient. Alternatives include what is called authentic assessment, including performance-based tests, such as the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program, exhibitions, and portfolios. Drawbacks commonly ascribed to these alternatives include their expense, subjectivity, and the lack of a uniform, simple way to report results.

It may be unclear how to interpret changes in student mobility and enrollment. High mobility may signal a worsening in family and community conditions, or may indicate that family conditions have improved enough to enable families to move out of deteriorating neighborhoods and schools into better ones. Enrollment and mobility in charter schools, however, reflect family choice less ambiguously.

SECTION 4 | Conclusion

This chapter has presented theories of change, or pathways of expected outcomes, for five types of community interventions in education. Although the interventions themselves take very different forms, the outcomes were congruent enough to construct a meaningful composite theory of change. What can be said about the nature of the outcomes? How likely is it they can be achieved? Which pathway is best?

One thing to say about the outcomes is how ambitious they are at every stage. In the short term alone, the outcomes state that CCIs will have a vision, commit to it and get others to commit to it, and plan collaboratively within their own organizations and with others. To succeed in the intermediate term, community interventions in education must change attitudes, relationships, and school operations. In the long term, they must change whole systems and improve student performance.

To what extent does evidence support the hope that CCIs or any community based effort can produce these outcomes? The amount and quality of evidence varies by type of intervention and by outcome. Wholesale evidence for an entire theory of change is practically nonexistent. In the relatively few instances in which researchers have tested or documented a set of interlocking propositions that are akin to a theory of change, results are promising but mixed. In other words, context matters in education, and educational reform can be influenced not only by local conditions, but also by state and national conditions. The context for education reform since the recent waves of reform started rolling in 1983 offers some encouragement. Educators are more open to their communities. New and formerly unthinkable ways of partnering with communities are actually being tried. This new context may create a more hospitable environment to effect reform. Community interventions may therefore have a greater likelihood of succeeding in more places and under more conditions.

Is there a best intervention? The question is impossible to answer in a general way. The theories of change discussed in this chapter suggest that all the interventions can contribute to better schools and improved education. Similarly, all contribute to community change. Moreover, the interventions are not mutually exclusive.

Theoretically, any of the interventions could serve as a gateway to other interventions. Placing community programs in schools (Type 1), for example, establishes relationships and experience that might help place school programs in communities (Type 2). Starting one charter school (Type 5) could stimulate greater community input into a school district as a whole (Type 3).

It may be more useful, however, to think of coordinated school and community change (Type 4) less as a gateway than as a roof under which all the other interventions might come. Its reach exceeds the other interventions in

that it seeks to link schools, students, families, and communities in a permanent partnership whose express purpose is to improve educational outcomes and the quality of life. If the size of the community to be affected were held constant among all interventions, coordinated school and community change would offer the greatest potential for making the broad changes that just might achieve those ambitious longer-term goals. The downside is that this intervention may take longer and be more difficult to implement than the others. For a more targeted impact on some aspect of schooling, one of the other interventions may be more expedient and appropriate.

That said, of what practical value is this typology for CCIs, their funders, and evaluators?

CCIs can use the typology of community interventions as a map on which to locate their efforts and think about future directions. The typology may suggest alternative interventions, ways to test initiatives and increase their impact, or ways to target energies more narrowly.

CCIs can use the theories of change to examine their work from a different perspective, lifting their initiatives out of the realm of day-to-day activity and helping them focus on their long-term goals. They can also use this information, especially the finer-grained component theories, to validate what they are already doing.

Finally, CCIs can use the theories of change to assess their progress. They can review whichever type most closely approximates their work to identify which effects they should expect and when, and which indicators might best capture those effects.

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Social Service Systems Reform in Poor Neighborhoods: What We Know and What We Need to Find Out

CHARLES BRUNER

In 1963, Nancy Humphreys was a child protective service worker in Los Angeles. One of her clients was a pregnant teenager, a school referral. The girl came from a large and rather troubled family—one sibling was retarded, a couple of her brothers had been in trouble with the law, her father was disabled, and each of her parents was on a different kind of financial assistance.

One day the mother called and invited Nancy to their home. “I was the first to get there,” Humphreys recalls. “But one by one, eight other people arrived. I didn’t know any of them. When we were there, the family went out the back door, leaving us to ourselves. It turned out we were all their social workers, each of us working with one or more people in that family.”

“They were getting mixed messages from all these different service providers. The mother wanted us to get our act together so we could better help the family.”¹

When 25-year-old Ollie Hill of Detroit gave birth to a four-pound baby on June 9, 1987, she had had no prenatal care. While her baby was on a heart monitor in the thousand-dollar-a-day intensive care unit of Hutzel Hospital, Ms. Hill told of being unmarried and unemployed and unable to pay for a doctor's visit during her pregnancy. Also, she said, based on the experience of her prenatal care during her first pregnancy, the trip wouldn't have been worth the effort.

"You wait four hours to see the doctor for five minutes," she said. "He just pokes at your stomach and tells you everything's okay."²

THEORY AND SYSTEM REFORM

As these vignettes illustrate, recognition of the deficiencies of the current array of social services³ in meeting the needs of children and families is not new. Moreover, despite large public investments in these services, many social service professionals feel that the help they provide, particularly to poor children in poor neighborhoods,⁴ is inadequate to demonstrably improve life prospects. Stated bluntly, these workers often sense that what they do does not work.

For the family served by Nancy Humphreys, the fragmented nature of the help that was offered created mixed messages and conflicting demands that overwhelmed the family rather than helped it cope. No individual worker actually spent sufficient time to gain the family's full trust and understanding (the foundation on which successful social work is predicated) to create a realizable plan of action. The structure of services—categorical, rule-bound, focusing on discrete individual diagnoses rather than common, underlying family conditions—did not meet the family's complex array of needs nor did it recognize the family's own strengths and resiliency.

For Ollie Hill, the medical system itself was not organized to meet her needs. It was not accessible, did not speak her language, and did not recognize the other demands placed upon her life. As a result, it was accessed only after a serious problem had appeared, one that might have been prevented if the system's culture had more closely matched that of the patient.

These two vignettes represent fairly common experiences of social service workers and the people they are designed to help. What systems provide

often does not fit what families need. These failings are most acute in poor neighborhoods.

This chapter discusses social service reform efforts to address these failings, with a particular emphasis upon poor neighborhoods. It begins with a brief synopsis of recent social services reform history, highlighting common themes and elements. It then discusses five different “theories of change” that are implicit to most reform efforts—examining their theoretical and empirical underpinnings, implementation experiences, and future challenges. For ease of discussion, each theory is discussed separately, although in practice most reform efforts incorporate aspects of several different theories simultaneously.

RECENT REFORM HISTORY

Service systems reform has a long history in the United States, but much recent work can be traced back to efforts in the early 1970s to reduce service fragmentation and improve interagency coordination through service integration. The federal Allied Services Act (ASA) of 1972, proposed by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot Richardson was one of at least eleven federal legislative initiatives in the 1970s directed at improving service integration. Although never enacted in full, it spawned development of more than a hundred programs, including Services Integration Targets of Opportunity sites and Partnership Grants, that attempted to develop more effective case management systems and more seamless responses to family needs.⁵

Over the last two decades, there has been a proliferation of federal, state, and local government and foundation initiatives designed to address this service fragmentation. These initiatives generally are no longer described in “service integration” terms. Instead, they are referred to as “cross-system collaborations,” “partnerships,” “coalitions,” or simply “systems reform” efforts to construct more comprehensive, community-based systems of care.

At the federal level, many agencies or departments have supported one or more collaborative initiatives. As illustrations, the Maternal and Child Health Bureau has supported Healthy Start (an infant mortality reduction program) and the comprehensive integrated systems of services for children and families. The Department of Justice has sponsored a number of community-based demonstration projects, such as Safe Schools, Safe Kids and Safe Streets, as well

as broad-based and community-based planning efforts, such as Communities That Care, and comprehensive strategies. The Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) established the Community Partnership Demonstration Program to reduce alcohol and drug abuse. The Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services jointly supported a demonstration project to provide “comprehensive community-based services for children with disabilities and their families.”⁶

Despite the use of the word “comprehensive” in many of their titles or descriptions, however, most of these federal initiatives confine their primary goals and efforts within the categorical boundary of their funding entity. The Department of Health limits its comprehensive approaches to improving health outcomes. The Department of Education’s comprehensive efforts are limited to improving educational attainment. Substance abuse prevention supports comprehensive approaches to reduce substance abuse. Although federal departments are investing heavily in demonstration projects, grants-in-aid, and resource centers to increase community-based, comprehensive service systems, these largely are not connected with one another.⁷ Interviews with leading state and community systems reform efforts suggest that the sheer number of funding streams and their internal complexity make accessing and then integrating them extremely difficult.⁸ Some critics have contended that this has produced a fragmentation of collaboration.⁹

States, too, have supported demonstration projects to create community-based systems of care, but often, like most federal approaches, around a specific service system or outcome area. Some of the more ambitious projects have created new local governance structures across their states to challenge the more autonomous and fragmented agency responsibilities. Some have worked very broadly on children and family services while others have focused on specific service systems, such as child welfare, or on specific populations or ages, such as early childhood.¹⁰

Private philanthropy similarly has provided support and much of the intellectual leadership for community collaborative activities. Many national, regional, and state-focused foundations have supported public social services systems reform, emphasizing community-based, family-focused, and consumer-driven services in education and social services. In addition to direct grant making to communities or states to initiate these ventures, they also have vastly

expanded the number of grants officers, technical assistance providers, evaluators, and other analytically trained professionals in this area.¹¹ Community foundations also have been influential players, as have nonprofit organizations such as the United Way. The result is that it is now nearly impossible to find a community of any size without at least one, and usually several, formally recognized, government-sanctioned or foundation-financed, collaborative governance structure. In one form or another, each of these collaboratives is charged with developing more seamless, community-based social services to respond to one or more social concerns.

Throughout this work, a consensus has begun to emerge on the following issues:

- The deficiencies of the current system and the characteristics that a reformed system would need;
- The elements needed to reform that system; and
- The processes or stages through which reform is achieved

Deficiencies and Characteristics

Table 7.1 presents a description of the deficiencies of the current system and the characteristics that a reformed system would need at the system, program, and frontline practice levels. The table is a compilation of a number of such iterations in the literature.¹²

While there are many variations in terminology, the similarities are great. The current system is too fragmented, reactive, rule-bound, professionally driven, individually based, problem-focused, and disconnected from natural support systems to be a good match with what many children and their families need to succeed. A reformed system must correct for these deficiencies and be more seamless, preventive, flexible, customer-engaged, family-focused, asset-oriented, and community-embedded.

Reform Elements

In addition to the characteristics of a reformed system, there also need to be strategies, or reform elements, to produce systems change. The Together We Can Partnership (which refers to itself as a “National Leadership Development

Table 7.1: Shifting Paradigms for More Effective Services

OLD PARADIGM	NEW PARADIGM
Philosophy and Governance	
State administered	Community-developed
Central authority / Control	Community capacity building
Procedure-based	Vision-based
Discrete areas of responsibility	Collaborative
Agency-driven	Consumer-driven
Process-accountable	Results-accountable
Structured / Risk-averse	Innovative / Risk-taking
Service Strategy	
Categorically defined	Holistic
Uniform	Flexible/Individually tailored
Deficit-oriented	Strength-based
Individual as client	Family as client
Clients as recipients	Families as participants
Emphasis on professional services	Emphasis on community supports
Frontline Worker Role	
Routinized work	Extensive problem-solving discretion
Uniform / arbitrary	Flexible
Minimum qualifications	Highly skilled
High "caseloads"	Low "worker-family" ratios
Limited staff development	Organization structured to give on-going support and development
Workers support organization	Organization supports workers

Source: Child and Family Policy Center archives (1993).

and Capacity Building Initiative to Strengthen Children, Youth, Families, and Communities”) has extracted from the reform literature seven specific reform elements (Table 7.2).¹³

These reform elements are generally seen as highly interactive and interconnected. For instance, there needs to be an organized and well-developed governance structure, but that structure needs to be focused on community outcomes. It also needs to involve the people most affected by services, supporting them to become full partners and leaders in governance. Only by tackling all these reform elements will social service systems change.

Table 7.2: The Elements of Systems Reform

Collaborative governance and decision making. Creating a planning and decision-making group of diverse stakeholders with the legitimacy, credibility, and sustainability to guide reform.

Public education and engagement. Educating the general public and building community-wide commitment.

Parent, consumer, and neighborhood participation. Engaging the people most affected by decisions concerning their well-being as partners in the process and ensuring that they are valued.

Accountability based upon results. Defining measurable results for children, youth, and families; holding people and systems accountable for achieving them.

Restructured services, supports, and opportunities. Creating more strength-based, comprehensive, flexible, and community-based services to meet child and family needs.

Financing and resource development. Weaving together public, private, and community resources to achieve desired results.

Leadership and professional development. Supporting people and professionals to assume new responsibilities and roles.

Source: Together We Can Partnership, *Community Wellness Toolkit*. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1997).

Reform Stages

Reform is a dynamic process, involving planning, taking action, assessing impacts, and planning anew. In systems reform work, initial planning often involves bringing people together to form a working, collaborative planning body. Subsequent actions may involve developing new programs and services, changing the way existing services communicate and coordinate with one another, or changing the basic operation and culture within and across systems. The Together We Can Partnership has drawn from the work in the field to distinguish five reform stages: (1) getting together by bringing a diverse and representative group of stakeholders to the table; (2) building trust and ownership through establishing common ground and a shared vision; (3) strategic planning to develop an action plan; (4) taking action; and (5) deepening and broadening the work by moving from smaller and more discrete actions to more systemic reforms.¹⁴ Getting Together stresses that collaboratives continually spiral through these stages, as actions lead to planning and as trust and ownership are enhanced. Actions can include new or modified programs or more integrated services, but they also can be changes in approach or organizational culture.¹⁵

Summary

This systems reform framework addresses the “who” (social service systems), “what” (characteristics of systems reform), and “how” (elements and stages of systems reform) questions. In addition, since most of these reform efforts implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) concentrate their attention on poor families in poor neighborhoods to whom a disproportionate share of remedial services are provided,¹⁶ the systems reform literature also addresses the “where” question. Such reform frameworks are often incorporated into proposal guidelines by government and philanthropic initiatives and generally constitute operating bases for community collaboratives.

At the same time, this conceptual framework is very broad. It constitutes what C. Wright Mills referred to as a “grand theory” of reform, an overarching structure in which almost any action, whether central or tangential to true change, could be accommodated and in which almost any outcome could be explained.¹⁷ While it can be useful as a framework for a collaborative process, it does not lend itself to testing and confirmation or disconfirmation. In short,

the “why” question has generally been less well explored. These “why” or “theories of change” questions are the focus of the rest of this chapter.

IDENTIFYING TESTABLE THEORIES OF CHANGE

In practice, because the conceptual framework is so broad, social services reform efforts usually have focused upon particular aspects of the framework. Most collaboratives have not established their own, explicit set of assumptions and testable hypotheses about how their actions relate to their overall goals.¹⁸ Still, one can draw from collaborative activities several distinguishable approaches that are based on different assumptions and hypotheses. Five of these approaches will be discussed in depth: (1) investing in prevention; (2) integrating social services; (3) transforming frontline practice; (4) planning comprehensively and establishing outcome accountability; and (5) building grassroots capacity.

Each approach loosely reflects a different theory of how to bring about change. These different theories can be, and often are, pursued simultaneously, potentially with beneficial, interactive impacts. Each is conceptually distinct, however, and is examined separately, including a discussion of: (1) soundness of and support for underlying premises and assumptions; (2) implementation experiences to date; and (3) observed impacts from implementation. Following this examination is a discussion of important future activities to further the knowledge base about each theory of change—both for knowledge building and for incorporation into field-based work.

Finally, there is a brief discussion of two additional plausible theories of change, which have not yet been a major part of the social services systems reform discussion, as well as some final suggestions of issues that practitioners, researchers, and funders should keep in mind as they move ahead.

THEORY OF CHANGE ONE: INVESTING IN PREVENTION

Theoretical Premise

Many families are socially and economically isolated from support networks that can help them realize goals for themselves and their children. Family support programs can fill this void by helping individual families and by serving as

anchors for social activity in their communities. With sufficient investments in such prevention programs (a “family support center on every corner”), families and children will have reduced needs for social service programs, and neighborhoods will be safer and more supportive of families. The next generation of parents will be better connected, more self-sufficient, and better able to contribute to their neighborhood’s greater vitality.

Almost inevitably, any community collaborative established to reform social service systems reaches its first consensus by agreeing on the need for more preventive services. If the collaborative has funding for new services, it generally establishes a demonstration or pilot program to engage children and families identified as at-risk who are not yet part of any system. In most instances, the program is established in a high-risk neighborhood, with high rates of “rotten child outcomes,” such as school failure, infant mortality, poor physical and mental health, adolescent parenting, child abuse, delinquency, single parenting, welfare dependency, and substance abuse.¹⁹

Such prevention programs can take many forms. They may involve home visiting or be center-based. They may be connected to a school or human services agency or be freestanding. They may be professionally or paraprofessionally staffed. They may or may not have a formal educational program or curriculum related to parenting education, child abuse prevention, or youth development.

Usually, these programs involve some form of one-on-one counseling and support, sometimes called “case management” but more commonly referred to by such names as “family development,” “family advocacy,” or “family support.” The distinction is important. Case management generally refers to a worker who diagnoses what a family needs and then directly provides that service or refers the family to a professional who provides it—with the family as the service recipient. Family development or support refers to a partnering relationship in which the worker helps the family think through what the family wants to achieve and helps them achieve it—often through informal rather than professional services—with the family as participant and often the designer of its plan.

Increasingly, these prevention programs also are viewed as community anchors that provide a community benefit as a point of congregation and community advocacy, in addition to the benefit they provide to the specific families they serve.

Table 7.3: Family Support Principles

Staff and families work together in relationships based on equality and respect.

Staff enhances families' capacity to support the growth and development of all family members—adults, youth, and children.

Families are resources to their own members, to other families, to programs, and to communities.

Programs affirm and strengthen families' cultural, racial, and linguistic identities and enhance their ability to function in a multicultural society.

Programs are embedded in their communities and contribute to the community-building process.

Programs advocate with families for services and systems that are fair, responsive, and accountable to the families served.

Practitioners work with families to mobilize formal and informal resources to support family and community issues.

Programs are flexible and continually responsive to emerging family and community issues.

Principles of family support are modeled in all program activities, including planning, governance, and administration.

Source: Best Practices Project, *Guidelines for Family Support Practice* (Chicago: Family Resource Coalition, 1996).

While these programs take many forms, they generally are founded on a set of family support principles—strength-based, family-focused, community-connected. In fact, through hundreds of focus groups with thousands of program directors, workers, and families, Family Support America (formerly the Family Resource Coalition) has established nine family support principles representing the distinguishing characteristics of such programs (Table 7.3).

While often not explicit in the work of collaboratives, these new programs, particularly when they focus on families with very young children, are seen as filling a void in the neighborhoods in which they are placed. They provide a new service that bridges public and private systems, professional and voluntary services, and normative and compensatory programs. Some even view them as

the start of a needed, new, normative public system that can support all families with very young children in their parenting roles and in balancing those roles with their work responsibilities.²⁰

Soundness of Premises

The rationale for investing in such prevention programs in poor neighborhoods has three underlying premises, each with its own level of theoretical and empirical support.

Socially and economically isolated families face more stresses and challenges in nurturing and raising their children, are generally less competent and confident in their parenting, and consequently place their children at greater risk of harm and failure. Humanity itself is defined by networks of positive and symbiotic social interactions, and the field of sociology supports this premise. In particular, however, the literature on resiliency²¹ and the work on risk and protective factors,²² as well as Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory²³ have been widely cited in the field to justify prevention efforts that seek to connect at-risk families with social supports. Edward Schor's analysis of the medical literature also concludes that family support is as critical as medical care to good physical health.²⁴

Poor, tough neighborhoods have fewer social and economic supports to which families can connect for positive social supports. This lack of support serves to perpetuate the risk experienced by children and families in those environments. There is strong evidence that the density of social supports varies across neighborhoods, primarily by neighborhood economic vitality. Comparisons of poor and affluent neighborhoods have shown sharp disparities in recreational and social activities available to youth. A 1989 Chicago study showed more than three times as many activities for middle school students in suburban Chicago than in an inner-city community.²⁵ A 1997 National Survey of America's Families showed that organized team sports or school and community clubs were often unavailable or inaccessible to students in low-income areas.²⁶ While assets exist in poor neighborhoods,²⁷ they most often relate to lower-order survival networks rather than higher-order aspirational ones. The absence of a critical mass of role models, as estimated by the proportion of

adults with professional careers, has been shown to serve as a tipping point that relates strongly to the prevalence of poor outcomes.²⁸

While there is some debate over the size of the neighborhood effect on outcomes for residents, research generally has shown it to be significantly smaller than the family effect, as measured by income and education level.²⁹ Still, the correlations are strong³⁰ and the concentration of specific poor outcomes in poor neighborhoods is sometimes frightening. Children in very poor Chicago neighborhoods, for example, are twelve times more likely to be victims of abuse and forty-three times more likely to be placed in foster care than children in affluent neighborhoods.³¹ Moreover, Robin Jarrett's sociological analysis examining children who have escaped tough neighborhoods,³² as well as Ron Susskind's journalistic³³ and Geoffrey Canada's autobiographical accounts,³⁴ indicate that children who beat the odds and succeed usually have been consciously insulated from their immediate community by parents who find affiliational and spiritual ties outside the neighborhood (often faith-based institutions), and thereby are able to remove children from or counter negative neighborhood influences. As noted in other chapters in this volume, children and families do better when they live in communities with dense social ties, a diversity of role models, and stability and support as captured by the term social capital.³⁵ While not all poor neighborhoods are alike, children and families are most vulnerable in those that lack economic, physical, and social capital. In those that have greater social capital, children and families do better.³⁶

Family support programs can be developed that can identify and engage previously isolated families, help them create positive ties with others, build hope for themselves and their children, and take actions that improve opportunities and outcomes for themselves and their children and contribute to the social and economic base in their neighborhoods. There are a diverse array of exemplary programs that have been chronicled that have achieved remarkable successes in creating social ties, connections, hope, and realizable aspirations for children and families in poor neighborhoods. Lisbeth Schorr's *Within Our Reach*³⁷ describes a number of these community-based programs and has described their common features in terms of a set of core attributes (Table 7.4). While consistent with the family support principles in Table 7.3, Schorr's attributes go beyond principles to emphasize worker and

Table 7.4: Attributes of Effective Programs

Successful programs are comprehensive, flexible, and responsive.

Successful programs deal with the child as an individual and as part of a family and with the family as part of a neighborhood and a community.

Staff in successful programs has the time, training, skills, and institutional support necessary to create an accepting environment and to build relationships of trust and respect with children and families.

Programs that are successful with the most disadvantaged populations persevere in their efforts to reach the hardest-to-reach and tailor their services to respond to the distinctive needs of those at greatest risk.

Successful programs are well managed, usually by highly competent, energetic, committed and responsible individuals with clearly identifiable skills and attitudes.

Successful programs have common theoretical foundations that undergird their client-centered and preventive orientation.

Source: Adapted from Lisbeth Schorr, *Within Our Reach* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1988); Lisbeth Schorr, Deborah Both, and Carol Copple, eds. *Effective Services for Your Children: Report of a Workshop* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1991). See also Lisbeth Schorr, *Common Purpose: Strengthening Families and Neighborhoods to Rebuild America* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997).

program manager skills and passion, which she found to be common and critical elements of the programs she chronicled.

Implementation Experiences

In part because of the strength of these premises in terms of their common sense (face validity) and conceptual and empirical underpinnings, federal demonstration programs, state initiatives, foundation initiatives, and community collaborative programmatic efforts have spawned a multitude of prevention programs. Most of these programs are based on family support principles.

It is difficult to generalize about the operational experiences of these programs, given their diversity. Still, general field experience suggests that: (1) programs that are designed and funded generally are implemented, with staff and locations found and procedures established to contact families; (2) families are enlisted, initially participate, and many continue to participate; and (3) both

staff and families indicate that some otherwise unavailable service or support is being provided and at least part of some personal or community unmet need is being addressed.

While these may seem to be mundane generalizations, they do represent preconditions for success. As will be discussed later, other theories of change face considerably more challenges in implementing even the preconditions for their success.

Observed Impacts to Date

There is a growing body of research about the impacts of prevention programs in general and family support programs in particular. The research results to date, however, have been mixed and subject to different interpretations.

Individual program evaluations and case studies have demonstrated that select family support programs can be highly successful. In some instances, the changes in participants' lives are sufficiently dramatic that causation can be inferred to the program and its practitioners, as with Jaime Escalante's success at East Garfield High in Los Angeles. His students' high rates of advanced placement on mathematics tests provide a striking example of success that was made into a feature film, "Stand and Deliver."³⁸

While such largely ethnographic evaluations of exemplary programs have shown very positive findings, almost all have a passionate leader or leaders with nearly boundless energy to make the programs work. While acknowledging that such "hothouse" programs may work, Charles Murray, a noted critic of social programs, has argued that they are not reproducible on any socially meaningful scale and therefore not worthy of public support.³⁹

In addition to these case studies, only a handful of programs in the early childhood field have been subject to well-financed longitudinal analyses, and even fewer have been tested across multiple sites and with multiple populations. Michael Little, a British researcher, has noted that there are fewer than fifty true clinical trials of the effectiveness of prevention programs in the social sciences world. This is a stark contrast to the more than 500 clinical trials alone on the effectiveness of aspirin as a pain reliever.⁴⁰

On the one hand, there have been positive impacts attached to several early childhood programs with built-in longitudinal designs with randomly assigned control groups. The much-cited Prenatal/Early Infancy Project

(PEIP) and High/Scope's Perry Pre-School program are the most notable of such evaluations.

The PEIP is a nurse home-visiting model that has been replicated in multiple sites with different populations. It has shown positive impacts, particularly with first-time teen mothers, in terms of improved parent and child relationships, including a reduction in child abuse, and improved parent educational attainment and attachment to the workforce.⁴¹

The Perry Pre-School program was a comprehensive pre-school program in Ypsilanti, Michigan, in the early sixties for three- and four-year-old low-income children with low I.Q. scores. The Pre-School program involved both high-quality pre-school and significant parent involvement and attention. Among the children it served, it produced improved school completion rates, less involvement with the juvenile and adult justice systems, lower rates of adolescent parenting, and higher earnings and less use of public welfare.⁴²

Both programs showed positive and enduring impacts on the children they served, although neither could be characterized as emphasizing all family support principles. PEIP provides guidance, support, and nurturing through a nurse, but is professionally based and does not have a primary goal of partnering with families or building on family assets to achieve goals. The Perry Pre-School project's primary emphasis was on providing developmental support and stimulation to the child in the pre-school setting, rather than on strengthening the family's capacity to parent and support the child.

Several other early childhood programs have been subject to extensive research, although not always randomized trials, and have shown promising results, although there is debate in the research field on the level of their impact. Among these are the Infant Health and Development Program (IDHP), the Hawaii Healthy Start program, Families and Schools Together (FAST), and the Chicago Child-Parent Center.⁴³

PEIP and the Perry Pre-School program have been highly cited not only for their demonstrated impact upon the children and families they served, but also because they provided return-on-investment analyses indicating significant societal gains in the form of reduced crime and delinquency, welfare dependency, and child abuse and other social costs and expenditures.⁴⁴ However, while returns-on-investment often are touted by advocates as a reason for investing in prevention programs, the research base for claims about

most is not strong⁴⁵ and the application of that research to program design can be even weaker.⁴⁶

Neither a national effort to construct a large-scale federal demonstration project based on a highly touted family support program nor a federally financed meta-analysis of the research literature on family support programs has yielded many positive findings of the impact of family support-oriented programs.

The United States Department of Health and Human Services financed a major demonstration program, the Comprehensive Child Development Program (CCDP), in thirty-four sites throughout the country between 1989 and 1993, with an emphasis on providing intensive “case management” services. While individual programs varied in design, the general guidelines were based upon the Center for Successful Child Development (sometimes referred to as the Beethoven Project), a highly publicized and initially highly regarded program operating in the Robert Taylor homes in Chicago.⁴⁷

Abt Associates conducted the overall program evaluation of twenty-one of the thirty-four programs. While the programs varied, most were fairly comprehensive in their approach and, on a per family basis, committed very substantial resources—upwards of \$10,000 per family per year—to producing change.

Employing a number of psychometric and functional data elements for treatment and control groups and children and parents, Abt found no strong, identifiable gains that could be tied to the CCDP program. Its report concluded:

At the start, nobody knew whether providing intensive case management was the best way to help low-income families. . . . There is no question that this six-year effort provided a fair test of this key policy alternative. It has produced important findings—findings showing that the case management approach does not lead to improved outcomes for parents or children.⁴⁸

After receiving a federal evaluation grant to review research for the field as a whole, Abt conducted a meta-analysis of the available analyses of family support programs that had some degree of evaluation impact integrity. Abt generally found few strongly positive impacts, even as the research defined those

impacts, which varied substantially by study. In general, while there was no sign that such family support programs “did harm,” the impacts they produced were determined to be modest at best, with many studies showing no effect at all.⁴⁹ A more detailed part of Abt’s review studied selected family support programs and found only a few with strong positive impacts, among them Families and Schools Together (FAST), Cleveland Works, and PEIP.⁵⁰

Currently, researchers do not agree about which programs have proven themselves effective or what the standards of evidence should be for determining program impact. Because of the mixed reviews, some federal and state initiatives have recommended that only proven, research-based prevention programs be implemented. For instance, Communities That Care, a federally supported juvenile justice prevention planning process, identified a discrete number of research-based models that it promotes. The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence established a much higher standard of proof in its blueprint series, requiring randomized trials or strong quasi-experimental designs in order to be considered worthy of replication.⁵¹ Alternatively, others have argued for a broader standard of evidence than controlled experimental designs because such designs may violate family support program principles about inclusiveness and because they are not appropriate for the comprehensive, flexible, and community-based approach that characterizes some of the most highly regarded programs.⁵²

While debate continues on these issues, consensus is emerging on several points:

- There are many prevention programs which, however well-meaning they may be, have not demonstrated significant or lasting impacts on children or families.
- The current array of specific programs that have demonstrated significant, positive impacts does not adequately address child and family needs across population groups or areas of public concern.
- Some types of practices (e.g. the family support principles or Schorr attributes) within programs are important to achieving results, and a focus upon practice as well as program is needed.

- The field needs to embrace a continuous learning approach to developing more effective programs and practices, guided by data and evidence.⁵³

The preceding assessment of impact does not negate the promise of family support principles and prevention programs based upon those principles. There is a sufficient number of exemplary programs that have shown the ability to help families and children succeed who otherwise would face rotten outcomes. There is not yet clear evidence, however, about how such programs can be replicated or adapted to new settings with new practitioners and achieve similar gains. Further, even if successful, a new set of prevention programs acting alone is unlikely to be the silver bullet that improves all child and family outcomes, even when significant resources are devoted to them. Even programs such as PEIP and the Perry Preschool Project only reduced, and did not eliminate, the disparity in results between those they served and the general population. Evidence to date suggests that prevention may be a piece of the puzzle, but to obtain optimal long-term effects, such efforts must be reinforced by broader service system responses that help children and families achieve their goals.

THEORY OF CHANGE TWO: Integrating Social Services

Theoretical Principles

Social service systems are needed, particularly in poor neighborhoods. Disinvestment, institutional racism, and the absence of protective factors have created stress, despair, and the consequent need for healing and professional help. Current helping systems are too fragmented to provide the help that is needed. Reforming these systems to be more seamless in their response to families in need will produce better results and reduce the degree of illness within the neighborhood that affects those afflicted and those around them. It also will reduce duplication of services and the duration and intensity of services required, thereby freeing those resources for other community-building activities.

