

International Handbooks of Quality-of-Life

Rhonda Phillips  
Cecilia Wong *Editors*

# Handbook of Community Well-Being Research

 Springer

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# **International Handbooks of Quality-of-Life**

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The International Handbooks of Quality-of-Life Research offer extensive bibliographic resources. They present literature reviews of the many sub-disciplines and areas of study within the growing field of quality of life research. Handbooks in the series focus on capturing and reviewing the quality of life research literature in specific life domains, on specific populations, or in relation to specific disciplines or sectors of industry. In addition, the Handbooks cover measures of quality of life and well-being, providing annotated bibliographies of well-established measures, methods, and scales.

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Rhonda Phillips • Cecilia Wong  
Editors

# Handbook of Community Well-Being Research

 Springer

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**Vaios Kotsios** Vaios is now completing a Ph.D. in integrated development planning, focusing on quality of life. He is currently working as a research associate to the Metsovion Interdisciplinary Research Center of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA). He has completed a B.A. in environmental science from Aegean University and an MSc in environment and development science, specializing in the investigation of social representations of environment and development concepts, from NTUA and another MSc in environmental education, specializing in the nonformal education and environmental ethics, from Aegean University. For over six years, he has been involved in researching factors that improve the quality of life in mountain communities. Since 2009, he has been teaching as a fellow and coordinator of the annual collective interdisciplinary research on the integrated development of prefectures and regions in Greece, as part of the interdisciplinary program of postgraduate studies “Environment and Development” of the NTUA.

**Martin LaBrie** Martin is a palliative consulting physician with Alberta Health Services, Calgary Zone. He is a clinical assistant professor in the Department of Family Medicine and the Division of Palliative Medicine of the Department of Oncology at the University of Calgary where he is involved in undergraduate and postgraduate medical education, as well as continuing professional development for other health professionals. His current interests include the development of capacity for provision of palliative care services for homeless and marginalized individuals and the development of community capacity for palliative care. He has been involved in community development activities for palliative care in Southern Alberta, British Columbia, and Burkina Faso in Western Africa.

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**Kristen Lewis** Kristen Lewis is co-director of Measure of America of the Social Science Research Council and co-author of two volumes of *The Measure of America* (Columbia University Press, 2008 and NYU Press, 2010) as well as well-being reports for California, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Marin and Sonoma Counties. Before founding Measure of America in 2007, Kristen was senior policy advisor to the water and sanitation task force

of the UN Millennium Project and was co-author of the task force report, *Health, Dignity, and Development: What Will It Take?* (Earthscan, 2005). She previously worked at the United Nations for many years, first with UNIFEM and then in UNDP's policy bureau, and has served as a consultant on gender equality issues for numerous international development organizations, including UNICEF and UNFPA. Kristen contributes regularly to media outlets, with articles published in the *The Nation*, *Huffington Post*, and *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, among others. She received a master's degree in international affairs from Columbia University.

**Shao-Kuan Liu, Balint Kalman, Hsin-Chieh Cindy Lu, Miaoqi Cai** were graduate students of the 2015 graduation studio of the Department of Urban Planning at National Cheng-Kung University, Taiwan.

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**Paul Milbourne** Paul Milbourne is professor of human geography in the School of Geography and Planning at Cardiff University. He has long-standing research interests in the geographies of welfare, particularly the relations between poverty, homelessness and place, and the scalar politics of welfare reform. Much of Paul's research has explored these themes in the

context of rural regions and places. He has published widely on the rural dimensions of welfare, poverty, and homelessness, including *Welfare Reform in Rural Places* (Emerald, 2010), *International Perspectives on Rural Homelessness* (Routledge, 2006, with Paul Cloke), and *Rural Poverty: Marginalisation and Exclusion in Britain and the United States* (Routledge, 2004). Paul is also interested in the relations between nature, society, and space, with recent and ongoing research focused on environmental and food (in)justice in both rural and urban contexts.

**Gianluca Miscione** Gianluca joined the Management Information Systems group at the School of Business of University College Dublin in 2012. He was previously an assistant professor at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning and Geo-Information Management at the University of Twente, the Netherlands. He received his Ph.D. in information systems and organization from the Sociology Department of the University of Trento. As a postdoc researcher, he joined the Department of Informatics of the University of Oslo, where he developed his research on information infrastructures at the global scale. He conducted and contributed to research in Europe, Latin America, India, and East Africa and on the Internet. The focus remained on the interplay between technologies and organizing processes with a specific interest on innovation, development, organizational change, social networks, and trust. His approach is informed by qualitative and mixed methodologies.

**Phyusin Myint** Phyusin is the senior research and evaluation analyst for Multnomah County, Department of County Human Services, Community Services Division, Portland, Oregon. Her research at the county involves assessment and analysis of homelessness, housing services, anti-poverty programs, and poverty services. Myint is also concurrently an adjunct instructor at the Mark O. Hatfield School of Government at Portland State University. She received her Ph.D. in public affairs and policy from Portland State University where she was the recipient of the Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship for International Research. Her research focuses on sustainable development, developing nations, the leadership roles of women, the role of spirituality in sustainable development, and the implementation of sustainable development in crisis conditions. Prior to her work at Portland State University, Myint served as the Crisis Services coordinator for the Sexual Assault Recovery and Prevention Center for San Luis Obispo, coordinating a comprehensive and effective response for survivors of sexual violence.

**Line Marie Perron** Line is the founder and executive director for Early Childhood Development Support Services, a capacity building agency that supports the professional development of practitioners working with children and families. She holds a master's degree of science in family ecology and practice as well as an indigenous early childhood leadership and management certification. Line has focused her areas of research and practice on building social and emotional skills in young children, trauma informed practice, and building leadership in the early childhood sector. She also spent five years

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**Antonio Raciti** Antonio is assistant professor in the City and Regional Planning (CRP) Department at the University of Memphis. He is currently teaching and working in the CRP Department in collaboration with several communities in distressed urban and rural regions. His research interests include long-term community-university partnerships, ecological planning, community development, and urban design. Antonio received his Ph.D. from the University of Catania (Sicily, Italy) and has been working with residents and community groups in various action research projects in Eastern Sicily. More recently, he has been part of community-university coalitions carrying out research in Memphis inner-city neighborhoods and generating community-based plans and implementing projects such as the Green Machine presented in this book.

**Don R. Rahtz** Don is the J.S. Mack professor of marketing at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. He received his Ph.D. from Virginia Tech in 1984. His expertise is in integrated marketing communication programs, international competitive intelligence, marketing research, survey methodology, analysis, and market assessment. He has served as the editor of *The Marketing Educator* and on the editorial review boards of the *Journal of Health Care Marketing* and the *Journal of Business Psychology*. Presently he serves on the editorial review board of the *Journal of Macromarketing* and the *Journal of Applied Research in Quality of Life*. He is a founding member of the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies (ISQOLS) where he has served on the executive board in a number of positions and as the vice president of programs for over a decade. He currently serves as the vice president of programs for the Macromarketing Society.

**Kenneth M. Reardon** Kenneth is professor and director of the newly launched graduate program in urban planning and community development in the School for the Environment at the University of Massachusetts Boston where he is engaged in research, teaching, and outreach in the areas of neighborhood planning, community development, municipal government reform, and community/university development partnerships. Prior to joining the University of Massachusetts, Ken served as professor and director of the graduate program in city and regional planning at the University of Memphis, associate professor and chair of the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University, and assistant and associate professor in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Temple University Press published Ken's most recent publication, a co-edited volume with John Forester of Cornell University entitled *Rebuilding Community After Katrina: Transformative Education in the New Orleans Planning Initiative*, in 2016.

**Tracey Robertson** Tracey is the strategic lead for Prosperous People with the Ontario Trillium Foundation, one of Canada's leading grant-making foundations. She has a graduate diploma in social innovation, a masters in social work from Wilfrid Laurier University, and a B.A. from the University of Western Ontario. She has 25 years' experience in system change processes, strategic philanthropy locally and nationally, and community development in the voluntary and public sectors. She also led a major provincial research project for the foundation, analyzing the impact of its 100 million dollar investments in building organizational capacity in nonprofit organizations across Ontario. Prior to joining the Ontario Trillium Foundation, Tracey was the national director of programs for the Canadian Living Foundation, where she worked with corporations, education boards, and health and social service organizations to establish community partnership networks for nutrition programs nationwide.

**Ilya Shodjaee-Zrudlo** Ilya earned an M.A. in educational psychology and adult education at the University of Montreal. He has long been involved in youth programming as youth worker, trainer, and program coordinator in the Montreal region. He currently serves as a program officer in the Office of Social and Economic Development (OSSED) at the Bahá'í World Centre. OSSED facilitates learning about development by fostering and supporting action, reflection on action, study, consultation, the gathering and systematization of experience, conceptualization, and training among a network of collaborators and organizations in every continent, many of which are involved in the promotion and coordination of educational program for young people. His research interests include youth empowerment and organizing for social change, moral education, service learning, the philosophy of science, methodology in the social sciences, and the generation, application, and dissemination of knowledge within and among organizations and social movements.

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**M. Joseph Sirgy** Joseph is the Virginia Tech real estate professor of marketing at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. He co-founded the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies (ISQOLS) in 1995, and in 2010 ISQOLS honored him for excellence and lifetime service to the society. He was the president of the Academy of Marketing Science from which he received the Distinguished Fellow Award in the early 1990s and the Harold Berkman Service Award in 2007. He co-founded the *Journal of Applied Research in Quality of Life* in 2005 and has served as editor since 1995. He was also the editor of the QOL section in the *Journal of Macromarketing* since 1995. In 2010 he won the Best Paper Award in the *Journal of Happiness Studies* for his theory of the balanced life, and in 2011 he won the Best Paper Award in the *Journal of Travel Research* for his goal theory of leisure travel satisfaction. In 2012 he was awarded the EuroMed Management Research Award for outstanding achievements and groundbreaking contributions to well-being and quality-of-life research.

**Bryan Smale** Bryan is director of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) housed in the Faculty of Applied Health Sciences at the University of Waterloo (UW). He is also professor in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at UW and a research faculty associate in the Waterloo Institute for Social Innovation and Resilience. He has bachelor's and master's degrees in leisure studies from the University of Waterloo and a Ph.D. in geography from the University of Western Ontario. His research focuses on the role of leisure in the health and well-being of individuals and communities, the spatial distribution and analysis of leisure in communities, time-use allocation, and social indicators research. He is currently a member of Statistics Canada's Advisory Committee on Social Conditions, on the Steering Committee of Research Data Canada, and editor in chief of *Leisure/Loisir*. He was elected as a fellow to the Academy of Leisure Sciences in 2012.



**Jessica Soule** Jessica Soule is the director of the EnvironMentors program, an environmental science mentoring program for high school students, at the National Council for Science and the Environment. Her work is at the intersection of environmental justice, education, and place. Jessica obtained an M.A. in urban and environmental policy and planning from Tufts University and a B.S. in biology from Boston College.

**Craig A. Talmage** Craig is a visiting assistant professor of entrepreneurial studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges (HWS) of Geneva, New York, USA. He has a Ph.D. in community resources and development at Arizona State University and an M.A. in industrial-organizational psychology at Minnesota State University, Mankato. Craig instructs students regarding the economics of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial tools and methods, and social entrepreneurship and innovation. At HWS, he focuses on empowering students and community members to apply entrepreneurial knowledge and skills to solve complex social problems. He formerly served as a postdoctoral research fellow and faculty associate at Arizona State University (ASU) in the School of Community Resources and Development and the College of Public Service and Community Solutions. His studies focused on the psychosocial development of individuals, associations/organizations, and communities to help them improve overall community engagement, health, and well-being. He continues this line of research at HWS.

**Graciela Tonon** Graciela is professor of community social work and social sciences research methodology. She has a Ph.D. in political science and did her postdoctoral studies at CIMESS-Università degli studi di Firenze. She is magister in political sciences and social worker. She is the director of the Quality of Life Research Program and UNI-COM (university and community) relationships at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Universidad Nacional de Lomas de Zamora, Argentina. She is the director of the Research Center in Social Sciences in Universidad de Palermo, Argentina. She was information officer of the Human Development and Capability Association and member of the executive committee of Childwatch International Research Network between 2013 and 2016. She has been a member of ISQOLS since 2001 and the board of directors of ISQOLS since 2005, vice president of professional affairs in ISQOLS from 2007 to 2008, chair of Latin America ISQOLS from 2009 to 2010, vice president of membership and publicity of ISQOLS from 2011 to 2012, and vice president of external affairs of ISQOLS from 2013 to 2016. She has been the chair of the editorial board of the *International Handbooks of Quality of Life* (Springer) since 2014. Her fieldwork expertise covers quality of life, qualitative research methodology, community, young people, and children.

**Jeroen Verplanke** Jeroen is lecturer/researcher at the Faculty of Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation (ITC) of the University of Twente in the Netherlands. Since graduating as a physical geographer from Utrecht University, he has been working on the intersection of social science and physical spatial planning, where stakeholder interests and land-use conflicts are at play. His work-related interests are in PGIS (participatory mapping and

GIS) and VGI (volunteered geographic information) and the role this plays in the interaction between policymakers, planners, and citizens. He has main international experience in sub-Saharan Africa as since 2001 he has worked there on education and research projects on an annual basis. He also has research expertise in Latin America and Asia.

**Kathryn Vincent** Kathryn did her postgraduate studies in sociology at the University of Aberdeen and received her Ph.D. in 2014. Her research interests and projects can be understood under the umbrella of well-being studies and include youth and generation, gender, migration, and use of information technology. The geographical area of her research includes Scotland, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and recently the MENA region.

**Claire Wallace** Claire is professor of sociology at the University of Aberdeen, UK. She was elected president of the European Sociological Association between 2007 and 2009 and was editor in chief of the journal *European Societies*. She has been working for the last five years at the Digital Economy Research Hub “dot.rural” at the University of Aberdeen concerned with how digital technology can be used to help transform rural areas. She has published a variety of papers on quality of life and well-being in *Social Indicators Research*, the *Journal of Happiness Studies*, and other journals. She has just completed a co-authored book *The Decent Society* (Routledge 2016) which looks at social quality and well-being on a global scale. Claire has participated in a number of reports for the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions to look at quality of life in a range of European countries. Most recently, she has been working with the city of Aberdeen to improve the quality of life in regeneration (deprived) areas with the help of digital technology and other mechanisms.

**Tanya Wasacase** Tanya is currently a program specialist at Coady International Institute and supports indigenous communities across Canada in the area of community-driven development. She designs and delivers training in the areas of asset-based community development and community-driven health impact assessment for promoting sustainable, practical, and culturally respectful approaches to development. Prior to her current position at Coady, Tanya taught for eight years at St. Thomas University in the Native Studies Department. Tanya is a CGS SSHRC award holder and is working toward the completion of her Ph.D. in interdisciplinary studies (indigenous public health) at the University of New Brunswick. Her area of study focuses on how addiction research on alcohol abuse in some First Nations communities in Canada can shape alcohol prevention policy agendas. Tanya’s broader research agenda is concerned with indigenous health policies and how best to produce policies and practices that supports the well-being of indigenous communities.

**Brian Webb** Brian is a lecturer in spatial planning in the School of Planning and Geography at Cardiff University. He obtained his Ph.D. in planning and landscape from the University of Manchester where he was previously a researcher in the Centre for Urban Policy Studies. His current research

interests involve the use of spatial analysis of urban and regional environments and comparative intergovernmental policy analysis to evaluate policy and explore issues of equity within society. This has included research on indicator methodology refinement, the use of secondary data to examine and target investment in disadvantaged communities, the use of urban climatology in policy and practice, and the use of GIS as a public participation tool. He has undertaken research projects for the Economic and Social Research Council, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Royal Town Planning Institute, and the Welsh government.

**Kyle Y. Whitfield** Kyle is associate professor in the Faculty of Extension at the University of Alberta in Alberta, Canada. She has a Ph.D. in planning from the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada, and is a registered professional planner. She believes in, practices, and explores capacity building in communities. Her program of research explores community planning as one way to improve health and healthcare. She is most interested in understanding the many factors that influence citizens to lead and plan their own approaches to enhancing their community's health and well-being. She teaches community planning and engagement at the senior undergraduate level in the School of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Alberta as well as health, community, and development at the graduate level in the School of Public Health. How communities engage in and plan their own individual-level, organizational, and interorganizational capacities to address social and health problems keep Kyle curious in both her research and her teaching.

**Dan Witters** Dan Witters is research director of the Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index. Dan frequently presents at major conferences and summits, and his insights from the well-being index research appear regularly on Gallup.com and in the media, including appearances on CBS Sunday Morning, CNBC, HuffPost Live, WSJ Live, and NPR. As a consultant and analyst for Gallup, Dan has used his expertise in survey design, methodology, analysis, business outcomes modeling, report writing, and presenting results to help leaders better understand their company's marketplace, customers, and employees. He has played an important role as an advisor and researcher to Gallup clients, creating effective strategies that enhance a business' overall health and strength through enhanced engagement and well-being. Since 1993, he has directed more than \$100 million in research for some of the world's best-managed companies in the financial services, healthcare, telecommunications, hospitality, consulting, and pharmaceutical industries.

**Zhaocheng Zeng** Zhaocheng is a Ph.D. candidate in business administration at DeGroote School of Business of McMaster University in Canada. Her research interests include living wage and firm performance, entrepreneurship education, entrepreneurship support, technology start-ups, and immigrant entrepreneurship. She has presented papers at the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada (ASAC) Conference, On New Shores Conference, and the United States Association for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (USASBE) Conference.

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## Introduction

Community well-being is a wide-ranging concept encompassing multiple dimensions related to people and their communities. In this volume, we focus on “communities of place” situated within geographic spaces. In this context, community well-being includes “comprehensive and integrated concepts developed by synthesizing research constructs related to residents’ perceptions of the community, residents’ needs fulfillment, observable community conditions, and the social and cultural context of the community” (Sung and Phillips 2016: 2).

Community well-being is embedded with multidimensional values including the economic, social, and environmental aspects that impact people. While each of these values or aspects has a vital role in influencing community well-being outcomes and perceptions, there are also many different ways these can combine, depending on the particular characteristics of place. For example, the type of governance structure, the physical environment, and certainly the needs and desires of a community’s residents impact well-being.

Community well-being can also be thought of as an overarching concept with related conceptions such as happiness, quality of life, and community development often being mentioned jointly or interchangeably. These concepts are highly related yet different, given the scale or context. For example, happiness is often thought of as an individual state of being, although there are attempts of finding the collective happiness of communities, regions, or even countries. Quality of life is most often associated with individuals, and the World Health Organization Quality of Life (2002: 1) defines it as:

Individuals’ perceptions of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns.

Community development is both a practice and a discipline, focusing on improvement of people’s conditions in the built, social, environmental, and economic dimensions of communities of place. It is about social capacity building as well as process and outcomes. It is often part of public policy as well as urban and regional planning practice of which community development is a substantial component. The difference between community well-being and community development is that the latter seeks to take action in the public, social, and private sectors to achieve desirable goals (Sung and Phillips 2016). Given the complexity and interaction of community well-being with other dimensions such as quality of life, community satisfaction,

community development, sustainability, welfare, and personal well-being (e.g., life satisfaction and happiness), there are many points of intersection to consider (Christakopoulou et al. 2001; Maybery et al. 2009; Sirgy et al. 2010; Theodori 2001; White 2010; Wills 2001).

It is clear to see that defining community well-being is no easy task. Wiseman and Brasher (2008) define it as “the combination of social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political conditions identified by individuals and their communities as essential for them to flourish and fulfill their potential” (p. 358). Others focus on factors arising from interaction among different dimensions of society such as social, political, cultural, and even psychological; for example, McGregor stresses that well-being arises “in the context of society and social collectivity” (2007, 318).

As mentioned, the holistic nature of the concept of community well-being means that it is subject to different interpretations and is often used interchangeability with other related concepts. Community well-being falls neatly into which Rittel and Webber (1973) coined as “wicked problem,” as it exists in an evolving set of interlocking issues and constraints and embedded in a dynamic social context. The complexity of different aspects of well-being means that it is difficult to achieve a definitive definition. Nonetheless, it is precisely these challenges that make this handbook a valuable platform for researchers from different disciplinary areas and perspectives to share their knowledge, experience, and skills of researching community well-being under different socioeconomic contexts across the world. The richness of the content, in methodological approaches, theoretical arguments, and empirical findings, demonstrates that there is not a simple linear pathway to understand the problems, competing interests, priorities, and constraints of community well-being. As demonstrated by different contributors, the appropriate way to address these challenges is to develop shared understanding and shared commitment with our academic colleagues, with practitioners and policymakers, and, most importantly, with residents and communities.

It is interesting to note that the UN Habitat (2012) published the Cities Prosperity Index (CPI) and argues for the need to move toward measuring the broader conception of human and societal well-being. The CPI consists of five key dimensions: productivity, infrastructure (and amenities), quality of life, equity and social inclusion, and environmental sustainability (see Wong 2015). Of the 31 chapters in this handbook, the discussion of community well-being does cover all these five areas. It is clear that there is a common purpose across the international community to pursue a progressive agenda of new forms of prosperity across different spatial levels. In our case, the focus is at the community level of well-being and the research constructs used to help foster understanding.

This volume is presented in five parts, covering a range of topics, frameworks, and applications presented by scholars across a wide range of disciplines and practice. The work includes both qualitative and quantitative research approaches, and most include an illustrative community case. In the 31 chapters, 62 authors share their experiences and viewpoints on community well-being in the context of their work, research, and areas. We sought to

include perspectives from across the globe, to bring differences and similarities into focus on the broad topic of well-being.

In Part I, the foundations of community well-being are provided via five chapters bringing separate yet cohesive frameworks and allied theoretical contexts. The first chapter, “Community Functioning that Fosters Sustainable Personal Well-Being,” is presented by Ronald Anderson.

Sustainability is viewed from the perspective of ecological integrity, exploring ways it has impacted social well-being. The underlying assumption is that deepening dimensions of community will result in more sustainability as well as better social well-being. The chapter presents the idea that caring capital, where mutual caring enables social well-being, is instrumental to providing the structure for sustainably maintaining social well-being at the community level. Ecovillage communities are provided as the case, to illustrate the ideas the relationships between caring capital and sustainability. Chapter 2, “Self-Expression and Elite-Challenging Activities: A Punk Rock Approach to Community Well-Being,” by the trio Craig Talmage, C. Bjorn Peterson, and Richard Knopf, presents a refreshing viewpoint guiding readers through multiple trajectories of social capital research. We say “refreshing” because the lens is via punk rock music! New frameworks of emancipative psychological social capital are presented, using three strands of knowledge: (1) philosophy and theory, (2) empirical findings, and (3) punk rock lyrics and narratives. This chapter helps provide a deeper understanding of social capital in the context of conceptualizing community well-being.

Derek Cook then presents Chap. 3, “The ART of Hope: Healing the Wounded City,” delving into approaches of reducing poverty via strategies of healing. Principles of abundance, resilience, and trust are explored as foundations of a healing approach to strengthening individual and collective well-being. The Calgary Poverty Reduction Initiative, a multidimensional municipal strategy initiated at the municipal level, offers an illustration of these approaches. Mobilization of community resources to mitigate poverty is key to the idea of healing community and providing hope for healing. Chapter 4, “A Multidimensional Model of Community Well-Being from a Public Service Delivery Perspective,” is presented by Youngwha Kee. Her perspective on the role (and obligation) of the public sector is both a foundational concept as well as an operational one. This study presents a conceptual approach to building a community well-being model that reflects community well-being theory. The driving questions of this research are “what are factors influencing citizens’ well-being in daily life at a community level, and can well-being be fostered by local governments for their citizenry?” A multidimensional model of community well-being is presented, using local government as the recommended conduit to address the questions.

With the next chapter, “Sustainable Neighborhoods for Happiness: A Framework for a Sustainable Future,” by Scott Cloutier and Deirdre Pfeiffer, the intersection of well-being and planning is examined. Exploring the interdependence of individual happiness, community well-being, and sustainability, individual happiness is presented as a missing link between sustainable community development and community well-being. The authors provide a

framework for conceptualizing sustainable community development, drawing in assessments of using individual happiness versus other measures.

The second part, engaging and participating for well-being, provides five chapters exploring dimensions of engagement, whether that be via universities, participating with local governments, social media, or festivity. Chapter 6 by Fay Fletcher, Alice Hibbert, and Brent Hammer, “Community-University Engagement for Community Well-Being with Métis Settlements in Alberta, Canada,” presents a case study of adopting a culturally sensitive approach of building community resiliency in the drug and alcohol prevention programs for children and youth in an indigenous community. The partnership between the University of Alberta and Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement led to the novel adoption of reflective and reflexive group debriefs to monitor the process of community-based participation and service delivery. The chapter provides a critical reflection of the application and effectiveness of debriefs as a monitoring tool for relationship building and documenting progress. Regular debriefs were found to be a more comfortable and efficient method for reflective analysis as they allow time and space to confront assumptions and challenge existing practices.

Seung Jong Lee and Yunji Kim provide Chap. 7, “Achieving Development and Community Well-Being Through Participatory Governance: The Case of Saemaul Movement.” This work thoroughly considers the progression of an exemplar in community development and well-being via the Saemaul Movement. It is a structure for local governance to enhance community well-being and incorporates participatory governance. Saemaul Undong began in the 1970s and has been a highly successful community movement that provides balance between the public sector and residents. Chapter 8, “A Citizen-Led Approach to Enhancing Community Well-Being,” by Sylvia Cheuy, Leesa Fawcett, Karen Hutchinson, and Tracey Robertson, provides an in-depth exploration of residents influence on their community’s well-being outcomes. Using the case of the Ontario’s Headwaters region, a collaborative report was created in response to a desire for greater planning and collaboration across a region that is made up of small urban and rural villages. A community engagement process with multi-sector groups of citizen leaders participated in the project that addressed many themes influencing community quality of life. The process of this extensive community project is detailed, providing insight into how to influence community well-being.

In Chap. 9, “Digital Communications and Community Well-Being,” Claire Wallace and Kathryn Vincent consider the role of social media in four small, rural communities in Scotland and England. The research question of this chapter is can well-being be enhanced by the use of digital communications in the context of socioeconomic security, social cohesion, social inclusion, and social empowerment? The authors found impact in each of these areas by enabling development of more social capital, primarily through enabling and improving communications among community members as well as with external agencies.

“Festivity, Play, Well-Being: A Relationship and its Implications for Community Development,” by Vern Biaett, brings a creative perspective to

influencing community well-being. This chapter introduces organic festivity as an important element to foster higher levels of well-being and social capital. Both the historical and rhetorical relationships of festivity, play, and well-being provide insight into the underpinnings of happiness and experiences and have implications for planners and others wishing to integrate these important dimensions into their approaches for enhancing well-being.

Part III: The “Health” of Well-Being provides five chapters around the vital issues of health and community well-being, from several dimensions. We begin this section with a macro look at well-being in US communities with Dan Witter’s “What We Can Learn from America’s Highest Well-Being Communities,” in Chap. 11. This chapter examines the relationship between well-being and the health outcomes of obesity in communities across the USA. Rather than narrowly focused on physical wellness, the analysis drew upon the multidimensional Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index to adopt a holistic approach to measure community well-being. The findings show that high well-being communities tend to exhibit positive health and well-being outcomes (e.g., low chronic disease rates) and behaviors (e.g., frequent exercise and less smoking). This lends to the argument for proactive leadership and actions to engender the well-being culture in communities.

Next, Chap. 12 looks at issues and cases around public health with Sabine Baumgart’s “Public Health and Urban Planning: Challenging Options for Well-Being.” This chapter argues that urban planning and public health have the potential to provide spatial and social environments that contribute to individual and community well-being. It explores instruments and procedures for the development of health promotion approaches in Germany by focusing on the interface between public health bodies and urban planning institutions within their statutory and non-statutory frameworks. It concludes that administrative collaboration across the planning and public health sector with regard to data access, spatial visions, and land-use planning instruments may ensure health promotion as a component of community well-being. Chapter 13, “Community-Driven Health Impact Assessment and Asset-Based Community Development: An Innovative Path to Community Well-Being,” by Colleen Cameron and Tanya Wasacase, explores the need of developing innovative approaches to building community well-being by combining participatory, health-promoting, and community development processes to enhance community to make informed decisions about priorities, policies, programs, and actions. The chapter explores the theoretical framework and values underpinning the processes and critically evaluates the approach via the case study of two indigenous communities in Canada. It finds that the combination of these three processes demonstrated that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

In Chap. 14, “The Human Development Approach Stimulates a Fact-Based Conversation in Sonoma County, California,” Sarah Burd-Sharps, Patrick Nolan Guyer, and Kristen Lewis, of the nonprofit organization, Measure of America, present an analysis of health and other issues impacting well-being. Human development concepts are explored in terms of research, advocacy, and participatory approaches to community well-being. Sonoma



County, California, is presented as the case, looking at the range of well-being indicators that can be used to enhance well-being.

This section concludes with a valuable yet sometimes overlooked aspect of well-being: end of life. “Community Capacity in End-of-Life Care: Can a Community Development Model Address Suffering and Enhance Well-Being?,” by Kyle Whitfield and Martin LaBrie, presents a thought-provoking model for building capacity to address this important topic. Focusing on community development principles and actions necessary to address suffering and enhance well-being in hospice palliative care, three cases are presented from Canada and Africa. A community capacity building framework is used to address key issues about capacities in communities.

Part IV: Planning, Design, and Measuring provides seven chapters from the perspective of urban and regional planners, economists, public administrators, and others to explore the application of indicators, design, tools, and land-use processes to influence overall community and regional well-being. Chapter 16, “From National to Local: Measuring Well-Being at the Community Level,” by Bryan Smale and Margo Hilbrecht, presents an overview of considerations at different levels. Using the Canadian Index of Wellbeing that measures stability and change over time, trends are monitored to enable residents to advocate for change and for policy shapers to make informed decisions. Collaborative work with community partners to measure quality of life is explored, and a conceptual framework is presented as a guide for securing relevant data, especially in cases where few data sources are available.

In Chap. 17, “Building Well-Being: Community Flourishing and Tools for Collaborative Urban Design,” Jamie Anderson and Cathy Baldwin propose a neighborhood flourishing framework to promote subjective well-being among neighborhood residents. They demonstrate the promising links between residents’ participation, urban design factors, and neighborhood flourishing outcomes. Through the case studies, they conclude that the framework should be further developed by collaborative effort between academics, policymakers, practitioners, and communities. The next chapter, “Stakeholder Preferences on a Working Waterfront: Quality of Life, Land Uses and Planning Processes in Chelsea, Massachusetts,” by Justin Hollander and Jessica Soule, is a case study that illustrates how community well-being and related quality-of-life dimensions are integrated into the planning process. The focus of this research was to understand community thought about urban planning issues and analyze the co-creation of knowledge by residents, activists, and planners. It was found that community dialogue spurs residents to mobilize for enhancing community well-being.

Using a case in Greece, Vaios Kotsios presents “LISADEMAS: A Life Satisfaction Decision-Making System for Integrated Community Development Planning” in Chap. 19. With triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data, he develops an integrated development planning system to explore and substantiate the logical chains of linked variables from outputs to development objectives. This integrated tool can help actors to identify appropriate development strategies for different social groups, assess benefits, and clarify connections between outputs and their intended effects on people’s life

satisfaction. Next, “A Geographic and Mixed Methods Approach to Capture Unequal Quality-of-Life Conditions” is presented in Chap. 20 by Javier Martinez, Jeroen Verplanke, and Gianluca Miscione. Like the previous chapter by Kotsios, mixed methods approach is argued as the more nuanced and transparent approach to combine multiple information sources to generate new insights on quality-of-life conditions and policy relevance intelligence. Based on case studies in both the global south and north, the authors found that mixed methods and qualitative geographic information systems provide a more robust approach to capture and represent unmonitored conditions, and for explaining reasons behind citizen’s self-perceived living conditions.

Indicators have long been a staple in the “toolkit” for measuring and assessing quality of life and community well-being. In Chap. 21, “Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Distinguishing Distressed Communities from Flourishing Communities,” Joseph Sirgy, Don Rahtz, and Clifford Shultz explore frameworks to look at performance within communities, both distressed and flourishing. Concepts are revisited such as self-determination, psychological well-being, flow and engagement, and purpose and meaning in life. Ideas for indicators that reflect flourishing communities are presented to aid in assessment. Next, Yunji Kim and Kai Ludwigs look at issues around measuring happiness in Chap. 22. “Integrating Community Well-Being and Happiness: Applications in Seoul, Korea, and Frankfurt, Germany,” provides an international application of tools to measure and assess. A focus on measuring community well-being is presented in a tool, the Community Well-Being Atlas, applied in both countries. These two cases explain innovative and technologically savvy methods for measuring community well-being and seeks to overcome existing barriers to gauging and assessing, moving beyond reliance on typical indicators.

Chapter 23, “Delivering Community Well-Being from the Happy City Concept: A Practical Approach to Urban Planning and Design,” by Tzu-Yuan Stessa Chao and her students at National Cheng Kung University explores ways to plan for more user-friendly and sustainable built environment. Through the planning and design of a community waterfront multimedia museum in Taiwan, the concept of Happy City was applied to illustrate how it can be put into practice. The crux of their experience is that planners have to understand the true meaning of happiness in communities and incorporate them in different stages of the planning and design process.

In the final part of this volume, we invited authors to share specific applications of community well-being concepts. There are eight chapters in this section, and its intent is to inspire others who may be seeking approaches for addressing a range of issues. The section begins with an in-depth explanation of a highly successful poverty reduction approach. Choi Oe-Chool presents “The Role of Community-Based Organizations: The Case of the Saemaul Undong Women’s Club.” This grassroots-level effort in Korea helped spur a highly acclaimed development trajectory, with much success as a community-led initiative in rural villages. Poverty has been reduced and community well-being enhanced via programs for greater gender equality and income generation. Saemaul Undong has become a model adopted by other nations

for improving community well-being, not just in economic terms but also in social terms.

Next, Paul Milbourne and Brian Webb explore well-being in the rural context with “Material and Sociocultural Disconnections: Perceptions of Well-Being in Rural Wales.” They argue for the importance of considering the relations between the material, social, and cultural dimensions of well-being in a rural environment. Through survey and interview data in rural Wales, their findings show that people on low income understand their quality of life more in relation to their social and cultural worlds than to material deprivation and relative lack of income. They have also noted that there is a large amount of commonality between “poor” and “non-poor” groups in relation to their value systems and sense of well-being, with both groups demonstrating similar viewpoints on place, community, and local poverty.

Chapter 26, “The Role of Spirituality and Religion in Building Capacity for Women’s Leadership in Crisis Conditions: A Community-Level Analysis of Burma,” is presented by Phyu Sin Myint. Based on content analysis of women’s writings from Burma, this chapter provides a critical analysis of women’s leadership roles in development, particularly in crisis conditions, and how the spiritual and religious traditions of communities influence their sustainable development efforts. The findings show that religion and spirituality play important roles in the development of women as leaders in crisis conditions, both directly through their statements and indirectly through their discussion about their other everyday experiences.

The next three chapters, Chaps. 27, 28, and 29, all center on youth. “The Decisive Contribution of Youth to Community Well-Being,” by Ilya Shodjaee-Zrudlo and Hoda Farahmandpour, looks at common themes around community well-being and how community members can take charge of their own processes and outcomes to improve quality of life. Focusing on young people as a major resource in a community, suggestions are made on building their capacity to contribute to well-being of communities. Examples from Canada are provided, illustrating meaningful participation methods. Graciela Tonan, in “Community Well-Being and National Well-Being: The Opinion of Young People,” seeks to share a framework for connecting youth to their communities, in terms of what they value and in which domains they participate. The case provided is that of young people in the South Conurban area of Buenos Aires, Argentina. A variety of information about young people’s quality of life and inequalities was obtained, showing that these data represent meaningful indicators. It was found that social participation is empowering to youth and that public space provides a platform for relationship building and identification between residents.

“Understanding the Success of Alberta’s Early Child Development Community Coalitions,” by Samantha Berger, Launa Clark, and Line Marie Perron, explores community coalitions for the very young. Cases throughout Alberta, Canada, provide an understanding of how communities can be engaged to empower members and enhance community well-being outcomes. Their findings have implications for approaches to engaging communities of place and for measuring impact of resident participation at the local, grass-roots level.

Chapter 30 gives us a different viewpoint on a way to directly influence community well-being. “The Green Machine Mobile Food Market: An Innovative Response to Inner City Food Security,” by Antonio Raciti and Kenneth Reardon, explains how this project connects a critical need (fresh food) to an impoverished community. A retired city bus was transformed into a mobile food market and nutrition education facility to address food security crises in Memphis, Tennessee. Over 50,000 residents have been provided access to fresh foods in areas without many healthy food choices. This joint venture with over two dozen social sector organizations has impacted community well-being in very vital ways. This case provides insight into the planning processes and implementation of a project directly influencing well-being.

The final chapter of the volume explores an extremely important and topical issue – that of living wages. “Is Living Wage Always a Burden for Employers?: A Study of Living Wage Effects on Work Performance Indicators in Hamilton,” by Zhaocheng Zeng and Benson Honig, argues that the implementation of a living wage might be a “win-win” policy for both employers and employees, enhancing community well-being. Their employee interviews found that implementation of living wage resulted in a more committed, better performing, and happier workforce. Likewise, as revealed in the employee survey, living wage workers tended to have a higher affective commitment and a lower turnover, fostering well-being in the workplace.

It is our intent that this collection of excellent and insightful chapters will inspire and influence more conceptual and applied work to enhance community well-being. As the field of study continues to evolve and incorporate elements from many disciplines, having a volume on this topic from a variety of perspectives should help ignite more interest and more research.

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**Part I**

**Foundations**

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# Community Functioning That Fosters Sustainable Social Well-Being

1

Ronald E. Anderson

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## Introduction

Well-being here refers to an overall state of being that is largely positive and experienced by oneself, close others, families, communities, societies and/or the global system. Life satisfaction measures are generally chosen to capture the essence of the construct. Happiness is a label often applied to a familiar type of well-being. Both well-being and happiness may vary in sustainability. As defined by O'Brien (2013) sustainable happiness refers to "happiness that contributes to individual, community and/or global well-being without exploiting other people, the environment or future generations."

This analysis benefits from pioneering work on human ecology and social sustainability in particular. When well-being refers to an aggregate of people such as one's social circles, it is often labeled 'social well-being.' Sociologist Corey defined social well-being as a configuration of social integration (belongingness and solidarity), social contribution (to the common good), social coherence (of common beliefs), social actualization (or common purpose), and social acceptance (mutual trust and caring). These basic attributes of communities and other social systems provide a starting point for estab-

lishing the nature of 'sustainable social well-being.'

"Community well-being" is a major subset of social well-being. In fact, it is likely the most essential social well-being for the majority of adults. It is the social platform offering many opportunities for practicing caring, giving and collective action. In return for practicing these activities, outcomes such as trust, solidarity and mutual respect tend to follow.

Psychologist Lyubomirsky et al. (2005), while not attempting to develop a complete psychology of sustainable well-being, concluded that the most effective way to ensure persistent well-being was to engage in intentional activity. This includes modifications in behavior such as dieting or exercising or in thought patterns such as cognitions of gratitude or patience. Lyubomirsky and her associates suggest that such activities have a lot of potential for both launching and sustaining happiness.

Economist Howarth (2012) argues that despite gloomy projections of environmental non-sustainability, by refocusing economic policy making on sustainable well-being and fulfilling human needs that social and ecological sustainability remains feasible. The new field of 'happiness economics' has accumulated a lot of research toward understanding what makes people happy and how to remain happy.

Both O'Brien (2013) and van Gelder (2014) are concerned primarily with building a popular

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social movement that re-orientes Western societies toward lifestyles that promote action consistent with both sustainable ecologies and sustainable well-being. They both argue that contemporary frenzied consumption of material goods and the desire to look better than others (rather than to help others), are unsustainable, and both types of behavior have to be modified.

The nearly overwhelming challenge is a global environment with a rising population and declining integrity of natural systems. To redirect our priorities, van Gelder (2014) proposes that we need to live within our resources, find purpose, learn to feel satisfaction contributing to social well-being, find personal well-being from being serene, at peace with one's self, and most importantly, connectedness within a community. Psychological and economic theories of well-being appear to suffer from failure to appreciate the role that community embeddedness plays in sustainable, long-term well-being.

O'Brien (2013), who specializes in teacher education and student learning has developed a helpful personal tool called the "Sustainable Happiness Footprint Chart." This chart can be completed each day by writing down each major event during a day and for each event writing a summary of its impact on one's self, impact on others, and impact on the natural environment. By keeping such a log of activities, anyone can become more reflective and responsible about taking actions that not only promote their own sustainable well-being but that of the community and the global ecology.

The Sustainable Happiness Footprint Chart can be extended to include notes and data on the well-being of one's *community*. Thus, a community can together design strategies for addressing challenges like racism, inequity, poverty and migration. Given that the non-Western world looks to the Western world for cultural leadership, global survival in the future may depend upon learning how to create and retain sustainable community well-being.

In this discussion, community well-being refers primarily to attributes of the community, as opposed to an aggregation of individuals in a community. In accord with Langlois and

Anderson (2002), both community and individual constructs can have individual and contextual components, and both can have objective as well as subjective measures. Furthermore, it seems useful to consider well-being as synonymous with (or a subset of) quality of life, asking how we can sustain different configurations of quality of life.

Improvements in social well-being play bigger roles in personal well-being than personal traits because personal survival depends in large part upon community support. To clarify some of the principal ways that well-being remains sustainable, Table 1.1 contrasts them with unsustainable approaches. The contrasts in this table were derived primarily from the writings of O'Brien (2013) and van Gelder (2014). Importantly, they are consistent with the notions of caring capital discussed in the next section.

Next, we switch from individual to social well-being and sustainability, focusing on attributes of social systems, and communities in particular. Table 1.2 contains a list of community actions that are likely to move communities toward sustainable outcomes. Actions refer to mechanisms and procedures of communities that may lead to measurable results or benefits. This of course includes policies and programs but also covers activities of communities that may emerge from social norms. Social inclusion is an example of such an activity. Caring capital and sharing capital, which refer to patterns of caring and

**Table 1.1** Sustainable versus unsustainable well-being

Sustainable well-being	Unsustainable well-being
Other-centered (e.g., kindness)	Self-centered
Community-engaged	Community-separated
Humanitarian	Extreme individualism
Practical shopper	Addicted shopper
Minor social comparing	Major social comparing and climbing
Meaningfully-defined purpose	Little sense of purpose
Health conscious	Health neglect
Widely grateful	Narrowly grateful
Happiness as contentment	Happiness as frenzied excitement



**Table 1.2** Community actions and sustainable outcomes

Widespread civic participation	Actions
Generous use of caring and sharing	Actions
Social inclusion	Actions
Giving priority to systems with predictable risk	Actions
Health programming as needed	Actions
Empowerment programs for children and underserved groups	Actions
Developing social change leadership	Actions
Diffuse caring capital	Outcome
Mutual trust	Outcome
Social solidarity	Outcome
Social integration	Outcome
Broad human rights norms and respect	Outcome
Mutual respect	Outcome
Gratitude and contentment	Outcome

sharing interaction, also are efficacious actions. Just like empowerment programs or training in emotional self-regulation, these actions are not likely to grow and evolve without integrating related objectives into educational processes within the community.

This list should make it clear that social well-being as defined by Corey and other sociologists is an outcome of community activities that contribute to its members. The next section discusses in more detail how caring activity works to produce positive community outcomes that are sustainable.

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## Caring Capital

Bringing about social change as implied in the previous section depends in large part upon community networks and humane institutions. This phenomena, which is called ‘social capital’ by most researchers, can be usefully dissected into ‘caring capital,’ which focuses on the care giving component of social relations and ‘sharing capital,’ which focuses upon the interactions and institutions of meeting the needs of the ‘have-nots’ and sufferers. Caring capital was first discussed in Anderson (2012, 2014). This extends the initial elaboration with the addition of ‘*sharing capital*.’

The ideas of caring and sharing have been widely discussed by scholars in terms of topics like compassion, generosity, kindness, altruism, charity, and humanitarianism (Anderson 2012; Glenn 2000, 2010; Johansson et al. 2012; Nussbaum 1996, 2001; Salvati 2008). Casting caring and sharing as interactive relations between community actors makes them community, rather than individual, attributes. They are community attributes basic to the powerful role of communities in maintaining social norms and values, while at the same time allowing for possible growth and change in communities.

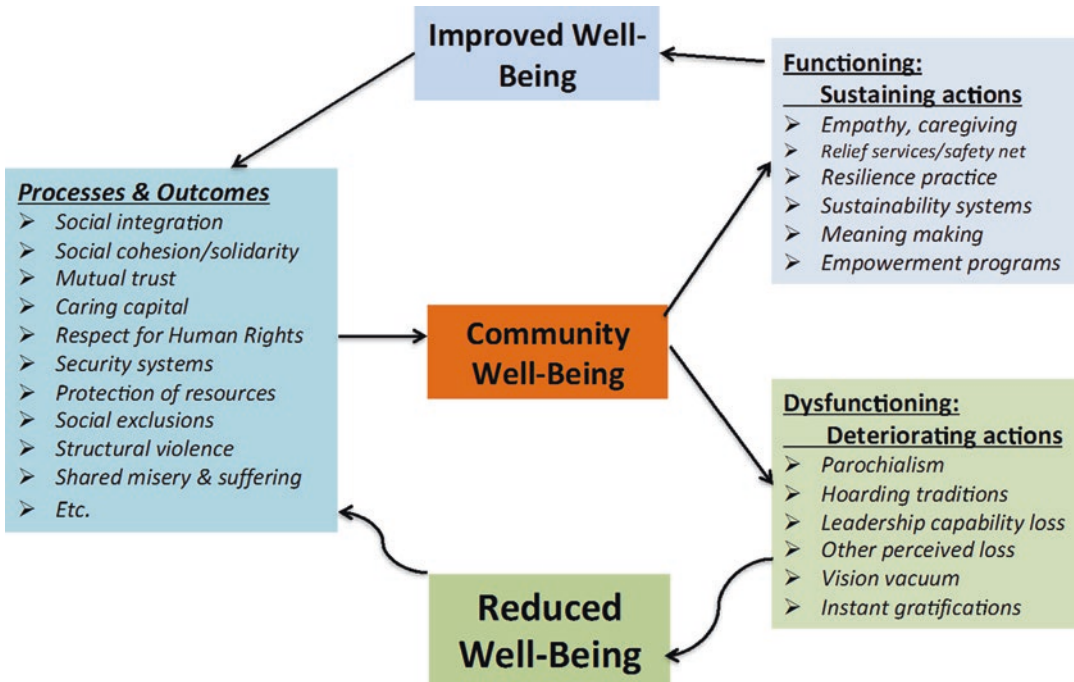
Communities range from collectivist or communitarian cultures to individualistic ones. Caring capital and sharing capital are two features of civil society central to building solidarity and resilience. All of these social processes insulate and protect both the community system and individual members of the community from trauma, catastrophe and extreme suffering.

The role of caring and sharing in various forms of capital has been neglected by social scientists, both theoretically and empirically. Major exceptions include the empirical work of Wuthnow (1991) and the theoretical writing of Oliner (2008). The essence of the state of knowledge on this subject is that some community forces inhibit caring and sharing, thus contributing to the unsustainability rather than the sustainability of communities.

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## A Conceptual Model of Changing Community Well-Being

The social forces discussed tend to shape not only the sustainability of community well-being but the quality of the community well-being itself. The dynamic model depicted in Fig. 1.1 illustrates that evolution depends upon the quality of functioning within the community. These functions provide for the mechanisms to conquer or succumb to a weakness or change in the community. This model represents the cyclical nature of continuing to encounter different types of challenges, which over the long run diminish or improve resilience to totally novel types of confrontation.



**Fig. 1.1** A dynamic model of community well-being

To explore the viability of this model, this chapter applies the above concepts and claims to existing communities that seek to embody sets of values consistent with community and sustainable well-being. The implications of a variety of community projects will be reviewed in terms of their potential impact on sustainable community well-being. The activities of these communities will be explored to the extent that information can be found on the role each plays in reinforcing sustainable community well-being in real life.

## The Sustainable Community Movement

In mid-twentieth century, so many small, experimental communities were formed that a network of such groups emerged under the label of “Intentional Communities.” The network, now called the *Fellowship of Intentional Community (FIC)*, maintains a directory of over 2500 communities, about two-thirds of which are located in the USA.

While the most common type of intentional community is co-housing (sharing of a common living facility), a close second is Ecovillages, communities committed to ecological sustainability. While the majority of intentional communities can be found in the USA, these communities are globally dispersed.

In 1991, an international network of Ecovillages was formed and called Global Ecovillage Network (GEN). Europe was the center of this movement, but GEN now has worldwide presence. Regional GEN organizations exist for each of the global regions in which GEN is active: Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and North America.

This study focuses upon a sample of 30 exemplary Ecovillage communities around the globe. Exemplary communities will be drawn from the Global Ecovillage Network featured in the recent book by Jobert and Dregger (2015). The Ecovillage movement is several decades old but this analysis is limited to communities that remain active and thriving. The Jobert and Dregger (2015) book contains a chapter about

each of 30 communities. Many communities have websites with details of their communities. Most of these communities promote not only environmental sustainability but social sustainability. All remain active and committed to their mission. The purpose of this analysis will be to elaborate upon the sustainability standards implicit in the community activities and outcomes described above.

The expected outcome of the analysis will be to link the concepts of well-being and quality-of-life studies with basic human values, community purposes, and social sustainability. This integration becomes more salient within the context of the future rather than the time frames of the present or past. It is this context of the future that forces communities to dedicate effort to sustainability and to explore how to steer communities as well as individuals and institutions towards ensuring sustainable futures.

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### Description of Existing Ecovillage Communities Striving for Sustainability

The 30 Ecovillages described in Jobert and Dregger (2015) are a small sample of all Ecovillages around the world. Some of the 30 Ecovillages were selected because they have been very successful and continue to expand membership and programs. Other Ecovillages were selected because they represent a typical Ecovillage challenged by a particular obstacle. For example, some Ecovillages find survival extremely challenging because of government policy to seize any land needed by external development projects. Others have challenges of managing rapid growth. For instance, a Bangladesh project has 42 villages with a total of 30,000 villagers.

The 30 Ecovillages summarized here and in Jobert and Dregger (2015) represent the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) global project and include about six Ecovillages from each of five world regions: Europe, Africa, Latin American, North America, and Asia. The average Ecovillage had about 2500 participants and had been in exis-

tence for about 25 years. All 30 Ecovillages express commitment to sustainable and localized agriculture and food production. However, about two thirds of the projects gave peace, love, or trust as an explicit mission of the project. This number, while not 100% still implies commitment to social sustainability and well-being as essential paths for such communities to survive.

While some Ecovillages from their inception emphasized peace and harmony, most Ecovillages were launched with the express goal of achieving sustainable natural resources, especially those related directly to agriculture. Some stress the importance of relationships; other the importance of learning social responsibility or the skills to work together in groups. Thus, high priority given to social well-being seems to have arisen from experience.

Over a third of the Ecovillages adopt *permaculture*, the philosophy of working with, rather than against nature, including thorough observation of natural and social systems before committing to thoughtless labor. Many believe that permaculture provides the most meaningful and effective vision that leads to both ecological and social sustainability. It has also become an inspirational vision for those that give up on development projects that drain away precious natural resources.

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### Exemplary Communities

**Findhorn (Scotland)** Having existed for over 50 years, Findhorn with a population of 600 provides personal development workshops and sustainability training, to over 2000 people a year. Its ecological footprint is approximately half that of the UK national average and one of the lowest recorded in the Western world. Visitors not only have been impressed by Findhorn's environmental projects but by a social climate of 'unconditional love.'

**Tamera (Portugal)** Tamera's 150 coworkers maintain not only a solar village, a water retention landscape, an educational peace center, a

love school, a political ashram, but other projects that promote their holistic model of a peace culture. Leaders also seek to foster deep trust and to balance social projects with time to celebrate life.

**Sekem (Egypt)** Today 2000 people participate in the activities of Sekem, a desert community with a name that stands for ‘Economy of Love.’ Among their many projects are wells, trees, compost heaps and other innovations designed to turn the desert into gardens.

**Comuna Tola Chica (Ecuador)** A community of 400 takes pride in offering alternatives to current globalization models that indiscriminately destroy native plants and other resources. Their projects include reforestation with native plants, local seed preservation, and opposition to large scale planting of exotic species. They are particularly proud of their ability to maintain strong families while also building community.

**Ladakh (India)** The Ladakh project near the Tibetan border has 400 members and sees its mission as deepening a dialog between the global North and global South. For example, it formed the International Alliance for Localisation. To publicize their work, they produced two very successful films, *Ancient Futures* and *Economics of Happiness*.

**Bangladesh Association for Sustainable Development (BASD)** started to work with some of the poorest communities. Now, after 20 years, these communities have enough to eat and safe homes. Over 40 villages have been healed and prepared for catastrophes. Villagers were taught to save money, maybe only 1–2 cents a week. They had never before had savings. After 10 years the project became self-sufficient, without outside funding. To prepare for disastrous climate change, village homes were re-built, food supplies established, and disaster committees prepared for the worst possible destruction.

## Contrasting Ecovillage Communities and Millennium Villages (MV) Communities

As an outgrowth of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) project, which were sponsored primarily by the United Nations, Jeffrey Sachs (2015) led the formation of a side project, the Millennium Villages Project. Beginning about 10 years ago, villages were selected and assisted in attempts to achieve the MDGs at a local level.

Both the Millennium Villages (MV) and the Ecovillages are ongoing and both can be better understood by comparing and contrasting the village communities. These comparisons can be found in Table 1.3. One way to describe the main difference between the two types of community are in terms of Ecovillages valuing natural resources and ecological integrity much higher than economic success. In contrast, MV tend to do just the opposite.

In fact, both projects share some goals but use different means to achieve those ends. For example, a major advancement pioneered by the MV project was the creation of a program of training CHWs (Community Health Workers), which has helped to improve the general health in those communities. The Ecovillage project also worked

**Table 1.3** Ecovillages versus millennium villages

Ecovillage communities	Millennium village communities
Goal: low-footprint communities	Goal: improve economic well-being
Core value: community living	Core value: achieve MDG and SDG
Resources mostly internal	Resources mostly external
Uses mostly indigenous, local products	Uses non-indigenous products
Create alternative energy	Use existing energy sources
Build upon traditional wisdom	Adopt new technologies
Promote social and spiritual well-being	Promote economic well-being
Natural resources preservation	Transform resources for markets

on health reform measures but relied more on traditional techniques for improving health.

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## Implications

Ecovillage projects actively encourage existing communities to continue to improve community and to continue to derive meaning and purpose from their community. Spiritual connectedness to community and with nature is encouraged. While a formal evaluation is not possible for these projects, considerable narrative evidence suggests that Ecovillages have a relative high level of well-being, which is shared across their members. To some extent this level of well-being is a consequence of a higher than average number of activities that take place within the community as a whole rather than individually.

Contrasting the Ecovillage and the MV models suggests that not only does the Ecovillage model have implications for improving well-being but it also offers some intriguing potential as a model for development in disadvantaged populations that are threatened by depletion of natural resources. This is best elaborated at by the organization Local Futures ([localfutures.org](http://localfutures.org)), whose mission is similar to that of the Ecovillage movement.

The Ecovillages in Africa are particularly pertinent. Mugove Walter Nyika, author of the chapter on the Greening Schools in Zimbabwe and several adjacent countries, wrote about the role of *Ubuntu*, the African slogan, “I am because you are” (Jobert and Dregger 2015). He pointed out that “Africa has the potential to lead the world in “reconnecting to the one ecosystem that we share with all other life forms, a sense of community.” The philosophy of *Ubuntu* gives some African countries an edge because this philosophy can serve as the foundation for sustainable social well-being. Furthermore, it alludes not only to social relations but the connection between people and their land. *Ubuntu* not only promotes social relations between community members, but for some it is a social state of being that brings joy and gratification from intensely experienced community.

## Conclusions

Though Ecovillages rarely use the terminology of well-being, many appear to have discovered the secret to infusing it into their communities. Although most Ecovillages were launched to implement environmental change, community social change became a second major direction, in part because of their commitment to building caring capital and maintaining sustainable well-being. Caring capital emerges from a variety of other-centered actions and relationships that are mutually helpful. Communities with considerable caring capital are likely to have sustainable well-being as a side benefit. Whatever the path to success as communities, the Ecovillages have become models of strategies for reversing the adverse effects of unbridled development and destruction of natural resources and the ecosystem. It is unfortunate that those able to provide assistance to the developing world have not yet recognized the viability of Ecovillages and their strategic potential throughout the world. Commitment to ecological preservation, focus on localization and community activities that build caring capital yield both environmental sustainability and sustainable well-being that help surmount obstacles along the trajectory toward improved community well-being.

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# Punk Rock Wisdom: An Emancipative Psychological Social Capital Approach to Community Well-Being

# 2

Craig A. Talmage, C. Bjørn Peterson,  
and Richard C. Knopf

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## Introduction to Social Capital's Domains

Social capital is a strong asset for individuals, groups, associations, organizations, and communities. Its long historical ties as a necessary antecedent to community well-being has been a frequent topic of research (e.g., Dale and Newman 2010; Serino et al. 2012). Social capital also retains great interest in research and practice across multiple disciplines such as community development, community psychology, economics, political science, public and urban planning, sociology, and others (e.g., Borgatti and Foster 2003; Dale and Newman 2010; Perkins et al. 2002; Serino et al. 2012). As of this writing, a Google Scholar™ search of “social capital” yields about 1,300,000 results. Admittedly, this chapter cannot cover the entire horizon of this massive body of research, but commonalities can be accessed and discussed.

Recently, alternative views of social capital have emerged that push against the current research paradigm (e.g., Welzel et al. 2005). Specifically, emancipative social capital has emerged as a concept that includes self-expression

values and elite-challenging action, which can promote community well-being (e.g., Welzel et al. 2005). Yet, emancipative social capital thus far has been conceptualized at the social aggregate or sociological level. Its dynamics have not been postulated at the individual or psychological level. Such a psychological approach is needed, to follow the spirit of Howarth (2001) who implores us to “explore the psychological significance of communities” (p. 223). This chapter takes on that challenge.

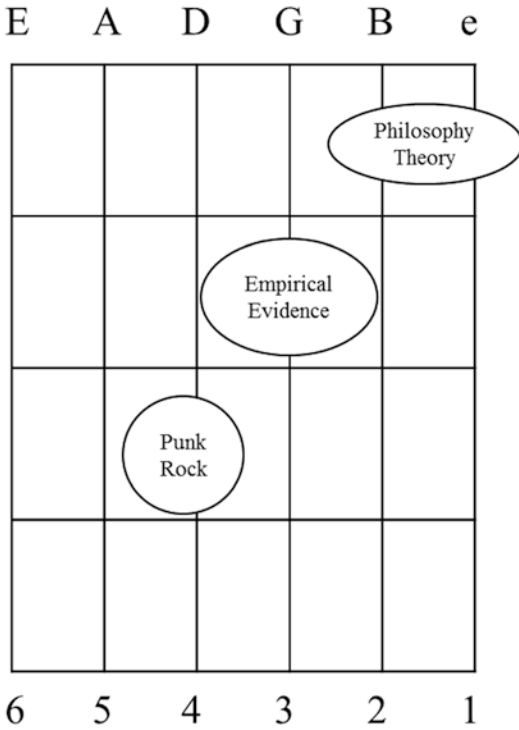
The challenge is undertaken by strumming together three primary notes to form a new chord termed emancipative social capital. In building the conceptualization of emancipative psychological social capital, three revelatory strings (i.e., sources of knowledge and wisdom) are leveraged (Fig. 2.1). First, philosophical and theoretical positions and frameworks are used for the presentation of concepts and ideas. Second, empirical examples from the literature are used to support these concepts and ideas. Finally, lyrical and narrative examples from the musical genre and lifestyle of punk rock are used to illustrate the social capital concepts presented.

This three pronged approach is used to illuminate a new framework of emancipative psychological social capital, a conceptual tool for community well-being. To do so, an overview of the distinctive domains of social capital theory with differing historical lineages or emphases are addressed. Figure 2.2 categorizes and labels these

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**Fig. 2.1** Approach to conceptualizing social capital

domains and distinguishes them by relative emphasis: sociological versus psychological, and traditional versus alternative. The three areas *not* shaded have historical lineages, whilst the shaded area is a more emergent field of inquiry. A systematic review of each of these domains is conducted focusing on emancipative psychological social capital as a potentially emergent paradigm. The imagery and dispositions of punk rock are used as a guide to understand social capital, espe-

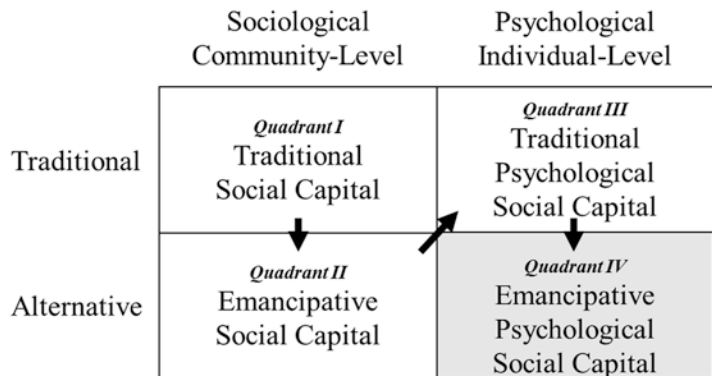
cially its more emancipatory nature. Punk rock is also used to generate the emancipative psychological social capital framework and to interrogate the new framework’s implications. We begin with a synopsis of punk rock and then cover the four social capital domains in the order shown by the arrows in Fig. 2.2.