Stories like those told by Nancy Humphreys often are used as the rationale for greater communication, coordination, or integration across service systems. The rise of case management in the social services in the 1970s and 1980s and

care coordination within managed care in the 1990s represent system responses to address this fragmentation.

Many of the community collaboratives that arose during the 1980s had an explicit goal of reducing fragmentation. They largely were composed of social service providers and their public funding entities, although during the 1990s, many began to broaden their membership to include parents and civic and community groups as well.⁵⁴

During the same period, multidisciplinary teams were established to bring together expertise across professions to work with multisystem families. Cross-professional training also has been viewed as a means for persons in one system to learn to draw upon the resources and expertise in other fields.⁵⁵

In addition to the fragmentation of services for families involved in several systems at the same time, the system has been viewed as lacking continuity for families who move from one system to another over time. In a well-known article, “Failure by Fragmentation,” Sidney Gardner describes how such helping services often fail to help at all, even though they have multiple contacts with the same child or family. The family is bounced from one system to another without receiving any real assistance—and certainly without establishing a relationship with a caring adult who can provide continuity as a role model.⁵⁶ Through the eyes of the child and family, the systems themselves can be very difficult to navigate, without ever providing a good match with what they need to succeed. This applies to income supports as well as social services. Different income support systems have different eligibility requirements that often counterbalance one another and create complexities for those who apply for benefits.⁵⁷

Certainly through the eyes of the professionals in these service systems, fragmentation is a major barrier to helping at least some families. When identifying an essential need outside his or her scope of practice, a professional often must rely on referrals to other systems, with no assurance those systems will address that need.

Soundness of Premises

While often implicit, service integration activities generally are targeted by person and by place. While most families use social services for specific needs, they also serve as their own case managers as they navigate that world. They do

not ask for, nor do they necessarily want, these services to be better integrated. In fact, for reasons of privacy or fear of labeling, families may not want their child's teacher to know their child is receiving mental health counseling. Kip Tellez and JoAnne Schick have observed, "We hear few calls for integrated social services in upper class, white neighborhoods."⁵⁸

It is within poor neighborhoods and with struggling families who often are involved in multiple services that service integration efforts usually are promoted. The service integration theory of change is based on a set of underlying premises that are examined below.

Professional social services provide real help to the families they serve, provided the family's needs fall within the service provider's areas of expertise. This holds in poor neighborhoods, even when issues of economic security and opportunity cannot be addressed. In other words, social work works. Despite being the underlying premise for professional social services, this premise cannot be accepted a priori. In fact, it has been challenged on philosophical and empirical grounds.

In the 1960s, the welfare reform movement took away from social workers the power to decide which poor people were deserving of and therefore eligible for assistance and developed more objective criteria to define eligibility for income supports. This shift was initiated because at least some social workers used their power inappropriately to impose their morality upon families.⁵⁹ Mental health therapy itself was critiqued as seeking to help poor people cope with their poverty rather than working to change their conditions.⁶⁰

Today, a leading critic of professional services, John McKnight, contends that public social services are costly and actually "do harm" by undermining the natural, caring, support fabric within communities, particularly poor ones.⁶¹ Arthur Himmelman criticizes the emphasis on collaboration and service integration, asserting that they often represent forms of social control rather than strategies for community empowerment.⁶² Logically, better integrating poor, or deleterious services is not likely to improve them. If services "do harm" in poor communities by focusing on deficits and undermining natural supports, the results of better integration may be to "do more harm."

At the risk of oversimplification, four points can be made regarding the empirical grounding for this premise.

First, the knowledge and understanding of psychosociological factors that influence human behavior have expanded over time, as a result of practice and research. The etiology of mental illness is much better understood, as is the predisposition to and triggering factors for substance abuse. Sexual predation, domestic violence, attention deficit disorder, and a variety of other diagnostic conditions have been identified clinically, with greater attention to their management and treatment. A variety of drugs have been developed to treat the manifestations, if not always the underlying conditions, of many organically based illnesses. New treatment modalities have been developed for many others.

Second, the effectiveness of much social services work is based on the practitioner establishing trust with the family and then working to produce change, either in the family or the family's ecology. Professional training and credentialing, however, is not a fail-safe procedure for imparting these trust-building and change-producing skills. Studies have consistently shown that, regardless of treatment modality, some therapists get better results than others, and some do little or nothing to help families.⁶³

Third, despite assumptions that these service systems are helpful or at least benign, families often see them in a very different light, particularly with respect to the more coercive child welfare and juvenile justice systems. Studies of children placed in foster care have shown that they sometimes believe their lives have been disrupted rather than helped.⁶⁴ Although residents of poor communities want their children safe, they often do not see the child protective service system as fulfilling that role, but rather as harming the child and family.⁶⁵

Fourth, workers in these systems, particularly those serving poor neighborhoods, often feel beleaguered, stressed, overwhelmed, and under siege. They experience high rates of turnover and burnout and feel that at best their work serves a triage purpose that does not truly heal anyone. While collaboration with other systems might help them, they also are less likely to welcome collaborative and open relationships that would expose their own shortcomings.⁶⁶

When families have multiple needs that fall within different service providers' areas of expertise, cross-system sharing of information and development of coordinated treatment plans produce better results through more continuity of care. In short, coordination works. There is strong empirical

evidence that service fragmentation produces poor and sometimes tragic results.⁶⁷ Quality service reviews were developed initially for oversight of court-mandated child welfare reforms and are now adapted as part of federal quality assurance reviews of child welfare under Title IV-E. These reviews consistently show an absence of coordination across multiple systems. Consequently, families are often overwhelmed with competing and conflicting case plans, much like the case Nancy Humphreys described.

The premise that simply improving coordination across these systems will produce better results is less clear-cut, however. Multidisciplinary teams and coordinated case plans may somewhat improve the consistency of planning across systems, but they also can be intimidating to the families they serve.⁶⁸ Families may not need more coordinated activity among several professional helpers, but rather fewer professionals who are able to respond more holistically and comprehensively to them. It takes time to build a trusting relationship and get the full picture of a family's assets, needs, and aspirations. Multidisciplinary teams may not be required to serve families, provided there are other ways to bring in the expertise from different professions as needed. The fewer the number of trusting relationships that have to be established between professional helpers and families, the more likely it is that success will be achieved.⁶⁹

Savings can be achieved from greater coordination, by eliminating service duplication. One rationale for service integration has been the elimination of duplication and waste stemming from the categorical nature of the current system. This issue has attracted fiscal conservatives to focus on service systems reform. In fact, there is a case to be made for some duplication in social services. Duplication provides greater consumer choice. Multiple pathways may be preferable to single points of entry to services, particularly when systems are not perfect and sometimes break down.⁷⁰

Still, it is tautological that unnecessary duplication results in waste. There is evidence that at least two types of duplication potentially can be detrimental to families.

The first occurs when families are required to provide the same information when they apply for services from different systems. This duplication has led to calls for streamlined applications and consistency in application criteria across systems, particularly those involving income supports.⁷¹ Simplifying

rules and procedures has been shown to reduce workers' time determining eligibility and families' time and energy applying for benefits. These changes often improve families' use of services.⁷² With a few exceptions, however, the systems savings from reducing worker time in gathering and processing information are likely to be more than offset by the costs of increased access to and use of services.⁷³

The second type of duplication relates to families and children who receive multiple, and often very expensive, services. A study of high-end social service users in Hennepin County, which includes Minneapolis, Minnesota, illustrates the extent to which a small number of families can expend a great deal of public resources. The costliest 200 families used at least \$29.5 million in health and human services funding annually, with \$16 million of that for medical services and \$11 million for children's services, primarily foster care and other placements. While families with children with severe disabilities and needs for intensive medical care were the biggest service users on a per family basis, the largest cluster of families were those with multiple service use across economic assistance, child welfare and foster care, community corrections, and adult services. These tended to be families with many children and multiple levels of systems involvement, who at a minimum receive multiple and duplicative assessments and often have case plans that involve very similar therapeutic interventions by different workers.⁷⁴

Although such families may always require extensive, costly services, identifying and focusing attention on them offers the potential for designing alternative, less costly, and potentially more permanent approaches.

Implementation Experiences

Despite extensive discussion at the policy level to integrate services, implementation efforts generally have fallen short of their goal for a truly seamless service system. The experiences in the 1970s under the Allied Services Act led the General Accounting Office to urge Congress to exercise caution in considering "initiatives that call for state and local governments to make fundamental changes in service delivery systems. Although the potential benefits may be great, so are the risks of failure."⁷⁵ Doug Nelson, in a message in his foundation's newsletter, more accurately characterized the issue as "Found Difficult and Left Untried."⁷⁶ Today, the term "service integration" largely has given way

to the term “collaboration,” a more modest effort to coordinate and connect efforts rather than to integrate them.⁷⁷

Two challenges to services integration have been frequently cited. The first is the issue of confidentiality. Many service systems limit information sharing to protect client confidentiality. Experience has shown, however, that jurisdictions committed to sharing information across service systems generally have been able to work through such requirements by creating guarantees for informed consent from clients prior to sharing their information with other systems.⁷⁸

The second challenge has been the technical one of integrating databases across service systems, even when these are electronic rather than paper systems. Ideally, information about an individual or family within one system, such as child welfare, would be accessible with proper controls to another service system in real time. Public electronic databases, however, typically have been developed primarily for financial purposes, often within computer mainframe systems that are cumbersome to explore. Sharing such information across systems can involve significant technical difficulties. Identifying individuals (let alone families) across data systems is challenging given the different ways systems identify their clients. This process is further complicated by the fact that family composition and definition can change over time.⁷⁹ At least one joint foundation effort to develop software to combine client record information across health and education ended in failure and frustration.⁸⁰ To date, electronic databases have not been used very effectively for general analyses of overlaps in service recipients across systems or to update client information within multiple systems simultaneously.

Rather than seeking to develop an integrated data set of client information across systems, states are increasingly exploring the development of data warehouses to store multiple data systems that can be accessed for searches across systems.⁸¹ Even then, the use of the data may be problematic because they have not been converted for use in service planning nor have the data elements been collected on a consistent basis to be most useful for such planning. Developing an electronic system for data gathering that is useful within, let alone across, service systems for service planning has been a time-consuming task, as evidenced by Kentucky’s exemplary work in developing its human services system, TWIST (The Worker’s Information System).⁸²

The federal government, which has provided states financial support in data system development, particularly in child welfare, recently has placed new emphasis on collecting outcome measures useful for performance measurement within systems as a first step, even before developing capacities for information sharing and joint planning across systems.⁸³

In short, while advances in technology and records computerization would seem to make cross-system integration of data, and therefore service integration, much more feasible, considerable barriers remain. At least in the short term, sharing information across systems is most likely to continue on a case-by-case basis rather than through electronic records matching.

One approach to improved coordination of services and effective referrals from one system to another is the co-campusing of services. Such one-stop shops have been particularly promoted in workforce development.

At the simplest level, co-campusing services within a multipurpose human services building can reduce the amount of travel for families applying for or receiving services. Co-campusing also may provide an opportunity for service providers to connect more easily with one another, following up to assure that referrals are made or having quick access to information about other programs and eligibility standards. At the same time, however, through the eyes of the family, there may be little actual change in the way systems respond, still operating as individual categorical services.

In some cases, co-campusing efforts have sought to go beyond collocation to integrate their work better. Such efforts have included establishing a universal intake process to help families identify the services for which they qualify and that are most appropriate for them. The challenge, however, is that different families have very different needs. A one-size-fits-all assessment process may be neither efficient nor effective.⁸⁴ While a few co-campusing efforts, like Louisville's neighborhood places, have succeeded in reorganizing their work, most multiservice centers have not done much to break down categorical boundaries.⁸⁵

Probably the most progress in true service integration has come in dealing with deep-end families who either are intensely involved in one system or involved in multiple social service systems. Like Hennepin County, every moderately sized community has families in which one or more family members use very high-cost placement arrangements that involve intensive, around-the-

clock supervision. These high-cost placements often work solely with the individual placed and do not connect with other services that are being provided to the individual's family or other members of that family.

Established in the 1980s through integrated case planning and wrap-around services, the Alaska Youth Initiative returned many youth who had been placed in high-cost, out-of-state child welfare or mental health placements to their homes or communities.⁸⁶ Ventura County, California, served its deep-end mental health child population by keeping them with their families or in more community-based placements through providing more wrap-around family supports rather than confining them in more institutional settings.⁸⁷ HomeRebuilders in New York City reunited children with their families much faster by changing reimbursement systems to residential treatment providers to reward reunification.⁸⁸

Managed care strategies in behavioral health and child welfare have often reduced the level of deep-end system involvement, with resulting savings.⁸⁹ In some instances, these savings have been redirected to earlier and more preventive services. In fact, Iowa's decategorization initiative and the Alaska Youth Initiative were established based on the ability of program managers to reinvest savings into preventive forms of care.⁹⁰ There is some evidence that these system changes do not occur without such incentives. John VanDenBerg, who developed and implemented the Alaska Youth Initiative, concludes that workers and administrators must participate in any gains and benefits if they are to be expected to change the way they do their work.⁹¹

Deep-end families constitute a major challenge to social service systems. Concomitantly, these deep-end families represent a very small percentage of families served by public systems, and an even smaller percentage of families residing in poor neighborhoods who face barriers to success. As such, improving services for them is likely to contribute only marginally to improving services and outcomes in poor neighborhoods overall.

Observed Impacts

Service integration efforts are designed to provide more seamless and coordinated responses to families who have needs that cross traditional service boundaries. According to one systems reform initiative, direct measurable impacts of such integration could include: (1) absence of multiple case managers serving

the same family; (2) timely transitions when referrals are made from one system to another; (3) sharing information, histories, and demographic information across systems so families do not need to repeat their stories; and (4) service strategies that build on one another's work and fit into an overall family plan.⁹² These direct impacts may produce greater service efficiencies and success in meeting goals and objectives.

Very little research on service integration has empirically examined the direct measurable impacts described above. Most of the evidence about the effects of service integration comes from descriptive studies, where the primary focus either has been on child and family outcomes or systems costs and savings.

Still, from an assessment perspective, there is experience that streamlining eligibility systems can reduce worker and family time in obtaining and recording information and can improve utilization.⁹³ There also is ample field consensus, if not documented research, that staff from different systems who become involved in collaborative activities believe they better understand each others' systems, therefore improving the effectiveness and consistency of referrals across systems.⁹⁴

From a treatment perspective, there is substantial clinical documentation that the use of joint case planning with families has produced more coordinated responses around a single overall plan and set of goals. This response is most likely to occur when individual, complex cases are singled out for review.⁹⁵

There also is experience and substantial documentation, particularly regarding deep-end families, that less costly approaches can be developed if they draw in all system resources. Usually such savings can be attained through reduced reliance on high-cost institutional placements. The size of the savings, however, has yet to be shown to free huge resources that can be redirected to preventive services.⁹⁶ Similarly, the primary impacts at the family level from more integrated services have been documented most often in relation to deep-end families and reductions in the use of remote, extended, and institutional placements. Generally, there is a strong presumption that community-based placements and family environments are better for individuals and families than residential or institutional placements. This belief is so strong in the field that it has become incorporated into the "terms of art" in different professional service systems. For example, child welfare seeks to provide the "least restrictive environment" for its clients. Special

education and disability services seek “inclusion.” Mental health services strive for “normalization.”

In short, there is evidence that, for a small number of deep-end families, efforts to integrate services can reduce fragmentation and provide more consistency in service provision. At the same time, broad-scale efforts to integrate services or coordinate information systems have produced few measured impacts on a systems or family level.

THEORY OF CHANGE THREE: Transforming Frontline Practice

Theoretic Principles

While the first dictum of the helping professions is to do no harm, too often that is what they do with the clients they serve, particularly in poor neighborhoods. Their deficit-based and professional-knows-best practice devalues and discredits individual initiative and breeds dependence rather than independence. A paradigm shift in practice is needed to make social work “work.” This paradigm shift involves new partnerships between professionals and community, greater reliance on mutual aid and self-help, and emphasis on the role of mobilization and advocacy as well as individual- or family-based care and treatment. Transforming frontline practice involves fundamental and profound changes in frontline worker roles and their relationships with the people and neighborhoods they serve.

Terms to describe a new form of frontline practice—asset-based, family-focused, neighborhood-embedded, individually tailored, and collaborative—have become almost a mantra in the system reform world. There are significant reform efforts within most helping professions—mental health, disability, public welfare, child welfare, health care, special education, juvenile justice, and youth development—that have articulated these practice principles in very similar ways.⁹⁷ While one or two of the principles speak to more seamless services and better integration with other professional and voluntary systems, most address the manner in which the frontline practitioner works with clients. These practice changes are sometimes considered so profound that they have been referred to as a paradigm shift in the way services are delivered.⁹⁸ They require fundamental changes in the manner in which frontline practitioners are

trained, supported, and rewarded within their organizations. This shift calls into question bureaucratic policies and practices in public systems and the ways institutions of higher education teach.⁹⁹

Some public systems, such as public welfare, long have been organized to routinize practice at the frontline level through a variety of rules and regulations. This offers greater consistency and efficiency of service and enables less-skilled and lower-paid workers to perform the tasks.¹⁰⁰ The new paradigm, however, requires transformations that involve frontline workers exercising substantially greater discretion in working with children and families. Such transformations cannot be created by changes in policy and regulation alone.

In poor neighborhoods, the notion of “neighborhood-embedded” within this service mantra takes on additional meaning. Moving from the client as recipient of service to a participant in the process of personal growth is not necessarily enough. Ultimately, as clients see new possibilities for themselves, they also will recognize the need to help build a stronger community for themselves and their friends and neighbors. The client becomes a contributor to community change, with frontline practitioners acting as partners and supporters in that broader task.¹⁰¹

Soundness of Premises

Clearly, as with the other theories of change, there is significant common sense behind this theory, as the rhetorical embrace of these practice principles within and across many social service systems shows. There also is a great deal of documentation of current service systems failing to make connections with at least some of the individuals and families they are designed to help. Typical among the stories told by workers in programs embracing such principles are families who achieve remarkable gains, and subsequently confide, “You are the first person who really has cared what I think” or “I have never trusted someone from the system before.”¹⁰²

At the same time, this theory is often difficult to disentangle from current preferred system practice. Workers often contend this is what social work is about in the first place, and constitutes what they currently are doing, insofar as external constraints and client cooperation permit them.

As with other theories of change, there are several underlying premises regarding this shift in frontline practice.

This form of frontline practice achieves better results than more professionally directed practice, at least for a significant portion of the children and families in poor neighborhoods who receive services. The grounding for this premise includes much of the general work in the fields of psychology and sociology. Jill Kinney and her colleagues, based upon a synthesis of a wide range of literature and clinical research, have identified six principles of effective practice.

1. Effective workers emphasize client strengths, rather than client pathology, and use client strengths and resources in problem solving.
2. Effective workers view their clients holistically, and their treatment plans encompass a broad array of factors.
3. Effective workers join with their clients as true partners in a collaborative, problem-solving effort.
4. Effective workers tailor treatment plans to meet the needs and goals of their clients.
5. Effective workers and clients work together to create very specific, short-term, measurable goals for treatment.
6. Effective workers display certain skills and attitudes, including the ability to engage clients in a trusting working relationship, to express appropriate empathy, and to facilitate learning a broad range of life skills.¹⁰³

Establishing trust with a client is fundamental to helping the client change, or work to change his or her surrounding circumstances. While establishing trust does not require partnerships or equal relationships, it does require belief that the client can change, which presumes that the client has strengths.

The role of self-help and mutual support in this process also makes good theoretical sense. Unless children and families are connected with support systems, their gains in any professional therapeutic intervention are likely to be limited in terms of their ability to navigate their world.¹⁰⁴ The self-help and mutual aid literature, while mixed in showing gains on clinical diagnoses and conditions, is strong in showing improvements in functioning and client perceptions of well-being, two of the three dimensions of outcomes used in the

medical world.¹⁰⁵ Many parents of children with disabilities have had the resources and community standing to advocate for changes in professional response. As such, the disability world has some of the strongest literature on the power of consumer involvement in improving service design and outcomes, particularly as measured by consumer satisfaction.¹⁰⁶

Many of the publicized success stories in community-based systems systems reform have occurred within very poor neighborhoods. Their successes generally have been attributed to forging empowering relationships between children and families and service systems based on new practice principles stressing partnerships and an ecological approach.¹⁰⁷

The emphasis on empowerment has not been universally accepted, however. Rather, some systems attribute their ability to achieve positive outcomes to the use of sanctions. The growing welfare reform literature suggests that imposing work requirements for the receipt of public assistance payments has caused some people to work who otherwise would not, with some individuals claiming a benefit for themselves and their families.¹⁰⁸ Further, when income has increased as a result of that employment, there is some evidence that children in welfare households do better.¹⁰⁹ The juvenile justice and corrections literature provides evidence for the deterrent effect of sanctions in at least some settings for some individuals.

In addition, some contend that change, in the form of human advancement, is simply not possible within poor neighborhoods, and that the best society can aspire to is greater social peace.¹¹⁰

Social services often do look very different in poor neighborhoods than in affluent ones. The distances between the systems and the families they are designed to help—in culture, race, class, world experience, and sense of opportunity—are very large.¹¹¹ Practitioners in poor neighborhoods may come to see their role as one of social control and maintenance, rather than help and empowerment. In child welfare and juvenile justice service systems—largely involuntary systems with disproportionate numbers of clients in poor neighborhoods¹¹²—workers often view themselves as enforcement officers rather than asset developers.

Frontline practice changes can be imparted to workers and do not require such rare skills and talents that there will never be a sufficient supply of

workers able to do the work. Social workers can learn to change practice.

There is little evidence, either supportive or contradictory, on this premise. There are few instances of efforts to convert existing human service systems to apply new principles of practice across their workforces, and little measurement of change where these efforts have been made.

It is clear that practicing according to these principles requires knowledge and skill. It demands that workers exercise a great deal of discretion when partnering with families. This practice also requires that frontline workers have the ability to call upon a broader range of knowledge than professional expertise in only one field. Particularly in poor neighborhoods, this also requires appreciation for different cultures and partnering with diverse individuals and groups.

In part, the rule-bound nature of many current public services seeks to standardize responses at the frontline level to minimize the inappropriate exercise of discretion, particularly by workers who were not hired on the basis of professional training and expertise. It is not clear if existing workers can change their practices, but it is likely some social services will have to increase their skill expectations, with commensurate increases in training, supervision, professional development, and compensation.

Policies, processes, and structures can be established to produce this frontline practice transformation. Organizations can be restructured to support this practice. There is much historical precedent to believe that shifts in thought and practice can occur within large public systems, although there are different explanations of how they occur, particularly depending on how fundamental the shifts are.

The diffusion of innovation literature suggests that superior new practices (innovations) eventually will take hold within systems by spreading to new practitioners. Diffusion can be speeded by identifying persons who can act as initiators and early adopters, using their experiences and successes to enlist the support of respected colleagues in the field. Those enlisted can then help diffuse the practice to the majority of practitioners.¹¹³ Simplistically, there is a “10-80-10” rule to converting practice through diffusion, with 10 percent of practitioners eagerly embracing new ideas, 80 percent converting over time, and 10 percent resisting permanently. This latter group requires reassignment, retirement, replacement, or removal.

Alternatively, if the change is a true paradigm shift—a fundamental restructuring of the underlying assumptions and premises in the field—the likelihood of persons changing their practices is small. The old systemic beliefs will fight the new ones to the end. The process of change ultimately will be a destruction of the old by the new, often as an entirely new system or field eventually gains power. This has been variously described as the structure of scientific revolutions or the theory of creative destruction.¹¹⁴

In either case, change occurs less through rules and policies than through training, support, experience, and politics. If practices are to be changed—to provide greater rather than lesser discretion—rules and policies can stand in the way, but they alone cannot produce desired change.

Further, changes in frontline practice can have major consequences to the manner in which organizations structure themselves, with hierarchical administrations being at cross-purposes to systems based on local and frontline discretion. Converting hierarchical systems into collegial ones represents a significant organizational challenge, although it has been achieved in a number of service delivery agencies.¹¹⁵ As funders of those organizations, however, state departments and agencies, in particular, often have had a great deal of difficulty converting their own roles from regulating and guiding local activities to supporting and facilitating them.¹¹⁶

Implementation Experiences

There has been much rhetoric at the state and community levels about converting public social service systems into consumer-driven, asset-oriented, and neighborhood-based entities. Interagency commissions or cabinets, social service departments and agencies, and community collaboratives have rewritten their mission statements to promote new frontline practice principles.

Actual field experience in converting these principles into practice has been limited, however. As Iowa embarked on such an agenda in child welfare and juvenile justice, Doug Nelson cautioned the state that, “In my own experience, it takes four times as much administrative time and priority to manage a change in system structure and function than it does to effectively administer the status quo. If that level of priority is not accorded . . . new policies will very likely not be operationalized in a way that will work.”¹¹⁷ Over the last two decades, however, the infrastructure within public systems at the state and community

levels that might plan, administer, and support such change efforts generally has been reduced rather than expanded.¹¹⁸

Some of the most concerted efforts at this practice change have been through relatively small-scale foundation efforts. In particular, the Clark Foundation's Community Partnerships for Protecting Children sought to produce such change in the child protective service system in four communities. Increasingly, Clark emphasized training, staff development, and supporting a "culture change" in public systems.¹¹⁹ The Annie E. Casey Foundation's Family-to-Family Initiative has had a similar thrust in family foster care.¹²⁰

Two areas in which work has proceeded the furthest in producing broad-scale practice changes have been in the disability field and the field of child mental health. In addition, specific social service organizations, such as the Behavioral Sciences Institute, have sought to institutionalize this practice within their own programs.

Through their persistence and leadership, parents of children with disabilities produced substantial changes in disability services' professional practice and treatment. The changes involve much greater family participation in planning, care, and treatment, and much greater inclusion of children with disabilities in general, as opposed to segregated programs and activities. Even in the disability world, however, changing professional practice remains a struggle.

The many important implementation lessons from the disability field, however, cannot necessarily be directly transferred to poor neighborhoods. Parent advocates for practice changes in the disability world have often had standing in their communities and the resources to press for change. They were dealing with conditions recognized as organic in nature, that did not stigmatize them or their children. Poor families and poor neighborhoods face far greater barriers to getting their message heard.

The systems of care movement for children's mental health has largely been supported through a federal program, the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP), which advocates were successful in getting Congress to enact. From the outset, CASSP sought to provide technical assistance and support to change the professional mental health culture to embrace a, holistic "systems of care" perspective and to build a mental health system for children that is not a simple derivative of the adult mental health system. In many respects, CASSP

worked to construct a diffusion of innovation model in supporting professional practice changes.¹²¹

One example of institutionalizing this frontline practice is the Homebuilders program in Tacoma, Washington, a very structured family preservation model.¹²² The success of Homebuilders is dependent on the skills and abilities of its workers to diagnose family issues and resolve them in a way that ensures child safety. To maintain program integrity, Behavioral Sciences Institute developed a continuous quality-review process, called QUEST, to help workers continue to develop their skills. QUEST involves extensive shadowing and supervision of workers, as well as other forms of experiential training, and has been integrated into Homebuilders' core operational structure. Its intensity and comprehensiveness far exceed the training and support public systems currently provide their workers.¹²³

Observed Impacts

In one sense, many case studies of exemplary programs emphasizing a new frontline practice paradigm show that practice that adheres to these principles can produce dramatic impacts. Still, the overall research base on practice impact is not particularly strong, for two reasons.

First, generally programs—not practices—have been the subject of research and evaluation. The focus on programs has gone so far that some reform efforts, most visibly the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)-sponsored community planning efforts related to Communities That Care and comprehensive strategies, recommend adoption only of “research-based” programs or curricula.¹²⁴ Moreover, determination of what represents a research-based program often involves a clinical trial-type research methodology that works best in examining uniform treatments with pre-established and largely linear outcomes. This approach is inconsistent with individually tailored practices that may have a multiplicity of goals.¹²⁵ While alternative methodologies are being developed for assessing the impact of these more complex, holistic practice principles, they are not yet in widespread use.¹²⁶

Second, while there are studies and proponents in the social service professions supporting more asset-based approaches to working with families, there also are studies and proponents for specific programs that stress compliance and impose sanctions as a means of changing behavior.¹²⁷

It is clear that adhering to these frontline practice principles works for some children and families at some times and should be part of a frontline practitioner's toolkit. It is less clear, however, how universally applicable these practice principles are and whether other approaches should be employed—either because the issue of individual or community safety is paramount or because they work better in such instances. In some cases, a judicious combination of the two may result in the best approach. For instance, Toby Herr applied her acclaimed work with long-term welfare recipients (Project MATCH) to large public systems. Herr believes that voluntary programs would neither reach nor help the full range of families that her program now serves effectively. Her sense is that the ability to impose sanctions represents an important component of program success and fostering client accountability. At the same time, she stresses a strong asset-based approach that provides support and recognition for change.¹²⁸

The issue of effectiveness in producing positive results is not the only concern, of course. People have rights, and there are values embedded in social service professions that involve treating people with dignity and respect and valuing diversity, whether or not doing so results in improved outcomes (or is the most efficient means to that end).

THEORY OF CHANGE FOUR: Planning Comprehensively and Establishing Outcome Accountability

Theoretic Principles

Currently, no single service system has overall responsibility for achieving results for children and families. Moreover, each individual system is accountable based largely on adhering to process rather than results. There are no clearly articulated goals for improving people's lives through social services that could be used to create an impetus for change, nor are workers and systems rewarded for success. An overall governance structure is needed to plan comprehensively and establish accountability within and across systems to improve results for children and families. This is particularly important in poor neighborhoods, where risk factors interact and poor results are most prevalent.

In two 1970s films (*The Heartbreak Kid* and *The Graduate*), the young protagonist was offered the secret to the future by an older businessman—plastics.

If there is such a single-word message to state agencies and community collaboratives in their reform efforts today, it is “outcomes.”¹²⁹ States such as Oregon and Minnesota have been leaders in developing a broad range of outcomes upon which all policies and funding decisions are to be made. National efforts such as the Annie E. Casey Foundation’s *Kids Count Data Book*,¹³⁰ the United States Department of Health and Human Service’s *Trends in the Well-Being of America’s Children and Youth*,¹³¹ and child and family report cards from a variety of political perspectives (from the Children’s Defense Fund¹³² to Children’s Rights Council¹³³), have brought visibility to the increasing vulnerability of children to “rotten outcomes” on a range of dimensions.

At the same time, no single service system can achieve optimal results alone. Children bring more than educational needs into the classroom; families bring more than employment needs into the welfare office; individuals bring more than medical needs into the health clinic. Unless these needs are met, schools will not achieve optimal student educational outcomes; welfare systems will not help some families reach self-sufficiency through employment; medical care will not guarantee optimal health and functioning.

Increasingly, state governments and communities are supporting the development of planning structures designed to establish overarching goals and hold individual systems more accountable for results. Federal, state, and foundation initiatives frequently require new cross-system community-level planning structures that have responsibility for administering new grant funds. Although these community collaboratives may not have statutory authorization, the most ambitious are designed to exert authority over existing social service systems and hold them accountable for community-wide outcomes.¹³⁴

The rhetoric on moving to outcome-based funding frequently poses a shift from holding programs accountable to process to providing programs flexibility in what they do while holding them accountable for results.¹³⁵ At its furthest reach, administrators talk of “purchasing results, not services,” including devising payment systems based upon achieving measurable outcomes or milestones.¹³⁶

Soundness of Premises

This theory of change has been most popular among executive and legislative branch officials and top-level administrators, in part because they are respon-

sible for the “big picture” of all social service systems and in part because they can delegate the actual task for implementing the changes downward to others. Moreover, such delegation does not necessarily entail any additional resources. It can be argued that better outcomes can be achieved by doing better with what is already there—through replacing ineffective or less effective services and strategies with more effective ones.

As with the other theories of change, several underlying premises deserve discussion.

Rational and comprehensive planning will produce better results, particularly where there are complex interplays across different social service needs. Developing a comprehensive plan that extends beyond the boundaries of any single service system to achieve overall goals makes some logical sense. There is the old adage, “If you don’t know where you are going, any road will get you there.” Clearly, if social service systems did not have goals and objectives for improved client or community outcomes, there would be no point in their existence.¹³⁷ Integrating these into an overarching plan would help insure that systems operate synergistically and not at cross-purposes.

Heather Weiss, among others, adapted the business literature on “learning organizations” to social service reforms. Her focus is on outcome-based logic models that use experience-based feedback as the essential component for refinement and successful change.¹³⁸ This formulation is close to the rational, comprehensive planning model, but with a more dynamic component of continuous review and adaptation based on experience.

In his classic works in the field of public administration, however, Charles Lindblom argued that “muddling through” and “bargaining” reflected real-world approaches to dealing with conflicts and differing perspectives that could be implemented more effectively than rational and comprehensive planning. While individuals may engage in rational planning and goal setting, amalgamating individual perspectives into an overall, comprehensive plan may provide a textbook definition of democracy, but it does not occur in the real world. It is exactly the ambiguity of meaning that produces agreement on goals and means, because different parties can read in their own cherished perspectives.¹³⁹

The Rensselaerville Institute’s focus on developing business plans represents another alternative to an approach that presumes rational planning and

agreement. It stresses the need to identify promising markets for change and to capture market share systematically by employing benchmarks and milestones to determine progress and make changes along the way. The Institute notes that, particularly for inventions or innovations, successful actions may precede theory, rather than be guided by it. Inventors may not be able to articulate why they think their approach will succeed, beyond seeing something promising. Group planning, by nature, moves toward a lowest common denominator that tends to reject inventive, “outside the box” thinking.¹⁴⁰

In short, there exist alternative and sometimes competing premises that do not rely on comprehensive planning to achieve success. Rather, they are premised on the belief that progress is more likely to occur when restrictions are not placed on individual ingenuity.

An overarching governance structure with some authority to hold all systems accountable will improve the allocation of resources, create needed cross-system collaboration, and achieve better outcomes. Many systems reform initiatives require establishment of a governance structure with a broad, cross-system focus. Whether statutorily defined or voluntarily formed as a collaborative entity, the term “governance” is generally used instead of “government” to acknowledge that the entity is not replacing existing formal governments. These formal governments (state, county, city, school district) retain their statutory responsibilities for allocating funds and regulating services. The collaborative governance structures, however, influence formal government decision making and may even be delegated some resource allocation, planning, or regulatory roles.

While such governance structures may lack legal powers, they can earn credibility and influence through their actions. According to some proponents, effective community governance structures are characterized by being: (1) publicly accepted as legitimate and representative; (2) organizationally sustainable across changes in leadership, both internally and in formal governments; (3) capable of marshalling resources and exacting accountability across other systems and government; and (4) adaptive in producing change to improve results.¹⁴¹

There exist, however, other formulations that do not rely upon one overarching governance structure. Drawing from communications theory, there is an argument for multiple governance structures that are connected to one an-

other to produce a variety of pathways from one point to another. If one structure breaks down or fails to cooperate, this does not prove fatal to achieving the end goal, as it would if there were one central structure. Redundancy thus plays a role in compensating for imperfection.¹⁴²

Moreover, the existence of multiple structures potentially creates a greater number of seats at the table. This may be particularly critical for expanding the base of resident involvement in decision making. At a roundtable discussion on resident involvement in data collection, Henry Izumazaki made the point that, “When a new initiative starts, there may be new seats at the table. If there is only one table, however, people who get to the 1 are likely to stay there. New voices don’t have access. The challenge is to increase the number of tables or number of places at the table. There need to be strategies to expand the opportunities to participate to incorporate new voices.”¹⁴³

Accountability based on achieving outcomes rather than adherence to processes will produce better results. There is substantial evidence of the declarative power of leadership stating goals or objectives publicly. Raising specific goals to higher visibility increases the likelihood that people will work to achieve them, even if there is no specific accountability structure for doing so. Certain changes in American social behavior that have produced better outcomes—reductions in drinking while driving and reductions in adolescent engagement in unprotected sex—have resulted more from greater public attention and changes in social norms than from specific programs designed to affect them.

The argument for accountability based on outcomes rather than processes, however, speaks to changing the form of oversight for public social services. The logic of the premise is that systems held accountable for outcomes will adapt and revise their practices to achieve them. Systems held accountable only for processes will persist in their practices, even when they do not produce desired outcomes.

This emphasis on outcome accountability largely relates to areas where desired outcomes currently are not being met. Here, imposing outcome accountability on systems is viewed as a needed impetus for change. When programs or systems have established their ability to produce desired outcomes, there actually is a reason for accountability based upon adherence to process rather than

the outcomes themselves. This is true for replicating research-based programs and for institutionalizing worker practices within social service systems.¹⁴⁴

In most instances, the current emphasis on establishing outcome accountability is for large outcome areas—school success, teen pregnancy reduction, child abuse reduction—which transcend a specific social service system’s purview. A key issue in the field in establishing outcome accountability is the selection of outcomes to which systems should be held accountable.

Administrators and workers in systems often argue that it is unfair to be held accountable for changes they cannot produce alone, which has often been seen as an argument against imposing accountability from above. Alternatively, one of the most-cited proponents of outcome accountability, Mark Friedman, has argued the opposite view:

Don’t accept lack of control as an excuse. The more important the performance measure (e.g., children successful in first grade), the less control the program has over it. This is a paradox at the heart of doing performance measurement well. If control were the overriding criterion for selecting performance measures, then there would be no performance measures at all. The first thing that we must do in performance measurement is get past the control excuse, and acknowledge that we must use measures we do not completely control.¹⁴⁵

This question of which outcomes will be used for whom in determining accountability remains a critical issue. Others have argued that outcome accountability requiring cross-system collaboration should be born by the collaborative as a whole. This collective accountability would hold individual systems accountable for their part in producing desired outcomes, in terms of measurable impacts recognized as important to achieving the larger outcome.¹⁴⁶

In poor neighborhoods, social services systems alone may not be able to achieve many important outcomes for children and families. They may be necessary, but not sufficient, elements in producing those outcomes, but they will be unsuccessful in the absence of economic opportunity.

One final note on this premise: It may not be the case that systems are not accountable for outcomes as the outcomes, for which they are accountable may not be entirely consistent with achieving broader community outcomes.

In child welfare, for instance, very young children are only placed in foster care if not doing so would seriously jeopardize their safety. In most instances, foster care placements produce greater safety for the child. At the same time, the placement can have other negative effects that can lead to longer-term problems—separation from family and peers, loss of identity, and frequent movement and instability of placement. What is presumed to be a lack of focus on outcomes in social service systems may be a lack of clarity about the circumstances under which different outcomes should be stressed and how systems weigh their decisions relative to different outcomes.

Implementation Experiences

States and communities have made substantial efforts to develop sets of outcomes to be used for social service reforms. Oregon was a leading state in developing a broad range of benchmarks that included child, family, economic, and environmental outcomes. Its benchmarks have been in place for nearly a decade, with community governance structures established to make changes in systems to improve those outcomes. Minnesota followed Oregon in developing Minnesota Milestones, and other states have followed with their own sets of outcomes. A wide range of communities has established their own governance structures, with or without state authorization, to hold their systems accountable to improving child and family outcomes. Despite the variation across such initiatives, common on the list of outcomes are: family economic security (reduced poverty and increased employment); child health (reduced low birth weight and infant mortality and improved immunization rates); educational attainment (improved high school graduation and test scores); safety (reduced child abuse, foster placement, and juvenile delinquency); and responsible sexuality (reduced adolescent pregnancy and parenting and sexually transmittable diseases).¹⁴⁷

The focus on outcomes as a driving force for reform usually has been connected with developing a governance structure with some cross-system authority, although many governance structures have focused upon a specific outcome area—such as infant mortality reduction, school readiness, or delinquency or adolescent pregnancy prevention. In some instances, governance structures with more general goals have identified a particular outcome on which to focus in order to gain some initial successes.

In terms of implementation, most states currently have several different collaborative governance initiatives focusing on child and family outcomes in operation¹⁴⁸ and it is difficult to find a community of any substantial size without multiple collaborative efforts and activities.¹⁴⁹ While there has been extensive activity in identifying and prioritizing outcomes, establishing governance structures, and creating comprehensive plans based on goals of outcome accountability, the field has only begun to tackle several fundamental issues.

First, while communities generally have been able to identify priority outcomes and indicators with a good degree of consensus, there has not been nearly as much progress in developing consensus on proximate and intermediate outcomes of programmatic or systems change efforts. There is not yet agreement on how programmatic evaluations on outcomes should be tied to community-wide accountability for achieving overall outcomes. This is a particularly important issue for prevention programs, whose long-term outcomes are likely to be mediated by many other events and conditions. Pragmatically, proximate measures almost certainly are needed to assess impact programmatically, without waiting for long-term results to occur.¹⁵⁰ In addition, measures also are needed for systems changes, such as more seamless service provision and greater inclusion of natural networks of support in service planning.¹⁵¹

Second, while some in the field indicate that a good strategy for community collaboratives is to concentrate initially on a specific outcome to gain experience and success,¹⁵² it is not a given that outcomes can or should be addressed separately. Instead, they may represent a constellation of outcomes with common underlying roots related to individual, family, and community resiliency and opportunity. Strategies that focus on a single outcome measure, such as immunization rates, may do little or nothing to insure that children receive general primary and preventive health services, let alone produce the conditions needed by children to achieve good overall health outcomes.

Particularly in the case of more preventive or holistic approaches, targeting only one outcome is likely to miss the impacts that programs are designed to achieve. A kindergarten teacher may recognize certain students as being “at risk” of future problems with a fair degree of accuracy, but be much less able to discriminate among those at risk of dropping out of school, becoming pregnant, engaging in delinquent acts, or abusing substances. Causal links between programmatic efforts to strengthen resiliency at the child, family, or commu-

nity level can be made to all these long-term outcomes. Assessing a program only on one outcome dimension misses many of its potential effects.

Third, communities are only beginning to track outcomes and indicators on a neighborhood as well as community-wide basis. Neighborhood-based analyses, however, have confirmed that there is a concentration of the constellation of “rotten child outcomes” in poor, tough neighborhoods. Infant mortality, low birthweight, welfare dependency, and school dropout rates have been shown to be double to four times the rate in poor, inner-city neighborhoods as in affluent ones. Child abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adolescent parenting rates are four to ten times higher in poor neighborhoods, and foster and juvenile placement rates and adult incarceration rates are as much as eight to forty times higher.¹⁵³ Given these high rates, strategies in poor neighborhoods require much more concerted and extensive approaches. Alternatively, gains at the neighborhood level could produce substantial returns on investments that, at a minimum, would justify significant investments of resources in those neighborhoods.¹⁵⁴

Fourth, community governance structures generally have overall community representation but much less participation from poor neighborhoods, whose residents have the most at stake. Broadening participation and sharing decision-making power with those most affected by social service systems is one of the challenges that governance structures are beginning to acknowledge they face.¹⁵⁵

Fifth, most people involved in collaborative efforts do not naturally employ theoretical constructs and complex logic models to guide their actions. In fact, an evaluation of the Kellogg Foundation’s Youth Initiative, a serious, long-term effort to improve youth outcomes, found that its collaboratives took actions not on the basis of an overall theory, but in terms of what appeared possible at the time. While the collaboratives fostered new community activities for youth, their members did not have clearly articulated rationales for why they believed that what they did would produce better outcomes.¹⁵⁶

Several foundation efforts, including the Carnegie Corporation’s Starting Points Initiative, have sought to help collaboratives develop “theory of change” or logic models to guide their planning and actions.¹⁵⁷ It remains to be seen whether requiring the development of a theoretical overlay produces more effective activity or simply prolongs a strategic planning process.¹⁵⁸

Observed Impacts

Ultimately, governance structures designed to improve outcomes on a jurisdiction-wide basis should be assessed on that basis. Several efforts—Oregon, Vermont, and the Local Investment Commission (LINC) effort in Kansas City, Missouri—have been highlighted as leaders, both in stressing outcome accountability as a basis for reform and developing local governance structures to produce that reform.

Oregon has received much favorable publicity for its leadership in establishing outcomes as a reform framework to guide its local planning processes.¹⁵⁹ Frequently cited as evidence of the success of this approach was the work in Tillamuck County (including Boulder), which focused on its high rate of teen parenting. Between 1990 and 1994, Tillamuck County dramatically reduced that rate—from 23.7 per 1,000 females age ten to seventeen to 7.1, compared with a statewide reduction during that period from 19.7 to 18.9.¹⁶⁰ Though impressive, this reduction rose back to 15.2 in 1996/1997.¹⁶¹

In relation to other states, however, Oregon as a whole has not shown dramatic change on indicators of child and family well-being as a result of the benchmarks. At least as measured by Kids Count, Oregon's status actually declined slightly during this period.¹⁶² While Tillamuck County was successful on one benchmark for a period of time, there have not been a legion of other, similar experiences in Oregon. To date, Oregon has shown the ability to track trends on a community level on a variety of important benchmarks, but has not shown great evidence that tracking has produced changes in those trends.

Vermont, under the leadership of Director of Human Services Conn Hogan, placed a similar emphasis on community-based planning focused on improving outcomes for children and families. In addition, Director Hogan, with Governor Dean, leveraged substantial additional state investments in children and young families, particularly in child health insurance coverage and prevention programs. Vermont subsequently experienced substantial improvements in rates of adolescent parenting, juvenile delinquency, and child abuse.¹⁶³ The former two improvements, however, largely corresponded with national trends (although Vermont fared better than national averages with respect to white, non-Hispanic youth, its predominant population). Child abuse rates dropped greatly, even compared to overall national reported figures, but it is very difficult to say there are any national trends in this area. During the

same period, some states showed dramatic increases in child abuse, while others showed declines on a level similar to Vermont's.

In short, while Vermont's efforts deserve recognition, and its proponents have stressed the importance of developing an outcome-based system, outcome accountability remains only one feature that might have produced its gains. The willingness to be held accountable to outcomes may have helped make possible one of the other potential explanations for gains, substantially increased funding.¹⁶⁴ Finally, during the period Vermont made this commitment and experienced these reductions, its overall standing among states on Kids Count indicators did not change appreciably.¹⁶⁵

Kansas City's Local Investment Commission (LINC) has been nationally recognized as a leader in citizen governance, with extensive use of data to plan and develop more comprehensive and community-based services. Its citizen governance structure has received both broad authority and credibility at the state and community levels, and has leveraged significant new resources as well as redirecting existing resources. Again, however, while LINC has unleashed significant energy and positive community sentiment, there have not yet been such pronounced improvements in community-wide measures of child and family well-being to attribute these changes to LINC.

Oregon, Vermont, and Kansas City are sites that proponents of community governance and outcome accountability often cite because each has valuable lessons to share. Each has constructed more outcome-oriented governance structures and often leveraged substantial additional resources. At the same time, none has produced strong evidence that its focus on outcomes and governance structures has yet improved outcomes for children and families.

THEORY OF CHANGE FIVE: Building Grassroots Capacity

Theoretic Principles

There is a large distance between the culture of social service systems and the culture of the poor neighborhoods they disproportionately serve. Residents in poor neighborhoods do not see much of themselves in the workers assigned to serve them, nor do they see pathways for people in their neighborhoods to become part of those systems. At some point, however, if poor neighborhoods

are to become economically similar to other neighborhoods, their residents will need to be employed in these (as well as other) workforces in the community. Reforming social service organizations can create needed economic development opportunities in poor neighborhoods.

Of the five theories of change presented here, this theory has been the least frequently articulated in the service integration and system reform literature. In large part, this is because the social services world and community collaboratives historically have had little connection with community organizing and economic development activists. Often, community collaboratives have neither a strong grassroots presence, nor contact with representatives from the community organizing or community development fields who see the world in such terms.¹⁶⁶

The fact remains, however, that building more preventive systems and transforming frontline practice require much stronger grassroots connections to voluntary social networks and much greater embedding of those service systems within poor neighborhoods. This will only occur if “community-based” means more than agency geographic location. Rather, governance and ownership of those services must reside in the neighborhood, which must in turn produce a significant share of the social services workforce.

Soundness of Premises

There are three underlying premises for this theory of change.

Poor neighborhoods have people with the capacity and proclivity to serve at all levels in the social services community, if provided the opportunity.

This premise asserts that poor neighborhoods have the innate human potential to assume professional and administrative positions within society in the same general proportion as is found in larger society. Rejecting this premise means largely rejecting the overall goal of dramatically improving the human conditions in those neighborhoods, other than through depopulation or gentrification strategies. This would be self-defeating from the perspective of this essay.¹⁶⁷

The corollary to this premise—that unless people in these neighborhoods assume such positions, there cannot be social or economic regeneration—is also worth reflection.

Jerry Tello argues that:

When families of color must depend upon authority figures who are not part of their community, they receive a subtle message that the collective community is not capable of caring for itself and that they must in the end depend upon outside help. On the other hand, when families are professionals who are from the community, the message is that the community is coming together to care for its own. This is important for the development of a sense of collective, community self-reliance.¹⁶⁸

The issue with respect to social service systems is not the proclivity of residents to work in the helping professions, since residents now disproportionately hold the lowest-paid social service-related jobs.¹⁶⁹ The issue that is on the table is their ability to fill more than the lowest level positions.

Pathways can be developed to create career advancement opportunities for residents of poor neighborhoods in social services. Currently, the primary pathways to professional and administrative social service positions are through education and credentialing, rather than through experience in lower-level positions alone. This has proved to constitute a significant barrier to residents in poor neighborhoods.

Conceptually, however, there are several ways to create these pathways—through emphasizing competency-based training and credentialing rather than education-based credentialing, creating internal pathways to leadership within community-based organizations, and providing more opportunities for education-based credentialing to persons in poor neighborhoods.

Creating these pathways will improve services in poor neighborhoods and create other social and economic benefits in the neighborhood. There clearly are economic and social benefits potentially available to poor neighborhoods from greater employment by residents in professional and administrative positions within social services. While not among the most lucrative positions in society, professional and administrative positions in social services provide family-sustaining employment opportunities and could contribute to the overall economic wealth in the neighborhood. In addition, they represent part

of the professional base that could serve as role models and social mediating forces. In other words, they could help build a middle class that the research has identified as the most significant neighborhood effect on child and family outcomes.¹⁷⁰

Whether having residents as social service providers changes the nature of those services, however, represents a second part of this premise. Clearly, this does not guarantee that those providers will adhere to new practice principles or be closer to the people they serve than providers from outside the community. Persons in poor neighborhoods who achieve professional status can be just as authoritarian as those they might replace. Experiences from hiring at the paraprofessional level in poor neighborhoods indicate that there must be careful attention to recruitment and selection and not an assumption that any interested person, however well connected to the neighborhood, is suited to the work.¹⁷¹

Implementation Experiences

Most efforts to hire social service workers from poor neighborhoods have been at the paraprofessional level. While social service and community organizations have successfully found workers to perform these roles effectively, a review of the New Careers program indicated that a major limitation in past efforts of this kind is that the positions created generally did not provide career ladders.¹⁷²

Some evidence from case studies of new community-based programs indicates that career path development can be achieved if it is made part of program strategy from the outset. When Yoland Trevino became Director of the Vaughn Family Center in San Fernando Valley, California, she viewed one of her leadership responsibilities as identifying and supporting people in the neighborhood who could take over her job and other professional operations at the center. She not only identified successors, but also insured they had pathways to acquire the management and professional skills they needed. Within five years, she succeeded in working herself out of her job.¹⁷³ Allegheny County funded a number of neighborhood-based Family Centers, and provided sufficient community organizing and technical support to enable residents to direct the work of the centers, with several neighborhoods opting for complete neighborhood-based staffing.¹⁷⁴ In both instances, residents using those programs

indicated that community staff addressed their needs better than outside staff. The programs themselves were seen as community-builders as well as service providers.

There also have been some beginning efforts to incorporate career pathways for residents into large public social service systems. The Annie E. Casey Foundation's Rebuilding Communities Initiative directly supported grassroots organizations in developing neighborhood-based human services in their communities. Two grassroots organizations—the Marshall Heights Community Development Corporation in Washington, D.C., and Germantown Settlement in Philadelphia—took on some direct responsibility for delivering social services, each emphasizing increased neighborhood resident employment. Both constitute initial efforts to transfer responsibility for public system service delivery, including the staffing of services, to the neighborhood level.¹⁷⁵ They also, however, face challenges in taking over services systems that themselves were regarded as in disrepair.¹⁷⁶

While these examples show potential, they are exceptions to the general rule. Many well-meaning and well-respected organizations currently provide services in poor neighborhoods, but few have developed conscious or concerted strategies to transfer organizational leadership and staffing to the neighborhood level, nor have management books or manuals been produced on how to achieve that transfer.

Evidence of Impact

Anyone who has visited a grassroots social service program in a poor neighborhood that models, in its employment and advancement practices, its rhetoric of the potential for neighborhood residents to succeed, sees a vibrancy that is hard to measure by traditional methods but is nonetheless very real. Not only do such programs provide good services that help those receiving services to succeed, they form a bedrock and voice in the neighborhood. These programs are sometimes described and highlighted journalistically, but their management practices have seldom been examined systematically or described in terms of program replication.¹⁷⁷

At the same time, for every flourishing grassroots social service program, there are likely to be many more that struggle economically to survive, experience continuing management and staffing challenges, and periodically find

themselves under siege from their funding sources in demonstrating accountability for their use of funds.

In short, while there are promising guideposts, the path has yet to be cleared. The conversion of social services in poor neighborhoods from a professionally and managerially driven and credential-based structure to a more neighborhood-owned and experientially guided, competency-based system presents a great challenge as the best of both worlds must be maintained. Professional and managerial expertise needs to be acquired, but the neighborhood spirit cannot be lost in that process.

There has been very little documentation of such efforts, beyond selected case studies. More rigorous, quantitative work is needed, but it is likely to require methods and measurements that go beyond examining impacts on individual clients or consumers, as some of the most significant gains may prove to be at the community-building, as opposed to individual, level.

ACTIVITIES NEEDED TO FURTHER THE KNOWLEDGE BASE

Clearly, while there is an established theoretical and empirical research base for the different theories of change discussed here, there is much that remains to be learned. In some cases, clinical research methods may provide answers to important questions, but many may not be addressable by such methods and require different approaches, measures, and methodologies.

The broad range of currently occurring social experimentation provides an opportunity to at least somewhat better answer these questions. Drawing on field-based activities—particularly if self-evaluation and assessment strategies are incorporated—may prove to offer the most helpful information. In any event, it is likely that multiple methods, including but not limited to randomized trials and quasi-experimental designs, will need to be employed. The following describes some specific knowledge-building needs for each of the five theories of change, with a strong emphasis on issues that need to be addressed to improve practice and guide future field-based action and experimentation.

Prevention and Family Support

Prevention programs often have specific outcomes imposed on them by their funding sources. Violence prevention programs are asked to show their im-

pact on reducing juvenile delinquency, teen pregnancy prevention programs on adolescent parenting, dropout prevention programs on high school graduation. Unfortunately, programs often are not supported for the amount of time needed to determine whether these outcomes are achieved, nor provided the resources for the intensity of involvement required to show clear effects.¹⁷⁸ Meanwhile, the actual programmatic goals may be simply to increase youth connections with mentoring adults and positive peer activities, occasionally working with an individual youth on a particularly important concern. Helping youth achieve such goals may increase resiliency or protective factors that, in the long term, also reduce the likelihood of delinquency, pregnancy, and school dropout.

From an outcome perspective, such programs need to be assessed and evaluated on their ability to produce such intermediate impacts as increasing youth connections with mentoring adults. The methodologies for assessing such changes, however, are likely to require new measures and new evaluation strategies. Barry Kibel's work on results mapping, an approach designed to quantify qualitative data on personal growth and examine program success stories as proxies for larger program impact, is one approach.¹⁷⁹ This approach is particularly suited for tracking individual-level changes with similar methodologies needed to identify community (as opposed to individual) impacts, when programs are designed to serve as points of congregation within neighborhoods and increase the level of social capital.

Ultimately, this involves framing a different set of questions to be answered through research and evaluation. Alternative questions about prevention and family support that programs might consider include: their ability to engage otherwise alienated and hard to reach families; their success in helping families progress toward personal growth goals; their development of new leaders and role models; and their contribution to community social capital.¹⁸⁰

From a process or implementation perspective, such programs also need to be assessed for their fidelity to family support principles. Such an assessment can determine the degree to which family support principles actually are incorporated into practice and to identify successful strategies for doing so. Carl Dunst's and Carole Trivette's research has begun to evaluate programs for their fidelity to family support principles and to examine the degree to which incorporating those principles into practice achieves better outcomes. To date, this research has indicated substantial variability in incorporating such prin-

ciples into practice and the importance of family-centered worker orientation to achieve positive outcomes with families.¹⁸¹

Building this research base is critically important to knowing what works, but it is just as critical to understand how to put what works into practice within programs on a more consistent basis. Table 7.5 offers some frontline practice questions that need to be answered better to build a prevention and family support field of practice.

Finally, there needs to be some examination of the effect that going to scale within a neighborhood could have on program challenges and program opportunities. On the one hand, program effectiveness may be improved as more people have contact and congregation with one another and see collective, as well as individual, opportunities for growth and change. On the other hand, one of the features that may help individual programs achieve success is that they are able to get their families at the front of the line for finite services, which will not be the case as more families are served.¹⁸² Addressing this question will require a commitment to action and investment as much as a commitment to research and evaluation.

Service Integration

There is increasing evidence that service integration strategies, at best, relate to only a narrow part of needed reforms to improve well-being for children and families in poor neighborhoods. Still, there are obvious advantages to reducing duplication, minimizing hand-offs, and avoiding the imposition of conflicting or confusing expectations on children and families.

Similar to prevention and family support, there is a need to better identify what strategies and organizational structures produce more integrated responses to families. Research and evaluation that focus on such systems issues are needed to answer questions about how to make systems more seamless, reduce the costs of duplication, and make treatment planning more consistent across systems.

In addition, as electronic data system capacities develop, there also is a need to better identify the extent of client overlap among social service systems. This includes identifying profiles of children and families who consume a disproportionate share of system resources and identifying strategies that can more effectively address their needs.

Table 7.5: Frontline Practice Questions

What basic orientation, aptitude, and skills do workers need to have at the outset of their work?

What recruitment and hiring practices, including interviewing techniques, are most effective in hiring frontline workers with the orientation, aptitude, and skills needed to work effectively with families?

How much can paraprofessional “community workers” be employed to do this work? What additional supervision, training, and staff support is needed for these workers?

How can programs identify potential workers from within the neighborhoods served? How can recruitment be managed to avoid unrealistic expectations or hard feelings within the neighborhood?

What ongoing monitoring and supervision, training, and staff development is needed to continually improve quality and to make promotion, corrective action, and termination decisions?

When do frontline workers need to refer families for professional help and expertise, and when can they continue to work with families without referral? How do they make these diagnoses?

What “tables of organization” and “lines of authority” work best? How much can frontline worker teams be blended to capitalize on diverse expertise and professional backgrounds?

What is the role for volunteers in service delivery?

How can self-help and mutual aid be integrated into frontline practice, and what is the role of the frontline worker in supporting the development of such groups?

What techniques and tools are most successful in engaging hard to reach families? How can workers determine when activities cross the line from being creative and persistent to being intrusive?

What strategies can frontline workers take to increase the level of social capital within their communities?

Source: Charles Bruner, “The Family Support Movement: What Is the Promise and How Can We Deliver on It?” *Georgia Academy Journal* (spring 1995).

Transforming Frontline Practice

Much of the work to change frontline practice within public systems has been conducted through policy or administrative actions. These may be necessary to remove barriers to developing more flexible and holistic frontline responses.

Such changes, however, cannot ensure that discretion will be exercised at the frontline according to new practice principles. In the social services world, particularly the publicly funded arena that disproportionately serves poor neighborhoods, there often are limited efforts to lend consistency to frontline practice through means other than adherence to rules and reporting requirements.

Therefore, consistently incorporating reform principles into practice is a critical area for future knowledge development. Addressing the following critical questions will help establish the effectiveness of frontline practice reform for different children and families:

- When new staff are brought on board, what recruitment and selection practices work best to differentiate among workers who most readily will adopt or already have internalized such principles?
- What organizational structures and processes are most conducive to such practices (work setting, hours of employment, supervisory and collegial contact and guidance, hierarchical structure)?
- What training, staff development, quality assurance structures, and other infrastructure supports best produce organizational frontline practice that consistently adheres to such principles?
- How can frontline practitioner performance (through case record documentation, shadowing, or intensive case reviews) be evaluated on the basis of its adherence to this practice?
- What types of interfaces between professional practice and self-help, mutual aid, and community building can insure that community expertise and assets are drawn upon and professional practice is not distanced from community life?

Many of these questions are similar to those in Table 7.5. As knowledge development proceeds, it is necessary to be mindful of the intersection between professional practice and community work. As the last question emphasizes, each of the professional social services disciplines will have to examine where its professional expertise is essential to success, and where the effectiveness of its expertise is dependent upon that of a community.¹⁸³

Comprehensive Planning and Outcome Accountability

One of the major continuing challenges in moving to outcome accountability is determining what outcomes or impacts should be applied at different levels and who should be accountable for what. Outcome measurement at the program and systems reform level ultimately must be linked to measurement at the community level. At the same time, progress on measuring proximate or intermediate impacts of programs needs to be made. In addition, the field must develop greater consensus about which measures significantly contribute to achieving longer-term and community-wide outcomes.

As work proceeds, it also is important to determine the extent to which community collaboratives actually benefit from spending time and energy establishing explicit logic models or theories of change to guide their work. The research and evaluation community increasingly is brought into initiative design and development as a part of the emerging emphasis on outcomes. This community must recognize that such frameworks are not necessarily driving forces in the practice and policymaking worlds. These worlds are action-oriented and must deal with political issues and values as well as empirical issues and research.

Finally, the issue of whether long-term community outcomes can be addressed independently or must be treated as a constellation must be explored much more deeply, particularly as it applies to poor neighborhoods. Because they can impact multiple outcomes, holistic approaches deserve to be measured for their impact on more than one outcome, or they risk being dismissed as ineffective, even if their overall impacts are substantial. Further, unless multiple issues are addressed successfully in a poor neighborhood, gains in any one area may be only temporary, and certainly will not have the full impact that would occur if other conditions were also changed.

Building Grassroots Capacity

At the community collaborative level and the grassroots organizing and advocacy levels, creating more opportunities for neighborhood-based staffing requires a critical examination of the core competencies required by staff—particularly administrative and professional leadership—to produce success. Determining this is a precursor to developing specific strategies to create career pathways, starting with recruiting and selecting persons who can move into those higher positions with requisite support, training, and encouragement.

Knowledge building, through field experiences, is needed in determining how this conversion can occur. In particular, the following areas deserve additional exploration, work, and evaluation:

- Processes by which community-based social service organizations can develop the skills of neighborhood residents that will enable them to assume leadership positions in administration and management
- Incentives and supports that can enable residents in paraprofessional positions to acquire professional training, skills, and competencies
- Changes within mainstream organizations to make them receptive to a broader diversity of staff
- Alternative pathways that can be developed to move from paraprofessional to more highly compensated positions, including competency-based credentials and advancement processes

Summary

Some of the knowledge building that is needed to determine the validity and applicability of different theories in different contexts and with different types of children and families can best be established through controlled research designs, but much cannot. Increasingly, government and foundation initiatives are seeking to distill lessons learned rather than definitive research findings from their reform efforts. Many of the knowledge-building questions raised here initially are likely to be tackled first from a “lessons learned” perspective and subsequently from a more detailed and cross-initiative analysis. It is essential in this work that specific research designs not be confused with intellectual and empirical rigor in seeking causal explanation. In fact, intellectual rigor is

an even more important attribute in research and assessment that must rely on broad assessments of multiple data sources in making such causal inferences.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The theories of change outlined here do not exhaust the number that could be presented. Rather, they represent the more dominant ones undergirding most service systems reform activities today.