### Punk Rock as an Ethos to Frame Social Capital

*Are you ready for another bad poem? One more off key anthem; Let your teeth sink in.* (Rat A Tat, Fall Out Boy 2013)

Social capital, the overall focus of this chapter, can be constructed through both consensus and non-consensus building means, as will be contended and discussed hereafter. Social capital can develop through expression, empowerment, and community-building activities, but it can also develop from opposition, rebellion, and revolt. In both senses, punk rock exemplifies social capital; however, punk rock’s dynamics appear to be more elite-challenging inclined. For example, Graffin (1998) comments, “punk is a process of questioning and commitment to understanding that results in self-progress, and by extrapolation, could lead to social progress” (para. 23, see also Beer 2014). The self-expressive and elite-challenging dynamics of punk rock is thus leveraged in a larger discussion of social capital research, social capital domains, and the generation of a new framework of emancipative psychological social capital. Although punk rock is an

**Fig. 2.2** Social capital research frameworks





often misunderstood social and musical phenomenon, it is still so much more than loud noise, bad poems, crazy outfits, and power chords (Diehl 2007). Thus, particular themes can be pulled from punk rock and woven into a discussion of social capital. These themes include belonging, connectedness, elite-challenging action, empowerment, individuation, opposition, protest, rebellion, self-expression, and youthfulness.

In the USA and the UK, the punk rock movement emerged in the 1970s. It sought to challenge the status quo and honor the diversity of needs and desires of those not thought to be heard or at least heard loud enough. Partridge (2011) writes of its emergence:

Punk history is an interesting amalgam of small, apparently disconnected, regional music scenes that exploded onto the mainstream media stage in the middle of the 1970s...The history of punk is idiosyncratic and open to various interpretations, in part because it involves a very small number of people. (p. 3–4)

After the advent of punk, this small number of people grew into a movement and in some ways grew into a community of music lovers and punk rock attitude emulators who offer to the world an additional source of knowledge and wisdom for understanding social capital and its domains. Thanks to early bands like the Ramones and Sex Pistols, the punk rock “attitude” (Diehl 2007, p. 31) valuing self-expression and challenging the elite emerged on the social radar.

Craig O’Hara’s (1999) *The Philosophy of Punk* is a useful mechanism to hone in on the punk rock ethos, so that social capital can be later examined through the lens of punk rock. He poses three definitions: “Punk is a youth trend... Punk is gut rebellion and change...Punk is a formidable voice of opposition...While the third serves as the ideal to the other two, the first is the one most commonly presented in the media” (p. 41). Despite its emphasis on youth, Diehl (2007) suggests that punk rock is “a philosophy that endures through the generations” (p. 32). For example, Greg Graffin (1998) lead singer of Bad Religion and university professor writes in *A Punk Manifesto*, “punk is a reflection of what it means to be human” (para. 7). Congruently, Bert

McCracken of The Used (2015) states, “revolution is an evolution of human consciousness.”<sup>1</sup> Punk rock as an ethos appears to somewhat parallel Freire’s (2000) critical consciousness; better put, it is one of the myriads of self-expression and identity for youth and adults alike.

McCracken (2015) implores, “I challenge you to be a kid once again. I challenge you to lose yourself in the music.” Youthfulness is embraced by the punk rock ethos, but often feared in society (Greenwald 2003; O’Hara 1999). My Chemical Romance (2006) sings of such fear in their song “Teenagers,” “They say that teenagers scare the living shit out of me; they could care less as long as someone’ll bleed.” An explanation for such fear can be found in the inclination of young people to question anything or everything – a tenet of punk rock (Beer 2014; Graffin 1998). But, fear is only one explanation; misunderstanding is another. For example, Good Charlotte (2002) sing in their song, “The Young and The Hopeless,” “I’m young and I’m hopeless. I’m lost and I know this. I’m going nowhere fast, that’s what they say. I’m troublesome, I’m fallen...It’s me against this world and I don’t care.” In many ways, the story of punk rock tells the story of those who are lost, especially in their youth, trying to find community and their voice in that community. Ska punkers, Less Than Jake (1998) concur in their song, “Help Save the Youth of America from Exploding,” “Sit down, this is the same old story of growing up and getting lost.” Youth’s impetuosity and willingness to connect with others (e.g., “That’s Youth” by Anti-Flag 1999) through self-expression and questioning of the status quo remain the resonance of punk rock today. “Punk is the personal expression of uniqueness that comes from the experiences of growing up in touch with our human ability to reason and ask questions” (Graffin 1998, para. 9). Punk’s youthfulness is enduring. Yellowcard (2011) sings in “Be the

<sup>1</sup>At the same punk rock festival that Bert McCracken made this statement, he also implored that all audience members buy and read Paulo Freire’s (2000) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Young,” “Growing up has just begun...And we’ll forever be the young.”

The rebellious attitude of youth may be feared and misunderstood, but it is nothing new to the entertainment industry, if not an obsession as well by the industry. O’Hara (1999) writes “Rebellious youths have been drawn to its [punk rock’s] changing forms for decades, but as a whole it has been merely a part of the ever growing entertainment industry” (p. 24). Diehl (2007) highlights, “that sound of undiluted lost adolescence, all tentative, quivering voices and speedy caffeinated rush, is still evoked today by bands” (p. 32). What still should be asked of any youth is, “what is his or her reason for rebellion?” Is it self-expression or elite-challenging? For example, Assuming We Survive’s (2013) song, “Catch 22” highlights individual self-expression, but is elite-challenging? “I guess I am who I am; I’ll be this way ‘til the end. I stand for what I believe in, even if it’s nothing!” The thoughtful and thoughtless nature of expression is worthy of being debated. For example, Anti-Flag (2012) asks in their song “I Don’t Wanna,” “The hardest battle you are ever going to have to fight is the battle to just be you. What is it that defines you?”

Though the elite-challenging action, opposition, rebellion, and self-expression may appear prevalent in youth subculture, this portrayal may be unfair and biased (Bennett 2006; Hesmondhalgh 2005). Punk rock’s oppositional leanings carry forth from youth into adulthood (Beer 2014; Hesmondhalgh 2005; Yellowcard 2011). This is present in MXPX’s (2001) song, “The Opposite”:

You’re the opposite of me, and I’m the opposite of you. I know I’m really young, and that my life has just begun. ‘Cause I’m the opposite of you, and you’re the opposite of me... I’m getting stronger all the time. It’s an uphill battle but I’ll be fine.

What must be noted is that the punk rock ethos of questioning of truth and rebelling grabs hold in youth. Anti-Flag (2007) scream in their song “No Paradise,” “The kids are sick and tired of the news today. Sick and tired of all the lies. We want the truth. It isn’t going to be no paradise.”

The initial gut rebellion of youth can turn into an empowering force for individual and collec-

tive change (O’Hara 1999). O’Hara (1999) writes, “Rebellion is one of the few undeniable characteristics of punk. It is implicit in the meaning of Punk and its music and lyrics” (p. 38). Even in modern times, punks have come together to protest social injustices (e.g., Occupy Wall Street Movement). They work to rally fellow punk rockers to their cause, so that change will be inspired and occur. These individuals may also express rebellion through the music they listen to, their style, their attitudes, or their other behaviors (O’Hara 1999; Diehl 2007).

Punk rockers often want to be seen as opposing social norms. For example, Millencolin’s (2002) song “Punk Rock Rebel” describes: “He’s a rebel; it’s plain to see. Punk rock rebel so full of strife, he’s a rebel; and he’ll always be, someone who changed my life.” A caveat must be noted here, as O’Hara (1999) writes, “It is true that the traditional styles of dress and music of Punk Rock are often offensive and shocking to the mainstream public, but it is misleading to think of Punk as an appearance oriented movement” (p. 38). Punk styles change, but have at times included mohawk or brightly dyed haircuts, black clothing and jewelry, and dark makeup (Diehl 2007; O’Hara 1999). What remains is that the punk rock rebel aims to deny conformity.

Conformity is revealed when an individual changes his or her attitudes or behaviors because of actual or perceived pressure from other individuals or groups of people (Aronson 2004; O’Hara 1999). It has its pros and cons (see Aronson 2004); however, punk rockers are disgusted by conformity. O’Hara (1999) writes, “Conformity is rejected on every front possible in order to seek the truth or sometimes to merely shock people” (O’Hara 1999, p. 27). Avoid One Thing (2003) criticizes posers (discussed later) for their conformity by singing, “My parents dropped me off and paid for it. Get all my views from MTV. I got it at Hot Topic. My parents dropped me off and paid for it. Pre-packaged punk conformity.”

Rebellion, nonconformity, opposition, and elite-challenging behaviors that protest the status quo are not uncommon in punk rock (Beer 2014). “Punk is a movement that serves to refute social

attitudes that have been perpetuated through willful ignorance of human nature” (Graffin 1998, para. 15). For example, punk rock fan magazines continue to elicit and encourage progressive social attitudes amongst punks, encourage participation in grassroots coalitions and movements, and document political, social, and cultural injustices ranging from local to global (O’Hara 1999). Graffin and Olson (2010) write, “Rebellion has to be part of the response to rigid social institutions, or stagnation is assured... Institutions, by and large, strive for permanence, and they almost always see life through a formulaic lens and strongly disfavor individuality and change” (p. 142). Brody Dalle of The Distillers (2000) sings of such rebellion, “Red carpet and rebellion; makes ya wonder at the established ones.” Additionally, many punk rock inclined individuals have adopted lifestyles of veganism, vegetarianism, aestheticism, and pacifism (O’Hara 1999). Congruently, “monkey wrenching and trying to subvert the system are regarded as primary parts of Punk” (O’Hara 1999, p. 93).<sup>2</sup>

Punk rock individuals strive create a world where *all* feel like they belong and are connected. To do so, they believe “in the equality and rights of all people” (O’Hara 1999, p. 100). Punk rockers hold a particular attenuation towards the pitfalls of capitalism or any “isms” for that matter. “The Punk movement was originally formed in nations holding capitalist, pseudo-democratic policies. Because of this, capitalism and its problems became the first target of political Punks” (O’Hara 1999, p. 74). Feelings of opposition and acts of protest appear to be responses to powerful, widespread feelings of alienation and societal issues (e.g., unemployment and poverty) thought to be caused by capitalism (O’Hara 1999).

The punk rock movement has long stood against and reacted to sexism, homophobia, racism, anthropocentrism, and speciesism. Justin Sane (2015), the lead singer of the band Anti-Flag, has said to the crowd, “There’s so much

ugliness outside these walls – racism, violence, homophobia – the reason I got into punk rock was because inside these walls none of that bullshit exists.” Punk rock individuals tend to view these “isms” as “harmful, irrational, and intolerable” (O’Hara 1999, p. 100). More generally, Graffin (1998) writes, “punk is a belief that this world is what we make of it, truth comes from our understanding of the way things are, not from the blind adherence to prescriptions about the way things should be” (para. 29). The punk rock ethos is rooted in the freedom of individual expression (Graffin 1998).

An exemplary cause the punk scene has taken up is rights and freedoms for gender and sexual minority persons; however, it strives to be a haven for persons of various identities that appear counter-normative (O’Hara 1999). For example, Story of the Year (2005) speaks out against the prejudice against LGBTQ+ persons (i.e., lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and others) in their song, “Is This My Fate? He Asked Them.” They sing:

Do you really fucking think that it’s a choice, a way of life played by discrimination? You’re narrow-minded, quick to judge with Bible Belt tunnel vision. This is ignorance. Failure to evolve is failure to us all. When will you learn that this is where we fall?

Congruently, O’Hara (1999) notes, “if it is true that the young queer will find himself an iconoclast, a skeptic and a rebel to oppression and alienation, then he will in today’s world find himself identified with Punk” (p. 116). Punk looks to be a haven for outsiders (O’Hara 1999).

The punk scene’s inclination towards self-expressive and elite-challenging cognitions and behaviors appears a good match for those who are marginalized or oppressed (Diehl 2007; O’Hara 1999); however, an individual’s realization of his or her outsider status does not guarantee empathy for and/or recognition of the suffering and oppression of others who may be marginalized (O’Hara 1999). This disconnect becomes more dire when individuals who could be recognized as elites choose to relinquish their privileges to speak for and seek out fairness, justice, and equity for those marginalized or

<sup>2</sup>Please note that we do not advocate for violence in any way; however, violence in particular contexts cannot be disregarded as forms of expression and elite-challenging action. We do not intend, but realize, our naivety here.

oppressed (O'Hara 1999). Thus, a deeper understanding of the individual-focused nature of punk rock must be understood.

Punk rock can be misconstrued as lifestyle that is focused on anarchist and individualistic aims. Whilst punk rockers hold a common belief that communities can resolve their own affairs without intervention from higher powers or those of higher authority (O'Hara 1999), there is not an overarching and resounding echo for the destruction of government. Still, punk rockers often hold "a healthy contempt for the present governing regimes" (O'Hara 1999, p. 72). Punk rock individuals desire to utilize their social capital to solve community problems.

The punk rock notion of anarchy is not about individual gain or attainment of elite status. The punk rock version of anarchy may appear to focus on an absence of faith in regimes for personal fulfillment, but it does *not* proselytize an absence of faith in other people and their actions together as a community (Beer 2014). Anarchy is thus described here: "maintaining a state of punk *rockness* revolves around maintaining a sense of individuality" (Diehl 2007, p. 33). Individuality, or better termed individuation (discussed in-depth later), for punk rockers is not the result of, but perhaps a reaction to, government influence or social conformity. Take for example, Anti-Flag's (2009b) song, "When All the Lights Go Out." "Proletarians of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains. We are not numbers. We are names. We won't be alone. We are not crime reports. We are history."

Strikingly, this expressive and individuated nature of punk rock is likely not easy for all to adopt. Diehl (2007) illustrates, "The crisis of individual expression lies at the core, ultimately, of both the original punk movement and what constitutes it today...Now, however, we live in an era when the idea of punk rock as an oasis of personal expression is under fire" (p. 33–34). The crisis of personal expression is not a new struggle; "punk is the constant struggle against fear of social repercussions" (Graffin 1998, para. 41). Therefore, the internal dialogue of the individuated punk rocker may go something like, "I

believe that I should be able to express myself, but I also believe others deserve to be able to do the same. Any person or institution that desires to take that away should be destroyed." Take for example, Fall Out Boy singer, Patrick Stump's (2011) song, "Spotlight [No Regrets]," off his solo album, *Soul Punk*. He sings:

They might try to tell you how you can live your life, but don't, don't forget it's your right to do whatever you like, you like, 'cause you could be your own spotlight... You could be the star, you can shine so bright... 'Cause they're gonna tell you all the rules to break to take away that light from somebody, somebody now... No wonder this crumbling world's stuck... 'Cause compassion is something that they just don't, just don't teach, teach.

The punk rocker appears to not shy away from acknowledging vulnerabilities nor the many spotlights of society (Beer 2014).

The punk rocker, at least at the punk rock show, strives to create a community experience. Andy Greenwald (2003) writes of the atmosphere of at a punk show. "The already thick air seems to double in density. The band members stand on the cramped stage, tuning for ages, while the kids in the front swell and teem like water over a hot stove" (p. 160). Greenwald (2003) uses the actions of Chris Carrabba, the front man of Dashboard Confessional, to highlight the lack of separation between audience and performers at a punk show. "Chris always drops away from the mic to let the audience take the lead vocal... Dashboard Confessional concerts shatter boundaries between performer and audience, between artist and fan, and between complete strangers" (p. 227, 190). The veil between the band and artist is thin if not severed. In "Timberwolves at New Jersey," Taking Back Sunday (2002) sings, "Stop it, come on you know I can't help it. I got the mic, and you got the mosh pit." Each show acts as an opportunity to recognize the individuation and expression of all persons, and each show is a moment to connect and belong.

In sum, the aforementioned themes identified as part of the punk rock ethos can be weaved into the story of social capital and its many manifestations. This chapter now returns to Fig. 2.2.

Hereafter, theory and empiricism will be used to start each section on the different domains of social capital to follow. Punk is then mixed in to hold the chapter together.

## Social Capital as Traditionally Defined and Investigated

*A well-connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well-connected society.* (Robert Putnam 2000, p. 20)

This chapter now continues its own show, that is its exploration of social capital using punk rock as a framing device, starting with the first quadrant of Fig. 2.2, labeled: *Traditional Social Capital*. Social capital is a community resource that can be cultivated, nurtured, and utilized by community members, groups, associations, organizations, and institutions; they are woven together by social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990; Kapucu 2008, 2011; Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000). Social capital as a resource is revitalized and utilized by both individuals and communities, but controlled by neither separately (Warren et al. 2001). Individuals and organized structures within communities operate together to employ their “collection of resources...through a set of communal norms, networks, and sanctions” (i.e., social capital defined by Kapucu 2011, p. 24). Thus, the aggregation of these social interactions, connections, ties, and relationships make up social capital (Bourdieu 1986; Chang 2013; Ganapati 2008; Putnam 2000; Putnam and Feldstein 2003). These social capital networks have been suggested to not necessarily arise out of happenstance, but more often be strategically constructed through usually consensus-building actions (Portes 1998).

These social networks provide a lot of benefits to all actors in communities, such as access to information and other forms of community capital (Dale and Newman 2010; Kapucu 2008, 2011; Putnam 1993, 2000). Dense social networks tend to allow communities and their members to resolve their problems together with greater ease, such that a single individual has less weight to

bear in fulfilling his or her own desires for his or her own community (Putnam 2000). They catalyze purposive action in communities, which is fueled to fulfill collective, as opposed to individual, interests (Coleman 1990; Flora et al. 1997; Kim 2006).

Punk rock is no stranger to a collectivist as opposed to individualist emphasis, especially when individuals stand to benefit at the cost of others. Take for example, the punk rock show. Anti-Flag has expressed disgust with three types of “posers;” they describe the term in Punk by the Book (1996), Captain Anarchy (1999), and Drink Drank Punks (1996). The first is a person who spends a bunch of money on their outfits and hair to look cool, but cares nothing for the expression of others. The second is a person who does that same as the first, but also sneaks into shows for free. The third is a person who only goes to shows to get drunk and take home women. None of these punks are respected in the punk scene because of their individualist nature. The punk rock show, specifically, is a place for gathering and action together (and not for posers).

Purposive action is not only undertaken by a single community member, but often in cooperation with others, which many have termed civic participation or engagement (Coleman 1988; Kapucu 2011; Kim 2006; Larsen et al. 2004; Paxton 1999; Putnam 1993, 2000). Purposive action occurs in both formal and informal networks that are entrenched in communal norms of reciprocity and trust, which are mutually reinforcing (Chang 2013; Chaskin et al. 2001; Ganapati 2008; Kapucu 2011; King 2004; Putnam 1993, 2000; Serino et al. 2012). Reciprocity is grounded in sub-norms, such as mutual cooperation and assistance (Putnam 2000) and mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1986). “A high degree of trust is required for people to have reciprocal relations of expectations and obligations. Effective social norms in a community prescribe certain actions while proscribing others” (Ganapati 2008, p. 387). Fukuyama (1995) wrote, “Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the

part of other members of that community' (p. 26).

Transparency is key to building both trust and reciprocity (Kanagaretnam et al. 2010). Transparency echoes like a siren in the punk lyrics on both individual and community levels. Regarding the government, NOFX (1994a) asks in their song, "Perfect Government," "How did the cat get so fat? Why does the family die? Do you care why? Cause there hasn't been a sign of anything gettin' better in the ghetto." Even regarding the individual level, Knuckle Puck (2014) sings in their song, "Transparency," "All I want is for everyone to be aware of their own transparency." Transparency is important to punk rockers, and the call for transparency in punk rock relates strongly to emancipative social capital discussed later.

Reciprocity and trust can push community members together *or* apart (Agnitsch et al. 2006), and dense networks can likely exclude newcomers, outsiders, or nonconformists (Portes 1998). Dense networks in particular do not always guarantee civic engagement, especially when only homogenous individuals and institutions are highly connected (Uslaner and Conley 2003). Congruently, purposive action and social norms cannot always be construed as positive factors (i.e. prosocial) in communities (Flora 1998; Larsen et al. 2004; Witte 1996). Social capital can work to spur certain prosocial actions, but social capital also can be less positively inclined or perhaps even harmful (Chang 2013; Coleman 1988). For instance, negative exemplars of these kinds of dense networks might include: "Street gangs, mafia families, drug rings, and racial supremacy groups" (Agnitsch et al. 2006, p. 39). These kinds of groups and their actions are detested by those affiliated with the punk rock scene (e.g., NOFX 1997). Finally, this dark form of social capital (see Agnitsch et al. 2006) suggests a need for a greater understanding individual and group-expression and diversity in our community well-being work.

Reinforcement of trust within established relations can reinforce status quo power relations, even when inequitable, violent, or otherwise unjust. Obviously, this is an issue when

discussing the creation of community well-being as defined earlier in this anthology as the fulfillment of a community's needs and desires (Lee et al. 2015). The needs and desires of a community are certainly not always uniform and much work has been done to document, critique, and attempt to correct the tendency of small groups of elites to have their needs and desires fulfilled at the expense of others (e.g., Sen 1999; Freire 2000; Ledwith 2011; Nussbaum 2011; Smith 2012; Rist 2014; and, many others). This diversity of needs and desires within and between communities is important to consider when working toward well-being.

Social capital is thus influenced by power (Adler and Kwon 2002); but, whilst power may help move along actions in communities (Kapucu 2011), the elites and special interest groups in communities appear more likely benefit from actions resulting from strong social capital (Bourdieu 1986; Chang 2013). Social capital can act as a means for socioeconomic change, but Bourdieu (1986) emphasizes that the upper classes likely benefit more from it. Strong social capital may lead to a favoring of loyalty to maintain power stratum and relations, as opposed to a favoring of novelty and innovation (Adler and Kwon 2002). Additionally, strong social capital may be elucidated as a reaction to the actions of those in power (Chang 2013; Putnam 2000). These actions may include social conflict, factionalism, and hindrance of community development (Duncan 2001). Thus, social capital and its many forms can be both negative and positive transformational mechanisms for community development and organizing (Borgatti and Foster 2003; Dale and Newman 2010; Lopez and Stack 2001). The potential for community destruction rather than well-being resulting from asymmetric power relations provides reason for pursuing a greater understanding of the advantages of elite-challenging activities in community development and well-being work.

Purposive action (i.e., civic participation and engagement) is the bedrock of democracy, and "it is also the process, through which the community realizes itself, negotiates its identity and eventually transforms itself" (Serino et al. 2012, p. 4).

Participation is very much based on ability, context, and willingness (Serino et al. 2012); however, participation appears to not have to follow the party line or fortify the status quo to payoff civically (Welzel et al. 2005). Alternative explorations of social capital have begun to relook at purposive actions in communities, specifically self-expression and elite-challenging actions. Therefore, we now turn our discussion of social capital and our punk rock examples to second quadrant of Fig. 2.2: *Emancipative Social Capital*.

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### Alternative Social Capital Definitions: Emancipative Social Capital

*What keeps societies together and leads individuals to act for collective goals?* (Welzel et al. 2005, p. 122)

Consensus-building purposive action appears to not be the only collective action that can lead to increased community well-being (Welzel et al. 2005). To this date, most large-scale assessments of social capital have focused on formal group association regarding community building, organization, involvement, and/or participation (Welzel et al. 2005). The multitude of unique expressions of visions for better futures by individuals and collections of individuals in communities continue to kindle well-being across society; however, some are considering new methods and approaches to discover the different catalysts or sparks for positive change. Talmage (2014a) labels these catalysts, sparks, and positive change as *development*. Such positive community change (i.e., development) is essential to cultivating, nourishing, and sustaining individual and community well-being (Talmage 2014a).

An alternative paradigm in social capital research has emerged, which calls for the consideration of both self-expression values and elite-challenging actions and calls for their inclusion in social capital theory (e.g., Inglehart and Catterberg 2002; Welzel et al. 2005). Broader data sets which include both of these foundational components of Welzel et al. (2005) *eman-*

*cipative social capital* demonstrate that social capital can be constructed and reinforced not only through actions that uphold the elite-driven status quo, but also through the actions of those who dare to express themselves and push back against that same status quo (see also Inglehart and Catterberg 2002; King 1968; Schuurman 2003). Both strong and weak relational ties in communities appear to strengthen through not only consensus creation, but also human counter-expressions of dissent, opposition, or protest.

The seminal presentation of emancipative social capital by Welzel et al. (2005) revealed that elite-challenging action does not prevent the construction of social capital or its promulgation of civic values. In their study, elite-challenging action demonstrated the highest civic payoff as it was found to actually strengthen democratic institutions (p. 140). Elite-challenging action may act as a social mechanism of pressure that benefits communities. This pressure may strengthen relational ties in communities. Their work follows previous large-scale empirical studies (i.e., Inglehart and Catterberg 2002) that included elite-challenging actions. For instance, Inglehart and Catterberg (2002) noted a significant increase in measured civic participation rather than a decrease predicted by social capital giants like Robert Putnam (1993).

As discussed earlier, elite-challenging action is a core underpinning of punk rock. Propagandhi (1996) in their flare from the dramatic sarcastically voice options for “Resisting Tyrannical Government.” They comment, “The workers slave. The rich get more.” Furthermore, dissent can be seen many punk protest songs (e.g., “Planet Earth 1985” by Ramones 1984). Pennywise’s (2003) “God Save the U.S.A.” sings, “God you must be kidding me, thought this was supposed to be the home of the brave and the free for you and me. But now there’s something wrong – shit’s been going on too long. It’s never gonna change, there’s no way I say.” 1980s punk rockers, Suicidal Tendencies (1983) sing in their song “Suicide’s an Alternative / You’ll be Sorry,” about how they are sick of people in society selling their souls: “Sick of politics- for the rich. Sick of power- only oppresses. Sick of government-

full of tyrants. Sick of school- total brainwash.” Dissent or questioning often comes in the form of questioning (e.g., Questions and Answers by Useless ID 2000). Sample questions can be seen in Strike Anywhere’s (2005) “Question the Answer;” they sing, “Why do we do what they tell us? Why do we do what they say? Why do we do what they tell us? Why am I controlled by what they say?” For punk rock, questioning is the penultimate form of self-expression (Graffin 1998).

Necessary and powerful antecedents to elite-challenging actions are self-expression values (Welzel et al. 2005; Welzel and Inglehart 2008). Welzel et al. (2005) write, “It is the values to which an activity is tied, not the activity as such that makes a society civic” (p. 140). Societies, communities, and associations which value self-expression appear likely to better foster elite-challenging action which in turn builds social capital; however, self-expression must be honored and cultivated (Welzel et al. 2005). Self-expression values have been demonstrated to be more civic than not civic in nature (Welzel 2010). They have been connected to “trust in people and peaceful collective action” (p. 152), much like traditional social capital. They are also juxtaposed against survival values in the World Values Survey, whereas individuals and collectives value economic and physical security as more important than expression (“American Values” 2003; Inglehart and Baker 2000).

As noted earlier, self-expression is another core facet of punk rock. Care and respect for self-expression (i.e., valuing) is called for in many punk rock songs. Remember that self-expression is not individualistic; it is focused on honoring all self-expression. Fall Out Boy (2008) ironically comment on this notion in their song, “I Don’t Care.” They sing, “I don’t care what you think as long as it’s about me.” Self-expression serves as a release of emotions for punk rockers; hence, a particular punk rock subculture called the emo movement emerged. In that light, many punk rock songs focused on expressing dissatisfaction with loved ones or one’s own life experience (see Greenwald 2003). For example, Staring Back (2002b) sing in their

song, “Note to Self: Don’t Feel Dead,” about a frustrated relationship: “I will be pacified no longer. The spark is gone from your eyes (was it ever there?). I will be unified and stronger than you ever were.” In more protest angles, the self-expression of punks has taken on activist forms, which have included punkvoter.com, “Rock Against Bush” tours, and “Not My President” apparel (Diehl 2007)<sup>3</sup>.

Emancipative social capital is much like traditional social capital; it must be nurtured, so it is not depleted. Democratic opportunities and abundant resources appear crucial to cultivate and nurture self-expression values and elite-challenging action (Welzel et al. 2005). Welzel and colleagues (2005) write:

Democratic opportunities strengthen the effect of self-expression values on elite-challenging action only insofar as these opportunities are linked with more abundant resources. Vice versa, more abundant resources strengthen the effect of self-expression values on elite-challenging action even when democratic opportunities are lacking. In fact, elite-challenging actions that are driven by mass emphasis on political self-expression can be a road to enforce democratization. (p. 136)

Combined, self-expression values and elite-challenging action have the potential to produce a form of social capital with “a strong emancipative thrust” (p. 141; see also, Inglehart and Welzel 2005). And without self-expression values, elite-challenging action’s influence on strengthening democratic institutions falters (Welzel et al. 2005). If Putnam (1993) is correct in his conviction that social capital promotes good governance, then elite-driven actions should not be the only dimension of social capital acknowledged and assessed, especially when looking to give rise to more just and democratic societies (Welzel and Inglehart 2008). Welzel and colleagues (2005) note that communitarianism and religiousness often embolden complacency to the status quo and the current modus operandi. Thus, “conformity to institutions, elites and norms may

<sup>3</sup>These examples primarily focused on former US President George W. Bush; however, punks have been known to express oppositional criticism to and/or protest the rhetoric and actions of all kinds of political parties.



imply an uncritical acceptance of repressive and corrupt practices – the very contradiction of civic governance” (Welzel et al. 2005, p. 131). Communities seeking to catalyze, increase, and sustain higher levels of well-being must avoid such contradiction.

Any continuation of discussion or deeper reflection on the notions of self-expression values and elite-challenging actions must understand that origins of elitism.<sup>4</sup> Hegemony is one of “the ways in which one class maintains dominance over the rest of society by a subtle system of coercion and consent. Coercion is maintained through law, police and armed forces, and ideological persuasion” (Ledwith 2011, p. xiii). A hegemonic narrative is one of the vehicles through which coercion and control is accomplished. These narratives often take the form of *common sense* communicated through oft-repeated stories (Ledwith 2011). Hegemony allows unjust social relations to remain unchallenged by painting them as inevitable and unchangeable.

Rules can also give rise to elitism, specifically “belief in the validity of legal statute and functional ‘competence’ based on rationally created *rules*” (Weber 1958, p. 79, emphasis original). These rules reinforce societal structures and norms, much like sanctions and actions reinforce social capital (e.g., Chang 2013; Kapucu 2011; Larsen et al. 2004). Rules and rule-reinforcing actions do not guarantee equality. All societies, regardless of their political structures, revolve around disproportionate distributions of power. Thus, elites are “...persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organizations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially” (Higley 2010, p. 163). But, they can build reinforcing, oppressive social structures (Freire 2000; Papke 1998).

A semiotic practice of constantly redefining the language and thinking within our societies is necessary then for social progress; contestation is needed (see Kristeva 2000, 2002; Kristeva and

Toril 1986). Julia Kristeva (2002) terms this freedom: *Revolt* – “to call things into question” (p. 12). Revolt lies at the heart of democracy, which remains a grand project looking to move the status quo to a better state – a moving target in itself (Sartori 1987). The democratic process is ongoing, not a solid state social tool. Kristeva (2002) writes, “Although we need power, [the] need to revolt against the authorities is permanent” (p. 109).

Kristeva’s (2000, 2002) revolt is a common reoccurring theme in punk rock lyrics. Anti-Flag (2001) sings in their song, “Daddy Warbuy,” about revolting against the elite. “Revolting against the few- the rich, the bigoted few. They pay for the deaths of those, so we’re revolting against the few; our thoughts and our lives controlled by pocket books.” Famous pop punkers, Green Day (2009), sing in “Know Your Enemy” about the revolt within, “Bringing on the fury, the choir infantry. Revolt against the honor to obey.” Even more so, old school punks, Bad Religion (1990), sing of the futility of revolt and elitism in their song, “Entropy.” They sing:

Random blobs of power expressed as that which we all disregard, ordered states of nature on a scale that no one thinks about, don’t speak to me of anarchy or peace of calm revolt, man, we’re in a play of slow decay orchestrated by Boltzmann, it’s entropy.

Despite futility, revolt against power and elitism remain a recurrent theme in punk rock music.

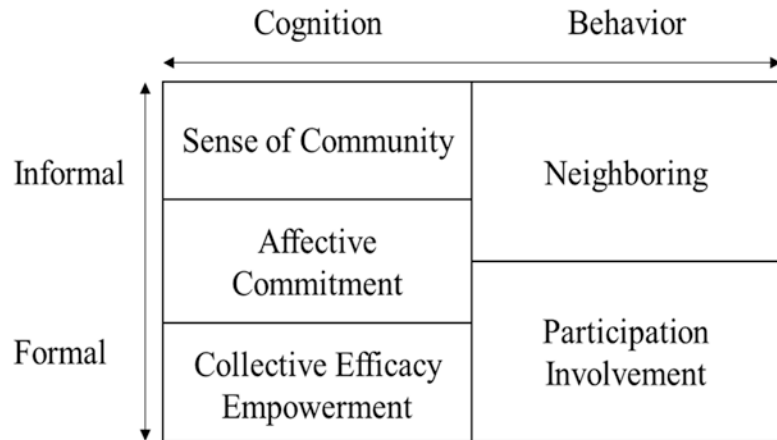
Revolt, outside of punk music, can take different expressive forms. These can range from semi-otic practice (Kristeva 2002) to civil disobedience (Perry 2013) to nonviolent protest (Gandhi 2007; Welzel and Deutsch 2012) to even violent anti-government protests of US militia groups (Papke 1998).<sup>5</sup> But where do these behaviors originate within us? In the context of community well-being, there are complex considerations essential to understanding how the cognitions and behaviors of a person or group of people will manifest.

A psychological approach thus appears crucial to comprehend how social capital, both tradi-

<sup>4</sup>A special thanks to Mikulas Pstross, Ph.D. for pointing us to these resources, specifically the citations and quotations that helped us with this line of discussion around “who are elites?”

<sup>5</sup>Again see our second endnote. We also do not condone sabotage or vandalism as well in any way, shape, or form.

**Fig. 2.3** Foundational constructs of psychological social capital (Adapted from Perkins et al. 2002; Talmage 2014b)



tional and emancipative, effervesces from the individuals in our communities. Therefore, we turn to the third quadrant in Fig. 2.2 to look at traditional social capital on the psychological level. Here we proceed with Fig. 2.3, zooming in on *Traditional Psychological Social Capital* to elucidate the more foundational *psychological* aspects of social capital discussed in research.

### The Psychological Approach to Social Capital

*To write and/or think can become...a constant calling into question of the psyche as well as the world.* (Kristeva 2000, p. 19)

The individual-level of our communities cannot be neglected in assessing purposive action that increase (or decrease) community well-being. Community psychologists, specifically Perkins et al. (2002), have called upon community development professionals to look deeper at the underlying psychological nature of social capital. Their call harmonizes with Woolcock's (1998) claim that, "Definitions of social capital should focus on its sources rather than its consequences" (p. 35). This chapter continues by highlighting and discussing three cognitions and two behaviors that range from informal to formal in nature (see again Fig. 2.3).

Psychological cognitions are thoughts that occur or that are held by individuals regarding particular matters. Cognitions are thought processes and patterns based on emotions and feel-

ings (see Izard et al. 1988). In this light, individuals can make conscious decisions about how they feel, what they think about, and what they (dis)like about their communities (Perkins et al. 2002; Talmage 2014b). Three well-researched cognitions related to social capital are sense of community, collective efficacy/empowerment, and affective commitment (see Fig. 2.3).

Sense of community is organized more informally than other cognitions (Perkins et al. 2002; Perkins and Long 2002). It is affective in nature, encompassing many dimensions such as: Belonging, commitment to ongoing development, emotional connection, membership, mutual concerns, needs fulfillment, shared influence, shared history, shared community values, social connection, and symbolism (Fisher and Sonn 2002; Perkins et al. 2002; Perkins and Long 2002). Sense of community can catalyze capacity for action by individuals and communities together (Serino et al. 2012). Sense of community promotes and is reinforced by the cognitions and behaviors seen in Fig. 2.3, which all can boost community well-being (Perkins et al. 2002; Perkins and Long 2002; Serino et al. 2012; Talmage 2014b).

Collective efficacy/empowerment is organized more formally than sense of community; it includes "trust in the effectiveness of organized community action" (Perkins et al. 2002, p. 39). Collective efficacy is built upon mutual engagement, shared expectations, social cohesion, trust, and sense of community (Perkins et al. 2002; Perkins and Long 2002; Sampson et al. 1999;

Sampson et al. 1999; Serino et al. 2012). Empowerment may be seen as an awareness of these community foundations and the embodiment of these foundations in processes that community members enact to undertake change in their community environments (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995; Perkins et al. 2002; Rappaport 1987; Serino et al. 2012; Zimmerman et al. 1992). These components have been linked on their own to community participation and well-being (see Kilpatrick et al. 2003; Kim 2006). These components also provide the foundation for activating action in communities by transmitting expectations for action (Sampson et al. 1999).

Though not acknowledged in Perkins et al. (2002) original paper on psychological social capital, affective commitment is posited as an additional cognition, which is highly related to sense of community, collective efficacy/empowerment, and community involvement behaviors (see Talmage 2014b; Torres et al. 1991). Borrowing from organizational behavior research (see Gruen et al. 2000), affective commitment is how favorable a person perceives their community to be. Furthermore, affective commitment can be seen as how internalized a community's goals and values are within individuals in the community; that is, how much individual community members identify with their community (Torres et al. 1991). This identification is strongly related to loyalty and involvement (Torres et al. 1991). Without affective commitment, individuals may be inclined to seek out new opportunities or intend to leave their current situations (Price 2001); they may not enact important informal or formal behaviors that increase community well-being.

These social capital cognitions, even though they are oriented towards consensus-building, can be connected to the punk rock ethos. Apart from the introduction to the punk ethos section, which covered some references to belonging and connectedness, other examples can be pulled. For instance, Bad Religion (2002) sings in their song, "You Don't Belong" about our human need to belong, which is a component of sense of community. They sing:

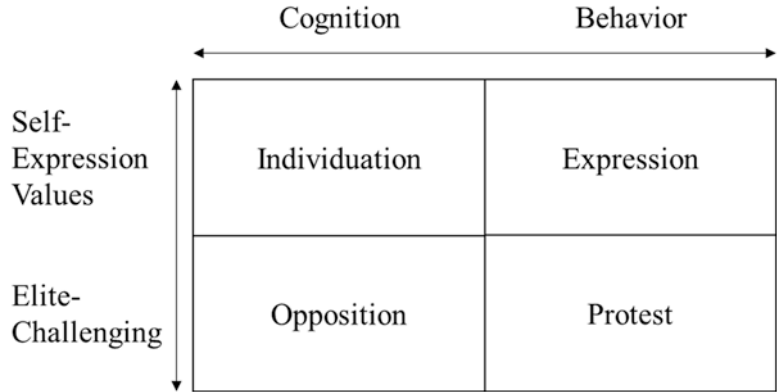
Hey you! Is there something worth belonging to.  
And can I pick it up for a song, or a diploma or a  
worthy cause. Well let me tell you that there's  
nothing wrong. It's just that ones like us will never  
belong.

Affective commitment is likely better connected to the emo punk subculture. One song title, "Our Commitment's a Sickness" by The Black Maria (2005) highlights the power of commitment as a cognition; it is so powerful that we may "hang ourselves up with our broken dreams." Congruent with collective efficacy/empowerment, Anti-Flag (2009a) sing in "We Are the One" about collective identity: "We are the one united under none. We are the one the ones to carry on." But, cognitions are only part of the psychological story, behaviors are key to building social capital.

Neighboring can help increase well-being in communities because of its prosocial nature and strong connection to sense of community (Perkins et al. 2002; Perkins and Long 2002). It is more informal than civic participation as a behavior (Perkins et al. 2002). Neighboring refers to when a community member helps another community member. These helping behaviors may be instrumental like watching someone's home or sharing a tool. They may be relational like asking for advice with community problems, helping newcomers get acquainted or acclimated, or providing emotional support to other community members. They also may be informational providing community members with access to new community information and building a new and larger network of contacts (Perkins et al. 2002; Talmage 2014b; Unger and Wandersman 1985). These networks of contacts may become crystalized in formal networks like block watches, neighborhood associations, or homeowner associations (Unger and Wandersman 1983) or lead to formal civic participation (Perkins et al. 1996).

Formal civic participation has gone by many names, such as citizen participation (e.g., Perkins et al. 2002), civic engagement (e.g., Putnam 1993, 2000), involvement (e.g., Talmage 2015), or engagement (e.g., Talmage 2015). Participation encompasses formal civically-oriented behaviors, such as involvement in voluntary associations, attending and speaking up in community

**Fig. 2.4** Foundational constructs emancipative psychological social capital



meetings, and voting (Perkins and Long 2002; Perkins et al. 2002; Talmage 2014b). Participation is particularly useful when looking to explain and tally involvement by ordinary citizens in voluntary associations rather than staff members (Perkins et al. 2002).

As mentioned earlier, care and help for others is a common trait of the punk rock ethos. Even in the pushing and shoving of the high energy mosh pit; when one person falls down, they are immediately helped back up. Punk rockers may appear to think there is a deterioration of such helping or care in society today. For example, Rise Against (2011) sings in the chorus of their song, “Help is on the Way,” “Help is on the way. (They said, they said). Help is on the way. (They said, they said).” As mentioned earlier, punk rockers are hoping for change.

One of the ways the punk rock movement has engaged in formal participation is through encouraging its audiences to vote and providing opportunities to register to vote at punk rock shows. Punks have set up websites and forums to discuss current social issues, and fanzines continue to communicate the punk rock ethos (Diehl 2007). However, the punk rock ethos is rarely consensus-building inclined outside of the walls of those forums and shows.

Though conceptualized as prosocial, the aforementioned consensus-seeking cognitions and behaviors are likely not the only psychological foundations of social capital. This brings us to our fourth and final quadrant of Fig. 2.2. Here, we zoom in on emancipative psychological capital.

Punk rock and previous theory and research are then used to construct this new addition to the psychological social capital framework discussed (see Fig. 2.3). The new emancipative psychological social capital framework mirrors Fig. 2.3 as seen in Fig. 2.4. The emancipative psychological constructs are superimposed onto two dimensions self-expression values and elite-challenging and cognition and behavior (like traditional psychological social capital). Emancipative psychological social capital is not to be misrepresented as an alternative paradigm of psychological social capital research but an add-on. Instead, emancipative psychological social capital is presented as a complementary and emergent field of inquiry in social capital and community well-being research.

### Emancipative Psychological Social Capital

*Good citizens need to learn that democracy is messy, inefficient, and conflict-ridden. (Theiss-Morse and Hibbing 2005, p. 227)*

This chapter carries onward with an emphasis on the need to provide pathways for the inclusion of all individuals as unique and important voices within communities. It takes on a psychological approach to emancipative social capital. Emancipative psychological social capital is first seen in the realm of self-expression values, such that an individual psychologically desires individuation (cognition) and expression (behavior). As indicated in Fig. 2.4, the emancipative thrust

of these forms of psychological social capital are revealed from the elite-challenging potential of individuation and expression termed opposition (cognition) and protest (behavior), respectively (also italicized in the figure). Again, this emancipative iteration works as an expansion to traditional psychological social capital theory. This framework offers an inclusive approach to understanding cognitions and behaviors that may appear to be more elite-challenging than consensus-building, but still have the potential to increase the well-being of communities.

Individuation has a long history in social and organizational theory and philosophy (e.g., Herzberg 1966; Mahler et al. 1975). Individuation refers to an individual's balance between separation from and connection to a social context. He or she can discover his or her *I* within a *we*. They have constructed an identity that is not welded in its entirety to others. Cognitively, an individual is able to perceive his or herself as a unique individual within a community and understand his or her own capacity for expression of his or her uniqueness (see Anderson and Sabatelli 1990). Individuation can include the incorporation and integration of multiple selves (Boulu-Reshef 2012). Individuation is a necessary component of life in communities. Howarth's (2001) comments: "We need to be in and of communities in order to realize a distinct sense of self, attachment, individuality and commonality" (p. 227).

Researchers have begun to investigate the empirical processes and outcomes of individuation. Individuals can become more individuated by interacting with and befriending others who hold different identities and backgrounds from them (Overby and Barth 2002); knowledge and learning appear key to individuation in research (Boulu-Reshef 2012). Individuation thus likely occurs by experiencing diversity. Recent research has indicated that individuation may help diverse groups optimize identification with their groups and increase their productivity (Swann et al. 2003a). Individuation can also lead to the understanding of others and breaking down of social stereotypes (Swann et al. 2003b). Therefore, individuation may be key for fostering community well-being, such that individuated persons

are more apt and able to work within diverse and complex community settings to improve their community for all persons.

The punk rock ethos holds a distinct inclination to individuation. The lead singer of Senses Fail, Buddy Nielson (2015), has stated, "All you need is already within you...I want you to experience this world." (Remember this call expects others to respect another's claim to experience this world as well). Concurrently, Memphis May Fire (MMF) states and sings, "true beauty lies beneath the skin." The lead singer, Matty Mullins (2015), of MMF continues to comment, "Every single person in this crowd is lovable, valuable, and worth it." Pop punkers, Midtown (2002), sing of the importance of loving and valuing one's self in their song, "Find Comfort in Yourself". They sing, "I'm never going back. I'm over feeling sorry so just deal with it. There's nothing wrong with that. Find comfort in yourself. I know that what you have's not what you are." Emo punk rockers, Weezer (2014) sing of the importance of personal uniqueness in their song, "I've Had It Up to Here":

Don't want to find myself homogenized. Don't want to become the very thing that I despised...  
Don't want to pander to the masses anymore.  
Don't need the whole wide world to love me...  
Don't want to be mass consumed. I'm not a happy meal.

Individuals want to be recognized as unique, and they want their expression of themselves to be valued and feel beloved. They want to be loved for being exactly who they are and want to be. These notions rest well with the claims of famous humanistic psychologies such as Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers (see Ford 1991).

Individuals who feel that they cannot express themselves or that self-expression is not valued may become de-individuated. De-individuation is a form of discrimination that is experienced when individuals feel they have lost their individual visibility within or commitment to a social context or group (i.e., organization, club, or community) (Marshall and Heslin 1975; Spears 2010). It occurs when an individual's motive is repressed or restrained. Notably, those who are less aggressive or exuberant in expressing them-

selves may be more likely to become de-individuated (Marshall and Heslin 1975). De-individuation on the individual level is a thoughtful departure from a social context because the individual feels he or she is not valued as a unique individual and cannot express his or herself.

A de-individuated person's awareness of his or herself as a unique individual in a social group has become diminished (Diener 1979, 1980; Festinger et al. 1952). De-individuated persons may withdraw from, forgo their former attachments to, or act out against their social contexts as a reaction to their feelings of being *lost in the crowd* (Marshall and Heslin 1975; Reicher 1984). Despite fostering innovation, de-individuation has consistently been linked to conformity by individuals in groups (see review by Spears 2010). More often, de-individuated persons may become the lost voices in community development efforts aimed to increase community well-being; their self-expression is missing.

Self-expression has been explicitly tied to community well-being. Inglehart and Baker (2000) contend, "While industrialization was linked with an emphasis on economic growth at almost any price, the publics of affluent societies placed increasing emphasis on quality-of-life, environmental protection, and self-expression" (Inglehart and Baker 2000, p. 21). In their global study, societies that are more oriented towards self-expression than survival display higher levels of health, subjective well-being, post-materialism, trust, tolerance, gender equality, and activism (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart 2003; Welzel 2010). For example, Welzel (2010) found that "self-expression values are associated with altruism...self-expression values go together with trust in people and peaceful collective action" (p. 152).

Self-expression appears to have a strong emancipative thrust (Welzel and Deutsch 2012), particularly because it is related to tolerance and honoring diversity (Inglehart and Baker 2000). Inglehart (2003) notes "The extent to which a society has an underlying culture of tolerance, trust, political activism, well-being, and the extent to which its people value freedom of

speech and self-expression is an even more powerful predictor of stable democracy than is overt support for democracy" (p. 54). When self-expression inhibited, this can be seen as discrimination. Discrimination is the overarching term used to describe thoughts and actions that subdue freedom by all in society. Ledwith (2011) describes discrimination as "the process by which people are disadvantaged by their social identity and therefore given unequal access to rights, resources, opportunities and power" (p. xii). Therefore, self-expression values not discrimination appear key to the survival of democratic institutions (Inglehart 2003; Inglehart and Norris 2003).

Socially, self-expression is important, but how can self-expression be defined psychologically? Welzel et al. (2003) write, "The striving for self-expression is latent in each person: it follows from the simple fact that human beings are self-conscious" (Welzel et al. 2003, p. 347). Self-expression consists of individual actions that highlight an individual's feelings, preferences, thoughts, and values (Kim and Sherman 2007). Resnik (2003) defines self-expression as the demonstration of "a person's unique knowledge, creativity, insight, skill, or genius" (p. 326). Self-expression may be seen, vocalized, or conveyed in other ways. Still, "self-expression requires freedom and choice" (Welzel et al. 2003, p. 347).

At the root of self-expression is Welzel and Inglehart's (2008) notion of individual empowerment, which occurs in societies with "people being able, motivated, and entitled to govern their lives" (p. 129). This individual empowerment can turn into collective empowerment (Perkins et al. 2002). Still, researchers and theorists debate whether self-expression behaviors are civic or *not* civic in nature (Welzel 2010). This is likely because, "Self-expression values emphasize personal autonomy, people who adopt these values should find the feeling of being agents in shaping their lives more important" (Welzel and Inglehart 2010, p. 50). Self-expression's autonomous nature likely leads it to be egalitarian in nature as well, such that individuals desire freedom of expression for themselves and others (Welzel and Inglehart 2010). Autonomy has been linked to

greater productivity, satisfaction, and personal fulfillment (Herzberg 1966; Sachau 2007). Therefore, self-expression is tied to greater feelings of agency and life satisfaction (Welzel and Inglehart 2010; Welzel et al. 2003). Finally, self-expression is tied to cognitive mobilization, which is roughly defined as the utilization of social information and human intellect for positive social change (Welzel and Inglehart 2010). Therefore, when individuals are able to express themselves, community well-being increases.

Punk rockers have long spoken out against the oppression of self-expression and for the need for societies to honor and cultivate self-expression. Stretch Arm Strong (2003) sings, “Express yourself! I’m expressin’ with my full capabilities; and now I’m livin’ in correctional facilities, ‘cause some don’t agree with how I do this.” Consistently, Staring Back (2002a) sings of the need for an open heart as opposed to obdurateness in honoring self-expression, “And I am waiting with open heart. And can you hear me? I’m not that far, to impose a new method of expression, with half the gap to tread. We’ll throw aside expectation.” It appears that punk rock’s aura of revolt against rules is a consequence of the social oppression of self-expression (see O’Hara 1999); hence, punk rock has positioned itself as a movement of questioning of the elite-driven status quo through opposition and protest.

Opposition and protest can be seen as the elite-challenging forms of individuation and expression, respectively. Opposition is often perceived as an overt and behaviorally based, but they can be hidden and more covert (Greco Morasso 2008). Opposition can be looked at the release of one’s “innate compassion” (Scott and Hart 1971, p. 255), which may antagonize conforming to social norms (Goldsmith et al. 2006; Willis 1963). Nonconformity can result from the awareness of the opportunity to and the decision to dissent (Kimball and Hollander 1974). When social norms are perceived to be harmful, individuals are more likely to disagree, dissent, and not conform (Packer 2008).

Opposition can be loyal, such that one’s opposing opinions, interests, and actions are not undertaken to destroy interpersonal trust or harm others (Sullivan and Transue 1999). Loyal oppo-

sition has often been measured or conceptualized as the institutionalization of dissent (Gerken 2014). Gerken (2014) describes the loyalty of dissenters as such: “Dissenters have always understood that those in power pay more attention to a loyal opposition than to a disloyal one. That’s why the dissenters’ trope is to affirm their membership in the community by waving a flag or invoking the Constitution or affirming their citizenship” (p. 1981). Loyal opposition has been tied to civil disobedience of the nonviolent nature and has been suggested to help prevent violence from emerging in civilly disobedient behaviors (Keeton 1964). Loyal opposition does not mean civic disloyalty, but it is a position that carries a great deal of risk of being wrong because it is a counter-position (Ozick 1995; Smith 1999). Gerken (2014) writes of the general position of the loyal opposition: “Once one focuses on rights, rather than structure, as the means for securing a loyal opposition, diversity emerges as the natural measure of our success” (p. 1969). The risk of loyal opposition falls in line with Covey’s (2008) notion of communicating intentions in building trust. He writes:

We also tend to judge others’ intent based on our own paradigms and experience. Our perception of intent has a huge impact on trust. People often distrust us because of the conclusions they draw about what we do. It is important for us to actively influence the conclusions others draw by ‘declaring our intent’ (p. 76).

Thus in the community context, Bacdayan (1974) writes of the mindsets of loyal opposers: “the welfare of the village remaining uppermost in everyone’s thinking” (p. 248).

From original punks like the Ramones with their song, “Blitzkreig Bop,” to populist punks like Simple Plan (2004) with their song, “Me Against the World,” punk rock has instructed audiences and listeners to not *fall in line* ascribing the tags of *rebel* or *nonconformist* to many punk rock fans (Diehl 2007; O’Hara 1999). A prime example occurs at punk rock shows when bands refuse to adhere to the time limits of their sets or return to play encores. At one punk rock festival, Craig Owens (2015), the lead singer of Chiodos, reminds the crowd that punk rock is

about “not settling for mediocrity.” Skepticism and questioning of even the mediocre are essential to the punk rock ethos (Beer 2014; Graffin 1998; Graffin and Olson 2010; O’Hara 1999). A quintessential example of the punk rock thought process comes from the old school punk rock band The Damned (1977) in their song, “Politics.” They sing, “My politics don’t sell clothes, and rights don’t sell my songs. If I vote for something, it’s something I can see.” Old school punk rocker’s NOFX (1994b) sing about the oppositional nature of the punk rock position in their song, “The Cause”: “Open, your eyes, don’t trust, these lies. What are we doing this for? The cause—we’re just doing it for the cause.”

Contrary to colloquialisms, most rebels are not without causes. They are expressing their own internal criticisms and dissent with a social group (Packer and Miners 2014). This expression, because of its elite-challenging nature, is termed in this chapter as protest, wherein individuals publicly voice their opposition to the elite-driven status quo. Protest can be triggered by suppression and repression by elite-driven governmental entities (Garay 2007).

Protest is very much a nonlinear and circular set of interactions between elites and non-elites alike (Norris and Cable 1994; Polletta and Jasper 2001). Polletta and Jasper (2001) outline the four phases of protest: (1) the creation of collective claims; (2) recruitment into movements; (3) strategic and tactical decision making; and, (4) movement outcome (p. 285). Liu and Gastardo-Conaco (2011) discuss the *raison d’être* and end to a means nature of protest. They suggest that “Once a public good is achieved through protest, typically the benefits are available to everyone” (p. 171). Finally, Norris and Cable (1994) contend that “protest and quiescence are cycles in the interaction of elites and non-elites that reflect social class conflict” (p. 247). (A caveat must be inserted here that social class conflict becomes difficult to understand in the punk rock movement, because many of its artists and audience members are financially privileged).

Protest is often a daily part of democracy (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Welzel and Deutsch 2012). Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001) write,

“Peaceful protest is increasingly enjoying greater legitimacy not only among government elites but also by public opinion...people are less inclined to toe the party line” (p. 280, 482). These authors contend that a shift to issue voting as opposed to party voting is emerging, perhaps, due to the rise of peaceful protest in society; however these shifts in public opinion and voting may undermine the success of peaceful protest. Still, non-militant and militant forms of protest that have endured in practice include petitioning, boycotting, lawfully assembling, unofficially striking, vandalizing, occupying, and other similar behaviors (e.g., Benson and Rochon 2004). Yet, protest strategies have also changed as we have seen with the rise in online activism (Ghobadi and Clegg 2015; Kelly Garrett 2006) and increased emphasis on emancipative values (Welzel and Deutsch 2012). Especially with young people, protest forms are not usually formal or represent anti-government or anti-social norms; they appear more informal and individualized in their daily lives (Harris et al. 2010).

Protest on the individual level is multifaceted in its drivers and consequences.

Dalton et al. (2010) write, “Individual protest is shaped by a complex interaction between the context of action [...] and the characteristics of individual citizens” (p. 52). Protest can be elicited through either of two pathways. First, protest can be initiated by efficacious individuals who are socially embedded. Second, protest can be initiated by cynical individuals who have grievances to air. Both pathways are dependent on identity and emotions (van Stekelenburg 2013; van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2013). Emotions are a part of all social action, especially protest; however, they do not render protestors irrational (Jasper 1998). Additionally, emotions towards the elite are important in initiating and sustaining protest, but emotions towards fellow protestors may be just as important (Jasper 1998). Benson and Rochon (2004) noted that interpersonal trust was important to motivate and intensify protest activity. Therefore, individuals through protest involvement develop a sense of collective identity with their cause and the community (Polletta and Jasper 2001). Consistently,



Garay (2007) found that, “At the individual level, participation in protest and involvement in community work increased individuals’ political activism” (p. 307).

Activism, protest, and provocation are nothing new to the punk rock movement. Around the time of 2012 Winter Olympics in Sochi, the band Pussy Riot was jailed in Russia for performing a song protesting Vladimir Putin in a famous Russian orthodox church. They were not released until December 2013 (Mullen et al. 2013).

Still today, the band Anti-Flag is likely the most prolific modern-day protest band of punk rock. At their heart, they protest power; they (2015) protest “manipulation, born out of total greed.” In their (2003) song “You Can Kill the Protestor, But You Can’t Kill the Protest,” they sing; “You can kill the protestor (can’t kill!). You can’t kill the protest. You can murder the rebel (murder!). You can’t murder the rebellion.”

RX Bandits (2003) wrote an entire anti-war album “The Resignation.” This album called for the resignation of USA’s President George W. Bush. They protested in their song, “Overcome (The Recapulation),” the decisions and actions of politicians to go to war. They sing, “We’ve had enough, yeah, of these politician’s wars. All we need right now is love. We’ve had enough of these military scoreboards. What we need right now is love, come on.”

Protest is also emotional and internalized. The punk band H2O (1999) sings of the internal courage and struggle to become a protestor in their song “Can I Overcome.” They sing:

Can I overcome these things I’m feeling, a coldness deep inside. The violence, the loss of friends, it’s got me desensitized. Why in the world, does the world keep trying me? I’ll try, don’t wanna hear all the hurt, I don’t wanna see. Why can’t you see? Sometimes I feel numb, I can’t feel no pain. Can I overcome, things I can’t explain?

Therefore, protest is the public expression of a person’s internal attributes and emotions as much as his or her socially-based attributes and emotions. The individual may also be expressing his or her best interests for increasing the well-being of others in his or her community and society.

## **Towards the Future of Social Capital as Field of Inquiry for Community Well-Being**

This chapter aimed to cover the gamut of social capital research, whilst positing a new emancipative psychological capital framework (see Fig. 2.2). Table 2.1 provides a list of the concepts and ideas covered in this chapter knowing that there is yet a large terrain needing to be addressed by the good work of others. Examples from theory, research, and punk rock have been utilized. Both cognitions and behaviors are presented as the roots of purposive action in communities. Though impossible in one stroke, future research, policy, and practice should consider the many facets explored throughout this chapter (see again Fig. 2.2). This chapter concludes with a discussion of considerations for social capital work, so that it may be used to honor not discriminate against the diversity of community needs, desires, individuations, and expressions of individuals to increase community well-being.

## **Inclusive Community Assessment, Evaluation, and Policy**

This chapter utilized punk rock and previous literature to construct a new emancipative psychological social capital framework. Whilst this work did not investigate specific indicators of individuation, expression, opposition, and protest empirically, there remain many avenues for exploration of such indicators in future publications surrounding both social capital and community well-being. This chapter has taken a more theory-building approach to inspire such empirical investigations in future assessments and evaluations of community well-being. Those looking to develop more macro-level social indicators for future community research and practice, would benefit from the works emancipative social capital thought leaders (e.g., Welzel et al. 2005). Those looking to develop more local-level social indicators would do well to develop their own localized indicators of individuation, opposition, self-expression, and protest. All of these more

**Table 2.1** Social capital concepts and ideas presented

Traditional social capital	Psychological social capital	Emancipative social capital	Emancipative psychological social capital
Bonding capital	Sense of community	Survival values	Individuation
Bridging capital	Affective commitment	Self-expression values	Opposition
Linking capital	Collective efficacy and empowerment	Elite-challenging action	Expression
Social ties and connections	Neighboring	Freedom	Protest
Interactions and associations	Formal participation	Inclusiveness	Diversity and inclusion

emancipative concepts have demonstrated their merit for inclusion in community assessment and evaluation toolkits. They must be cultivated, honored, and nurtured for democratic success (Inglehart 2003; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Welzel et al. 2005). Through research and practice, not just policy, such processes may be achieved.

Even still, policy-makers also would likely benefit from including more macro-social emancipative indicators of self-expression values (e.g., cultural celebrations) and elite-challenging actions (e.g., protest frequencies and attendance numbers) in their decision-making. Additionally, an empirical investigation of the inclusion of such indicators by policy makers is warranted. Policy-makers would also benefit from understanding these individuation and self-expression when making changes and looking to avoid resistance such as opposition and protest.

Diversity and the practice of inclusiveness are important to community development. In too many cases, however, they can become a political box to check on the path to legitimizing actions of the elite. Since the participatory turn of the 1980s in applied social science, a growing number of scholars and practitioners have called for more meaningful engagement with the stories and understandings of the participants in community development (Westoby and Dowling 2013). Additionally, there is a growing recognition that including meaningful participation by marginalized or oppressed communities is difficult work, requiring discipline, humility, and a posture of love (Westoby and Dowling 2013). Communities that experience various forms of discrimination

are rightly skeptical of outsiders who come promising development, resources, alleviation of suffering, or research leading to well-being (e.g. see Gaynor 2014; Mander 2006; Rist 2014; Smith 2012; Toomey 2011). Ensuring meaningful participation of communities, particularly those who have experienced marginalization or oppression, requires a commitment and perhaps even a worldview that sees participatory practice as essential to community well-being (Westoby and Dowling 2009). These issues must be assessed and evaluated for a better understanding of community well-being.

### **Inclusive Community Development Research and Practice**

At this juncture, more breadth and depth is still needed regarding our understandings of social capital to improve our community development research and practice and thus improve the well-being of our communities. Future community well-being research and practice might benefit from more radical and inclusive approaches. For example, an exploration of social capital's parallels with Freire's (2000) critical consciousness is of merit to examine how critically and collectively communities can increase trust and sense of solidarity to better community well-being. In order to achieve emancipation from oppressive and marginalizing social forces, Freire (2000) argued that we must engage in a process of conscientization. That is, we must become "critically aware of the structural forces of power which shape people's lives as a precondition for critical

action for change” (Ledwith 2011, p. xi). Parallel to that observation is the potential for social capital discourse to be used to justify neoliberal capitalism and power relations that undermine the aspirations of community well-being. The political nature of social capital must be considered; perhaps, more critical epistemologies are needed.

What social capital lacks in overt political aim, emancipative social capital has in the expressed implication of *freedom from existing bondage*. A socio-political analysis is thereby implied by the very name of the phenomenon. Accordingly, for social capital to have the emancipative thrust that Welzel et al. (2005) describe, we must ask, “From what does this social capital free?” In relation to the aims of community well-being, the needs and desires of a community being fulfilled, emancipative social capital must attend to the individual and collective sources of bondage preventing such fulfillment. This approach has parallels to Sen (1999) and Nussbaum’s (2011) work to articulate the Capabilities Approach that attaches evaluation of quality of life to one’s freedom to do what one has reason to value doing.

Sen (1999) describes the capability to respond to one’s desires and needs as freedom. He argues that freedom is more than doing what one would have done had that person had alternatives. Elsewhere Sen (1999) uses the example of a man who is malnourished because he is fasting and a man who is malnourished because he has no access to food. Their current situations may produce similar “functionings” in the form of hunger from not eating, but their capability to choose otherwise is not equal. Sen’s (1999) illustration raises the point that when we choose a normative political value, such as equality, we must further articulate, “equality of what?” Nussbaum (2011) takes the argument even further by articulating ten specific central capabilities that a society must minimally protect in order to be considered just. Both Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2011) rely on the public deliberation and democratic process for some part of the articulation and ranking of various capabilities. This line of thinking has implications in the context of community well-being: which needs and desires should be ful-

filled and how do we choose among diverse needs and desires if or when they are at odds?

Two forms of community development practice speak directly to these concerns: Dialogical Community Development and Radical Community Development. Westoby and Dowling (2009) describe Dialogical Community Development (DCD) as “a practice of dialogue that embraces depth, re-imagines community as hospitality, and enfold[s] the work within a commitment to solidarity” (p. 14). They specifically call for the privileging of social responses to social challenges over the sorts of technical solutions that are so often sought. Accordingly, they further advocate depth of relationship, connectedness, and a “social practice of solidarity and political contestation” (Westoby and Dowling 2009, p. 16). Westoby and Dowling (2009) further assert the centrality of story-telling as well as story-hearing to DCD as part of the practice of hospitality. In the encounter of the other implied by hospitality, curiosity is privileged over certainty. “Embedded within the idea of hospitality is a stance that constantly welcomes the intruder—in this case the unknown” (p. 216). It is the presence of the unknown that drives curiosity, prompting more dialogue and more listening. DCD is a practice that requires skills, patience, and a trust in people. Westoby and Dowling (2013) conclude, “the onward journey is infused with ownership and mutuality, expressed through statements such as ‘I’m not sure either, but I’m confident *we* can work through this together”” (p. 157, emphasis original). Dialogue, then, is a specific process, with specific elements (Yankelovich 2009; Zediker and Stewart 2009). Perhaps dialogue is much more crucial than consensus or protest in promulgating social capital.

When the difficult preconditions of dialogue cannot be met, some argue for a more radical approach to social transformation. Radical Community Development (RCD) is one such approach. Ledwith (2011) describes RCD as that which “is committed to the role of community development in achieving transformative change for social and environmental justice, and develops analysis and practice which move beyond local symptoms to the structural causes of oppres-

sion” (p. xv). These aims are achieved through the Freirean engagement of a process of critical consciousness leading to critical action (Ledwith 2011). While the aim of RCD is to usher in the conditions necessary for dialogue, RCD privileges the empowerment of marginalized and oppressed individuals and communities (Ledwith 2011). The processes of RCD center on the self-expression of marginalized and oppressed communities, acknowledging that the very process of finding one’s voice and speaking truth to power is not only an elite-challenging behavior, but also emancipative in its practice. Indeed, the very act of speaking publicly about the injustices one has faced can create social capital and spark social transformation. These notions should not be overlooked in future research and practice using emancipative social capital and especially emancipative psychological social capital.

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## Conclusion

This chapter has presented a high-level overview of four specific research trajectories centered on social capital. Punk rock was used as a vehicle to better understand these multiple social capital trajectories. Traditional models of social capital have served us well in understanding the strength of social ties and interactions in promulgating community well-being. These models have been deconstructed to the psychological levels where sense of community, collective efficacy/empowerment, neighboring, and participation were showcased as important cognitions and behaviors that lead to greater individual and community well-being.

An alternative to traditional social capital, termed emancipative social capital, was presented as another pathway to community well-being. Community well-being was posited to rely on self-expression values and elite-challenging activities. These values and activities were deconstructed then to the individual-level. Punk rock, in particular, was used to construct a new emancipative psychological social capital framework. Community well-being was proposed to be built upon individuation and self-expression among

individuals. Additionally, elite-challenging forms such as opposition and protest by individuals were connected to well-being.

In the end, the hope is that this chapter has brought to light uncommon but important notions regarding social capital and its role in community well-being. Each individual and community can benefit from seeking out and honoring the self-expression of others, even when such expression is in opposition to the status quo. Focus and action on the inclusion of all persons in a community’s development story is likely the best and most punk place for individuals and communities to start their journeys toward greater well-being. So, for all of you now punk rock aficionados who made it to the end of this work, thank you, rock on, and power to the peaceful!

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# The ART of Hope: Healing the Wounded City

# 3

Derek Cook

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## Introduction

Calling itself the “Heart of the New West,” the city of Calgary, nestled up against the foothills of the western Canadian Rocky Mountains, is a uniquely vibrant community in a period of coming of age. Relatively young, it was established just over a hundred years ago at the confluence of two rivers in the heart of what was once the Blackfoot Confederacy. Now home to 1.2 million people, it thrives on a dose of youthful energy fuelled by migration to the jobs associated with the oil industry for which Calgary plays host to many of its head offices. Tied as it is to the price of oil, the fortunes of the city tend to shift as unpredictably as the warm chinooks that spill over the mountains and then just as quickly disappear.

Despite a booming economy and decades of dedicated work by a host of organizations, poverty in Calgary has persisted. Yet, if ever there was a city in which general prosperity should exist, it would conceivably be this one. In fact, the perception across the county is just that, and this perception is what draws people to move in unprecedented numbers, swelling the population

and boundaries of the city in ever expanding suburbs.

Yet growth comes at a cost. In addition to the normal pressures of a rapidly growing demand for new infrastructure and services, and the quickly escalating cost of living, the challenge of creating a community in this context is just as daunting. Some have dubbed Calgary “the ATM of Canada” as people move with a short-term objective of making money, but not necessarily with a commitment to remaining permanently.

In this context, poverty reduction work presents some inherent challenges. The first is the perception that poverty does not really exist in the city, or if it does, then the simple act of securing one of the plentiful jobs should be a quick route out of it. The other challenge is the weaker social ties people may experience in the city due to their relatively recent arrival and lack of connections to and in a new community. As a result, poverty often seems hidden, and has not been seen to be a high public priority, apart from efforts to address its most visible manifestation – homelessness. That began to change in 2010.

The 2010 municipal election was hotly contested due to the departure of the long-standing mayor. While the mayoral race initially appeared to be shaping up as a two-person contest between a conservative and a liberal candidate, a business professor from one of Calgary’s universities entered the race and began to challenge the political establishment. Young, educated and

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progressive, this professor, Naheed Nenshi, laid out a ten point platform for voters; poverty reduction was among the ten points. To the surprise of many, Mr. Nenshi won and immediately set about to implement his ten point agenda. This was the birth of a significant initiative to address poverty in the city, the Calgary Poverty Reduction Initiative (CPRI). This chapter is intended to provide the conceptual framework for an alternative approach to poverty reduction that emerged from the work of the CPRI.

In the mind of the Mayor, and those assembled to develop and lead the CPRI, what would be required to successfully address poverty would be a shift in the way the issue is approached. While the community has been more or less effective in supporting people living in poverty, and in many cases moving them out, it has been less effective in addressing the factors that lead to poverty. Uninterested in merely alleviating the conditions of poverty, Mayor Nenshi aimed to take a system-wide view to create a strategy that tackles the underlying roots of poverty. Spurred on by the success of the city's Ten Year Plan to End Homelessness, he sought a "big idea" that could make a significant impact on poverty, similar to the way the concept of "housing first" had radically altered the approach to homelessness. With the city having set a goal to end homelessness within 10 years, Mayor Nenshi was convinced similar progress could be made with the issue of poverty. With this vision and mandate, the CPRI was launched in 2012.

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### **Abundance, Resilience and Trust: A New Framework**



In seeking a new approach, rather than beginning by defining poverty in terms of income or populations, the initiative began instead by articulating the dimensions of poverty. These dimensions were identified as scarcity, vulnerability and fear. Reframing poverty involved focusing on the opposite conditions which were identified as Abundance, Resilience and Trust (ART). Creating the conditions of abundance, resilience and trust, it was believed, would result in the eradication of the conditions of scarcity, vulnerability and fear. These ART principles became the guiding conceptual framework for the initiative and are explored in the following sections.

### **Abundance: The Promise of Enough for All**

Scarcity and poverty would seem to be inextricably linked, and so an understanding of this foundational condition is a good starting point for a discussion about poverty. The idea of scarcity is deeply embedded within western society; indeed, the field of economics is premised on the notion that resources are scarce, and wants (needs) unlimited. Accordingly, economics understands the structure of the economy to be a function of the way society allocates (rations) its limited resources to meet an unlimited pool of needs. In a capitalist society, it is the free market that serves as the mechanism for allocating those scarce resources.

As a social organizing principle, the premise of scarcity frames not only the economy, but also social relationships. Where resources are perceived to be scarce and needs unlimited, social relationships become viewed as a competition, a zero-sum game with winners and losers. One of the consequences of this zero-sum game mentality of scarcity is that it sets up a divisive "us" vs. "them" dynamic. By dividing society in this way, we become able to speak about "the poor" as though they are a distinct group of people, and much effort goes into defining what it means to be among "the poor" and who "the poor" in fact are. This has traditionally been the starting point for many efforts at addressing poverty. This

approach, however, has several conceptual limitations. At best it produces acts of charity where those who are “not-poor” provide some form of redistributive aid to “the poor” or we work to make the losers more competitive so that they can eventually be winners in the social game. At worst it pits factions of society against each other, reinforcing social divisions and undermining conceptions of the common good.

While much effort has been expended trying to achieve a better redistribution of our scarce resources, what is rarely questioned is the box we put around our resources in the first place. There are a few people, though, who have challenged the very premise of scarcity. The theologian, Walter Brueggemann, for example, cites scarcity as contrary to the spiritual narrative (Brueggemann 1999). What if, he suggests, contrary to our current understanding of economics, we actually live in a society where resources are not scarce but unlimited, and it is in fact our wants and needs that are finite? This approach turns the field of economics on its head.

Beyond a purely theological argument, this upside down view of economics is shared by a number of noted economists and other theorists. Keynes, for example, wrote of the “Post-Scarcity Society,” arguing that scarcity has in effect ceased to exist as the consumption needs of society can already be fully met, particularly through advances in technology. According to Keynes, the fundamental problem facing society is not limited resources (scarcity), but the opposite: that our productive ability has far outstripped our capacity to consume. The challenge of capitalism is not, then, the allocation of scarce resources, but rather increasing the propensity to consume to keep pace with our productive capacity (Chernomas 1984).

If the challenge facing western society then is not one of limited resources, how does scarcity arise? Hoescele (2010) argues that scarcities are not natural, but created conditions that arise from human institutions that establish restrictive monopolies over goods, services and resources. This line of reasoning is also taken up by sociologist Adel Daoud who makes the important distinction between absolute and relative scarcity. In

very rare instances, he argues, are we confronted with situations of *absolute* scarcity, where there are simply insufficient resources to satisfy needs. In most instances, we face a condition of *relative* scarcity that arises from structures that restrict access to resources that are abundantly present (Daoud 2011).

The concept of relative scarcity is really just a restatement of the economic principle of *effective demand*, which points out the obvious that in a market economy, demand exists only when the person demanding has the money to purchase what is being sought. For those without purchasing power, demand does not exist, even though the demanded good may be essential for life (such as food). The market, however, is incapable of responding, not due to a lack of resources, but due to the structures that dictate how the resource is allocated. From that perspective, the optimistic notion that “*a rising tide will lift all boats*” is fundamentally flawed, because it focuses efforts on rising the tide rather than providing access to the boats. Thus, if we want to get to the heart of scarcity, we need to examine not our stock of resources or productive capacity, but our institutions and structures that create scarcity by restricting access.

Xenos (1989) traces the modern origins of scarcity to the emergence in the eighteenth century of “emulative consumption” whereby scarcity was intentionally created through the class-based introduction of luxury goods. Later, mass production allowed those goods to become generally available, requiring the continued development of new rounds of scarcity with the introduction of new products of desire which in turn fuelled production. The problem of scarcity, therefore, is not one of limited resources, but of institutional arrangements designed to create profit by fuelling demand and limiting supply when our productive capacity has outstripped our collective capacity to consume.

Early economic theorists such as Smith and Hume viewed this process as an important driver of progress. Others are less positive. Daoud questions the power dimensions of scarcity, asking “*What if scarcity, as a phenomenon in society, can be created and manipulated by actors to*

*serve some vested interest?*” (Daoud 2011, p. 29). Indeed, Keynes noted that the ability of society to effectively meet its needs was reducing the real value of capital to zero which would have drastic consequences for the owners of capital. From that perspective, the intentional creation of scarcity to maintain the relative value of capital serves a specific class interest (Chernomas 1984). This argument is supported by McKnight and Block (2010) who refer to the effort by American industry beginning in the 1920s to spread “the gospel of consumption” through advertising as a means of increasing demand to thwart economic stagnation and a radicalized working class. This sparked a cycle of consumption based on desires that can never be fulfilled, because the continued progress of the market depends on the continued generation of new needs and wants.

Scarcity and the rise of the consumer society are thus closely linked. According to McKnight and Block, one of the impacts of this cycle of consumption is the gradual encroachment of the market on more and more aspects of daily life, and the progressive deskilling of the community that results. They state: “*Consumer society begins at the moment when what was once the province or function of the family and community migrates to the marketplace. It begins with the decision to purchase what might have been homemade or neighbourhood produced.*” (McKnight and Block 2010, p. 27).

Once households and communities have become deskilled and dependent on the market for a variety of things, scarcity ensues. It is for these reasons that McKnight and Block refer to modern society as “incompetent”, having lost the ability to perform basic tasks outside the market. Once we become dependent on the market, we become vulnerable; and any degree of exclusion from the market results in a continuum of scarcity, the extreme of which can be called poverty.

This scarcity manifests itself in many forms beyond merely money. Scarcity also arises in terms of time as we work more to earn the income necessary to purchase what once we produced ourselves or to acquire the new consumer goods introduced by the market. This scarcity embeds itself even deeper in our society, as we develop

scarcity in our relationships. Working more, we tend to have less time for family and community. Further, Block and McKnight point out that whereas families and neighbours once provided support and caring to each other, we now rely on professional services and surrender even that most intimate relationship to the market.

This culture of scarcity then begins to affect how we define ourselves. Increasingly dependent on the market for consumer goods and services, we come eventually to define our relationships with each other as market-based as well, eroding the very idea of the common good. As the market encroaches on more and more aspects of our lives our identity shifts from that of “citizen” to “consumer”. Of even more consequence is our shift in identity from “citizen” to “taxpayer” as we identify our relationship to society as a contractual one, rather than one of reciprocal rights and obligations. Thus we enter a scarcity even of democracy, evidenced by plunging voter turnout rates, trust in government, and other measures of civic participation.

In summary, then, it is coming to be recognized that scarcities do not exist due to an actual lack of resources, but due to institutional structures that restrict access to resources that exist in abundance. Through the market, relationships are structured in such a way that needs are generated and access restricted, thereby creating demand and a condition of artificial scarcity that drives the market precisely because the desires created by the market can never be fulfilled. This in turn creates further scarcities of time and relationships. The paradox of the modern age therefore is that while consumer society promises abundance, it thrives on scarcity, requiring such scarcity in order to reproduce itself. Scarcity thus co-exists with abundance, and poverty emerges as the extreme end of a continuum of restricted access.

### **Prosperity: The Case of Calgary**

We confront then a fundamental paradox which is most acutely experienced in boomtowns like Calgary. Calgary exists in a condition of perpetual “Prosperity” where seeming abundance and scarcity co-exist and feed off each other. Indeed, if a rising tide were to lift all boats, it would have done so in Calgary over the past 15 years. If the

solution to poverty was simply economic growth and the ability to “get a job” poverty would have long since ceased to exist. During the middle part of the 2000s, Calgary was experiencing an unprecedented economic boom. By 2006, the height of the boom, annual GDP growth in the city topped out at almost 12%. During that same year, the labour force expanded by 7.3%, employment rose by 8.1% and the unemployment rate fell to 3.2% precipitating an acute labour shortage (City of Calgary 2006). As a result, income also rose, with average individual income growing by 7.1% over the previous year (City of Calgary 2009). With the seeming promise of prosperity, increasing numbers of new residents were drawn to the city and the population grew by over 25,000 people in 2006 alone (City of Calgary 2006).

While such apparently unbridled prosperity led some to assume that issues of economic stress and disadvantage had largely disappeared, the reality was far different. Although economic growth had certainly lowered the number of people living in poverty, the number still remained stubbornly high at 112,000, a poverty rate of 11.4% (City of Calgary 2009). Further, according to some measures, the economic boom had actually made things worse. As people flocked to the city, rents skyrocketed as the apartment vacancy rate plunged to almost 0% (City of Calgary 2009). According to an exhaustive social survey conducted during that time almost half (49%) of city residents were concerned about not saving money, 40% were concerned about having too much debt, and over one-third (36%) about not having enough money for housing. Most surprisingly, one-in-five households were concerned about not having enough money for food (City of Calgary 2007). Meanwhile, 34,000 people relied on assistance from the Calgary Interfaith Food Bank, almost half (40%) of whom were earning wages (City of Calgary 2009).

Shortly thereafter, things came to a crashing halt. The financial crisis of 2008 plunged the city into a recession. The unemployment rate almost doubled between 2008 and 2009, while incomes fell. Interestingly, however, the poverty rate was

actually marginally lower in 2009 at 11.0% compared to 11.4% in 2006. Meanwhile, apartment rents began to fall as the vacancy rate once again eased up (City of Calgary 2011). Thus, while the economy had deteriorated, some measures of the stress that had been created by the boom improved.

In 2009, the social survey conducted in 2006 was replicated. While it might have been expected that concerns about financial issues would have increased due to the recession, in fact levels of concern were fairly stable. Concern about not saving money rose slightly from 49% to 53%, while concern about debt rose marginally from 40% to 41%. Meanwhile, the percentage concerned about not having enough money for housing actually dropped from 36% to 31%, while the percent concerned about not having enough money for food remained virtually unchanged at one-in-five households (City of Calgary 2010).

Other measures of financial stress also showed improvement after the boom; whereas in 2006 households in Alberta were spending 101% of income, by 2009 this fell to just 92%. The easing of financial stress was most pronounced at the bottom of the income ladder. Whereas in 2006, the bottom 60% of the population was spending more than it was earning, with the bottom 20% spending 127% of their income, by 2009, only the bottom 20% of the population was overspending, and the rate of overspending dropped from 127% to 112%. Meanwhile the top 20% continued to have savings at virtually the same rate, with income exceeding expenditures by 12% and 13% respectively (Statistics Canada 2007, 2010a).

Median household expenditures as a percentage of income by income Quintile, Alberta

Quintile	2006 (%)	2009 (%)
Total	101	92
Lowest	127	112
Second	106	95
Third	102	92
Fourth	96	91
Highest	88	87

Source: Statistics Canada. Survey of Household Spending, 2006 and 2009

It would appear, therefore, that the economic boom which flaunted the seeming abundance of the city benefitted only a portion of the population. For perhaps the majority, the boom created increased stress and was experienced more as a condition of scarcity than abundance. This is strikingly evidenced by examining the differential pattern of income growth within the city. In Calgary, over an almost 30 year period (1982–2010), the average total income of the bottom 90 % of earners rose by just 6 % while the income of the top 1 % of earners in Calgary grew by 148 %, a gain of over half a million dollars compared to a mere \$1970 for the rest. In 2006, at the height of the boom, the income of the top 1 % peaked at just under \$1.3 m, while the bottom 90 % saw their income virtually unchanged at \$37,202 (Statistics Canada 2012). It is little wonder then that the experience of financial stress was so broadly shared during the economic boom despite the apparent prosperity evident across the city.

Average total income of top 1 % and bottom 90 % of income earners, Calgary CMA

	Top 1 %	Bottom 90 %	Bottom as % of top
1982	\$385,333	\$35,030	9.1 %
2007	\$1,291,845	\$37,202	2.9 %
2010	\$955,100	\$37,000	3.9 %
\$ change	\$569,767	\$1970	
% change	148 %	6 %	

Statistics Canada (2012). Custom data table 204-0002 High income trends of tax filers in Canada, provinces and census metropolitan areas (CMA), specific geographic area thresholds, annual (1,2,3,4)

In the face of increasing costs and relatively stagnant income with little opportunity for savings, it is not surprising that levels of debt began to rise. An analysis of non-mortgage consumer debt revealed that Calgary had an above average level of debt, and a significant number at risk of default. Interestingly, this debt risk was distributed across the city, not just limited to those lower-income areas where it might be expected. Rather it extended throughout the newer middle income suburbs as well.

As the costs associated with the boom outpaced income growth, the level of stress for most of the population rose. In addition to taking on more debt, people also began taking on more work. In 2006, Alberta reported the highest average hours worked per week as well as the highest percentage of workers working overtime. Alberta also reported the second-largest number of multiple job-holders in the country. Alberta (and Calgary) also reported the highest labour force participation rate in the country (Statistics Canada 2010b).

For many people, taking on more work in the face of acute financial stress, the effect of the boom was not only a relative material scarcity, but also a scarcity manifested in compromised time, health and community connections. According to the 2006 social survey the most important issue of concern to Calgarians was stress, with over half (58 %) stating they were somewhat or very concerned about their stress level. At the same time, almost half (47 %) reported concerns about a lack of sleep. Perhaps this may have contributed to the fact that over one-third (37 %) also reported a concern about not contributing enough to their community (City of Calgary 2007).

Scarcities, therefore, exist in many dimensions, despite the appearance of overwhelming abundance. In the case of Calgary, the challenge is clearly not a scarcity of resources. The city enjoys a vibrant economy, relatively high average income, and low unemployment. Yet, scarcity persists due to differential access to the resources of the community which in turn create new dimensions of scarcity. While poverty has proved persistent despite the abundance of the community, it exists at the far end of a continuum of scarcity that affects a very broad swath of the population.

### **Inequality: The Real Root of the Problem**

The real root of the prosperity - poverty paradox, therefore, is not scarcity but inequality. Scarcity, as we have seen, is not a condition of a lack of resources but of differential access to resources. As previously discussed, the inequality created by this restricted access was viewed by some



early theorists as a positive driver of innovation and growth. The fact that the consumption needs created by consumer society can never be fulfilled is precisely the dynamic that leads to progress. This dynamic requires a certain level of inequality in order to function. Increasingly, however, the negative effects of such inequality are beginning to be discussed.

Inequality, it is coming to be realized, impacts the whole society, not just those at the bottom. In his recent book *The Spirit Level*, Richard Wilkinson chronicled the hidden impacts of inequality on all members of society. Social issues such as poor health, educational failure, mental illness, obesity, drug addiction, violence, teenage births and the weakening of community life are all several times more common in societies that exhibit greater inequality and at all levels within those societies (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009).

The status competition fueled by inequality fails to drive progress beyond a certain point, not only because it eventually marginalizes increasing segments of the population, but also because it fails to satisfy the real needs of human beings. In *The Economics of Abundance*, economist Wolfgang Hoeschele (2010) compares consumerism to an addiction.

*The phenomenon that some people cannot be happy even at a high level of material consumption (is) not a justification for more consumption, but rather (is) a pathology akin to alcoholism or over-eating (the Greeks called this “malaise of the soul” pleonexia). An alcoholic’s life cannot be improved by providing them with more alcohol, and an obese person’s life cannot be improved by providing them with unlimited food. These people’s lives can only be improved by curing them of their addictions. So it is with “consumptives” or “pleonexics” who think they are suffering from scarcity even if they are consuming endless commodities. What these people are lacking is not the addictive substance, but other resources, both material and non-material, needed for dealing effectively with the challenges of life ...*

When we come to the challenge of poverty reduction within the context of consumer society, we must ask the fundamental question about the goal of strategies to reduce poverty. Is the goal of poverty reduction work simply to make those at

the lower end of the income spectrum better consumers? Or is it to re-conceive society in a way that enhances the well-being of all, and in so doing, also addresses the issue of poverty?

### **An Abundance Approach to Poverty**

The concept of abundance provides one promising way to approach a new vision of society. By challenging the notion of resource scarcity, it allows us to focus on the systemic factors that create conditions of relative scarcity. As we stated earlier, the concept of abundance turns traditional economics on its head by arguing that it is in reality our wants and needs that are limited and our resources that are unlimited. This flipped understanding allows us to approach the concept of poverty from either the starting point of needs or of resources.

If we begin from the standpoint of needs, Hoeschele’s concept of “pleonexia” would suggest that a radical shift in priorities is required in order to begin to address the problem of relative scarcity. While this may sound superficially like a call for those at the lower end of the income spectrum to simply want less, it is actually a more powerful critique about the fundamentally skewed allocation of resources. The skewing of resources away from basic needs to luxury goods is a function of the challenges of effective demand. In Calgary, for example, the lack of affordable housing does not arise primarily because of a lack of housing stock, or that affordable rental housing cannot be provided profitably. Rather, the challenge is that *more* profit can be made by constructing large single family homes, higher priced condominiums or converting existing rental units into condominiums than can be made by building smaller homes or more affordable rental units. Similarly, restrictions on the development of secondary suites that would increase the capacity of the city’s housing stock are maintained in the interests of protecting the property values of the propertied class. Once again, the fundamental issue is not a lack of resources, but institutional conditions that direct resources in a way that disadvantages those with the least power based on the consumption habits of the powerful.

Shifting demand by encouraging an attitude of abundance (I have enough) can be an important starting point for reducing the skewing impacts of effective demand. But is this realistic? Through the work of the Calgary Poverty Reduction Initiative, conversations with residents during the engagement process revealed a deep yearning for stronger community connections among people from across the socio-economic spectrum. There seems to be a growing recognition that consumption alone cannot substitute for authentic human relationships nurtured in community. If that yearning could be addressed, could it shift energy from productive/consumptive activity to more community-focused activity? While it is unrealistic to expect any program designed to shift attitudes to have any effect, providing a positive alternative to competitive consumption may be more fruitful.

McKnight and Block (2010) suggest the possibilities of an abundance approach that challenges our notions of “enough”. They discuss at length the hollowness and constraints of a consumer based “system-life” which they suggest people strain to leave behind, but lack creative alternatives. Those alternatives can be created by re-establishing the foundations of community and reclaiming them from the market. This action can not only free the human spirit but also unleash its latent resources and fundamentally address the scarcity inherent in consumer society. They argue that the building blocks of community that need to be re-established are gifts, associations and the practice of hospitality, all activities that have the power to capitalize on the inherent resources of community that remain un- or under-utilized, while providing opportunities for people to meet the real human needs for which they yearn.

This raises the second promising direction in a theory of abundance, that of addressing poverty through the perspective of resources. The mobilization of latent resources is the premise of abundance. This approach argues that the resources required for meeting the physical and social needs of the broad community already exist within the community but need to be mobilized

in new ways. This premise is strongly reflected in the emerging asset-based approach to community development which focuses on identifying and mobilizing the existing assets within every person and community, rather than fixating on their needs. Whereas focusing on needs is disempowering and typically results in an expert-driven (external) programmatic fix, asset-based community development assumes the presence of assets and increases the capacity of individuals and communities to use those assets for their own development.

### **Implications for Poverty Elimination**

What is suggested in asset-based approaches is that there exist latent resources within a community that are under-utilized and that can be mobilized for individual and collective benefit. This approach not only unleashes resources to meet community needs, it also shifts the power balance from “experts” to “citizens”. This begins the process of “re-skilling” and moving back towards a “competent community”, in the words of Block and McKnight, and opens up a powerful new suite of approaches for poverty reduction.

The mobilization of latent resources to meet community needs is recently finding new expression in what is being called “collaborative consumption” or “the sharing economy.” This new economic movement takes as its starting point the excess capacity latent throughout our systems that is an uncounted loss in our current approach to economic accounting. Mobilizing these latent resources suddenly frees resources that exist in the system but had been previously left idle.

In Calgary, there is significant pressure to legalize “secondary suites”, allowing for rental units to be developed within existing homes, thereby mobilizing the excess capacity latent within the city’s existing housing stock. Other examples include the rise of tool libraries that mobilize existing resources and by-pass the market, as well as local currencies that mobilize labour that might otherwise be idled by the market. Opportunities to unleash these community assets are now rapidly increasing due to the

advances in communications technology that allow for such sharing to occur in a timely manner. Not only do such initiatives increase access to existing resources, they also facilitate new social relationships, based as they are on sharing relationships rather than consumer-based ones.

Latent resources can also be mobilized through the development of cooperatives which have long been a tool for harnessing local resources in cases where the market fails to meet the needs of a community. Food coops, housing coops and financial coops have all stepped in to create value in communities that have otherwise been marginalized. Typically, coops also tend to provide higher quality employment which generates better income in the community, and also returns more of its profits to the community through dividend distributions to members. Coops are also important for building social infrastructure and mobilizing social resources as they are founded on democratic group processes and engagement.

Finally, community investment funds can be established to support local development by harnessing existing capital that might otherwise flow out of the community. The creation of “Opportunity Development Coops”, for example, allows communities to pool their resources to collectively invest in projects of benefit to the community. Similar to other kinds of coops, such investment vehicles create not only economic value, but social value as well.

As a key strategy for poverty reduction, therefore, abundance approaches address multiple root causes of poverty by challenging the premise of scarcity in a community. Such strategies recognize that resources exist within a community but are latent, or require an infrastructure to direct them to activities that generate social as well as economic value. Economic value is generated by increasing the productivity of the community’s collective resources, while social value is generated in the way in which those resources are mobilized. Central to this approach is an understanding of collective benefit through collective action. This brings us to the second pillar of the ART approach: resilience.

## **Resilience: My Neighbour’s Strength Is My Strength**

In addition to scarcity, equally fundamental to our world view is the concept of independence. The “self-made man” (or woman) is held up as the ideal. This is consistent with a scarcity-based capitalist economy that functions on the premise of an autonomous individual competing independently for scarce resources in a free market. Those who are not able to compete independently will be left behind, and poverty will result. In this world view, poverty and dependence are closely linked, and vulnerability is perceived as a threat to the achievement of independence. Independence and vulnerability are juxtaposed as opposing conditions. Reducing poverty, within this frame of reference, involves addressing the vulnerabilities that compromise the ability of the individual to compete independently. While on the surface, this appears to be an appropriate goal and strategy, like scarcity it is fraught with conceptual difficulties.

First, the independence narrative continues to feed into an “us” vs. “them” paradigm by proposing that with sufficient drive and skills, anyone should be able to achieve independence. The corollary of this argument is that the failure to achieve independence resides within the individual. Tate (2001) describes how this way of thinking reduces empathy for others and limits the potential responses to poverty by ascribing blame to those who find themselves in situations of poverty. Blame can be blatant in the characterization of the poor as “lazy” or more subtle in the deficit-based ideas of poverty that suggest lack of skills or education are the main causes of poverty. In both cases, the “fix” for poverty is an individual one, whereby something within the individual requires change in order for them to become more independent and thereby compete better in the marketplace. While education, skill-building and other such “human capital development” approaches are important, they ignore the structural realities within which people operate that limits their opportunities for independence regardless of their level of ability.

The risk of stigmatization of individuals can extend equally to groups. There is a tendency in poverty reduction work to identify “vulnerable populations” as the basis for strategic action. The risk of this approach, however, lies in the assumption that the characteristics of some members of a group apply to the entire group and thus stigmatizes all members of that group. It further implies that the source of vulnerability arises from the characteristics of the group itself rather than the unique social and historical circumstances in which members of that group may find themselves. For example, the fact that Aboriginal women face much higher rates of poverty than others is not due to any inherent Aboriginal or female characteristics. Rather, their vulnerability to poverty arises from their experience as Aboriginal women within the context of patriarchy, colonialism, racism and discrimination.

Not only does a vulnerable populations approach risk further stigmatization of groups of people that may already be marginalized, it can also inadvertently reinforce the power structure that has created that marginalization. Fineman (2010) points out that a strategic focus on specific vulnerable populations often sets up a competitive environment between those populations for funding and recognition. This dynamic ultimately weakens the respective position of each group viz. the power structure and further divides the community, rather than creating bonds of solidarity.

While the risk of stigmatization of individuals and groups is important, the deeper challenge with independence-building strategies, however, is the concept of independence itself. Not only is it unclear where the failure to achieve independence resides, it is equally unclear whether the condition of independence in fact exists. While it is simple to conceptually divide the world into dependent vs. independent actors, in reality, the lines between dependence and independence are very blurred. Much as we strive for independence, vulnerability is a universally shared human experience. Human beings all experience deep vulnerabilities that have physical, social and economic dimensions.

Physical vulnerability is the most basic form of vulnerability, and comes from the fact that we all share inherent bodily risk. Fineman notes that “*Human vulnerability arises from our embodiment, which carries with it the imminent or ever-present risk of harm, injury and misfortune*” (Fineman 2010, 267). The fact of our embodiment means that everyone experiences at least one period of dependence in their lives (childhood) and typically a second period of dependence in old age. Many people may also find themselves in a condition of dependence at some point in their adult life due to illness or disability.

Beyond our physical vulnerability, we also share a widespread social vulnerability. Humans require social connection, and isolation poses a deep threat to our mental and physical well-being. Those who are isolated tend to be at greater risk of poverty, while those in poverty often experience increasing isolation. In the 2009 Calgary social survey, the experience of being lonely was strongly correlated with income. Among those with the lowest income (\$30,000 or less), 40% reported concerns about loneliness, compared to only 16% among those with the highest incomes. At the same time, one-third of those with middle incomes (\$30–\$60 k) also reported concerns about loneliness (City of Calgary 2010).

Although loneliness is a problem on its own, it has consequences beyond just mental health. Loneliness indicates a lack of connection to community, and it is this lack of social connection that increases one’s vulnerability. In Calgary, the fact that many people have moved to the city from somewhere else means that connections to community and informal support networks may be weaker. As a consequence, when unexpected events occur, a person may have fewer social supports and resources on which to draw to prevent what could be a manageable life-event from spiralling into a crisis that could result in poverty or even homelessness.

In addition to the physical and social dimensions of vulnerability, economic vulnerability is also extremely widespread. The indicators of financial vulnerability referred to earlier suggest that there is a band of financial vulnerability

above the poverty line that far exceeds the poverty rate. This is supported by longitudinal data that shows that while chronic poverty is rare, intermittent poverty is much more common. In fact, over a 5 year period, 14% of the population of Alberta had cycled in and out of poverty, compared to 5% that had been in poverty the entire 5 years (Statistics Canada 2010b). This lends support to the idea that there is a wide swath of financial vulnerability above the poverty line from where people tend to cycle in and out of poverty.

Not only are many people experiencing levels of financial stress that put them at risk of poverty, a significant proportion of the population has a personal experience of poverty. According to a 2014 survey of Calgarians, over one-third (38%) of the adult population reported that they had experienced poverty at some point in their lives (HarGroup 2014). So, while at any one time the poverty rate in the city may be relatively low, the actual experience of poverty is much greater. Thus, while we may conceive of poverty in terms of “poor” and “non-poor”, this simple distinction ignores the fact that the poor are not a distinct group of people, but a much larger and amorphous segment of the population to which we all belong, either as those who have experienced poverty or those who are at risk of it. We are all to some extent vulnerable and shift between conditions of dependence and independence throughout our lives.

### **Universal Vulnerability: A New Framework**

If we understand vulnerability to be a fundamental human condition, a focus on that vulnerability is an important step forward in the struggle against poverty by moving beyond an “us/them” approach and broadening the conversation. If we are all vulnerable, then poverty is a condition that affects us all, and we all consequently have a stake in its eradication. Addressing the sources of our collective vulnerability thus becomes the critical focus of poverty reduction work. In an effort to focus on sources of vulnerability rather than poverty or vulnerable populations, the CPRI developed a vulnerability framework that identified four critical sources of vulnerability that increase the risk of poverty.

- **Personal Vulnerability:** Personal vulnerability refers to the characteristics of an individual that increase their vulnerability to poverty and tend to be related to a higher incidence of poverty. Some of these vulnerabilities are amenable to change, such as education, language, low skill levels or addictions. Others, such as chronic mental or physical illness or disability, are not.
- **Life Stage:** Where one is in their life course matters. Those who are in stages of life associated with greater dependence are at a higher risk of poverty. Specifically, children, youth and seniors tend to have a higher incidence of poverty. Families with children, however, also have a higher incidence of poverty compared to families without children. Single-parent families have one of the highest incidences of poverty. Associated with those in conditions of dependence, caregivers also tend to be more vulnerable to poverty due to the time, expense and opportunity cost of the caregiving role.
- **Disruptive Events:** Disruptive events are those life events that are largely (though not always) unexpected and which can disrupt financial capacity and social networks. Such events can involve a crisis that can spiral into poverty. Migration, for example, while often planned, is a significant disruption in the financial and social life of an individual or family which is associated with a higher incidence of poverty. Other financial or social shocks can include family breakdown, injury or disability, legal issues, economic events such as a recession or job loss, or environmental disasters that impact work or housing.
- **Systemic Vulnerability:** Systemic vulnerability includes those aspects of our social, economic or political systems that can either lead to poverty or prevent people from moving out of poverty. These may include policies and regulations such as those that strip assets from people as a condition of receiving social assistance, or policies that do not accept foreign credentials for employment or education. Systemic vulnerability is also created by the economic system itself through policies that serve to increase inequality and suppress the economic position of those with less power

and socio-economic status. These types of systemic vulnerability may be amenable to policy intervention, while others require deeper and more sustained action.

Personal vulnerability	Life stages
Low education	Ages of dependency
Language (ESL)	Children
Lack of skills	Youth
Chronic health conditions	Seniors
Long-term disability	Families with children
Addictions	Caregiving
Social isolation	
Disruptive events	Systemic vulnerability
Migration	Foreign credential recognition
Family breakdown	Racism and discrimination
Recession/job loss	Low wages/debt
Acute illness or injury	Lack of access to services
Onset of disability	Asset stripping policies
Environmental disasters	Patriarchy
Legal issues	Colonialism

**From Vulnerability to Resilience: A Promising Strategic Direction**

The reality of universal vulnerability and the ideal of independence represent two competing dynamics in modern capitalist society which present a difficult paradox at an individual level. When approached from the standpoint of the individual, the strategy for reducing vulnerability involves strengthening individual capacities to build independence. This individually focussed approach, however, addresses only one of the four quadrants in our vulnerability framework, ignoring the other quadrants which are more universal.

Moving away from an individual to a universal understanding of vulnerability provides a way forward. Recognizing universal (collective) vulnerability leads to a new approach that focuses on building collective resilience through the strengthening of our inter-dependence as members of a community, rather than striving solely for the independence of the individual. Strengthening inter-dependence reduces vulnerability within each of the four quadrants of our

framework and thus builds resilience for individuals, families and communities.

Resilience has been defined as the ability to “cope and thrive in the presence of obstacles, challenges and continual change.” (Region of Waterloo 2010). Our ability to cope and thrive applies to us as individuals, families, institutions and communities. Torjman (2007) suggests that building resilience requires strength in four related areas:

- **Sustenance:** this includes all that is required for our physical and emotional well-being, such as the provision of our basic needs (income, housing ...) as well as physical, mental and spiritual health.
- **Adaptation:** this includes basic personal coping skills and capacities such as empathy, problem solving and literacy, as well as the development of social capital through strong social networks and neighbourhoods.
- **Engagement:** this refers to active participation in society and the empowerment of those who may typically be excluded from decision-making processes and social connections.
- **Opportunity:** this refers to the creation of economic opportunities and assets and the development of independence, choice and hope.

This framework includes a strong focus on social factors that contribute to individual resilience. The focus, however, remains on the individual. If we are to move to an understanding of collective resilience, however, a more systemic approach is needed.

In his book *Resilience: Why Things Bounce Back*, Andrew Zollli (2012) introduces the idea of system level resilience which offers new creative approaches to complex challenges like poverty. Zollli defines resilience as “the capacity of a system, enterprise or a person to maintain its core purpose and integrity in the face of dramatically changed circumstances” (p. 7). The focus of this approach shifts importantly from that of the individual to that of the system.

According to Zollli, our social and economic systems exhibit a high degree of vulnerability.

Most of the systems we have in place today are what he refers to as robust, yet fragile: resilient in the face of anticipated dangers, yet highly susceptible to unanticipated threats. Such systems are capable of responding to threats up to a certain point, but eventually reach a threshold, or tipping point, at which the structure of the system changes and is at risk of collapse. The financial crisis of 2008 that plunged wide segments of the population into poverty (or near poverty) is a good example of a robust yet fragile system that risked such a collapse.

Resilient systems, argues Zolli, share some common characteristics. First, resilient systems are those that have continuous feedback loops that allow the system to sense changes in its environment and learn through action. This requires a flow of real-time data that can come in a variety of forms as well as the capacity to synthesize, analyze and assimilate the data to inform action. Of importance is the observation that hierarchical structures are ill-suited to this form of organization due to their inability to sense unanticipated change and respond quickly. Resilient systems, on the other hand, are characterized by distributed but knitted ad hoc networks of people who are connected horizontally and empowered to act.

In order to adapt effectively to change, resilient systems must foster innovation which comes from the clustering of density and diversity. When diverse perspectives are clustered in a dense environment, such as cities, there is greater opportunity for innovation. Effectively incorporating diverse perspectives critical for innovation requires the system to be tolerant of occasional dissent. In horizontally networked diverse systems capable of innovation, there is also likely to be redundancy. While redundancy may appear as inefficiency, it is often an important feature of resilient systems as it provides a dormant backup system that can mobilize in times of crisis and change to provide system stability.

The final features of resilient systems, according to Zolli, are the personal capacities of emotional intelligence and empathy. These are the building blocks of cooperation which is central to resilient systems. Zolli notes how in game theory,

a self-interested individual in competition with an altruistic individual will win every time. However a group of altruistic people will always beat a group of self-interested people. While it is in human nature to compete, humans are also social animals who tend to act in the interest of their own defined groups. We have a natural predilection for establishing “us and them” boundaries that help shape our identities. The good news, however, is that our definitions of who is “in” and who is “out” are very malleable. Resilient systems are those that can “enlarge the tribe” to bring more people in, a much easier task in distributed horizontal networks than in hierarchically organized systems.

Resilient systems then can be characterized by cooperation among clusters of diverse people connected through loosely organized distributed networks. The groups in these networks must have the ability to act and to learn through continuous feedback from the environment. What we see emerging is a shift, therefore, from the concept of independence as the solution to the challenge of vulnerability to an understanding of inter-dependence as the critical foundation of resilient communities, with interwoven networks of empowered people and groups.

If inter-dependence is critical to resilience, strategies to increase social inclusion become central. Broadhead (2011) argues that social inclusion is the key feature of resilience, and involves both reducing social isolation (individual) as well as promoting “active citizenship” (collective):

*Engagement and contribution ... create a sense of belonging, of being citizens. No longer just consumers or clients, we become members of a community. Individuals participate through our political institutions, through paid and unpaid work, through our involvement in the myriad non-profit and community organizations that make our neighbourhoods vibrant and welcoming places to be* (Broadhead 2011, p. 33)

Broadhead’s conception of active citizenship reflects the important shift from independence to inter-dependence and resonates with Zolli’s characterization of a resilient system characterized by loosely organized clusters of empowered groups.

This concept was reflected best in the words of one of the participants in the CPRI engagement process who stated that “My neighbour’s strength is my strength.”

### **Implications for Poverty Elimination**

Moving from an approach that focuses on independence and individual vulnerability to one focussed on the strengthening of inter-dependence for collective resilience has important implications for poverty reduction strategies. This approach affects how the community mobilizes to develop poverty reduction strategies, as well as the types of strategies that are developed, and the manner in which those strategies are implemented. First, an understanding of universal vulnerability expands the conversation and serves to, in Zolli’s words “enlarge the tribe” and move beyond divisive “us/them” distinctions to create strategies that benefit the community as a whole. This opens up the range of possible strategies by moving to a systems view, rather than staying within the confines of an individualist approach.

Secondly, the importance of building networks takes precedence over the strengthening of individual capacities. This is critical at the individual level where resilience is enhanced by connecting people in order to mitigate the vulnerability inherent in social isolation. It is also critical at the system level where effective strategies for action will be more collaborative and partnership based as opposed to hierarchically organized, centrally controlled programs with single agent accountability. Networks also have the benefit of increasing the diversity of actors and the range of ideas and interests that can contribute to creative solutions.

Within such an approach, the community must be empowered to act. Without central control, clusters of interests loosely connected and empowered will be critical to strategic success. This requires the willingness to assume risk, to tolerate diversity and dissent, as well as to accept a certain level of redundancy in the system. Redundancy is a central feature of resilient systems, and attempts to eliminate redundancy through greater system rationalization and control inevitably weaken the system as a whole.

These features of networks, diversity, risk tolerance and redundancy are important for innovation to occur and are opposed to traditional program-based approaches with hierarchically organized systems of accountability and control.

A focus on resilience further contributes to poverty reduction by helping to unleash the assets and resources of the community. Resilience and abundance are inextricably linked. When systems are resilient, networked for inter-dependence and empowered to act, they facilitate the mobilization of resources that unleashes abundance. Inter-dependence increases access to new networks of resources for individuals, organizations and communities. This networked inter-dependence also fosters social innovation through increased diversity and by distributing risk, thus allowing innovative strategies to emerge that can mobilize latent resources. Finally, inter-dependence increases the possibility for collective action to mobilize resources through the strengthening of social capital. The mobilization of latent social capital to enable collective action is perhaps the most profound impact of this approach. Central to all of this is the critical element of trust, the third principle in the ART framework.

### **Trust: Reclaiming the Common Good**

Fear is the third dimension of poverty. In a scarcity-based economy and society, fear is endemic. It is present, first and most of all, among those who are experiencing poverty. Such fear is the result not only of the constant stress of ensuring that basic needs are met, but also from the lack of control over one’s situation. In a culture that prizes independence and ascribes blame to those who experience poverty, the combination of high levels of social accountability coupled with low levels of perceived control give rise to deep feelings of powerlessness. This manifests itself in higher levels of stress, lower levels of competitiveness, lower self-esteem, less risk-taking and poorer decision-making. Not only does this negatively affect a person’s capacity to leave poverty, it also reduces their willingness to connect with others for social support, leaving



them increasingly isolated which reduces individual resilience and exacerbates the effects of poverty (Lever 2004; Haushofer and Fehr 2014).

Those consulted by the CPRI expressed their fears concerning poverty. The final consultation report reported:

*Many constellations reported that poverty leads to a lack of faith and hope as a result of societal judgement and blame. This can also involve feelings of lack of confidence, self-worth and hope. Stigmatization of certain neighbourhoods (or even pockets of neighbourhoods) can have important negative impacts on people's understanding of their capacities. Together, this can result in a sense of powerlessness, leading to limited thinking, a lack of innovation and ultimately learned helplessness and dependency.*

The report goes on to note:

*Participants also felt that this leaves people feeling like they have limited choices, particularly regarding family, school and work, and the 'lack of opportunity to make a change'. This can lead to apathy as well as stress, and the stress burden can have a 'snowball effect'. This can limit someone's ability to advocate for themselves and navigate systems, precisely when they need to do this the most (Calgary Poverty Reduction Initiative 2013a)*

In Calgary, the 2009 Signposts study (City of Calgary 2010) revealed that those among the lowest income group (\$30 k or less) were significantly more likely to report lower levels of mental well-being than those among the highest income group (over \$90 k).

Respondents being concerned or very concerned about mental well-being factors, by Income Group, Calgary, 2009

	<\$30,000	>\$90,000
Being stressed	64.5 %	60.5 %
Being depressed	41.9 %	22.3 %
Being lonely	40.2 %	16.4 %
Being discriminated against	31.4 %	17.4 %
Lacking self-esteem	31.8 %	15.9 %
Being suicidal	19.2 %	6.3 %

City of Calgary (2011). *Signposts Survey*

What emerges, therefore, is a profound sense of powerlessness that leads to reduced social functioning, and could be characterized as fear.

While the fear associated with poverty may be acute for those living in poverty, it extends beyond those currently experiencing poverty and may be quite prevalent throughout the community. The fear of poverty can be extreme enough to constitute an actual phobia – “peniaphobia”. The root of this fear of falling into poverty may lie in the fact that the experience of poverty is far more prevalent than widely acknowledged. As noted earlier, over one-third (38 %) of Calgarians report having had a personal experience of poverty (HarGroup 2014). Further, the widespread financial and social vulnerability previously described is certain to be an ever present stressor lurking in the collective subconscious; it is possible that we fear poverty because of our recognition of our personal vulnerability to it.

“Peniaphobia” (the fear of poverty) constitutes more than just a fear of being in poverty, but also includes a fear of poor people. The urge to divide the community into “poor” and “non-poor” may represent an important coping strategy in the face of widespread vulnerability. By creating a division between “us” and “them” that attributes poverty to the perceived deficits of the individual, those who are not poor may find assurance that they are immune from poverty by not being part of the “other” group and assuring themselves that they never could be. Stigmatization then perhaps serves an important function of distancing that reduces the stress associated with the fear arising from widespread vulnerability.

The result of fear that leads to distancing and a division of the community into “us” and “them” is a systemic erosion of trust. Fear diminishes trust by reinforcing the ideology of individualism and competition in a scarcity-based economy. When viewed from a scarcity perspective, our own fear of not having enough leads to competitive behaviours that erode trust within all layers of society and its institutions. Many people have drawn a link between the erosion of trust and the structural transformation of the economy that has taken place over the past several decades (Jenson 1998). Wilkinson (2011), for example, reports that low levels of trust tend to be associated with greater levels of inequality. The Government of Canada

itself noted that structural inequities are associated with greater social exclusion which is in turn related to poverty (Burstein 2005). Inequality, therefore, is one of the drivers of social exclusion which undermines trust in society.

The erosion of trust with the institutions of democratic society is widespread. The 2014 Edelman Trust Survey reported relatively low levels of trust in institutions globally, including Canada. According to the survey, only 51% of the population reported trust in government, while 58% trusted the media and 62% trusted business. While non-governmental organizations received the highest reported level of trust (67%), fully one-third of Canadians reported distrust in that system as well (Edelman Insights 2015).

Trust, however, is the critical foundation necessary for addressing common challenges and complex problems, such as those created by economic structural transformation. Zolli (2012) argues that trust is a key dimension of resilient systems as resilient systems are reliant on high levels of cooperation. Cooperation requires shared values and aspirations expressed through formal and informal institutions, something that is impossible without high levels of trust. Trust is also critical for risk taking and allows for innovation and collective action to mobilize resources and respond to collective problems. Trust is therefore essential for the formation of the social capital necessary to drive change.

Increasingly, it is realized, social capital is best developed at the local level and the scale at which trust is most easily established. It is within cities, and neighbourhoods, that people experience community and have the opportunity to develop the bonds of trust that allow for collective action. Torjman (2008) notes:

*Strong neighbourhoods are created through safe community spaces and activities that encourage positive participation. These safe spaces comprise essential social infrastructure, which is as important as physical infrastructure... It is in communities (i.e., in place) that the social infrastructure earlier described is created.*

This place-based approach echoes the characteristics of the resilient community described by Zolli, being reliant on trust created at the local

level among connected groups of individuals involved in decision-making. In the resilient community, relationships of trust emerge as the powerful antidote to the relationships of fear present in the vulnerable community. As a necessary prerequisite for collective action to mobilize latent community assets and resources, trust is thus also the foundation of abundance.

Trust must be built in many parts of society. Trust is required first of all between individuals. Rebuilding trust among individuals begins by overcoming the competitive dynamic in a scarcity-based economy and redefining ourselves as neighbours and citizens rather than consumers or taxpayers. When we begin to redefine ourselves as members of the same community, trust begins to be restored and we become able to reclaim the idea of the common good that can lead to collective action. McKnight and Block (2010) articulate the centrality of trust to community and the capacity of community to mobilize resources for the common good:

*The idea of trust is almost interchangeable with friendship. A community forms when people have enough trust that they can combine their properties and capacities into gifts. Friendship and trust are the means through which something that was an individual quality now becomes a communal reality. This is the loom on which these threads of community can be woven (pp. 79–80)*

In addition to the deeper levels of trust required between individuals, trust must also be re-established within in our systems. This is particularly so in our social service system where trust between the providers and recipients of services has often broken down. Many services, particularly those that provide income support, view the users of those services as potential system abusers and act accordingly. This reflects a scarcity-based worldview and ultimately undermines the effectiveness of services. One participant in a CPRI workshop stated that “(Services) make people feel bad, humiliated or fearful and are very intrusive”, thus inhibiting access to precisely the supports that would be required.

There is also a deep need for trust to be re-established within the economic system. Where employers view employees as factors of produc-

tion as opposed to human beings with whom they have a relationship, trust will be absent on both parts. Similarly, where enterprises focus exclusively on profit or the maximizing of shareholder value at the expense of the communities in which they operate, trust will be absent. McKnight and Block (2010) describe trust from this perspective as a matter of loyalty:

*In the system world, trust is a code word for loyalty – the constant wish of leaders is to be surrounded by people they can trust. Trust in this sense means that people will remain loyal. It also means that they are predictable, they will take my side. I trust them to do whatever is necessary in my interests (p. 80)*

Research has shown that companies that value employees as assets and reward them appropriately, for example through the payment of living wages, tend to be more productive and profitable than those who treat labour as a business expense to be minimized. There is also significant research and evidence to support the idea that those enterprises that seek to create social value as well as shareholder value will be the most competitive in the long run (Haque 2011).

Finally, it is also important that trust be re-established between the many interests and sectors affected by poverty. Reciprocal trust is required between governments and the non-profit sector and advocacy groups. Trust is also required between advocacy groups and the private sector. Trust is equally required between the private and public sector. Often the discussion about poverty degenerates into a negative dialogue that assigns blame either to individuals or to sectors. Understanding universal vulnerability and systemic causes can move us beyond the “us/them” dichotomies of blame and allow trust to re-emerge, enabling the cooperation required to address complex challenges like poverty.

### **Implications for Poverty Elimination**

If trust is necessary for building resilience through inter-dependence, and resilience is essential for resource mobilization, the starting point of any long-term poverty reduction strategy must then be re-establishing relationships of trust. This will inform not only the types of strat-

egies developed, but also how they are developed and implemented. In this approach, relationships are central and must be nurtured at the individual, organizational and societal level. Of central importance is the establishment of trust relationships among the partners involved in strategy development itself. How we work becomes as important as the work itself. Focusing on trust as the foundation of the strategy establishes the basis for action in all other spheres of the strategy.

The strengthening of trust relationships must also figure prominently as a critical component of whatever strategy is developed. Increasing public understanding of the issue of poverty by engaging in a meaningful dialogue that addresses our collective vulnerability will be critical to breaking down the “us/them” paradigm that often hobbles our best intentions. Creating opportunities for a new dialogue about poverty that allows people to discuss their own experiences and vulnerability can break the silence about poverty and lay the groundwork for deeper trust work. This work may include a focus on strengthening both bonding and bridging social capital to increase resilience for individuals, families and communities. Peer support and mentoring initiatives can also be important trust-building strategies, as are strategies that build empathy and reduce stigma.

Trust-based strategies also need to create opportunities for the re-establishment of trust within organizations and between sectors. Trust can be nurtured in the economic sphere by promoting economic models that are relationship based, such as cooperatives or social enterprises, and that reflect different social norms. Similarly, reforming service delivery systems to be more relationship and trust-based will also be critical.

Finally, as trust requires relationships that are established over time, it is most successfully built at smaller scales. Thus, neighbourhood (place-based) approaches will be a critical component of any successful strategy. At the same time, strategies need to actively encourage the inclusion of diverse voices in order to build experience and relationships among people who have not had the opportunity to engage with each other. This also

contributes to the strengthening of resilience by actively developing diverse networks, critical for innovation and collective action. As noted previously, such networks must be tolerant of dissent, and so relationships must develop over time in such a way that the engagement space is safe, and power imbalances are managed effectively.

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### **Healing the Wound Called Poverty: Integrating Abundance, Resilience and Trust**

At the heart of poverty, therefore, we find a deep brokenness permeating all layers of community, affecting our identities, our interpersonal relationships, and our institutions. A participant in one of the workshops organized by the CPRI characterized poverty as “*a situation of continual trauma.*” Traumatic events are often associated with poverty, sometimes as a contributing cause immediately, or later in life. Traumatic events also often occur alongside poverty. Living in poorer neighbourhoods, for example, may increase the risk of exposure to violence (Collins et al. 2010).

A deeper understanding of the link between poverty and trauma, however, is suggested by the participant who suggested that poverty itself is a form of trauma. If poverty itself represents a form of trauma, and the experience of poverty is much more widespread than commonly believed, the impact of that trauma on our organizations and society may be profound. One of the important dimensions of trauma that has important long-term social implications is *disrupted attachment* which affects the ability to form and maintain healthy relationships. While individuals may experience disrupted attachment as a response to trauma, organizations and even whole societies may similarly experience such effects in response to repeated stress and trauma. In the organizational context, Bloom (2006a) describes disrupted cultures as being ones where “*people are treated as widgets, replaceable parts that have no significant individual identity or value. There is a lack of concern with the well-being of others as the organizational norm, perhaps under the*

*guise of ‘don’t take it personally – it’s just business.’”* (p. 6).

In a socio-political context, Bloom argues that entire societies can experience disrupted attachment. This may be manifested by conditions such as reduced civic engagement, increased violence, increased homelessness and inequality. This disrupted attachment ultimately affects the social norms that guide behaviour.

*As disrupted attachment becomes an acceptable and expected social norm, cultural images emerge that serve to illustrate, romanticize and justify these norms. The self-made man, the lone cowboy, the rugged individualist are all examples of these images that allow people with disrupted attachment schemas to proudly identify with a changed and divergent social norm (p. 7)*

These norms can further influence patterns of economic activity that justifies “*virtually any behaviour in the name of market profitability.*”

Trauma, disrupted attachment and fear are closely linked. People who have experienced trauma often develop fear-based understandings of relationships based on their experience of power. In such situations, people come to expect abuses of power to be the norm and act accordingly. This can result in reduced levels of trust, increased alienation, dissociation from community life and diminishing social cohesion (Bloom 2006a). This also leads to dichotomous thinking, and a tendency to divide the world into “us” and “them” (Bloom 2006b). These, as we have seen, are relevant characteristics of the scarcity-based socio-economic system in which we find ourselves and inimical to resilient systems.

While the experience of disrupted attachment can impair social functioning at the individual organizational and societal level, it also inhibits the ability to move beyond and resolve the trauma. As community attachment erodes, the ability of the community to speak about trauma is also impaired. Bloom (2006b) notes:

*There is reason to believe that maintaining silence about disturbing collective events may have the counter effect of making the memory more potent in its continuing influence on the organization or society much as silent traumatic memories continue to haunt individuals (p. 11)*

Our unwillingness to publically speak about poverty, preferring instead to assign blame, despite the widespread exposure to it, may illustrate the tendency Bloom mentions, as well as suggest that such silence magnifies the impact of poverty on our society.