A strong case could be made for at least two additional theories of change: one emphasizing the critical role of leadership and one emphasizing the need simply for a critical mass of activity within poor neighborhoods to produce a tipping point for change.

On leadership, the Move the Mountain (MtM) Leadership Center has taken seriously Margaret Mead's famous quote, "Never doubt that a few concerned people can change the world. Indeed, that is the only thing that every has." MtM has chosen to focus its work on identifying emerging leaders within a community and then, through a transformational leadership training and support structure, supporting them in producing transformations within their communities.¹⁸⁴ On critical mass, the issue is not the type of specific activities and opportunities that develop, but the degree to which they constitute a level at which enough residents can participate that momentum is established for change—a tipping point or threshold effect. These two theories were not discussed in this chapter in large part because they have not been much practiced in the field.¹⁸⁵

Most social services systems reform efforts in poor neighborhoods are based on some amalgamation of each of the theories that were discussed in this chapter. These theories were not presented as alternative options for such systems reform efforts, asking practitioners to decide among them. Rather, distinguishing among them and discussing them separately was designed to stimulate critical thinking about the basis for reform. Each theory has some utility at some times yet is likely to prove insufficient, in itself, to produce changes that result in neighborhood-wide improvements in child and family outcomes.

The distinctions among the theories drawn here were for the purpose of describing the current knowledge base and identifying ideas and assumptions that require further thought and testing. Greater understanding of the underly-

ing assumptions of a theory, its implementation issues, and the empirical support (or lack thereof) will help in designing approaches that can answer some of the many unanswered questions about social service systems reform in poor neighborhoods.

As researchers, practitioners, public policymakers, and private funders continue to tackle aspects of this very complicated puzzle, there are three general points that deserve special consideration.

First, Lisbeth Schorr has quoted Sister Mary Paul as saying about her exemplary program in Sunset Park, “No one ever says, this may be what you need, but it’s not part of my job to help you get it.”¹⁸⁶ Similarly, a good researcher or evaluator should never say to a program or collaborative strategy, “I know that’s what you do, but it’s not part of my job to find a way to measure it.” Before a researcher can develop appropriate measurement tools, that researcher must understand what the program or strategy is designed to do. This is likely to require the researcher to work with program or strategy developers to identify the proximate outcomes the program seeks to achieve and to develop reasonable measures for them.

Second, it is important to view such research and evaluation as a tool for continuous improvement—to determine what works for what children, families, or neighborhoods. Practitioners continually evaluate themselves, their performance, and their impact on clients, but they often do not employ evaluation techniques that minimize the likelihood of faulty inferences and bias. Well-constructed evaluations should help practitioners assess and continuously improve their work. Practitioners may continue to resist approaches that hold them accountable to impacts they view as beyond their power to achieve, but they can and should press for accountability systems which help them measure the impacts they seek to produce and then use that information to better achieve those impacts.

Third, it is important to recognize that changes in outcomes on a neighborhood- or community-wide basis will occur only if the scale of activity is of sufficient magnitude to produce them. Demonstration efforts can provide important answers to questions raised about different pieces of the puzzle. Doing enough to change outcomes for residents in a poor neighborhood as measured on a neighborhood-wide basis, however, may require substantially more commitment and involvement than even the more ambitious foundation and fed-

eral initiatives have invested to date. Moreover, going to scale may raise its own challenges and opportunities that change the fundamental character of the puzzle itself.¹⁸⁷

In this important work, we should recognize that we currently do not have examples of social services system reform in poor neighborhoods that have succeeded in transforming the outcomes for the children and families living there. It is disingenuous to claim that we are seeking such results if we are not also willing to make commensurate investments to achieve that end.

Until we do invest enough to create some successes, we also may not be able to determine what pieces are essential and what are not and therefore how to achieve such transformation more efficiently. We may be at the prototype stage where successful actions occur prior to scientific explanation. Once we have some successes, researchers can begin to disentangle the critical activities and events that led to success. Most importantly, we cannot conclude that success is impossible until we have made the level of investment that we seriously believe is necessary for success, as measured by improvements in the lives of the children and families in poor neighborhoods for whom these social service systems are designed.

Endnotes

1. From the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation 1990 Annual Report, as cited in Douglas Besharov, "The Moral Voice of Welfare Reform," *The Responsive Community* 3, no. 2 (spring 1993): 13.
2. Lisbeth Schorr with Daniel Schorr, *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage* (New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1988), p. 137.
3. In this chapter, "social services" is used to refer to counseling, case management, and social work services in health, mental health, public welfare and income maintenance, childcare and development, disability, juvenile justice, substance abuse treatment, and other social service fields. It generally does not include income transfer payments or specific medical treatments, although it does include care coordination practiced by health professionals. It does not focus upon education, although social services often are provided within schools and some of the research cited is drawn from the school-linked services literature, in particular. Taken together, these social services generally constitute the "helping professions" that have been developed to address a wide range of human needs.
4. In this chapter, the term "poor" is used to refer to more than income. It refers to an identified geographic area characterized by an absence of necessary economic, social, physical, or realized human capital to insure general safety, health, and well-being and to be able to take advantage of opportunities for advancement and enrichment generally available in larger society. The Annie E. Casey Foundation sometimes uses the terms "tough" or "disinvested" for such neighborhoods to emphasize the absence of investments in all types of capital development.

5. A history of service integration in America emphasizing 1970 to the present is in Sharon L. Kagan with Peter Neville, *Integrating Services for Children and Families: Understanding the Past to Shape the Future* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). See also Alfred Kahn and Sheila Kameron, *Integrating Services Integration: An Overview of Initiatives, Issues, and Possibilities* (New York: National Center for Children in Poverty, Columbia University, 1992).
6. In 1993, the National Center for Service Integration compiled a directory of eighty-six federally funded resource centers to address children and family issues, most with some interest in developing more comprehensive, community-based services. Megan Berryhill, *Directory of Federally Funded Resource Centers—1993* (Falls Church, Md.: National Center for Service Integration, 1993). In 1995, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention created a matrix of thirty-six community-based initiatives supported by seven federal departments as well as public-private initiatives. See Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, *Matrix of Community-Based Initiatives: Program Descriptions* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1995). See also Charles Bruner with Karon Perlowski and Stephen Scott, *The Coordinated Service Delivery for Children with Disabilities Grant Program—Lessons for Innovation, Collaboration, and Systems Change* (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1995). The guidelines in the *Federal Register* stressed the importance of a comprehensive, community-based approach that would respond holistically to multiple family and community needs. The above referenced evaluation of the project noted that it was a “\$70 million initiative with a \$700,000 funding base.”
7. Through the White House Partnership for Stronger Families, a cross-agency Domestic Policy Council effort, a Technical Assistance Action Team was developed to examine the assistance provided to states and communities, including a working meeting in July 1996 facilitated by the Together We Can Partnership, which estimated that over \$200 million annually is expended by the federal government to provide technical assistance to support more comprehensive, community-based reform efforts. Together We Can Partnership, *Coordinating Federal Technical Assistance to Comprehensive Community Initiatives* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1996).
8. Ken Seeley and Charles Bruner, *Federal Policy and Comprehensive Services: A Perspective from Cutting Edge Initiatives* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1993).
9. Alternatively, Kagan and Neville refer to it as “categorical integration.” Kagan and Neville, *Integrating Services*, 1994.
10. For example, Oregon’s Community Progress Boards and Washington’s Community Health and Safety Networks, Pennsylvania’s Family Service Systems Reform collaboratives, and West Virginia’s Family Resource Networks have focused on broad children and family services. Iowa’s decategorization project for child welfare and juvenile justice, or California’s 1741 program with largely the same goals, are examples of reforms focused on specific goals. Ohio’s Families and Children First Initiative, California’s Proposition 10 Commissions, North Carolina’s Smart Start, and Iowa’s Community Empowerment Boards represent efforts to support communities in addressing the needs of young children and their families. An overview of state activities is provided in Charles Bruner, *Legislating Devolution: Developing State Statutory Frameworks to Support Community-Based Service Systems*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 21 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1996); Charles Bruner, Deborah Both, and Carolyn Marzke, *Steps Along an Uncertain Path: State Initiative Promoting Comprehensive Community-Based Reform* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1996). State efforts to develop comprehensive early childhood systems are described in Sharon L. Kagan et al., *Toward Systemic Reform: Service Integration for Young Children and Their Families* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1995).

11. Most of the Annie E. Casey Foundation's grant-making activities have focused upon public human services (education and social services) systems reform—with a common threat among its initiatives of developing more community-based, family-focused, and consumer-driven services. Other major foundations with a national focus—Clark, Kellogg, Pew, Mott, and Ford, to name a few—have developed similar initiatives. Such regionally and state-focused foundations as Kauffman, McKnight, Joyce, Danforth, and the Northwest Area Foundation have supported such efforts as well.
12. This version was developed by the author for use in an Iowa Kids Count initiative. References to a variety of other, very similar, iterations can be found in Sylvia Jansen and Charles Bruner, "Definition of Effective Services from Innovations in Different Fields," in *Beyond the Buzzwords: Key Principles of Effective Frontline Practice*, ed., Jill Kinney et al. (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994), pp. 29–36.
13. In addition to the seven elements of systems reform are three cross-cutting themes: family-driven; respect for and understanding of the implications of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity; and a systemic focus. Together We Can Partnership, *Community Wellness Toolkit* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1997). A synthesis of a variety of frameworks, drawing out the "lessons learned" and common elements, is found in Paul W. Mattesich and Barbara R. Monsey, *Collaboration: What Makes It Work—A Review of Research Literature on Factors Influencing Successful Collaboration* (Saint Paul, Minn.: Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, 1992). For a widely disseminated guide, the precursor of Together We Can's *Toolkit*, see Atelia I. Melaville and Martin J. Black, with Gelareh Asayesth, *Together We Can: A Guide to Crafting Community-Based Family-Centered Strategies for Integrating Education and Human Services* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and U.S. Department of Education, 1993).
14. Together We Can Partnership, *Community Wellness Toolkit*, 1997.
15. Ira Lourie and his colleagues have explicitly sought to change practice within the child mental health field to a systems of care philosophy, rather than developing new or alternative programs, per se. Their approach has been to change the culture within the mental health community to take a more comprehensive and family-centered approach to child mental health, largely through training and technical assistance and support. For a philosophic approach, see Judith Katz-Leavy et al., *Individualized Services in a System of Care* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Child Development Center, 1992). For a more detailed description of local systems of care, see Beth Stroul et al., *Profiles of Local Systems of Care for Children and Adolescents with Severe Emotional Disabilities* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Child Development Center, 1992).
16. Charles Bruner, *Toward Government's Role as Catalyst: Building Social Capital in Disinvested Neighborhoods*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 16 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1995); Arloc Shermon, *Poverty Matters: The Cost of Child Poverty in America* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 1997).
17. C. Wright Mills and Todd Gitlin, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
18. An evaluation of one well-financed, multiyear collaborative initiative, the Kellogg Foundation's Youth Initiatives Program, found that collaborative members acted opportunistically in developing programs, but, after five years of work, still had no articulated theory of change or sense of "gestalt" about what they were doing and why they were supporting it. Jerry Walker, *Goal Free Evaluation* (Western Michigan University, Mich.: The Evaluation Center, 1994).

19. The term “rotten child outcome” is attributed by Lisbeth Schorr to Mary Jo Bane to refer to the general group of indicators of child and family well-being referenced here. Schorr, *Within Our Reach*, 1988.
20. Sharon L. Kagan and Bernice Weissbourd, “Toward a New Normative System of Family Support,” in *Putting Families First: America’s Family Support Movement and the Challenge of Change*, ed. Sharon L. Kagan and Bernice Weissbourd (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), pp. 473–90.
21. An excellent review of the resiliency literature is found in Bonnie Bernard, *Fostering Resiliency in Kids: Protective Factors in the Family, School, and Community* (Portland, Ore.: Far West Laboratory, 1991). Drawing upon this literature, South Carolina has developed a ten-step program for communities to employ in identifying and addressing causal factors behind adolescent and school readiness concerns. James Neal, A. Baron Holmes, and Gaye Christmus, *10 STEPS to School Readiness and Community Prevention of Adolescent Problem Behaviors* (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Kids Count, 1995).
22. One enumeration of risk factors and their established relationship to substance abuse, delinquency, and teenage pregnancy is found in James C. Howell, *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, 1995). It draws upon the work of Catalano and Hawkins, originally developed for the substance abuse field and subsequently applied to juvenile delinquency. Richard Catalano and J. David Hawkins, “The Social Development Model: A Theory of Antisocial Behavior,” in *Delinquency and Crime: Current Theories*, ed. J. David Hawkins (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Program strategies then focus on building “protective factors” against these risks. See also Charles Bruner and Carol Behrer, *Summary of CFPC Outcomes Training for United Way Agencies* (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1999).
23. Urie Bronfenbrenner, *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments in Nature and Design* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Urie Bronfenbrenner, “Ecology of the Family as a Context for Human Development: Research Perspectives,” *Developmental Psychology* 22, no. 6 (1986): 723–42; Urie Bronfenbrenner, “The Ecology of Cognitive Development: Research Models and Findings,” in *Development in Context: Acting and Thinking in Specific Environment*, ed. Robert H. Wozniak and Kurt W. Fischer (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993), pp. 3–44.
24. Edward Schor, “Developing Communality: Family-Centered Programs to Improve Children’s Health and Well-Being,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 72, no. 2 (winter 1995): 413–42; Edward Schor and Elizabeth G. Menaghan, “Family Pathways to Child Health,” in *Society and Health*, ed. Benjamin Amick et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
25. Julia Littell and Joan Wynn, *The Availability and Use of Community Resources for Young Adolescents in an Inner-City and a Suburban Community* (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1989).
26. Douglas Nelson, “Connections Count: An Alternative Framework for Understanding and Strengthening America’s Vulnerable Families,” in *Kids Count Data Book 2000*, ed. Annie E. Casey Foundation (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2000), p. 13.
27. See, for instance, John McKnight and John Kretzmann, *Mapping Community Capacity: Report of the Neighborhood Innovations Network* (Evanston, Ill.: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, 1991); and John McKnight and John Kretzmann, *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community’s Assets* (Evanston, Ill.: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, 1993).

28. The “tipping point” also has been used to refer to a variety of “social epidemics,” explaining why the transmission of both good and bad social behaviors accelerates when it reaches a certain level. Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2000). The presence of middle-class neighbors has been identified as one key neighborhood causal factor. Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg Duncan, and J. Lawrence Aber, eds., *Neighborhood Poverty: Context and Consequences for Children* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997).
29. Brooks-Gunn et al., *Neighborhood Poverty*, 1997. For earlier works on the subject, see Jeanne Brooks-Gunn et al., “Do Neighborhoods Influence Child and Adolescent Development?” *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (1993): 353–95; and Jonathan Crane, “Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing,” in *The Urban Underclass*, ed. Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991): 291–330.
30. Haveman and Wolfe provide extensive correlational evidence that residing in disinvested neighborhoods relates substantially to experiencing certain “rotten outcomes.” Robert Haveman and Barbara Wolfe, *Succeeding Generations: On the Effects of Investments in Children* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994). In *Within Our Reach*, 1988, Schorr discusses the interactive effect of “risk factors.” As children experience more barriers and risks, their overall risk increases exponentially, with children in poor neighborhoods much more likely to experience multiple, rather than single, risk factors.
31. Charles Bruner with Stephen Scott, *The Effects of Concentrated Child Poverty on Child Welfare Policy and Practice: Implications from Chicago Kids Count Data and Interviews with Foster Children* (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1994).
32. Robin Jarrett, *Indicators of Family Strengths and Resilience That Influence Positive Child-Youth Outcomes in Urban Neighborhoods: A Review of Qualitative and Ethnographic Studies* (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1998); Robin Jarrett, “Successful Parenting in High-Risk Neighborhoods,” *The Future of Children* 9, no. 2 (fall 1999): 45–50.
33. Ron Suskind, *A Hope in the Unseen: An American Odyssey from the Inner City to the Ivy League* (New York: Broadway Books, 1999).
34. Geoffrey Canada, *Fist Stick Knife Gun: A Personal History of Violence in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).
35. Robert Putnam’s work on “social capital” and community well-being is found in Robert Putnam, “The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life,” *The American Prospect* 4, 13 (spring 1993). Putnam developed many of his insights studying the redevelopment of communities in post-war Italy. See Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). Other scholars have used different terms to describe these social supports. William Julius Wilson discusses the need for “social buffers.” William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Connell and Aber speak of the need for “social mediators.” James P. Connell and J. Lawrence Aber, “How Do Urban Communities Affect Youth? Using Social Science Research to Inform the Design and Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives,” in *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives*, ed. James P. Connell et al. (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute, 1995). Urie Bronfenbrenner calls them “microsystems.” Bronfenbrenner, “Ecology of the Family,” 1986: 723–42. Chapin Hall has placed these voluntary networks in social work language, calling them “primary services.” Harold Richman, Joan Wynn, and Joan Costello, *Children’s Services in Metropolitan Chicago: Directions for the Future*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1991).
36. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 1993.

37. Schorr, *Within Our Reach*, 1988.
38. For a description of Escalante's work, see Schorr, *Within Our Reach*, 1988. While the social science research community generally promotes randomized controlled trials as the best way to establish a counterfactual in order to assess an intervention's impact, there are instances where "the patient is his own control" and causality can be inferred by other means. See Norman Polansky, *Historical Perspectives in Evaluative Research*, unpublished paper, n.d.
39. Conversation by author with Lisbeth Schorr about a debate she had with Charles Murray shortly after the publication of *The Bell Curve*, January 1995. Murray's overall polemic against the ability to produce broad-scale improvements among poor populations or within poor neighborhoods, based upon innate capacities, is found in the controversial but highly readable book he co-authored: Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
40. Michael Little, presentation at the Dialogue for Leadership on Service Integration, Ministry of Community and Social Services, Toronto, November 15, 2000. Little has concluded, however, that there is a significant empirical base of support for prevention and early intervention programs, describing this literature in Michael Little and Kevin Mount, *Prevention and Early Intervention with Children in Need*, Dartington Social Research Series (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999). This study raised other important considerations in evaluating prevention programs: the imperfect nature of targeting and the consequence for results; the choice of targets (those most at risk versus those whose changed behavior might reduce overall norms). One of the studies cited in their research review that relates directly to the family support philosophy put into practice is Jane Gibbons, with Sally Thorpe and Patricia Wilkinson, *Family Support and Prevention: Studies in Local Areas* (London: National Institute for Social Work, 1990).
41. David Olds et al., "Effect of Prenatal and Infancy Nurse Home Visitation on Government Spending," *Medical Care* 31, no. 2 (February 1993): 155–74; and David Olds et al., "Long-Term Effects of Home Visitation on Maternal Life Course, Child Abuse and Neglect, and Children's Arrests: Fifteen Year Follow-Up of a Randomized Trial," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 278, no. 8 (1997): 637–43. The Packard Foundation's *The Future of Children* series also has produced two special reports on "Home Visiting." The PEIP model relies upon a nurse home visitor conducting a scheduled number of visits with a fairly established curricula, drawing upon the nurse's matronly authority and expertise to influence behavior. The relationship is not a partnership, as family support principles state. Olds' recent experiments have included paraprofessionals in the home visiting role, with fewer gains resulting than when nurses are employed, at least for the period immediately following the intervention, although longer-term impacts may show less of a differential. This finding is in some conflict with the experiences cited by Robert Halpern and others in the Ford Foundation's Fair Start Initiative. Mary Larner, Robert Halpern, and Oscar Harkavy, *Fair Start for Children: Lessons Learned from Seven Demonstration Projects* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992). See especially Robert Halpern's chapter, "On Program Design and Implementation" and his characterization of effective lay workers.
42. Lawrence Schweinhart, Helen Barnes, and David Weikart, *Significant Benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study through Age 27* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 1993).
43. For a good review of several of these programs, and IHDP in particular, see Lisa Berlin, Colleen O'Neal, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, "What Makes Early Intervention Programs Work?," *Zero to Three Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (February/March 1998): 4–15. For a review of the Chicago Child-Parent Center research, which came out later than their review, see Arthur Reynolds et al., "Long-Term Effects of an Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Achievement and Juvenile Arrest: A

- 15-Year Follow-up of Low-Income Children in Public Schools,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 285 (2001): 2339–46.
44. A good re-analysis and discussion of these findings is found in Lynn Karoly et al., *Investing in Our Children: What We Know and Don't Know about the Costs and Benefits of Early Childhood Interventions* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1998).
 45. *Ibid.* This is true for the larger field, as well. Frequently cited in the field is a statement that prenatal care is highly cost-effective, returning \$3.38 for every \$1 invested. This figure is from a population-based simulation model prepared for the American Medical Association and not from any program findings. An article reviewing the literature of prenatal care found no evidence that initiatives to increase the use of prenatal care show immediate savings, although they may improve birth outcomes to some extent. Jane Huntington and Fred Connell, “For Every Dollar Spent—The Cost Savings Argument for Prenatal Care,” *The New England Journal of Medicine* 331, no. 19 (November 10, 1994): 1303–07.
 46. While many states have developed pre-school programs and used the Perry Pre-School Project return-on-investment figures as a rationale for the investment, none have funded their efforts at what it would cost to provide those comprehensive services today, more than \$12,000 per child, nor have specifically targeted their programs to serving the same types of children served by that program. While pre-school programming has strong face validity in improving school readiness and future success in life, there simply is not the research base to conclude that more modest investments in preschool programs, or preschool programs targeted to a broad range of children, will have positive returns on investment.
 47. The Beethoven Project, named for the elementary school serving the Robert Taylor homes, was an effort to provide intensive and comprehensive services to young children and their families to insure their health and achieve school readiness. Labeled by the media as “a Marshall Plan for preschoolers,” the Beethoven Project initially was the subject of national media attention and promotion as an unqualified success. Philanthropist Irving Harris supported the approach as a test of “the best of what we’ve learned” combined into “a very concentrated program” and applied to families living in one of the toughest housing projects in the country. But despite being well financed and studied, the project did not achieve the outcomes Harris had hoped for, leading to his own reappraisal of the ability of such efforts to succeed, particularly in housing projects where residents must witness violence almost daily.
 48. Robert G. St. Pierre et al., *National Impact Evaluation of the Comprehensive Child Development Program: Executive Summary* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, 1997), Abt Associates, Contract no. 105-90-1900 Report to the Administration of Children, Youth, and Families, Administration for Children and Family Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The report rejects several explanation for no impacts—including poor program definition and poor implementation—although it did not assess the actual quality of the case management service and the visions, beliefs, practices, and skills of those case managers.
 49. A report based upon the study and its findings can be found in Jean Layzer and Barbara Goodson, “Parenting Education and Support: A Review of Research and Recommendations for Practice,” in *Early to Rise: Report Supplement*, ed. United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 2001), pp. 219–40. The federal report has not yet been publicly released.
 50. Abt Associates, *National Evaluation of Family Support Programs, Draft Year 4 Report*, Contract no. 105-94-1925 (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, October 1998).
 51. Robin Posey et al., *Communities That Care Prevention Strategies: A Research Guide to What Works* (Seattle, Wash.: Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 2000). For the blueprint series, see

- Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, *Blueprint for Violence Prevention*, monograph series (Boulder, Colo.: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, University of Colorado, n.d.). Another review and identification of research-based prevention programs is found in Mark Greenberg, Celene Domotrovich, and Brian Bumbarger, *Preventing Mental Disorders in School-Age Children: A Review of the Effectiveness of Prevention Programs* (State College, Penn.: Prevention Research Center for the Promotion of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University, 1999).
52. Lisbeth Schorr, "The Role of Evidence in Improving Outcomes for Children," in *Funding What Works: Exploring the Role of Research on Effective Programs and Practices in Government Decision-Making*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration and the Center for Schools and Communities, 2001), pp. 1–6.
 53. Charles Bruner, "Summing Up: Points of Consensus on Using Research in Government Decision-Making," in *Funding What Works: Exploring the Role of Research on Effective Programs and Practices in Government Decision-Making*, ed. Charles Bruner (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration and Center for Schools and Communities, 2001), p. 40–42.
 54. This has sometimes been referred to as a movement from "service collaborations" to "community collaborations," with an attendant greater emphasis upon natural support systems as well as professional services.
 55. Sidney Gardner has been a leading advocate for changing professional education to be more cross-disciplinary, often saying, "You can't change frontline practice when you are teaching it wrong in the first place." For several views on the subject, see Louise Adler and Sidney Gardner, *The Politics of Linking Schools and Social Services* (London: Falmer Press, 1994). Note especially the views of Michael Knapp et al., "University-Based Preparation for Collaborative Interprofessional Practice," *Politics of Education Association Yearbook* (1993): 137–52.
 56. Sidney Gardner, "Failure by Fragmentation," *Equity and Choice* 6, no. 2 (1991): 4–12.
 57. For instance, a family receiving food stamps, temporary assistance to needy family (TANF) assistance, and childcare subsidies may have to deal with three different application processes and rules governing assets and income. Moreover, when the family's income rises, all three may be affected, with the result that most, if not all, of the increased income is offset by reduced benefits. The situation is compounded if the family also is receiving housing subsidies under Section 8, women, infant, and children (WIC) food coupons, or other assistance. Charles Bruner, *The Dilemma of Getting Ahead: Low-Waged Families, Child Care, Income Transfer Payments and the Need to Re-Examine Government's Role*, NSCI/CFPC Resource Brief #25 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 2000). A good general discussion of eligibility criteria is found in Alan Kraus and Jolie Bain Pilsbury, *Making It Simpler: Streamlining Eligibility and Intake* (Falls Church, Virginia: National Center for Service Integration, 1993).
 58. Kip Tellez and JoAnne Schick, "Critical Teacher Education and Multicultural Issues," in *The Politics of Linking Schools and Social Services*, ed. Louise Adler and Sidney Gardner (London: Falmer Press, 1994).
 59. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Academy Press, 1971). In fact, categorical systems often have been developed to confer rights to services for specific classes through objective standards which otherwise would not receive them. See Charles Bruner, *Recognizing the Strengths of the Current System as a Prelude to Designing and New Service Strategy*. NSCI/CFPC Occasional Paper #7. (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1993). This social worker abuse of power is satirized in John Waters' film, *Trash*.

60. See for instance, The Radical Therapist Collective, ed., *The Radical Therapist* (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin, 1974). Some went even further, that mental illnesses represented healthy coping mechanisms. California Governor Jerry Brown entertained extended discussions with Thomas S. Szasz, M.D., author of *The Myth of Mental Illness*, 1961, on this very point.
61. John McKnight, "Do No Harm: Policy Options That Meet Human Needs," *Social Policy* 20, no. 1 (summer 1989): 4–15. A more extensive discussion is in John McKnight, *The Careless Society: Community and Its Counterfeits* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).
62. Arthur Himmelman, *Communities Working Collaboratively for a Change* (Minneapolis: Himmelman Consulting Group, 1991). Himmelman draws a distinction between top-down "community betterment" and bottom-up "community empowerment," very similar to Robert Fisher's distinction between "social work" and "political activism" as neighborhood-based organizing efforts. Robert Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994).
63. For a review of some of this literature, see Jill Kinney et al., "Worker Characteristics and Skills," in *Beyond the Buzzwords*, (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994), pp. 21–23.
64. Penny Johnson, Carol Yoken, and Ron Voss, *Foster Care Placement: The Child's Perspective* (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1989). This is a poignant illustration of the disconnect between the child welfare system and the children they are designed to help, involving interviews with a number of nine- to eleven-year-old children who had been placed into foster care. Forty percent did not know why they entered care; one-third did not know they had a caseworker; 90 percent changed neighborhoods and schools as a result of placement; and half saw their birth mother less than once or twice a month. At the same time, 90 percent said they missed their birth families all or most of the time and two-thirds indicated they sometimes cried as a result. Seventy percent desired to be back home or with a relative rather than in their current placement, and half did not feel that a child ever should be taken from his or her parents.
65. This has been one of the findings from the Clark Community Partnerships for Children Initiative, which has focused upon building connections with support systems in poor neighborhoods. For the philosophy of the initiative, see Center for the Study of Social Policy, *Strategies to Keep Children Safe: Why Community Partnerships Will Make a Difference* (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1997). For an overview of the initiative today, see Program for Children, *Community Partnerships for Protecting Children* (New York: Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 1999).
66. Ira Cutler makes the point that "it takes healthy systems to collaborate," to have confidence that they can offer something to the process and will not be attacked for their deficiencies. In poor communities, in particular, public social service systems do not consider themselves to be healthy and therefore have difficulty collaborating. Annie E. Casey Foundation, *The Path of Most Resistance: Reflections on the Lessons Learned from New Futures* (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1995).
67. A particularly horrific case that received national attention was the death of Elisa Izquierdo at the hands of her mentally ill mother. David VanBiena, "Abandoned to Her Fate" *Time Magazine* 146, no. 24 (December 11, 1995).
68. Leslie Rebecca Bloom, "'I'm poor, I'm single, I'm a mom, and I deserve respect': Advocating in Schools as and with Mothers," *Educational Studies* 32, no.3 (2001): 300–316.
69. Charles Bruner, *New Principles of Effective Practice—Implications for Service Configuration and Outcome Accountability*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 10 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and

- Family Policy Center, 1994); and Charles Bruner, *Beyond a Collaborative Model: Moving to a Holistic Approach to Systems Reform*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 18 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1996).
70. See Peter W. Huber, *The Geodesic Network: 1987 Report on Competition in the Telephone Industry* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1996), and Bruner, Both, and Marzke, *Steps Along an Uncertain Path*, 1996. The dangers of a single point of entry system are described in Charles Bruner, *Co-Location, Common Intake, and Single Points of Entry: Are They the Best Answers to Service Fragmentation*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 3 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1992).
 71. With respect to several major governmental support programs, see Sarah Shuptrine and Vicki Grant, *A Discussion Paper on Eligibility Policies and Rules across AFDC, Medicaid, and Food Stamps* (Washington, D.C.: White House Office of Domestic Policy, 1993).
 72. Alan Kraus and Jolie Bain Pilsbury, *Making It Simpler*, 1993. For a discussion of forms simplification as applied to Medicaid, specifically, see Center for the Study of Social Policy and The Together We Can Initiative, "Focus on Health Care," *The Community Agenda* 2, no. 1 (summer 1999).
 73. The costs in worker time of conducting "assets" as well as "income" determinations under Medicaid for pregnant women proved to be more expensive than the few denials of eligibility they produced, which has resulted in most states abandoning such asset tests for pregnant women.
 74. Carole Martin et al., *200 Families Phase 2: A Foundation for a Reform Process* (Minneapolis: Hennepin County, 1999). See also Jean Hopfensperger, "Core Group of Families Costs Millions to County," *Star Tribune* (December 16, 1999).
 75. Government Accounting Office, *Integrating Human Services: Linking At-Risk Families with Services More Successful Than Systems Reform Efforts*, Report no. HRD-92-108 (Washington, D.C.: Government Accounting Office, 1992).
 76. Douglas Nelson, "Found Difficult and Left Untried: The Governance Necessary for Service Integration," *A.E.C. Focus* 3, no. 1 (winter 1992). Nelson argues that integrating services has not been "tried and found wanting," but "found difficult and left untried."
 77. Kagan and Neville, *Integrating Services*, 1994. Carolyn Marzke and Deborah Both, *Getting Started: Planning a Comprehensive Services Initiative* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994), pp. 18–23.
 78. The Youth Law Center has reviewed a number of efforts around the country to facilitate information sharing across systems while continuing to protect client rights to confidentiality. Mark Soler, Alice Shotton, and James Bell, *Glass Walls: Confidentiality Provisions and Interagency Collaborations* (San Francisco: Youth Law Center, 1993). A summary of that study is found in Mark Soler and Gary Peters, *Who Should Know What? Confidentiality and Information Sharing in Service Integration* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1993). The issue of confidentiality sometimes has been seen as a "red herring" brought up by those who themselves do not want their work subjected to outside scrutiny. There are, of course, legitimate reasons for client confidentiality, but the more clients are present and participate in discussions about them, as the frontline practice reform literature recommends, the more the issue of confidentiality is moot.
 79. While individuals remain the same, their families often change. This is particularly true for families who are intensively involved in systems, as individual family members may move in and out of the family, and there are likely to be changes in spouses. The Dartington Social Research Unit has noted that when children are in substitute care arrangements for six months or more, their

family structure is likely to have changed by the time they return home. One parent, or a sibling, may have left or returned, or another adult or child may have joined the household. Roger Bullock, Michael Little, and Spencer Millham, *Going Home: The Return of Children Separated from Their Families* (Dartmouth, Great Britain: Dartington Social Research Unit, 1993). The U.S. Census added a new designation in its 2000 form to recognize the number of children (perhaps 6 percent) who are being raised by grandparents, although their parents still may be legal guardians, highlighting another issue in defining what should be considered the child's family. While practitioners may be able to define the important people and family members in a child's life, electronic databases cannot make judgment calls that vary from child to child.

80. The Stuart Foundation and the Kauffman Foundation financed efforts to develop a new software system, "The New System," which would integrate health and education data at the community level and be adaptable for use in different communities. After several years, they terminated the effort, with a "lessons learned" document on the challenges of creating such software.
81. For an early work in the field, see Carolyn Marzke, Deborah Both, and James Focht, *Information Systems to Support Comprehensive Human Service Delivery: Emerging Approaches, Issues, and Opportunities* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994).
82. Ray Dessault, "Putting the Human Touch Back in Government Service," *Government Technology* (November 1997); and Charlotte Adams, "Kentucky Child Welfare Gets a Twist," available at <http://www.civic.com>. Kentucky spent considerable effort developing a computerized data system, TWIST, which would be useful for case planning, monitoring, and system oversight. Generally, data is likely to be reliable only to the extent that those entering that data either use it in their work or are held accountable for its accuracy by the larger system. This may be only a small fraction of the information that workers are required to collect.
83. In particular, the federal government mandates states to develop the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS), which must include data on children in foster care or adopted by contract with the state. The federal government also requires reporting through the Statewide Automated Child Welfare Information System (SACWIS), and is requiring the reporting of specific outcome measures related to safety and permanency. The effort is to get some uniformity in reporting across states as well as to be able to determine how well states are achieving permanency plan goals within states.
84. Bruner, *Co-Location*, 1992.
85. Louisville, Kentucky, developed multiservice centers, or neighborhood places, close to schools, with community councils. While workers in these centers come from different agencies, the work is organized at the center level, with efforts to create accountability to the center rather than the separate agencies through the community council. Workers have had to resolve differing personnel policies and regulatory practices in structuring their work. See Jefferson County Human Services, *Neighborhood Place Handbook* (Louisville, Ky.: Jefferson County Human Services, 1999).
86. John VanDenBerg, *Alaska Youth Initiative* (Juneau, Alaska: Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, 1991). See also, John Burchard and Richard Clarke, "The Role of Individualized Care in a Service Delivery System for Children and Adolescents with Severely Maladjusted Behavior," *The Journal of Mental Health Administration* 17, no. 1 (spring 1990): 48–59, and National Technical Assistance Center for Children's Mental Health, *Promising Practices in Wraparound for Children with Serious Emotional Disabilities and Their Families*, vol. 4 of *Systems of Care: Promising Practices in Children's Mental Health Series* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Mental Health Services of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration, 1998).

87. Behavioral Health Department, *Ventura County Behavioral Health Required Plan* (Ventura County, Calif.: Behavioral Health Department, 1999), available at www.ventura.org/hca/bh/documents/required5.htm.
88. Westat, Inc., Chapin Hall Center for Children, and James Bell Associates, *Evaluation of the New York City Home Builders Demonstration: Final Report* (Washington, D.C.: Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health and Human Services, 1998).
89. There is a diverse array of managed care programs for vulnerable populations, typically supported for Medicaid recipients under 1115 or 1915(b) waivers. Some involve capitation and some do not. See Beth Stroul, Sheila Pires, and Marty Armstrong, *Health Care Reform Tracking Project: Tracking State Managed Care Reforms as They Affect Children and Adolescents with Behavioral Health Disorders and Their Families* (Tampa, Fla.: University of South Florida, 1998), and Rhoda Schulzinger et al., *Special Analysis: Child Welfare Managed Care Reform Initiatives: The 1997–98 State Survey* (Washington, D.C.: National Technical Assistance Center for Children’s Mental Health, Georgetown University, 1999).
90. For a description of Iowa’s decategorization initiative and its emphasis upon such incentives, see Mady Kimmich, *Iowa Decategorization as a Strategy for Comprehensive Community-Based Learning: Lessons Learned in Implementation* (Salem, Ore.: Human Services Research Institute, 1995), and Bill Rust, “Decat in the Hat: Iowa’s Successful First Step toward Devolving Resources, Responsibility, and Accountability for Child and Family Outcomes,” *Advocacy* 1, no. 1 (spring 1999): 4–12.
91. John VanDenBerg, *Alaska Youth Initiative*, 1991. See also Frank Farrow and Charles Bruner, *Getting to the Bottom Line: State and Community Strategies for Financing Comprehensive Community Service Systems* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994).
92. Pennsylvania’s Family Service System Reform (FSSR) Initiative provides funding to communities for systems reform activities designed to improve child and family outcome. It requires that counties identify measurable systems change objectives similar to those described above, which they then track and use for system improvement. Communities may focus upon systems changes in any of several areas—including governance, financing, service integration, and outcome-based accountability and management. Communities also must describe how the systems changes will lead toward improved child and family outcomes (e.g. provide a logic model or theory of change for their systemic efforts). The outcomes framework for FSSR is one of the few systems reform frameworks that explicitly distinguishes among systems changes, program outcomes, and community-wide outcomes. The outcomes framework, including systems change outcomes and indicators, is found in Department of Public Welfare, *Family Service System Reform Request for Proposal* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 2000).
93. Kraus and Pilsbury, *Making It Simpler*, 1993.
94. This is one of the central points made in a review of the collaboration literature by the Wilder Foundation. Mattesich and Monsey, *Collaboration*, 1992.
95. Two illustrations are evident from decategorization experiences in Polk County, Iowa. One involved case facilitation of complex cases that enabled participants to develop case plans “outside the lines” of existing funding streams. Charles Bruner, *Improving Children’s Welfare: Learning from Iowa* (Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1992). A second involved a demonstration project funded by the Danforth Foundation that supported a worker whose job was to coordinate child welfare services and educational plans for children coming back into the school system from out-of-community placements. See Megan Berryhill, *Serving Severely At-Risk Youth: The Second-Year Evaluation of the Polk County School/Community Partnership* (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1993). These are simply illustrations of such

- efforts in the field. See also Katz-Leavy et al., *Individualized Services*, 1992 and Stroul et al., *Profiles of Local Systems of Care*, 1992.
96. For a recent analysis of Medicaid waivers and demonstration projects that concludes there should not be expectations for cost-savings for such extended care populations of special needs clients through managed care approaches stressing integration, see James Verdier, *Coordinating and Financing a Continuum of Services for Special Needs Populations in Medicaid Managed Care Programs* (Philadelphia: Medicaid Managed Care Stakeholders Project of Center for Health Care Strategies, 1999). Ventura County and selected managed care experiences in behavioral health and child welfare have been able to reduce expenditures by 10–30 percent. In the case of the case facilitation work in Polk County, it was possible to turn one \$300,000-per-year family into a \$200,000-per-year family, a significant saving but still a very high cost with multiple, expensive needs. The experiences in long-term care for the elderly similarly suggest that, while more home-based services may be desirable, they generally do not dramatically reduce the overall costs of care, particularly when they are provided on an entitlement basis, because there is a discovery effect or woodwork phenomena (providing such options often expands the pool of persons who wish to be served and meet eligibility criteria, although they previously had chosen not to be served in a more restrictive setting). As with the elderly, many of the children and families to be served are not engaged simply for high cost, acute care needs, but have extended care needs.
 97. For an overview essay on incorporating such principles into different fields, along with programmatic examples, see Family Resource Coalition, “Building Bridges: Supporting Families across Service Systems,” *Report* 13, nos. 1 and 2 (spring/summer 1994). For actual articulations of these principles by organizations within different professional systems, see Kinney et al., *Beyond the Buzzwords*, 1994, Appendix.
 98. Paul Adams and Kristine Nelson, eds., *Reinventing Human Services: Community- and Family-Centered Practice* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1995).
 99. Louise Adler and Sidney Gardner, *The Politics of Linking Schools*, 1994.
 100. Piven and Cloward, *Regulating the Poor*, 1971. Of course, workers, despite rules and regulations, may bend their practice to do what they feel is most effective. Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980).
 101. Charles Bruner, “Beyond Service Collaboration—Involving Children, Families, and Neighborhoods in Service Reforms,” *PSAY Network Newsletter* 4, no. 2 (June 1996).
 102. A typical story from an exemplary program can be found in Byron Egeland and Martha Erickson, “Rising above the Past: Strategies for Helping New Mothers Break the Cycle of Abuse and Neglect,” *Zero to Three* (December 1990). Frequently, these stories relate that it took persistent and creative outreach to finally engage the family; that the worker had to show that “they were different” from others and would really stick with the effort, in order to get the family to open up. Charles Bruner and Judy Carter, *Family Support and Education: A Holistic Approach to School Readiness* (Denver: NCSL Women’s Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures, 1991).
 103. Kinney, *Beyond the Buzzwords*, 1994.
 104. In making the case for wraparound services, VanDenBerg states, “If a child doesn’t have friends, he won’t succeed.” Finding friends is therefore sometimes a critical part of a child’s service strategy. VanDenBerg, *Alaska Youth Initiative*, 1991.

105. While studies of Alcoholics Anonymous may not conclude AA “cures” many of its members, those members have more positive views of themselves and are more likely to carry on responsible roles in society. See Frank Riessman and David Carroll, *Redefining Self-Help: Policy and Practice* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995). For a discussion of the relationship of professionals to self-help, see Audrey Gardner and Frank Riessman, “Professional and Self-Help,” in *Wise Counsel: Redefining the Role of Consumers, Professionals, and Community Workers in the Helping Process*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1998). According to Michael Goldberg, in the medical world, “Outcomes are the results of patient care from the perspective of the patient, the doctor, and the system. . . . Technical physiologic outcomes are specific measurements of physiological function. Functional health status measures the roles and tasks performed by the patient. Patient satisfaction includes satisfaction with the processes of care as well as with the consequences of care.” Although much social science research draws from medical research, the social sciences often have defined outcomes along only the first dimension used in the medical field. Goldberg goes on to apply this medical model outcomes classification to child welfare. Michael Goldberg, *An Introduction to Outcomes and Performance Measurement*, paper prepared for the First Annual National Symposium of the Boston Children’s Institute of the Home for Little Wanderers, Boston Children’s Institute, Boston, 2000).
106. Valerie Bradley, John Ashbaugh, and Bruce Blaney, eds., *Creating Individual Supports for People with Disabilities: A Mandate for Change at Many Levels* (Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co., 1994); and Jan Nisbet, *Natural Supports in School, at Work, and in the Community for People with Severe Disabilities* (Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co., 1992).
107. Schorr, *Within Our Reach*, 1988; and Lisbeth Schorr, *Common Purpose: Strengthening Families and Neighborhoods to Rebuild America* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997).
108. Many reviews of the research on welfare reform and its impacts can be found in the Urban Institute’s *Assessing the New Federalism* series of reports and papers.
109. Pamela Morris et al., *How Welfare and Work Policies Affect Children: A Synthesis of Research* (New York: MDRC, 2001).
110. Herrnstein and Murray, *The Bell Curve*, 1994. They argue that the genetic material is not present for significant human capital development.
111. Charles Bruner and Larry Parachini, *Building Community: Exploring New Relationships across Service Systems Reform, Community Organization, and Community Economic Development* (Washington, D.C.: Together We Can Partnership, 1997). Community organizing efforts and community economic development efforts often dismiss social services as capable of self-reform, and some community organizing efforts mobilize against these systems.
112. A historical review of this country’s removal of children from their parents—from orphanages to orphan trains to the current foster care system—argues that children always have been removed from their parents largely because of poverty and as a means of imposing middle-class values. Leroy Pelton, *For Reasons of Poverty: A Critical Analysis of the Public Child Welfare System in the United States* (New York: Praeger, 1989).
113. Everett Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation*, 4th ed. (New York: Free Press, 1995); and Michael I. Tushman and William L. Moore, eds., *Readings in the Management of Innovations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Business Publishers, 1988). The federal Agency for Health Care Policy and Research has funded a number of research projects to identify effective ways to disseminate information to the medical field on new treatments and procedures, with findings that largely conform to the diffusion of innovation model.

114. For a history of the politics behind paradigm shifts in the physical sciences, see Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). For a description of the theory of creative destruction in the economic world, which argues that old products do not adapt but wither away in the light of superior new products, see Joseph R. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1947).
115. When Gary Stokes endeavored to change Mid-Iowa Community Action Agency from a “service provider” to a “family developer,” the role of frontline staff changed from determining service eligibility to working with families to develop self-sufficiency plans. He found that he had to restructure his organization by flattening his hierarchical structure and treating his frontline staff as the most important part of his agency, rather than the bottom of a decision-making hierarchy. In addition to respecting the skills they needed, he recognized that he could not ask them to partner with families if they were in an organizational structure that did not partner with them. His experiences led him to look at other organizations which had made similar transformations, with his observations found in Gary Stokes and Janet Carl, “Ordinary People: Extraordinary Organizations,” *Nonprofit World* 9, no. 4 (July/August 1991), no. 5 (September/October 1991), and no. 6 (November/December, 1991), three-part series.
116. Kagan and Neville, *Integrating Services*, 1994; Annie E. Casey Foundation, *The Path of Most Resistance*, 1995; Bruner, Both, and Marzke, *Steps Along an Uncertain Path*, 1996.
117. Douglas Nelson, “A National Perspective on Iowa’s Initiative: Challenges to Iowa Policy Makers,” unpublished speech, Des Moines, Iowa, June 30, 1992.
118. In Iowa, for instance, while overall state spending increased slightly in real (inflation-adjusted) dollars, and programmatic dollars increased dramatically in a number of areas between 1983 and 1992 (Medicaid, corrections, and child welfare), general purpose government and administrative support, including planning, declined substantially in real dollars. As in the private sector, middle management state agency staffing was reduced dramatically, with a declining share of the overall budget from 8.9 percent to 5.8 percent, and a reduction in actual nonuniversity employees of 13.6 percent. See Iowa Kids Count, “State Budget Trends—Implications for Prevention,” *Iowa Kids Count Quarterly* (September 1994). Iowa generally regards itself as in the middle among states on many reform activities; many states were more aggressive than Iowa in budget cutting over this period.
119. For an overview of the philosophy behind the initiative, see Center for the Study of Social Policy, *Strategies to Keep Children Safe*, 1997. Chapin Hall is conducting both formative and summative evaluations of the initiative. While it did not start as such, developing “individualized courses of action,” with active family involvement—a major practice change for the CPS system—is now the centerpiece of the Foundation’s effort.
120. The Initiative has produced a series of overviews, summaries, and implementation manuals on sixteen topics, based upon experiences in implementation, family to family. Annie E. Casey Foundation, *Family to Family: Reconstructing Foster Care* and *Family to Family: Tools for Rebuilding Foster Care* (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1998).
121. Ira Lourie, *Principles of Local System Development for Children, Adolescents, and Their Families* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Child Development Center, 1994).
122. Homebuilders are designed to work very intensively, on a short-term (four-to-six week) basis, with families at imminent risk of having a child placed in the foster care system. A family preservation worker is on call twenty-four hours a day over this period, and works with no more than two or three families at a time. The model is holistic, building on family strengths to address the needs that gave rise to placement. From the outset, Homebuilders has sought to retain its program integrity as it expanded from one site to another, recognizing that integrity

rested with the quality of the workers. The potential for replicating Homebuilders attracted Peter Forsythe at the Clark Foundation to use it as a model for family preservation services for state implementation.

123. For a current description of Homebuilders and the role of QUEST, see Shelley Leavitt and Susan Robison, *Intensive Family Preservation Services Implementation Guide and Toolbook* (Federal Way, Wash.: Behavioral Sciences Institute, 2000).
124. For the Communities That Care enumeration of research-based programs, see Posey et al., *Communities That Care*, 2000. A more detailed assessment of research-based programs has been developed by the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado in Boulder. Their *Blueprint for Violence Prevention* series describes in detail ten research-based programs that meet high standards for demonstrated success—including some evidence of replicability. Mark Greenberg and associates have sought to conduct a similar review of programs designed to address mental disorders of school-aged children in Greenberg, Domitrovich, and Bumbarger, *Preventing Mental Disorders*, 1999.
125. Charles Bruner et al., *Funding What Works: Exploring the Role of Effective Programs and Practices in Government Decision-Making* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration and Center for Schools and Communities, 2001).
126. For one approach, see Barry Kibel, *Results Mapping: Success Stories as Hard Data* (New York: Kluwer Publications, 1999). For two cutting-edge efforts to assess the impact of the practice principles themselves, see Carl Dunst and Carol Trivette, *Parenting Supports and Resources, Helping Practices, and Parenting Confidence* (Asheville, N.C.: Winterberry Press, 2001); and Carl Dunst and Carol Trivette, *Benefits Associated with Family Resource Center Practices* (Asheville, N.C.: Winterberry Press, 2001).
127. Boot camps and “scared straight” programs for juveniles are two examples of programs that have been promoted as effective, based largely on case studies or examples drawn from particular programs. Subsequent research, however, has cast doubt on their actual effectiveness. See Michael Peters, David Thomas, and Christopher Zamberlan, *Boot Camps for Juvenile Offenders*, report prepared by Caliber Associates (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, 1997). At the same time, the research base for such programs is not dissimilar from that for many family support interventions. Of course, as occurred in Maryland, boot camps can be operated in ways that violate human rights and are more likely to cause harm to the individuals served than more asset-based programs.
128. For a description of Herr’s work, see Toby Herr and Suzanne L. Wagner, “Moving from Welfare to Work as Part of a Group: How Pathways Make Caseload Connections,” in *Wise Counsel, Redefining the Role of Consumers, Professionals, and Community Workers in the Helping Process* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1998), pp. 56–74. For a description of Project MATCH as it operated in the Cabrini-Green housing project in Chicago, with a discussion of the various pathways families take to greater self-sufficiency, see Toby Herr and Robert Halpern, *Changing What Counts: Re-Thinking the Journey Out of Welfare* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, 1991); and Toby Herr, Suzanne L. Wagner, and Robert Halpern, *Making the Shoe Fit: Creating a Work-Prep System for a Large and Diverse Welfare Population* (Evanston, Ill.: Erickson Institute, 1996).
129. As Mark Friedman and others have pointed out, there is no agreement on the terminology used in this field. Some use the term “outcomes” and others use the term “results” or “benchmarks.” Here, the term “outcomes” generally will be employed and used to refer to general dimensions of well-being, while “indicators” will be used to refer to specific measures. “Impacts” or “proxi-

- mate outcomes” will be used to refer to shorter-term, intermediary, or proximate effects. The social science world generally refers to “outcomes” as long term or final or distal and “impacts” as short-term or proximate, while the clinical world uses “outcomes” as proximate and “impacts” as distal. Programmatic effects are more likely to be measured in terms of proximate outcomes/impacts and community-wide effects are more likely to be measured in terms of distal outcomes/impacts. Further, “indicators” are generally used to refer to specific measures (such as infant mortality or student test scores), while distal outcomes/impacts relate to more general dimensions (such as health or education).
130. In addition to publishing the annual *Kids Count Data Book*, the Annie E. Casey Foundation funds organizations in all fifty states and the District of Columbia to develop state versions of the report. The latest data book features a report on poor neighborhoods and their relationship to family supports. See Annie E. Casey Foundation, *Kids Count Data Book 2000* (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, n.d.)
 131. Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, *Trends in the Well-Being of America's Children and Youth: 1999* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Health and Human Services, 1999).
 132. Children's Defense Fund, *State of America's Children: Yearbook 2000* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 2000).
 133. The major differences in the Children's Rights Council Report and other data books on the choice of indicators were the use of abortion data and dissolutions of marriage to rank states. Children's Rights Council, *Report*, available at www.vix.com/crc/.
 134. The Center for the Study of Social Policy has been a leading force in describing these governance structures and their functions. For a brief summary, see Phyllis Brunson, “Local Governance: A Call to Action,” *Georgia Academy Journal* 4, no. 4 (spring 1997). See also Center for the Study of Social Policy, *Toward New Forms of Local Governance: A Progress Report from the Field* (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1996).
 135. For several iterations on this theme, see Lisbeth Schorr, “The Case for Shifting to Results-Based Accountability,” in *Making a Difference: Moving to Outcome-Based Accountability for Comprehensive Service Reforms*, ed. Nancy Young et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1994); Mark Friedman, *A Strategy Map for Results-Based Budgeting* (Washington, D.C.: The Finance Project, 1996); and Jack Brizius and Michael Campbell, *Getting Results: A Guide to Government Accountability* (Washington, D.C.: Council of Governors' Policy Advisors, 1991).
 136. Under the direction of Director Jessie Rasmussen, for instance, the Iowa Department of Human Services has developed an Action Plan designed to switch its “resource management strategy” by renaming its staff “results brokers” and the agencies the staff contract with “results producers.” Under the conceptual model, all contracting would be results-based, including paying case rates according to the degree to which specific outcomes are achieved. The phrase, “purchasing results, not services,” has been used to describe this shift to policymakers and the public. For a critique of this approach, as well as a review of the literature on current efforts within child welfare to develop more outcome accountability, see Charles Bruner, *Financing and Outcome Accountability in Child Welfare: An Assessment of the State of the Field*, NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 24 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 2000).
 137. At the same time, after their creation, systems develop an organizational life of their own and tend to become institutionalized and self-preserving. Nicos Mouzelis, *Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories* (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1968). They even may redirect themselves away from their initial reason for formation and work for self-survival

above any external goals. This may be true either because they have failed to achieve their goals or because they have achieved them. If they have failed to achieve their goals, they may reframe their mission to avoid being regarded as a failure. If they achieve their initial goals, they may have to create a new rationale for their existence. See Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1994).

138. Such a formulation is not easily testable, as most social processes could be described within it. Harvard Family Research Project, newsletter, *The Evaluation Exchange: Emerging Strategies in Evaluating Child and Family Services* 4, no. ¾ (1998).
139. Charles Lindblom, "The Science of 'Muddling' Through," in *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Stella Theodoulou and Matthew Can (New York: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 113–27.
140. Harold Williams and Arthur Webb, *The Business Plan vs. The Proposal: . . . Getting to Results* (Rensselaerville, N.Y.: Innovations Group of Rensselaerville Institute, 1988). A more detailed discussion of many of these issues is found in Harold Williams, Arthur Webb, and William Phillips, *Outcome Funding: A New Approach to Targeted Grantmaking* (Rensselaerville, N.Y.: Rensselaerville Institute, 1991).
141. Brunson, "Local Governance: A Call to Action," 1997, and Center for the Study of Social Policy, *Toward New Forms of Local Governance*, 1996.
142. Huber, *The Geodesic Network*, 1996. A discussion on this topic also is found in Bruner, Both, and Marzke, *Steps Along an Uncertain Path*, chapter 3, 1996.
143. Veronika Kot and Charles Bruner, *Resident Experts: Supporting Neighborhood Organizations and Individuals in Collecting and Using Information* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1999). Quote from p. 22, which includes the text from the roundtable discussion.
144. Advocates for adopting research-based programs stress the critical importance of employing process measures to insure program fidelity as programs are expanded. See Mark Greenberg, "Research-Based Programs and Issues of Implementation," in *Funding What Works: Exploring the Role of Research on Effective Programs and Practices in Government Decision-Making*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration and Center for Schools and Communities, 2001), pp. 19–22. Rituals often play this role in society. Japanese sword-making followed elaborate rituals, for instance, in the heating and layering of the steel and the addition of alloys. The rituals were needed to insure that the practice was followed precisely to produce both the strength and the suppleness of that steel—before the actual set of steps could be explained by scientific theory. Kenneth Clark, *Civilization: A Personal View* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).
145. Mark Friedman, *Results Accountability for Proposition 10 Commissions: A Planning Guide for Improving the Well-Being of Young Children and Their Families* (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Healthier Children, Families, and Communities, 2000), p. 24.
146. Charles Bruner, *Defining the Prize: From Agreed-Upon Outcomes to Results-Based Accountability* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration Clearinghouse, 1998). It should be noted that such intermediate or proximate impacts are not necessarily "mini" distal outcomes, reflected simply at a lower rate. In working with stressed parents whose children are at risk, for instance, short-term success may be greater parental sense of control and ability to plan for the future. Improved parental confidence and competence, in the long term and given other contributing factors such as available and high quality pre-school experiences and good primary and preventive health care, may be reflected in the child's greater school readiness, social adjustment, and educational performance—as reflected in school completion and lack of juvenile court involvement. Developing such intermediate or proximate impacts may require a logic model that

- relates them to the distal or long-term outcomes, with that logic model based upon as much evidence as possible (in this case, the resiliency literature).
147. For a good description of the strengths, limitations, and interpretation of specific indicators, see Improved Outcomes for Children Project, *Finding the Data: A Start-Up List of Outcome Measures with Annotations* (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995). For several community and state examples of lists, see Bruner, *Defining the Prize*, 1998, Appendix 2–3, 42–45.
 148. Kagan et al., *Toward Systemic Reform*, 1995. See also Bruner, Both, and Marzke, *Steps Along an Uncertain Path*, 1996.
 149. Charles Bruner, *Family Service Systems Reform in Pennsylvania: An Assessment of Impact and Opportunity* (Des Moines, Iowa: NCSI/CFPC Resource Brief, 2000).
 150. Williams, Webb, and Phillips, *Outcome Funding*, 1991.
 151. For one effort to distinguish among community-wide outcomes, program outcomes, and systems change outcomes and their indicators and proximate measures, see Department of Public Welfare, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Request for Application for Renewal of Family Service System Reform*, Draft Document, Appendix B: Outcomes Terminology (Harrisburg, Penn.: November 30, 2000), pp. 13–29.
 152. For instance, see Martin Blank and Tia Melaville, *Together We Can: Crafting a Pro-Family System of Education and Human Services* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1995).
 153. For scholarly discussions of the role of place in child and family outcomes, see Haveman and Wolfe, *Succeeding Generations*, 1994, and Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, *Neighborhood Poverty*, 1997. For specific studies that have geo-mapped administrative data by neighborhood, which give rise to the relative rates provided, see the following: for Allegheny County in Pennsylvania, Charles Bruner with Stephen Scott and Martha Steketee, *Allegheny County Study: Potential Returns on Investment from a Comprehensive Family Center Approach in High-Risk Neighborhood* (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1996); for Chicago, Charles Bruner with Stephen Scott, *The Effects of Concentrated Child Poverty*, 1994; for Linn County, Iowa, and St. Louis, Missouri, Child and Family Policy Center, *Community Partnerships for Protecting Children: Neighborhood Characteristics and Implications for Strategy: St. Louis and Linn County*, report to the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1999). The figures in the text on the differential rates are drawn from these studies. The National Neighborhood Indicators Project of the Urban Institute is conducting very extensive work in this area, initially with seven cities and now with the twenty-two Annie E. Casey Foundation neighborhood transformation and family development sites, as well. Tom Kingsley, *Democratizing Information: First Year Report of the National Neighborhood Indicators Project* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1996).
 154. Bruner, with Scott, and Steketee, *Allegheny County Study*, 1996. This study indicated, for instance, that, if the high-risk neighborhoods (constituting 220,000 people of Allegheny County's 1.3 million people) had the same characteristics as the rest of Allegheny County on these and other indicators, government would spend nearly \$300 million less annually on food stamps, Medicaid, child welfare services, juvenile detention, prisons, and jails and would receive more than \$250 million more in tax revenues. A \$50 million annual investment that reduced the disparity between high risk and other neighborhoods by one-fifth would have a return-on-investment of more than two to one in reduced public spending and increased tax revenue.
 155. Charles Bruner and Maria Chavez, *Getting to the Grassroots: Neighborhood Organizing and Mobilization* (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration Clearinghouse, 1998).

156. Walker, *Goal Free Evaluation*, 1994.
157. For site descriptions, see National Center for Children in Poverty and Harvard Family Research Project, *Starting Points: Challenging the Quiet Crisis: A Description of the Starting Points Sites* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). A substantial portion of the technical assistance provided to the sites related to logic model development. The Initiative itself was based upon a Carnegie report of the Carnegie Task Force on Meeting the Needs of Young Children, *Starting Points: Meeting the Needs of Our Youngest Children* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1994). That report referred to the status of the nation's youngest children as "The Quiet Crisis."
158. Sidney Gardner has argued that "strategic planning" is an oxymoron. If it is "strategic," it does not stop with a plan; if it is only a "plan," it is never strategic. Collaboratives often can spin their wheels in seemingly endless discussions and planning, victims of terminal BOGSAT (bunch of guys sitting around a table). The issue is that collaborative activities must not become a substitute for action. See Sidney Gardner, *Beyond Collaboration to Results: Hard Choices in the Future of Services to Children and Families* (Fresno, Calif.: Arizona Prevention Resource Center and Center for Collaboration for Children, 1995).
159. Christina Macy, *The Oregon Option: A Federal-State-Local Partnership for Better Results* (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1997).
160. Figures from 1990 and 1994 are cited from Christina Macy, *The Oregon Option*, 1997, p. 16. The 1996–97 figures are from: Children First for Oregon, *Status of Oregon's Children: 1998 County Data Book* (Portland, Oregon: Children First for Oregon, 1998). During that period, state rates went from 19.7, to 18.9, to 17.9.
161. Children First of Oregon, *Status of Oregon's Children*, 1998.
162. Oregon actually moved from twenty-first among the fifty states in the 1990 *National Kids Count Data Book* to twenty-seventh in the 2000 book, a slight decline. The 2000 book shows Oregon improving from 1990 to 1997 in its ranking among states on four indicators and declining on six.
163. For a discussion of Vermont's experiences, see Cornelius Hogan, *Vermont Communities Count: Using Results to Strengthen Services for Families and Children* (Baltimore, Md.: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2000).
164. Similar patterns have been documented in other jurisdictions. In the educational world, David Hornbeck took the position of Superintendent of Philadelphia schools with a strong emphasis upon outcomes accountability and was able to produce significant gains in educational performance. During the same period, however, he secured substantial new investments in the school system. A study of state-initiated child health programs concluded that the eagerness to be held accountable for health outcomes was often a major contributing reason to statewide expansion, although this did not necessarily mean that subsequent achievement of those outcomes was demonstrated or continued funding rested upon achieving them. Charles Bruner and James Perrin, *More Than Health Insurance: State Initiatives to Improve Infant and Child Health* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1995).
165. Vermont declined from fourth among states in the 1990 *National Kids Count Data Book* to eighth in the 2000 *National Kids Count Data Book*, a slight decline. The 2000 *National Kids Count Data Book* shows Vermont improving from 1990 to 1997 in its ranking among states on three indicators and declining on seven.
166. For a discussion of the different worlds of community organizing and community economic development and their different cultures, see Bruner and Parachini, *Building Community*, 1997.
167. It still is important to review the arguments of those who are skeptics of this approach. For the

- argument for relocation rather than redevelopment, based upon a review of prior community development efforts, see Nicholas Lemann, “The Myth of Community Development,” *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (January 1994), pp. 27–31 ff. Robert Halpern has a more class-based argument of why many past efforts, such as Model Cities and the Ford Foundation’s gray areas project, have not succeeded. Robert Halpern, *Rebuilding the Inner City, A History of Neighborhood Initiatives to Address Poverty in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). Charles Murray, of course, argues that the genetic base simply does not exist (Herrnstein and Murray, *The Bell Curve*, 1994), which is surely self-defeating. This essay is based upon the belief—or faith—that success is possible. It may not have occurred yet because there has not been sufficient investment—in time, energy, knowledge, and capital—to make it happen. Winston Churchill once said, “Americans have a great tradition for doing the right thing, after they have explored all other options.” The essay is premised on the belief that we are nearing the point of having to do the right thing.
168. Cited from Makungu Akinyela, *Diversity, Cultural Democracy, and the Family Support Movement: An Abstract* (Chicago, Ill.: Family Resource Coalition of America, 1997).
 169. These include homemaker health aides and nursing home workers, childcare workers, and orderlies and nurses aides in hospitals, all disproportionately assumed by people of color (who disproportionately live in poor neighborhoods). According to 1999 Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, 8.1 million persons, 6.1 percent of the civilian labor force, were employed in the following job designations: registered nurse, health therapist, special education teacher, social worker, licensed practical nurse, health aide, nursing aide or orderly or attendant, private home childcare provider, family childcare provider, early childhood teaching assistant, or welfare service aide. These are job classifications most associated with the social services work discussed in this essay. Together, more than 80 percent of the persons in these job designations were women, and more than 16 percent were African American, compared with the overall workforce of 46.5 percent women and 11.3 percent African American. The lowest paid jobs, such as nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants, however, were 35.6 percent African American. By contrast, the much higher paid, health diagnosing occupations (physicians and dentists) were only 24.1 percent women, and 4.4 percent African American.
 170. Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, *Neighborhood Poverty*, 1997.
 171. The Ford Foundation’s Fair Start for Children Initiative emphasized paraprofessional staff as home visitors. Some residents welcomed such visitors as “of the community” and others preferred people more removed from their daily lives. While sites eventually found workers from within the neighborhoods who would be accepted and could do the work, the first choices of people well-known and connected to the community often did not work out. For a discussion, see Larner, Halpern, and Harkavy, *Fair Start for Children*, 1992. See, especially, Halpern’s chapter, “On Program Design and Implementation,” and his characterization of effective lay workers.
 172. Janice Nittoli and Robert Gilroth, “New Careers Revisited: Paraprofessional Job Creation for Low Income Communities,” in *Wise Counsel, Redefining the Role of Consumers, Professionals, and Community Workers in the Helping Process*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1998), pp. 4–20.
 173. Yoland Trevino, “Unleashing Human Capital: If You Care for Me, Don’t Empower Me and Get Out of My Way,” in *Wise Counsel, Redefining the Role of Consumers, Professionals, and Community Workers in the Helping Process*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1998), pp. 75–85.
 174. Charles Bruner, *From Community-Based to Community-Staffed: The Experiences of Three Allegheny County Family Centers in Community Hiring* (Pittsburgh: Starting Points and Office of Child

Development, University of Pittsburgh, 1998).