**Poverty is a social wound characterized by compromised relationships arising from a scarcity-based socio-economic system.**

If poverty, therefore, represents a form of trauma, the approach to addressing poverty needs to be radically different. Rather than approaching poverty as a problem of our economic system, poverty must be understood as a social phenomenon that has its roots in disrupted relationships. As such, it becomes less important to define poverty either in terms of income thresholds or vulnerable populations, but more to understand it as a social wound characterized by compromised relationships arising from a scarcity-based socio-economic system. When approached in this way, poverty becomes less a problem to be fixed than a wound to be healed.

As a social wound, poverty affects every person in society as everyone experiences that wound to some degree through the impact of disrupted relationships at the societal level. This is a profoundly different starting point than one which views poverty as largely an economic problem affecting defined populations and that can be fixed through appropriate interventions in the system. When viewed as a wound, the appropriate response is not technical strategies intended to fix poverty (or those in poverty), but rather processes that aim to heal it.

In endeavouring to “heal”, rather than “fix”, poverty, we move towards an approach that engages the concept of “community well-being”. Lee et al. (2015) describe community well-being as encompassing not only the economic but also the psychological, political, social and cultural

dimensions of community. It is only through the healing of this social wound that the holistically conceived well-being of the entire community can be achieved. Through the re-establishment of trust relationships and social bonds, the psychological and social dimensions of community well-being are strengthened. This contributes to greater individual and collective resilience that strengthens cultural bonds and enables the mobilization of a community’s abundant resources. Through this holistic healing process, new power relationships and forms of political organization can emerge. The well-being of the entire community is thereby enhanced in a way that addresses the specific needs of particular marginalized populations.

### Implications for Poverty Reduction

A healing approach to poverty is fundamentally different than a problem-oriented approach that aims to fix it and has profound implications for the way poverty must be addressed. It affects the conceptual understanding of poverty, the process by which we seek to mobilize for action, the kinds of strategies we develop, and the way those strategies are implemented. Conceptually, if poverty is understood as a social wound, then the starting point of any poverty reduction strategy must be with our experience of that wound and our collective vulnerability. Recognizing collective vulnerability and the social dimension of trauma leads to processes that treat the whole community as the subject of action, not just vulnerable populations identified through a process of definition. This allows the strategy to transcend the “us/them” dichotomy engendered by the trauma of poverty.

When approached as a healing activity, the process of community mobilization to develop a poverty strategy is as important as the strategy itself. As the restoration of community and the nurturing of trust relationships are central to the outcome, the process must itself begin by establishing the trust relationships that will make collective action possible. Rather than relying on expert knowledge and the application of best

practices, a healing approach must engage the whole community to draw out and build on the unique experiences of poverty and vulnerability in the specific community context. The process must then build opportunities for a safe discussion about those experiences in order to move beyond the trauma and nurture the deeper trust required for collective action.

A healing approach must also inform the nature of the strategies themselves. The principles of abundance, resilience and trust are healing principles that give concrete expression to the healing activity. Through the re-establishment of trust relationships, resilience is enhanced by strengthening inter-dependence within communities. This trust and inter-dependence allows for the mobilization of the abundant community resources necessary for effective poverty reduction. Strategies must therefore focus on the restoration of trust relationships in community, in our economic life, and in our service delivery systems in order to mobilize the abundance that exists around us.

Strategy implementation must likewise reflect the principles inherent in a healing approach. In this model, a collective impact approach that relies on servant leadership and community building rather than expert knowledge is not only appropriate, but imperative. This approach lends itself to the organic development of actions focused on shared goals, rather than the development and delivery of programs and services by experts and a central agent with hierarchical lines of accountability. Not only are expert-driven programmatic approaches less likely to be successful, they may in the end be counter-productive as they reinforce the power relationships that reflect the very trauma such a process seeks to heal.

In summary, then, a healing approach embodies the principles of abundance, resilience and trust, the counterpoints to the conditions of scarcity, vulnerability and fear. This approach creates opportunities for an alternative socio-economic system to take root, one in which poverty cannot flourish. This approach will provide collective benefit by addressing our collective vulnerability. The next section of this chapter will examine how

this framework has been applied in a local poverty reduction strategy.

“Fix it”	“Heal it”
Poverty is primarily an economic problem affecting discrete groups of individuals	Poverty is a social wound affecting everyone
Poverty is a discrete phenomenon with its own causal dynamics and can be approached independently	Poverty is a by-product of the social, economic and political system and requires changes in the systems that create poverty
Focus on definitions	Focus on experience
Focus on needs	Focus on assets
Focus on vulnerable populations	Universal vulnerability
Focus on project management	Collective (servant) leadership
Reliance on experts	Reliance on community knowledge
Establish pre-defined outcomes	Facilitate collective vision
Establish lines of accountability	Establish relationship infrastructure
Research best practices	Understand local context
Develop and deliver programs	Nurture and prototype organic initiatives
Inject resources	Mobilize resources within system
Formal evaluation	Continuous learning

### ART in Practice: The ‘Enough for All’ Poverty Reduction Strategy

The work of the CPRI reflected the ART principles and its healing approach, in its conceptual development, its development process, and the kinds of strategies ultimately proposed.

### Conceptual Approach

One of the important learnings from the CPRI is that the starting point matters, and the way an issue is framed is significant, not only for determining actions, but also for generating support and opening up new creative opportunities. The

principles of Abundance, Resilience and Trust (ART) formed the foundation on which the CPRI's 'Enough for All' strategy was built. The starting point of this strategy was a framework that was based on the premises of:

1. Collective (universal) vulnerability
2. Collective (universal) benefit to poverty reduction
3. Systemic approach to poverty prevention
4. Sufficiency of local resources
5. Grounding in local context and knowledge

The CPRI began from an abundance perspective, rejecting the idea of scarcity, and proposing rather that the resources currently available are sufficient for ending poverty. This became reflected in the name of the strategy itself – Enough for All. *Enough for All* became the tag-line for the initiative and served as the initiative's web domain name [www.enoughforall.ca](http://www.enoughforall.ca).

The CPRI also began by reframing the discussion from one of poverty to one of vulnerability. Early in the development of the CPRI there was a debate about whether to focus on the most marginalized (vulnerable) populations or to have a broader scope. It was decided that, rather than focusing on vulnerable populations, a vulnerability framework would be developed to focus on the sources of vulnerability themselves. In so doing, the conversation around poverty was successfully disrupted and moved from one of charity, based on a divisive "us/them" paradigm, to one of creating resilience based on an understanding of collective vulnerability that allowed a conversation about trust to emerge.

One of the powerful effects of the use of this framework in the engagement work of the CPRI was that almost everyone involved in poverty discussions could see themselves in at least one of the quadrants of vulnerability. Many, in fact, could see themselves in multiple quadrants, and this allowed the development of empathy and the advancement of a strategy that garnered a broader base of support. This became an entry point into the conversation about poverty throughout the engagement process.

## Strategy Development Process

The process by which the strategy was developed reflected the theoretical approach of the initiative. Recognizing that the issues and strategies required to effectively reduce and prevent poverty were deeply rooted in the local context, the process of strategy development focused on deep engagement as opposed to formal research. This engagement needed to be broad in representation and empowering to those involved. As a local initiative, the strategy held local knowledge and experience to be primary. Rather than focus on a review of best practices, the focus was placed on understanding the local context, engaging the right stakeholders, and determining local priorities.

As such a collective impact approach to strategy development was implemented along with a constellation model of governance. Collective impact is "a systemic approach to social impact that focuses on the relationships between organizations and the progress toward shared objectives." (Kania and Kramer 2011). The related constellation model of governance is "a complexity-inspired governance framework for multi-organizational collaboration." (Surman 2006). Both strategies are relationship-based, relying on self-organizing autonomous groups with shared leadership grounded in the community. These strategies reflected the principles of resilience presented by Zolli (2012), focusing on the horizontal integration of diverse stakeholders who are empowered to act.

The approach was highly effective. A total of 16 working groups were established that focused on a specific aspect of poverty, involving an extensive network of hundreds of stakeholders who collectively contributed over 12,000 h of support. Groups were provided with a discussion guide to frame the conversation and were tasked with identifying issues, goals and strategies. Over time, these groups became inter-connected and goals and strategies converged to create shared goals and a portfolio of strategies that responded to the shared goals and transcended individual organizational or sectoral interests. The process of reviewing and selecting promising strategies

was also democratic and guided by a multi-sector community stewardship group and representatives from the various working groups. This ensured transparency and accountability throughout the process, as well as providing a diversity of perspectives.

The conversation throughout the engagement process was guided by an understanding of collective vulnerability and a vision of abundance. In engagement sessions, the conversation about poverty began by asking people to reflect on how poverty impacted them personally, either through their own direct experience of poverty, or through that of someone close to them. Almost everyone could establish this personal connection, which not only gave the issue greater personal importance, but also served to overcome the stigma surrounding poverty.

The conversation then moved to a discussion of vulnerability and again, almost everyone was able to recognize at least one factor of vulnerability that applied to them in the vulnerability framework presented. From this flowed a discussion about the consequences of not doing anything about these issues, and participants were able to paint a picture of a city by choosing single adjectives to describe it. Finally, participants were asked to describe a city that is free of poverty. Interestingly, few of the adjectives to describe either the city crippled by poverty or free of it referred to money. Rather, people began to imagine a city free of poverty characterized by adjectives such as: inclusive, diverse, less stressed, safe, community, choice, collaboration, vibrant.

Having described a city free of poverty, participants then discussed what would be required to create that city which, if successful, would be one that would not allow poverty to flourish. Poverty would end almost by accident; a by-product of building a community that would benefit all. The idea of collective benefit, then, was a critical driver of the strategy that emerged from the idea of collective vulnerability. Once the conversation moved beyond a discussion of “the poor” to one of “the community”, systems approaches emerged more naturally than charitable/poverty alleviation approaches. Addressing

the roots of vulnerability required an exploration of the systems that undermine resilience.

A discussion about our collective vulnerability opened up the conversation to questions about our identity as consumers rather than citizens, and the erosion of a sense of community and understanding of the common good. This brought the discussion to the root of the issue which was framed as the weakened bonds of community and the relationships of trust that support it. These weakened trust relationships were approached in the strategy on various fronts: from the commercialization of relationships inherent in our social service systems to the impacts of employment relationships that take no account of social value creation. This has resulted in growing financial vulnerability which is in turn expressed in terms of deficits of time, community and resources. Basing the resulting strategy on this systems view allowed everyone to see themselves in both the problem and the solution, and allowed them to visualize how addressing the underlying vulnerability at the heart of poverty would also benefit them.

## The Strategy Developed

From the engagement process, four shared goals emerged that reflected the ART principles:

1. All Calgary communities are strong, supportive and inclusive.
2. Everyone in Calgary has the income and assets needed to thrive.
3. Everyone in Calgary can easily access the right supports, services and resources.
4. All Aboriginal people are equal participants in Calgary’s prosperous future.

Based on these four goals, strategies began to emerge that took as their starting point the sufficiency of local resources and an understanding of both collective vulnerability and benefit. The strategy focused then, not on community deficits, but on mobilizing local resources to better provide for our collective well-being. This approach was driven partly by the fact that, as a municipal



strategy, the CPRI could focus only on what was within local control. As a result, the traditional policy levers for poverty reduction were not available, so stakeholders were required to creatively imagine possibilities over which the community had influence and the power to act.

Specific actions to realize the goals of the initiative emerged at the intersection of the ART principles, the healing centre of the framework, and are summarized below (Calgary Poverty Reduction Initiative 2013b).

(a) **Public Awareness and Education:** If the starting point of poverty eradication is the establishment of trust relationships, moving beyond divisive “us/them” understandings of society, it is vital that the community engage in a meaningful conversation about poverty. This needs to move beyond a one-way awareness campaign that informs people about poverty, to a public dialogue where people can reflect on their own experiences and vulnerabilities. This lays the groundwork for the success of the rest of the strategy by “enlarging the tribe” and allowing for cooperative strategies that are critical for building resilience. This also begins the process of healing by breaking the silence and shame associated with poverty that allows for the healing required to move beyond the trauma.

(b) **Peer Support and Mentoring:** Recognizing isolation as one of the principle vulnerabilities that both contribute to and result from poverty, strategies that establish meaningful connections for people are critical. Such strategies focus on both bonding and bridging capital to build collective capacity as well as to create empathy and provide access to greater social resources. Structured peer support programs can provide greater connection for people to reduce the vulnerability associated with isolation, while connecting people with resources. Mentoring programs can similarly connect people with supports and resources, while also building empathy by establishing inter-class relationships that can break down stigma. In this way, trust is built while also increasing resilience by

expanding circles of support, and also accessing potential resources that contributes to abundance.

(c) **Community Hubs:** Community hubs are neighbourhood-based centres that can provide services as well as an opportunity for community-building. By providing local centres of service, community hubs can also better connect people with services by removing the barriers of time and distance. A critical component of an effective hub is the universal nature of programs and services such that there is no potential stigma for visiting the hub.

In addition to services, an effective hub should provide space for informal social gathering and a reason for visiting that allows people to bump up against each other. This contributes to increased trust and also builds resilience in the community by increasing the capacity for collective action. Working collaboratively with communities to identify service needs and create a vision for a hub can itself be a powerful force for social capital development.

Community hubs are also often an effective strategy for mobilizing existing underutilized community assets. Through the work of the CPRI, the local Interfaith Council began a conversation with various faith communities interested in using their places of worship as community hubs. Other conversations focussed on the more effective use of school buildings or Community Association facilities. Through the utilization of underutilized resources, abundance is mobilized.

(d) **Community Economic Development:** It has been widely recognized that while a strong economy is necessary, it is not a sufficient condition for the eradication of poverty. What is required is not *more* economic development, but a different *type* of economic development. Developing economic structures that restore trust and build relationships within organizations and with the broader community are critical.

The emergence of social enterprise is a promising approach to a more relationship-based form of economic development. Social

enterprises can be for-profit or non-profit enterprises intentionally seek the creation of social value. Such enterprises can either support the operations of non-profit organizations and thereby enhance the resilience of our social infrastructure, or can create social as well as economic value as for-profit entities. Such enterprises have a twofold benefit: they tend to provide higher quality employment while simultaneously building social capital, thus contributing to both individual and collective resilience.

Cooperatives are a particular type of social enterprise with a long history of creating social value. Cooperatives embody all of the ART principles as they are founded on community and thus increase democratic civic engagement. Cooperative ventures also tend to provide higher quality employment, return more of their profits to the community, and have proven more resilient as organizations in the face of economic downturns. Further, cooperatives are often able to provide goods and services in conditions where markets have failed, without the requirement of significant public investment. As a result, cooperatives can be a good model for providing needed services such as childcare, affordable housing, financial services or food while simultaneously providing quality employment opportunities and building local wealth.

Some of the challenges associated with social enterprise/cooperative development include lack of capital, institutional/regulatory barriers that limit development, lack of awareness of the model and lack of developmental support. In order to overcome these barriers, the CPRI proposed the establishment of a “Centre of Excellence for the New Economy” that would partner with educational institutions and non-profit organizations to provide training and technical support to social entrepreneurs, CED practitioners and co-op developers. A robust coop development strategy was also initiated. The CPRI also proposed the establishment of local community investment funds that could direct local capital to social entrepreneurs

and emerging coops. In these ways, latent social and financial assets could be mobilized, thereby realizing the principle of abundance.

- (e) ***Shared Value Business Approaches:*** Traditional business has an extremely powerful role to play in poverty eradication, not only through providing employment, but also by focusing on creating quality employment. There is a growing movement within business theory that promotes “shared value” approaches to management. Shared value is an approach that recognizes that successful businesses will be those that create social value in addition to shareholder value. Haque (2011) argues that the truly successful companies of the twenty first century will have more than just competitive advantage, they will have what he calls “*Constructive Advantage*”. Successful businesses, he argues, “aren’t profiting in spite of making people, societies and future generations better off, but by doing so.” Their advantage will lie in creating more than just shareholder value, but “value that’s meaningful in human terms, reflecting durable, tangible gains” reflecting not just the quantity, but also the quality of profit (Haque 2011).

While many large corporations are already leaders in this field through successful Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs, these are often focussed on international operations, or focusing on community investment strategies. Businesses can be powerful agents of change by taking a local view to CSR that moves beyond community investments and focuses on achieving social objectives through its business practices. Using the supply chain, for example, to ensure that contractors are achieving acceptable social and environmental performance standards can have significant system-wide impacts. The City of Calgary recently adopted a Sustainable, Ethical, and Environmental Purchasing Policy (SEEPP) that establishes such standards for its contractors.

Standardization of these practices is now advancing through the development of “‘B’ Corporations” that certify companies that meet basic social and environmental standards. Promoting and supporting the growth of B Corporations can be a promising strategy for transforming the local economy. The CPRI proposed to advance this work both through the work of the proposed Centre of Excellence for the New Economy as well as through the establishment of a Business Council of Champions that developed leadership capacity within the business community for peer-advocacy for changes in business practices.

- (f) **Common Intake:** Based on an assessment of services registered in the provincial service database *informAlberta*, the CPRI identified over 1200 agencies in Calgary delivering over 10,000 services to people living in or at risk of poverty. Clearly, providing more services is not necessarily the most effective approach to poverty eradication. Rather, ensuring early access to existing supports and services is critical, and an effective way of ensuring that disruptive events do not lead to crises that spiral into poverty, while also being an important route out of poverty for many people.

Despite the importance of services, especially those with low incomes, the Signposts Survey (City of Calgary 2011) found that those with the lowest incomes were the least likely to use community supports and services. Barriers to accessing services revealed through the CPRI consultation process revealed a system that is complex, confusing and demeaning. People spoke of an inability to navigate the system to find the appropriate service, while being referred multiple times to multiple agencies and services and being required to tell their story again and again. What was desired was a single entry window into the service system that would provide timely access to the right services in a dignified manner.

While the development of integrated single-entry systems has been attempted

before, such systems tend to be sector-specific and limited in scope. Barriers to their development include the technical challenges of integrating platforms across agencies as well as legal barriers related to privacy and the sharing of information. Cognizant of these challenges, the CPRI proposed the development of a user-controlled platform that was based on users creating their own profiles and then sharing those profiles with the agencies and services they sought to access. The system proposed overcomes both technical and privacy barriers by being user-controlled and web-based. At the same time, it is also empowering by turning ownership and control of the clients’ profile and service record over to the clients themselves.

- (g) **Service System Reform:** Access to services is also limited by the lack of personal relationships within the system. As trust is the foundation of empowering relationships, trust must be a central feature of service system reform. Trust is often absent on both the part of the service user and provider. There is a tendency within the service delivery system for providers to view their role as a gatekeeper, and guardian of scarce resources. The system is thus designed often to screen out applicants and focus on accountability. Meanwhile service users distrust systems based on experiences with processes that undermine their dignity and focus on compliance rather than empowerment.

Addressing this system requires, first, a training component to shift the focus of service providers from a deficit to a strength-based approach. In Calgary the United Way provided a training program for agencies called the Strength-based Service Provider Training Program. At the same time, strategies were developed to increase direct information and referral capacity. This included proposals to increase the capacity of public libraries to provide community information services, as well as an initiative of The City of Calgary to embed information and referral specialists in various locations throughout the community.

(h) **First Nations Reconciliation:** Calgary has grown on the traditional lands of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the indigenous peoples of the Canadian southern plains. Having ceded the territory through a misrepresented Treaty with the Crown, the indigenous population has suffered the effects of colonization and the residential school system, which has resulted in deep inter-generational trauma. As a result, poverty rates among Calgary's indigenous people are triple that of the rest of the population. In recognition not only of the depth of poverty, but also the status of the indigenous population as the first people, as well as the unique jurisdictional status in which they find themselves, the CPRI identified addressing Aboriginal poverty as a distinct priority.

Building a meaningful poverty reduction strategy focussed on the indigenous population requires a different approach than the simple identification of programs and services. Rather, in the context of an historically broken trust relationship between the indigenous and settler communities, the starting place of indigenous poverty work must be reconciliation. In the work of the CPRI this began by building a trust relationship with elders in the community and incorporating Blackfoot spiritual practices into the regular work of the CPRI. Through this work, a strategy emerged which also focussed on reconciliation. This included reconciliation of the indigenous community with its own cultural and spiritual traditions, as well as between the indigenous and settler communities. As a first step, the establishment of an Inter-Nations Healing Centre as a gathering place for all First Nations in the city was proposed.

These were the primary strategies advanced by the CPRI. Grounded in a theoretical foundation that gave primacy to relationships and community, and focused on practical applications that could be implemented locally, the strategy was able to carve out an ideological middle ground. In June 2013, the strategy received unanimous approval from City Council.

## **ART in Action: A Disaster Tests the Framework**

In June 2013, a week after the adoption of the CPRI strategy by City Council, a massive flood struck the city of Calgary, submerging the downtown and most of the inner city leading to the evacuation of about 100,000 people. In response, the City and its partners immediately began a massive coordinated relief effort. Although the evacuation order lasted for about 10 days, many people were left without homes for several months, while the social and economic impacts may persist for years. Through this experience, the principles of Abundance, Resilience and Trust were tested and evidenced in tangible ways.

## **Abundance Revealed**

What the flood starkly demonstrated was our tremendous abundance of resources and our ability to quickly mobilize them in the face of a disaster. At the height of the emergency, evacuation orders were in place for two dozen neighbourhoods. Transportation systems were compromised and many parts of the city were without power. There was an immediate need for shelter and food for large numbers of people, as well as a system to coordinate delivery. In the aftermath, immediate needs gave way to long term needs as homes and businesses needed to be cleaned and infrastructure repaired and restored.

Yet, in the midst of this drama, abundance was found throughout the city. Despite ordering the evacuation of 100,000 people, only about 2000 actually required emergency accommodations; the rest were accommodate by families, neighbours and even strangers who opened their doors to displaced residents. Of those requiring shelter, spaces were quickly arranged in student residences, churches, schools and recreation centres. Donations of money and supplies began almost immediately, and hastily erected "muster points" sprang up in community centres where they were collected and distributed. Scores of volunteers began to self-organize across the city. And all of this was supported by staff from various

organizations who were quickly redeployed to respond to the crisis at hand. Clearly, there was no scarcity of resources.

What became apparent through the response to the flood was the available capacity that exists within our systems and community. This was evident in our ability to re-purpose public spaces for crisis response; in the massive amount of donations of money and supplies that poured in overnight; in the amount of volunteer effort that spontaneously mobilized; and in the ability of separated systems to integrate effectively when needed. And it was also evident in the capacity of the human spirit to rise to the challenge, work together and find strength in each other.

### **Vulnerabilities Surfaced**

The flood also demonstrated the collective vulnerability that lay hidden and unseen until the crisis struck. This highlighted both the depth of vulnerability as well as what is required to build resilience. While some people weathered the crisis, others experienced long-lasting impacts, even poverty, or deeper poverty. Often it is a disruptive event, like a flood, that can begin a spiral into poverty. In the case of the flood, those without a strong personal support network seemed to be the most vulnerable and the most impacted. For the most part, those who needed emergency shelter were typically alone; many could not even name an emergency contact person. Yet, through the experience of the flood, community began to emerge among people within the evacuation centres and those who had otherwise been alone began to experience the support of community.

The flood further demonstrated the level of financial vulnerability of people who may not have been in poverty, but yet could not withstand a significant disruption. Those requiring emergency assistance typically had few financial resources, even to support their basic day-to-day needs for the short term. Some had left their medications at home and did not have the money to refill them. Some worried that when they returned home, the food in their fridge would have spoiled and they didn't have the money to replace it.

Others worried about the challenge of finding a new apartment at an affordable price. Even among more seemingly affluent homeowners, many were relying on the value in their homes for their financial security in retirement and this had now been wiped out.

Many of those affected also faced mental and physical health challenges that were exacerbated by the crisis. Through the trauma of an evacuation and their stay at the evacuation centres, many complex needs surfaced that people simply had no support to deal with. Anxiety, stress, isolation, health needs and other complex challenges all lingered beneath the surface until a crisis brought them to light. Without support, these challenges simply erode the resilience of people and leave them especially vulnerable to a crisis; any crisis. Most importantly, most were completely unaware of the supports and services available to them. It became possible through the evacuation centres to begin to connect people to services in a meaningful individual way.

### **Trust Is the Foundation**

Finally, the flood demonstrated the importance of trust as foundational to our collective response. When the firefighters took people from their bedroom window in the middle of the night, they could do nothing other than trust. When people began their trek from flooded neighbourhoods with only an evacuation centre address, they walked or drove there through the rain in trust. They trusted still when boarded onto buses to be brought to temporary shelters.

Relying on the strengths of others requires trust of both the giver and the receiver. And in situations of crisis, typically each of us is both. The layers of trust required throughout the flood were immense and complex. Trust was required between people as neighbours. An older resident at an evacuation centre was feeling anxious and distressed as her rented home had been severely flooded and she had just been informed that her landlord intended to demolish it. With no place else to go she still had to figure out how to pack, move and store her belongings somewhere. In this situation, a group of volunteers had every-

thing packed, moved and stored within a week. All by strangers; strangers who trusted her, and she trusting the strangers who entered her home and packed, moved and stored her possessions.

Trust was required between organizations who suddenly needed to work together, often without prior experience and outside of normal procedures. In that situation, trust happened because it had to; because it was the only way to do what needed to be done. While this too created confusion, organizations seemed to manage in the chaos, making decisions as required and trusting that the details could be worked out later. Suddenly issues like “liability” seemed less important than making the right decisions at the right time.

And in the midst of crisis, it was imperative to trust the systems that had been built. While the response may have seemed chaotic at some level, it was also made possible by years of planning and high level coordination that provided an operating framework through the crisis. When the crisis hits, it’s too late to build or rethink the framework, so there is no option but to trust in that framework, to trust in ourselves.

What then can we learn from that crisis that will help us in our work to end poverty? It is instructive to note that the number of people impacted by the flood was almost the exact same number as are affected by poverty in Calgary at any given time. While the flood brought us face to face with the immediate trauma of a disaster, it also brought into stark relief the vulnerabilities that lie unseen for a wide range of Calgarians. These vulnerabilities leave many dealing with their own personal “floods” on a daily basis, be they illness, job loss, family breakdown or others. Through the flood we came face to face with the fact that we are all vulnerable.

Our ability to cope with these events requires building resilience through strong social supports, adequate financial resources, strong infrastructure and a robust, accessible and coordinated network of services. This is our best strategy to address our vulnerabilities. The ability of the community to mobilize its latent resources in a time of crisis also demonstrated the abundance present in the community and gives us the confi-

dence to believe that poverty eradication is possible. Through that experience we learned that there is indeed enough for all, and that we will find it through our strengths as neighbours.

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## The ART of Hope: Concluding Reflections

Poverty, however defined, can be characterized by three things: scarcity, vulnerability and fear. Scarcity is not only of money, but also of time and relationships. Vulnerability encompasses more than financial vulnerability, but also physical, mental, and social vulnerability. And fear emerges as a result of such scarcity and vulnerability, but runs deeper than the base fear of not having enough. Such fear is also exuded in the fear of others knowing I don’t have enough, or in the fear of the others who contribute to our fears of scarcity and vulnerability.

Scarcity, vulnerability and fear apply to each of us on whatever side of some arbitrary poverty line we inhabit. In truth, poverty is a continuum of vulnerability, and we are all vulnerable to a greater or lesser extent. So this deeper poverty touches each of us as individuals, as families and as communities, and is experienced as a form of trauma. If indeed we are bound by this condition of scarcity, vulnerability, and fear, what might an alternative look like? The CPRI invited people to imagine its opposite: a parallel world of abundance, resilience and trust.

The idea of **Abundance** is based on the belief that, as a society, we have enough resources to adequately support the inclusion of everyone in the economic, social and political life of our community. Where there is scarcity, it results not from the lack of resources, but from institutional barriers that inhibit our inability to use the resources we have effectively. Building abundance as a community requires us to identify and effectively harness our assets, as well as to reflect on our priorities and values as individuals and as a community. Through this process we strive to better utilize our existing assets by removing the barriers to their use, using them in a different

way, or aligning different assets together to enhance their impact.

**Resilience** is all about our ability to “*cope and thrive in the presence of obstacles, challenges and continual change.*” Our ability to cope and thrive applies to us as individuals, families, institutions and communities. Resilience is found not in enhancing our independence, but in affirming our inter-dependence as neighbours and citizens, recognizing that “my neighbour’s strength is my strength.” Building resilience works to prevent poverty including and empowering diverse voices and by strengthening our capacities against our collective vulnerability.

And, finally, **Trust** seeks to overcome our notions and fears of poverty that are weighted down by historical understandings which have consistently sought to assign blame. In this environment, we pit individuals, sectors, institutions and neighbours against each other when cooperation is what is really required to address such a complex problem. The ability to work together to address complex problems requires trust to enable collective action to address complex social issues like poverty. Nurturing deep trust relationships can heal the divisions created by a scarcity-based socio-economic system and build the resilience that allows us to mobilize our resources for the common good. Trust also requires a reciprocity in relationships that promotes meaningful participation in society. Yet, those who live in poverty are predominantly those with the least influence, the least voice, the least power, lacking the ability to influence the decisions that most closely affect them. Where such inequality exists in relationships, trust is also likely to be absent. Restoring trust will require the active participation of people who have been marginalized, providing them with a meaningful voice in decisions and society generally.

If we are to restore trust in our community as a basis for collective action to address poverty, we must think about poverty in a different way. And, this brings us to hope. Hope is the greatest resource. Those with hope can endure almost anything, while the lack of hope is the greatest poverty of all. By nurturing Abundance,

Resilience and Trust (ART), we build hope for our community and those struggling in poverty. The “ART” of hope asserts that improving our well-being is indeed an art, not a science. While it is based on sound principles, it requires our creativity and our passion, as well as our intellect. Engaging our creativity, intellect and passion will build hope for a new society where each of us experiences abundance, resilience and trust in every aspect of our lives. In this lies the healing we seek to the wound of poverty. By healing the wound that is poverty we can build a community based on the principles of abundance, resilience and trust and create a new society that contributes to the well-being of every one of us. In so doing, we will have also done something meaningful about poverty, almost by accident.

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# Multi-dimensional Model of Community Well-Being from a Public Service Delivery Perspective

Youngwha Kee

## Introduction

World economic prosperity in the twentieth century is an unprecedented historical achievement. But it was soon recognized that undesirable symptoms and outcomes are caused from economic prosperity in community and society. For example, this prosperity has been accompanied by negative impacts in community living. In developed countries, the results of economic development have been inconsistent, with some benefitting more than others. Happiness and well-being have been popular since the 1920s; since then, the expected role of government has increased and public services have expanded with the implicit expectation that government plays a role in fostering well-being. This type of development encouraged extension of the public arena especially in the context of the welfare state. In the twenty-first century, central governments around the world are confronted with new challenges as traditional beliefs that previously dictated the roles of the state and the market are contested. An ageing society, low fertility rates, increasing unemployment, and environmental problems are just a few examples of these new challenges. The Korean government is no excep-

tion—as the central government struggles to manage these issues, ideas of community, civil society, citizen empowerment, and participation have moved to the epicenter of the political discourse.

A persistent critique is that central government is simply too far removed from the individuals constituting a nation to solve these problems in an effective manner. Instead, people are looking to their community for an answer. Thus, local governments and governance networks have a critical role in suggesting solutions for community living. Community is now being reconsidered as a concept. In psychology and sociology, community is referred to as a place or group of people. A community is both a physical and ideological space in which individuals interact with other people, organizations, ideas, and cultures. Community is intimately connected to the quality of life with the local government playing a critical role. Given that community can be a source of answers to contemporary issues, the goal of this work is to provide communities with a new guiding principle - community well-being. Although many studies suggest community is the essence of the personal life arena, the concept of *community well-being* has not yet been widely adopted by the public.

Existing research on community development and citizen welfare has focused on describing reality without providing accessible ideals or goals. In addition, public service has not always

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been effective in improving communities when public policies are created without regard for the regional communities' needs. For example, studies related to community development, social capital theory, public service distribution, and community welfare in Korea do not agree on the common understanding of goals, and only focus on short-term interests in community development. As a result, the efforts of local government to deliver reliable public service have been remiss, and in turn have generated conflicts among community members and organizations.

Academic scholars and policy makers are interested in 'happiness', 'quality of life', and well-being' when evaluating social development. However, these concepts do not consider public service delivery at the local government level. Therefore, this study originated from the question, "How can public service be delivered effectively and efficiently at the community level?" To find service citizens are satisfied with, factors that involve good service delivery and the local government's delivery of high quality service were investigated. Responding to these issues, the study sought models that express community status and citizens' need for a happy and qualified community life. This study has scrutinized previous researches and found that GDP cannot easily be substituted with another concept. Instead, various concepts could be utilized to evaluate their own use and appropriateness. Community well-being is an alternative measure to public service and satisfaction the local government can influence.

To discuss community well-being as a conceptual construct, an international research team which I am involved with held academic meetings, conferences, and forums for the past several years. Moreover, we published articles to verify our work, which is generally accepted by academic researchers. We began building the model by analyzing and comparing several pertinent concepts. We use well-being, happiness, and quality of life interchangeably. However, this could be confusing, and some public policy discussions avoid using these terms interchangeably. Community well-being shares some similarities with these other concepts, but also

has distinctive characteristics of its own. Previous works examined differences between community well-being, happiness, quality of life, and sustainability. Through conceptual comparison, the concept of community well-being was expressed in measurement indexes of international organizations and local governments to provide the foundations for developing a Korean community well-being index. In particular, we examined measurements developed by the OECD, UN, UNESCO, EU, and WHO for international cases and those developed by Australia, Canada, Japan, UK, and USA for national cases. While these indicators served various purposes, we found that they were not comprehensive enough and had critical limits to uniform application. This paper analyzes existing indicators on relevance and data availability, and presents a list of selected indicators. Although community well-being indexes have been discussed to monitor budgeting or public service delivery issues, a comprehensive index that considers local residents' quality of life or happiness does not yet exist. The findings in this study will be useful in developing a new community well-being index to guide local governments.

However, these comparisons are limited to a descriptive level. In this chapter, relevant concepts are compared and a model is presented to explain unique characteristics of community well-being as a guiding goal for the local government's service delivery. I specifically examine the leading theories of human development and social progress, such as Sen and Nussbaum's Capability Framework and Maslow's Human Needs Theory. We build a resource model of community well-being by drawing from previous theories. Next, we explain how to measure community well-being levels using specific indicators as examples, and conclude by making suggestions on the effective use of the model.

In sum, this chapter aims to propose a community well-being model to achieve the following four goals. First, community well-being can be the guiding principle for local governments to fulfill their roles for their citizen. Second, the examination of factors that lead to community well-being. Third, the investigation of the

community well-being domain and index. Lastly, the achievement of a more robust model of community well-being based on the community well-being domain and index. This multi-dimensional model will increase the understanding of community well-being, and thus improve the quality of life holistically and sustainably.

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## **Reconsidering Community and Community Well-Being**

### **Community Reconsidered: Individual Life Is Beyond the Individual**

Social progress and developmental status are evaluated using standardized measures of living conditions. Internationally, GDP is the universally used measurement. However, some raise doubts regarding the validity and reliability of using GDP as a measurement tool. Moreover, Gross National Happiness (GNH), developed by the Bhutan government, was considered an alternative to GDP (Kim 2011; Kim and Lee 2011; Lee and Kim 2012, 2014a, b; Kim et al. 2011). Neither does GDP evaluate the optimal condition for the community and for a good life, nor does it accurately represent living conditions. Rather than GDP, measures of social and community progress such as quality of life, happiness, healthy cities, sustainability, and triple bottom line—commonly referred to as ‘beyond GDP’—have been introduced as alternatives. These terms encompassing economic development demonstrate the trend embodying the changing perspective and measuring efforts (Smith and Hoekstra 2011).

The formation of these new concepts can be traced back to Scandinavian and North American countries that developed social indicators (Ilić et al. 2010). Efforts have been focused on developing indicators that include all aspects of a good human life. With these values, they concentrated their efforts on finding indicators that include non-material aspects to measure social development. Several changes in the global environment promote the search for new indicators. Epidemics such as Ebola and SARS helped people recog-

nize the need for a universal movement and resolution. These issues propelled phenomena such as globalization, discrimination, increasing gaps between the rich and poor, and environmental changes. Globalization has not only influenced life at the national level, but also at the individual and community level. Globalization has provoked grass root organizations to increase their participation in sustaining their respective community as the optimal place and for neighborhoods relations. Community may be interested in all levels of administration—local, national, and international. Thus, community well-being takes interest to build neighborhoods. In particular, local governments are inclined to improve community economies and environments. Examples of these community development projects are in wealth, education, health, leisure, housing, cultural activities, and place-based assets. Community well-being can offer insight into how these situations are changing.

Social scientists and policy-oriented researchers can contribute to developing a clear, defined perspective towards living condition and environmental change. Efforts to define community and community well-being with related concepts is meaningful in developing indicators for progress and community status.

Community is a concept that can often imply geographical boundaries. Community is usually referred to a limited area or living place. However, as we experience environmental changes and technology advances, community should be redefined as the amalgamation of the following: globalization, welfare state development, involvement needs and transportation advancement. These factors reinvent community and change our perspective.

First, the social welfare paradigm appeared with the discussion of state’s role and citizen relationships. Some evidence showed states have risen as a result of citizen concerns such as social problems and human needs. This encourages governments and civic administrations to respond appropriately toward social problems and deficiencies. Innovative methods first began to appear as social policy, but a policy oriented approach is not always welcoming or accessible to the

individual. To fulfill social needs and solve social problems of individual citizens, responses need to be narrowed down to a lower level, that is the community. To achieve service delivery and satisfaction, community level service is more effective at the individual level including households. Such factors may include housing, childcare, working condition, poverty, education, employment service, and recreational services.

Second, as a social unit, a community considers sharing common values toward a goal as well-being (Kee et al. 2015). The community unit varies from small village to the global community, and from face-to-face community relationships to vertical contacts. Surely, the cyber community identity has a strong enough presence to make its own version of community. It affects values and activities of an inclusive community as residential identity. It is not easy to distinguish individual identity from community, because community is a living condition consisting of resources, needs, preferences and relations that affect living style. It affects participants' cohesiveness and identity as community capital.

Third, community is not a simple unit of administration or service area, but a sense of identity and cohesiveness. It considers the highly reputed Maslow's basic needs of involvement. Kee et al. (2013) research results showed that those who showed a greater sense of connection and commitment in the community had a higher satisfaction of community well-being. Further research suggests concentrating efforts to find a different use of community, and exploring how connection to community life and their identities compare.

Community is not an independent or isolated concept. The use of community is not limited to particular areas anymore. The development and transformation of the concept of community serve as proof that it is not limited to geographical area. Thus, studies of community well-being are closely related to concepts like community development, community building, community organization and community capacity. These concepts also convey community work and community planning by non-governmental organiza-

tions (NGOs). Most sociologists who are interested in voluntary organizations and NGOs study grass-roots communities. However, this approach to community study is not always effective for gauging social progress in general. However, more grass-root efforts have elevated awareness of happiness and quality-of-life dimensions within community well-being discussions. In this study, these concepts will be differentiated.

### **Community Well-Being and Related Concepts**

Community well-being has been discussed in various contexts in previous studies. Although the precise definition varies on the situation, community well-being involves action plans to better community life for the individual and group. Generally, community well-being is not differentiated from other related concepts unless it is discussed in the context of service delivery and governmental work, because public service is delivered for the individual and community to satisfy needs for survival. In the delivery process, the responsible authority such as the public official must consider the efficiency and effectiveness of resources that local governments are to deliver. Community well-being and related concepts access resources differently.

To define community well-being, these concepts traced the terms community and well-being. The word "community" is derived from the old French and Latin communities that mean fellowship or organized society ([www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com), 20140521). Community is generally defined as a group or network of person who share common goals at a common geographical base. It relates to social ties in a group and their relationship is considered important for their social identity in a school, workplace, family, and neighborhood. It also affects a sense of community that could be interpreted as a need for belonging as suggested by Maslow and other psychologists. Studies considering human needs and service delivery at the community level encourage discussion of mea-

surement approaches such as Sense of Community Index (SCI) by Chavis and colleagues (1986). In the field of public administration, SCI has been used by various governments' performance responsible for local, state and villages.

Community well-being includes various issues of the public sector such as the dimensions the local government and public delegated organizations are responsible for. It should follow public-oriented procedures to disseminate and use necessary resources to maximize community benefits. The local government must bring new dialogue for residents' well-being, community benefit, and overall social progress shown Fig. 4.1. In achieving the value of welfare state, the central and local government pursues fare for their citizens. Both central and local authorities

are concerned with well-being because resources to implement and deliver services in their community are limited and uneven. It also depends to social and economic circumstances. The nature of well-being vary according to level of government, and consequently affects individual life. This is the relationship between the state and individual in a community. Therefore, community well-being is considered a tool of welfare state and an influential value of democracy.

Community services from local government exist to maintain human dignity for a better life. In discussing social development, community is organized into three groups based on location, identity, and organization. Types of location-based communities include neighborhoods, villages, and cities. Identity-based communities

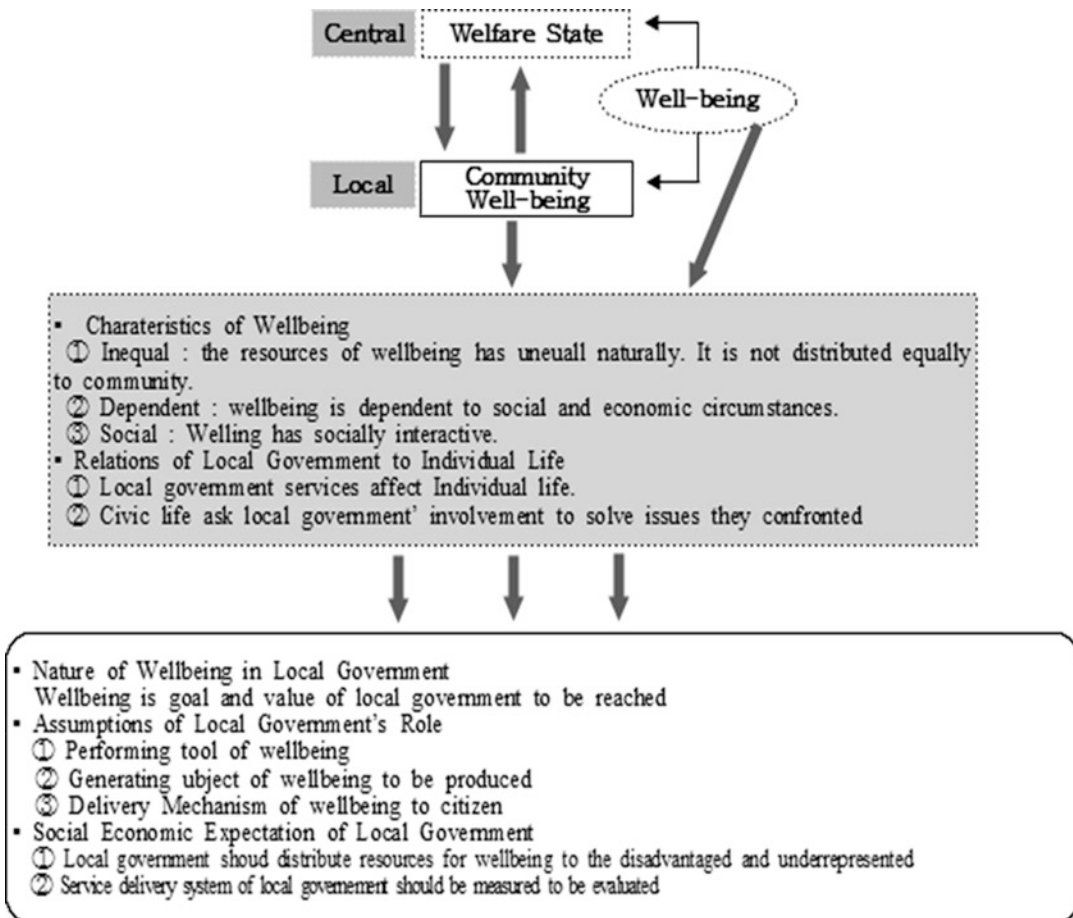
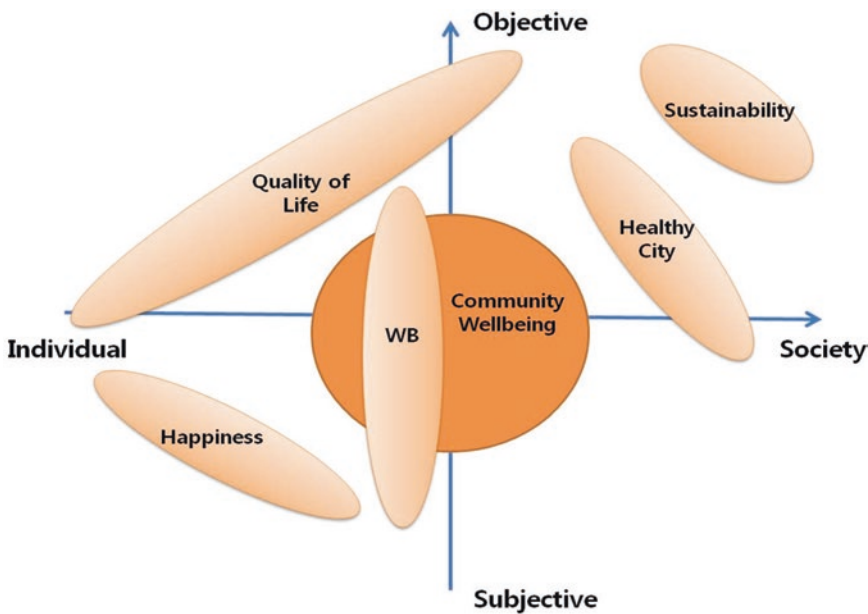


Fig. 4.1 Relativity of community well-being and local government

**Table 4.1** Comparison aspects of quality of life and well-being

Aspects	Quality of life	Well-being
Measurement	Static-measure present status	Dynamic-consecutive condition measure
Being	Limited-psychological aspect of being	Comprehensive-various aspects of being
Value	Value free-neutral	Value included
Focus	Status or output focused	Toward ideal condition, how and input focused
Orientation	Objective oriented, requirement fulfill	Value and capability practice oriented
Resources	Deficiency zero based	Flourishing

Source: Adapted from Lee et al. (2012)



**Fig. 4.2** Comparison of community well-being and related concepts (Source: Adopted from Lee and Kim (2012))

consist of cultural identity or subculture such as a senior community. Organization-based community, a more formal and large classification, shares a common interest and is nationally and internationally connected by business and professional association. Community discussion across all the aforementioned categories strives to better community to benefit people. As we brainstorm strategies with this common purpose in mind, new dialogues for social progress such as quality of life, well-being, sustainability, healthy city have surfaced.

Definitions of community well-being from related concepts have focused on the level of purpose, target clients, and needs. In a 2012 study by

Lee, Kee and Kim, concepts related to community well-being such as quality of life, happiness, well-being, sustainability, and healthy cities were included delineating the scope of community well-being concept usage. The following table provides a comparison of various aspects of quality of life and well-being (Table 4.1).

They suggest that researchers should consider the purpose and reason behind the concept of community well-being to differentiate those related concepts shown Fig. 4.2. Our study adopted Lee and Kim’s study to distinguish related concepts into two perspectives: level of clients and decision making. Community well-being in this study is more inclusive and consists

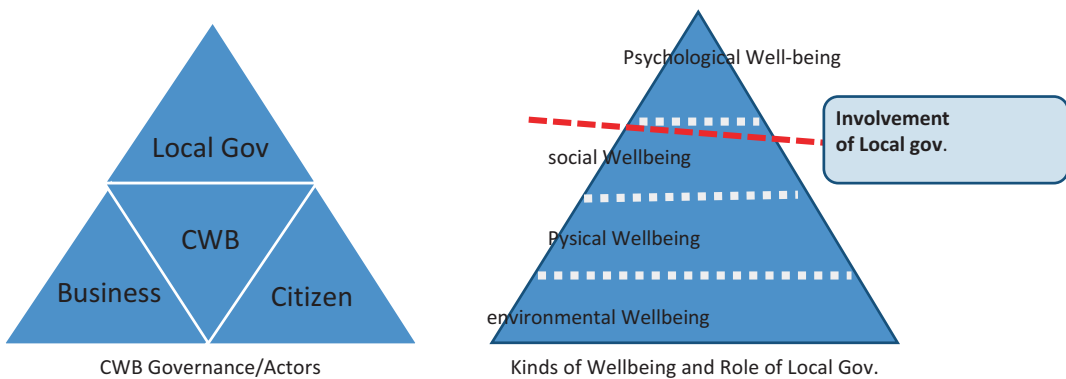
of more comprehensive goals than using economic growth or social progress as a guiding principle for public policy. Policy-making prioritizing community well-being is more comprehensive and appropriate unit (i.e. collective, rather than individualistic) for the use of public resources (Kim et al. 2013).

### Local Government as an Agent of Community Well-Being

This study developed multi-dimensional community well-being model based on the public service delivery function of local authority. The local government is a critical agent that delivers community well-being to citizens. Kee and Lee’s community well-being model made several assumptions regarding human nature and public service. It has been discussed in several academic conferences and global community well-being forums. Local government is the optimal unit for public service delivery, because each community has different conditions that fulfill community well-being. The concept of community well-being is different from quality of life, healthy community, sustainability, and community strength in that it is not solely focused on products or condition but also considers outcomes. In this process, local authorities are assumed to be an agent and the minimal unit of service delivery to fulfill community needs in which people interact to

form social ties. Based on the assumption, a local government is in charge of responding to needs beyond individual boundary. Thus, community well-being is being used as a new agent to serve social well-being beyond environmental and physical well-being shown Fig. 4.3.

Wilkinson (1991) discussed the definition of community well-being to connect the social, cultural and psychological needs of the individual, family, and community. It is a complex concept that includes economic, social, and community structure. Similar definitions of community well-being that include local government as an agent are found in Kusel and Fortmann’s (1991) study. They underscore the local government’s role in service delivery for citizens, expressing the inclusion of performance measures before service delivery. From this perspective, community well-being is an appropriate unit to produce public service at minimal size to be considered administratively. For an effective service delivery, what is community well-being comprised of? Instead of holding conceptual assumptions, policy performance and progress should be measured as tools. Thus, the community well-being model should be built based on the needs and capability theory approach. The needs approach realizes individual and group as service consumers. Capability approach is critical from the perspective of service delivery that supplies public services. Both approaches are used to develop the community well-being model presented.



**Fig. 4.3** CWB governance/actors and kinds of well-being and role of local Gov.

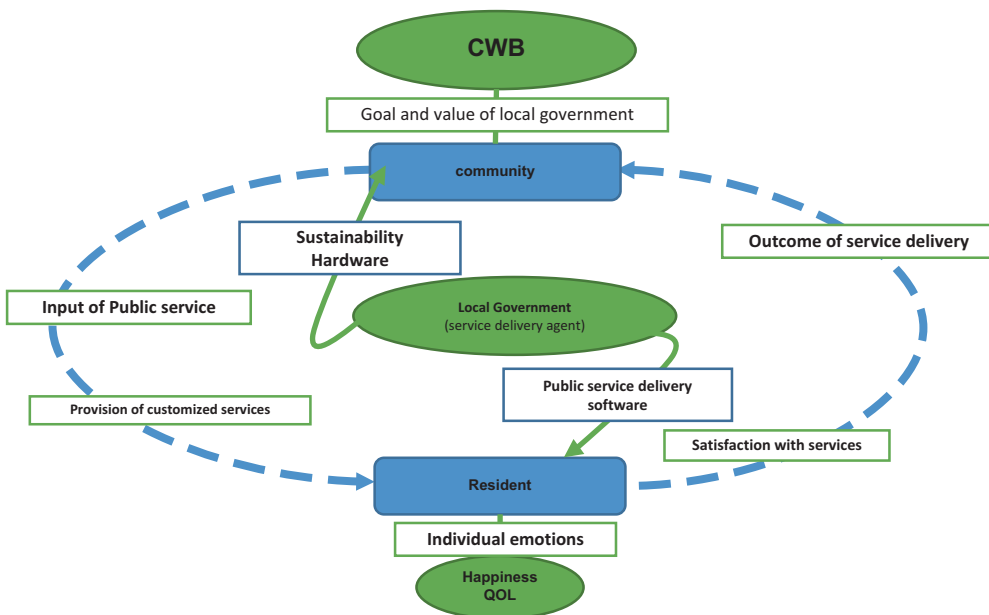
Although individual needs vary, community members share the common need to survive, and hopefully thrive. That is the point where community well-being can connect the varying needs using community capabilities. The local government is responsible for delivering services to fulfill community well-being. To deliver satisfactory service, the local government considers many factors in the community well-being domain including social, economic and psychological factors. The local government's service delivery and performance depend on the capability and resources available to the community. Evaluation of the service delivery agent is closely correlated to citizens' participation in local issues and politics. Consequently, community well-being is of democratic value (Lee et al., 2015). Therefore, CWB evaluates feedback from the service delivery condition and makes improvements (Lineberry 1977). Moreover, the local government coordinates various services in the community effective resource utilization (Christakopoulou et al. 2001).

### Methodology and Procedures of Multi-dimensional Model

The community well-being model for this study is based on Global Sustainable Development (GSD) Metrics. GSD Metrics were used by the U.N. to develop indicators to measure sustainability among countries in 1992. GSD metrics can be adjusted to fit the nation's condition. This flexibility is critical for developing community well-being model, because well-being depends on the type of community, which is based on historical and cultural backgrounds. In this regard, this model assumes that community well-being indicators must be flexible depending on the accessibility and relativeness of data. The indicators of community well-being model adopted the GSD metrics procedures. The steps involved in building the community well-being model is based on the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) metrics as follows.

First, we reviewed previous studies using community well-being keywords including happiness, well-being, and quality of life. Second, by

**Community well-being from the perspective of Service delivery by local government**



**Fig. 4.4** Framework of screening community well-being indicators (Source: Kee et al. (2013), p. 14)



examining literature reviews we collected similar models and measurements listed in the comparative analysis. Third, we screened common factors or indicators to measure its relevance. Fourth, we checked for the availability and accessibility of these indicators from national and local statistics. Fifth, we checked indicators for their availability, relativeness, and representativeness by academic scholars and local civic officers. Finally, we transferred accessible and relevant data and classified domains that consisted of community well-being as suggested in our previous study. The classification framework is shown in Fig. 4.4. These indicators executed by these procedures, measured validity and reliability through pilot study and indicators screened from local survey. To finalize indicators, we matched the definition of community well-being in the previous study, and cross checked availability of data from coworkers in a different context. Community well-being metric framework classified these indicators into four different categories and selected group 1 and 2 to construct multi-dimensional community well-being model.

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### **Constructs of Multi-dimensional Community Well-Being Model**

Based on selected indicators of community well-being model, we constructed a tentative model called multi-dimensional community well-being model, and presented it in the community well-being global forum in 2013. Scholars from Sweden, USA, Singapore, UK, Australia, Taiwan, Japan, China and Korea who have accumulated research experiences agreed to be included in vetting this multi-dimensional community well-being model. As a contemporary model, it can be continuously modified through research in different countries to reflect different conditions.

### **Identifying CWB Components of Previous Researches**

Community well-being is abstract and comprehends human living activities. It includes indi-

vidual and group interest during social interactions (NWMO 2009). Individual living conditions include education, income, economics status, environment, safety, good neighbor, etc. (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006). Community well-being is not the sum of individual well-being (AECOM 2009: 10–11). From this assumption, many studies defined community well-being as the following. It varies according to the focused aspects (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006).

In the 1980s, public health studies helped revive communities because health is not limited to physical aspects but includes environmental effects. In the USA, studies on well-being have focused on physical, mental, and emotional aspects. And now having been affiliated with sustainability issues, well-being studies contributed to the development of healthy cities and communities (Norris and Pittman 2000). Wiseman and Brasher (2008) defined community well-being as a comprehensive mix of social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political conditions. It means that community well-being is not an individual's issue but a holistic representation of community conditions. Thus, community well-being includes issues such as safety, crime, food, housing, health, education, employment, pollution, and land. Kruger (2010) suggests that community well-being condition and factors depend on the needs and resources of the specific community. In that regard, community well-being can express a community's ideal and practice as whole (White 2008; NWMO 2009). Based on previous studies, community well-being in this study consists not only of material aspect but also non-material aspects and relational aspects. It helped shape this comprehensive multi-dimensional model containing community well-being elements that consider community as a living being.

Among studies that distinguish community well-being from community resources, Lee et al. (2012) investigated community well-being based on capital. Multi-dimensional model of this study constructs the relationship between resources and capital as critical components of community well-being. A community has resources by which

**Table 4.2** Community well-being indicators by domain and type of data

Authors	Economic		Social		Environmental		Health		Political	
	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S	O	S
Wiseman et al. (2006)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Salvaris and Wiseman (2004)	X		X	X	X		X		X	X
Institute of Well-being (2009)	X		X		a	a	X	X	X	X
NWMO (2007)	X		X		X		X	X	X	
Australian Unity (2011)		X		X		X		X		X
Sirgy et al. (2000)		X		X		X		X		X
Christakopoulou et al. (2001)	X	X	X	X		X				X
Scottish Development Centre for Mental Health (2003)	X		X				X		X	
Community Accounts (2005)	X		X				X	X		
Cuthill (2002)			X	X	X					X
Ramsey and Smit (2002)	X		X	X			X			
City of Calgary (2010)	X		X				X			
Cooke et al. (2004)	X		X				X			
Hay (1993)	X		X				X			
Pope and Zhang (2010)			X	X					X	X
Stedman et al. (2005)	X		X							
McHardy and O'Sullivan (2004)	X		X							
Allensworth and Rochin (1996)	X		X							

Source: Kim (2011)

O Objective, S Subjective

it can use capital to transform and fulfill specific needs. Capital is a transformed product of resources that is to be used for the community's satisfaction or achievements. This multi-dimensional model adopted human resources, natural resources and relational resources. Considering previous researches, community well-being has various definitions and indicators according to their usage. We developed the multi-dimensional community well-being model by reviewing related models and their indicators. Through previous studies of related concepts, happiness, well-being, and quality of life can be categorized as normative models based on ideals (White 2008; Wiseman and Brascher 2008; Cox et al. 2010; Cuthill 2002; Institute of Well-being 2009; Cummnis et al. 2003; Marks and Steuer

2008; Salvaris and Wiseman 2004; Tilouine et al. 2006; Wiseman et al. 2006; The City of Calgary 2010; Christakopoulou et al. 2001; AECOM Canada Ltd. 2009; Lawless et al. 2010; Filipovic 2008; Higgins 2005). Multi-dimensional community well-being model developed in this study is different from those aforementioned models (Jacksonville Community Council Incns Quality of Life: JCCI 2010; The Canadian Index of Well-being, 1999 by Atkinson Charitable Foundation: ACF, Michalos et al. 2011) (Table 4.2).

### Domains and Indices of CWB

Community well-being indexes in this multi-dimensional model is based on analysis and

**Table 4.3** Community well-being domains

Cooke et al. (2004)	City of Calgary (2005)	McHardy and O’Sullivan (2004)	Ramsey and Smit (2002)	Cuthill (2002)	
Human Development Index (HDI)	Social indicator	Community well-being	Community well-being	Community well-being	
Health	Poverty	Education income labor housing	Economic well-being	Human capital	
Knowledge	Employment		Social well-being	Social capital	
Accessibility of finance	Family safety		Physical well-being	Psychological well-being	Economic capital
	Social integration				
	Education				
	Housing				
	Health				
Safety					

examination of previous measurements developed by the OECD, UN, UNESCO, EU, and WHO for international cases. It also researched measurement indicators developed in Australia, Canada, Japan, UK, and USA for national cases. We found that while these indicators did serve a variety of purposes, they were not applicable at the community level with critical limits to a generalized application Lee. This chapter analyzed existing indicators on relevance and data availability, and presented a list of selected indicators. Although community well-being indexes are being discussed for use in budgeting or public service delivery, a comprehensive index that considers local residents’ quality of life or happiness does not exist as of yet. The findings of this study will be useful for developing a new community well-being index to guide local governments. Community Indicator Victoria (CIV) developed by McCaughey Centre investigated community well-being consisting of five aspects: health, safety and comprehensive community; dynamic and resilient economy; sustainable construction and natural environment; cultural abundance and dynamic community; democratic and participatory community. The CIV includes both subjective and objective data as measurements of community well-being in Australia. Several domains of community well-being are presented in Table 4.3.

According to Cuthill (2002), community well-being indicators focus on economic indicators such as those by the OECD to reformulate human psychological impacts. The Institute of Well-

being (2009) developed the Community Indicator of Well-being (CIW) based on the assumption that GDP cannot be a representation of community development or advancement. Level of community well-being depends on their indicators, Cummnis et al. (2003) developed levels for the individual and nation. Various studies focusing on community well-being indicators for their community and country have been proposed (Salvaris and Wiseman 2004; Cox et al. 2010; AECOM Canada 2009; Lawless et al. 2010; Filipovic 2008).

**Multi-dimensional Community Well-Being Model**

This research investigates similar models to build a conceptual community well-being model. Modeling is based on the operational definition of community well-being. In order to define a concept, quantifiable measures are necessary. Thus, the study used inductive and deductive approaches to define community well-being. For this work, several steps were included in the methodology. At the beginning of the modeling study, related concepts were identified to differentiate community well-being from other concepts. It resulted in the discovery of unique characteristics of the concept.