175. Charles Bruner with Martin Blank and the Together We Can Partnership, *Human Service Systems Reform: Lessons from the Rebuilding Communities Initiative on the Challenges for Disinvested Neighborhoods* (Des Moines, Iowa: Together We Can Partnership, 2000).
176. In the community development world, worker ownership options are often offered only for otherwise bankrupt and closing companies. This sometimes has been referred to as “lemon socialism,” to designate that workers are offered the chance to control the means of production only for businesses regarded as “lemons”. As such, they are not a true test for the potential of worker ownership. Neighborhoods taking over “broken” social services systems face similar challenges.
177. The most extensive effort at a more systematic approach is found in Schorr, *Within Our Reach*, 1988, although her work does not focus specifically on the management and personnel development aspects of these organizations.
178. Charles Bruner and Stephen Scott, *Thoughts on Statistical and Substantive Significance—Are We Selling Programmatic Efforts Short?* NCSI/CFPC Occasional Paper no. 20 (Des Moines, Iowa: Child and Family Policy Center, 1996). This article shows how small-dosage interventions, such as parenting education programs, may need to significantly impact only one or two families out of a hundred to more than justify their costs in term of reduced total remediation expenditures, but statistically, simply cannot be measured against these remediation measures, requiring treatment and control groups in the thousands to distinguish such effects.
179. Barry Kibel, *Success Stories as Hard Data: An Introduction to Results Mapping* (New York: Klyner Academic Press/Plenum Publishers, 1999).
180. For a more detailed list of such questions, as well as a description of what programs should be subject to such evaluation, see Charles Bruner, “The Evidence for Family Support—A Discussion Paper on What We Can Say Today about Family Support,” in *Connections: A Dialogue on Evaluation*, ed. Anthony Williams et al. (Iowa City, Iowa, and Chicago: National Resource Center for Family Centered Practice and Family Resource Coalition of America, 1997).
181. Carl Dunst, *Landscape of Parenting Education and Family Support in Buncombe County: Foundations for Revisioning a System of Supports* (Asheville, N.C.: Winterberry Press, 2000). Dunst and Trivette, *Parenting Supports and Resources*, 2001, and Dunst and Trivette, *Benefits Associated with Family Resource Center Practices*, 2001.
182. See Charles Bruner, “State Government and Family Support: From Marginal to Mainstream,” in *Putting Families First: America’s Family Support Movement and the Challenge of Change*, ed. Sharon L. Kagan and Bernice Weissbourd (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), pp. 338–57.
183. Jill Kinney et al., “Walking Our Talk in the Neighborhoods: Building Professional/Natural Helper Partnerships,” in *Wise Counsel: Redefining the Role of Consumers, Professionals, and Community Workers in the Helping Process*, ed. Charles Bruner et al. (Des Moines, Iowa: National Center for Service Integration, 1998), pp. 41–55.
184. Gary Stokes, *A Call for Transformational Leadership*, Move the Mountain Leadership Center, available at www.movethemountain.org. The Eureka Communities similarly focuses upon leadership development and the identification and nurturing of change agents as a key element of any society reform.
185. While leadership development and capacity building has been much discussed as a critical element of service systems reform, it generally has not been funded or resourced at a significant

level. Equivalently, much greater emphasis has been given to rational planning than to fostering the blossoming of one hundred flowers, let alone the contending of one thousand schools of thought.

186. Schorr, *Common Purpose*, 1997, p. 5.

187. Bruner, "State Government and Family Support," 1994, pp. 338–57.

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Community-Focused Efforts to Increase Employment: Strategies, Theories of Change, Outcomes, and Measures

PATRICIA AUSPOS

Many observers note the importance of making employment a core focus of efforts to revitalize persistently poor inner-city neighborhoods.¹ Nevertheless, it is difficult to write about community-level employment effects and measures because much of the theoretical work on the pathways of change still needs to be done. Although there are many good studies on the effectiveness of particular employment training strategies or programs for economically disadvantaged populations, these evaluations have typically looked at individuals in isolation rather than as part of a community. Therefore, they do not provide much information about how rising employment levels among some residents may affect the well-being of others. Similarly, although there is considerable analysis explaining why inner-city communities suffer from persistently high jobless rates, there is little evidence to indicate how that situation can be turned around and what it would take to dramatically raise employment levels in a community.

As a result, the literature is not very clear about what is important to measure as early and interim outcomes at the community level in the employment strand. Nor have community change initiatives been very clear about the antic-

ipated pathway of change. Indeed, many seem to view their efforts to increase employment and earnings among community residents as a way to improve the quality of life for those residents who get jobs rather than as a strategy for improving the well-being of the community as a whole.

This chapter attempts to fill that gap by identifying connections and intermediate steps and illuminating one pathway by which relatively small-scale employment projects could initiate a process of change that culminates in community-level effects on employment. It concludes with a discussion of the measures that could be used to determine whether such changes are occurring.

Section 1 explores several theories about how communities affect the labor market experiences of their residents, the employment problems facing residents of persistently poor, inner-city neighborhoods, and the strategies that community change efforts can adopt to address these problems for adult residents. It ends with a short overview of what community change initiatives (CCIs) have been doing to improve employment opportunities. It describes the most commonly used strategies, what is innovative about them, and the scale of the projects.

Section 2 proposes a theory of change that shows how employment interventions that are part of a comprehensive community revitalization initiative might interact with other developments to produce community-level effects on employment. This model takes into account not only the direct outcomes of whatever employment strategies the initiative undertakes, but also the synergistic effects that the initiative's other projects can have on employment and the ways in which higher levels of employment might affect other conditions and outcomes in the community.

Section 3 provides a detailed discussion of the early and interim outcomes and measures that can be used to mark progress toward the longer-term goals and outcomes identified in the theory of community change.

Four types of source materials were reviewed for this chapter: academic literature that analyzes the employment problems of residents in inner-city neighborhoods; the evaluation record of workforce development and welfare-to-work programs; information on promising models of workforce development programs; and descriptive materials and evaluation reports (mostly covering the planning, start-up, or early implementation phases) of community change ini-

tatives across the country. Included in the latter were program descriptions, research design materials, and early reports on several national demonstration projects—the Jobs-Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families, the Jobs Initiative, the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative, and Bridges to Work—that focus on place-related employment problems of residents in persistently poor urban areas.

This literature suggests that there are three principal roles that community-based organizations (CBOs) typically play in community change initiatives that address employment issues:

- They function as on-the-ground service deliverers that provide the workforce development programs described in section 1 of this chapter. As on the ground service deliverers, CBOs are thought to have several significant strengths compared to other types of employment and training institutions. They have strong neighborhood roots, intimate knowledge of local residents, and extensive experience working with very disadvantaged individuals. As a result, they tend to be regarded as allies rather than as adversaries by community residents. It is expected, therefore, that CBOs will be able to recruit residents—especially very disadvantaged residents—to participate in programs; develop programs that are culturally sensitive, address a range of needs, build assets; and arrange or provide the supports that residents will need in order to complete training, find a job, and remain employed.
- Neighborhood-based organizations—especially community-wide collaborative bodies or lead agencies in a community change initiative—also function as “connectors” or intermediaries that build internal networks and connect local groups to outside sources that can help them in their work. They link local residents to organizations, local organizations with each other, and local organizations with external sources of information, funding, or other supports. They can help develop partnerships among local service agencies of various types, or between service delivery agencies and educational institutions, such as community colleges. They can also act as intermediary organizations that recruit and screen jobseekers for employers who need workers.

Developing connections with outside resources and actors is particularly important in the employment arena because labor markets are not contained in a single neighborhood, and many residents will have to find work outside the neighborhood. Connections are also important in employment policy because there are essentially two groups that have to be connected: employers who have jobs and workers who need jobs. Current wisdom suggests that effective service providers need to develop ties with both groups.

- Community-based organizations can also function as advocates and lobbyists. In this capacity, they work to promote policy changes within larger systems (e.g., the public education system, the welfare system) and at the city, regional, state, or federal level, they work to promote changes that will remove obstacles or otherwise facilitate efforts to help residents of persistently poor urban communities find and maintain steady employment. CBOs that are interested in expanding employment opportunities for residents in their neighborhoods might engage in the following types of efforts:²
 - Getting the public transportation system to change its service routes or hours of service
 - Conducting a “living wage campaign” or making other efforts to get city and state contractors to change their hiring and payment policies
 - Changing federal or state welfare policy to allow welfare recipients who go to work to retain a higher proportion of their benefits and supports
 - Working to expand the amount and improve the quality of early childhood care and after-school care in the neighborhood
 - Working with local education institutions to improve their employment-related training programs and make them more accessible to local residents

In the past, community-based employment efforts have largely focused on developing local capacity to deliver what are now commonly called workforce

development programs.³ As discussed in more detail at the end of section 1, community change initiatives in the 1990s maintained this emphasis, but also focused on the potential for making better connections between local service providers, employers, and other groups and organizations both inside and outside the neighborhood.

SECTION 1 | Neighborhood Effects on Employment and Strategies to Combat Them

The extensive literature on employment training programs for the economically disadvantaged as well as studies of persistently poor inner-city neighborhoods suggest that individuals need the following if they are to be adequately prepared to get and maintain jobs that allow them to be self-sufficient and support their families:

- Opportunities to acquire work values, attitudes, and behavior
- Opportunities to acquire education and job skills
- Access to social networks that provide information about jobs
- Access to jobs
- Supports for working once they have a job
- Opportunities to move up to better jobs

The literature also suggests that the process of preparing individuals for work begins early in life and not just at the point when someone is in need of a job, and that several different types of mediating influences will shape the way an individual responds to the opportunities that are available. Among the most important are family and relatives, and friends and acquaintances. It has also been shown that the neighborhoods in which individuals reside play an important role in determining whether these opportunities are available and how individuals respond to them.⁴ The evidence that poverty, joblessness, and welfare receipt are concentrated in certain inner-city neighborhoods is clear, but our understanding of the mediating factors and conditions that produce these effects is not. Some explanations focus on the resources that are available to residents of

these neighborhoods; some focus on the geographic location of the neighborhood, and its physical, social, and political isolation from the mainstream; others focus on the social influences and relationships within the community.

The rest of this section explores in more detail the ways that persistently poor, inner-city communities are thought to affect the labor market experiences of their residents and what community change efforts can do and are doing to alter those circumstances. This chapter discusses efforts to increase human capital and access to jobs; economic development efforts are discussed in the chapter by Héctor Cordero-Guzmán and Patricia Auspos in this volume. It should be stressed that the employment problems and solutions discussed here are not mutually exclusive, but should be seen as highly interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Indeed, each type of difficulty appears to compound the effects of others, and the cumulative effect may be devastating on communities as well as individuals.

Addressing the Problem of Skills Mismatch

THE SKILLS MISMATCH THEORY

The skills mismatch theory argues that the high rate of male joblessness in the inner cities results in large part from structural changes in the U.S. economy in recent decades. According to this theory, American cities have seen a major decline in manufacturing jobs—jobs that did not require even a high school education and paid relatively high wages. Over the same period in urban areas, there has been an increase in the number of service-sector jobs and jobs that involve processing information. However, employers are filling these new jobs with workers who have at least a high school diploma, even though they pay lower wages than the old manufacturing jobs. This economic restructuring has been especially detrimental to the many inner-city black males who have dropped out of high school.⁵

A number of more recent studies provide additional evidence that the job prospects for inner-city residents who are high school dropouts or have only a high school degree have declined in recent years. While their older counterparts might once have been able to be employed in higher-paying manufacturing jobs, these male residents now tend to be jobless for long periods or employed in jobs that do not pay a living wage and do not offer opportunities for advancement.⁶

STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING SKILLS MISMATCH

An obvious strategy to deal with this problem is to improve the education and/or skill levels of inner-city residents and to train them for the higher-paying jobs that are in demand. However, the record of federally funded job training programs for the economically disadvantaged has been disappointing. For example, a major experimental study of programs funded by the federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) in the 1980s concluded that, on average, classroom training programs had no effect on raising earnings among disadvantaged adults.⁷

Strategy 1: Enrolling residents in training that is tailored to employer needs in growth sectors of the region's economy. The emerging field of workforce development studies suggests that to improve on this record and train workers more effectively, training programs need to work closely with employers to identify growth areas, target jobs that pay higher-than-average wages, and develop training standards that meet employers' hiring criteria. The assumption is that training programs that have strong connections to employers will achieve higher placement rates than typical training programs for the disadvantaged because they are focused on meeting employer needs and preparing trainees for jobs that are in demand. In addition, it is expected that graduates of the training will be able to earn substantially more than an entry-level wages because the training is targeted to higher-paying sectors of the economy. Finally, it is expected that graduates of such programs will stay in their jobs because employers will be satisfied with their performance, and the new employees will want to take advantage of the high wages and opportunities for promotion.

Evidence. Much of the recent workforce development literature discusses examples of employer-oriented training programs in growth sectors of the economy. These model programs have established good relations with employers, enroll disadvantaged adults, and place and maintain a high proportion of their trainees in jobs that pay relatively high wages.⁸ Few of these programs have been subject to rigorous evaluation, however.

A noncontrol group evaluation of one such program in San Antonio, Texas—Project Quest, which enrolled community residents in two-year training programs, principally for jobs in the health field—found that, on average, program participants had higher hourly earnings, worked more hours per week, and had a higher annual earning after they were in the program than before.⁹

The importance of involving employers in training is also suggested by the success of CET, the California-based Center for Employment and Training.¹⁰ In two separate multisite demonstrations of training programs working with disadvantaged populations, the CET program proved to be the only model that was successful in raising employment and earnings levels for program participants compared with a randomly assigned control group.¹¹ The CET model is being replicated across the country as part of a Department of Labor-funded demonstration.¹²

CCI Activities. A number of community change initiatives work with employers to develop training courses that will prepare residents for jobs in growth industries by meeting employer-specified criteria. Some have developed *customized training* courses for a specific employer or employers who commit in advance to hiring graduates of the training programs, principally in fields like health care, manufacturing, teleservice, and construction. A good example is the New Beginnings program operated by the Detroit site in the Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative in conjunction with the Detroit Medical Center, which provided twelve weeks of health-care training at a community college to prepare residents for guaranteed full-time entry-level positions in local health institutions.¹³

Strategy 2: Developing sectoral employment programs. A related approach, known as a sectoral employment strategy, focuses not only on improving employment outcomes for specific individuals who participate in a program, but also on creating systemic change that can benefit a broad spectrum of low-income workers in a particular industrial or occupational sector. Specific programs may vary, but two approaches are common and often used in conjunction.¹⁴ One works to increase low-income workers' access to higher-wage jobs with benefits by providing customized skills training and placement assistance. Some community-based organizations, for example, have successfully worked with educational institutions, such as community colleges, to adjust their training programs to be more responsive to employer and community needs. The second approach works on restructuring the low-income, dead-end jobs that are characteristic of certain service sectors, such as the childcare and home health care industries. Some programs have accomplished this by working with employers to change the way they recruit, pay, and promote people. Others

have been successful in getting state government to change their licensing policies or pay scales in specific occupations.

Evidence. Researchers at Public/Private Ventures and at the Aspen Institute's Economic Opportunities Program who have been studying sectoral programs believe that the evidence to date shows this to be a promising strategy, but caution that additional research is needed to make a definitive judgment.¹⁵ The Aspen Institute's nonexperimental research on the effects of participation in sectoral programs shows participants experienced increases in employment and earnings a year after enrollment.¹⁶ P/PV researchers note that achieving systemic change is more difficult than developing targeted training programs that can place workers in better-paying jobs; most organizations take several years to develop this capacity. Of the ten programs they studied, they felt that only three had achieved systemic change, and another four were positioned to accomplish systemic change within the next year or so.¹⁷ Key attributes of organizations that have demonstrated the capacity to achieve systemic change include the following, according to P/PV:¹⁸

- They have developed expert knowledge of the targeted sector, and the range of economic, political, and social factors that affect it.
- They are able to influence the behavior of more powerful players by exerting leverage through other organizations or by controlling some critical resources.
- They have made allies within the sector, by developing trust, partnerships, and good relationships with other organizations.
- They are able to adapt to change and to persevere over the long term.

Studies of sectoral programs agree that research, policy analysis, advocacy, and community mobilization are important components of successful sectoral employment programs, and note that efforts to influence regional labor market conditions frequently require programs to pursue several of these strategies in combination.¹⁹ The Aspen Institute analysis stresses, in addition, that it is important to have the leadership of “a creative, effective social entrepreneur.”²⁰

Sectoral employment as a community-based strategy. The Aspen Institute points out that sectoral employment is “a distinct community-based model for employ-

ing the urban poor” that differs from other community-based change models in several key aspects.²¹ First, while community-based workforce development programs have traditionally focused on developing better workers, sectoral programs seek to change the inner-city labor market as well as the inner-city labor supply and develop better connections between the two. Second, because they recruit trainees and workers from several inner-city neighborhoods and place them in positions outside the worker’s immediate neighborhood, sectoral employment programs typically have a wider geographic lens and a narrower occupational focus than many neighborhood-based workforce development efforts. It should also be noted that sectoral programs tend to be very selective and to enroll the “most employable” inner-city residents, i.e., individuals who have more education and more employment experience than the typical inner-city resident.

Strategy 3: Increasing the access of residents to training opportunities outside the neighborhood. Efforts to increase residents’ access to and use of training programs outside the community is another focus for community-based employment efforts. Such efforts can, for example, provide information about training programs to local residents or negotiate agreements with training providers to enroll local residents in their programs and recruit participants. The latter approach is known as brokering. The assumption is that it is more efficient, and possibly more effective, for a community change initiative to place residents in existing training programs than to develop its own offerings. A risk is that, unless care is taken to ensure that residents enroll in high-quality training programs, they will not wind up in high-quality jobs. The practice also requires careful monitoring of residents’ movement through training and into jobs.

Evidence. The advantages of organizational brokering and networking in workforce development are discussed in an influential study by Bennett Harrison and Marcus Weiss.²² The effectiveness of this strategy has never been directly tested.

CCI Activities. Descriptions of employment-related activities in community change initiatives suggest that they are more likely to provide residents with information about outside training opportunities than to broker training positions for them. CCIs provide the information in a variety of ways: CCRP in the Bronx, New York, developed computerized data listings of about 2,500

citywide educational, vocational, job placement, and counseling programs;²³ sites in the Neighborhood Strategies Project, also in New York, published information on training offerings in a community newspaper and invited training organizations to an annual job and training fair.²⁴

Addressing the Problem of Spatial Mismatch

THE SPATIAL MISMATCH THEORY

The spatial mismatch theory, first articulated by John Kain in a seminal paper in 1968, suggests that jobless rates are so high among inner-city residents because of the mismatch between the areas where they live and the areas where jobs are located. Using evidence that shows that job growth has been concentrated in the suburbs and unemployment rates are higher in urban areas than in the surrounding suburbs, proponents of the mismatch theory argue that suburbs have many well-paying jobs that don't require much education, but car-less inner-city residents are unable to get to them because the commute is too long by public transportation.²⁵

A different interpretation, advanced by David Ellwood in 1986, argues that race, not space, is the primary barrier to black male employment.²⁶ While considerable debate has raged over these opposing views, the spatial mismatch theory is generally accepted as at least a “compelling partial explanation for inner-city poverty.”²⁷ New research suggests that differential access to automobiles is a major factor that accounts for a large part of the racial disparity in employment in metropolitan areas.²⁸

STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS SPATIAL MISMATCH

Several programs seek to increase inner-city employment by providing transportation and other supports to help inner-city residents get to jobs in outlying areas. Suburban Job Links in Chicago and Job Ride in Milwaukee are citywide programs that provide van service to connect inner-city workers with suburban jobs.²⁹ In Philadelphia, a company that develops suburban business parks worked with the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority to create a new bus route to link the parks to the local commuter railroad station.³⁰ In Bridges to Work, a demonstration operated in five cities between 1996 and 2000, local organizations worked to place job-ready inner-city residents into suburban jobs and provide a “targeted commute” to get them to and from the

job. The program also provided support services, such as childcare assistance and counseling, to ease the extra pressures associated with a lengthy commute and the stresses inner-city residents may encounter working in a job in a suburban neighborhood.

Evidence. Documentation studies show that programs like Suburban Job Links in Chicago and Job Ride in Milwaukee can be successfully implemented and serve a large number of people. One of the new bus routes in Philadelphia has actually begun to turn a profit.³¹ However, the effect of such programs in raising employment or earnings has not yet been studied. Findings on program impacts in the Bridges to Work demonstration are not yet available, but information on program implementation indicates that sites experienced greater difficulty than anticipated in recruiting participants, and placing and retaining them in jobs.

Implementation Issues. Program directors in Bridges to Work sites attribute the difficulties, in part, to the effect of the very good labor market, which made it easier for potential enrollees to find jobs on their own or to switch jobs once they were hired. Administrative impediments made it very difficult for inner-city organizations to access information about job listings from suburban agencies and organizations. Program staff also found that most of the participants were not job ready, despite having a high school diploma or a GED and prior work experience. Providing “soft skills” preparation prior to placement and employment retention assistance therefore became very important. Arranging transportation for employees who lived in the inner city was more difficult and costly than expected. It proved especially difficult to schedule transportation so that workers could meet employers’ need for overtime or staggered shifts. Helping employees coordinate their childcare arrangements and run their households was also a challenge.³²

CCI Activities. Although many community change initiatives have made efforts to expand opportunities for residents by informing them about available jobs and developing job openings with employers outside the immediate neighborhood, it is not clear that these efforts are aimed at *suburban* employers as well as urban employers. Nor do initiatives necessarily provide transportation assistance even when they do target their customized training efforts to suburban employers.

Addressing the Problem of Residents' Inadequate Connections to Jobs

THEORIES ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN CONNECTING PEOPLE TO JOBS

Other explanations of the reasons residents of poor inner-city neighborhoods have difficulty finding work focus on the role social networks play in connecting people to employment. These theories suggest that solving the problems of skills and spatial mismatch alone will not alleviate the employment problems of residents in persistently poor communities.

Much has been written in the past decade about the importance of informal social networks in finding employment: people learn about job openings by word of mouth from friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and many get jobs because current workers are able to “put in a good word” for them. According to Mark Granovetter’s work on “the strength of weak ties,” social networks are most likely to lead to employment if they include a lot of people from diverse walks of life, even if the links in the chain are only casual acquaintances. In contrast, “dense” ties between very close family and friends in homogenous groups are likely to yield very limited job information and referrals.³³

Applying the literature on social networks and jobs to the inner-city context, William Julius Wilson proposed that because inner-city residents are unlikely to know many people who have steady work, they lack critical information about the work world in general, sources of information about job leads, and contacts who can provide personal references that will carry weight with employers. This “social isolation” hinders their ability to get jobs.³⁴ William T. Dickens elaborates on these ideas and explains how what he terms the “network failure” that occurs in poor neighborhoods is a major cause of the high unemployment rates in these neighborhoods.³⁵

Evidence for Wilson’s theory comes from two types of studies. Research on employers in four metropolitan areas in the Multi-City Study of Urban Equality showed that urban employers do use word-of-mouth referrals to fill job openings, particularly openings for low-skilled jobs that don’t require much education, and particularly in neighborhoods where employers are leery of finding a supply of capable workers.³⁶ They rely on such methods because the word of a trusted employee who knows the applicant and the job is considered reliable,

and because it saves the cost of advertising the job and screening applicants. The employers in this study indicated that 35–40 percent of their job openings were filled through referrals from current employees or other acquaintances. These data are consistent with the findings in separate studies that analyze the sources of jobs among workers in large national data sets.³⁷

Other studies that analyze the composition of social networks among youths who reside in very poor neighborhoods document that these youths are very isolated from contact with employed workers. Xavier Briggs' study of youth who lived in public housing in Yonkers found that roughly half could not "think of a single adult who would be a good source of job information or career advice."³⁸ Case and Katz's study of social networks and job connections in three poor neighborhoods in Boston provides some support for Wilson's theory that youths in the inner city lack middle-class role models. They found, for example, that youths in these neighborhoods were much more likely to know single mothers who were receiving welfare and people who were in trouble with the law than middle-class professionals.³⁹ The effects of parental and family employment on youth employment are also discussed by O'Regan and Quigley.⁴⁰ Others studies have found that inner-city residents may in fact know people who are working, but their contacts link them to poorly paying low-skilled jobs in an ethnically segregated labor market and isolate them from better-paying jobs or jobs with advancement potential.⁴¹

STRATEGIES TO CONNECT INNER-CITY RESIDENTS TO EMPLOYERS
Three strategies are typically associated with attempts to overcome the job-related effects of social isolation among inner-city residents. One method is to provide individuals with information about specific job openings and placement assistance. Another approach is for an intermediary organization to work directly with employers to develop jobs or screen local applicants. A third strategy is to give residents work experience by hiring them for projects spawned by community change initiatives.

Strategy 1: Providing residents with information about job openings, career exploration, employment counseling, and/or job search assistance.

Participation in job search programs is a strategy that has been used extensively in workforce development programs for recipients of public assistance

and low-income workers. These typically include several days or weeks spent in workshops learning about how to conduct a job search, employer expectations on the job, developing a resume or learning how to fill out a job application, conducting practice interviews, and so forth. Some programs also devote time to “career exploration”—teaching participants about a variety of jobs and occupations to broaden their understanding of the labor market and help them develop realistic expectations about what they might do and what it would take to get certain types of jobs, to counter the limited information they get in their own social circles. In job clubs, jobseekers meet together as a group, discuss their job search efforts, plan their strategy, make calls to employers, and so on. More direct placement assistance is provided if program staff attempt to assess participants and “match” and refer them to specific jobs or employers.

Evidence. Rigorous studies using an experimental research design have found that job search assistance programs that required participation from recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) had positive effects on short-term earnings and employment rates.⁴² The JTPA evaluation mentioned earlier found positive effects on earnings among individuals who volunteered for JTPA-funded job search assistance programs.⁴³ The descriptions of group job search workshops and the positive reaction they elicit from many participants suggests that these programs may be effective, in part, because they provide opportunities for participants to develop social bonds and social networks that support efforts to work and provide information about potential jobs. Residents in very poor inner-city neighborhood where social isolation is a major problem may otherwise lack these opportunities.⁴⁴

CCI Activities. A number of community change initiatives list job openings and offer career exploration activities, job search workshops, or employment counseling to residents in neighborhood-based employment centers. Each of the four Bronx CDCs that made up CCRP, for example, operated a Job Resource Center, where users had access to a computerized listing of job openings around the metropolitan area and could receive employment counseling from staff on an individual or group basis.⁴⁵ Sites in the Neighborhood Strategies Project, also located in New York city, held annual job and training fairs, listed job openings in a neighborhood newsletter, or referred jobseekers to openings with specific employers.⁴⁶

Strategy 2: Job development efforts that focus on creating opportunities for neighborhood residents. Job development strategies, discussed in the chapter by Héctor Cordero-Guzmán and Patricia Auspos on economic development in this volume, are also worth noting here as an activity that community change initiatives can pursue to increase employment among local residents. Neighborhood-based job development efforts typically focus on attracting businesses to the area in order to create new job opportunities, or convincing employers to hire local residents for existing jobs. They may include offers of tax incentives or other subsidies for hiring disadvantaged workers, or efforts to recruit and screen residents for particular job openings. These efforts reflect the belief that, in order to make effective connections with employers, neighborhood residents need more assistance than simply getting access to lists of job openings and help writing resumes. In effect, the aim is to create what two scholars have called “substitute [job] referral networks” for residents of poor neighborhoods.⁴⁷

Strategy 3: Giving residents work experience by hiring them for community projects or commercial ventures. Another approach is to hire residents who would find it difficult to get jobs with private sector employers—individuals with limited work experience, a history of substance abuse, or a criminal record, for example—as workers in community projects or commercial ventures before attempting to place them into private sector jobs. The expectation is that the work experience will build confidence, develop skills, and provide credentials that will enable the workers to secure jobs with private sector employers. At the same time, the community will benefit from the work that is accomplished and the social capital that is created.⁴⁸

Evidence. As yet, there is very little besides anecdotal evidence to show that this strategy is successful in moving community residents into private sector jobs. Kasinitz and Rosenberg have documented that “many” women who started out as parent activists in the Red Hook schools in the 1960s were encouraged to continue their education and subsequently were hired as school aides or paraprofessionals in the local schools. Some even went to college and became teachers or employees in local social service agencies.⁴⁹ A similar employment path has been documented among parents who were involved in the Parenting Education and Resident Leadership Initiative sponsored by the New Futures community collaboration in Bridgeport in the 1990s.⁵⁰

CCI Activities. A prime example of this strategy is the New Community Corporation, which in the 1990s employed between 1,200 and 1,400 workers (not all of them community residents) in its many enterprises and became the largest single employer in Newark, New Jersey.⁵¹ Another example is the community change initiative in Sandtown-Winchester in Baltimore, which by 1993 had hired about 500 residents in a broad array of positions, including outreach workers, interviewers, community organizers, and housing construction workers.⁵² Many community-based organizations also hire local residents for regular staff positions. CCRP hired residents in a catering business that supplied meals to senior citizens and its home health care business; it also developed an internship program that gave welfare recipients opportunities for work experience and skill development.⁵³ Additional examples of community-based hiring programs in service projects and business ventures are discussed in the chapter by Cordero-Guzmán and Auspos in this volume.