The multi-dimensional model is based on measuring community satisfaction and accomplished services delivery. Thus, multi-dimensional model constructs elements to be

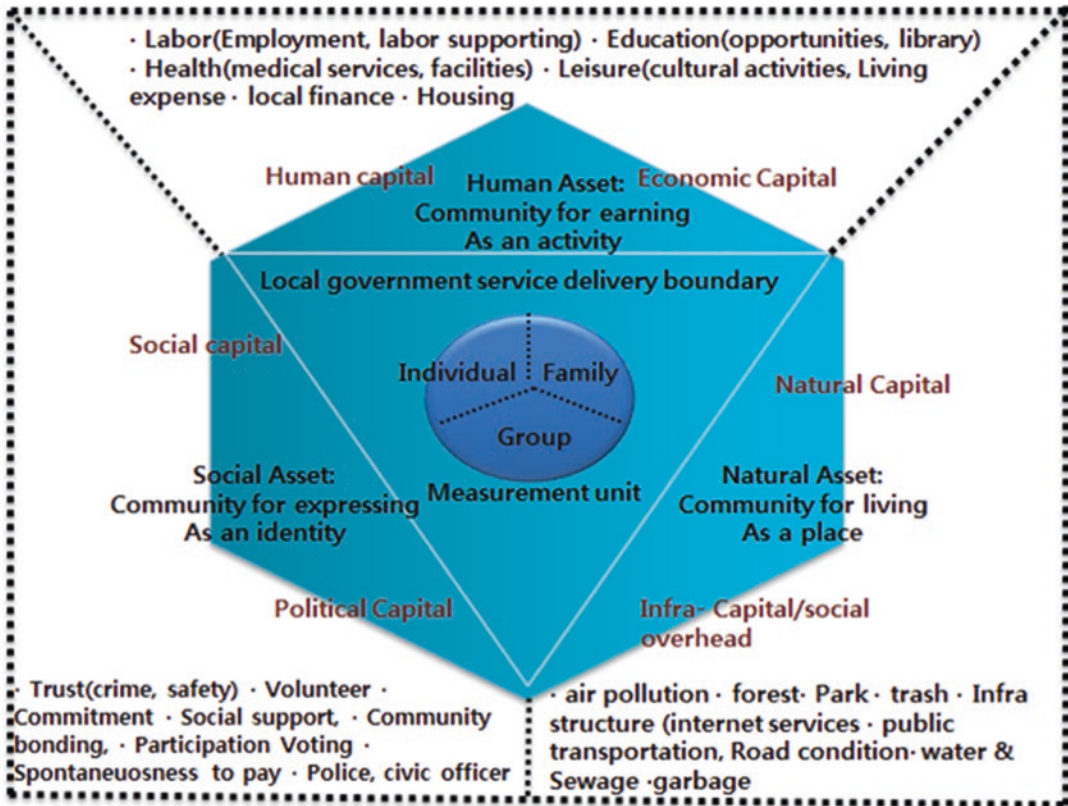


Fig. 4.5 Multi-dimensional community well-being model

measured not only for the individual, but also for the community. For the development of multi-dimensional model, we reviewed various related indicators developed by local authorities such as Community Indicators Victoria, Sustainable Seattle, Jacksonville Community Council Inc.

The multi-dimensional, community well-being model consists of three assets and six capitals with 18 domains shown Fig. 4.5. Human asset, natural asset, and social asset from a community are basic resources for the model and each asset consists of two capitals among human capital, economic capital, social capital, political capital, natural capital, and infra capital. Each capital includes various indicators affecting the conditions of community and individual life to be satisfied for community well-being.

## Issues of Multi-dimensional Model

In the aftermath of the Great Recession, community well-being gained attention as the alternate vision for economic development. However, important questions involving power, equity, and democracy remain. How do we measure community well-being? Who defines the weighting scheme? This paper has compared the different rankings of community well-being factors among citizens and public officials.

In sum, this study developed multi-dimensional community well-being that is an experimental modeling to guide and measure public services delivered by local governments. This multi-dimensional community well-being model followed procedures similar to previous studies. We used measurements and indicators progressed by international organizations to help

countries track their progress and evaluate their development. However, in measuring well-being these previous models were too broad and focused on economic indicators. Yet studies on well-being and happiness have shown that human well-being extends beyond the material to the psychological and spiritual realm. This entire concept, or the multi-dimensional community well-being model, embodies not only economic factors, but also the individual, family and group, community as units to be satisfied. It provides for modification of indicators and uses data alternatives according to each community. It also included a regional level for measuring community well-being.

This study proposes a model of community well-being that can be implemented to improve citizen satisfaction while using the local government as an agent for public service delivery. In order to enhance the community well-being model, we offer the following suggestions. First, confusion between community well-being indicators and related concepts must be eliminated. Although community well-being cannot be independent of happiness, quality of life and well-being, the uniqueness of multi-dimensional model has been considered by the local government as an agent of appropriate public service delivery. It can be a useful guideline for evaluating community satisfaction and accessibility of public services. Another issue our multi-dimensional model raises is to differentiate well-being from social well-being ingredients. At present, our model accepts Sen's (1995) belief that well-being is more focused on material aspects. We need to know the difference between well-being within a community and community well-being. At the moment, well-being within a community is an individual or community level unit. The multi-dimensional model in this study is expected to guide local government service delivery and their policy direction for community as a group and their clients.

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# Happiness: An Alternative Objective for Sustainable Community Development

Scott Cloutier and Deirdre Pfeiffer

## Introduction

Happiness, or how a current lifestyle compares to expectations, is not only an individual characteristic but also a community characteristic (Adams 1992; Hagerty 2000; Quercia et al. 2012) highly dependent on social connections and cohesion (Diener and Seligman 2002). There is growing awareness that social bonds may be shaped by environmental characteristics (Duany et al. 2001; Julius 1987; Putnam 1995; Talen 1999). Social bonds, in turn, may help to protect against environmental hazards like crime that could diminish a community's well-being and social cohesion (Sampson et al. 1997). More, community amenities, including parks, transit, community gardens, affordable housing, and cultural sites, have been found to contribute to the happiness or domains of happiness of residents (Akers et al. 2012; Brereton et al. 2008; Campbell and Wiesen 2011; Choi 2013; Kaplan 2001; Leyden et al. 2011; Morris 2011; Wells and Laquatra 2009). In these ways, individual happiness and community well-being are mutually reinforcing.

Despite the interdependence of individual happiness and community well-being, happiness generally is not sought after as a goal in community development. Rather, achieving social jus-

tice and economic growth traditionally have been its key aims, especially for institutions such as community development corporations that take a leadership role in the process (Vidal 1996). The sustainability sciences have infused new principles into the practice of community development. Most important have been the “three pillars” of sustainability—environment, economy, and social equity. Community development practitioners now have a growing appreciation for how their pursuit of these goals entails negotiating among competing desires and outcomes (Campbell 1996). They also are increasingly sensitive to the importance of being culturally competent and engaging residents in their practice. Yet, these newer approaches can lead to conflicts that threaten community well-being. An alternative framework capable of avoiding these conflicts is needed to move communities more quickly to a state of well-being and sustainability.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. First, we demonstrate that individual happiness is a vital component of community well-being, and that community well-being in turn plays a major role in shaping individual happiness. Second, we argue for increasing individual happiness through participatory community-level interventions as an alternative objective for sustainable community development. Making individual happiness a primary concern of community development is worthwhile for two reasons. First, it is a widely

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comprehensible, place-based goal that has broad political acceptance. Second, working toward bolstering residents' happiness may help to smooth conflicts in practitioners' pursuit of the three pillars of sustainability.

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### **The Strengths and Limitations of Mainstream Approaches to Community Development**

Broadly, community development is "*asset building that improves the quality of life among residents of low- and moderate-income communities, where communities are defined as neighborhoods or multi-neighborhood areas*" (Sampson et al. 1999). The field of modern community development in the USA emerged from the 1960s Civil Rights era. President Johnson's declaration of a War on Poverty in 1964 and the subsequent passage of the Economic Opportunity Act encouraged on-the-ground efforts to address persistent social and economic problems (O'Connor 1999). The contraction of federal social welfare programs over the following decades provided further impetus for community organizations to intervene in their neighborhoods to develop their local economies and achieve greater social equity as economic inequalities deepened within regions (De Souza Briggs 2007; Goetz 1995; Jargowsky 1997; Keating and Smith 1996; O'Connor 1999; Wilson 2012). By the mid-1990s, community development corporations were filling gaps in social services provision, engaging in housing, commercial, and industrial development, and running job training and small business lending programs (Ferguson and Dickens 2011; Vidal 1996). Grassroots community development, popularized by the pioneering neighborhood organizer Saul Alinsky, also focused largely on economic issues. As Fisher (1996) wrote, "community economic development has become virtually synonymous with neighborhood organizing, as if organizing and empowerment were rooted in economic development issues, as if neighborhood struggles were always the same as community economic development..." (45).

The field of sustainability since has infused new models into the practice of community development. These include a concern with "the three pillars" of sustainability—environmental protection, economic growth, and social equity—a sensitivity to culture, and a renewed focus on the importance of public participation.

### **The Three Pillars: Environmental Protection, Economic Growth, and Social Equity**

The field of sustainability has tried to move the community development field away from its traditional focus on growing the local economy and furthering social justice by inserting a third goal: protecting the environment. At face value, most sustainable community development projects are described as using a three-pillared approach. However, the greatest weight is typically placed on economic development, followed closely by environmental conservation, while social equity remains a third priority (Campbell 1996).

Sustainable development, quality of life and a durable local economy go hand-in-hand (Phillips et al. 2013), however, there are tradeoffs to be considered (Wong 2001). Take, for example, a project within a Sub-Saharan African village focused on cultivating economic development by reducing the time spent washing clothes by hand. The leaders of the project suggested that the time women spent gathering the family's clothes, walking to the river, washing the clothes and walking back from the river would be eliminated by providing a foot and solar powered washing machine for use with on-site water. Thus, the women could focus on local business development opportunities and employment, while reducing river disturbance and pollution. However, once the washers were implemented and used, unintended consequences arose. Women of the village reported high levels of depression. In essence, the project took three things away from them: (1) an opportunity for exercise while walking and washing, (2) the chance to spend time with other women from the

village, and (3) a sense of purpose in providing clean clothes for their family.

The imbalance and systematic struggles among the three pillars are what present the greatest challenge to the sustainable community development approach. Had a framework been used that privileged community well-being, these aspects might have been considered, and solutions might have looked quite different.

### The Fourth Pillar: Culture

More recently, the sustainability field has called for the addition of culture to the three-pillared sustainable community development framework. Culture is what defines groups that share a common set of characteristics, such as beliefs, norms, customs or values. Cultures can develop across diverse facets of identity, including nativity, language, race or ethnicity, or profession. Attention to culture in sustainable community development means understanding and dealing with power imbalances among different cultures living in a community, being sensitive to the fact that people often belong to a multiplicity of cultures (e.g. speaking a particular language and coming from a particular place), and striving for cultural competency (Vasquez 2009).

Culture is an important aspect of any sustainable community development framework; however, sustainability projects often lack cultural integration. As an example, consider a project providing sustainable housing in the USA for refugees from a war-torn country. The project leaders designed a small community of several houses with the refugees in mind. Careful consideration was taken to provide environmentally sustainable homes, as the project integrated low emission products, alternative forms of energy, water reclamation and sustainably sourced materials. Yet, after refugees moved into the community, they began suffering from depression and, in some cases, malnourishment. Upon investigation, it was found that many women of the community refused to cook traditional meals and staples (bread and pastries) in the kitchens provided, as the counters were too tall and narrow. In

response, some men took to purchasing inexpensive processed foods at local grocery stores. In other cases, families refused to eat non-traditional meals unless extremely hungry. A more participatory framework conscious of community well-being could have accounted for the cultural requirements for food preparation and avoided these outcomes.

### Role of Participation

President Johnson's declaration of a War on Poverty in 1964 not only upheld social justice as a key national objective but also established public participation in decision making as a primary mechanism for achieving social justice. Since this period, public participation has become institutionalized as an important ingredient of community development (O'Connor 1999), and examples of community development from the ground up abound (Medoff 1994; Seidman 2013). Yet, participation is a "contested concept"; it means different things to different people (Day 1997). Residents and stakeholders' level of involvement in the issues and decisions that affect their lives could range from no or manipulative involvement, to token, passive, or consultative involvement, to collaborative involvement, to full control (Arnstein 1969).

Like the pursuit of the three pillars of sustainability, participatory community development often leads to conflicts that threaten community well-being; yet, participation also is critical to community well-being. On the one hand, greater public involvement can incorporate on-the-ground-knowledge, which may lead to more innovative ideas and informed, higher quality decisions. It can be efficient, if involvement builds trust and makes the implementation of a decision easier. It also may further social justice and community well-being, if the involvement of diverse interests results in consideration of their needs and more equitable outcomes (Creighton 2005). On the other hand, public participation is time consuming and costly, which may make it difficult to get things done. It may increase the noise and lead to compromises that limit the

**Table 5.1** Summary of mainstream community development frameworks

Framework	Description	Strengths	Limitations
War on poverty era	Conventional community development approach	Fills gaps from the devolution of federal social welfare programs; helps to combat growing economic inequalities	Focuses on remedying social and economic issues at the expense of other issues related to community well-being and sustainability
The three pillars	Conventional sustainable development approach including environmental protection, economic growth, and social equity	Systems approach; focuses on key elements driving human sustainability	Imbalances between the pillars may threaten community well-being
The fourth pillar	A development approach where cultural aspects (history, norms, values, identities, beliefs) are considered and preserved	Ties cultural preservation and competency to sustainability	Adds another layer that gets less attention; should be part of a larger framework
Public participation	A commitment to involving people in plans and decisions that affect their lives	Public participation allows people to shape their communities and discover subsurface issues; potentially reduces conflict and eases implementation	Tough to balance listening and action; time consuming; may increase conflict, stymie implementation, and threaten community well-being and sustainability if agreement is not reached

range of options and disregards bold directions. Finally, there may be power imbalances in participatory processes, which in the end may lead to decisions that benefit certain groups over others, thus exacerbating social injustices and threatening community well-being. Consideration of these conflicts led (Benveniste 1989) to dub participation as “the Achilles’ heel of planning,” arguing that “a dilemma of planning is that planning cannot succeed without some participation while at the same time it cannot afford to be dominated by participatory processes” (45).

Sustainability and participant engagement are synergistic, as sustainability requires buy-in from human users. However, as discussed above, a guided and mediated process that balances listening, community control, and decision making is required for participation to be effective. As an example of the issues that can arise in participatory processes, consider the experience of an institution that was tasked with developing a new community from the ground up in the USA. The project involved design across a number of sectors (e.g. water, waste, transport) for a sustainable future. Initial planning proceeded over several

months, after which project concepts were shared in a public information session. In most cases, useful feedback was received and adjustments were made accordingly. However, an avid bicyclist took issue with the transportation plans and dominated the information session, demanding that streets include barrier protected bike lanes. Respect was given for her local knowledge, and barrier protected bike lanes were incorporated in the plans. Yet, this addition angered business owners, who were concerned that this infrastructure would reduce on-street parking, discourage customers, and diminish revenues. Conflict between bicyclists and business owners eventually sidetracked the project, threatening the community’s well-being and sustainability.

The community development frameworks presented above have key strengths, which are summarized in Table 5.1. However, as demonstrated in the vignettes, these frameworks are limited in their ability to promote community well-being and sustainability. In the rest of the chapter, we argue for individual happiness as a missing link between sustainable community development and community well-being and

show how individual happiness can be an alternative objective for sustainable community development.

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## **Happiness: The Missing Link Between Sustainable Community Development and Community Well-Being**

Happiness is a missing link between sustainable community development and community well-being, because it offers a common ground for people of diverse cultures and creeds, living in diverse geographies, to join together to improve their communities and themselves. Attaining community well-being through increased opportunities for individual happiness requires a thorough discussion and assessment of “how the social and built environment facilitates or inhibits the enjoyment of good lives” (Thin 2012). Communities affect happiness in two main ways. First, environmental characteristics affect residents’ social relationships, cohesion, and capital, which jointly shape individual happiness and community well-being. Second, communities contain a particular mix of amenities that also influence individual happiness. We explore these drivers in depth below.

### **Environmental Conditions, Social Connectedness, and Happiness**

There is growing consensus that social relationships affect individual happiness (Diener and Seligman 2002; Fowler and Christakis 2008; Holder and Coleman 2009; Layard and Layard 2011; Leyden et al. 2011; Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006). Considering the tendency of very happy people to have deep and fulfilling social relationships, Diener and Seligman (2002) propose that “good social relationships are, like food and thermoregulation, universally important to human mood” (p. 83). Talking with others keeps us connected and engaged in our communities, which may be key to individual long-term well-being, including health (Elder and Retrum 2012).

If trust and shared social norms arise out of these interactions, we also may accrue social capital, which is knowledge and resources that we get from our relationships that allow us to accomplish goals (Coleman 1988; De Souza Briggs 1997; Putnam 1995).

The accumulation of social capital on a community level may bolster a neighborhood’s community capital, or its unique mix of human, social, political, financial, and natural capital. Community capital shapes a place’s capacity to collectively act to elevate community well-being. Further, becoming involved in collective neighborhood actions also may bolster individual happiness. People who join local organizations and live in places with more volunteer opportunities and a more responsive, trustworthy local government may tend to be happier (Putnam 1995; Leyden et al. 2011).

Community characteristics, such as housing design and density, street connectivity, land use mix, and the availability of public spaces, shape residents’ social ties and capital (Brueckner and Largey 2008; Duany et al. 2001; Freeman 2001; Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006; Leyden 2003; Lund 2003; Mason 2010; Putnam 1995; Talen 1999; Williamson 2002). Emerging research shows that a more compact and diverse neighborhood urban form may lead residents to develop richer social ties and capital (Leyden 2003; Lund 2003; Mason 2010). The relationship between the compactness and diversity of the built environment and happiness may be cyclical in nature. For instance, if urban form is made denser and more diverse through sustainability interventions, opportunities for new social relationships will present themselves. If social cohesion exists and grows and residents become happier, they may become organized and advocate for a denser, more diversified urban environment that would further cultivate social connectedness.

Community socioeconomic characteristics also may influence social cohesion. Older, wealthier and more educated people tend to be more socially connected than younger, poorer, and less educated people. In turn, less transient homeowners may be more socially connected than more transient renters (Putnam 1995; Rohe

and Lindblad 2013). Communities of concentrated poverty or affluence may have less social connectedness and capital than middle class or socio-economically diverse communities and thus diminished individual happiness and community well-being (Oliver 1999; Wilson 2012). Social connectedness and capital among residents may enable places to combat threats like crime and recover from disasters (Sampson et al. 1997; Seidman 2013). Overcoming threats and recovering from disasters may further strengthen residents' social ties and agency and bolster individual happiness and community well-being.

### Community Amenities and Happiness

Community amenities may directly shape individual happiness and community well-being (Cloutier et al. 2014a; Cloutier et al. 2014b). These include access to green space, transit, and affordable housing, among others.

Emerging research suggests that being able to access green and natural environments bolsters individual happiness (Akers et al. 2012; Brereton et al. 2008; Campbell and Wiesen 2011; Kaplan 2001; Wells and Laquatra 2009). Being able to view nature from the window of your home (e.g. lawns, gardens, and landscaping) and living near green spaces that offer a chance to exercise (e.g., parks) may make a person happier (Kaplan 2001; Akers et al. 2012). Windows are "micro-restorative," meaning they offer a brief respite from other activities with little effort (Kaplan 2001). Some of this effect may derive from simply viewing the color green (Akers et al. 2012). The color green has been shown to contribute to feelings of serenity (Akers et al. 2012). Green environments also may indicate fertility and food availability, which may be deeply engrained in us to seek out for survival (Akers et al. 2012). Campbell and Wiesen (2011) characterize open spaces that make people happier as the "restorative commons". These range from parks, to community gardens, to botanical gardens, to building exteriors, to rights-of-way. The complexity and malleability of these spaces may cultivate wonder and prompt exploration, which

may bolster individual happiness and community well-being. Access to these environments may be especially important to seniors' happiness (Wells and Laquatra 2009).

Neighborhood transportation systems also may affect individual happiness by connecting residents to amenities within a broader geography (Choi 2013; Leyden et al. 2011; Morris 2011). Aspects of local transportation systems that may shape happiness include (1) the availability of different transportation modes, such as transit, biking, walking, and driving, (2) the ease and safety of using different modes, such as the presence of dividers between bike and car lanes, and (3) the amenities that different modes offer access to, including jobs, open space, shopping, and other features. There is evidence of associations between happiness and living near transit (Morris 2011; Leyden et al. 2011) and in places with greater walkability and bikeability (Choi 2013). Brereton et al. (2008), however, found that people who lived closer to major roads tended to be less happy. Higher transportation accessibility may entail proximity to noise and pollution, which may detract from happiness (Brereton et al. 2008; Diener 2000).

Access to affordable housing also may affect individual happiness and community well-being, although less supportive evidence exists. High community housing costs may affect residents' levels of stress. People struggling to make rent or mortgage payments may spend less time at work or become depressed, leading them to engage less with their neighbors. This domino affect may diminish individual happiness, and, if social connections and capital within a community deteriorate, community well-being. Evidence for a link between housing prices and individual happiness comes from Leyden et al. (2011), who found that people who lived in cities with higher housing prices tended to be less happy.

Essentially, neighborhood characteristics control the opportunities for residents to pursue their happiness and contribute to community well-being. Through the process of community development, we can shape neighborhood characteristics to develop stronger social connections, bolster individual happiness, and improve

community well-being and sustainability. We now turn to a practical framework that community development practitioners can use to achieve these goals.

### The Sustainability Through Happiness Framework (STHF)

The Sustainability Through Happiness Framework (STHF) (Fig. 5.1) is an iterative approach to community development that continuously assesses the happiness and sustainability of a targeted project (Cloutier and Pfeiffer 2015; Pfeiffer and Cloutier 2016). The objective of the framework is to maximize the opportunities for residents to pursue their own happiness and well-being, thus improving overall community well-being and sustainability. The initial stage for a project is happiness visioning and the process is continuous from there. The five distinct stages to the process are summarized (Table 5.2) and detailed below.

#### Visioning

The first stage of the STHF is happiness visioning. Stakeholders such as project staff, city plan-

ners, and leaders of local institutions and community groups participate in this stage. While visioning is not a new concept within sustainability or community development (e.g. Kim and Oki 2011; Sheppard et al. 2011; Wiek and Iwaniec 2014), the process of happiness visioning is unique. It entails identifying aspects of a community's built and social environment that contribute to happiness, as identified by existing literature, projects, and databases. Then, a vision of the future of the community is developed that incorporates these aspects. For example, as mentioned earlier, there is evidence that green spaces may contribute to subjective well-being (e.g. Akers et al. 2012; Brereton et al. 2008; Kaplan 2001). A happiness visioning process may entail reimagining the community as a place that allows residents more opportunities to view and access green spaces, thereby increasing individual happiness and community well-being.

#### Participant Engagement

The second stage of the STHF is participant engagement. At this point, project staff converse with residents and other community members in a space and during a time that is convenient to understand what happiness means locally and what the strengths and deficits are within the community that affect individual happiness and community well-being. Staff can also host service-learning workshops with local universities and places of higher education contributing to enhance participant engagement. Then, often after several meetings, the project staff shares happiness visioning objectives that address participant issues and come to consensus on desired outcomes. For instance, if participants identified a lack of access to healthy and affordable food as a threat to their individual happiness, and access to green space emerged as an objective during the happiness visioning process, community gardens could be an appropriate mutually agreed upon outcome. Community gardens are attractive, because they could help to bolster not only individual happiness by providing residents access to healthy and affordable food but also community



**Fig. 5.1** Sustainability through happiness framework

**Table 5.2** Sustainability through happiness framework stage descriptions Cloutier and Pfeiffer (2015)

Framework stage	Description	Actors
1. Happiness visioning	Visioning what a sustainable community focused on happiness might look like (first step), then refining visions for happiness (on subsequent iterations)	Project staff, city planners, local institutions (e.g., churches), community leaders
2. Participant engagement	Involving residents for feedback and input on targeted objectives drafted during the visioning stage	Residents, project staff, city planners, local institutions
3. Profit inventory	Assessing and collecting profits contributing to happiness visions for a project.	Project staff, city planners, community leaders
4. Systems planning	Identifying subsystems within a sustainability project system and potential interventions contributing to happiness	Project staff, city planners, community leaders
5. Sustainability interventions	Meeting happiness visions through sustainability actions within subsystems of interest	Residents, project staff, city planners, local institutions

well-being by offering a public space for residents to engage with one another and develop their community capital and capacity for collective action.

**Profit Inventory**

The third stage of the STHF is the profit inventory. After coming to consensus with residents and community members on outcomes that could

affect happiness, project staff, local planners and community leaders reconvene to determine how to achieve these goals. Assets within the community are mapped and their ownership structures and other characteristics are researched to understand how they could contribute to the desired outcomes. For instance, project staff may work in concert with local planners to identify land that may be appropriate to use for a community garden. If residents are able to establish a community garden on the site, happiness-related profits such as access to green space and healthy, affordable food and social connections may result. In short, profits are any resources, services, assets, or other conditions that may contribute to residents’ happiness and a community’s well-being.

**Systems Planning**

The fourth stage of the STHF is systems planning. During this stage, project staff, local planners, and community leaders identify the particular subsystems that connect to the desired outcomes and potential happiness profits identified earlier. For instance, a community garden may involve the following subsystems: water, soil, and food production and transport. The objective of this stage is to determine the most effective areas to work within to increase community well-being.

**Sustainability Interventions**

The last stage of the STHF involves developing sustainability interventions. This stage involves all project participants (project staff, local planners, community leaders, and residents and other community members). The purpose of this stage is to align specific interventions with the desired happiness outcomes identified during the participant engagement stage across the subsystems identified in the systems planning stage. For instance, to achieve the outcome of a community garden, agreements may be made with local institutions to provide access to water and help in the processing and delivery of the produce. During

this stage, project staff also educate residents on the five stages of the STHF so that they are able to continue the process on their own after a few iterations are complete.

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## Considerations in Applying the Framework

The STHF integrates principal aspects of existing sustainable community development frameworks, including a systems-based approach, service learning and workshops, and an emphasis on community involvement. But it improves on other frameworks by embracing a unifying goal—happiness, the accomplishment of which may more directly improve residents' lives and community well-being. Still, the STHF presents key challenges that require further discussion.

## Contributions

The STHF adopts and improves on aspects of mainstream sustainable community development frameworks. Existing community and sustainable development frameworks integrate community participation and focus on service learning and studio courses to understand and brainstorm interventions into community sub-systems (Ferguson and Stoutland 1999). Sustainable development frameworks also use systems thinking, meaning deriving interventions that will tackle multiple issues at once (Hjorth and Bagheri 2006). Finally, the sustainability interventions stage of the STHF is not unique, as numerous community development projects are based upon sustainability interventions (Altman 1995; Arce 2003).

The key contribution of the STHF is that all of its components focus on moving toward a sustainable future while meeting one goal—improving individual happiness. The more opportunities that residents have within a community to pursue their individual happiness, the greater the community's well-being, and the more resilient it will be over the long-term. In this way, happiness is a missing link between sustainable community development and community well-being.

Yet, an additional benefit of the STHF is the indirect effects it can have on other mainstream sustainable community development goals, such as social equity, environmental protection, and economic development. In the STHF, these goals are by-products of strategies to bolster residents' happiness. For instance, as mentioned above, a community garden may narrow gaps in obesity and diabetes among social groups by providing access to healthy foods. It also may protect neighborhood open space and provide economic opportunities for residents (e.g., selling produce at local convenience stores), and increase social connections. Further, happiness visioning allows a community garden to become part of a greater system focused on increasing and improving opportunities for happiness. The happiness visioning stage facilitates a systematic and organized process to increase access to these opportunities, and the STHF returns to this stage, reinforced by the subsequent framework stages, and can be modified when necessary.

Individual happiness may be an easier goal for community development practitioners to achieve than social equity, environmental protection, or economic development, as it may be more palatable to a wider segment of the population. People commonly talk about their personal happiness and the happiness of others. Working toward community well-being through the hinge of individual happiness may mean that residents are able to more quickly become involved in sustainable community development projects, because they already understand the language and the outcome. In turn, improving individual happiness may be easier to achieve than disrupting structural constraints that drive social and economic inequalities, although certainly the latter should not be ignored. Interventions like community gardens are small-scale approaches with little financial pressure for residents and external stakeholders. Happiness is considered a meaningful goal to work toward across social divisions. This may mean happiness-centered community development initiatives have more political and social capital available to help achieve their goals.



## Challenges

As with any project focused on a collective goal, there will be challenges to improving community well-being by increasing individual happiness. To start, there is a dearth of knowledge on the neighborhood-level drivers of happiness. Although evidence of how neighborhoods indirectly affect individual happiness through social connectedness is growing, we still know little about how neighborhood amenities and conditions directly affect individual happiness. Further empirical research is needed to test theories on these relationships, as well as develop new ones. Until this body of knowledge matures, the tools that community development practitioners will be able to draw on in the sustainability interventions stage of the STHF will be limited.

Community development practitioners using the STHF also will face conflicts where one person's happiness leads to another's unhappiness. Although happiness is shaped by some universal domains (Layard and Layard 2011), its other ingredients may differ widely among individuals and communities. For instance, the profits inventory may identify a city-owned lot next to an apartment building as an appropriate site for a community garden. But the happiness of the residents of the apartment building may diminish if the gardeners are overly social and make too much noise. A related challenge that practitioners will face is planning for the happiness of current residents in a way that does not detract from the happiness of future residents or generations, or residents outside of the community, which could lead to intergenerational or regional inequality. Constructing procedures for dealing with these conflicts in the STHF framework is an important direction for further research.

Ultimately, the field of sustainable community development requires new perspectives. The human population is continuously growing, putting stress on our environment, economy and social systems. As we expand, differences will arise given varying cultural practices, beliefs and goals. A sustainable community development framework focused on achieving community well-being by maximizing opportunities for individuals to pursue their happiness offers a way forward.

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## Part II

# Engaging and Participating for Well-Being

# Debriefs as Process Evaluation for Community Well-Being: Community-based Participatory Research with Métis Settlements in Alberta, Canada

Fay Fletcher, Alicia Hibbert, and Brent Hammer

## Introduction

Community well-being is a long-term outcome achieved by community-led strategies that meet the sociocultural needs of all community members in areas such as health, economic development, self-determination, and education. The Métis Settlements Life Skills Journey (MSLSJ) project represents one such strategy, using a community based participatory research (CBPR) approach to positively affect resiliency in Métis communities in Alberta, Canada. In this chapter, we discuss a novel process evaluation method – reflective and reflexive group debriefs – focusing on the MSLSJ project as a case study using this method.

The key to improving community well-being in a CBPR project is effectively balancing service with research. Spoth and Greenberg (2005) state that strategies for managing service delivery and research are essential components of promoting community well-being in practitioner-scientist partnership studies in psychology. Throughout the program development, implementation, and evaluation phases of the MSLSJ project, regular debriefs were held with the Principal Investigator (PI),

Project Manager (PM), and Research Coordinator (RC). The motivation behind these debriefs came from the PI's experience across multiple projects where “the elephant in the room” was ignored: politics, power, and prevailing stereotypes that many scholars are reticent to address. The PI shared the hope that debrief participants would commit to an environment where these issues could be openly discussed. The purpose of the debriefs was twofold: first, to provide an information-sharing forum for team leaders during the Life Skills Journey program implementation, and second, to provide an opportunity for reflection and reflexive analysis, similar to academic journal writing. Insights gained from this process served as formative assessment and informed planning.

The participants and facilitator for these debriefs chose an approach that involved collecting and reflecting on personal CBPR research stories through cycles of active participation. The process and emergent themes led to short-term and medium-term outcomes, which provided insight into our initial need – closing the gap between the theoretical and the practical in CBPR. For example, “elephants in the room” during these debrief sessions may include: financial mismanagement in community-university partnerships; the complexity of moving beyond individual behaviour change to community well-being, including gaining community consensus to do so; and the realistic sup-

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port and preparation needed to motivate individual team members living in communities that can be high risk, unhealthy, and abusive, while also meeting the expectations of employment in a university-based research project.

The decision to have weekly debriefs represents the practice of a simple, yet effective, principle: that the people who are doing the work, including community members, should actively reflect upon every step in the process, from determining needs through completion (Smyth 1989). The fact that the debrief participants had taken separate academic and personal journeys and have collectively studied critical social theory, cultural relativism, and reflexivity, led to a shared belief in the importance of creating space for multiple perspectives to inform the research process. It was agreed that journaling provided a valuable experiential learning method for exploring engagement in community-university partnerships and CBPR (Douchet and Wilson 2008). Despite agreement about the value of journaling, the time commitment required was impractical, especially during Life Skills Journey facilitator training and implementation. To overcome the barrier presented by this time demand, it was decided that audio recorded debriefing would be used as an alternative approach to journaling; dialogue would encourage active and reflective group discussions. The debrief process complemented other quantitative and qualitative evaluation elements already in place for the overall project.

Initial analysis of the debriefs focused on key issues identified in the needs and readiness assessment of the early stages of the MSLSJ project: barriers and successes, and stories of change (Fletcher et al. 2013a). New themes emerged as the iterative process of debriefs and inductive qualitative analysis (Thomas 2006) progressed. Seven non-mutually exclusive themes were identified: balancing the ideals of CBPR with the realities of CBPR; community service delivery and research; relationship building; roles and responsibilities; assumptions; youth facilitator training; and staff hired to train the facilitators in their camp leader roles. Twenty one debriefs were held from May 8, 2013 to June 19, 2014, allowing participants to reflect on the entire pilot

implementation process. During this period, data collection also included discussions about program evaluation through pre/post camp surveys with the campers, focus groups with campers and youth facilitators, and interviews with key team members involved in the delivery of these programs. In the next section, we explore Métis wellness and the community context for the MSLSJ program prior to a discussion about community service delivery and research for community well-being. This latter section is thematically organized around: reciprocal capacity building, relational accountability, and healthy cultural and personal boundaries; all of these themes contribute to well-being for individuals working in CBPR as well as communities.

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## Métis Wellness

Métis peoples are primarily descendants of unions between French or Scottish fur traders and First Nations women during the settlement of Canada. They represent a growing population, doubling since 1996 across Canada in both urban and rural settings (Gionet 2009). Alberta is the only province in Canada with land-based Métis who live in self-governing communities known as Métis Settlements; this chapter pertains to these Métis communities specifically.

Aboriginal peoples in Canada, comprised of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, have a shared history of colonization.<sup>1</sup> However, each community or group has a unique context; place and culture influence their health and community well-being in different ways. As a result, we strongly advocate against using pan-Aboriginal that attempt to homogenize Aboriginal communities. This chapter focuses on service delivery and research in resiliency for Métis youth. National health statistics document the ongoing disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians (First

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<sup>1</sup>See Czyzewski (2011), Elias et al. (2012), Fast and Collin-Vezina (2010), Gone (2013), Greenwood and de Leeuw (2012), Richmond and Ross (2009), and Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski (2004) for discussion of the impacts of colonization on the well-being of Aboriginal people in Canada.

**Table 6.1** Indicators of community well-being: Métis and non-aboriginal populations in Canada (Source: Gionet 2009)

Community well-being indicator	Métis population (%)	Non-Aboriginal population or national average (%)
Lone parent family	31	17
Crowded housing	8	3
Dwellings requiring major repair	14	7
Post-secondary education	50	61
University degree	9	23
Employment	74.6	81.6

Note. It is not possible to make a direct comparison between Métis and non-Métis from this data, only between Métis and non-Aboriginal. The non-Aboriginal population in this table does not contain First Nations and Inuit data

Nations Information Governance Centre 2012; McHardy and O’Sullivan 2004; O’Sullivan and McHardy 2007). In response to these health disparities, the University of Alberta and Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement in Alberta, Canada, partnered in a community based participatory research (CBPR) project to strengthen resiliency among Métis children and youth (Fletcher et al. 2013a, b, 2014). In this context, resiliency refers to the “ability of children and adolescents to cope successfully in the face of stress-related, at-risk or adversarial situations” (Donnan and Hammond 2007, p. 450). Recognizing that resiliency can only be achieved through both inner strengths and external supports (Hartling 2008) – peers, family, and the community as a whole – the MSLSJ project involved children as camp participants, youth as camp leaders, and other parents and seniors as advisors and guests. Thus, resiliency is developed in parallel with community well-being.

The 2006 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) (Gionet 2009) collected health related information from off-reserve First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people in Canada. A Métis supplement to the APS, developed by Métis organizations in cooperation with Statistics Canada, was designed by Statistics Canada specifically for the Métis

population. Questions on family background, child welfare, social interactions, and health reveal ongoing disparities between Métis and non-Aboriginal populations. Table 6.1 represents important measures of community well-being found in this study, including inequitable living conditions, housing conditions, education, employment and income.

At the same time that statistics were providing insight into community well-being, Métis elders<sup>2</sup> were asking for increased use of traditional health knowledge and healing practices to restore health and wellness (Métis Centre 2008a, b). Others began to explore community well-being as a part of cultural knowledge. Kumar and Janz (2010) write that culture is a shared system of meaning, passed on through generations, “that allows the group to meet basic needs of survival, pursue happiness and well-being, and derive meaning from life” (p. 63). If one accepts this definition, engaging in spiritual, linguistic, leisure, and subsistence-related activities that are unique to this group would have a direct and lasting impact on well-being. Kumar and Janz’s (2010) study examines fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering wild plants, doing traditional arts and crafts, attendance at cultural activities, spirituality, and language to understand cultural continuity (the connection individuals have with their own cultural past) and the community’s well-being. According to their findings, in the previous 12 months: 40% of adult Métis had fished (87% for pleasure); 15% had hunted (89% for food, 64% for pleasure); and 2% had trapped. Though suggesting some cultural continuity, the numbers represent a decrease in participation over the years, in part due to interruptions in the freedom to participate in and express Métis culture.

Métis people’s history is marked by policies and actions that have had intergenerational impacts on health and well-being; relationships with non-Aboriginal people are characterized by

<sup>2</sup>Fletcher et al. (2013a, p. 140) state that “contrary to the normative Elder role in First Nations, Elder authority is not formalised at BLMS. At BLMS, elder is a respected senior – it does not denote the proper noun, ‘Elder’, as is used in First Nations communities.”

power imbalances and marginalization, as well as discrimination. Overcoming the impacts of this history requires respectful and accountable relationships in which partners contribute equitably to the provision of services and participation in research (negotiating collaborative delivery of research and services). Relationships are not only crucial to CBPR, but also affect the success of service delivery.

### **The Métis Settlements Life Skills Journey Project**

In response to a government-led request for drug and alcohol prevention programs, the University of Alberta and Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement (BLMS) partnered to develop, deliver, and evaluate the Life Skills Journey program for Métis children and youth. The primary outcome of the MSLSJ project is to build individual and community resiliency in a culturally appropriate manner, with the intent of addressing substance misuse and bullying in Métis communities. The long-term intent is to contribute to community well-being for BLMS. The MSLSJ team aims to evaluate life skills summer camps for youth aged 7–14, over several years, in multiple Settlements in Alberta. The MSLSJ partnership was established with BLMS in 2010. After 3 years of community meetings, a needs assessment, and program development, the first summer camp was delivered and evaluated in 2013.

CBPR has strong parallels with principles of good practice in community development; good practices that, according to Lee et al. (2015), “overlap with the underlying precepts of community well-being” (npa). An examination of these principles against MSLSJ project activities demonstrates the many ways that this CBPR project contributes to community development and, in turn, community well-being. Community development literature emphasizes promoting active participation to enable community members to meaningfully influence decision makers (Lee et al. 2015) and to this end, our team has:

conducted a community needs assessment to identify issues relevant to local youth; initiated a local advisory committee to make decisions on Life Skills Journey program development and implementation and who consider the needs of disadvantaged community members; and encouraged a full-time community staff member to participate in meetings with local leadership. Participation in these activities, in turn, affects decisions that directly affect community members’ immediate and extended families, and their community as a whole. Further working to enhance the leadership capacity of community members, program facilitators aged 18–30 were hired from the community and received training in life skills and substance abuse prevention topics, including helping, leadership, and basic teaching skills to promote learning through play. Facilitators and community staff learn about the CBPR approach as one that involves community members in all facets of the MSLSJ project, which in turn leads to community well-being. In terms of the long-term sustainability and well-being of the community (Lee et al. 2015), sustainability of the Life Skills Journey program for children and youth remains a priority for all community members and research team members. Strategies for sustainability include working with local leadership, university units, and additional Métis Settlements, ultimately building networks as a sustainability strategy.

Figure 6.1 outlines a program logic model that focuses solely on the debrief process in the MSLSJ project. In this model, an identified need to close the gap between the theoretical and practical in CBPR was inspired by the Principal Investigator’s experience working across multiple projects. In order to address this gap, inputs included funding from the overarching MSLSJ project, including human and fiscal resources for employee participation in the debriefs. Outputs include the debriefs themselves, where data was collected. Subsequent analysis led to the identification of principles of practice that we suggest are necessary for CBPR. Using a case study of



Situation		Inputs	Outputs	Outcomes		
Needs	Priorities			Short-Term	Medium-Term	Long-Term
Directly addressing the gap between the theory and practice of CBPR.	Enhance the practice of CBPR.  Achieving both research and community priorities through co-learning.	<b>Funding</b> – Alberta Health Services  <b>Personnel</b> –PI, PM, RC, 2 RAs, 1 CA, 1 CD, 7 facilitators	<b>Data Collection Activities:</b> Debrief sessions, led by RA  <b>Analysis Activities:</b> Principles of practice for CBPR	Evidence of principles of practice in action in the Métis Settlements Life Skills Journey project	Successful balance in service delivery and research in the Métis Settlements Life Skills Journey project	Community well-being at Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement

**Fig. 6.1** Program logic model to address the gap between theory and practice in CBPR

the MSLSJ project, we present short-term outcomes that provide evidence of these principles in action. These principles in action led to medium term outcomes in successfully balancing service delivery and research, thus setting the environment for long term community well-being at Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement.

### Community Well-Being: A Case Study with Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement

Inductive analysis from the debriefs confirmed an expected challenge. Managing a project that encompasses the creation, implementation, delivery and evaluation of a community service, while upholding the expectations of a research intensive university and multiple funding agencies, is complex. Despite the growing recognition of CBPR and other forms of Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council community-centred research (Barker 2004; Canadian Institutes of Health Research 2008; Community Campus Partnerships for Health n.d.; Sandmann 2006; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council n.d.), the structures intended to serve the research mandate of the university do not

easily accommodate service delivery or attend to the realities of the community. As a result, CBPR researchers often find themselves in the difficult position of satisfying the priorities and policies of several stakeholders including community, university, and (multiple) funders. For example, the primary focus of the PI and PM was to develop and implement – with community input – a program that would have a positive impact on youth and community resiliency, maximizing the benefits to the community. This is the direct result of a research team comprised of individuals who, regardless of whether they represent community or university, are committed to meet the needs of the community first through service delivery, with research goals a secondary priority. To better understand some of the challenges of balancing service delivery and research (see Fig. 6.1 for reference to this as a medium-term outcome), we first present principles of practice: maintaining healthy boundaries, reciprocal capacity building, and relational accountability. These principles are evident in the case study at BLMS through two main themes, shared values and adaptability. Following a discussion of short-term outcomes, we present two themes relevant to balancing

research and service delivery: managing responsibility, and managing shared understanding between community and academic language.

## Short-Term Outcomes: Evidence of Principles of Practice in CBPR

### Maintaining Healthy Boundaries

While relational accountability and reciprocal capacity building have been mentioned in the CBPR literature as critical to collaborative partnerships (Israel et al. 1998), our use of healthy boundaries as a principle necessary for the successful balance of service and research is fairly unique to the area. Boundaries, as the term is used in the field of psychological counselling, refer to geographical, cultural, physical, and personal boundaries essential to maintaining order and identifying where one entity ends and another begins. Boundaries “promote health, inner peace, safety, confidence, exploration, expression, positive relationships, and service to others” and allow “an identifiable shape to emerge around your beliefs and preferences. Defining boundaries produces a confidence within you that lets others know what you have to offer” (Black and Enns 1997, p. 10). We discuss maintaining healthy cultural boundaries as one way to nurture and sustain accountable relationships between university and community partners, which in turn are necessary for the success of research and service delivery.

Most personal boundaries are flexible to match different circumstances, while others are inflexible, used as protection from someone or something that is harmful to you; they can be “friendly but firm, welcoming but choosey” (Black and Enns 1997, p. 10). Cultural boundaries exist between communities and are formed through differences in language, behaviours, attitudes, skills, and experiences (Black and Enns 1997). Through open discussions of difference, boundaries are made clearer for the benefit of both parties. As a result, individuals from various cultures (in this case rural Métis Settlement members, urban Métis Nation members, and

urban non-Métis cultures) exhibit clear, but generally flexible boundaries. This idea is echoed in a publication from Elmer Ghostkeeper, currently a member of BLMS Council, the community’s formal leadership. Ghostkeeper (2007) discusses his own spiritual revitalization process through discovering and honoring the ideal self as “measuring up to the codes of the ideal self becomes a vital component in the way role behaviour is articulated or phrased in meeting the demands of interpersonal situations” (p. 80). We suggest that identifying and adhering to clearly articulated codes recognizes the existence of healthy boundaries. Knowing your personal (for example, service provider, researcher, relative) and community boundaries (for example, Settlement’s openness to ‘outsiders’, university ethics board) proved to be an important aspect of maintaining respectful relationships in promoting community well-being.

An example of maintaining healthy boundaries came from training community facilitators. In 2013, facilitator training took place over 37 days: 16 in Edmonton, 12 at BLMS, and 9 at a second Settlement. Although university project leaders considered the potential difficulty of community employees adapting to living in the city, the impact of this change was underestimated. This amount of time in a major city proved to be difficult for community members. Credit goes to the facilitators and the Camp Administrator (CA) for teaching the importance of community based (not only community placed) work and relationship.

Based on feedback from facilitators in 2013, facilitator training in 2014 was condensed to 24 days and held mainly in the community: 20 days at BLMS and 4 days in Edmonton. The willingness on the part of the city-based team members to commute and live in community for facilitator training as well as camp implementation was a strong show of support and commitment to the community. All interviews and focus group data speak to the success of this training environment. The decision to host training at BLMS allowed for: community guests to attend sessions to help prepare facilitators for their guest visits to camp;

increased community awareness of the program, increased community's sense of ownership over the program; and the increased amount of activity at the local buildings, including administration, recreation, and cultural centres. The CA described 2014 training as "a lot better in the settlement, a lot better for all of them [community facilitators] because they didn't have to leave home. They didn't have to worry about travelling or how they were going to get to where they were going or getting lost and getting distracted."

Another example of establishing and maintaining healthy boundaries through shared values is the degree of participation in reflexive discussions amongst team members. Community members served on the advisory committee, remained employed by the project, or returned to the project in year 2 (for seasonal work). Thoughtful and critical input provided during interviews, focus groups and debriefs reflected growing capacity and healthy boundaries.

The CA played an important role in building the bridge between the community and the university. She represents the community's values and processes at university team meetings, but also represents the university in community through active employment. In early 2014, after recognizing that the community voice was missing from the cooperative reflective inquiry process, she was asked to join the regular debriefs. During one conversation, she articulated shared values. This conscious realization comes about because of the ability to participate in inclusive reflexive activities with another research team member. Her comment, below, captures in plain language, the moment she became aware of the impact of shared values – the point at which individuals do things not because they have to, but because they want to:

There's some people who do stuff that are not – they just do the stuff and it doesn't come from the heart but just because it's their job to do it. So a lot of people don't go to these functions that happen because of that *and that's the first time I said it like that cause that's what I just realized*. Cause it doesn't come from the heart, just because they have to do that, they do it, right. And there's a big difference in when you want to do something compared to when you have to do something.

Debriefs were designed to encourage reflection on relationships and program delivery and to promote and nurture the development of healthy boundaries. They provided instant learning opportunities and encouraged direct and timely action responses.

### **Reciprocal Capacity Building**

Viswanathan et al. (2004) convened experts to complete an extensive literature review to address four key questions of CBPR. One was to define CBPR and, in particular, the essential elements of CBPR. One of the three elements they described was co-learning and reciprocal transfer of expertise by all research partners. Viswanathan and associates noted that published studies "generally focused on the increased capacity of the participant community, rather than that of the research community" (2004 p.4). In contrast, it is our intent to focus on the critical importance of this reciprocal capacity building for community well-being: it must be experienced by the research team as well.

A revision to academic team members' concept of capacity building, as well as an opening of personal and cultural boundaries, particularly on the part of community facilitators, was required to achieve the flexibility demanded of the service delivery mandate of this project. Reciprocal capacity building came in response to a request, after the 2013 Life Skills Journey program implementation, by the facilitators and CA to recruit and hire a university-based individual with camp director experience to lead the summer camps in 2014. This request was coupled with the selection of university-based facilitators to work at the summer camps. The benefit of the Camp Director role was described as: "I think it made a big difference to have [the university camp director] there every day, all day. Even their debriefs at the end of the day were much better than they were last year." Facilitators opened the doors to their community and were excited to teach university students about Métis people and Settlements. They did this by establishing and maintaining, on an individual by individual basis, professional relationships and healthy boundaries. For example, one of the university-based

facilitators signed on as a baseball coach in the community, extending her stay in the community to accommodate this.

While creating employment opportunities within the community is important, facilitators emphasized the positive influence of non-Settlement members' participation:

It's always good because it provides employment opportunities and kind of makes differences and changes within the community, but it is always good to see people from out of the community come in. I feel the kids are a lot more engaged when they are not familiar with people. I'm from the community where this is taking place and I know that when there was a new person that came to the community we were so interested and we'd listen to everything they said. (BLMS Program Facilitator [PF] 2013)

Employing principles of healthy cultural and personal boundaries and reciprocal capacity building resulted in the flexibility required to relocate and adjust the duration of facilitator training, experiment with a community-university cohort of facilitators, and hire a university trained camp director for 2014 camps. The effectiveness of this action for service delivery is reflected in a comment that came out of one of the weekly debriefs during facilitator training where the participant expressed that the community did not see the two university students as "university people".

Both university team members and community facilitators mentioned that non-community members need to learn the inner workings of the community to build positive relationships. For example, it is common for a wake to take place upon the passing of Métis Settlements members; often, the wake will be held at the local recreation centre where summer camp was also held. As non-members of the Settlement, it is important to understand that public buildings and workplaces will close. All research and associated services will be cancelled, moved, or postponed and employees have a paid day off; this typically does not align with university policy. Policies for this project have been developed that respect local ceremonies and events associated with grief and loss. Similarly, the

individual needs of single parents and family responsibilities were respected through flexible hours and days off. University team member assumptions that 7 h days and 35 h work weeks would be preferable were quickly dispelled as community employees made family and child needs a priority. Without becoming personally involved in the day-to-day pressures and demands of community employee's personal lives, the university found ways to support individuals' needs and community practices. "The university gave a lot of support in everything that they would do, just being open to different people and knowing that everyone has their own life. They played a big role in supporting the program" (PF 2014). University partners became aware of and sensitive to the community differences and facilitators needs and priorities, rather than imposing strict institutional work guidelines and policies.

### **Relational Accountability**

The idea of relational accountability is grounded in the work of Indigenous scholar Wilson (2009), who speaks of the ethical space between worldviews; there is a growing sense of relational accountability created by the connection of head and heart in CBPR. Author Fletcher's own experiences of connecting head and heart in research and teaching with Indigenous learners led to an understanding of relational accountability:

Responsible relations account for their actions in relation to others, not in isolation. Thus they participate in an intricate web of relationship in a way that demonstrates both personal responsibility and responsibility to the other.... Further, it calls on all partners to act in the best interest of self and other equally. (Kajner et al. 2012, p. 266)

University and community partners alike exhibit adaptability in order to get the job done. This willingness to do whatever it takes arises out of a shared vision, shared practices, and shared experiences, "When the camp is happening and everybody's out there, everybody shares responsibility of doing whatever needs to be done" (CA 2014). This relational accountability is a princi-

ple of relationships necessary for service delivery and CBPR research; the needs of individuals and communities are not only recognized and accepted but built into project expectations, timelines, and goals.

Shared values as an indicator of relational accountability is most apparent in the personal stories told during inclusive, reflexive activities including interviews, focus groups and debriefs. At various points in the delivery and evaluation of the Life Skills Journey program, team members from the community and the university began to feel accountable for each other's success and had established the healthy cultural and personal boundaries that allowed the difficult questions or issues to be discussed. For example, the CA was asked if she felt that university team leaders thought she was honest and accountable to them and the program, and she replied "I think so because if they didn't I'm sure that they'd tell me" (2014). These two principles, relational accountability and healthy boundaries, resulted in the internalization of each other's unique and shared values: the university's requirement for research activity and outputs; the community's desire for a youth life skills program; and the shared desire to have a positive impact on Métis people's health and community well-being.

The relationship between the CA at BLMS and the university partners is one of mutual respect, "There is respect on both ends, because that is how it is with people that I work with. If you don't respect somebody then you're not going to do the best for them" (CA 2014).

Arising out of this mutual respect, the CA demonstrated her accountability to the success of the project, taking on increased responsibility to achieve shared goals. She is administrative assistant, program developer, and the camp administrator – she is most concerned with remaining active and adaptable to the program as it unfolds. We suggest that this also speaks to her internalization of the value of the role of research and what she can do to contribute to the research goals. Author Hibbert noted that, after years working together, there is a clear understanding

with the CA as to the research goals – as outside of and in addition to the service delivery needs that directly benefit her family and community – of the project. Relational accountability has been fostered through consistent in-person meetings.

## **Medium-Term Outcomes: Balancing Service Delivery and Research**

### **Managing Responsibility for Service Delivery**

Debrief participants spoke about the financial agreement between the research project funder and PI's institution in 12 of the 16 debriefs, making it the most frequent topic of discussion. This speaks to its significant impact on achieving both the service delivery and research goals of the project. Openly discussing barriers created by the policies and procedures of researchers' institutions or funding agencies may be considered risky for researchers whose livelihood and reputation rely on funding to conduct research. Jeopardizing those grants or approvals, by speaking about the challenges they present, is not done lightly. However, the lessons learned in doing so may be the difference between future success or failure in maintaining community engagement while meeting community expectations for service delivery and adhering to the principles of CBPR.

The service delivery side of the project required funds to pay for program leader salaries, program leader training, summer camp supplies, community transportation, and food services. Project funding was also required to hire community members as staff to assist in the development of the program content and graduate research assistants to complete data collection, evaluation, and analysis. In addition, a budget for regular travel was necessary to allow for transportation between an urban centre (where supplies and university partners were located) to the partner community.

By the 12th debrief, the first Life Skills Journey program was complete and research data

was collected, yet the primary source of funding had not been secured with a signed contract. The ongoing challenges and subsequent success of managing the facilitator training and running the summer camps speaks to the creativity and hard work from the project team leaders – and temporary commitment from the university’s operating budget – to essentially complete the first 9 months of a 12 month agreement before money was transferred from the funder to the University. It speaks to the extra time and energy required to manage and successfully deliver a community service project: “If we didn’t have these funding issues, my [goodness] our lives would be so easy” (RC 2013). This comment came from the 1st debrief and not the 12th.

Were it not for interim funding secured from smaller funding agencies as well as advances provided by the PI’s faculty while agreements were written and re-written, all the activities needed to maintain the community trust and project momentum would have been interrupted. When so much time is invested in overcoming historical mistrust, the ability to support activities the community has prioritized (service programs) that also have a research and evaluation component is essential. The potential negative impacts of extremely delayed sign-off of contracts and agreements are a serious threat to successful engagement, CBPR and thus community well-being.

While the credibility and research expertise the university brought to the project was valued by the funder, the difficulty in signing agreements stemmed from the fact that the funding priority was service delivery. As a result, the principal funding agency used a service delivery template for the agreement. In short, this contract implied that the project team from the University of Alberta’s Faculty of Extension was providing a service program to the community and that the funder would “own” the program and any and all data generated from that program. Being a research-intensive post secondary institute, the University of Alberta office responsible for research contracts and agreements identified a number of issues regarding intellectual property

and ownership. This arrangement was unacceptable to the PI and the university as it undermined the research relationship with the community and the university’s policies on intellectual property. More importantly, it undermined the key tenets of ownership, control, access, and possession in research with Aboriginal people (First Nations Governance Information Centre 2015) and the decision by the community to make resources open access for Settlements throughout Alberta.

The grant agreement contained language for a service delivery rather than a research project. This highlights the complexity of delivering a community service program with the research objectives and parameters of University and funder guidelines. The individuals involved in writing legal grant agreements have no social connection to the people involved in the proposed projects. Their obligation is to meet the legal requirements for the institutions they represent. Health care funders and universities are increasingly recognizing the value of qualitative research to long term health benefits for a community. Yet, this example illustrates how funding agencies and communities are often not on the same page. The PI and PM identified the delay in securing a contract with the primary funder as the leading cause of many of the challenges and frustrations in the first year of program implementation (tight timelines, training new staff, finding team members with the desired expertise, communication issues, making assumptions, limiting travel to the community, working within greater restrictions, and learning on the go). “The more that we can get funding settled, the more I don’t have to be constantly worried about it” (PM 2013). Despite these uncertainties and frustration with the funding contract delays, the frequency of their discussion in the debriefs allowed the participants to develop a sense of humor around them, “We already think it’s hilarious that we have completely done year 1 of the program without money” (RC 2013). A sense of humor, while not on the checklist for professorial evaluation, comes in handy when engaging with community in CBPR projects.

## Managing Shared Understanding

CBPR is an approach designed to bridge the gap between community and university. This includes the challenge of straddling two linguistic worlds. The terms theory of change, most significant change, outcome mapping, community-university partnerships, engaged scholarship, scholarship of engagement, and their acronyms TOC, MSC, OM, CUP, ES, SOE, considered useful in scholarly publications and academic discussions, have little or no relevance to community members. The full complement of our team represented a variety of academic disciplines, each notorious for promoting their own terminology as part of their distinct expertise. Negotiating the service delivery/research balance, as well as interdisciplinarity, requires finding a shared communication style, language use, and terminology. Despite these challenges, the project team learned to listen and speak in different languages: the language of the community (regardless of linguistic dialect) and the language of academia (regardless of discipline). While labels and terms, as noted above, may serve to position the researcher as expert in the project, they are not likely to foster community engagement and reciprocal and accountable relationships, and may, in contrast, alienate community partners. Establishing a common language in CBPR is fundamental to respectful and equitable relationships. The language used to engage community members, like the project itself, must be relevant to the community.

The community service delivery contract used the troubling term “clients” to describe community members participating in the various facets of the project:

... they always want to list clients, like on the report, how many clients did you affect. The new funding ... we’re not a research project but kind of a service – they are still listed as clients. So at some point I have to report on our clients and what we have done with them (PM 2013)

To combat this, reports to funders typically contain the terms “participants” for research participants and “partners” for all other community members involved in the project. Use of the term “clients” in all reports, publications, and presen-

tations was strictly avoided, and we have not received any backlash for doing so.

Regular debriefs over the duration of the MSLSJ development and delivery enabled the team leaders to discuss communication issues early and implement immediate corrective measures. Agreeing on accessible terms and labels, and clarifying their meanings, contributes to open communication and shared understanding.

Conversely, data, information, findings, interpretations, and meaning are often not readily accepted in academic circles and publications until given a discipline-accepted label. As the title of our recent publication, “*We know we are doing something good, but what is it?*” (Fletcher et al. 2014) suggests, the struggle to find an appropriate label to capture the first year experiences of the Life Skill Journey program is at the heart of negotiating a service delivery program with research objectives in a CBPR project. More succinctly, how do you measure the value of the relationships built and the deep meaning conveyed by those relationships? Through regular debriefs, participants discussed, debated, and reflected on the many issues that arose during the first year of the project, and received feedback on their individual activities on a regular basis. Lessons learned while the project was ongoing allowed for adjustments without affecting the research integrity of the overall project, “So we’re doing this constant formative evaluation with a very participatory approach” (PI 2013).

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## Lessons Learned

One of the first lessons was the importance of adopting a “learn as you go” attitude when engaging with communities in CBPR projects. In the discussion that follows, we have chosen to present an example, followed by the lesson learned and a suggested way to meet the guidelines of CBPR. Managers of service delivery and researchers need to be open and adaptable to inter – and intra – community difference and politics. They must not be overwhelmed when the ideals of CBPR are unattainable. Even the most basic assumptions required more attention than

originally planned for. For example, there was an assumption that community members who applied for camp facilitator positions would understand that: (a) they would be responsible for teaching children basic life skills in a day camp setting; (b) they knew logistically what a day camp entailed; and (c) that the commitment was to full time work from May through August. Early recognition of differing expectations regarding roles and responsibilities allowed for change to be implemented quickly: schedules were adjusted to accommodate shorter work days and 4 day work weeks; rules were set regarding the use of personal cell phones during work time; and more in-depth discussions of their role as camp facilitator were incorporated in the training.

Despite extensive CBPR experience with communities believed to have similar dynamics, it was impossible to anticipate how assumptions shaped by previous experiences would be ‘tested’. In other words, every service delivery and research project will test what service providers and researchers think they know. As university team members became more familiar with the community members and community dynamics, it was clear that research questions and methods should be revised to get to the root of the challenges faced in delivering the Life Skills Journey program. Team leaders took in stride the unpredictability of camp attendance and adjusted data collection methods – down to the number of evaluation assistants present and physical location of the children in groups – as required. Flexibility and the ability to improvise on the go are essential skills in this work, as well as the ability to think innovatively about conventional principles of CBPR. Facilitators, being community members, knew the children and brought community knowledge and unique expertise. They also recognized that they did not have the depth of expertise to handle everything that occurred at camp and welcomed more outside supervision from the university team members. The regular debriefs allowed the team leaders to address these types of issues quickly, assess the options, and take immediate action as required. This process encouraged creative solu-

tions to specific issues while reducing the burden of individual team members having to make quick decisions on their own.

A second key lesson was an assumption regarding the composition and size of research team required to achieve the service delivery and research goals. The Life Skills Journey program was too complex and multi-layered for the team leaders to manage all details. Subject matter experts from physical education and recreation were hired to give community facilitators the skills and knowledge to teach life skills through play. Research assistants were hired to assist in data collection and analysis; however, hiring undergraduate and graduate students with different disciplinary backgrounds meant that not all of the team members were familiar with the fundamental principles of CBPR and community engagement. This lack of grounding in CBPR is reflected in this comment:

I think the naivete of people entering into community based work [without prior experience] and thinking that – it kind of sounded like we were doing tokenistic community engagement. It was revealing of a lack of understanding possibly and newness to...community based research (PI 2013)

Co-learning and relationship building among the academic research team deserves as much attention as is given to co-learning and relationship building between the university and the community. Being self-reflective, while not always a comfortable process, has proven to be essential to serving the needs of the overall project and community partners.

Timely summaries of the debriefs enabled the PM to consider lessons learned while in the midst of planning the next year’s program budget and schedule. For example, after implementation in 2013, the following decisions were made with regard to:

1. Project Management: training should occur in the communities; hire a Camp Director who is responsible for supervising facilitators; and enforce clear expectations and consequences for facilitator performance.
2. Research: participant observation would be valuable; programs should not run under weak



partnerships; guests make camp more interesting; and facilitators would benefit from peer mentors.

By discussing and reflecting on the program activities while they were happening, the team leaders were able to recognize the importance of identifying the daily small ripples of change which could lead to more significant stories of change for future research purposes. They also learned to be realistic in expectations for the project such as expecting only small ripples of change in the children after a 2 week summer camp. Teaching life skills and building resiliency is a long term project and it is impossible to plan for all contingencies when engaged with a community based project. The significance of using the debriefs to learn lessons is echoed by this statement from the PI (2013), “Well it informs what we are going to do for next year; definitely it’s changing our strategy and plan for next year.” Subsequent implementation years would have higher quality due to these lessons learned through the debrief process.

The indicators marking transition from collaboration to accountable relationships in the MSLSJ project were adaptability/flexibility – shown in the decisions team members made to contribute to project progress – and shared values – represented in the examples from inclusive and reflexive team debriefs. These indicators show the principles of relational accountability, reciprocal capacity building, and healthy boundaries. These principles may be perceived as subjective personal experiences. What makes relationships move beyond collaboration into accountability with a shared goal of community well-being is a fluid process that occurs through sharing in reflexive and decision making phases of a project. Meaning is made in the doing of things, in the active participation, expressed as shared social, group activities (Sjorslev 2013). Shared meaning is created within healthy but defined boundaries, so that each community – and each role within that community – can contribute to a shared social understanding with cultural and personal confidence and respect. These factors lead to community well-being.

The diversity of knowledge and perspectives within a multidisciplinary team increased the opportunity to share different life experiences with community members. A diversity of team members brought a refreshing naiveté to the project that contributed to success in service delivery and research. Team members do not have to be experienced in working in CBPR, but it is imperative that they are familiar with the principles.

## Moving Forward

Regular debriefs were acknowledged by the team leaders as a more comfortable and efficient method for reflective analysis than individual journaling; they allow for a place and time to confront assumptions and challenge ideologies and practices, some of those “elephants in the room” that are often not discussed and documented. They were a successful strategy for documenting process and insights for future reference. “So often, conversations happen and they are totally forgotten. Like a year from now, some of them [the same issues] will be happening again” (PI 2013).

The debriefs were a way to recognize and celebrate the many small successes that occurred, sometimes on a daily basis. The regular acknowledgement of positive events or moments served as validation to the team leaders that they were “doing something good” and provided motivation to continue to move forward despite the challenges of balancing a community service delivery program with the rigors of research objectives. This reinforced the idea that motivation should be one of the shared goals for the project and that helping to motivate community members, to see the value of the changes they wish to make in their community, is a critical component of co-learning and community well-being. Capacity is built by creating networks for community members to use once the university exits the community; running the summer camps could build relationships in the community.

The debriefs were an effective way to promote regular information updates, to collect data for formative assessments of the program delivery

and research, and to ‘test’ the potential of co-operative inquiry as a novel and valuable tool for CBPR:

You do need to lay out your questions and your methods, all of those pieces that create academic rigor that people are looking for. But we are really trying to explore those other aspects of doing this work that are about the engagement and that do allow the work to make a difference...That’s the real richness in these [debriefs] (PI 2013).

In the third year of program implementation and evaluation, a community team member has joined the team debriefs and additional debriefs will be held with camp facilitators. The expansion of this debrief approach is increasingly plausible as the relationship with individuals from the community and the community as a whole strengthens.

There is no doubt that the project’s success has been due, in part, to substantial core funding. The fact that a needs assessment was funded prior to beginning the research activity allowed us to establish and nurture relationships, the rewards of which are documented here. Recognizing how critical that relationship building is, team members are in the process of establishing relationships with other Métis Settlements in the province in order to follow the path taken to success in service delivery and research while funding allows. This approach will broaden and strengthen not only relationships to Settlements, but also relationships between Settlements for future sustainability. Sustainability for a program such as the Life Skills Journey camp also contributes to community well-being.

The long-term significance of this project is its impact on the social determinants of health for Métis Settlement members and community well-being. The fact that the community at BLMS and the research team are continually making plans for the future speaks to project success. Social support networks may be maintained through a local advisory committee, planning camp implementation, inviting guest speakers, and building relationships among facilitators. Income inequality and unemployment are alleviated by creating

employment opportunities *in the community*. Education is enhanced through a comprehensive training program for facilitators and permanent community project staff. On a broader scale, healthier adults and children in the community will lead to healthy families and a more resilient community.

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# Achieving Community Well-Being Through Community Participatory Governance: The Case of Saemaul Undong

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Seung Jong Lee and Yunji Kim

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## Introduction

There has been a renewed interest in the question of what we should plan and strive for in the wake of the Great Recession. Calls to go “beyond Gross Domestic Product (GDP)” to other goals, such as happiness, quality of life, sustainability, and well-being have become popular. However, the calls to go beyond economic goals are not new. In the 1960s, the social indicators movement already called for expanding the scope of political goals to include social improvements (Noll 2011). Since then, scholars and practitioners have made a lot of effort to measure these social goals. Some examples include the national social reports published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the OECD Better Life Index, the United Nations’ Human Development Index, the General Social Survey, the World Values Survey, the Canadian Index of Well-being, and Community Indicators Victoria.

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This movement has also been translated as New Community Movement, New Village Movement, or Saemaul Movement. We use the original name Saemaul Undong throughout the chapter.

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What stands out in the recent interests to go beyond GDP is the active participation of national governments. The tiny country of Bhutan is widely known as the first country to adopt a national happiness index in the early 1980s, but no countries followed this path until recently. Some examples include Former French President Sarkozy commissioning the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi group in 2008 that re-emphasized the limits of GDP; UK Prime Minister David Cameron announcing plans to adopt quality of life measures for public policy decisions in 2010; and Italy launching its equitable and sustainable well-being (Benessere Equo e Sostenibile or BES) project in 2013. In Asia, Japan announced plans to develop a happiness index and at the inauguration of South Korean President Park Geun Hye in 2013, President Park announced citizen happiness as a key point for national policies.

These actions to align public policy goals with something other than economic growth are not without its critics. The strongest of these critiques is that government has no business interfering in a matter as subjective and personal as happiness or well-being (Booth 2012). However, the collection of essays in Booth (2012) are narrowly focused on happiness studies, and they fail to acknowledge the differences between happiness and community well-being (see Lee and Kim 2015; Raibley 2012). We have argued elsewhere that community well-being is a more appropriate focus for policy-making than happiness because

it is a more comprehensive concept and is an appropriate unit (i.e. collective, rather than individualistic) for the use of public resources (Kim and Lee 2014; Lee and Kim forthcoming).

While some are simply against this movement by states to incorporate a happiness or well-being perspective, others posit a more serious concern that this movement can lead to unintended consequences. Scott (2012) points out the confusion around terms like sustainability and well-being that lead to governments shirking their responsibility to provide for the public. Moreover, she explains how the quality of life discourse mirrors a market-based, individualistic logic that urges individuals to improve their lives by becoming a better producer or consumer. Others have echoed this concern that the well-being and happiness logic is part of a neoliberal agenda. White (2010) does not explicitly frame her arguments in the neoliberal discourse, but she cautions that well-being as a strictly emotional concept can lead to shrinking the public safety net and that well-being as an inherently liberal and individualistic concept can lead to blaming individuals for low well-being levels. Wright (2013) is more explicit in his critique of the focus on flourishing, well-being, and happiness in the political sphere. He calls this a form of Foucault's biopolitics that reinterprets and reinforces the notion that unhappiness is a personal failure that can be remedied by becoming a good consumer. Sointu (2005) also echoes the neoliberal interpretations of the rise of well-being, but recognizes that this has not always been the case. Using critical analyses of selected newspaper reports from 1985 to 2003, she traces the transformation of the meaning of well-being that closely follows the shift in interpreting subjects as citizens to subjects as consumers.

These critiques are essentially about the governance structures that a community well-being paradigm calls for. The similarity between the neoliberal rhetoric and well-being rhetoric are particularly troubling when we consider the actual consequences of neoliberalism. While the rhetoric of neoliberalism seems to focus on the shrinking or erasing of the state – mostly by rolling back Keynesian programs – Fine and Hall

(2012) point out that in reality, neoliberalism leads to using the state for financial gains of private actors. Thus, neoliberal modes of governance are fundamentally in conflict with community well-being as it focuses on financial gains for select individuals. Then what are the alternative governance models that are appropriate for community well-being? This is an important question if community well-being is to be useful for policy-making. We suggest that a community participatory model can be an effective governance style for fostering community well-being and use the case of Saemaul Undong (SU) to illustrate our point.

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## Case Background

SU was a community development movement that began in 1970 in South Korea. The Movement is cited as one of the key driving forces behind the Korean Miracle of rapid industrialization and economic growth. The first official record of the word “Saemaul Undong” can be found in President Park Chung Hee’s speech delivered on April 22nd, 1970 in which the origins of this idea can be traced to a small village called Sindo-ri. According to archival records, President Park was visiting various communities that had been affected by a large flood the previous year. During his trip, he noticed one village that had been rapidly recovering from the flood damages. He witnessed the village residents working together to fix things and this was the inspiration for his call for a nation-wide movement.

President Park Chung Hee led a military coup in 1961 before serving three terms as president of the Third Republic. The same year, he created the Economic Planning Board that announced the first 5 Year Economic Development Plan (1962–1966). Subsequent 5 Year Economic Development Plans were focused on industrialization and modernization, mostly in steel, machinery, and chemical industries. At this time, Korea was just beginning to recover from the Korean War (1950–1953), and rapid industrialization was taking place with a focus on urban areas. A negative consequence of this was the growing wealth gap

between the urban and rural areas. Under SU, these negative consequences were ameliorated without sacrificing growth. In 1970, rural household income was 67.1 % of urban household income, but by 1974, a mere 4 years after the founding of the movement, this ratio increased to 104.6 %: a dramatic turn of tide (Hwang 2006). In addition to addressing the gap between urban and rural areas, the movement had significant impacts on the country's development path and speed. In 1961, North Korea's GNP per capita (\$320) was 3.5 times that of South Korea's (\$89) (Kim 2011). However, scholars estimate that by the mid-1980s South Korea's national income surpassed that of North Korea's by almost 2.5 times (Smith 1997).

Even though SU began as a rural development program, the movement was much more expansive than simply a rural economic development program. In addition to narrowing the gap between rural and urban areas, the movement contributed to national development as it spread to urban areas, improved living conditions, and made a psychological impact by instilling a "cando" spirit in citizens based on the three principles of diligence, self-help, and cooperation.

Some scholars point out that SU alone is not responsible for all of these changes, but one can safely infer that the movement is closely connected to these developments either directly or indirectly. This point is especially relevant when considering that the 5 year economic development plan adopted during this period was focused on the development of urban areas.

The United Nation's early adoption and implementation of SU as a model for developing countries is a good example of the international community's stance toward SU. The term "Saemaul Undong" is listed in Britannica's Encyclopedia as a proper term, and the Economic Commission for Africa selected this model as the basis for the Sustainable Modernization of Agriculture and Rural Transformation (SMART) program in 2008. According to the National Council of Saemaul Undong in Korea, 470,000 individuals from 92 countries had participated in a SU training session by the year 2008 and SU activities were taking place in 64 regions of 13

countries, including Mongolia, Congo, and Nepal. China is considering the inclusion of SU in its new agriculture policy, and over 40 countries including Indonesia, Thailand, Laos, Bolivia, and Slovenia have requested SU training. A question on SU even appeared in the 1996 college entrance exam of France. In a Gallup poll conducted in 2008 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Korea's foundation, citizens chose SU as the most memorable accomplishment of Korea.

Despite these celebrations, the evaluation of SU is not unanimously positive. As a movement that was adopted under an authoritarian government, some critics point out that SU was promoted unilaterally by the government as a political tool or that the uniform movement actually impeded self-growth of local development (Cho 2004; Jun 2003; Kim 2009; Oh 2002; Ryu 2001). For example, Kim (2009) acknowledges that as government support and remuneration took place on the village level, autonomy on the local level was strengthened and competition among villages could be utilized to maximize efficiency, and as a result, there was an overall increase in the quality of life. However, during this process, there was conflict between old and new power-holders over the village community leadership, fascist public motivation, inappropriate agriculture policies that burdened farmers, and the acceleration of the exodus from agricultural areas. Kim (2009) concludes that SU was not the beginning of rural development, but rather the beginning of its impoverishment. However, these critiques are also countered by positive evaluations (e.g. Hwang 2006; Lee and Lee 2005; Park 2009; So 2007; Ha 2002). In fact, there are increasing demands for an objective assessment of SU that caution against ignoring the distinction – even equating – between the rule of authoritarian government and SU as a private-public cooperation<sup>1</sup> effort.

<sup>1</sup>Our use of the word private-public cooperation refers to a citizens-government cooperation, rather than the business-government cooperation implied in private public partnerships (PPP).

At the center of the tension between these two conflicting views of the same movement, lies the question of what was the governance structure of SU? Was it a top-down state-centric planning or bottom-up community movement? We argue that the early stage of SU followed a community participatory governance model that is based on collaboration between citizens and government with active participation at the community level. The case shows us the possibility of community participatory governance in a developing country context, and the possibility of how this can be leveraged for both economic and social progress. SU's governance structure was crucial for its success. Previous studies have emphasized the leader's level of commitment, motivation, appropriate goal-setting, and efficient mobilization of resources as drivers of success (Park 2009). However, without an efficient governance structure, all of these other factors will not be able to function properly.

### Theories of Governance

We examine the theories of governance in this section. By governance, we mean the act of governing, rather than the more particular use of the word to denote governance by network (also called New Governance). This type of governance will be addressed in more detail in Sect. "Non-governance and New Governance". What do theories of governance imply about commu-

nity well-being? What is the governance mode best suited for enhancing community well-being? The government and citizens are two agents of governance and we can think about different types of governance depending on the participation and activity level of each agent.

An important note on terminology is necessary. Throughout this chapter when we use the word "government" or "state", we refer to both national and local level. Korea's local autonomy did not begin in earnest until 1991, and until then the official role of local governments was limited to acting as administrative arms of the central government. This does not mean that local officials' roles were trivial. Local officials were an important communication route between the central government and communities. They also offered advice and consultation, especially on technical and administrative matters (Asian Development Bank 2012).

The remainder of this section discusses the four types of governance modes depending on the participation level of citizens and government that we show using a two by two matrix (see Fig. 7.1). We begin with theories of the more traditional type of governance with high levels of government activity and low levels of citizen activity (Sect. "Government Initiated (Top-Down Governance)"). This type of governance has also been called simply "government," or top-down governance, state-centric planning, or hierarchical governance. Next, we address theories of citizen initiated governance that became popular

**Fig. 7.1** Governance typology based on government and citizen activity levels

		Government	
		<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Citizens	<i>High</i>	Participatory governance	Citizen initiated governance
	<i>Low</i>	Government initiated governance	Non-governance

based on critiques of the government initiated governance and calls for more citizen participation (Sect. “[Citizen Initiated \(Bottom-Up\) Governance](#)”). This type of governance has high levels of activity by citizens and low levels of activity by government. We also address theories of community development as this emphasizes governance driven by groups of citizens (i.e. community). Finally, we address theories of New Governance, which are in risk of sliding into the non-governance mode. We also examine theories of participatory governance, deliberative governance and cooperative governance that emphasize high levels of activity by both citizens and government. However, these theories still lack a clear role for each actor and provides little guidance as a governance model. We discuss the community participatory governance model as a model that can clarify the roles of each actor.

### **Government Initiated (Top-Down) Governance**

Theories of state-driven governance have a long history. During the rise of nation-states in the 1950s, the state was seen as the most capable agent for development and planning. However, with the rise of authoritarian regimes leading to world wars, followed by slower growth rates and recessions, scholars and practitioners began to highlight the limits of state-centric planning. Neo-Marxists blamed the state as an apparatus focused on capital accumulation, captured by exploitative capitalists (Burgess 1978), while neo-classical economists blamed rent-seeking bureaucrats and state regulations stifling the market.

Scott (1998) uses examples of collectivization in Russia, Brasilia, and compulsory ujamaa villages in Tanzania to argue that state-driven modernist planning that ignores local knowledge (or *metis*) can be destructive. Holston (2008) also uses Brazil as an example of state-driven modernization programs creating and reifying new inequalities in substantive citizenship rights.

These critiques of state-centric planning are also in contemporary works. Fine and Hall (2012)

outline the rise of a particular type of neoliberalism that tries to dismantle the state based on arguments for “freeing the market.” They emphasize that this dismantling is not about erasing the state, but rather using the state apparatus (e.g. public policies, legislations, and tax revenues) as a tool for accumulating wealth for the select few. In this case, the state is not an active agent that harms collective well-being, but rather an institution that has been captured by private interests.

Even though there has been abundant critique about what the state is doing, there is little discussion of what states *should* do. For example, in *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning* edited by Weber and Crane (2012), the section titled, “planning agents” under Part IV has no mention of the state as a planning agent. All the chapters focus on citizens, civic organizations, and politics, with the state at best as something that is part of the environment in which citizens or civic organizations have to navigate, or at worst as an enemy to overcome.

Despite all these criticisms, the state continues to be an important agent of governance. Scott (1998), who warns about the dangers of state intervention, also recognizes the need for a state. He explicitly denies charges that he is an anarchist: “The state, as I make abundantly clear, is the vexed institution that is the ground of both our freedoms and our unfreedoms” (p. 7). While recognizing the importance of the state, state centric planning theories have failed to give us direction on what states should do.

### **Citizen Initiated (Bottom-Up) Governance**

Contrary to the top-down governance models, this model posits an active role for citizens (Barnes et al. 2007; Clarke et al. 2007; Roberts 2015). In the field of planning, citizens often appear as important participants in the planning process. For example, Beard (2012) points out that Freidman’s distinction between social transformation, which is something that non-state agents do, and societal guidance, as what professional planners do creates a false dichotomy. She



identifies three modes of planning that citizen planners typically engage in: community-based, covert, and radical or insurgent planning. She uses the Kampung Improvement Program in Indonesia in the 1960s and 1970s as an example of community-based planning. In community-based planning, the citizen planner represents the community and works with various state and non-state agents (Beard 2012). While Beard calls for expanding the notion of planning to include citizen planners as important agents, she does point out some hazards in citizen planning. First, the process is very taxing for citizens and communities. In places or among people with little resources, this can be an undue burden. Second, there is weak evidence that citizen planning is necessarily more democratic or leads to equitable outcomes. Third, given the unequal dispersion of power among citizens, local elite capture is possible and there are few formal mechanisms to prevent this. Lastly, transcending the local level can be difficult for citizen planners.

While theories of citizen planning emphasize the role of citizens and the need for citizen participation, they do not provide any guidance on the role of the state. Instead, they often see the state as the enemy, based on the belief that more leadership should go to agents outside the government system.

Another example comes from the community development literature. Much of the community development work has been focused on poverty reduction and economic development (Dore et al. 1981), even though there are scholars who define community development in a broader sense. For example, Frank and Smith (1999) define community development as “planned evolution of all aspects of community well-being (economic, social, environmental and cultural). A process whereby community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems” (p. 3). Frank and Smith (1999) then go further to say that “regardless of scope of the activity, effective community development should be: ...initiated and supported by community members” (p. 6). They have a strict definition of community development that leaves out the state – both central and local – as an agent.

## Non-governance and New Governance

Another response to the state-centric governance and its disillusionment has been the popularity of the term “governance,” juxtaposed to government. Governance in this sense implies a more horizontal form of governance than government – the older top-down, hierarchical mode of policymaking and implementation. Since governance is understood as including other actors, in addition to the state or government, it is deeply intertwined with concepts of participation and empowerment.

However, the term also implies shrinking the role of state and thus shares many aspects with the more market-oriented theories of governance, such as New Public Management (NPM). NPM emphasizes outcomes and how government actions affect citizens, but it mostly focuses on narrow outcomes of efficiency and limited interpretations of citizens as consumers (i.e. someone who has the ability to pay). Public administration also embraced New Governance (Salamon 2002), recognizing the breakdown of governmental, sectoral, and organizational boundaries (Kettl 2006), but this was also deeply connected to NPM and privatization, which has the potential to block citizen input for public services.

A popular interpretation of governance is “network governance” (Rhodes 1996) that emphasizes the transition from state centric planning to governance by a network of actors. Citizens are an important actor as they have local knowledge and can engage in voluntary collective action (Ostrom 1990). In Ostrom et al. (1992), the authors argue that self-governance is possible without a command and control style government.

Durant et al. (2004) examine the New Governance Paradigm (NGP) in the context of environment and natural resources management. They do not define NGP explicitly but refer to the movements of devolution and deregulation as examples. Pointing out that NGP values deliberative democratic models that offer “early, informed, and substantively meaningful stakeholder participation” (p. 646), they also

emphasize that deliberative democracy includes participation by previously marginalized groups, and collaborative partnerships with public, private, and nongovernmental organizations, and ordinary citizens. In sum, they understand NGP as an effort to insert management flexibility into an inflexible regulatory regime, and caution that these efforts have left a “patchwork” of regulatory regimes. Without a governance framework, the recent focus on community well-being can also lead to similar unequal outcomes: more comprehensive and inclusive planning in certain communities, but not in others.

The governance theories that emphasize citizen participation still do not recognize the crucial role of the state. The move from a hierarchical state-centric governance model to a network model does not guarantee anything for democracy or citizen participation. In fact, the New Governance model can take away power from public organizations and citizens and give more power to private organizations, or restrict the state and allow it to be captured by the “invisible hand” of the market. Stivers (2008) writes that the meaning of governance has shifted from “statecraft...that is the exercise of distinctively governmental responsibilities” to “one grounded in market theories and objectified views of state and society” (p. 93). This leaves the role of the state as an agent unclear. Meanwhile, Davies (2012) denies the dualism of governance vs. government and instead argues for an integral state perspective based on the work of Gramsci. He argues that hierarchy, market, and network governance co-exist, and we need a theoretical framework that recognizes this complexity.

## Participatory Governance

Participatory governance model emphasizes true collaboration between citizens and the state. Dryzek (2010) pointed out the dangers of horizontal governance models that can undercut notions of sovereignty and accountability. Instead, he argued for governance systems as deliberative systems, wherein decisions are made by the public engaging in deliberation and ulti-

mately leading to a meta-consensus (not consensus).

Similarly, Fung and Wright (2001) have argued for an empowered deliberative democracy (EDD) as a reform towards participatory governance. These reforms can be “radically democratic” because they rely on the participation of ordinary citizens, deliberative because it uses “reason-based decision making” and empowered because it connects action to discussion. However, the question of what reason-based decision making means remains. The calls for “rationality” and “reason” echo the arguments of Rawls’ (2013) political liberalism. These notions of rationality and reasonableness often ignore the role that power plays in defining rationality. They point to three principles and three institutional design features of EDD. The three key principles are as follows: practical orientation, bottom-up participation, and deliberative solution generation. The three institutional design features are devolution; centralized supervision and coordination; and state-centered institutions, rather than voluntarist organizations.

Emerson et al. (2012) define collaborative governance as “the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished” (p. 2). Sirianni (2009) lays out eight core principles of collaborative governance: coproduce public goods, mobilize community assets, share professional expertise, enable public deliberation, promote sustainable partnerships, build fields and governance networks strategically, transform institutional cultures, ensure reciprocal accountability.

Nevertheless, the questions of who is managing the process and where authority and responsibility are located remain.

The tension between self-help and government-help was a central debate in the 1960–1970s planning field. Turner argued from his work in Peru that “governments should cease to be financier and builder; it should instead be promoter and coordinator...government could

provide a useful function by aiding small contractors and cooperative organizations to provide materials or specialized services” (Turner as cited in Hall 2002, p. 276). His argument was based on a critique of state-centric planning, and starts to map out more specifically how states can assist citizens. However, he saw self-help and government-help as incompatible. SU is an interesting case that combined a strong state role with community self-help; two ideas that have been theorized as being antithetical.

## Governance Model of Saemaul Undong

SU began in 1970 and is an ongoing project even today. However, the first 30 years or so has been the focus of scholarly works as this is when the Movement showed its strongest characteristics and had its largest impact on Korean society. These first 30 years can be divided into three stages. Jung (2008) divides these stages by main purposes: the first stage in the 1970s is the local community development stage; the second stage in the 1980s is the national psychological movement stage; and the third stage in the 1990s and afterward is the volunteer stage. Lee et al. (2008) divide the Movement into stages by the principal power agent and its goals: the first stage in the 1970s is the government led, life improvement stage; the second stage in the 1980s is the government led, psychological change stage; and the third stage in the 1990s and after is the private led stage. While these stage divisions are useful in identifying the principal agent or general characteristics of the movement, they fail to address the debate over whether the movement was top-down or bottom-up.

We focus on the community development stage of the 1970s as this is generally considered the most successful stage.<sup>2</sup> Previous works on SU

<sup>2</sup>Some scholars further divide the first stage of SU in the 1970s into the following three stages: (1) Saemaul Cultivation in 1970-1971, (2) Urbanization focusing on rural-income growth, urban-psychological development that began in 1974, (3) village level projects and cooperation among villages that began in 1975. However, the

have been caught up in the debate of whether this movement was a bottom-up movement or a top-down movement. This debate can be resolved if we analyze SU by looking at two different parts of a community movement process: (1) provision, which consists of planning, financing, and monitoring, and (2) production, which refers to actual delivery (production and distribution) of public service combining resources like capital, labor, equipment, information etc. This framework of dividing the local government roles in to provision and production has been used by Stein (1990) in the context of local services.

### Stage 1 (1970s): Community Participatory Governance

Stage 1 of SU is a typical model of community participatory governance (CPG). CPG builds on previous models of participatory governance, but there are also some unique parts to CPG.

We first define CPG, discuss similarities with other governance models, and then illustrate how stage 1 of SU fits into this model. CPG is a governance system in which private-public cooperation efforts take place on a local community level and includes citizens as an important agent of governance rather than an object of administration. There are three elements of CPG.

First, governance refers to a cooperative system between the government and citizens, as opposed to a system that is only led by the government. This also means that the governance process is not simply left to citizens or civil society. Even though corruption exists in the public sector, at least there are legal institutions in place that allow sanctioning and monitoring. In contrast, what goes on in the civil sector is often shielded from sanctions in the name of privacy and preferences.

Second, participatory governance encompasses both direct and indirect participation by citizens. As scholars of citizen participation have

basic governance model of 1970s applies to all of these sub-stages. Therefore, we focus on the entire first stage of SU.

pointed out before (e.g. Beard 2012), participation is costly for citizens and as the scale of governance increases, direct participation becomes practically impossible. The participatory aspect of this model emphasizes the fact that governance decisions are closely aligned with citizen preferences.

Third, the community (defined here as the local government unit) is the key arena of this participatory governance, and also the local is a key agent. Active citizen participation has the highest chance of realization on a local community level as this is the space where deliberation can take place. This does not mean that the national level government does not have a role to play. Governance systems have many actors including government (both national and local), private and civil society actors. This is where we see similarities with the definitions of collaborative management: a call for further collaboration across boundaries of public-private and national-local. Again, this does not mean that the national gives all responsibilities to the local level, but that each level has its own role to fulfill. For example, Lake (2002) shows that despite globalization, the rise of non-state actors, and the shrinking state, the state is still a powerful agent. While he acknowledges that the local level is “closest to the people” (2000, p. 88), it is the national level state that is capable of making fundamental changes to address inequality and private market relations.

The key feature of CPG is it brings back the state’s role. When the New Governance movement blurs with the New Public Management movement, the role of the state is lost. In contemporary literature, this has led to critique of the “participatory governance” language that emphasizes citizen input and co-production that really just leads to neglect by the government. For example, Miraftab (2004) uses the case of Cape Town, South Africa as an example to show how the state neglects its responsibility to provide public services, while encouraging poor citizens, particularly women, to take on this role. CPG can also address the issue of blaming the individual because it emphasizes the community level and unit. The community becomes an important

agent. Putting the burden on an individual risks blaming the individual when each individual has different ability and capacity to participate.

Stage 1 of SU has all three elements of CPG: governance, participatory governance, and local community participation. First, the movement had a governance (private-public cooperation) characteristic. As shown in Table 7.1, the government and citizens were collaborators and their activities were complementary by nature. Specifically, government was a provider while citizens were producers. The government provided minimum material support while concentrating on planning and monitoring activities. When SU began, the first thing the national government did was send down 335 bags of cement and 0.5 tons of iron rods to each of the 33,267 villages. The decisions on what to do with these resources was up to the community’s Saemaul leaders and residents. The government did not bear the entire cost of resources, but only a part of the necessary resources and used them strategically to induce competition between local communities. For example, when providing cement as a basic resource for improving villages the government divided villages into three levels of basic, self-supporting, and self-help and supplied different amounts to each level. On a macroscopic level, the government suggested the following stages of development goals: infrastructure development, self-help development, and complete independence. In addition, the government trained Saemaul Leaders to become active leaders of change. For efficient management, the government emphasized responsibility and sense of duty for civil personnel. The government also sent down technocrats to each village to in any way the community wanted. The main role of these technocrats was not to direct or implement central orders, but to provide information, to monitor, and evaluate. These are typical activities of provision. Still, the government did not dominate the provision function; main decisions were made in deliberation with villagers and implemented with their consent.

Although there were agricultural organizations, such as the Christian 4-H (Head, Heart, Hand, and Health), production was the

**Table 7.1** Analysis of SU stages by service type and participant characteristics

		Stage 1 (1970s)			Stage 2 (1980s)			Stage 3 (1990s)		
		Gov.	Cit.	Priv.	Gov.	Cit.	Priv.	Gov.	Cit.	Priv.
Provision	Planning	H	M				H			H
	Financing	M	M		H			M		M
	Monitoring	H			M		M			H
Production		M	H			M	H			H

Blank cell indicates very low or no participation

*H* = high levels of participation

*M* = medium level of participation

responsibility of ordinary citizens. Citizens, as a group, voluntarily participated in local community activities under the support and encouragement of the government. Through in-kind donations, the citizens themselves made up for much of the resource shortage remaining after receiving government support. This was undoubtedly a producer's role. Therefore, there are limits to defining this period as government led since on the production side, general citizens were very active. Furthermore, government and citizen activities were not separate and there was frequent interaction between them. These interactions took place on the local community level between local government officials and local residents frequently and legitimately.

Overall, the government showed active participation as a provider while citizens showed active participation as producers. In sum, governance in this stage maintained a cooperative division of tasks in which neither the government nor the citizenry could do anything by itself (interdependence). In retrospect, the most active interaction in Korean history between government officials and citizens took place in this era.

Second, the movement was participatory. It is difficult to argue that genuine voluntary participation took place at a time when the citizenry had few participation experiences. Even a good portion of the production activity can be seen as having been led by the government's plans. Yet, this does not mean that citizen participation was a passive following of the government's intentions. Rather, governmental stimulation and voluntary participation of citizens took place simultaneously. Moreover, citizen participation was not

passive and directed by the government's intentions. Citizens deliberated on local community issues and made decisions. In other words, citizens were proactive participants. If citizenship can be divided by level into citizen, customer, client, and recipient, the average citizen of SU was not a passive client or unilateral recipient. Government encouragement of citizen participation did not lead to citizen control but at least to a minimum level of citizen participation.

Third, the movement was a community movement. SU as a whole was not a local movement, but a national one. However, due to emphasis on unity of the provision side, the actual production process was the responsibility of the local government and moreover the scale of execution was community: a small enough scale that allowed actual participation of community members. If SU took place on a national level, it was limited to the provision sector, such as planning, resources, and monitoring, and the actual activities that constituted the Movement took place on a local community level. On the production side, SU was strictly a local community movement.

To define SU as a pure citizen movement is an exaggeration that mistakenly assumes citizen participation – a strong characteristic of the production side – to represent the entire movement. This is not to say that SU should be defined as a government movement. That would be an overestimation of the government's role as a provider. Overall, SU was a governance movement (private-public cooperation) – specifically participatory governance – on a local community level that divided labor between the government as a provider and the citizenry as producer. This

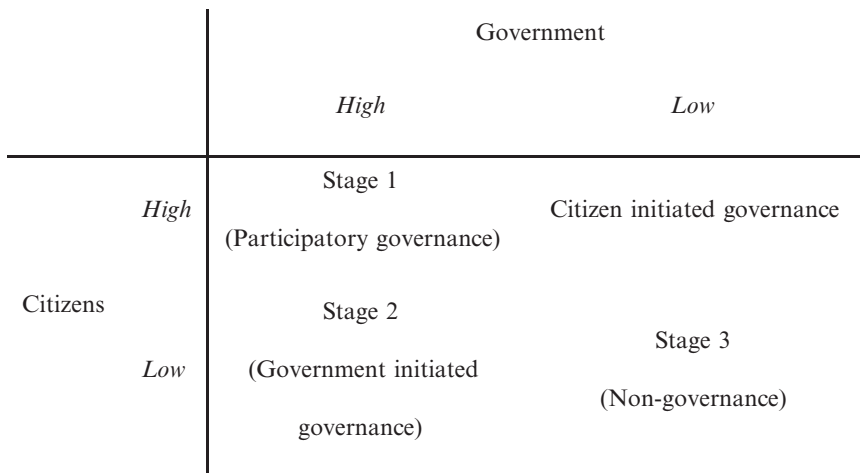
governance system played a pivotal role in bringing about the success of SU. Today’s positive evaluations of SU are mostly evaluations of its stage 1 governance model.

**Stage 2 (1980s): Government-Initiated Governance**

Government organizations and private organizations took the lead in the second stage. Specifically, the role of citizens became marginal with the establishment of a private organization called the National Council of SU. The citizen participation of SU was replaced by civic organization participation. Externally, the government’s role disappeared, but in reality the government’s level of practical involvement remained the same as it actively supplied leadership and resources to government organizations. Therefore, the second stage of SU also contained basic characteristics of governance. Yet, the overall characteristic of the Movement changed as the primary actor changed from general citizens to organizations. Participatory governance changed to government initiative governance in reality, and citizen initiative (civic organization initiative to be precise) governance in theory.

**Stage 3 (Post-1990s): Non-governance**

During stage 3, SU transforms into a volunteer activity led by private organizations. This transformation was not triggered by a general activation of private organizations, but rather by the dilution of government interest in the SU. The government’s role becomes limited to financial support of private organizations and its management and control functions are reduced as well. Under the Roh, Moo Hyun government (2003–2008) even the role of financial support was weakened. Consequently, the government’s role as a provider was significantly weakened. Yet, private organizations have not yet developed the capacity to fulfill the government’s role in SU. The main cause can be found in the long history of relying on government sponsorship, which weakened the provider capacity of private organizations. The weak provider role of private organizations affects its production role as well. Not surprisingly, there has been a weakening of SU overall. In the third stage of SU, the government retreated from its role as provider and private organizations were unable to fulfill the citizens’ role as producer. The governance system that held the government and private sector together fell apart and the Movement weakened.



**Fig.7.2** Governance models of SU by stage

The governance model of SU has changed throughout the era from a participatory governance model in stage 1, to government initiative governance in stage 2, and non-governance in stage 3. SU was most successful under the CPG model in stage 1. Figure 7.2 summarizes the change in SU's governance modes during the first 30 years.

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## Discussion

We examined the case of SU with particular attention to its governance structure. We argued that stage 1 of SU was neither a state-driven development program, nor a citizen-driven community movement. Instead, we argued that SU followed a genuine governance model, and more specifically, a CPG model. SU is a remarkable case because it was able to achieve both economic development and social progress. Notwithstanding the number of factors that previous works have identified as the driving force of this Movement's success, an effective governance model is essential to mobilize all of these factors. Thus, examining the governance model of SU can help both developing and developed countries that wish to enhance community well-being. We discuss the key lessons in this section.

First, stage 1 of SU, which followed a CPG model, was the most successful period of the Movement. We emphasize the role of CPG model that achieved an effective balance between government and citizen participation. Once the governance structure changed in stage 2 (government initiated governance) and stage 3 (non-governance), performance began to weaken. This demonstrates the effectiveness of CPG over other governance models.

Second, the lessons of CPG can be useful not only for government-citizen relationships, but also for central-local government relationships. In general, people often assume that central civil workers have higher capacities than local civil workers. However, this perception is only based on professionalism. Local knowledge matters. In SU, there was a strategic collaboration between central and local governments. This has not been sufficiently analyzed in this chapter, but future

studies can examine the central-local government relationship in more detail.

Third, CPG emphasizes a role for both the state and citizens. This implies the necessity of a strategic division of labor among these agents. More specifically, a strategic approach that allows division of work between participants in terms of provision and production is advisable. The SU model used division of work between government as provider and citizens as producers. It is important to recognize that less government involvement will lead to decline in performance related to provision and less citizen involvement will lead to decline in performance related to production. The latter becomes especially problematic in cases of low national resources. Furthermore, a weakening of one side will have extended effects on the entire movement since performance depends on the synergy effect coming from both sides. More work on strategic governance cases in which government provides and citizens produce is necessary.

An increase in civil society capacity will naturally lead to a change in the government's role. We emphasize that this does not mean a decline in government's role altogether. Governance means that there is a balance and cooperation among all actors. Under an idealized system of governance the role of government should change from producer to provider, regulator to motivator, executor to arbitrator; or from rowing to co-rowing, steering to co-steering, and enabling to cooperating. Nevertheless, these changes must fit the current context.

Fourth, SU shows the applicability of CPG to developing countries, regardless of regime types. A CPG mode of governance makes demands on both the state and citizens. To the state, in addition to professional administrative skills, it requires commitment to the local community, and positive and cooperative attitudes toward participation. In other words, it asks for a decentralized view in place of a centralized view and democratic administration in place of authoritarian administration. Many developing countries tend to choose an authoritarian or hierarchical model of governance because of weak civil societies or administrative ease. SU was a movement

that took place under an authoritarian regime, and it is understandable why some scholars tend to interpret it as a top-down program. However, analyzing the Movement by dividing government and citizen activity levels into production and provision shows that the hierarchy at the central level does not necessarily determine community level policy aspects. This can be a hopeful message for developing countries that are trying to import the SU model.

Lastly, regarding the characteristics of SU per se, this paper explains the conflicting views of SU as a top-down and bottom-up movement. Our division of production and provision activities show that the beginning stage of SU was neither a top-down or bottom-up model, but a CPG model that had characteristics of both.

SU is not the only successful local community development movement. Other successful movements include the Volk Highschool of Denmark, the New Thought Movement of China, Antigonish of Canada, and Bhagidari of India. SU is unique because of its governance structure that was able to strike an effective balance between the role of citizens and government, combining self-help with strong state support. Community well-being as a concept recognizes the importance of context, and comparative studies of SU and various other movements will be useful for developing further models that can be adapted to different contexts. Future studies can compare the governance modes of these other successful community development movements for policy implications. The search for an effective governance model that enhances community well-being can translate the concept into something more useful and practical.

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# A Citizen-Led Approach to Enhancing Community Well-Being

8

Sylvia Cheuy, Leesa Fawcett, Karen Hutchinson,  
and Tracey Robertson

This chapter explores a citizen-led approach to measuring and enhancing community well-being within Ontario's Headwaters region, that resulted in the publishing of the first *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* in the Fall of 2011. The Report responded to a desire for greater planning and collaboration across a region that is made up of small urban and rural villages on the border of a larger urban area.

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## A Profile of Ontario's Headwaters Region

This section offers a snapshot of the unique geography and culture of Ontario's Headwaters region to provide an appreciation of the context and dynamics that influenced the creation of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report*.

Ontario's Headwaters Region is typically not defined on maps and its boundaries are open to some interpretation. The region, which encompasses Dufferin County, the Town of Caledon as well as portions of the Town of Erin, is located just north west of the Greater Toronto Area. The Niagara Escarpment and the Oak Ridges Moraine are included within its boundaries; its altitude is amongst the highest in the province; and, it is the starting point for five major river systems, the Nottawasaga, the Credit, the Humber, the Saugeen, and the Grand Rivers, which all feed the Great Lakes. Residents of the region highly value the environmental significance and rural landscapes of the Headwaters and clearly identify themselves as part of a distinct and beautiful rural region. Notwithstanding the strong identification that its residents have with the region and its distinctive geography, the Headwaters Region does not align neatly with existing municipal or census boundaries.

In 2011, the population of Headwaters Region (the County of Dufferin, the Town of Caledon and the Town of Erin) totalled 128,271 (Rollings 2015, p. 34). The residents within the towns and villages of Headwaters region are less ethnically diverse than their urban neighbours to the south and west. In 2006, only 23% of Caledon residents and 8% of Dufferin residents reported speaking English as their second language. Post-secondary education rates in Headwaters are also lower than in neighbouring urban centres: 2006

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census data showed that 52% of Caledon residents and 42% of Dufferin residents have achieved post-secondary education. In 2006 a significant majority of working residents – 75% in Caledon and 47% in Dufferin – were commuting outside their community to work (Headwaters Communities in Action 2011, p. 5).

The small population and rural density of the towns and villages of the Headwaters region, combined with its proximity to larger urban centres including Brampton, Mississauga, Guelph and Waterloo, often results in it being lumped together with large neighbouring urban centres for the purposes of planning and delivering health, social and economic programs. This frequently results in: (a) available programs and services not adequately addressing the region's rural needs and realities; (b) a confusing array of competing service and planning boundaries across the region; and, (c) difficulty identifying, and coordinating action on shared regional priorities.

A further complication impacting the Headwaters Region's ability to function as a region is the fact that until 2015, Dufferin County remained one of only two jurisdictions in the province of Ontario without an official upper-tier land use plan (MMM Group 2015). Historically, responsibility for land-use planning within Dufferin County was primarily left as a duty of each of its eight local municipalities. While this approach mitigated tensions between the County's rural hamlets and small urban centres, the absence of a County-wide planning function represented another layer of complexity that made coordination and cooperation on region-wide issues particularly challenging.

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## Headwaters Communities in Action (HCIA)

Headwaters Communities in Action (HCIA) is a voluntary citizens' group that fosters community leadership and action in support of a long-term vision of well-being for Ontario's Headwaters region. HCIA's goal is "to promote a vigorous,

sustainable and resilient community...by bringing together different sectors of the community to create solutions to shared problems and pursue creative opportunities together. Specifically, we act as a catalyst, supporting collaborative projects while they take root" (Headwaters Communities in Action 2008).



## Headwaters Communities in Action

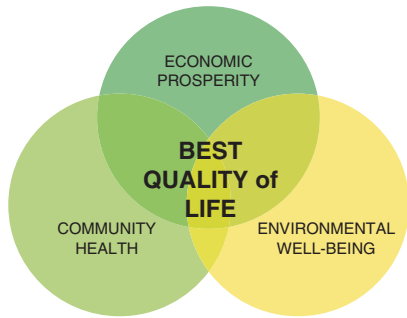
*Making Life Better Together*

HCIA was formed in November 2004 as a result of a unique meeting that brought together fifty four of the

region's community leaders representing a diversity of sectors. Together, they explored opportunities to strengthen the region's quality of life. The session, facilitated by Paul Born, President of the Tamarack Institute, provided an opportunity to identify the region's many assets and also build consensus around a shared, long-term vision for the future. Fourteen of the meeting's participants volunteered to form an initial Leadership Team to develop an implementation plan. The shared vision that emerged from the group's work – and was later affirmed and endorsed through an extensive community consultation engaging an additional 350 residents and local leaders – sought to: "establish an integrated mechanism for social, economic and environmental planning...so that we can enhance and celebrate the prosperity, health and well-being of the diverse citizens of our communities" (Headwaters Communities in Action 2007, p. 2).

## A Community Plan to Enhance Quality of Life and Social Prosperity

In 2007, HCIA published, *Making it Happen: A Community Action Plan for Social Prosperity* which was described as a "citizens' plan across the region" whose purpose was to "...explore the key issues confronting us, and develop initiatives aimed at strengthening the social fabric of our



- Community Health:** Strengthening our health and social services to reflect our communities' changing needs.
- Economic Prosperity:** Ensuring a vibrant local economy that offers sustainable wages and the opportunity for everyone to reach his or her potential.
- Environmental Well-being:** Protecting and responsibly using our environmental assets.

**Fig. 8.1** Headwaters communities in action definition of quality of life

community” (Headwaters Communities in Action 2007, p. 3). The plan was: rooted in extensive citizen consultation; endorsed a refined vision for the region that was originally drafted at HCIA’s inaugural meeting; and, affirmed the enhancement of quality of life throughout the region as its overarching priority. As depicted in Figs. 8.1, HCIA’s Community Action Plan recognized that the region’s quality of life would be achieved by “simultaneously addressing three inter-related areas of focus that contribute to quality of life: community health; economic prosperity; and, environmental well-being” (Headwaters Communities in Action 2007, p. 2). This approach was embraced by HCIA for two primary reasons: it reflected the voice of the community; and, because it was grounded in best practice to ensure community sustainability.

The Plan’s overall outcomes identified three benefits to the community. These were:

1. The community would be able to “measure change and identify priority focus areas through systematic monitoring of quality-of-life indicators (economic, environmental and community health;.”
2. All sectors would mobilize around actions to impact priority focus areas; and,
3. The community’s capacity to address priority focus areas would be built and its ability to access data and funding would also be improved.

By achieving these outcomes, the long-term, intended impact of the community plan focused

on two over-arching goals: (1) improved economic, social and environmental well-being and enhanced quality of life for residents of the Headwaters region; and, (2) the establishment of a culture of multi-sector collaboration.

Eight specific projects were proposed to realize the region’s shared vision for social prosperity. These projects had emerged through an extensive community consultation process. They were:

1. **Facilitate Greater Regional Planning and Coordination by Creating a Quality-of-Life Report** – The description of the report specifically identified the need to include environmental, economic and community health indicators.
2. **Create a Plan to Develop and Promote an Integrated Trails System Throughout Headwaters Region**
3. **Research a Best Model for Coordinated Local Fundraising**
4. **Create a Resource to Enhance the Capacity of Area Non-Profits**
5. **Develop a Youth Engagement Strategy**
6. **Identify Best-Practices to Create Affordable Housing**
7. **Convene Community Conversations to Identify Issues and Coordinate Effective Responses;** and,
8. **Engage and Educate Citizens**

Each of the eight projects transcended the mandate of any existing sector, organization or local municipality in the region. This was a

frequent reasons cited for lack of clear leadership and progress on them.

In the Spring of 2006, HCIA presented the initial Community Plan, and the eight proposed projects, at a community meeting which attracted 100 community leaders. Many of the event's attendees had been involved to varying degrees in the project's earlier consultations. Facilitated dialogues conducted at this gathering generated feedback on the plan and its projects. These dialogues surfaced three key pieces of feedback that were later used to shape and refine the work of HCIA going forward. They were:

1. **Endorsement of the Vision and Proposed Projects Outlined in the Plan**

There was unanimous support for the proposed vision and eight projects outlined in the Community Action Plan by meeting attendees.

2. **Clarification and Endorsement of the Role of Headwaters Communities in Action**

It was recommended that two of the eight projects in the plan – Convening Community Conversations to Identify and Effectively Respond to Issues, and Engaging and Educating Citizens – be considered as part of the role and mandate of HCIA going forward rather than being considered as specific projects.

3. **Identification of Two Initial Priorities for Shared Action**

The remaining six projects were all thought to be important, however it was recommended that HCIA begin by focusing initially on only one or two of them. It was also recognized that, as a relatively new entity in the community, HCIA needed to develop credibility and demonstrate the potential of its proposed collaborative approach to addressing community issues. Input from participants identified the top project priorities as being: Developing and Promoting a Regional Trails Network throughout Headwaters; and Creating a Quality-of-Life Report Card for Headwaters.

## **Emphasizing Process and Projects: Pioneering a New and Unique Approach**

From the beginning, Headwaters Communities in Action (HCIA) has relied on extensive citizen consultation and consensus-building and its approach has embraced a holistic view to enhancing quality of life throughout the region.

HCIA has also been deliberate in recognizing that HOW its work is done is as important as WHAT work it actually champions. This was clearly stated on the opening page of the *Making it Happen: Community Action Plan for Social Prosperity*. Under the title **Embracing a New and Unique Approach**, the report identified HCIA's commitment to working "in a fundamentally new way" that is more innovative, more collaborative and more comprehensive. Recognizing that "The answers to our most complex issues and challenges cannot be solved with 'quick-fix' solutions" and that "Fragmented thinking and action will only produce fragmented, partial solutions," HCIA identified the need to "strengthen our community's ability to foster a culture of engagement, inclusion and collaboration" by: engaging individuals and organizations; facilitating opportunities for diverse sectors to work together; and, supporting mobilization around projects to achieve the region's shared vision (Headwaters Communities in Action 2007, pp. 1–2).

HCIA's emphasis on both the process AND the product of its work affirms an observation made in *Exploring the Intersection of Community Well-Being and Community Development* whose authors note, "...the practice and discipline of community development can serve a vital role in actualizing community well-being as defined by those who live it – the citizens and residents of our villages, towns, cities and countries. Application in particular is where community development and community well-being intersect" (Lee 2015, p. 7). Recognizing that complex community problems are best solved by working

collaboratively across multiple sectors and jurisdictional boundaries, HCIA intentionally embraced an approach that deliberately encouraged multi-sector engagement and collaborative leadership as central in the design of its projects.

Over the past decade the projects that HCIA has championed have included:

- **Championing of Trails and Active Transportation** – This work has involved: (a) building consensus with stakeholders on short-term, system-wide trails priorities for the region; (b) requesting and supporting Dufferin County’s first-ever Trails and Active Transportation Master Plan; (c) supporting the updating of Caledon’s Trails Master Plan; (d) partnering on funding applications for priority trails projects; (e) making area trails maps available via the internet; (f) establishing a trail counter loan program which loans infrared trail counters to area trails groups in order to help them monitor and collect data on the use of their trail and then sharing that data with Municipal Councils; and (g) certifying 15–20 volunteer CANBIKE safe cycling instructors.
- **Researching and Profiling of Community Well-Being in Headwaters Region** – HCIA initiated work on the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report in 2008 in response to citizen requests for a resource to “facilitate greater regional cooperation and long-term planning.” Launched in September 2011, with then Chair of CivicAction, John Tory (now Mayor of Toronto) as the launch’s keynote speaker, the Report profiled data and stories in nine topic areas identified through research, a citizen survey and sector focus groups.
- **Strengthening the Capacity-Building of Dufferin’s Not-for-Profit Sector** – Between 2010 and 2012, HCIA led a pilot project also involving the County of Dufferin, Community Living Dufferin and a number of area service clubs. The project allocated an estimated \$125,000 to support 13 innovative local projects and also hosted learning events aimed at building the capacity of Dufferin’s not-for-profit sector for greater innovation and collaboration.
- **Offering Leadership to Develop a Regional Food and Farming Strategy** – This work began in April 2012, with HCIA playing a leadership role convening the very successful inaugural Headwaters Food Summit and Local Food Trade Fair that resulted in a consensus around priority areas for collaboration to strengthen the region’s food and farming system and established the Headwaters Food and Farming Alliance.
- **Exploring Rural Transportation Needs and Options in Headwaters** – Inadequate transportation options are a reality for residents and the need to enhance available options has been consistently identified by many different groups, organizations and individuals. This issue was identified as one of two new priorities that stakeholders wanted HCIA to champion in response to the findings of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report. A small group of community leaders from various sectors formed **The Dufferin Rural Transportation Learning Group**. Their role was to: develop a shared understanding of the current alternative transportation options in Dufferin County; learn about possible models and options operating in other rural communities for ideas that might be replicated in Dufferin County; and, establish a group of local champions willing to learn together and develop recommendations to enhance transportation options in Dufferin County. This group completed and promoted a [comprehensive listing of current transportation options](#) within Dufferin County; conducted [key informant interviews](#) to better understand the needs and challenges to be addressed; learned about promising practices in other rural communities; and, were selected to participate in a more comprehensive study on rural transportation options conducted by the Rural Ontario Institute. This groundwork was instrumental in securing support from the County of Dufferin to further investigate action on this issue.

## Developing the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report

This section outlines both the intent and the process used to create the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* including: theoretical concepts and frameworks that influenced its design; the definition of community well-being agreed upon; and, essential elements of the report's development process.

### Why a Community Well-Being Report for Headwaters Region?

The mandate of Headwaters Communities in Action was endorsed through an extensive consultation process throughout the region. The process affirmed HCIA's role to foster community leadership and action in support of a long-term vision of well-being for Ontario's Headwaters region, by convening and supporting collaborative projects to enhance community well-being.

The development of a community well-being report responded to community consensus to facilitate greater cooperation amongst the municipalities across the region. It was also recognized by HCIA's Leadership Council as providing an opportunity to more deeply understand, explore and guide the fulfilment of its own mandate.

Work on the inaugural *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* began in the fall of 2008, more than a year after the idea for such a report had initially been presented and endorsed. Throughout 2007 and 2008, HCIA's attention had been primarily focused on advancing its first community project: building consensus and championing a coordinated system of trails throughout the region.

HCIA's work successfully **championing local trails** relied on an approach that fostered greater collaboration across the diversity of organizations and groups who shared interest in area trails. This work was an important precursor to HCIA's undertaking of the community well-being report. Specifically, the trails work provided an opportunity for HCIA, as a fledg-

ling organization, to: (a) establish trust and credibility across the region as a group that could "make things happen;" (b) demonstrate the value and impact of working collaboratively across sectors; (c) illustrate how a diversity of groups, working together, were more successful in mobilizing resources; (d) learn about structures and processes needed to undertake collaborative work; and, (e) continue to grow its contact database and network of volunteer support.

The work to develop the Headwaters Community Well-Being report began with HCIA's Leadership Group and volunteers brainstorming their ideas around the following five questions:

1. Our intention in creating this report is....
2. This initiative matters because...
3. The questions that the report card will help answer are...
4. What difference will our report card make in the lives of the people in our community?
5. What new attitudes or behaviours do we want to see happen as a result of our efforts?

The input from this session was then synthesized into a purpose statement for the report. Ultimately, the purpose statement for the Community Well-Being Report (initially referred to as a Quality-of-Life Report Card) was:

*The quality of life report card that will provide us with a clear picture based on credible data of the assets and challenges currently impacting our quality of life in the Headwaters communities. It is our intention to use this information to raise citizen awareness of the issues that are a priority to the future well-being of our communities. Through public dialogue with people representing a diversity of interests and backgrounds, we aim to encourage strategic decision making and creative problem solving that will support achieving a high quality of life for all who live and work within the Headwaters area. (Headwaters Communities in Action 2008)*

The Leadership Council of HCIA brainstormed potential community members, representing diverse sectors and perspectives,

who might be interested and make valuable contributors to join a Working Group to guide and shape this initiative. Ultimately a Working Group of 14 people – including two co-chairs – was formed and, with support of paid project consultants, assumed responsibility for creating the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report.

## Theoretical Frameworks Shaping Our Approach

Fundamental to the work of HCIA, as outlined in Sect. 2.2 above, is the appreciation that HOW work is done is as significant as WHAT work is done. This section highlights four theoretical frameworks that have been instrumental in informing HCIA's approach – the HOW – that guides the group's work. These theoretical frameworks also guided the process used to develop and draft the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report.

### Asset-Based Community Development

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) is an approach to community development documented by John McKnight and John Kretzmann at the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University. The approach views local assets – the skills of local residents, the power of local associations and the functions of local institutions – as the primary building blocks of sustainable community development. In *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets* (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993), McKnight and Kretzmann stress that while the ABCD Approach is intentional about emphasizing the assets, gifts, skills, knowledge and talents of residents, this does not imply that additional resources are not needed from outside the community. It simply suggests that “outside resources will be much more effectively used if the local community is itself fully mobilized and invested, and if it can define the agendas for which additional resources must be obtained.” (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, p. 8).

ABCD places a strong emphasis on the importance of relationship-building and the value of strong ties between residents as a basis for community-based problem solving. In *A Basic Guide to ABCD Community Organizing*, John McKnight explains, “The basic tool for community building with the gifts of individuals and the power of associations is making connections. The gifts of individuals become valuable when they are connected to someone. Associations become powerful when they connect the gifts of many individuals. Associations become even more powerful when they are connected to other associations.” (McKnight 2013, p. 13).

Acknowledging that today there are many factors that are eroding people's capacity to establish strong social ties, McKnight suggests that a focus on assets and the rebuilding of local relationships, “offers the most promising route towards successful community development.” (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, p. 10). In a blog entitled *Gifts, Skills, Interests and Passions: The Glue that Holds Communities Together* (McKnight 2010), John McKnight illustrates the two central actions that drive the power and impact of the ABCD Approach: “Whenever a neighborhood comes together in powerful and satisfying ways, it is because two things have happened. First, they have found out about each other's gifts. Second, they have made new connections based on these gifts. It is the sum of these connections that “glues” a neighborhood together.”

Like many rural communities, the towns and villages of Headwaters have not been immune to this trend. Whereas in previous generations people would grow up and spend much of their lives in the community knowing one another, increasing commuting and mobility rates have become a reality across the region. A central inspiration that HCIA has drawn from the work of John McKnight's ABCD work is the importance of creating opportunities for local residents to establish and strengthen relationships with one another. This point was made eloquently by John McKnight himself in his 2013 article *Neighbourhood Necessities: Seven Functions that Only Effectively*



*Organized Neighbourhoods Can Provide.* (McKnight). He observed: “It is the new connections and relationships we create locally that build the power of community to care for each other... Today many neighbourhoods are not the sites of powerfully connected neighbours. Often they are sites where people live in relative isolation from each other. The critical issue of our time is how to reconnect ourselves so that we can begin again to act as powerful villages...and focus on enabling local relationships that result in the production of well-being...” (McKnight, p. 23).

The principles of ABCD enabled the leadership of HCIA to emphasize an asset-based approach in the projects it undertook to enhance community well-being in its region. The processes used by HCIA fostered relationship building between residents and strengthened social ties across the region – both of which are essential prerequisites for the production of community well-being.

### **An Opportunity to Deepen Community**

Paul Born, President of Tamarack, an Institute for Community Engagement played an important catalyst role in the early formation of Headwaters Communities in Action (HCIA). He designed and facilitated the group’s inaugural meeting in November 2004 that resulted in the generation of a community-wide vision and the formation of HCIA’s original Leadership Committee. A premise that is central to Born’s work is a fundamental belief in the power and capacity of community as a central organizing principle and a deep appreciation that no one sector, working alone, has the capacity to effectively address complex community issues.

Paul Born’s (2014) book, *Deepening Community: Finding Joy Together in Chaotic Times* describes the work of deepening our sense of community as making “a conscious, proactive, intentional effort to hold on to and build on the connections between us” and suggests that the benefit of these connections is that they will “help us resist the pull of the often neurotic social responses to the complexity of our times...” (Born 2014, p. 5).

The benefits of a deep sense of community are very real. Community helps shape our identity, it offers us opportunities to care for and about others, and ourselves. Also, a deep sense of community is the key interaction that builds a sense of belonging and can be a source of support in both good and bad times. Another important learning that HCIA gleaned from Paul Born that informed its work was Born’s observation that deliberate attention must be paid to cultivating a sense of community. “Community is not automatic, and it is not automatically optimal. We cannot take it for granted; we cannot assume that it is what it should be; we cannot stand on the sidelines and just hope that things work out.” (Born 2014, p. 5).

In undertaking its work, HCIA intentionally fostered opportunities to deepen the experience of community by embracing opportunities to incorporate the four primary actions that Paul Born has identified to help deepen the experience of community. These are:

- **Sharing Our Story** – When we share stories about ourselves we open up to one another. This helps to build understanding and is how we begin to establish relationships with one another.
- **Enjoying One Another** – Spending time together, over time, is how we begin to know one another and create a sense of belonging within a group. Finding simple and easy ways to make this happen is important.
- **Caring for One Another** – This action involves creating places and opportunities to care for – and be cared for – by others regularly. It means knowing that we will be there for one another in sadness and in celebration.
- **Working Together to Build a Better World** – When we know and trust one another we are able to work together to build the community that we want to be part of. The deepest experience of community is “the privilege to work together with others to make things better for someone else and for one another.” (Born 2014, pp. 26–28).