Addressing the Problem of Residents' Inadequate Socialization to Work

THEORIES ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIALIZATION EFFECTS

A growing body of literature discusses the powerful socialization effects of neighborhood on residents' values, attitudes, motivation, and preparedness for work.⁵⁴ Much of this literature argues that the experiences and circumstances of inner-city residents fail to adequately motivate and prepare them for employment.

William Julius Wilson hypothesizes that youths who grow up in persistently poor inner-city communities where there are few role models of working adults are inadequately prepared for work because their daily lives lack the routines, discipline, and regularity that are associated with work.⁵⁵ He also postulates that individuals in communities with high and persistent rates of joblessness are more likely to lack a sense of personal efficacy and so find it more difficult to sustain motivation and take advantage of opportunities that may exist.

Other scholars emphasize the importance of peer influences in shaping attitudes and behavior about work. Elijah Anderson's ethnographic field work in poor neighborhoods in Chicago and Philadelphia, for example, documents the emergence of a "street culture" that rejects conventional role models of hard-

working adults and exalts the lifestyle of drug dealers and gang leaders instead.⁵⁶ Massey and Denton discuss the development of a ghetto culture that rejects the work norms and other values of white middle-class society as a reaction to racial segregation.⁵⁷ Coulton cites work by Burton, Obeidallah, and Allison as additional evidence that, in persistently poor neighborhoods, “success” is defined in ways that are not consistent with work in the kinds of jobs that appear to be available to neighborhood residents.⁵⁸ Several recent studies also discuss the lengths families will go in order to “bound” their children and shield them from the perceived negative peer influences in inner-city neighborhoods.⁵⁹

Quantitative evidence showing that the behavior of neighborhood youths affects youth behavior regarding work, crime, drug and alcohol use, and gang activity is found in Case and Katz’s work on youths living in inner-city Boston.⁶⁰

As discussed more fully in section 2, George Galster and Sean Killen have theorized more explicitly about the way that a neighborhood’s “opportunity structure” and a youth’s perceptions of that opportunity structure—perceptions that are influenced by his or her social networks—can affect an individual’s decisions about education, work, fertility, and crime.⁶¹

Most of the evidence on peer influences comes from studies of young adults, but Briggs and Mueller’s in-depth case histories of residents in three CDCs suggest that long-term unemployed adults may be subject to similar pressures. They report that residents who were receiving welfare and not working found it difficult “to isolate themselves and their children from the harmful effects of gossiping and drinking . . . [and] to keep the faith that they could get the skills and work needed to get off welfare and make a better life.”⁶²

Wilson, Anderson, and Massey and Denton all stress that the attitudes and behaviors they document are rational responses to the objective conditions of life in communities with high jobless rates, and argue that if the conditions changed, the attitudes and behaviors would change as well.

STRATEGIES TO MOTIVATE AND SOCIALIZER INNER-CITY RESIDENTS TO WORK

Strategy 1: Providing job readiness training. A major strategy is to provide “job readiness” training (sometimes called soft skills, life skills, or world of work training) to inexperienced workers to familiarize and prepare them for the demands of the workplace before they start a job search. Typically, such

training includes discussions about absenteeism and punctuality, appropriate dress in the workplace, and appropriate behavior in interactions with supervisors and co-workers, and imparts information about time management, stress management, and related topics.

Some model programs, like CET, also attempt to inculcate appropriate work behaviors by operating training classrooms according to the same rules that would apply on a job.⁶³ STRIVE, first operated in Harlem in 1985 and since replicated in numerous locations, integrates a three-week workshop designed to change participants' attitudes and lifestyles with placement assistance and postplacement follow-up.⁶⁴

Evidence. Little is known about the effectiveness of job readiness training as a stand-alone strategy or the effectiveness of combining it with training or job search activities. Practitioner wisdom stresses the importance of a training environment that mimics the workplace and sets high standards for punctuality, attendance, and effort. The fact that a number of programs that appear to have achieved high employment retention rates combine pre-employment services with postemployment services suggests that this combination may be an effective strategy.⁶⁵ For example, STRIVE has not been rigorously evaluated, but program records and an independent assessment report high job retention rates among participants.⁶⁶

CCI Activities. A number of community change efforts offer stand-alone job readiness workshops at their neighborhood employment centers. Some run day-long workshops, others run week-long programs. Others incorporate job readiness training into their skills training courses. The Philadelphia Jobs Initiative adopted the STRIVE model.

Strategy 2: Increasing motivation by increasing the financial pay off from working. This strategy tries to increase the financial rewards of work. As noted, several studies document that women who lose their welfare payments and medical coverage and have to pay for childcare when they go to work may be worse off or not much better off than when they were on welfare. Efforts to increase the financial rewards of work by reducing the amount by which welfare benefits are cut, expanding health coverage and childcare supports, or otherwise supplementing low-income workers' wages, have been a centerpiece of welfare reform experiments in several states in recent years.

Evidence. Rigorous evaluations of programs, both inside and outside the welfare system, that supplement low-wage jobs show that they can increase employment and earnings; whether they also increase job retention is less clear.⁶⁷

CCI Activities. As noted, community-based organizations are involved in efforts to increase low-income earners' access to higher-paying jobs by creating opportunities to enroll them in training that targets such jobs. Developing programs that provide wage supplements or that change the rules of the welfare system is not a strategy that community-based organizations can easily undertake, since it requires approvals from state and sometimes federal authorities. Increasing the financial incentives for working among public housing residents—by adjusting the rules on rent supplementation as well as welfare benefits is, however, a major part of the intervention in the Jobs-Plus demonstration.⁶⁸

Addressing Problems with Job Retention

Growing attention has been focused in recent years on the need to help low-wage workers, especially those with limited work experience, keep jobs once they get them: there is much job churning and considerable movement in and out of the labor market among such workers. Attention has focused in particular on single mothers who have been receiving welfare, but other groups of community residents—such as young minority males—are also likely to face special problems.

Several studies document high rates of job loss among former AFDC recipients who become employed.⁶⁹ Reasons for job loss center around the difficulties these workers—who have limited education and skills, little work experience, and many family demands—experience in adjusting to employer expectations and workplace routines and coping with the new pressures in their personal and family lives.⁷⁰ Single mothers who lose welfare benefits and Medicaid coverage when they go to work may also experience increased financial pressure since their low-wage jobs are unlikely to provide enough income to meet all their expenses.

According to one study, the women who appear to be most successful in transitioning from welfare to work are those who have a personal support network that can provide cash assistance, childcare help, or other assistance.⁷¹ On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that family and social networks can

also undermine a woman's determination to remain in a job because they require women to give support as well as to take it. Coulton argues, for example, that social support networks have been shown to be helpful in coping with personal crises and everyday stresses, but not to be particularly facilitative of employment.⁷² Oliker's interviews with welfare recipients document instances in which commitments to kin erode commitments to work as well as instances in which they support work efforts.⁷³ Briggs and Mueller's case studies of residents in CDC housing provide additional evidence that low-wage workers may feel compelled to give up paid employment in order to take care of the needs of other family members.⁷⁴

STRATEGIES TO INCREASE JOB RETENTION

Strategy 1: Providing postplacement supports and assistance to employees.

Providing postplacement case management and support services to address issues that correlate with job loss is a job retention strategy that has become a major focus of workforce development efforts in recent years.⁷⁵ The operational success of Project Match in Chicago suggests the value of providing case management, counseling, and related assistance to newly-employed welfare recipients to help them access supports (e.g., health care, childcare, and other transitional benefits available through the welfare system) and cope with on-the-job stresses and the changes in their personal and family life. The Moving Up Program operated by the Vocational Foundation, Inc., for youth in New York City, and a statewide employment program in Rhode Island that has a retention services component are other promising models that offer operational lessons based on several years' experience.⁷⁶

Some county welfare systems have hired nonprofit community-based organizations to provide postemployment services to welfare recipients in recent years. According to a recent survey of the field,⁷⁷ nonprofit community-based organizations have several advantages as providers of postemployment services: Their flexible staffing arrangements mean that staff can be available outside of regular business hours and make home and worksite visits; they may be better positioned than a public agency to approach employers; they have knowledge of the community and better rapport with low-income parents. They also have potential disadvantages: Unless they also provide pre-employment assistance, staff lose an important opportunity to develop a relationship with the worker before

he or she gets a job; and CBO staff may have more trouble than agency staff resolving problems relating to welfare benefits and related support services.

Evidence. The strategy of providing extended case management and enhanced support services to welfare recipients who are placed in jobs was tested in a rigorous evaluation of the four sites in the Postemployment Services Demonstration (PESD) in the mid-1990s. The evaluation found that after two years, the parents who received PESD services did not keep jobs longer or earn more than control group members. These findings are consistent with the results of a rigorous study of a similar program in Denver in the early 1980s. The evaluators and others familiar with the PESD program have identified several operational weaknesses that might have affected the program's effectiveness; it has also been suggested that outcomes might improve if pre-employment services are offered in combination with more intensive postemployment case management.⁷⁸

CCI Activities. Job retention strategies are a major focus in the Jobs Initiative and the Jobs-Plus Initiative, and both took a community-building approach to providing retention services and supports. Sites in the Jobs Initiative, for example, hired community-based organizations to provide case management and counseling to residents who were newly placed in jobs, organized peer support groups for new workers, and encouraged employers to pair new hires with mentors in the workplace.⁷⁹ Jobs-Plus communities were encouraged to develop peer support groups for resident workers and organize community residents as mentors for new workers and providers of emergency support on an as-needed basis—for example, by babysitting for a sick child, helping out with household chores, running errands, or picking a child up at school.⁸⁰ Another example is Project QUEST in San Antonio. There, community residents acted as counselors for the enrollees throughout their training, a service that was highly valued by the trainees.⁸¹

Strategy 2: Working directly with employers. Community-based initiatives have developed several approaches to working directly with employers to increase job retention. Staff at the New Community Corporation (NCC) call employers to check on the progress of residents who are placed in jobs. Employers also send back written evaluations of the workers and are encouraged to contact NCC if they feel a worker needs extra supports to perform well on the job.⁸²

Several recent initiatives have taken a more intensive approach, offering to intervene with employers on behalf of new workers when problems arise. These efforts are not always appreciated or utilized by employers or employees, however. Participants in the Postemployment Services Demonstration, for example, did not want their case managers to get involved with employers to resolve workplace problems.⁸³ Similarly, suburban employers who hired participants in the Bridges to Work Demonstration were resistant to using the programs' job retention services. These employers wanted to treat their Bridges to Work hires just like their other employees and preferred to let their own staff and supervisors deal with problems.⁸⁴

Another approach is to work with employers to change workplace conditions. The Denver Workforce Initiative site has developed a soft skills training curriculum that teaches conflict resolution and trains supervisors as well as new workers. Some state welfare systems are also working to improve employer behavior and workplace conditions.⁸⁵ Rhode Island provides wage reimbursements to employers to cover the cost of improvements in job quality, such as increases in hourly wages, more flexibility in work hours, or paid sick leave. Utah offers to train private sector supervisors on how to offer supportive supervision to workers who have had trouble getting or maintaining jobs in the past.

Evidence. There is no evidence about the effectiveness of these approaches.

Addressing Problems with Job Advancement

THEORIES ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES

There is also evidence suggesting that residents of inner-city neighborhoods are likely to find it difficult to move from entry level jobs to more advanced positions that pay better, provide better benefits or hours of work, and require greater skills. To a large extent, this is seen as a problem with the structure of the labor market for low-skill workers: There are too few opportunities for unskilled but experienced workers to be promoted internally or to be hired for better jobs with other employers.⁸⁶ Despite their best efforts, inner-city workers are likely to find themselves stuck in poorly paying, entry-level jobs.⁸⁷ Like job retention, this issue has become a major focus in workforce development policy and practice in recent years, and one that is generating a growing literature.⁸⁸

STRATEGIES TO DEVELOP JOB LADDERS OR ACCESS TO BETTER JOBS

Several programmatic strategies are used to help individuals develop pathways for moving out of dead-end, low-wage employment into better jobs. The upgrade skills training and sectoral employment efforts described earlier are approaches that are being increasingly utilized. Other programs take a longitudinal approach to maintain contact with workers and help them move progressively into better jobs. Project Match, which works with long-term AFDC recipients in Chicago, believes that these women will need to go through several jobs and build up a work history before finding a “good job,” and that many will not be sufficiently motivated to invest in education or training until they have worked in several dead-end jobs. In the meantime, staff work closely with Project Match participants to ensure that the women get back to work quickly if they lose or quit a job, and that the next job offers higher wages, better hours, or something that represents a step up. They also work with individuals on goal setting and mapping out a realistic series of steps on the path to the kind of job they would ultimately like to have.⁸⁹

Katherine Newman’s analysis of the obstacles to advancement faced by workers in fast-food companies in Harlem leads her to recommend development of an “employer consortium” to provide job information and referrals to inner-city workers. The consortium would include both employers in the low-wage segment of the inner city and “primary-sector” employers who want access to reliable, qualified workers. The entry-level employers would select employees whom they considered, after a year’s experience, to be reliable, punctual, hard-working, and motivated. These workers would be placed in a pool of recommended workers to be chosen for higher-paying jobs with more opportunities for advancement by the primary-sector employers in the consortium. The workers would get access to jobs, and the employers would get access to reliable, proven workers without having to go through a lengthy or expensive recruiting process.⁹⁰

Evidence. Providing access to effective programs in which low-skilled workers can upgrade their skills is considered a primary method for moving low-income workers into jobs with higher wages and benefits. However, the infrastructure for these services is weak. Strawn and Martinson’s review led them to conclude that “partnering with employers to create customized entry-level training and upgrade training—offered at the worksite during work

hours—may be the most promising strategy for overcoming logistical barriers to working parents’ upgrading their job skills.”⁹¹

CCI Activities. As already discussed, several community change initiatives are offering upgrade training to residents with some work history and attempting to develop relations with employers in industries that offer opportunities for advancement. These efforts also include customized training programs and sectoral employment programs. This is a major thrust of the Jobs Initiative.⁹²

Efforts to Overcome Employer Prejudice and Stereotypes

THEORIES ABOUT EMPLOYER DISCRIMINATION

It is hypothesized that residents of inner-city neighborhoods, especially if they are black, have difficulty getting jobs because employers routinely discriminate against them on the basis of race, class, “place,” or all three. Unable to weed out individuals who have characteristics that employers deem detrimental to good work habits, employers are likely to exclude whole categories of applicants, it is argued. Several studies have documented that both inner-city and suburban employers have methods for identifying and screening out residents from “undesirable” areas as well as individuals of the wrong race or ethnicity. For example, employers in both Chicago and its outlying suburbs have been shown to be reluctant to hire individuals who are graduates of certain high schools or live in certain neighborhoods, in part because they assume that such applicants are poorly educated and poorly socialized.⁹³ Evidence that even local businesses discriminate against local job applicants who are black and live in public housing was found in a study of the Red Hook area of Brooklyn, New York.⁹⁴ Newman’s study of employment in Harlem found evidence of employer discrimination against local residents who were native-born blacks.⁹⁵ Holzer’s research on employers in four metropolitan areas leads him to conclude, nonetheless, that “discrimination against blacks is greater among suburban employers than among those located in the inner city.”⁹⁶

STRATEGIES

This problem is not one that training organizations or community groups appear to address head-on. Instead, they focus on training or screening residents to ensure that they meet employer specifications. As discussed, the training approach was taken by Project QUEST; the screening option was adopted by a

local development corporation in Red Hook, which won agreements from local businesses (who ordinarily did not hire residents from local housing projects) to recruit and screen local residents for jobs with local employers.⁹⁷

Evidence. There is not much evidence to show that such indirect methods have had much effect on changing employers' general hiring habits (as opposed to changing behavior in a specific instance). Kasinitz and Rosenberg report, for example, that although local employers in the construction industry were basically satisfied with the adult minority males they hired, they did not want to start recruiting local workers themselves. Instead, they attributed the employees' success to the intensive screening done by the local development corporation.⁹⁸ Similarly, the evaluators of Project QUEST concluded that "few employers had made dramatic changes in their hiring practices in response to Project QUEST."⁹⁹ Harrison and Weiss suggest, however, that employer perceptions of the local workforce did change for the better, and note that employers began to hire local residents for jobs that had formerly been filled by recruiting workers from abroad.¹⁰⁰

Cross-Cutting Efforts to Improve the Quality of Service Delivery

Another set of strategies reflects cross-cutting efforts to improve the general quality—and thereby, the effectiveness—of service delivery in employment-related programs. These strategies reflect current thinking about good program design in the employment and training field, based on several decades of operational experience and research.

Strategy 1: Developing programs that address employers' needs and concerns and maintain closer connections with employers. The foregoing discussion has highlighted the importance of both designing employment and training programs that are responsive to employers' needs and establishing good working relationships with employers before attempting to place residents in jobs. Key strategies for doing this include establishing employer advisory boards, involving them in the design of training programs and training curricula, and hiring instructors who have work experience in the relevant occupational area.

Strategy 2: Developing "holistic" programs that can address residents' multiple needs. Many people placed by CCIs have multiple barriers to employ-

ment and multiple personal, family, and situational problems. Both research evidence and practitioner experience suggest that such individuals are more likely to benefit from programs that can simultaneously address their occupational skill deficits, educational deficits, soft skills deficits, and health needs. Such programs typically offer, in addition to occupational skills training, pre-employment training, job development assistance, and in-program and post-placement supports for the individuals and their families. These supports may include counseling, financial assistance, help with childcare and transportation arrangements, as well as help for other family members. (Conversely, residents who are more job ready and face less complex issues may require less intensive or less comprehensive services.)

One way to implement this approach is to integrate or package services into a single training program, as CET and Project QUEST have done. Another is to co-locate services at a single location (commonly known as a one-stop center), where staff can refer individuals to specific services and activities. In both cases, effective case management or careful staff counseling and follow-up is necessary to monitor the individual's receipt of support services as well as his or her progress in workforce development activities.¹⁰¹

Strategy 3: Involving community residents in program design and implementation. Giving community residents a role in an employment initiative is an important cross-cutting strategy that distinguishes many community-based employment initiatives from mainstream workforce development efforts. This typically takes the form of involving neighborhood residents in decisions about the employment strategies to pursue or the design of specific programs or projects¹⁰² as well as using residents as volunteers or paid workers in initiative-sponsored projects or programs.

The assumption is that asking residents to identify areas of particular need, interest, or concern to the community and involving them in developing strategies to resolve them will make it more likely that residents will participate in the new activities and ultimately add to the effectiveness of the programs. Similarly, it is assumed that residents who serve as mentors and counselors will be better able than traditional agency staff to develop the rapport and trust that are important in these roles.

Resident participation has the potential to produce community-building outcomes as well as enhancing employment outcomes. By strengthening the connections among community residents and community institutions, these efforts expand the supply of social capital and develop resources that can be of value to other individuals and organizations. The researchers who evaluated Project QUEST noted, for example, “In an important sense Project QUEST is about community building, not just job training.”¹⁰³

Community-Based Employment Initiatives: Accomplishments and Limitations

Accomplishments. Evaluations of community initiatives that focused on employment indicate that they succeeded in creating or expanding the capacity of local organizations as on-the-ground deliverers of workforce development services in neighborhoods where such programs were weak or lacking. These initiatives developed new or improved training and job opportunities for local residents, often adopting best-practice approaches and basing their programs on recognized models of high quality. Assessments suggest that, as anticipated, the programs developed by these initiatives were culturally sensitive and created a supportive environment that stressed the development of personal ties, building confidence, and expanding the personal horizons of the enrollees.¹⁰⁴ In some cases, the CCI-sponsored projects provided opportunities for low-skilled workers to develop their skills and get better paying jobs with more opportunity for advancement; in other cases, they provided opportunities for local residents who were uninterested, unwilling, or unable to access services and programs offered by more traditional training institutions or organizations to gain skills and connections to work. Both approaches helped local residents get jobs.¹⁰⁵

Limitations. While these are significant achievements, especially for community-based organizations with little or no prior experience in workforce development, a few caveats should be noted. Most of these employment efforts have been relatively small in scale, especially compared with the size of the unemployed population in the neighborhood, and most have fallen short of their performance targets. In addition, the long-term success of the neighborhood-based service delivery approach is difficult to assess because there is very little follow-up data on what happened to the individuals who were placed in jobs

or referred to training, and no information about the cost-effectiveness of the programmatic interventions and the capacity-building efforts they required.

The lower than anticipated performance of CBOs in workforce development initiatives is due, in part, to the unrealistically high performance goals, and in part to more systemic problems. In the Jobs Initiative, which was designed as a citywide employment intervention, dissatisfaction with the performance of local CBOs in recruiting neighborhood residents, training them, and providing postplacement services led several sites to develop an alternative delivery structure.¹⁰⁶ Other assessments of CBO performance have been more positive, but it has become clear that, despite their acknowledged advantages, CBOs face significant obstacles as workforce development providers in the current policy environment. It is not surprising, therefore, that virtually every evaluation of community-level employment initiatives has noted the critical need to devote resources to building the capacity of local CBOs if they are to take on an effective workforce development role.¹⁰⁷

Programmatically, two weaknesses stand out. First, many CBOs, particularly those that have limited experience as employment training providers, need to develop stronger connections to private sector employers and a greater understanding of what employers are looking for in an employee. Second, CBOs need to develop a larger frame of reference that extends beyond the immediate neighborhood. They need information, for example, about regional labor markets, as well as about promising programmatic approaches and best practices in workforce development so they are not in the position of discovering through trial and error what is already known to others in the field. Equally important is the need to join together with other CBOs inside or outside the neighborhood to work for systemic changes in employment policy and practices or to become a competitive bidder for government contracts and grants.

Structural weakness resulting from the fact that CBOs are undercapitalized is another source of problems. CBOs typically have chronic cash flow problems and lack the funding to pay competitive salaries; fund critical functions such as grant writing, coordination, core support, strategic planning, and staff development; and develop sophisticated Management Information Systems (MIS). As a result, they tend to have overstretched staff and high staff turnover and find it difficult to implement large-scale or multicomponent programs that require coordination with other service providers.

These weaknesses are neither new nor unique to CBOs that focus on workforce development. On the contrary, they are characteristic of CBOs and other nonprofit organizations.¹⁰⁸ Current federal and state funding and contracting policies in workforce development tend to exacerbate these difficulties, however. Performance-based contracting, which is almost universal in the government-funded workforce development and welfare-to-work systems, heightens cash flow problems because the bulk of the payment is not made until after enrollees have participated in services and been placed in jobs. Weak MIS systems make it difficult for CBOs to track the progress of enrollees through multiple components or after referral to a training program or job placement and make it difficult to document success in meeting the performance levels required by their government contracts. This can hurt them financially and also makes them less competitive for future funding. Another development that puts CBOs at a disadvantage in winning contracts is the trend—evident among several states in the welfare-to-work and workforce development systems¹⁰⁹—towards funding a small number of large-scale programs rather than a large number of small programs.

CBOs can address these difficulties by forming collaborative networks or partnerships with other CBOs to bid on and operate workforce development programs jointly. Such arrangements allow small CBOs to offer comprehensive programming without having to develop capacity in all areas. Partnering CBOs can learn from others, achieve economies of scale, and qualify for government funding that they would have been too small to qualify for on their own. The advantages are illustrated in several community initiatives, such as the Neighborhood Strategies Project, through which CBOs in three different boroughs in New York City jointly developed a winning proposal for a welfare-to-work program that none would have qualified for alone.¹¹⁰

An unresolved topic of debate is whether it is easier and more effective to develop workforce development expertise in CBOs that have little or no experience in this area but have strong community roots than to develop a sensitivity to community residents and issues in organizations that are experienced and successful in delivering workforce development services. A major review of employment training organizations in the late 1990s advised that it was probably better if CDCs and CBOs that were not currently operating workforce programs did not try to develop this expertise.¹¹¹ Others, however,

see this as a potential area of expansion. The Neighborhood Jobs Initiative, for example, chose to work with community groups that had demonstrated close connections with community residents in preference to organizations that were experienced employment and training deliverers because the developers of the initiative believed that “it would be easier for CBOs to develop employment expertise than trust and connections to hard-to-reach residents.”¹¹² In any event, it is clear that most CBOs will require ongoing capacity-building assistance if they are to become or remain successful, competitive workforce development service agencies in the current funding environment.

SECTION 2 | Achieving Community-Level Changes in Employment: Theory and Outcomes

The scale and scope of the employment projects of most community change initiatives suggest that they work directly with only a small—in some cases, a very small—proportion of the residents in their communities. However, in order to produce a detectable degree of change in community employment levels—as measured by such standard indicators as the unemployment rate or labor force participation rate—a substantial proportion of residents would have to get jobs and remain employed. The concern has been raised in several evaluations that the projects undertaken by CCIs may not be operated at sufficient scale to produce a detectable community-level change.¹¹³

What needs to be explained is how a relatively small-scale employment intervention that serves, at best, only a few hundred people out of several thousand adult residents can produce changes of sufficient magnitude to raise the community’s overall employment rate. A possible answer is that a community change initiative to improve employment outcomes does not represent the sum total of all the employment-related change that will occur in the neighborhood. The assumption is that *other* residents, who do not participate in the employment activities, will nonetheless undergo changes that enable them to increase their employment and earnings.

The explanation for why this should happen constitutes a “theory of change” about reaching community-level increases in employment. The theory proposed here posits that the employment effects are cumulative and result from several different types of changes that are happening in the community. These include:

(1) the multiplier effect of having a core of residents go to work and become role models and sources of information about jobs for other residents; (2) the synergistic effects of CCI-sponsored improvements in other areas that can affect residents' preparedness for or interest in working even if they do not participate in the initiative's employment-related projects; and (3) the effect that changed perceptions about community resources, opportunities, and conditions can have on residents' decisions about employment and related behaviors. The elaboration of this theory of change sequences the steps in the hypothetical pathway of change into early, interim, and long-term outcomes, as shown in Figure 8.1. Possible ways to measure the outcomes are discussed in section 3.

Early Outcomes

The early outcomes at the community level relate to what has been accomplished by the specific projects that the community change initiative has undertaken to improve employment opportunities and other conditions in the community. These might also be thought of as project-level outcomes.

Employment projects are implemented; residents who use them improve their skills and connections to work and find steady employment. The first step in the hypothesized pathway of change is that the initiative creates new employment and training opportunities by implementing one or more of the strategies discussed in section 1. If the projects are well-conceived and successfully implemented, a good proportion of the residents who participate in or utilize them will increase their skills, knowledge, and connections to work, and become employed. Depending on the intervention strategy, some participants may get higher-paying jobs with advancement potential, and some may have lengthy job retention. Thus, earnings, as well as employment, should increase and welfare receipt decrease.

The effects produced by other CCI-sponsored projects contribute to increased employment by increasing access to resources, improving the quality of local services, expanding social networks, and reducing barriers to employment. Employment-focused activities are not the only projects that are being mounted by community change efforts. The idea that community change initiatives are undertaking multiple interventions directed at

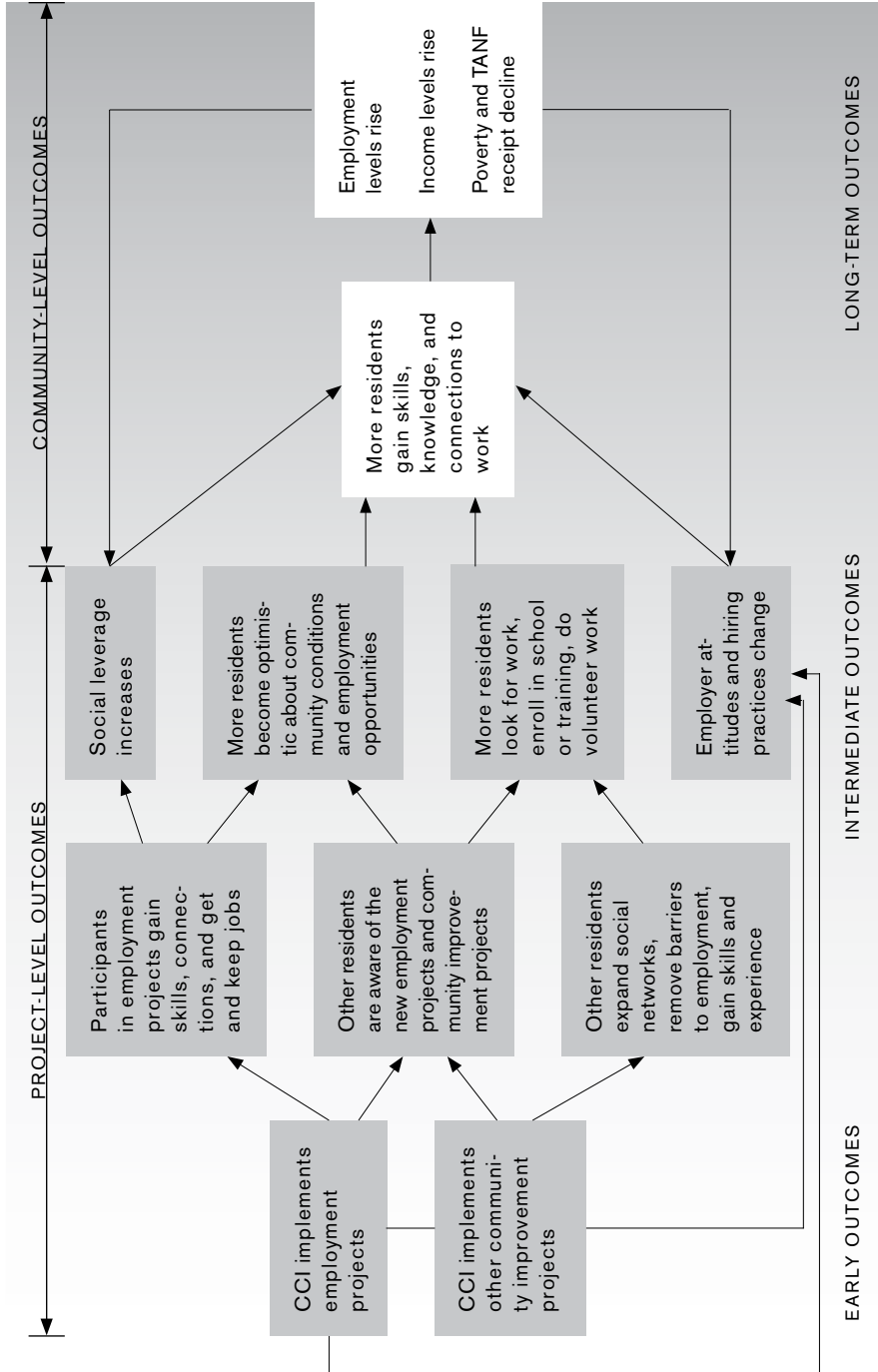
a diverse array of problems in inner-city neighborhoods is a key element that explains how they are expected to revitalize their communities. In theory, attacking multiple problems simultaneously will create synergistic effects that produce an overall level of change that, like a gestalt, is greater than the sum of the individual parts.

However, the literature has been slow to articulate exactly why and how the effects of various activities undertaken by an initiative are expected to interact with each other to produce the desired synergistic change. The theory of change proposed here suggests some of the possible interconnections and gives examples of the ways that various activities might help—indirectly—to increase employment among residents who do not participate in the initiative’s employment-related projects. These other activities might, for example, help some residents to prepare for jobs by providing alternative pathways for them to gain skills, knowledge, and access to resources. They might also be instrumental in expanding residents’ social networks. Finally, and perhaps even more importantly, they might succeed in removing some of the personal and family issues that, as discussed in section 1, make it difficult for neighborhood residents to work. Examples of how a variety of projects in different areas might affect employment rates are highlighted in the following discussion. Theories and evidence about strategies to achieve outcomes in these areas are discussed in the other chapters in this volume.