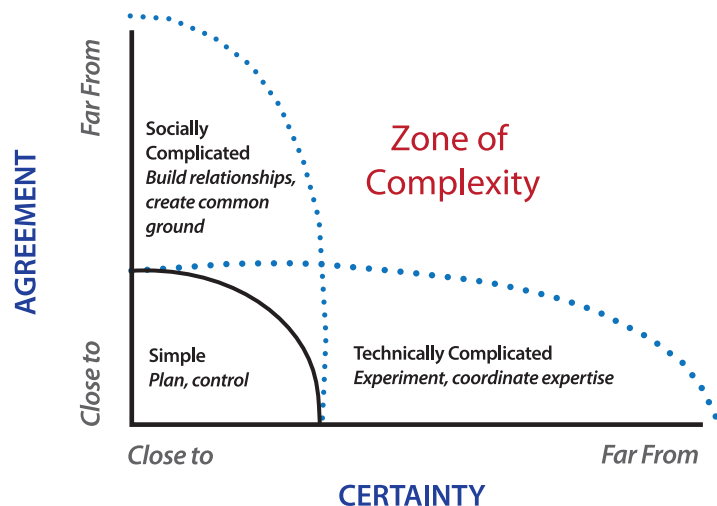
Practices that were embraced and evident in the design and implementation of HCIA's process to create the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report included: (a) the importance of stories; (b) creating opportunities for celebration and connection; (c) nurturing new relationships and connections; and, (d) embracing collaboration in order to create well-being.

### The Lens of Complexity

Adopting the lens of complexity offers a different ways of looking at – and working with – issues such as improving community well-being. The dominant worldview tends to use the metaphor of a machine when thinking about complex issues. Within this worldview it is assumed that complex issues can be solved by simplifying them and breaking them down into smaller, more manageable parts. In contrast, the lens of complexity presents an alternative worldview that: (a) acknowledges the non-linear more dynamic reality of community change; (b) makes important distinctions between simple, complicated and complex situations; and, (c) suggests that different approaches are needed to address each type of situation. In *Getting to Maybe: How the World is Changed* (Patton et al. 2006), the metaphors of baking a cake; sending a rocket to the moon; and

raising a child are used to illustrate the fundamental differences between simple, complicated and complex issues (Westley 2006, p. 9). Brenda Zimmerman's Framework for Defining Complexity, depicted in Fig. 8.2, is useful for assessing the nature of an issue. Issues are mapped along two dimensions: the first is the degree of certainty about how to address an issue; and, the second is the degree of agreement among various stakeholders about how to solve the issue (Patton 2011, p. 90). Identifying an issue's nature helps to determine the most effective strategies to address it. As Patricia Rogers noted in her article *The Simple Utility of Distinguishing between Simple, Complicated and Complex*: "...what is complex is not just very, very complicated but fundamentally different, and the strategies used to deal with complication are not likely to be effective. In particular, what is complicated has lots of components and interconnections but if enough expertise and planning can be brought to bear, a detailed plan can be developed, implemented, tracked and retrospectively evaluated. What is complex is fundamentally emergent either because the situation is rapidly changing and/or because the level of knowledge available is insufficient. A linear approach of situation analysis, planning then doing is bound to fail. It

**Fig. 8.2** Framework for defining complexity



requires an iterative approach with development of early prototypes and rapid trialing and adaptation, and ongoing scanning of the situation as it changes.” (Rogers 2015, p. 21).

From her experience, Rogers also suggests that, “I think it is more useful to think of the framework (for defining complexity) as applying to elements of programs, projects and policies. So it is not a matter of deciding how to categorize a program or policy – simple or complicated or complex, it is a matter of categorizing various aspects of it” (Rogers 2015, p. 22). In reality most successful community change efforts contain all three types of issues – simple, complicated and complex – but real challenges occur when the complex ones are managed or measured as if they were merely complicated or even simple. In *Brenda Zimmerman: The Triple Threat of the Complexity World*, Mark Cabaj suggests three principles for designing effective solutions to complex community issues by:

1. **Focusing on Framing** – Help people to step back and view their issues in new ways that help them to “better understand what they are facing” and focuses making a commitment to act and then learn by doing;
2. **Introducing Principles to Guide Thinking and Action** – Encourage people to craft a response that appreciates that complex issues have multiple possible solutions and encourages them to craft responses that reflect their unique context; and,
3. **Utilizing Aides for Action** – These are practices that help groups to apply complexity principles into their planning and practice (Cabaj 2015, p. 50).

By adopting the lens of complexity, the leadership of HCIA were able to make distinctions about the type of issues they were addressing, and therefore which approaches would likely be most effective. The lens of complexity also provided HCIA with an opportunity to view the work of enhancing community well-being differently and in doing so, created the potential to generate new solutions and approaches for how this work could get done.

## Moving Towards Collective Impact

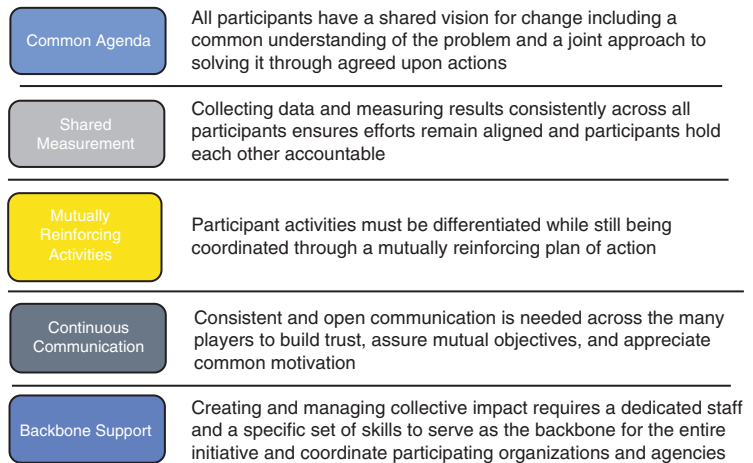
Collective Impact is defined as “the commitment of a group of important actors from different sectors to a common agenda for solving a specific social problem.” (Kania 2011, p. 36). It is the name given to an emerging field of practice and structured process involving five core conditions to support coordinated agency across actors from diverse sectors who are working together to address complex social issues. The concept of Collective Impact first received wide-spread attention when the article entitled *Collective Impact* was published in the Stanford Social Innovation Review in the winter of 2011. This is considerably later than when HCIA was developing the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* which occurred between 2008 and 2011, however it is highlighted here because of the high degree of alignment between HCIA’s approach and Collective Impact’s disciplined, multi-sector approach to achieve significant impact on a range of complex social and/or environmental issues.

The five conditions of Collective Impact as shown in Fig. 8.3 are: (1) a common agenda – which includes a common understanding of the problem and shared agreement on an approach for solving it; (2) mutually reinforcing activities – which emphasize “the coordination of differentiated actions through a mutually reinforcing action plan; (3) shared measurement systems – which implicitly model the plan, act, learn cycle; (4) continuous communication – which supports system-wide sense-making and learning; and, (5) a backbone support function or organization – which plays a central coordination function (Kania 2011, pp. 5–6). These factors compliment and provide a more expanded picture or “roadmap” of the specific and integrated actions required to achieve impact on complex community issues.

Of the five conditions of Collective Impact, the role of the Backbone is particularly important. In *Understanding the Value of the Backbone Organization in Collective Impact*, the authors state that, “Effective backbone support is a critical condition for collective impact. In fact, it is the number one reason that collective impact initiatives fail.” (Turner 2012, p. 1). The importance

**Fig. 8.3** The five conditions of collective impact

## The Five Conditions of Collective Impact



Source: FSG

of the “backbone coordination” in the success of multi-sector collaborations underscores the important role played by Headwaters Communities in Action.

HCIA offered diverse citizen leadership to champion and coordinate efforts that historically were not getting tended to because they transcended the mission and mandate of any existing organization or sector within Headwaters region.

### Defining Community Well-Being

Reaching agreement on a shared definition of community well-being was one of the first tasks of HCIA’s Community Well-Being Report Working Group and the project consultants. The importance of framing community well-being in a clear and consistent way that had resonance with individuals across a variety of sectors and municipalities was recognized as an important priority.

The definition of quality of life and graphic that was used in HCIA’s initial Community Action Plan for Social Prosperity and shown in Fig. 8.1 of this chapter offered an important starting point for these discussions. Inspirations were also drawn from quality-of-life reports developed by other jurisdictions. One particularly useful resource was *Approaches to*

*Measurement: Community Change Indicators* (Born 2010) by Tamarack Institute which summarized various approaches currently being used in Canada and around the world to measure community change. The measurement summaries and accompanying lists provided a starting point for exploring different approaches to measuring community change and were also helpful in generating dialogue within the Working Group as to the best approach to use within Headwaters Region.

After considerable dialogue and a review of various frameworks, HCIA’s Community Well-Being Report Working Group endorsed a definition of community well-being, shown in Fig. 8.4, which includes five pillars: healthy people; dynamic economy; sustainable environment; vibrant culture; and engaged citizens.

Another important design decision made at the outset of the planning for the Community Well-Being Report was to rely primarily on StatsCanada Census data for the report’s indicators because StatsCan data was: valid and reliable; could be used consistently over time to measure progress in subsequent reports; and, considerably more affordable than undertaking primary research and data collection. Making this decision also meant that the report would be focused on specific census boundaries within the region.



**Fig. 8.4** HCIA's definition of community well-being

A four-page brochure, *Headwaters Communities in Action: Building a Better Quality of Life Together*, was published and widely distributed in 2008 to announce the Community Well-Being Report project to the public. It profiled HCIA's definition of community well-being and also provided a clear and brief summary of HCIA and its current projects. The visual in Fig. 8.4 defining community well-being was prominently displayed on the document's front page. The brochure described the goal of the Headwaters Community Well-Being this way, "Imagine...Leaders from across the community working together to create a report that provides measureable indicators of the region's economic, social and environmental well-being and gives citizens the information they need to pursue a coordinated approach to community vitality and sustainability. Taking its cue from similar reports in other communities and through wide and ongoing community consultation, HCIA's cross-sector working group established a report frame-

work tailored specifically to this region and its values and partnered with Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University for research support and data analysis." (Headwaters Communities in Action 2008, p. 2).

The Community Well-Being Report highlighted three benefits offered to the community:

- **A Regional Overview** – The Report offered a way to bridge sectors and municipal boundaries to offer a comprehensive picture of well-being throughout the region;
- **A Barometer of Change** – While the first Report was seen as a benchmark, it was thought that producing similar reports every 2–3 years could support citizens to identify trends and evolving issues; and,
- **A Tool for Action** – Because it helped to anticipate emerging issues, the Community Well-Being Report would assist municipal councils, businesses and community organizations develop consensus and plan collaboratively.

## Developing the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report

This section provides an overview of the process used by Headwaters Communities in Action to create the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report. HCIA's strong commitment of community engagement and consensus building was a key element in the development of its community well-being report. In many ways the report development process was an iterative one. Various methods were used to collect information and data. Multiple opportunities to engage diverse groups in interpreting or "sense-making" regarding the data and findings were also useful in refining and finalizing the report's final topic areas and opportunities for action.

### Key Informant Interviews and A Citizen Survey

The newly formed Community Well-Being Report Working Group began its work by generating a list of leaders from different sectors and jurisdictions across the region. With their definition of community well-being in place, Committee members each conducted a number of one-on-one interviews with these key informants in order to: test and affirm the definition of community well-being; inform these community leaders about the project; and, engage their advice and support in providing information, data and other resources to support the project. These interviews also served as the beginning of building a contact database of residents and leaders to communicate with as the project unfolded (Fig. 8.5).

The information gleaned from the Working Group's key informant interviews were synthesized and then used to develop a citizen survey that was designed to get input from a wide diversity of local residents. The goal was to generate ideas about how to best profile measures of community well-being and provide input for further community consultation and research.

The survey was conducted between September 15th and October 15th, 2008. It took approximately 5 min to complete, contained nineteen

questions, and was self-administered via computer. Two of the questions were open-ended. They asked, "Name two reasons this community is a good place for you to live/work" and "Name two reasons this community is not a good place for you to live/work."

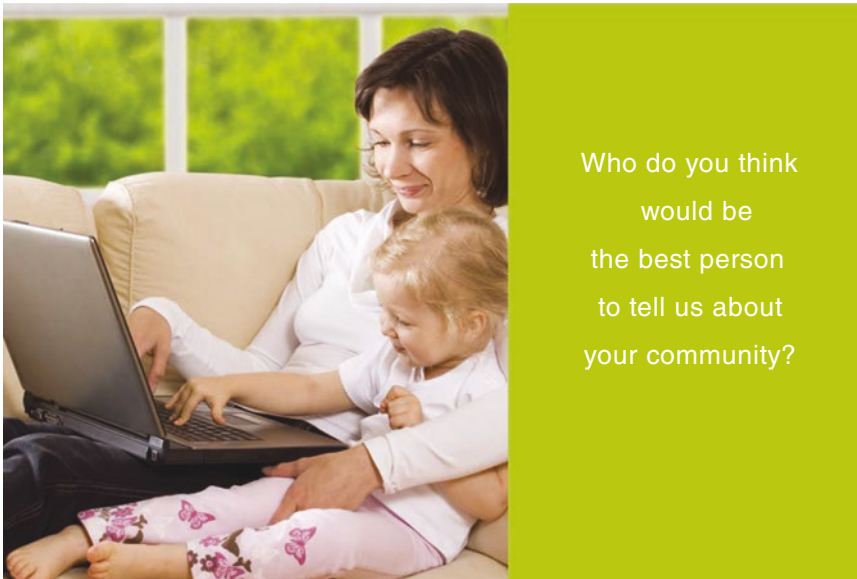
Promotion of the survey was done via Working Group member personal outreach; email promotions; ads in local magazines and newspapers; and wide distribution of the promotional style post-card, shown in Fig. 8.6, in libraries, coffee shops, arenas, municipal offices and other organizations and meeting spaces throughout the region. As an added incentive, people who completed the survey were entered into a draw to receive a free dinner for two at an area restaurant which had been donated to help encourage survey completion.

A total of 406 survey responses were received which exceeded the Working Group's target. Dufferin County residents made up 68% and Caledon made up approximately 21% of the respondents. Ninety eight percent of the survey respondents were permanent residents. A comparison between Census Data 2006 for Dufferin County and the survey respondents showed that

#### Key Informant Interviews

- What do you think would be important to measure about well-being in our communities?
- What would you want to see included in the report for it to be useful for you?
- How would a community well-being report help you in your work in the community? How would you anticipate that you would use the results? Who else would use the results in your organization/circle?
- What information, data, reports, or sources of information do you have that would help us to get clearer about potential indicators for the report, and about the data that is collected in this community?
- Who else do you feel needs to be consulted in order for it to be a credible resource for this community?

**Fig. 8.5** Key informant interview questions



**Fig. 8.6** Citizen survey promotional post-card

survey respondents represented the population in terms of geography, age and commuting. In Caledon, the majority of respondents were from Ward One and Two, areas closer to the Dufferin border, and therefore don't reflect the broader community.

Respondents were invited to prioritize indicators within the five pillars of community well-being as depicted in HCIA's definition. Responses to the survey's open-ended questions about what respondents most valued and were most concerned about in their community also revealed clear themes.

The three primary themes for why people valued the region as a place to live and work were:

- **Theme 1:** Small town feel; safe, quiet, and friendly community
- **Theme 2:** Rural, beautiful area; clean air and water
- **Theme 3:** Close to amenities: shops, arts and sports – both locally and in the GTA

The three primary concerns people had about the region as a place to live and work were:

- **Theme 1:** Lack of higher paying jobs
- **Theme 2:** Need for more medical services and amenities (e.g. shops, high speed internet, daycare)
- **Theme 3:** Issues related to the built environment, for example, development that threatens the area's assets (e.g. safe, clean, friendly); inadequate public transportation within towns and to urban areas to the south; dependence on cars; and winter road conditions

A series of five, sector-based focus groups were then held. The Working Group used input from the 40 people who participated in these focus groups to better understand the results of the survey's open ended questions and to evaluate the region's current reality against what respondents said they valued. These dialogues were useful in highlighting community strengths and identifying existing points of tension.

A synthesis report entitled, *Citizen Opinion about Community Well-Being and Proposed Well-being Reports* (Headwaters Communities in Action 2009) distilled the results of the citizen survey and focus groups and outlined the Working

Group's early thinking about the focus and topic areas to be addressed the Community Well-Being Report. Highlights from this report were shared broadly with the public via HCIA's e-newsletter and local media to ensure that those who participated in the survey were informed of its results.

The data contained in the synthesis report – particularly the results from the two open-ended questions – became an important touchstone for the Working Group's subsequent work in determining the topic areas, indicators and framing of the report. The findings were frequently re-visited to help clarify and confirm content decisions regarding the report as the group's work unfolded over time.

### Confirming Our Framework and Approach

The input received from key informant interviews, the citizen survey and subsequent focus groups provided HCIA's Community Well-Being Report Working Group with a solid grounding in the needs, expectations and focus of the report from the perspective of citizens, residents and community leaders. Simultaneously, the project consultants and Working Group members were also undertaking another equally important learning journey: reviewing and considering frameworks and approaches from other jurisdictions that aligned with the input of the citizens and leaders of Headwaters.

This research work was greatly assisted by HCIA's ability to secure in-kind research support from a Masters Student from York University's Faculty of Environmental Studies which was made possible through HCIA's Chair, who was a member of the Working Group, an Associate Dean of the University and represented an important in-kind investment to advancing the work of the Community Well-Being Report. The intent of this research was to identify promising frameworks – as well as advice on report development – from other jurisdictions to identify topic areas and possible indicators for use in the creation of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report.

Among the promising practice frameworks and projects that we reviewed and considered by

the Well-Being Report Project Consultants and Working Group, the following were particularly useful in guiding the process and content of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report:

- **Vital Signs** – Vital Signs is “a community check-up conducted by community foundations across Canada. Each Vital Signs report measures the vitality of its community in key areas, providing the community with critical information that can help set priorities and identify opportunities for action.” (Community Foundations of Canada 2015). An initiative of Community Foundations of Canada, Vital Signs includes participation from 49 Community Foundations and produces both national and local reports. At the outset of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report Project, HCIA's Leadership explored the possibility of using the vital signs framework. Unfortunately, as a trademarked process of Community Foundations, this was not an option available to HCIA unless our region established a local Community Foundation first.
- **The Quality of Life Challenge** – The Quality of Life CHALLENGE (QoLC) is a “community driven collaboration led by a diverse group of organizations and engaged citizens” in British Columbia's Capital Region that was launched in 2003 with leadership from the Community Social Planning Council of Greater Victoria (Quality of Life Challenge 2007, p. 8). A central part of the work of the QoLC was the monitoring of a broad set of indicators of quality of life using data from major sources including StatsCanada that it used to “make informed decisions and focus on areas which it could have the greatest impact.” Another important learning gleaned from the review of this group's work was an affirmation of the importance of stories as well as data for helping people to more deeply appreciate issues and opportunities. In “A Bold New Way”, a report reflecting on the work of the QoLC from 2003 to 2006, the project states, “Recognizing that data doesn't always reflect the good work currently hap-



pening here, the CHALLENGE balanced data with stories. They tell what the CHALLENGE means to real people, right now, right here.” (Quality of Life Challenge 2007, p. 9).

- **Community Indicators Victoria** – This collaborative project from Australia was commissioned in 2006 by VicHealth and the McCaughey Centre, School of Population Health, at the University of Melbourne. Its goal was “to establish a sustainable system for the development and use of local community wellbeing indicators in Victoria” and “...to support local communities in the use of these indicators for planning and priority setting.” (McCaughy Centre School of Population Health 2007, pp. 3–4). In addition to developing a useful list of indicators of community well-being, this group’s work emphasized the ways in which local governments and community organizations could make practical use of them. Another inspiration from this group’s work was the accompanying website it created which enabled site visitors to generate their own reports and compare local results to other local, regional and state results.
- **The Canadian Index of Well-Being** – This initiative, describes itself as “a tool that’s been developed by the people, for the people.” It is “an instrument that measures Canada’s overall quality of life in a rigorous and comprehensive way” (Ontario Trillium Foundation 2014, p. 10). The CIW profiles eight domains: community vitality, democratic engagement, education, environment, healthy populations, leisure and culture, living standards, and time use. Each domain has eight indicators. Together, these 64 indicators are consolidated into a single CIW Index. HCIA’s Well-Being Report Working Group drew upon the work of the CIW in developing its indicator framework and actually engaged with leaders of the project to explore the possibility of partnering on a local project. While there was interest, and CIW staff envisioned supporting local communities in applying the CIW to local communities, in 2008 its work was primarily focused on finalizing its own national framework. In 2012, CIW conducted its first local community project with the City of Guelph.
- **The Natural Step: Integrated Community Sustainability Planning** – The Natural Step Canada is a non-profit organization that supports organizations, individuals and communities to “make meaningful progress toward sustainability.” (The Natural Step Canada 2015) Its **Integrated Community Sustainability Plan (ICSP)** is both a process as it is a plan that engages community stakeholders “in co-creating a vision of a sustainable future and linking that to realistic planning and collaborative action today.” This group’s framework offered the HCIA Well-Being Report Working Group insights and potential indicators for the sustainable environment domain of the report.
- **FCM Quality of Life Reporting System** – This indicator system has been developed by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities beginning in 1996. It is a recognized source for credible municipalities that draws upon data from a variety of sources, in order to “measure, monitor and report on social, economic and environmental trends in Canada’s largest cities and communities.” (Federation of Canadian Municipalities 2015).
- **Resilience: Health in a New Key** – This paper, published by the St. Luke’s Health Initiative introduced the concept of “community resilience” into the thinking of HCIA’s Well-Being Report Working Group. They define community resilience as “...the ability to create a positive world for ourselves, often in the face of stressful life experiences, and the ability to resist being overtaken by negative experiences when they seem to be overwhelming.” (St. Luke’s Health Initiative 2003, p. 8). The paper highlights nine characteristics of resilient communities; profiles some possible indicators of community resilience; and, also shares important advice about effective processes for developing, and making use of, indicator frameworks within the context of communities.
- **Measuring Community Capacity Building** – This resource, developed by the Aspen Institute’s Rural Economic Policy Program, describes itself as “a workbook-in-progress for rural communities. The core mes-

# The Indicator Framework

Indicator Framework: June 11, 2008

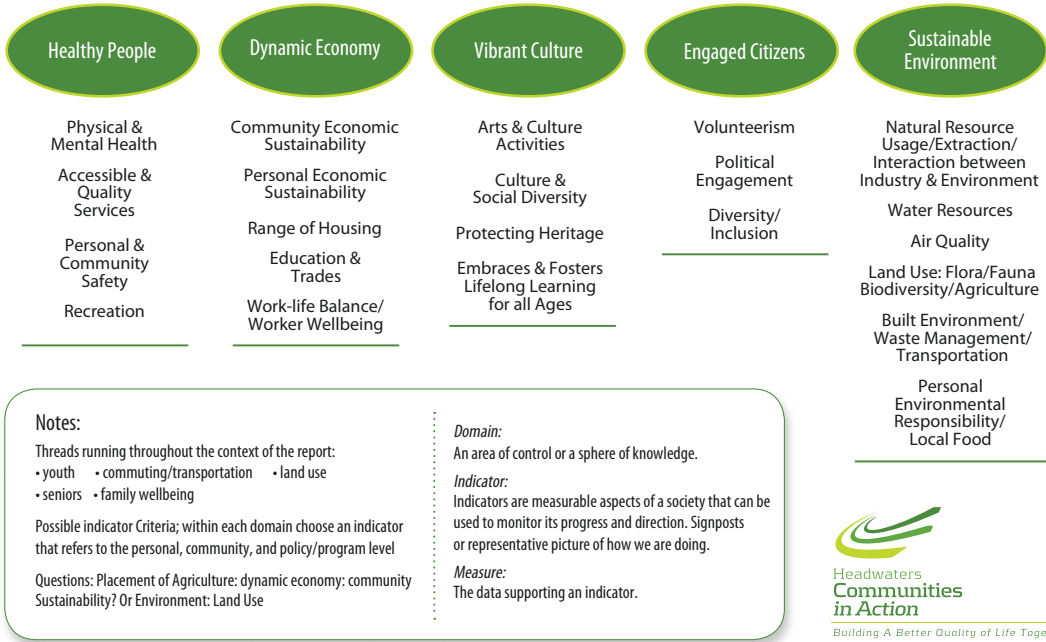


Fig. 8.7 Draft well-being indicator framework

sage of this document was summarized by the following quote, “People live in communities. But the real importance of ‘living in community’ is that people – and groups of people – develop the ways and means to care for each other, to nurture the talents and leadership that enhance the quality of community life, and to tackle the problems that threaten the community and the opportunities that can help it. When people do these things, communities become healthy; when they do not, communities deteriorate. Communities that have the ways and means to undertake challenges demonstrate ‘capacity’.” (The Aspen Institute, Rural Economic Policy Program 1996, p. 1).

From the review of promising practices and frameworks from other jurisdictions, HCIA’s Community Well-Being Report Working Group developed an initial draft of a comprehensive indicator framework shown in Fig. 8.7. The Headwaters Community Well-Being Report indicator frame-

work balanced best practices and community values because the Working Group recognized that data is only meaningful when it is positioned within a context of value to the community.

The Working Group met several times revisiting the indicators used by the frameworks from other jurisdictions and considering which might be well-suited to reflect the values and issues that emerged in the Headwaters Citizen Survey, the focus groups and key informant interviews. In reviewing possible indicators, the Working Group developed the following criteria to help them in their decision-making:

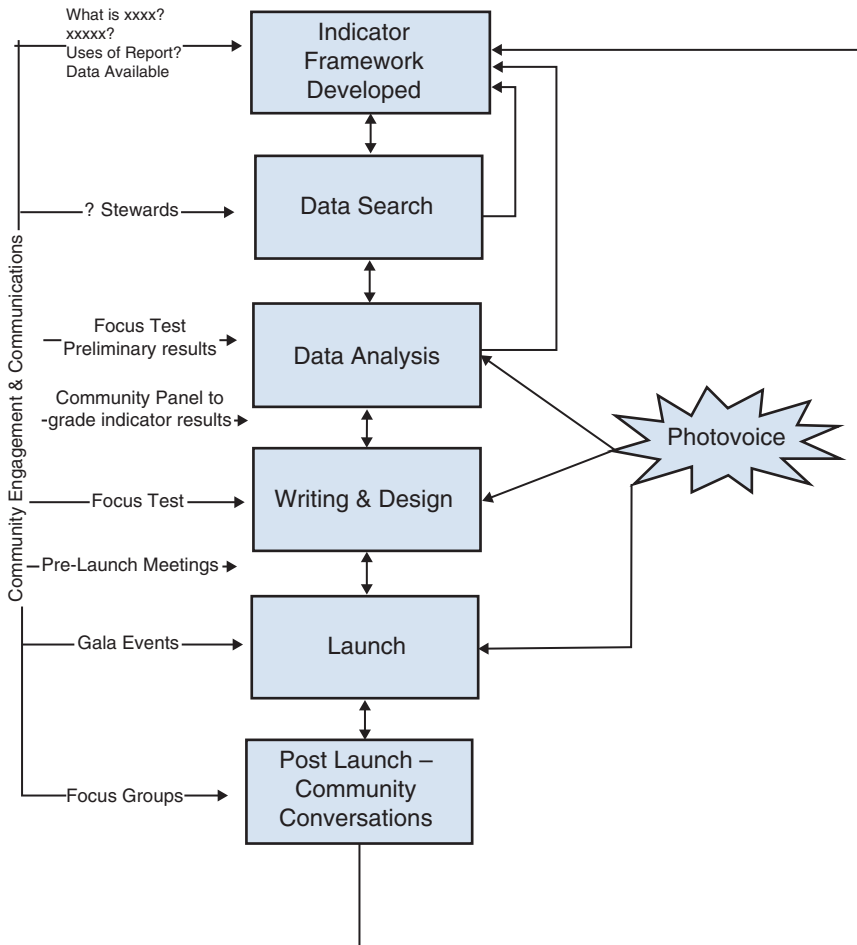
- This indicator reflects the issues/concerns and values raised by our community members in the citizen survey, focus groups and past consultations;
- This indicator is one where reliable data is available; and
- This indicator is one that could be influenced through action at the local level.

The review of reports from other jurisdictions also provided HCIA’s Community Well-Being Report Working Group with an opportunity to consider and reach consensus on important elements of the design, layout and animation of the report. In particular, the opportunity to view a diversity of *Vital Signs* Reports helped to provide an array of examples for consideration.

The Community Well-Being Report Working Group also took to heart the advice of the Quality of Life Challenge regarding the importance of stories. As a result of this insight, the process to develop the Headwaters Community Well-Being Framework included an intentional effort to collect and share local stories illustrating how action

on each of the Report’s theme areas was already underway to some extent within our Region.

The process to develop the framework for the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report: identify potential indicators, search and analyze available data, and write up the findings in a compelling and inspiring way appears very linear, as depicted in the diagram of key process milestones outlined in Fig. 8.8 on the following page. The reality however was far more iterative and involved considerable dialogue amongst members of the Working Group. For example, the proposed Photovoice project depicted in the graphic was ultimately not included as dedicated funds to undertake this dimension of the project were not



**Fig. 8.8** Well-being report development process

secured. For example, desired indicators were not always available and therefore decisions needed to be made regarding alternative indicators.

At other times, once the handful of indicators within each topic area were assembled, dialogues were necessary to interpret the meaning and implications related to each topic area. The need to contextualize the data was important. This was often done by providing comparisons to provincial averages or demonstrating how an indicator had changed over time. An Overview draft was developed as a “living document” to help capture the iterative thinking of the Working Group as the process unfolded. The Overview: (a) summarized possible topic areas and provided a description; (b) offered a rationale and potential indicators related to the topic area; (c) highlighted potential issues and relevant local stories; and (d) documented the inter-connection between topic areas.

Ultimately, the Working Group agreed that the Report would include nine topic areas:

(1) Small Town Feel; (2) Protecting the Headwaters; (3) Rural Roots; (4) Community Safety; (5) Economy; (6) Poverty; (7) Health and Social Services; (8) Arts and Culture; and, (9) Community Involvement. Each topic area: framed the key ideas; included two indicators; provided some context for how to interpret the data; and profiled asset-based stories that highlighted action underway within the region related topic area. Each topic area section ended with a provocative question designed to further engage the reader and serve as a prompt for possible action.

When the draft report was close to completion, local subject matter experts (who had been engaged periodically throughout the development of the report) were asked by the Project Consultants to review and comment on the relevant draft section(s) of the Report. These individuals were an important bellwether for the Working Group and their thoughtful feedback and comments helped to generate additional edits to ensure that the Report’s content was accurate, and framed important issues and opportunities within each topic area. The Well-Being Report Working Group garnered the confidence and assurance that the Well-Being Report would be

well-received and widely endorsed when it was released to the public, because of the final review by the local experts.

### **Pulling It All Together: Report Design and Distribution**

Writing of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* began in earnest in the early spring of 2011 with a launch planned for the Fall of that year – 3 years after the work of the project initially got underway. When the project began, no one involved anticipated that the project would take as long as it did, but those most closely involved in the work likened the process to “blazing a trail as you hike it” since it involved simultaneously researching and designing the framework, and developing the report.

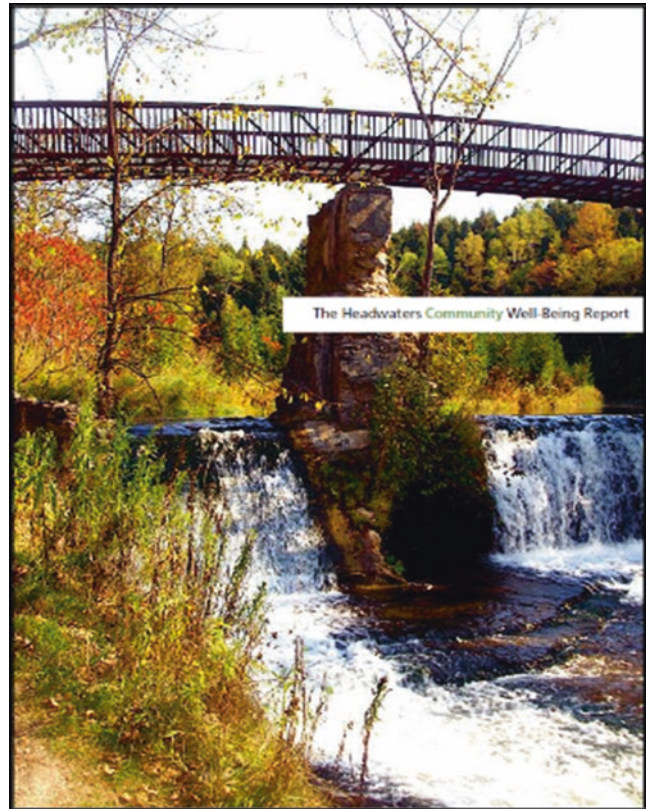
The Working Group knew that for the report to be read and useful, clear simple language was a must. The review of similar reports, together with the publishing experience held by members of the Working Group emphasized the importance of having a document that was visually attractive with lots of colours and pictures. To assist the group and project consultants, a copy-editor and designer were hired to translate the in-depth and rigorous research of the Working Group and Project Consultants into a credible, accessible and beautiful document. Area photos were generously donated by a multitude of organizations who had been engaged through the Report development process, and any photos not used in the printed report were utilized in animating the Report on HCIA’s website.

An initial 2,000 copies of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* (see Fig. 8.9) were printed and a complete PDF version was also uploaded online so the final product could be easily distributed and made straightforwardly accessible. Demand for printed copies of the report was high and later a second printing of an additional 1,000 copies was required.

### **Resourcing the Report: Key People and the Power of Partnerships**

*Headwaters Communities in Action* and its work is sustained through the power of contribution and partnerships.

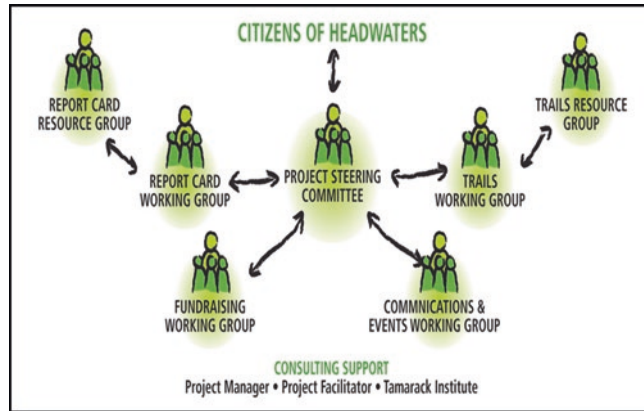
**Fig. 8.9** The 2011 headwaters community well-being report



The *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* would not have been possible if not for the leadership of a dedicated group of volunteers from across the community who shared the aspiration of what a document like this could do to strengthen the community and were willing to invest their own time and energy to make it happen. Then HCIA Chair, Leesa Fawcett makes this point well in her opening message of the Report when she notes, “Communities grow and mature because we decide to value the countless hours of volunteer time, knowledge and random acts of kindness. The sheer number of people who give back “for free” speaks to tremendous civic engagement and community resilience. Strong communities are places where residents interact more often about civic issues, mobilize the talents of their neighbours, and honour the unique environmental, social and economic features of where they live.” (Headwaters Communities in Action 2011, p. 2).

There were a number of key groups, depicted in Fig. 8.10, whose involvement and contribution were essential in the creation of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report. These include:

- **Citizens of Headwaters** – Citizens who were willing to complete surveys, attend community meetings and focus groups, and who were interested in learning about, and contributing to, efforts to improve the quality of life for all. These contributions were critical in providing the Well-Being Report Working Group with a solid grounding in the aspirations and values of the region, which in turn, were essential to developing a Report that authentically reflected the voice of the people.
- **HCIA’s Leadership Council** – The Leadership Council of HCIA underwent some transitions within its own membership during the 3 years that it took to carry the possibility of a Headwaters Community Well-Being

**Fig. 8.10** HCIA leadership structure

Report from a vision into a reality. The continued commitment of HCIA's leadership to the initiative was essential in bringing the report to fruition. While at times there were concerns and questions about the project, HCIA's Leadership Council played a critical stewardship function in developing the report, as well as contributing energy and attention to animating and promoting the ideas contained in the Report to ensure that they resulted in meaningful action once the Report was released.

- The Community Well-Being Report Working Group** – The Community Well-Being Report Working Group was made up of 14 citizens, from a variety of sectors, who shared a deep appreciation for the long-term future of the region. Over the 3 years of the project, membership on the Working Group did vary, however a majority of the Working Group's members stayed involved to the end. Community Well-Being Report Working Group Co-Chairs Marg Long and Kerry Braniff were both long-time residents of the community with interest and experience conducting research, collecting and interpreting data. As volunteers they each contributed a wealth of knowledge and talent and time to establish a solid foundation for creating the Well-Being Report.
- The Project Consultants** – The project consultants who supported the work of

Headwaters Communities in Action overall, and the work of the Well-Being Report Working Group were Holly Greenwood and Sylvia Cheuy. Both Holly and Sylvia are residents of Headwaters who share a belief that individuals thrive in strong communities and that abundant communities are created when individuals create thoughtful solutions to complex problems. Together they brought a highly participatory, strengths-based approach to this work and drew upon their collective experience using different facilitation methods to support the creation of fresh perspectives and the generation of new possibilities. Liesje Doldersum, the founder of Sprout Ad and Design, a small agency in Orangeville, Ontario provided copywriting and design expertise to the content, layout and design of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report.

- In-Kind Contributors** – The *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* would not have been possible without the generous volunteer and in-kind contributions that HCIA was able to secure for this project. Each year, the estimated value of in-kind contributions to support the work of HCIA (not including volunteer time) grew steadily: \$7,000 in 2005–2006; \$26,050 in 2007–2008; and \$33,190 in 2009–2010. Listed below is a summary of the range of in-kind supports, from a diversity of community partners.

**(a) Fiscal Sponsorship**

HCIA officially incorporated and received its own charitable status in 2009. Between 2005 and 2009, when HCIA lacked any formal status, Community Living Dufferin – whose E.D. was a member of HCIA’s Leadership Council – served as an incubator and fiscal sponsor for the fledgling initiative. Specifically this included free meeting space, modest administrative support and book-keeping services which had an estimated value of \$ 4,500–5,000/year.

**(b) Research Support**

York University’s Faculty of Environmental Studies contributed the research support of a Masters’ Student, part-time in 2008 and 2009 to assist in the development of the Community Well-Being Report’s Framework.

**(c) Print Advertising**

*In the Hills* magazine is a high-quality, privately owned publication which is delivered quarterly to 48,000 households across Headwaters Region. The magazine’s founder and Editor, Signe Ball, is a long-standing champion of the region and was a volunteer with the Community Well-Being Report Working Group. HCIA received free advertising for the citizen survey and the Community Well-Being Report Launch event from *In the Hills*; the magazine also profiled the well-being project and its intent in a few articles throughout the Report’s development process.

**(d) Strategic Advice**

Throughout the development of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report, the Project’s consultants and Working Group received valuable strategic advice from a number of organizations that helped guide and shape our work. Those who generously shared their wisdom include: the Quality of Life Challenge in B.C.; the Canadian Index of Well-Being, who were in early stages of their own development when the Headwaters

Report was being researched, but even then envisioned 1 day having the capacity to support the development of local reports, which they have recently begun to do. **CivicAction** is a multi-sectoral regional network based in the Greater Toronto Area that champions and convenes community leaders around emerging regional issues. In 2011, CivicAction’s then-Chair, John Tory (now Mayor of Toronto), was the keynote speaker at the launch of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report.

**(e) Area Photos**

Several individuals and groups throughout the region provided HCIA with free access to their photo archives for use in the Community Well-Being Report, and also the Report’s web pages. These included: *In the Hills* Magazine, Martin McCreath, Hills of Headwaters Tourism Association, Town of Orangeville, Eat Local Caledon, Credit Valley Conservation Authority, and Dufferin Museum and Archives.

**(f) Meeting Space**

A number of community organizations donated regular meeting space for HCIA’s Leadership Council and Working Groups. These included: Lord Dufferin Seniors Centre; Community Living Dufferin; Meridian Credit Union; ACTS Family Fitness Facility; TFI Aerospace; Wellington-Dufferin-Guelph Public Health and several local municipalities.

**(g) Anchor Investors**

HCIA’s ability to find and secure anchor investors was essential to its ability to research and write the Community Well-Being Report. Three anchor investors – the County of Dufferin, the Signy and David Eaton Family Foundation, and the Ontario Trillium Foundation – were instrumental in providing HCIA with sufficient initial funding to undertake and sustain this work. With these investments, HCIA was then able to mobilize both the local in-kind support and additional grant resources to make the Report a reality.

One of the biggest challenges that HCIA encountered in securing funding for the Report was its holistic nature. Many foundations tend to grant according to issues (the environment, health, arts and culture etc.) and while the Headwaters Community Well-being Report did touch on several of these issues – and the inter-relationship between them – it was not perceived to have focused sufficiently on any one specific content area. The Ontario Trillium Foundation, whose mandate is to support healthy vibrant communities, was one of the few funders whose mandate was broad enough to enable them to invest in HCIA’s Community Well-Being Report.

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## Launching the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report

This section documents the work undertaken to release and profile the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report throughout the region once it was finally completed, and also highlights the approach used by HCIA to animate and build consensus for action based on the Report’s findings.

### Launching the Report

After nearly 3 years in development, the launch of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* was cause for celebration. As the Report neared completion, HCIA’s Leadership began planning a big gathering to formally launch it within the community. In developing a launch strategy, they recognized that beyond the formal launch event a range of other actions were needed to ensure citizens would be engaged in learning about the Report’s findings and in determining how best to act together on its findings. HCIA’s leadership identified three goals to guide the development of its comprehensive launch strategy. They were:

1. **To Share the Report’s Findings** – The primary objective of the Report Launch strategy

was to share the information and data that HCIA had identified as the strengths, challenges and opportunities available to our region. The hope was the report would increase knowledge about issues that the region’s residents had highlighted as important to them.

2. **To Build and Reinforce Community Trust** – The leadership of HCIA was aware of the deep well of community trust and expectation that had been created by the development of the report and wanted to be sure to honour that trust by sharing back a product that reflected the rich and dynamic perspectives of the region and was something that residents could be proud of. HCIA’s Leadership also recognized that the publishing and promotion of the Community Well-Being Report marked an important opportunity to reinforce, and grow the credibility of their citizen-driven initiative.
3. **To Engage in Shared Sense-Making and Consensus-Building for Action** – HCIA’s leadership saw the launch of the Report as an opportunity to reinforce the need for shared ownership and action to effectively address complex community issues and opportunities. Therefore, it was important that the Report’s launch strategy ultimately result in a consensus to take action on one or two issues in response to the Report’s findings.

### The Community Launch Event

HCIA hosted a Community Launch event on September 30th 2011. Figure 8.11 show an ad promoting the event. More than 100 community leaders from local businesses and not-for-profit organizations, police services and local governments as well as three of our region’s five provincial election candidates were in attendance at the standing-room only meeting.

In addition, 14 community groups from across Dufferin and Caledon responded to a call from HCIA to use the launch as an opportunity to inform others of their work. The profiling of these groups emphasized the rich network of



**How is our community doing? Read all about it.**



The first-ever report on community well-being in Headwaters will be released on September 30th, 2011. Developed by citizens for citizens, this report reflects the essence of our community. It brings shared issues to light, and invites conversation about how we can work together to make Headwaters an even greater place to be.



**Join the conversation at the launch of the Report with special guest John Tory, Chair of CivicAction. Find the Report and community launch details at [www.headwaterscommunities.ca](http://www.headwaterscommunities.ca). Your feedback and ideas can be shared online, too!**

**Fig. 8.11** The launch event Ad

relationships and knowledge across the region and emphasized to launch attendees the community organizations and networks who contributed to our region's well-being.

John Tory, then Chair of [CivicAction](#) (and now Mayor of Toronto) was the event's keynote speaker. CivicAction is a well-respected multi-sector collaboration in the Greater Toronto Area that convened across sectors, championed regional issues, and shared a similar mandate to HCIA. John Tory was well-known to area residents both because he hosted a very popular radio program and also because he had previously served as Dufferin-Caledon's member of Provincial Parliament. This gave his comments and insights particular credibility.

Mr. Tory called the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report "...the best I have seen in any place in Ontario and there is a lot of good work being done." He commended HCIA for undertaking the work and highlighted the value of having this initiative to provide vital community leadership. One of the dimensions that Mr. Tory found

particularly valuable was the Community Well-Being Report's holistic view of community. He encouraged HCIA to continue to "connect the dots between important issues like transportation, economy and health" as one example, illustrating how these critical issues can be overlooked when issues are viewed from sector-specific lenses.

Mr. Tory's praise of the Report and of HCIA's role as a catalyst for the community was an important validation. His keynote provided important advice to the community regarding how best to move into action on the Report's findings drawing from his own experiences leading the work of CivicAction. This included:

- **Don't Do Too Much and Do Take a Long-Term View** – "When considering follow-up actions to the report, "avoid overloading the plate." Mr. Tory shared that CivicAction distilled 250 ideas generated in its last summit to just four ideas. And, once selected, CivicAction then committed to focusing on these issues for

the next 4 years. He recommended that Headwaters do the same: pick a maximum of four ideas to run with.

- **Possible Criteria for Assessing Action** – The criteria used by CivicAction to identify the follow-up actions it would pursue could be useful to HCIA as well. CivicAction uses the following five criteria to identify the initiatives it will champion:
  1. Intractable or emerging regional challenge
  2. Suited to a multi-sectoral, collaborative approach
  3. Strong potential for high impact
  4. No other logical home
  5. Broad leadership energy and enthusiasm to pursue
- **Framing Your Approach** – Drawing on the CivicAction experience, Mr. Tory advised HCIA and the community’s leaders to be sure to frame the opportunities for action selected from the Community Well-Being Report by “...building around ideas, not institutions” and to move quickly into taking action. Finally he stressed the importance of continuing to encourage involvement across multiple sectors and jurisdictions in working to address the issues chosen for action from within the Report.

The launch event also served as an opportunity for HCIA to host community dialogues about the Report’s topic areas and key findings. HCIA’s Leadership clearly stated that as a citizens’ coalition they had the “bandwidth” to champion a maximum of two issues emerging from the Community Well-Being Report, and made it clear that the input and results generated from these conversations would be instrumental in helping to set priorities for shared action. Highlights from the dialogues amongst Launch Event participants were then synthesized and shared with attendees.

## Web Presence

HCIA’s original website was developed in 2005 and debuted in 2006. The launch of the Community Well-Being Report provided an

important impetus to review and update HCIA’s website platform, to not only animate and engage residents regarding the findings of the Report, but also to reflect the Leadership Council’s deeper understanding of itself and its mandate.

The availability of more affordable, flexible and user-friendly web platforms along with the broader use of social media (particularly among younger people) was another reason that HCIA chose to upgrade its website platform to coincide with the launch of its Well-Being Report.

Specifically, in relation to the Community Well-Being Report, a page was developed for each of the Report’s nine topic areas. Each page provided an opportunity for the more in-depth research and information that the Working Group had reviewed around each topic to be profiled and made available to any group or coalition in the community wanting to champion action around that topic. The webpages for each of the Report’s nine topic areas contained:

- (a) Highlights of the data and findings within the topic area;
- (b) A web-copy of the entire section from the Report which could be downloaded and/or shared as an individual PDF;
- (c) Additional local data and stories regarding that topic area that had not been included in the report due to space constraints;
- (d) A link to two to four key reference documents that the Working Group found useful in framing that topic and/or providing inspirations for action from other jurisdictions; and,
- (e) A space where readers could share comments and/or feedback as well as offer access to additional information or report’s that they wanted to make widely available.

This augmented design enabled HCIA’s website to be used as another channel for sharing the Well-Being Report’s findings in ways that also encouraged continued feedback, dialogue and sense-making with the broader community. Also, the Report’s web presence attempted to reinforce HCIA’s belief that they were NOT the sole owners of the information and findings, but rather the

Report's content belonged to any and all individuals or groups that lived, or worked in the region.

Upon reflection it would seem that the web component of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report was successful in making the findings and information of the report widely accessible. However, HCIA's hope that the web platform would evolve beyond a vehicle that "pushed" information out to the public to become a dynamic two-way platform for citizen engagement, dialogue and mobilization has never fully been realized.

## Leadership and Taking Action

The ultimate purpose of developing the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report was to offer the community some factual data and information to help identify and build consensus around opportunities for shared action. For the HCIA Leadership the formal launch event served as the beginning of the next important phase of work: animating the findings broadly throughout the community; and, engaging a diversity of citizens in helping to confirm future priorities for action.

Immediately after the launch event, members of HCIA's Leadership and the Report Working Group shared responsibility to ensure that the report and its findings were animated throughout the community. Strategies to accomplish this included: (a) being added to the Board agendas of several local organizations; (b) making delegations to all of the region's nine municipal councils as well as Dufferin County Council; (c) presenting to both our Federal and Provincial Members' of Parliament; and, (d) animating the findings at two civics classes at area high schools.

Always, these engagement opportunities incorporated an opportunity for dialogue and feedback. Continuously, specific questions that invited listeners to help identify priorities were included and HCIA made it clear that the input from these sessions would be added to feedback generated from the official launch event, and reflected on by HCIA's leadership to ultimately determine the role and focus of HCIA's work going forward. Each presentation:

- Reinforced shared ownership and encouraged utilization of the Report's findings;
- Continued to encourage dialogue and sense-making of the findings;
- Affirmed the area's strengths and opportunities;
- Profiled the wisdom shared by Mr. Tory regarding the experience and advice of CivicAction; and,
- Emphasized the need to revisit and reach consensus regarding priorities for shared action.

Copies of the Report were also made available at local libraries and municipal buildings, as well as being accessible online for viewing by all the people on HCIA's growing database of contacts. Ultimately, this engagement process led to two issues being selected by HCIA as their next opportunities to champion for shared community action: (1) local food and farming; and (2) rural transportation solutions.

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## Assessing Impact

This section considers the impact of the Headwaters Community Well-being Report. A definition of impact is proposed. This definition aligns well with the commitments of HCIA and the hopes of HCIA's Leadership Council when they undertook the Community Well-Being Report project. An assessment of the Report's impact is then explored, using concrete examples to illustrate that assessment. Reflections and questions regarding the learning generated by this process – and advice for how it could be enhanced in future iterations – are also documented.

## Assessing the Impact of the Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report

Assessment of the impact of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* is rooted in the following definition of social impact: "The effect of an activity on the social fabric of the community

and well-being of the individuals and families.” (Business Dictionary n.d.) Also, the assessment of the Report’s impact considers observations made in *Exploring the Intersection of Community Well-Being and Community Development*, which recognizes that “the practice and discipline of community development can serve a vital role in actualizing community well-being as defined by those who live it – the citizens and residents of our villages, towns, cities and countries.” (Lee 2015, p. 6).

Three questions are central to reflecting on the impact of the Headwaters’ Community Well-Being Report:

1. To what degree did the report fulfill its intended purpose?
2. What actions have been observed to enhance community well-being that can be attributed, at least in part, to the report and its findings? and,
3. To what degree have changes in behaviour and/or thinking been observed in residents’ and organizations within Headwaters’ communities, which may be attributed, at least in part, to the work and findings of the report?

The initial intent in undertaking the Headwaters’ Community Well-Being Report was to, “facilitate greater regional cooperation and long-term planning” and the Report’s purpose statement (see page 12 of this paper) affirms the following:

- To provide a clear picture of our communities, using credible data of the assets and challenges currently impacting quality of life;
- To raise citizen awareness regarding priority issues regarding future community well-being; and,
- To encourage public dialogue amongst diverse perspectives to enable strategic decision-making and creative problem-solving, to achieve a high quality of life for all living and working in the Headwaters’ area.

The report certainly fulfilled its original purpose statement as summarized in the three points

above. In particular, the decision to conduct a citizen survey, and subsequent focus groups, as a foundational piece of research to guide the report’s development proved particularly valuable as a means of informing, and engaging a diversity of community leaders in the Report’s content and findings. The survey and focus-group data also became a very important touch-stone for the Working Group and project consultants in re-focusing their work and making decisions regarding the report’s framework as well as helping with decisions regarding which content would ultimately be included and profiled within the report itself.

The citizen survey, and the comprehensive community engagement and Report dissemination process were instrumental in helping to ensure that citizens were informed and engaged in setting priorities in response to the findings of the Report. Convening public dialogues to encourage groups to make sense of the Report’s findings and consistent reinforcement that the Report was something that belonged to all citizens and communities within Headwaters was another important dimension of how the commitment to the Report’s initial purpose was reinforced. Furthermore, the focus on consensus-building along with a stated commitment by HCIA’s Leadership Council to serve as the champions for shared action around one or two emerging priorities from the report, helped to reinforce the Report as being a valued as a catalyst for proactivity and shared community action.

HCIA’s decision to rely heavily on StatsCanada data as a primary source of the data profiled in the Headwaters’ Community Well-Being Report was driven, in part, by the Working Group’s decision to use credible and reliable data. Because HCIA had a limited budget to undertake the work of the Report, the possibility of undertaking primary research was determined as not feasible.

Another important factor influencing the decision to rely on StatsCanada data for HCIA’s Report was the fact that HCIA envisioned updating and refreshing the report every few years, to help HCIA and the region monitor community change over time. Consequently, the longevity and reliability of StatsCanda datasets (that have

been based upon a census process established in 1971) offered the advantage of ensuring HCIA's ability to access reliable updates on a consistent set of data.

Unfortunately however, in June 2010, Canada's federal government, under Prime Minister Stephen Harper, replaced StatsCan's mandatory long-form census with a voluntary National Household Survey. This unanticipated development has raised important questions for HCIA regarding the cost and ability to produce an update to the initial Report and also increased concern about the region's ability to reliably monitor and track community change over time. There are rumours that the new Federal government, with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, will consider re-instating the long form census, a move that would benefit a vast number of citizen groups but to date this aspiration has not been confirmed.

Another key design feature of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report was the decision to profile local stories in each topic area of the Report to exemplify actions and initiatives already underway within the region that aligned with the findings and opportunities profiled in the Report. Local stories proved to be an important element of the overall design which helped to reinforce community strengths and champion existing assets and honoured the principles of Asset-Based Community Development. Not only did these stories actively increase the purpose statement's commitment to highlight both the Region's strengths and challenges, it also generated considerable comment from readers, who overwhelmingly reported being pleasantly surprised and proud to discover things happening in the community that they were interested in, but had not previously been aware of.

### **Enhancing Community Well-Being in Headwaters**

Community well-being is such a broad-ranging and holistic concept that it is difficult to quantify and demonstrate the correlation between actions taken and the factors that served to stimulate

them. This makes a definitive assessment of the Report's impact somewhat difficult. Adding to the difficulty is the fact that short-term actions do not always directly link to longer-term results. In spite of these challenges, the following four quantitative categories provide some data upon which to evaluate the impact of Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report:

1. **Growth in HCIA's Database of Subscribers** – One of the greatest strengths of HCIA is the diversity and breadth of its contact database! It enables HCIA to effectively engage citizens and keep them informed about emerging opportunities and how they can contribute their thinking and skills is a very tangible way to strengthen a community's social fabric. In 2008, when HCIA began its work to develop the Community Well-Being Report, HCIA's database had 500 subscribers. By 2015 that number has grown to 1,345 in spite of some expected natural attrition. **The net growth in HCIA's database has almost tripled in 7 years.**
2. **The Total Number of Volunteers Engaged with HCIA** – Another tangible measure of the strengthening of the community's social fabric can be assessed in terms of the number of active volunteers who are contributing to the advancement of HCIA and its community projects. **Over the past 7 years the number of people actively involved in HCIA volunteers has grown by 50 % from 40 in 2008 to 60 active volunteers in 2015.**
3. **The Number of Community Projects Launched in Response to the Report's Findings** – In response to the findings of the Headwaters Community Well-Being Report in 2011, HCIA has played a catalytic role championing work around four primary issues:
  - (i) Rural Transportation, (ii) Food and Farming, (iii) Not-for-Profit Organizational Capacity-Building; and, (iv) Trails and Active Transportation. Each of these projects combines an education and awareness component, as well as a range of activities requiring collaborative community action by a diversity of stakeholder organizations.

**4. The Funding Attracted to Support Priorities Profiled in the Report** – Since 2008, HCIA has demonstrated success in securing funding and in-kind contributions to sustain its activities. This amount has fluctuated annually from \$ 130,000 in 2008 to \$ 178,200 in 2015. The growth in funding over this 7 year period, while relatively modest, has remained fairly consistent, and has been essential since HCIA receives no core funding to sustain its operations.

Together, the four key measures profiled above – and the consistent growth demonstrated by each over time – illustrate how the work of HCIA is generating a growing commitment to community action. Moreover, these key measures highlight HCIA’s impact in growing commitment, credibility, and recognition of the value and potential that exists when a community works together creatively to advance positive change on emerging opportunities and issues.

### **Shifting Culture: The Community Well-Being Report’s Intangible Benefits**

Tangible measures including: specific actions; new programs; policy changes; and financial or in-kind investments are very concrete ways to assess the impact of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report*. However, focusing solely on such tangible measures risks missing the opportunity to note other, less tangible shifts and changes in people’s behaviour and/or thinking that can suggest more subtle, cultural shifts that are occurring, which can perhaps, at least partially, be attributed to this project.

From the outset, HCIA’s Leadership Council articulated the desire and commitment to “work in a fundamentally new way” that was described as more innovative, more collaborative and more comprehensive. The recognition that many of the region’s most complex problems were beyond the capacity of any one individual or sector working alone, HCIA recognized the need to promote a new culture of **citizen-led, multi-sector lead-**

**ership** to effectively improve community well-being in Headwaters.

Appreciating that it is difficult to quantify changes in public attitude, beliefs or behaviour and even more challenging to confirm attribution of these changes to any one particular activity or project, there is no doubt that in the 7 years since work began on the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* there has been growing recognition of the value and effectiveness of working collaboratively across sectors and organizations. Some local examples include: a successful funding partnership between the local developmental services organization (Community Living Dufferin) and a professional theatre company (Theatre Orangeville) to establish a shared administrative home; and the formation of Dufferin.biz – a partnership between the County of Dufferin, its area municipalities, and the local Chamber of Commerce to market the region for the purposes of economic development.

Recognition of the value of HCIA’s multi-sector community engagement method achieved an important milestone in 2015 when the County of Dufferin approached HCIA to explore establishing a more formal working partnership to convene the community sector and others to foster innovative approaches to emerging issues.

The sense of regional pride and “shared identity” for participants from the Town of Caledon and the County of Dufferin was another important impact generated by the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* and its launch event. Historically there is not a lot of collaboration between these neighbouring communities within Headwaters Region. However, the Launch Event attracted broad attendance by organizational and community leaders from both jurisdictions. The Report’s findings, Mr. Tory’s comments, and the subsequent dialogue on potential priorities for action that occurred during the event helped to highlight commonalities and areas for possible shared action.

Evaluating the impact of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report’s* on citizens’ thinking and action is virtually impossible since all the opportunities for shared action emerging from the Report are focused on complex issues

that are difficult to scope, and require a long-term commitment before measurable results can be demonstrated. In these situations, process indicators such as: a diversity of people and sectors agreeing to think and learn together to generate solutions; or, a willingness to work together to generate new options, are important markers of positive momentum and progress.

## Reflections and Lessons Learned

Perhaps one of most challenging aspects of the journey to translate the vision of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* into reality was the fact that developing the initial Report involved both reaching consensus on the Report's framework of topic areas, while simultaneously drafting the content. HCIA's initial scoping of the project significantly underestimated both the time and resourcing needed, which made the process unnecessarily stressful and placed a very high expectation on its leadership volunteers. At the same time if the volunteer leadership knew how much time this worthy project would take, given that it was the first of its kind in the community, they may not have signed on.

The fact that the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* was created by a multi-sector group of citizen volunteers is certainly a strength that positively contributed to its credibility and reinforced the need for community ownership of responses to its findings. However, one challenge that this created was the ability to secure adequate resourcing to dedicate to it. The majority of charitable funding tends to be sector-specific. While HCIA's report did highlight, and weave together issues relevant to several sectors, it was too holistic to appeal to many grant programs. Without the investment of resources from the [Ontario Trillium Foundation](#) – whose granting priorities aligned with HCIA's holistic view of community – this project would not have been possible!

Overall, in the work of HCIA, and in the development of the *Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report* in particular, the importance of appreciating the context and paying close

attention to the relationships between things and people has intuitively been central to its success and credibility. The use of a community development approach in creating the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* required an initial investment of time to: (a) build trusting relationships across multiple sectors and/or jurisdictions; (b) understand how an issue can manifest in very different ways within different sectors and municipalities; (c) listen closely and understand the different realities held regarding issues; and, (d) ultimately support true cross-sector and cross-jurisdictional dialogues to identify possible solutions.