Efforts to improve neighborhood safety. Efforts to reduce neighborhood crime and improve neighborhood safety may help boost employment rates among residents who are reluctant to get jobs because they are fearful about their own or their children’s safety. Several studies show that mothers with young children in high-crime areas express reluctance to work because they are fearful of what will happen to their children in their absence.¹¹⁴ Other residents do not want jobs if they have to walk through dangerous areas to get to them. If such fears are dominant, reducing crime and increasing feelings of safety might lead to increased employment.

Efforts to expand access to improve the quality of social service programs. More effective social service programs or greater access to social service programs could also contribute to higher employment rates in the community. For example, numerous studies have shown that concerns about childcare can make it difficult for single mothers to work.¹¹⁵ Efforts to increase the supply, improve

Figure 8.1: Theory of Change for Achieving Community-Level Outcomes in Employment



the quality or reduce the cost of local childcare and after-school programs could help to increase employment.

Chronic health problems—their own, or those of their children—pose yet another obstacle for residents. Substance abuse and domestic violence are also conditions that can interfere with employment.¹¹⁶ Successful efforts to expand residents' access to programs that can help overcome such problems, or to projects that improve the quality of available services could make it possible for more local residents to find work or hold down a job.

Efforts to improve local housing. Evidence that persons who are homeless or living in inadequate or unstable housing may find it difficult to work suggests that addressing housing problems in the community could contribute to higher employment rates.¹¹⁷ Briggs and Mueller's study of tenants in CDC housing suggests, however, that special efforts are needed to involve residents of CDC housing in employment and training programs.¹¹⁸ In other words, solving a housing crisis does not provide the means for people to move into employment, but it could facilitate the process.

Community-building efforts. Theories about the importance of social networks in connecting people to jobs suggest that community-building efforts, which were so central to community change efforts in the 1990s, can also have an indirect effect on raising employment levels. If community residents have more interaction with each other, for example, there is a greater likelihood that their social networks will broaden and include people who are working. In addition, it is expected that volunteer activities will give residents confidence, experience, and skills that can help them in the job market.¹¹⁹

Improving local education institutions and outcomes. Since graduation from high school is positively linked with higher labor market outcomes,¹²⁰ successful efforts to improve local high schools and reduce dropout rates should, in the long term, have a positive effect on community employment and earnings rates. School-to-work programs, which help in-school youth make connections to employment, are specifically targeted to do this. Improving local residents' access to and the quality of adult education programs, GED programs, and postsecondary education institutions may also have a positive effect on employment rates.

The CCI makes systematic efforts to increase the synergy between projects by developing them in an integrated way. In theory, comprehensive community change initiatives are more likely to produce synergistic effects if they make deliberate efforts to coordinate or link projects across domains or across levels. In practice, developing these connections has proved difficult.¹²¹

Residents are aware of the range of CCI programs and their results. Community change theory suggests that the hypothesized multiplier and synergistic effects are unlikely to be realized if residents are unaware of or untouched by the efforts that are being made to enhance services and improve the quality of life in the community. Residents need to know about the new opportunities and new resources that are available. For employment projects it will be advantageous if residents not only know that services are available but also see that individuals who use them get jobs, especially “good” jobs. Two experts caution, for example, “New opportunities may be generated, but if youth never hear about them, are never encouraged to take advantage of them, and never see their peers taking advantage of them, there will be minimal behavioral response.”¹²² Two others observe, “Objective presence may not matter as much as residents’ knowledge of and opinion about the [neighborhood] institutions’ salience to their lives.”¹²³ Building this kind of community awareness may require intensive effort. For example, despite aggressive outreach to inform residents in two Milwaukee neighborhoods about the work opportunities and incentives available in a community-focused demonstration program, a survey of residents revealed that only about 20 percent of adults had heard of the program, and less than 4 percent reported that they participated in it or knew much about it.¹²⁴

Intermediate Outcomes

The intermediate steps and outcomes along the pathway to community-level changes in employment relate to changes in residents’ social leverage; changes in residents’ attitudes and opinions about the community and their own employment opportunities; and changes in residents’ work behaviors, skills, connections, and work preparedness.

Increases in social leverage. As noted, the residents who participate in the initiative’s projects and get jobs are likely to be only a small proportion of the

adult resident population. Nevertheless, this small cadre of workers can act as a vanguard of change for the community-at-large by providing an example and contacts from which others can benefit. Residents who go to work can become sources of social leverage capital and work-related support capital for other residents who therefore are more likely to have access to jobs and find support for work. Their employment may therefore have what might be called a multiplier effect within the community. William T. Dickens has developed a model that shows, for example, that providing job placement services to one person per month could result in an employment gain of one to twelve people.¹²⁵

The theories about social networks and employment discussed in section 1 suggest how this might occur: Program participants who find employment and stay in jobs can serve as role models and sources of information about work and jobs for their neighbors, friends, and acquaintances. The new workers may develop contacts that can lead to a job offer for a nonworking resident, or inspire other residents by their example to seek out opportunities for education, training, or work. They can thus become sources of what Xavier Briggs calls “social leverage,” defined as a form of social support that can help others get jobs by providing information about jobs, advice about future plans, or advice about school.¹²⁶

Briggs’ work on the connections between social networks and labor market success suggests several dimensions of social networks that are relevant to understanding the change that can be produced by a comprehensive community initiative. He documents the importance of having social networks that include persons who can provide the three types of social leverage just mentioned. His research also shows that having a single contact who can provide such information is more important than having multiple contacts. The likelihood that a minority youth’s social network will include such a person is determined by the network’s size, character, and ethnic and socioeconomic mix, according to Briggs’ evidence. Thus, a minority youth’s social contacts are more likely to include people who can provide social leverage if the networks are bigger and more diverse.

This suggests several things about the way an initiative might increase employment by changing residents’ social networks. As noted, community-building activities are expected to increase social capital by expanding residents’ social networks; these expanded social networks may also result in increased

social leverage, particularly if they bring residents into contact with a more diverse array of people. Similarly, if more residents go to work in suburban areas or other parts of the city, their social networks may both widen and become more ethnically diverse, allowing them to bring back new information and contacts to the community.

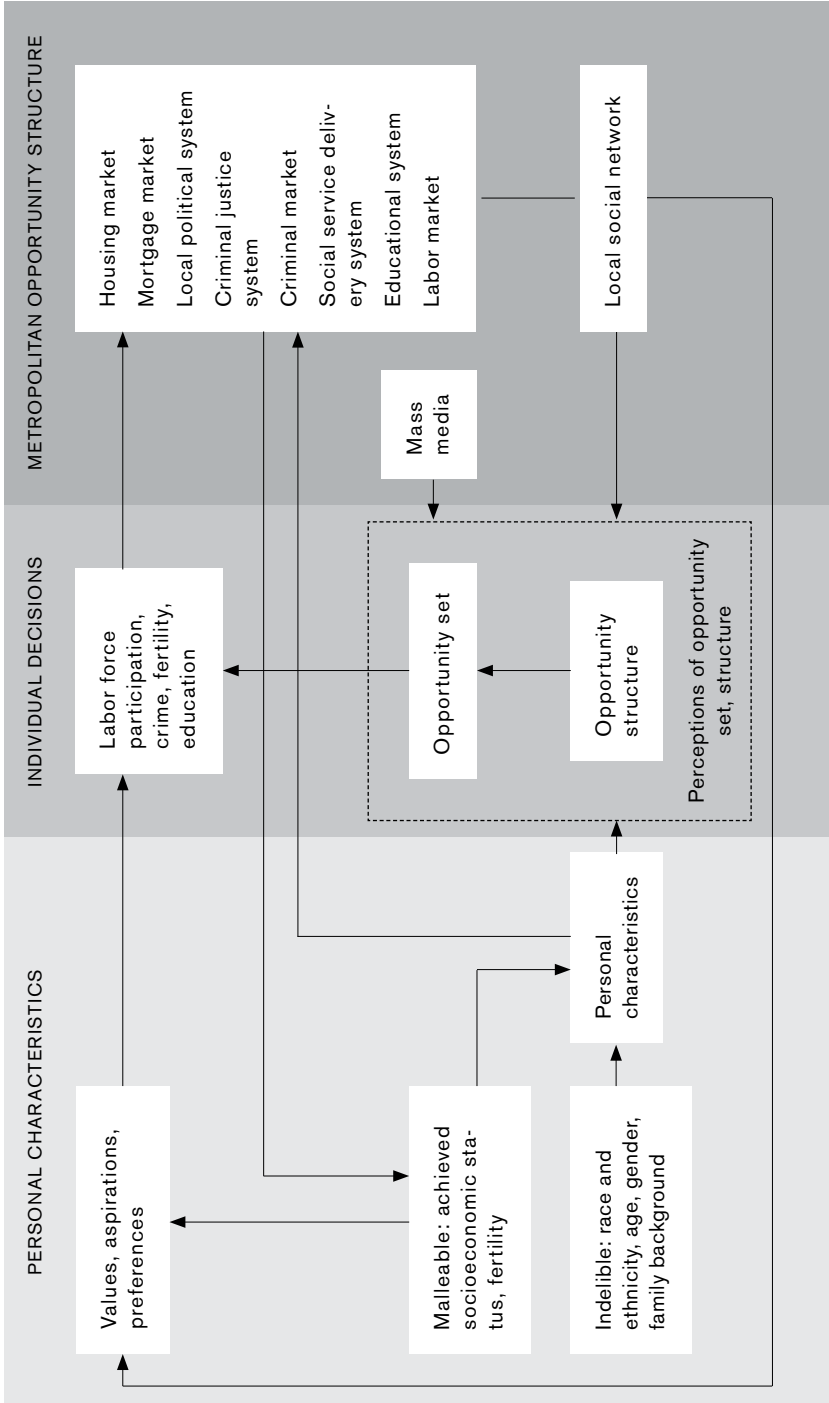
Briggs' and Dickens' analyses suggest the importance of determining whether residents' social networks do change as a community change initiative matures. If the theory is correct, and increased contact with people who work does in fact result in greater preparedness for work, greater interest in working, and more job referrals and job hires, then increased social leverage can also be an interim outcome, indicating that progress is being made toward the goal of increased employment levels in the future. Briggs himself looked at changes in social networks as preliminary indicators of future employment success.

Case and Katz's research on youths in inner-city neighborhoods in Boston provides additional evidence that employment among family members and peers may have a multiplier effect on employment within a community.¹²⁷ As discussed, if peer networks contain more workers, individual residents might find the idea of work more appealing and have access to social supports that can help them deal with the emotional stresses and increased family pressures that employment can generate.

Changes in residents' attitudes about the community and about work, and changes in their work-related behaviors. George Galster and Sean Killen propose that the interplay between a neighborhood's "opportunity structure" and an individual's perception of how that opportunity structure affects his or her personal chances of success will influence decisions about education, fertility, work, and crime. According to Galster and Killen, a neighborhood's "opportunity structure" is shaped by the real conditions of the local labor market, educational system, service delivery system, criminal justice system, and so forth. The way an individual resident perceives that reality is shaped, in part, by the influence of social networks.¹²⁸

Galster and Killen's model of decision making, shown in Figure 8.2, provides a partial explanation of why a community change initiative's employment projects may have a bigger impact on overall employment than the scope of the

Figure 8.2: A Model of Life Decisions by Youth



Source: George C. Galster and Sean P. Killen, "The Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: A Reconnaissance and Conceptual Framework," Figure 1 "A Model of Life Decisions by Youth" *Housing Policy Debate* 6, no. 1 (1995): 7–43. © 1995 Fannie Mae Foundation, Washington, D.C. Reprinted with permission.

individual projects might suggest. According to their model, expanding the opportunities available to community residents and changing their attitudes can affect residents' personal sense of potential and thus their behavior. In other words, if residents see some signs of improvement in the community or see that other residents have improved opportunities, they may feel more hopeful about their own chances. They may therefore be more likely to take action—for example, enrolling in an education or training program, doing volunteer work, or getting a job—that will further their advancement, or be more likely to refrain from engaging in activities—such as criminal behavior or early childbearing—that would make it more difficult to get or hold a job.¹²⁹ As a result, more community residents will increase their skills, be better equipped to work, and be better connected to potential employers.

Changes in employers' willingness to hire community residents. Job opportunities for the residents of inner-city neighborhoods will expand if local or regional employers develop a more positive image of the residents and are more willing to hire them. This could occur if a community change initiative makes specific efforts to develop better relations and job placements with employers, as described in section 1. However, there is not much evidence to suggest that employers are likely to change their general hiring practices because they have a good experience with a particular training institution or employment program. Alternatively, or additionally, employer attitudes and behaviors might change in response to visible improvements in the institutions, conditions, or reputation of the community. Improvements in local schools, for example, might make employers less wary about hiring their graduates.

Long-Term Outcomes on Employment and Income

The cumulative effect of all these developments should be that a broad array of residents will go to work and continue to work. Some will get jobs that pay well and offer opportunities for advancement, and some will move up into better jobs.

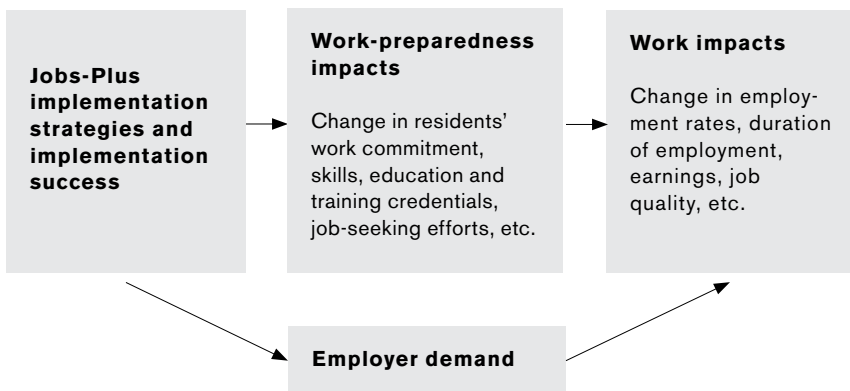
As community employment levels rise, average earnings should also rise, because residents will be substituting earnings for welfare, moving from lower-paying jobs into higher-paying jobs, working longer hours, or staying employed longer. In addition, it is expected that if employment and earnings rise in the

community, welfare receipt should decline, since residents who were receiving aid will go off welfare entirely or receive reduced benefits when they start to work. Finally, it is anticipated that total income in the community will rise as employment and earnings levels rise. To some extent, however, earnings gains will be offset by reductions in welfare receipt among welfare recipients who lose benefits when they go to work.

The Usefulness of This Hypothetical Model

Several caveats are important to note about the hypothetical model of community-level change shown in Figure 8.1. First, the model is largely speculative because the literature offers almost no examples of detailed, step-by-step models, and does not articulate the interconnections among the range of projects that community change initiatives undertake. An exception is the Jobs-Plus Initiative, whose research design incorporates a theory of change that links the successful implementation of the initiative's employment strategies (the provision of employment and training services, enhanced financial incentives, and increased supports for workers) to changes in residents' work preparedness (work commitment, skills, education and training credentials, and increased supports for workers) to changes in residents' work preparedness (work commitment, skills, education and training credentials,

Figure 8.3: Evaluating the Impact of Jobs-Plus on Employment Outcomes



Source: James A. Riccio, "A Research Framework for Evaluating Jobs-Plus, a Saturation and Place-Based Employment Initiative for Public Housing Residents," working paper, MDRC, New York, May 1998. Reprinted with permission.

job seeking efforts, etc.) to changes in employment rates, duration of employment, earnings and job quality.¹³⁰ (See Figure 8.3.) The causal sequence specified in the Jobs-Plus model corresponds to the early, interim, and long-term outcomes terminology used in this chapter. However, because Jobs-Plus is testing a “saturation” employment initiative designed to serve the entire neighborhood (a public housing community), it avoids the problem of how to move from the project level to the community level.

Second, employment initiatives may identify alternative pathways of change as they develop their theories of change. The model of change proposed in this chapter focuses on the role of individuals as the primary agents of change in achieving community-level effects on employment; an alternative theory might place more emphasis on the role of community institutions in bringing about change. This emphasis is apparent, for example, in an interim evaluation report on the Jobs Initiative, which highlights the changes made in workforce policies, programs, and employer practices as “laying the foundation for systems reforms” that are considered “necessary for long term progress toward economic stability for inner-city families.” This suggests that the evaluation will place emphasis on outcomes and measures relating to institutional capacity building, interagency coordination and interorganizational relationships, and other improvements in the employment and training service delivery system as the route to producing community-level changes in employment.¹³¹

Capacity-building outcomes are also highlighted in recent assessments of employment activities in the Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood Transformation Initiative in Baltimore, the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program in the South Bronx, the Neighborhood Strategies Project in New York City, and the Rebuilding Communities Initiative.¹³² This institutional perspective could also be incorporated into the theory of change model presented here. An early community-level outcome of an employment initiative could be, for example, that local institutions increase their capacity and connections, a development that enhances their current and future effectiveness and increases the resources that the community can draw on.¹³³

Other Community-Level Effects of Rising Employment Levels

Although increased employment is typically treated as a long-term outcome in a community change initiative, it is not necessarily a final outcome, since many

scholars hypothesize that raising community employment levels will in turn produce other changes in the community besides the ones already discussed. The effects that are typically cited as possible outcomes include:

- Lower crime rates
- Increased financial resources from taxes and local retail spending
- Changes in household formation and welfare receipt
- Increased or decreased migration out of the community
- Increased well-being of children in families that include workers

This section provides a brief introduction to some of the literature that addresses these hypotheses, and some of the ongoing studies that are attempting to test them. The Jobs-Plus Initiative, for example, is planning to look at the connection between efforts to increase employment rates in public housing communities and a range of other noneconomic outcomes such as child well-being, housing mobility, crime and safety, housing satisfaction, and drug and alcohol abuse.¹³⁴ If the hypothesized connections prove true, they may provide additional examples of the synergy that can fuel a comprehensive community transformation effort.

Effects on crime reduction. William Julius Wilson has hypothesized that since high rates of joblessness in inner-city neighborhoods have contributed to drug trafficking, crime, and gang violence, increasing the number of residents who are employed would reduce crime, including violent crime, and drug use.¹³⁵ Shawn Bushway and Peter Reuter recently studied the relationship between persistently high jobless rates in a community and heavy concentrations of crime, especially violent crime. Their review of the literature on crime and employment found evidence of a relationship between the two at both the community and the individual levels, but evidence of only a few employment and training programs that had lasting, positive effects on crime reduction.¹³⁶

Increased community resources from taxes and local spending. The increased financial resources that a community will gain through increases in tax revenues and local spending is another benefit to communities when residents go to work, according to these hypotheses.¹³⁷ There is also the potential for an economic multiplier effect: Increased local demand for goods and services can

generate new business opportunities that can increase employment opportunities for local residents.

Effects on family formation and welfare receipt. Wilson argues that the high jobless rates in inner-city neighborhoods are largely responsible for such trends as declining marriage rates, increasing rates of temporary alliances and the formation of single-parent families through out-of-wedlock births, and expansions in the welfare rolls—trends that further limit the already limited prospects for social and economic mobility in these communities. He anticipates, conversely, that if neighborhood employment levels rise, families will be strengthened and the proportion of households receiving welfare will decline significantly.¹³⁸

Effects of parental employment on children. Most of the literature reports on the effects of maternal employment. The effect of the father's employment on child well-being has been much less studied. Expectations about what will happen to children of employed mothers are somewhat mixed, largely because of the concerns about the well-being of children of single mothers in low-wage jobs.¹³⁹ On the positive side, it is argued that children may benefit from increased income, more regular routines, increased structure in family life, more worker role models and contacts, increased responsibility in the home, increased aspirations and optimism, and the effects of their parents' increased sense of self-worth. On the negative side, children may not benefit if they are placed in low-quality childcare or left unsupervised, or if the parent is experiencing work-related stress.

Recently published research on child outcomes in welfare-to-work programs synthesized evidence from eight rigorous experimental studies of sixteen welfare-to-work programs and found small negative effects on school performance among adolescents ages twelve to nineteen, including increases in grade repetition and receipt of special education services. Outcomes were worse for adolescents with younger siblings. There were no effects on teen childbearing, school dropout rate, or school suspension rates, however. Researchers suggest that negative effects on teen school performance may result because the teens are not receiving as much supervision as formerly, because they are being asked to take on more responsibility for their younger siblings, or because they are more harshly parented by mothers who are feeling more stress. In contrast, elementary school age children of the mothers in these programs did not show

negative outcomes in school performance; overall, for this age group, the research found neither widespread benefits nor widespread harm.¹⁴⁰

Effects on residents' movement out of the community. Not all the effects of rising employment levels may be beneficial for the community. A major issue is whether the residents who find employment will decide to move out, causing the community to lose valuable social capital and role models. If so, it could be very difficult to sustain higher employment levels.¹⁴¹ A related issue is whether employed residents will have the time to devote to community-building efforts and whether they will develop alternative networks outside the community.¹⁴²

Several scholars suggest ways in which these potentially harmful community effects might be mitigated. McNeely emphasizes that not all employed residents will leave; the important thing is to retain “a healthy percentage of successful families and strong community leaders.”¹⁴³ Gottlieb suggests that CCIs need to work on making “place” more attractive in order to encourage people to stay.¹⁴⁴ O'Connor points out that migration outside the neighborhood can be a “source of community strength” if movers maintain their ties with the old neighborhood. She suggests that if former residents remain active in church or local organizations and keep in touch with friends, they can still be important sources of “finances, extended networks, information and opportunities” and serve as role models.¹⁴⁵ The New Community Corporation in Newark, for example, makes concerted efforts to maintain ties with movers, and tap their social capital resources for the good of the community.¹⁴⁶ There is some empirical evidence in Briggs that poor families who moved out of concentrated public housing developments into scattered site housing in response to a court-ordered antisegregation policy in Yonkers did maintain ties with the old neighborhood, especially through churchgoing. Many of the youth also maintained their ties with neighborhood cronies.¹⁴⁷

An unknown factor is whether residents' interest in moving will be greater if they work outside the community, either because they have the added incentive of moving closer to their job, or because they experience greater dissatisfaction with their “home” neighborhood in contrast to where they are working. On the other hand, residents who are working in areas where they feel ostracized or discriminated against may better appreciate the social supports their

own neighborhood provides. Evidence about the relationship between employment and income gains and movement out of poor, inner-city areas is not very well understood.¹⁴⁸ Gottlieb argues that high rates of movement out of the neighborhood are unlikely because “increased affluence and life-cycle changes, not job location, are the prime cause of residential relocation.”¹⁴⁹ A recent study of women who left welfare in the Cleveland metropolitan area found that while 24 percent of leavers moved within six months of exiting welfare, most of the moves were between city neighborhoods, not from the city to the suburbs. Less than 1 percent of the sample reported that wanting to be closer to work was the main reason they moved.¹⁵⁰

SECTION 3 | Measuring Employment-Related Outcomes at the Project Level and Community Level

The theory of change proposed in section 2 suggests two levels at which employment outcomes and related outcomes need to be measured in a community change initiative. The first is the project level, in which the outcomes reflect changes produced in individuals and institutions by the specific programmatic interventions that the initiative undertakes. The second is the community level, in which the outcomes result from the aggregate, cumulative, and synergistic effects of many initiative-sponsored programs and affect the community as a whole. In the theory of change model developed in this chapter, project-level outcomes constitute early outcomes at the community change level. Documentation of project-level outcomes is essential because if change is not occurring at this level, it is unlikely that change will be seen at the community level.

Project-Level Outcomes and Measures

From the community perspective, measures of the reach of new programs and their success in helping participants develop skills, acquire credentials, and obtain jobs are key in the early stages of the initiative. Information on the demographic and socioeconomic status of neighborhood residents who participate in initiative-sponsored workforce development programs provides an indication of the initiative’s initial reach. Information about who gets jobs and the types of jobs they get (occupational type, full-time or part-time, wages paid, benefits

offered); where the jobs are located (in the neighborhood, in the city, in the suburbs) or the commute involved (how long it takes, what mode of transportation is used); and how long participants stay employed can be used to determine whether the initiative is affecting traditional patterns of neighborhood or low-wage employment. Except for information about job location and commuting, these are fairly standard outcome measures in evaluations of workforce development programs and welfare-to-work programs and can be compiled from program records (if programs are asked to collect them and assisted in developing a participant tracking system).¹⁵¹

No precise measures have been developed to determine whether the various projects undertaken by an initiative are well integrated, but some key attributes of or approaches to integration are discussed in Chaskin and Joseph's evaluation of the Neighborhood and Family Initiative.¹⁵²

Community-Level Outcomes and Measures

Another marker of progress toward higher levels of employment and earnings in an inner-city community is the development of social networks that include more people who work and more people who can provide social leverage and social support for work. Expanded social networks and increased levels of social leverage and social support are commonly thought of as community-building outcomes or social capital outcomes rather than employment outcomes. But the theories and issues discussed in Sections 1 and 2 should make clear that social networks are critical components in helping inner-city residents get jobs and maintain steady employment. Key aspects to measure are changes in the size, density, and ethnic and socioeconomic composition of residents' social networks and whether residents know more people who are supportive of their efforts to work; give them information and advice about jobs, training, or education; or provide, on a regular or an emergency basis, assistance that enables them to work. Although some survey instruments address these issues, more work needs to be done to develop research instruments and measures that track the connections between social networks and employment and provide evidence for the themes and theories discussed in section 2. Leading sources of information about measuring and analyzing social leverage and social support are Briggs' study of inner-city youths and Briggs and Mueller's work on CDC housing communities in

three cities. The surveys used in Case and Katz's study of inner-city youths in Boston also contain questions relating to social networks, family and friends' support for work, and job search behavior.¹⁵³

Ideally, it would be important to document changes in social networks among a sample of all residents, not just among those who actually participate in the workforce development programs sponsored by the community initiative. Alternatively—or additionally—it would be useful to determine whether the participants in the initiative-sponsored projects become sources of social leverage and social support for other community members.

Changes in other neighborhood conditions that can create a more supportive environment for workers and contribute to the success of in a neighborhood-based employment initiative—such as expanded daycare, reductions in crime or fear of crime, improvements in the local schools or transportation system—can also be documented. Information about employer attitudes and hiring practices can come from focus group sessions, interviews with local or regional employers, or an employer survey. Employer surveys have been developed for several major studies, including the Chicago Urban Poverty and Family Life Study and the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.¹⁵⁴

Changes in residents' attitudes and expectations about work, involvement in work-related activities, or knowledge of the community initiative are interim outcomes that can be documented by surveys or focus groups. Information is needed about residents' views on whether objective conditions or opportunities have improved; the likelihood that community residents can get jobs or certain types of jobs; the likelihood that they personally will be able to get a job; their interest in getting a job; and the reasons they are not working. A number of survey instruments include questions designed to elicit information on these issues.¹⁵⁵ Some relevant data are currently collected in national population surveys (such as the Survey of Income and Program Participation and the Current Population Survey) but these sources do not yield a sufficient sample size when the data are disaggregated to the neighborhood or community level.¹⁵⁶

Finally, to assess whether overall employment patterns change and economic outcomes improve for the community as a whole, it is important to have information about community-wide employment levels, income levels, welfare receipt, and poverty status, as well as information about residents' steadiness of employment and the types of jobs they hold. Measuring such changes at the

neighborhood level is no simple task. Some measures can be derived from U.S. census data, although the information is only collected at ten-year intervals, and some questions are asked only of a subsample of respondents. Others can be constructed by matching two or more sets of administrative records. Still others would require fielding a survey.

Standard measures of community-level employment are the unemployment rate, labor force participation rate, and the jobless rate for adult males, all of which can be calculated from U.S. decennial census data. Community-level income measures are typically reported in terms of per capita household income, average household income, and median household income, all of which can be computed from the decennial census data. Welfare receipt is typically measured in terms of the proportion of residents receiving Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), which can be developed from the administrative records kept by the state or county welfare agency. (TANF replaced AFDC in 1996.) The percentage of neighborhood residents or households living in poverty, as measured by the U.S. poverty standards, can be calculated from U.S. census data.

Community-level measures relating to type and quality of jobs, location of jobs or length of commute, and the steadiness of residents' employment are much harder to develop from existing data sources. Some can be developed from the census, and others can be calculated by matching administrative records data from the Unemployment Insurance system data with other administrative records (such as Motor Vehicles records) that contain geographic indicators. Work is also underway to develop measures of low-income workers' access to jobs in specific metropolitan areas.¹⁵⁷

A growing number of publications provide information and guidance about how census data, Unemployment Insurance records, and other administrative records data can be used to construct neighborhood-level measures of employment and income.¹⁵⁸ A series of publications compiled by the Neighborhood Indicators Partnership Project is particularly useful.¹⁵⁹

Methodological Issues

As noted, measuring the kinds of changes described as interim and long-term outcomes in the proposed theory of change requires detailed information about residents' opinions, perceptions, and experiences as well as measures of employment and income. The most reliable way of collecting this information is to survey

a representative sample of community residents at different points in time. Focus group discussions and case histories can add richness of detail and context, but they typically best serve as supplements to rather than substitutes for a survey.

Nevertheless, using a community or resident survey to measure the change that occurs in a community over time is a very expensive endeavor and presents some methodological problems as well. Because the makeup of the community may have changed during that period, it may not be clear whether one is measuring changes in people or changes in the place. Research has shown that there is considerable movement into and out of inner-city poverty communities. According to one study, as many as 20 percent of some population groups move into or away from very poor city neighborhoods over the course of a year.¹⁶⁰ If community residents are surveyed at different points in time, measured changes in attitudes, behavior, employment, and earnings may reflect the fact that different people are living in the community rather than changes in community conditions or circumstances. Thus, any change that is measured may not be have been produced by the community change initiative.

Alternatively, if a cohort of residents is tracked and interviewed at different points in time, another difficulty arises. If some of these sample members have moved out of the neighborhood (which is likely), their responses don't necessarily yield information about the changes that have occurred in the community as a place.¹⁶¹

CONCLUSION

The theory of change proposed in section 2 suggests one possible pathway of change to explain how relatively small scale employment interventions might eventually produce community-wide effects on employment. As noted, other theories might illuminate different pathways of change. There are also several critical issues that a single model of change or a single evaluation cannot address.

It is not known, for example, what scale of intervention is needed to start the process of change, produce the multiplier and synergistic effects on community residents who are not directly touched by the intervention, and sustain change over time. Is there an absolute level of employment that needs to be reached? Or does there need to be an incremental increase of some magnitude

above the initial employment base? Nor is it known whether some strategies or combinations of strategies are more effective than others in starting and sustaining the process.

Answering such questions will require analyses and comparison of the results of numerous community efforts. In the meantime, it should be stressed that initiatives that make *only* indirect efforts to raise employment—assuming, for example, that community building *alone* will increase employment opportunities for residents—are unlikely to achieve significant increases in employment. Several scholars caution that such efforts will have only a “marginal” effect on employment rates and should not be seen as substitutes for interventions that are directly focused on moving community residents into jobs.¹⁶²

Endnotes

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128. The model was developed on youths, but Galster and Killen assume it can apply to adults as well.
129. James Connell points out that while this model assumes that perceptions are influenced by objective conditions, several studies in psychology suggest that perceptions can change according to context. Thus, if an individual feels better about him or herself, he/she is likely to have a more positive perception of external conditions, even though those conditions have not improved. (Personal communication with the author.) This suggests still another possible pathway to change: if objective conditions do improve, individuals may begin to feel better about themselves; if they feel better about themselves, they may see their external reality in an even more positive light, and act accordingly. William Julius Wilson, at least, posits in *When Work Disappears* (1997) that the lack of a sense of self-efficacy is one of the harmful effects of living in a neighborhood that offers few opportunities.
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155. See, for example, the surveys developed for the Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative, the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Rebuilding Communities Initiative, the Chicago Urban Poverty and Family Life Study, Briggs and Mueller's *From Neighborhood to Community* (1997), and P/PV's evaluation of the Bridges to Work demonstration. A survey has also been developed for the Jobs-Plus Initiative.
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