One of the inherent tensions that had to be constantly managed throughout this project (with greater and lesser success) was the tension between the community's eagerness to "get into action" and the time needed to build shared understanding and identify and frame the "right" questions. This tension is particularly difficult to hold when relying almost solely on short-term, project-based funding that does not adequately resource the **relationship-building groundwork** needed to build shared community ownership at the outset of a project. This point cannot be over-estimated.

The value of embracing a community development approach to creating *Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report* is evident in the sense of shared ownership, fulfilment, and subsequent willingness for many to commit to acting on its findings. However, this approach proved to be more time and resource intensive than it would have been had the work been undertaken by an individual organization or municipality with dedicated funding and staff resources to dedicate to providing leadership for such a worthy project.

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## The Headwaters Community Well-Being Report 2.0

This section documents how the initial report and community development process resulted in mobilization around concrete collaborative programs in food and farming, trail development and support for the non-profit sector over a 4 year

period following the report release in 2011. In 2015, with these programs up and running, HCIA’s Leadership turned its attention to undertaking a process to update and refresh the original *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report*. This refresh process has included: the hosting of community consultations; modifying the original citizen survey and conducting an updated one; collecting and analyzing updated data and producing an updated snapshot of community well-being in Headwaters Region via an updated *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report*.

### HCIA’s Programs 2011–2017: Taking Collaborative Action

In 2011, HCIA’s leadership embraced the work of mobilizing shared action on the new priorities. Specifically, consensus from feedback to the initial Report, led HCIA’s Leadership to decide to focus its efforts to champion collaborative action to: (1) develop a local food strategy; (2) continue to support development for area trails and active transportation; and, (3) support a strong non-profit sector with an emphasis on the shared issue of rural transportation options.

To scale up and focus efforts, and to respond to funders’ desire to invest in specific “programs”, HCIA’s 2011–2017 work plan delineated two distinct program streams: (1) citizen education and engagement; and, (2) mobilizing collaborative action (see Fig. 8.12). The framework of Collective Impact, highlighted in Sect. 3.2.4 of this chapter, provided a useful framework for identifying important areas of work needed to enable effective implementation of HCIA’s work going forward. In particular, Collective Impact’s articulation of the need for specific attention being paid to establish a “backbone infrastructure” to coordinate collaborative work provided HCIA with clear language to articulate its responsibility and role to provide backbone infrastructure to advance its identified priorities.

In 2012, HCIA developed two comprehensive grant proposals to the Ontario Trillium Foundation and United Way of Guelph, Wellington and Dufferin to advance its priorities. Fortunately, both grants applications were successful and together provided **\$284,000** over 3 years to advance action to build a better quality of life in Headwaters Region. This funding and subsequent work has enabled three strong program streams to develop in Headwaters: (1) Headwaters Food and Farm Alliance (HFFA); (2) The

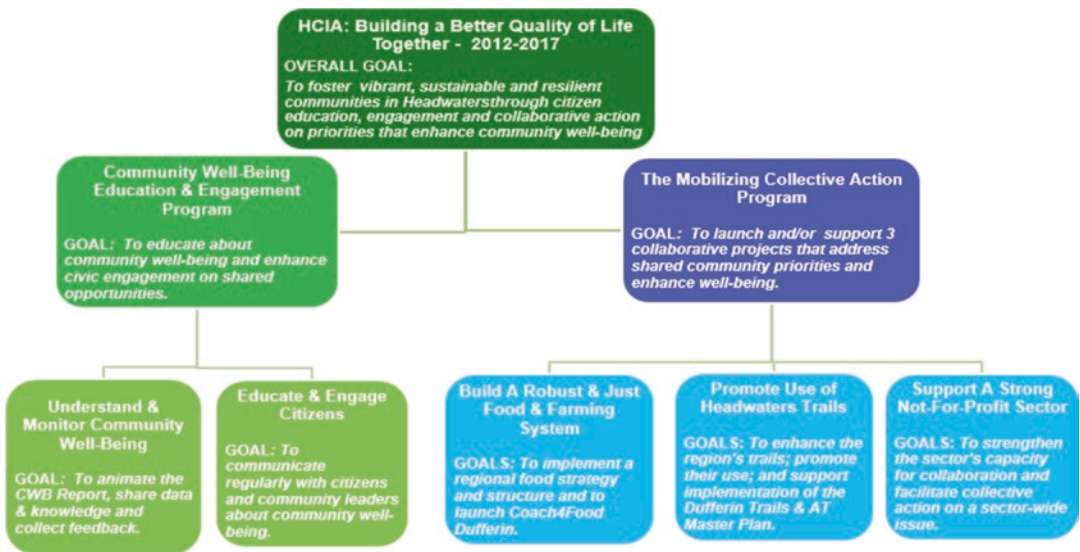


Fig. 8.12 HCIA’s work plan 2012–2017



Headwaters Trails Committee, which was rebranded in 2015 as the Citizens of Headwaters for Active Transportation Team (CHATT); and, (3) Community Well-Being. In addition, efforts to enhance the capacity of area non-profit organizations and networks, and, in-depth research to better understand the region's current realities regarding barriers created due to limited rural transportation, their impact and potential options for enhancement have also been undertaken.

In 2015, in response to this work, HCIA has also become involved in incubating two additional initiatives which focus on: better coordination of human services in Dufferin County; and, the need for a comprehensive effort to reduce poverty in Dufferin County. The scope and scale of these initiatives has led to the County of Dufferin and HCIA to begin exploring the possibility and value of establishing a more intentional and formal partnership to coordinate a shared response.

### **Food Program and Headwaters Food and Farm Alliance (HFFA)**

Building on previous local food efforts and a strong agricultural base in the Region, HCIA convened a Headwaters Food Summit in spring 2012. This first collaborative effort brought together Public Health, Government Economic Development, Private Food Businesses and Civil Society Organizations to organize a day long Regional Food Event that attracted approximately 150 people to learn together and savour a local food and farm trade fair. The event generated an initial consensus regarding initial priorities and a shared vision for moving forward. In 2013, this initial convening grew and formalized into the Headwaters Food and Farm Alliance (HFFA) with geographical representation from agencies, organizations, government, business and individuals who have a shared mandate to champion the Region's food and farming work. A second Headwaters' Food Summit, held in the Fall of 2013, attracted more than 100 people and served as the catalyst to commission a policy report, *Growing the Local Food System Within the Headwaters Region*, to provide an overview of the existing regional and provincial

food system and to establish Regional priorities for shared action.

HCIA formalized a new role with the creation of HFFA: that of serving as an original catalyst and providing backbone coordination support for this collaborative effort. With a number of diverse sectors at the table (public health to business to government to civil society organizations to education) each with some mandate to address issues in the food system, HFFA has offered important leadership in exploring how these individual organizations' work can be better coordinated for greater system impact. HFFA has begun developing a common agenda for the region's food system work; facilitated the identification of the partners' mutually reinforcing activities; and, also initiated dialogues to establish shared measurement goals with its initial Food System Policy Report.

HFFA's current work is advanced through three specific Working Groups: (1) a Central Coordinating HUB, (2) a Food Education Literacy and Access (ELA) Working Group, and (3) a Culinary Tourism Working Group. In addition, groups focussing on distribution and culinary entrepreneurship are also in early stages of formation. Currently, the ELA group is the most active. In 2014, this Working Group launched a Farm to School education program and also coordinated the establishment of a monthly Good Food Club (or Box Program) for families that contains produce (and fun recipes) sourced from area farms and distributed through in five area schools. Both these projects have secured their own, additional funding, with HCIA acting sharing responsibility as the grant holder.

The ELA group's efforts to raise awareness and understanding regarding regional challenges in food access – including the hosting of a *Do the Math Campaign* which engaged a small number of community leaders to agree to live on a “food bank” diet and blog about their experience – have played an important role in the start of a Dufferin Poverty Task Force. HFFA is also affiliated with culinary tourism and culinary entrepreneur groups and event organizing work across the Region. Finally, HFFA's HUB is currently working to develop a Headwaters Food Charter and Strategy, which is planned for launch December

2016, with citizen, business and government endorsement of the final Charter.

### **Trails and Citizens of Headwaters for Active Transportation Team (CHATT) Program**

HCIA's original Trails Working Group was formed to bring leadership to the original project championed by HCIA in 2006–2007. Headwaters' trails are recognized as a local treasure for tourism and recreation. They also provide an accessible and affordable form of physical activity for residents all ages, and serve as a place to foster enjoyment, love and conservation of the region's ample natural environment. In hindsight, it was a natural place for HCIA to begin its efforts to enhance community well-being in Headwaters Region. HCIA's Trails Working Group has undertaken a number of projects over the years to advance the goal of developing a regional trails and cycling system for the region. These projects include: (a) Making Maps of Headwaters Trails easily and widely available; (b) Partnering with Dufferin County to create its first-ever Trails and Active Transportation Master Plan; Establishing a Trails Counter Loan Program to collect user data on area trails; (c) Developing a Trails Infographic to share trail usage data with municipal leaders; and, (d) Hosting CAN-Bike Instructor training and Safe Biking Courses to build local capacity in area volunteers to offer community programs that promote the safe use of the region's growing trails and cycling network.

During 2014/2015, the group, re-envisioned its role and mandate and rebranded itself as CHATT – Citizens of Headwaters for Active Transportation Team. The group promotes and works on active transportation initiatives which they define as, "Transportation that works for all kinds of communities, from small rural towns to urban centers. It's non-motorized transportation – any way for people to actively get around. With the creation of walking and bicycling networks linking home, work, school, shopping, transit and recreation, getting to destinations at a fraction of the cost of comparable roads, will reflect gains rapidly." (Headwaters Communities in Action 2015).

The committee's mandate is to: promote active transportation; support the establishment of active transportation routes; champion new active transportation initiatives; and, augment the existence and maintenance of regional trails network within Headwaters. This group brings together public health, conservation authorities, municipal government, trail groups and citizens.

### **Community Well-Being Program**

This program, originally envisioned as a Citizen Education and Engagement Program, has gradually evolved into an overall Community Well-Being Program. Between 2011 and 2014, the group developed an overarching communications strategy and infrastructure that includes: HCIA's website, the development and distribution of monthly e-newsletters and events; as well as ongoing monitoring of community well-being in relation to each of HCIA's program areas.

### **The Not-For-Profit Capacity-Building Program**

This initiative supports capacity-building programs for the area's Not-For-Profit Sector that emphasize opportunities to collaborate and facilitate collective action on sector wide issues. In addition to hosting relevant sector learning events, HCIA was a catalyst in developing a more comprehensive understanding of the impact transportation issues for rural residents and area service providers. The baseline work conducted by this project included the documenting of available public transportation options; the conducting of key informant interviews; and, the selection of Dufferin County as one of four jurisdictions to benefit from a transportation feasibility study conducted by the Rural Ontario Institute. HCIA was the leader on this issue until 2014 when the County of Dufferin agreed to take on the work. In 2015, HCIA began dialogue with the County of Dufferin's Community Services to explore opportunities to formalize a partnership on an initiative called **DC Moves** to bring leadership to how area municipalities and organizations collaborate intentionally in their efforts to address complex issues like poverty, housing and food access.

### The Community Well-Being Refresh 2015

In 2014, HCIA’s Leadership recognized the need to begin a process to refresh its Community Well-Being Report. This work began with community consultations hosted at HCIA’s 2014 AGM to determine the enthusiasm for community priorities. The timing was optimal because municipal elections were in full swing and the community was very interested in talking about priorities. From this initial consultation, a project plan was developed for the refresh process. While the community well-being survey was updated to include new questions, it remained true to the initial survey in order to accurately benchmark changes. The survey was available during the spring and summer of 2015 and garnered more than 300 responses. In addition to the survey, secondary source data collection and analysis completed the 2015 community well-being profile and enabled comparison with 2011 data.

Community partners who work in each of the areas were engaged to dig deeper into the results. Across the entire process, intentional links have been made to: the 2008 survey design; the 2011 report and evaluation framework. This ground-work culminated in the development of an updated community well-being framework (see Fig. 8.13) to guide the Refresh process. The next

iteration of the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* is scheduled for release in 2016 and will include an executive summary as well as more comprehensive web-based briefs for each component of the 2015 Community Well-Being Framework.

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### The Funders’ Perspective

The following section will explore role and relationship of the [Ontario Trillium Foundation](#) (OTF) as an early investor in the work of HCIA and, later, an anchor funder in HCIA’s work to develop the *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report*. The Foundation’s concerns and challenges in deciding to invest in HCIA’s effort to mobilize multi-sector, collaborative action in support of a cohesive community vision will be explored. The Foundation’s experience and learning from working with, and investing in, collaborative community-based processes such as HCIA’s *Headwaters Community Well-Being Report* will also be shared and the appreciation and importance of such work being driven by local citizens who are discovering new ways to self-organize to create lasting change and work

**Fig. 8.13** 2015 community well-being framework



collaboratively to improve community well-being will be highlighted.

## **The Ontario Trillium Foundation**

The [Ontario Trillium Foundation](#) (OTF) is an agency of the Government of Ontario and Canada's largest granting foundation. OTF awards \$110 million annually to about 1,000 non-profit and charitable organizations across the province. OTF relies on a network of nearly 200 community-based volunteers who are members of local Grant Review Teams across its 16 regions. Grant Review Team volunteers provide input and support in reviewing the more than 3,000 applications OTF receives annually. Supported by professional and experienced staff, volunteers bring essential knowledge of local contexts and needs as well as a wide range of expertise to OTF's grant decision-making process.

## **OTF's Investment in Dufferin County**

OTF invests more than \$300,000 annually for initiatives in Dufferin County, which is part of the Headwaters region. These investments have strengthened the County's volunteerism, organizational capacity-building and collective impact. Many attempts were made over the years to enhance the presence of the United Way, or establish a Community Foundation to expand the pool of available resources to support Dufferin County based community agencies and the community at large. To date, the OTF remains one of the few, and most long-standing grant agencies serving Dufferin County. The local hospital foundation, United Way of Guelph, Wellington and Dufferin, the County of Dufferin and area service clubs are the other sources of funding and support for an array of community agencies and initiatives.

## **HCIA's Unique Approach**

As a large provincial funder interested in investing in impact and community change, and with a mission to support the creation of healthy, vibrant

communities, the Ontario Trillium Foundation was an early investor in the ground work to establish HCIA. The Foundation was intrigued by HCIA's mandate to champion a locally-driven, collaborative process rooted that were rooted in broad community engagement across sectors and a consensus for a shared vision for its community. HCIA's work and mandate was unusual as was its multi-sectoral volunteer leadership structure. In a majority of other communities, the work being done by HCIA would typically be led by an agency, a social planning council or community foundation, however no such body existed in Dufferin County at the time.

Prior to making an initial 14 month investment to support the groundwork of HCIA, Foundation staff and local grant review volunteers had several meetings with HCIA and its lead agency sponsor, Community Living Dufferin, to clarify their ultimate purpose and mandate. Since OTF invests in municipalities and non-profit organizations, the concern with HCIA's initial OTF proposal was that it was being led by a citizen-driven collaborative as opposed to an existing, formalized organization. As such, there was worry that HCIA would not have the resources, experience or knowledge to accomplish its ambitious community-wide engagement goals. In reviewing HCIA's initial grant application, OTF staff also questioned whether HCIA intended to focus on planning and were concerned that HCIA's leadership could lose its focus during its community consultation process. What kind of concrete action would result from a community-wide effort? However, once OTF staff and volunteers met with this energetic group of community leaders, the grant review team members wanted to support HCIA with their comprehensive community engagement strategy and plan. In particular, the Foundation was eager to learn from HCIA's work and curious to see how citizen engagement might prove to be effective at mobilizing and catalyzing change at the local, systemic and policy levels. OTF's local volunteer grant review team initially invested in HCIA's work to see whether it would be successful in building the community capacity of a rural area to catalyze

systemic change and identify how to take action on issues that were relevant to their community.

HCIA's successful completion of its initial OTF grant culminated in the publishing and sharing of *Making it Happen: A Community Action Plan for Social Prosperity* and the subsequent endorsement of the plan's six community priorities as well as validation of HCIA's role and mandate in leading this work. HCIA's ability to mobilize volunteer and organizational commitment to take action on some initial priorities – along with its ability to secure dedicated funds to support this work – demonstrated clearly the value and impact of a community engagement approach in advancing positive change.

The role that HCIA was serving as a catalyst and coordinator of multi-sector action on regional issues together with the leadership role it assumed in advancing municipal policy change with its support in the creation of Dufferin County's first-ever Active Transportation and Trails Master Plan, fulfills many of the essential functions now attributed to the backbone infrastructure within a Collective Impact effort (though HCIA was fulfilling this role and function in 2007 – 4 years before the language and framework of Collective Impact – had ever been publicly articulated). HCIA's approach, and its demonstrated ability to achieve results, while simultaneously engaging a diversity of stakeholders and in-kind support across its community, validated the Ontario Trillium Foundation's decision to risk investing in initiatives that resulted in broad-scale systems change rather than only supporting existing organizations to achieve their outcomes.

### **The OTF Perspective on the Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report**

A community well-being report card is a practical tool that can be used to regularly measure the successes in a community. As a funder, OTF is interested in investments that make a difference and demonstrate real change. Through its earlier work with HCIA, OTF had established a highly engaged relationship that included: attending in HCIA's events and celebrations; participating in the learning sessions; attending convening events

of the community; and, sharing information about its groundwork and approach with our grant review teams. This created a relationship of shared knowledge and mutual learning which enabled OTF volunteers and staff to see real time results.

Based on this strong relationship of trust, and OTF's confidence in the authentic engagement that HCIA had cultivated within its own community, the Foundation was confident in the decision to invest in HCIA's plan to develop a *Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report*. Our own experience within Dufferin County affirmed the need and intent to create a mechanism to nurture greater collaboration across Dufferin and Caledon that was rooted in measurable data which could be monitored over time and we agreed with HCIA's assessment that their proposed Headwaters Community Well-Being Report could play such a role.

At the same time that HCIA's work was underway in Dufferin County, internally within the Ontario Trillium Foundation an effort was underway to re-examine how to be more deliberate and strategic in its investments in the state of well-being across the entire province and use this information and data to make a real difference in communities. OTF's investment directions are grounded in the evidence of the **Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW)**, a rigorous annual study that measures the well-being of Canadians. In 2014, OTF commissioned the **Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW)** to produce a provincial report entitled *How Are Ontarians Really Doing*. This report reviewed data from between 1994 and 2010 to tell "the story of Ontario's successes and challenges in each of the CIW's eight domains of well-being (health, living standards, community vitality, environment, leisure and culture, education, time use and democratic engagement) and makes comparisons to the rest of the country" (Ontario Trillium Foundation).

With the help of leaders in the public benefit sector and relying on the expertise of OTF staff and volunteers, the Foundation identified the most important changes that should happen in Ontario over the next decade for communities to be more healthy and vibrant. In 2015, OTF

launched its new community investment strategy that focused on six Action Areas, which align with 12 of the CIW's measurement indicators, to support "healthy and vibrant communities in Ontario." (Ontario Trillium Foundation) OTF's six Action Areas for investment are: (1) Active People: Fostering more active lifestyles; (2) Connected People: Building inclusive and engaged communities together; (3) Green People: Encouraging people to support a healthy and sustainable environment; (4) Inspired People: Enriching people's lives through arts, heritage and culture; (5) Promising Young People: Supporting the positive development of children and youth; and, (6) Prosperous People: Enhancing people's economic well-being. Focusing its investment in these six action areas is how the OTF intends to fulfil its mission "to build healthy and vibrant communities throughout Ontario by strengthening the capacity of the voluntary sector, through investments in community-based initiatives." (Ontario Trillium Foundation).

Beginning in 2015, every grant that OTF funds will invest only in activities that will achieve an impact in at least one of these six action areas. For the first time, the Foundation is able to measure, over time, the impact of our investments in the lives of Ontarians and their communities.

OTF's support for multi-sector efforts like HCIA have taught us that complex community issues need to be tackled in a comprehensive way that includes innovative programs but also moves beyond them to encompass broader, system level changes through policy and ultimately lead to changes in culture. We recognize that these more comprehensive initiatives rely heavily on trust-building across organizations and sectors and therefore often require a longer-term approach that can span over several years.

To enable OTF to continue to play its role as a catalyst and investor in system-wide community change, as part of its investment strategy, the Foundation recently launched a new Collective Impact Investment Stream. OTF's Collective Impact investment stream **adopts a very different funding approach that is focused on building connections and capacity across sectors and tackling complex community issues.** This

is a new funding stream that is in addition to OTF's existing program and capital grants. As a Foundation, we recognize that meaningful community engagement is critical to the success of a Collective Impact initiative. It is local communities that know how to best organize themselves to collaborate with unique and diverse partners to solve the complex issue they are to address. OTF recognizes that deep strategic, longer-term investments are needed to enable this type of comprehensive and system-wide action and change.

HCIA was one of the leading organizations to demonstrate the effectiveness of engaging communities to solve their own problems and collaborate in undertaking transformational change. The relationships and networks HCIA established in the community have been instrumental in positively changing the culture of the community by demonstrating that the opportunity to ensure a healthy and vibrant community can be realized when a committed group of citizens and organizations are willing to work together. Their ground-breaking work has been transformational and, with our investments, has been instrumental in modelling the potential of what we now recognize as collective impact.

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## Conclusion

The adage that community development work "unfolds at the speed of trust" has certainly been affirmed by HCIA's experience in leading the development of the Headwaters' Community Well-Being Report. The community development work that was embedded in HCIA's approach to creating the Report has certainly proven to be a real advantage in the community's ability to mobilize and champion projects responding to the Report's findings. At the same time, the initial estimates of the funding and resourcing required to complete a project of this scope also contributed to an extremely long development process, which took its toll on the project's most active volunteers.

To learn to collaborate and build consensus as citizens, community groups and larger organizations is not a skill we are taught in school, but

one we have to learn together throughout life. Our collective chapter about citizen-led approaches to community well-being is an emboldening yet realistic account of what may come to pass with the right efforts. With strong belief in community goals and confidence in capacity-building by organizations like the OTF, community-led groups, such as ours, Headwaters Communities in Action can build trust, envision and then enact vibrant community initiatives. We are grateful for the learning and work together and hope it infuses the hopes of current and future generations.

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Claire Wallace and Kathryn Vincent

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## Introduction

There are two popular stereotypes about the impact of information technology. The first envisages a pale, obsessive nerd hunched over their computer, isolated from day-to-day contact playing non-stop computer games with people they have never met. The second is of an engaged, cheerful person clutching their mobile device and sending texts, photos and commentary several times an hour on social media to a wide network of friends and followers. Which one is true? And which one contributes to community well-being? The answer is that both do, as we shall demonstrate.

The concerns conjured up by the popular stereotypes above is that information technology can lead to social isolation. People become dislocated from their immediate localities and launched into the lonely, empty infinity of cyberspace. Social relationships are “disembedded” (Giddens 1991). We will argue that in contrast to this vision, information technologies can be an important source of “place making” helping to reconnect people to their local communities in new ways and thereby enhancing community well-being.

Sherry Turkle has carried out studies of how digital media pervade our life since many years. She notes that although online communication have increased both in intensity and frequency to the extent that would have been considered neurotic a couple of decades ago, it can also cut us off from people in our immediate vicinity (Turkle 2013). It can create increasingly specialised communities rather than encouraging face-to-face interaction with everyone around. The popular picture of a set of friends sitting round a table together, each immersed in sending texts instead of talking, is not hard to find in any public setting around us. Digital communications enable not just one-to-one communications but also many-to-one and one-to-many in ways that greatly increase our interactivity – although the extent to which people are linked into this interactive world is variable in ways that reflect age, gender and internet cultures (Dutton et al. 2013). What is known as “web 2.0” enables us not just to seek information but to provide information and interaction actively ourselves (van Dijk 2012). Jeremy Rifkin has suggested that this seamless web of communication might be leading us to an “empathetic civilization” as the democracy of the creative commons promotes an ethic of sharing and co-operation rather than competition and conflict (Rifkin 2009). Problems are solved through “crowd sourcing” and money is raised for a host of projects through “crowd funding” (Rifkin 2014). In a day-to-day context people are able to

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share problems and create communities of online co-operation on any topic from advice on health and illness, putting up favourite recipes or sharing problems about training dogs. Everyone has their own “virtual landscape” that they inhabit based on favourite sites and preferences, which companies such as Google and Amazon are good at exploiting. In this way the internet has moved from being a masculine provenance for “techies” to a more feminine world of communicating feelings and problems. It is clear however, that less benign communities can also be created as Islamic State uses this medium to recruit followers and stage-manage public beheadings; Anders Breivik was able to communicate his fantasies of violent conflict and young people are “groomed” by sexual predators online. There are even communities of cannibals that have prompted at least one person to feed on their friend – they also found their complicit victim online. Anyone can find any kind of community online.

What implications does this have for community well-being in terms of locality? In Chap. 1, community well-being is defined as “How well the locality is functioning, how well it is governed, how local services operate and how safe, pleasant and rewarding it feels to live in that locality. For this work we define community well-being as the state in which the needs and desires of the community are fulfilled.” (Lee et al. 2015). The work of John Carroll in investigating Blacksburg Electronic Village shows that community can be enhanced through internet communications (although this was quite a large town) linked to local Higher Education Institutions (Carroll 2012). It is clear that online communications can be a way of enhancing all of these things but also a way of researching them (Wallace 2013). The extent of community services and what the community says about itself (or fails to) can be found online. Online communications can involve both official “top down” communications in terms of a website maintained by a Local Authority for example or it can be “bottom up” in the form of more informal communications through social media such as Facebook, Flickr, Whatsapp etc. The former can give us an idea of how well the community is

governed and how services work and the latter about people’s feelings towards the community and identification with it. Previously, we have used this method to look at social cohesion in two rural communities terms of identity, networks and working for the common good (Wallace et al. 2016). This information also needs to be triangulated with economic, demographic and social information, insofar as it is available at this level of granularity. In this paper, we will look at a wider range of rural communities in the Scotland and the North of England: Peninsula Village, Commuter Village, Island Village and Uplands Village. We have already explored each of these in terms of how they acquired the technology (Wallace et al. 2015) given that rural areas are usually bypassed by the information superhighway (Townsend et al. 2015). Here we shall consider the implications for community well-being. However, first we need to explain our particular approach to well-being.

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### **The Societal Quality Approach to Well-Being**

We have been developing an approach originating in European social policy debates as a lens for understanding well-being across the world (Abbott et al. 2016). The Social Quality approach was originally suggested in the 1990s as a way of building social dimensions into European social policies and was set out in a series of books detailing the theories and the policies (Beck et al. 1997, 2001; van der Maesen and Walker 2012). It applied mainly to social policy at a national level in Europe. We have adapted this approach to look at societal quality across the world (Abbott et al. 2016) and also qualitatively as well as quantitatively. This has proved a model for a “good society” in a variety of contexts, and in this paper we will look systematically at how societal quality can be applied at a community level, where few of the national-level aggregated indicators proposed in the original model are available and a more qualitative approach needs to be used, including online analysis.

Our approach to societal quality derives from the original model suggested by the social quality authors. Whilst recognising the important theoretical work that they have carried out we took the research in a different direction. Our approach to this work is summarised in the diagramme below, The vertical axis refers to the relationship between structural factors and individual factors or the intersection of structure and agency (Giddens 1984) or social integration (the bottom quadrants) and system integration (the top two quadrants) (Lockwood 1992). On the horizontal axis, the relationship between formal systems and organisations extends to the relationships between informal groups and communities (Fig. 9.1)

*Socio-economic security* concerns the provision of public and economic infrastructure. Levels of affluence and deprivation are aspects of this, but it is the conditions that enable people to lead decent lives, even if they are poor. Therefore the ‘social wage’ as a foundation for health, education, shelter and security in later life are important. It is important to recognise the importance of the basic economic and social infrastructure and here public services can make a difference. Local economic conditions can be charted in terms of the number and type of community-based businesses and social enterprises, the general level of prosperity, levels of employment/

unemployment and deprivation can be ascertained by the number of social security claimants or those in social housing. The nature and type of industry or employment in a locality can be important in shaping its character. Having access to broadband is important for enabling people to generate and expand their businesses or enabling remote working thus encouraging economic prosperity (Wallace 2013). Indeed in rural areas, remote from markets, information technology can be a key to business survival (Townsend et al. 2015). For others, fast broadband can be important for claiming social benefits and for searching for information about job opportunities or more economical forms of consumption (e.g. through online market places such as ebay) or also selling goods. Home delivery of food, medical and other services can enable less mobile people to continue to live at home through information technology.

*Social cohesion* is seen as a basic set of shared norms and values and the solidarity between different groups and people that enable them to live together. Recognised by Durkheim as a fundamental quality of social life it is the foundation of social order and recognises the interdependency of social groups living in a society (Durkheim 1984, 1893). Social cohesion is enhanced by civil society as a way of integrating social groups and encouraging participation for the common good

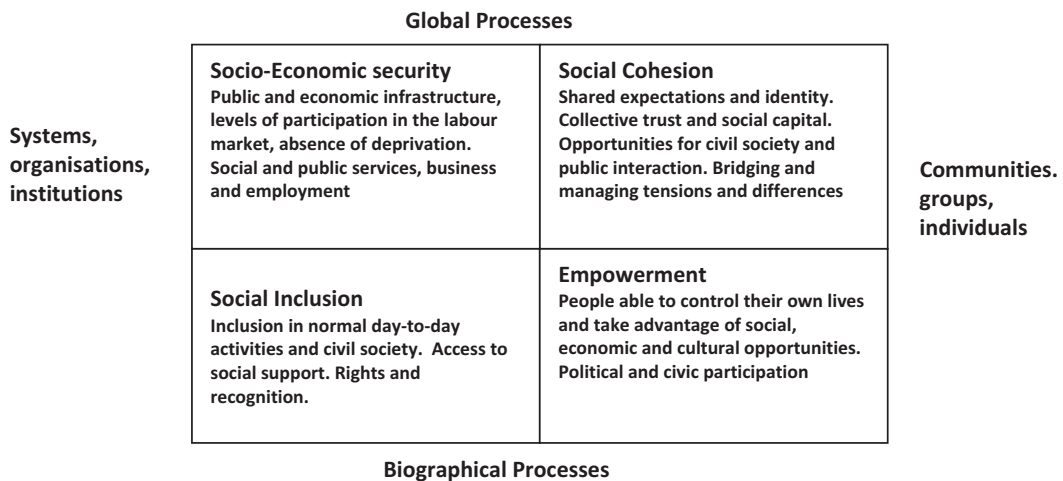


Fig. 9.1 The social quality model

(Putnam 2000) so the number and character of civil society associations is important. The role of online communications can be crucial for this as civil society groups maintain links with their members and communicate information online. In this respect, the website, email and Facebook page have often replaced the traditional newsletter. Civil society promotes trust in other people and in public services because it enables people to join together to make their views heard. This does not mean a mechanical uniformity of opinion, but rather recognition of tolerance and difference among people that recognise out-groups as well as in-groups. Therefore it is not so much the presence of social divisions that undermines social cohesion, but rather how these divisions are managed within a community – online communications can play an important part in this (Wallace et al. 2016). Identification with the community and a sense of pride can be important for creating affiliations and this can also be traced on social media. Linked to this is a sense of solidarity and going beyond individual aspirations to recognise common goals as well as acting to support others and the common good more generally, drawing on ideas of altruism (Dragolov et al. 2013). The availability of meeting spaces both offline in terms of pubs, cafes and village greens as well as virtually through community websites and social media are important in this respect. Furthermore, the presence or otherwise of festivals and communal events can help to promote social cohesion at a community level.

*Social inclusion* refers to the ways in which individuals and social groups are integrated into society and includes three dimension. Firstly close-knit ties through family, friends and neighbours are a way in which people can form primarily social relationships. Secondly loose-knit ties which can be fostered through civil society (Coleman 1988; Putnam 2000) or through information technology, beyond a small circle of family and friends. Thirdly, there is inclusion in the opportunity structure through citizenship. This includes the rights and privileges accorded through being a legal member of the community, but also the set of expectations of participation that reflect the broader notion of citizenship

including participation in social welfare mechanisms (Lister 2007; Marshall 1950). It recognises that poverty or belonging to a stigmatised group or fear of others can undermine inclusion and that inclusion extends beyond small circles of intimates. Social inclusion can be promoted in various ways online, even within close-knit neighbourhoods through such things as email, texting, Facebook and other social media sites.

*Social empowerment* is about how people are enabled to exercise agency. Drawing on Sen and Nussbaum's work, it is about building capacity that enables people and communities to build the kind of lives they find worthwhile (Nussbaum 2011; Nussbaum and Sen 1993; Sen 1993). Therefore it recognises that increasing the range of human choices is important as is the respect for human dignity for everyone –all people regardless of their gender, ethnicity, disablement and so on – should be able to have agency. Community as well as individual empowerment can also be enhanced in this way and promoted through worker co-operatives or participatory budgeting by local authorities (Corbett 2014). This agency is the condition for their level of inclusion and their participation in society contributing to social cohesion. Empowerment can be enhanced by online communications that allow people to communicate, form groups and make their voices heard. Social empowerment relates to the capacity building element of community development as defined in Chap. 1 (Lee et al. 2015), enabling people to take action to improve their community.

The four quadrants are not therefore simply additive– each depends on the other, so they are recursive. Social inclusion and empowerment provide enable people to participate in society, whilst socio-economic security and social cohesion provide the structures for them to do so. Socio-economic empowerment enables people to become empowered in other ways, whilst social cohesion provides the stage on which they can act out social lives.

The communities chosen for this research were very small ones (900–2000 inhabitants) and are clearly framed by national level policies. Three of the communities are in Scotland, where

there is an active effort to provide for sustainable rural communities and a better level of service provision than in England. The fourth (Uplands Village) is in England, where rural services and facilities have been in decline.

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## Four Rural Communities

The communities were selected because they all had fast broadband connections, mostly because they had installed it themselves, involving a degree of mobilisation by local actors (Wallace et al. 2015).

*Uplands Village* is in a rural area of England including a population of just over 2000 and a number of surrounding hamlets. It is made more remote from major centres of population than the distance (about 20 miles) would suggest because of its geography: it sits in a bowl made by the surrounding hills and can easily be cut off in winter. With the decline in its land-based industries during the twentieth century it has started to transform itself into a tourist destination and an attractive place to live. Some of the attraction is its landscape features and built environment with a steeply sloping cobbled street winding through the traditional stone-built historic buildings, many pubs and a market square. It also particularly attracts people wanting to start small ‘craft’ businesses and those who value the sense of community and belonging that it nurtures. However, it is a poor community with many “for sale” signs on private and business premises, many people on social benefits and generally low incomes. Indeed people on social welfare benefits move to this community because of the cheap and available housing. The number of children is rather low and the local school is threatened with closure, whilst the number of older people is rather high. This is partly because wealthier pensioners move to rural areas seeking improved quality of life. Most housing is privately owned with slightly less than 10 % socially rented. The local schools, churches, library and town hall provide community hubs.

*Peninsula Village* is a community of just under a thousand people living at the end of a pictur-

esque peninsula in the Highlands of Scotland. Its location means that although people can commute 30 min to the nearest town for work, they generally move there to enjoy small community life which is also fairly cut off. The influx of a “bohemian creative class” (Florida 2002) since the 1980s have made this formerly run down fishing village into a community of charming converted homes and a tourist attraction. Many artists and crafts practitioners were attracted to the community, which also set up a Community Trust and Community Arts Trust to help sponsor and administer community activities. The strong sense of local social cohesion is fostered by a good community information network, which is an outcome of the relatively good broadband communications. There is a first stage school and public transport to the nearest secondary school not far away. There are two thriving pubs and many cafes and restaurants as well as a number of community halls and a youth café. Although not wealthy, it is prosperous, but there is an area of social housing with more deprived population as can be seen from Table 9.1 which shows 28.9 % of socially rented housing and an additional 12 % privately rented. House prices are quite high. The crime rate is rather low and the Index of Multiple Deprivation also shows that this is not in general a deprived community. The Community Council (a local body of volunteers who form the most immediate level of democratic governance) provides a website, which has an astonishing variety of local events and activities listed.

Though set in agricultural land, the *Commuter Village* is approximately thirty minutes’ drive outside of one of Scotland’s largest cities. As such, it consists of a mixture of farmers and commuters. Commuter Village consists of around 1267 people plus surrounding farms and hamlets and is rapidly expanding. It is characterised by new build and converted houses purchased by commuters to the local city and nearby market town, many of them associated with the oil industry, which means that there is strong demand for good broadband services to enable residents to work from home on technology projects and communicate with family members when they are away. The high salaries provided in the oil

**Table 9.1** Demographic characteristics of the four communities

Demographic	Peninsula village	Commuter village	Island village	Uplands village	(English demographics)
Total population	901	1267	905	2089	All usual residents
% children 0–15	16.54	20.99	16.57	13.9	–
% pensionable	22.64	15	22.87	24.8	Aged 65+
% of population income deprived	10	5	11		–
% of household owned	58.89	73.75	67.19	90.8	–
% of households social rented	28.91	14.45	17.98	9.2	–
% of households private rented	12.20	11.80	14.83	Not available	–
Median house sale price 2013	£132,500	£200,000	£180,000	Not available	–
Index of multiple deprivation <sup>a</sup> decile 2012	6	7	5		
Income deprivation decile 2012	6	9	6	14,889	Rank of income deprivation <sup>b</sup>
Geographical access to services deprivation decile: 2012 <sup>c</sup>	2	1	1		
Housing deprivation decile: 2012	7	7	2	9747	Rank of barriers to housing and services
Multiple deprivation vigintile <sup>d</sup>	12	14	10		
Number of SIMD <sup>e</sup> crimes per 10,000 of population 2010/2011	344	447	75	25, 121	Rank of crime score
Urban rural classification <sup>f</sup>	6	5	6		

Source for Scotland: <http://www.sns.gov.uk/> England: <https://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/>

<sup>a</sup>1 represents the most deprived 10 % of Scottish communities, 10 represents the least deprived 10 % of Scottish communities

<sup>b</sup>Where 1 is most deprived and 32,482 is least deprived communities

<sup>c</sup>This represents a calculation based upon the distance from certain required amenities including health care, centres of commerce and post offices

<sup>d</sup>1 represents the most deprived 5 % of Scottish communities, 20 represents the least deprived of Scottish communities

<sup>e</sup>This definition includes the following five types of crime: crimes of violence; domestic house breaking; drugs offences; minor assault; and vandalisms

<sup>f</sup>Scottish Governments Urban Rural Classification (1) Large Urban Areas Settlements of over 125,000 people. (2) Other Urban Areas Settlements of 10,000–125,000 people. (3) Accessible Small Towns Settlements of between 3000 and 10,000 people and within 30 min' drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more. (4) Remote Small Towns Settlements of between 3000 and 10,000 people and with a drive time of over 30 min to a settlement of 10,000 or more. (5) Accessible Rural Areas of less than 3000 people and within 30 min' drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more. (6) Remote Rural Areas of less than 3000 people and with a drive time of over 30 min to a settlement of 10,000 or more

industry means that the subscriptions for broadband could be set fairly high and lifestyles are rather privatised (Wallace et al. 2016). Therefore

house prices are high and income deprivation (Table 9.1) is low. The one local pub where people used to meet together, was sold and converted

to an Indian restaurant which provides only a few communal tables. The lack of public transport means people are dependent upon cars. There is no school, shops or village hall in the village and people tend to meet whilst walking their dogs around an open green area. The crime rate is high compared with the other communities, but low by national standards. There is a high percentage of children in Commuter Village, reflecting the fact that families see it as a good place to bring them up, and a lower number of older people.

*Island Village* comprises a community of 905 permanent residents many of whom live in the surrounding settlements. It is only accessible by boat or ferry and no cars are allowed on the island except for those already owned by locals. However, the numbers swell considerably in the summer. The main resources come from tourism and from management of the local estate, including deer stalking and forestry. Island village has been pioneering delivery of broadband together with other small islands in the region with backhaul to a local College outpost of a regional University. The population of this community moved there from outside, in order to enjoy the secluded character of the region and the stunning beauty of the natural surroundings, consisting of lochs, mountains and small islands. However, their businesses depend to a great extent on information technology to reach potential visitors, including the yachting and hiking fraternity, who are among their customers. The main meeting point is the one pub as well as the Island Trust offices which administer the estate and were the result of a community land buy-out 20 years ago, something which is possible in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Self-sufficiency runs strongly in this community who have also developed their own sustainable energy sources, which they are keen to link into the communications network in order to provide a holistic ‘smart’ provision and an integrated monitoring service.

<sup>1</sup>In Scotland since 2005 communities are allowed to collectively buy their land from landowners. Island village was one of the pioneering communities in this respect and its land buyout even preceded the legislation that enabled other communities to do so more easily.

In Table 9.1, we have provided some of the basic demographic information available on the local level for each of our communities. As Island, Commuter and Peninsula villages are all in Scotland, they have the most comparable numbers. Unfortunately, the same indexes are not available for the Uplands village, but we have provided the most similar variables if these are available.

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## Methodology

The methods of data collection involved both online and offline strategies between 2012 and 2015. In terms of offline strategies, they involved interviewing key respondents representing both community leaders and different social groups within the community (for example local small businesses, local councillors, people claiming benefits or in social housing, younger and older people, parents with children, leaders of social enterprises). These were selected after preliminary fieldwork, attending community meetings and events and talking with local people, which gave us a feeling for social divisions within the communities and people who would be likely to provide different perspectives on it. This work was carried out by a team of people, including one undergraduate intern who wrote his undergraduate dissertation using the data. All interviews were fully transcribed and shared and discussed among the four members of the team.

Online data collection took place in two stages. In 2013 we did an online data analysis of Peninsula Village, Island Village and Commuter Village, which was repeated in 2015. Uplands Village was analysed only once in 2013. We looked at both Google and social media sites (Facebook) as the most common online presence that could be easily accessed and a number of criteria of inclusion and exclusion were applied as in a systematic literature review. We measured the Internet presence of each of the communities by surveying the number of websites and open Facebook pages. In order to count the websites, the name of each community was put into a Google search, from which we took the results

from the first ten pages. We excluded any pages which were specifically promoted by Google, as well as the Google Image results. As the project was focused on local communities, we decided not to include any pages that were set on a national or international level and where only a section referred to the relevant community. This included Wikipedia, Visit Scotland and Trip Advisor, but also means that we have excluded a number of sites about local community broadband projects, newspaper reports on the communities and Land Reform. These exclusions were used because our focus was on grass-roots community building, so it was important to record only locally controlled websites. Facebook sites were gathered in a similar manner with the Facebook search tool. We eliminated the pages of individuals named after the villages, and villages of the same name elsewhere.

Data analysis was carried out by using the method of Framework, an approach to qualitative data analysis designed for policy purposes and using teams of researchers, not all of whom will have collected the data directly (Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Ritchie and Spencer 1994). After initial familiarisation with the data, this involved developing a coding framework based upon initial concepts (in this case the social quality model) which could be used for coding material obtained via interviews, online pages and other data. Each of the main categories were then divided into sub-coding categories in a cascade of concepts moving down from the original framework. Inductively derived concepts could in this way also be fitted into the framework. This set of classifications could then be analysed and interpreted in terms of our theoretical model. Unlike “grounded theory” this involves applying analytical deduction in the first instance and elaborating it inductively.

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## Results of Online Data Collection

*Uplands Village* The Google and Facebook searches for the English Uplands Village presented some interesting contrasts with the Scottish villages in this study. In the Google

search, we found 18 websites which fitted the criteria; 12 of which represent community organisations, four local businesses and two websites for local government organisations. Among the community organisations, there were two churches, two non-partisan political campaigns, three websites providing information about the community and five cultural or historical groups. Two of the websites which provided local information were for linking business organisations and encouraging further investment in the area (similar to the Chamber of Commerce). The third information website was a community website which is hosted by the community broadband project. It included advertisements for local businesses, but also information about other activities in the area. The cultural/historical groups include the historical society, a festival, a heritage group, a film society and a local museum (staffed by volunteers). The local businesses include the golf club, an E-cig shop and a publisher. The local doctor and the local school were both classified as ‘local government’ websites, though the local Council is linked to the community broadband project website.

The Facebook search yielded a larger result with 45 pages fitting our criteria. Of the Facebook pages, eight provided information about landmarks (which may or may not be automatically generated), six for local businesses, one for local government and one for an event, while the remainder were community organisations. Most of the pages were open, but the results included a small number of closed pages, which therefore could not be easily classified. The businesses which advertised on Facebook include an E-cig shop, a café, an electric bike retailer and an equestrian equipment exchange. There were also Facebook sites for a number of arts, historical and outdoor recreation groups and a large number of pages with local information (for businesses, tourism, etc.) and support for various kinds of community activism. We also found pages that were solely devoted to promoting local religious groups and voluntary work. Local churches provided information about regular services and ceremonies.



*Peninsula Village* There was evidence of a large online presence for both community groups and local businesses in Peninsula Village both in 2013 and 2015. This was facilitated by the comprehensive community website that included most local businesses as well as community organisations. In fact there were two community websites, one provided by the local community and another run by the wider community across the peninsula. In our Google search, we found 49 websites which fitted our criteria: 24 of them belonged to community organisations, another 20 belonged to local businesses, and the last 5 were local government. Of the community organisations, five were categorised as outdoor recreation, which included cycling, bowls and sailing clubs. In addition, there were 16 webpages representing variety of arts and history-related organisations, which include archaeological groups, film festivals, local museums and an active Arts Trust. In contrast to Uplands Village, the churches advertised themselves as arts and historical venues rather than just places for religious services. There were also five websites for local public services: the doctor, a social care programme, the Lord Lieutenant of the County (the Queen's personal representative), various fisheries and the Citizen's Advice Bureau. Although some of these programmes were nationwide, the websites appear to be created and maintained locally. The local businesses advertised accommodation, with a mixture of holiday homes and hotels. However, there were also arts and crafts shops, restaurants and outdoor activities-all of which also attract tourists. Some services were aimed more at local users, such as the veterinary surgery and the Ferry.

In the Facebook search, we found many of the same organisations with 55 sites in total, although some are repetitive, due to the nature of Facebook. There were 13 that we classified as 'informational', 21 community organisations, 15 local businesses, three events, and three local government pages. The informational pages were generally short descriptions of local landmarks, though contrary to the other villages, those in Peninsula Village regularly interact with some of the website pages of the landmarks themselves (usually

with tagging). There was a mixture of open and closed community groups in Peninsula Village, with the balance more in favour of the former (this obviously leaves out the possibility of private groups with stricter security that we were not able to access). There were a number of political community organisations on Facebook, especially those associated with the Referendum on Scottish independence, which provoked an upsurge of popular feeling and the upcoming National Elections. Six of the community organisations revolved around outdoor recreations, while the remainder were for arts or historical groups. There were a limited number of events pages in Peninsula Village (it is possible that events were advertised directly through group pages or the community website). Finally, the local businesses had Facebook pages advertising accommodation as well as food and drink. In addition, there were some pages for arts and other services which were not found in the website search.

*Commuter Village* In the website search for Commuter Village, it appears that the community continued to have a very low online profile in 2015 as it did in 2013. There were only five independent websites for the village. There are two websites for local businesses including the Indian restaurant and an ironing service. There are two more websites for the community broadband project. A final website gave generic information about the region-however it was very sparsely populated and we could not determine if it is based in the area or elsewhere. In contrast to Uplands or Peninsula village, we could not find any substantive online community. This village did not have a community website.

The Facebook search provided only nine pages. Three of these pages were about the same restaurant. In addition, there were two book clubs and two social clubs (though each has one open and one closed site -it appears that the social club was a closed replacement for the open one). There was one page for information about the village, and a final one providing a bus service for the local academy. Therefore although there were indications that a "community" existed in the village, it did not have a strong presence online.

*Island Village* The internet presence of Island Village had shifted between 2013 and 2015. Whilst the results from the Google search were not significantly different in 2015 from those found in 2013, it appeared that Facebook had become the outlet for the community in a way that it had not been previously. In the Google search, there were 20 pages which fitted our criteria (this is despite the criteria being tightened since our last search). There were four community organisations associated with Island Village, two were local information and one was a tourist service pages (different from Visit Scotland which is centrally controlled elsewhere). Two others advertised the local Land Trust Foundation. The local information pages were an interesting development as they began to serve a similar purpose as the community pages of Peninsula and Uplands villages – they provided a method for promoting local businesses. The remaining pages were all local businesses, primarily for accommodation – both hotels and holiday rentals. Five businesses provided other services and recreational opportunities for tourists. However, Island Village still did not have a central community website.

By contrast, the search for Island Village on Facebook revealed a larger community presence alongside the businesses. There were 59 qualifying pages for Island Village; of these 15 were community organisations, or community owned businesses, 10 advertised events, 22 were local businesses, 9 were informational alone and 3 were fully closed sites. In contrast to the other communities, Island Village had a very large number of closed groups, a large number of community owned businesses and a comparatively large number of events. Amongst the community organisations, there were organisations for book clubs, community gardens and a number of other activities, though many of these were private. There were also community pages that represented community owned companies, including a local crafts shop, accommodation and a local power generating enterprise. Half of the “events” were for outdoor hiking expeditions in the area, but the remainder were for community activities including ceilidhs, beach cleans and markets. It is

likely that the comparatively larger number of events, but smaller number of groups found in this area is due to the higher privacy settings being used by residents (with events being public, but organisations being un-searchable).

Local businesses which were represented were aimed primarily at the tourist trade, including a large number for accommodation (including both hotels and holiday home rentals), food and drink and outdoor recreational sites. However, there were also a few businesses which provided services to sell arts and crafts beyond the local area. Although we could not see much information from either the closed or private pages, they indicated that there was a vibrant an online community, but mainly closed to outsiders.

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### Summary: Online Analysis

Therefore there were very different types of online presence found in these four communities. The first conclusion is that the presence of a community website made a big impact to the online shaping of community. Peninsula Village had the advantage of two over-arching websites which brought together different events, groups and interests together with services and information. This created an online information hub which could be referenced by both people inside the community and those outside, of it since much of it was public. The community website was hosted by the Community Council (the lowest tier of Local Government in Scotland). The community website was also an important focus for community activity in Uplands Village, where it was hosted by the Community Broadband organisation. The fact that these websites reflected local preoccupations and activities makes them very different from the kinds of community websites provided elsewhere (for example in Aberdeen) which were simply information about Local Council services and clearly provided and controlled by the Council top-down from a common template. In Peninsula and Uplands Villages these were community-led initiatives.

The online presence of different communities otherwise varied widely, with between 49 (Peninsula Village) and three pages (Commuter Village) found in Google. However, Facebook was increasingly becoming the online forum where information about social activities as well as businesses appeared. Again there were very varying degrees to which this was the case, ranging from 59 Facebook pages in Island Village to nine in Commuter Village. In some cases, Facebook provided information for the general public and in other cases for social activities and events and this was reflected in the fact that Facebook groups were often closed ones. However, the extent of “closure” or “openness” also varied between communities with more closed groups in Commuter Village and more open ones in Peninsula Village, for example.

By far the heaviest users of internet were the community organisations, varying from cultural and heritage organisations to recreational groups. Local Government and other public services used internet to advertise their services, but the second largest group to use online services were local businesses – mostly holiday and tourist services as well as food and drink. Were these variations reflected in the nature of the offline communities too? In the remainder of the analysis we look at each of the social quality quadrants and bring together the information from offline and online analysis based on the framework approach described above.

## Socio-economic Security

Socio-economic security relates to the framework of economic and public services provided in the community. Since we are concerned in this chapter with small rural communities, local business plays an important part, as do social enterprises. In the communities that we surveyed in Scotland most people were employed and given the nature of rural communities, this was often seasonal employment to do with agricultural, hospitality and tourist – related industries, or otherwise “pluriactivity” meaning multiple jobs in different combinations (Fuller 1990). Salaries in

rural areas were often quite low and often insecure, although the incoming professionals who located there might have high salaries, especially if they were working in the oil industry such as in Commuter Village.

The community in England, Uplands Village, had a high number of social security claimants who might have moved to the area in search of cheap and available accommodation. The benefits claimants were very appreciative of high quality broadband because it enabled them to do job searches (a requirement for receiving benefits) and to sign on for welfare payments online without which they would have had to spend the best part of a day travelling to the nearest benefits office some miles away.

*In terms of fibre optic, it now is cheaper than anything else.... And the reliability is a factor now that the government has decided I have to sign on to the universal job match search five times per week and monitors that time, and if I don't sign on I can be sanctioned and have my money stopped (male, Uplands Village)*

They could also save on the costs of telephone lines and TV licences and stay in touch with their friends who had moved to other areas. However, it was not only benefits claimants who were more easily able to access services. Farmers claiming agricultural subsidies could move their records online and with a quick and efficient service could cut down the time and effort required to register their animals and claim the subsidies.

*And in fact I remember when P – he's a farmer – when he was connected he came around, very excited, because he said it had really impacted on his farming activities, because apparently he has to submit tons of forms,...how much you are planting and subsidies and everything and they're all web based (male, Commuter Village)*

In terms of local government services, a lot of information was put online and increasingly schools depended upon having good IT infrastructure in addition to offering distant learning opportunities.

Arts and crafts businesses were important in Upland Village and Island Village, but especially in Peninsula Village, reflecting the influx of a bohemian creative class over a number of years.

Florida (2002) describes the consequences of this for regenerating urban areas, such as parts of San Francisco, but we see this effect also in rural areas. He emphasises the role of the “three Ts” (talent, technology and tolerance) which we can see in action in Uplands Village and Peninsula Village and to some extent Island Village. When some artistic people move there, they create a sense of “alternative” community which helps to attract others. The values of arts and crafts people might involve more “post materialist” concern with aesthetics and space to work than with materialist values found elsewhere and encourage a sense of tolerance of difference in the community (Inglehart 1990). Hence, local arts and crafts businesses used online communications to advertise their wares to a wider audience both locally and more widely. Artists and craftspeople often rely on websites to sell their products (and high quality ones are better for this kind of display) but they could also use specialist online market places such as Etsy or Pinterest. For other Arts professionals, such as film producer, the fibre optic services in Peninsula Village were important for uploading and downloading film material which might take a lot of bandwidth.

Other businesses too used IT communications through having websites and through IT accounting and invoicing which cut their time and costs significantly. They could also source cheaper materials through searching for them online and manage accounts more easily:

*I have an invoice app on my phone and it works in tandem with the invoice website. So that when I go to a job at Joe Blogg's house I can invoice... straight from the cloud, so when I go to the accountant at the end of the year and the accountant says "where is invoice 70" I just go (mimes pressing buttons quickly). Whereas before I had paper everywhere. A nightmare.....99 per cent of everything that comes into the house is buying online I would think.... Business, work. I means say a wireless thermostat for your central (heating) is £60 at the Builder's Merchant or wherever, but half the price on ebay. So it's the way of the world now (male Uplands Village)*

IT services enabled them to pursue their business activities 24/7 or when it was convenient to them, whether their business was based in the

local community or not. Furthermore, good online communications could attract tourists to the area and tourists were increasingly interested in catching up with their emails, seeking out accommodation and points of interest. Indeed, more than one local businessman pointed out that increasingly businesses were disadvantaged if they were not online, something which could hinder development in rural areas (Townsend et al. 2015).

For many respondents, good IT communications enabled them to live and work in different places – remote working. For those in the oil industry in Commuter Village, whose jobs took them all over the world and whose base may or may not be companies based in Aberdeen, this was an important consideration. Others, such as academics needed to access complex data bases, which they could now do from home. IT communications meant that they had a much larger labour market and to live in attractive places whilst pursuing professional lives. Even for some non-professionals, such as those in Peninsula Village, benefited from the locating of call centres in the region that could offer them jobs.

Services formed part of the general infrastructure of communities. On many of the websites, local government services, such as bus services were advertised and local public services such as the doctor and the veterinarian surgery had websites. Other public services included things such as social care services for elderly and disabled people. Online shopping, home delivery and food delivery enabled those with mobility problems (as well as others) to continue to live at home. Island Village was something of an exception in that most services, such as shops, doctors' surgeries, bus services etc. were provided on the mainland and much of the local infrastructure was owned by the Island Trust, which also owned the land and a local hydro power plant, the broadband infrastructure and many of the buildings, which were rented out to residents or tourists. Island Village had its own Community Development Officer, employed by the Trust but paid by the regional government, who helped to initiate many of the local activities. Peninsula

Village also had a Community Trust and an Arts Trust, which held its own financial resources and was able to subsidise various festivals and events but also made an income from these events and premises, including a residential hostel. However, information about road closures and weather conditions were important for those working in rural areas and these could be more easily found online.

Cafes, restaurants and pubs used both websites and social media to advertise themselves to customers and attract followers for the latest offers and events. In Commuter Village the main business identifying with the area was the Indian restaurant which appeared repeatedly on Facebook and Google sites. The other villages advertised many more businesses, especially accommodation services such as hostels, bunk houses, hotels and bed and breakfasts. In Peninsula Village, following the tradition of active civic life that was found there, some of the services took the form of social enterprises (including a café that was later privatised) or saw their businesses as an element of active community service. For example, one of the internet businesses offered free services for setting up websites for community organisations.

Social enterprises flourished in both Peninsula and Uplands Village (the latter claimed to have the most per capita of anywhere in England). However, the Island Village also boasted many social enterprises. Elsewhere we have discussed how in addition to more straightforward not-for-profit enterprises, other for-profit businesses had a community orientation and some moved from one to another (Wallace et al. 2015) An example would be the local café in Peninsula Village which started as a community enterprise and was then privatised but continued to host a lot of community events. Similarly the website hosting company offered a free service for community and social websites. Rhonda Phillips (2015) has indicated the importance of these “for benefit” community businesses for building community well-being, which she terms “fourth sector” to denote their hybrid status (Phillips 2015). These kinds of enterprises provided both economic

infrastructure but also social cohesion as we shall go on to explore in the next section.

A further aspect of the infrastructure available in local communities was that of residential infrastructure. Many moved to rural areas in order to have the opportunity to restore old houses wholly or partly with their own labour (this activity preoccupies many families in the UK for whom it is both a life project and a way of moving up the housing ladder as the house thus increases in value – there are TV programmes about this). Indeed, this was the way in which Peninsula Village was converted from a rundown fishing village into an attractive seaside village. Many mentioned that the presence of fast broadband connections would attract new people to the area and was also important for raising house prices.

Hence, socio-economic security was provided through state services, residential properties, businesses operating in the locality and the presence in some places of a community of creative industries or in other places of professionals working elsewhere. All of these things were enhanced through IT infrastructure.

## Social Cohesion

Social cohesion refers to the structures for social interaction and how this relates to different community elements. Many commented that the very isolation of these villages helped to give them a distinctive identity and forced neighbours to rely on one another. This was perhaps less the case in Commuter Village where people praised instead the convenience of getting to other places such as regional industry parks, the airport or Aberdeen.

In Upland Village social cohesion was facilitated by the many pubs and cafes which catered to a variety of tastes and lifestyles, scattered throughout the town. Peninsula Village had two well attended pubs and both villages also had cafes as meeting spaces. In Island Village the one pub and restaurant was the main meeting place for both tourists and locals and was always thronging, providing a space for traditional music gatherings – people brought along their instruments to perform on a spontaneous basis.

Only Commuter Village had no pub and this was because it had been converted to an upmarket restaurant, which is perhaps indicative of the kinds of social and economic changes that have taken place there. Whilst it was a pub, it had served as a meeting place for organising the community broadband initiative. Many people in Commuter Village regretted the loss of this traditional heart of the community, where different people could meet and chat. They also complained about the lack of a shop and of public transport, all basic infrastructure which could help to provide a community focus and point of meeting.

Other significant meeting places were the harbour area in Peninsula Village and in Island Village, the local School in Uplands Village, which also hosted the site for seasonal festivals and other activities, bus shelters, especially for young people reliant on public transport in Peninsula Village, spaces behind houses converted to barbeque areas or community gardens and the dog walking green in Commuter Village. These physical spaces of interaction were recognised as important places for bringing different community elements together and for communication. They provided a heart or a centre for the community. The closure of local schools, shops, pubs and other infrastructure in rural communities over recent years in Britain has maybe threatened social cohesion in these areas. Did digital communications help to fill this space?

It is clear that the presence of a community website in places such as Peninsula Village was important in generating a shared identity and could provide a space for virtual communications and meetings. The fact that this was set up by the Community Council but controlled by local people who posted their own activities on it (as well as local businesses) meant that it could be a forum for bringing together many disparate voices and interests. Additional websites in Peninsula Village included photos and local history which were also a focus of community identity and a creating sense of shared space. These online activities were backed up by a thriving local history association with monthly meetings offline and four local museums, many of them restored and staffed by volunteers. Both Uplands

Village and Peninsula Village in fact had their resident local historians who produced books and booklets about local history.

Although Britain has become increasingly secular over the last decades, church buildings are still plentiful (even though some of them have been turned over to other uses) and so Churches furnish important social and physical infrastructure, providing church halls for people to meet and even space for art exhibitions. The church building was traditionally one of the most important landmarks of the village (although Commuter Village and Island Village had none, Upland and Peninsula Village had several). Churches also represented important organisational structures. In both Upland and Peninsula villages, the churches played a role as both religious organisations and as gathering places for the village activities which build the social cohesion. The historical associations, as well as camera clubs met in the churches. In addition, the older churches in Peninsula village were sites of historical interest in and of themselves, and there was an organisation set up to fund the restoration of one church.

In terms of other places to meet with neighbours, Uplands Village had a village centre and market cross at the centre of the village, Peninsula Village had a harbour and waterfront green with a monument to the emigrants who had left there for the New World, Island Village had a scenic waterfront and yachting harbour in addition to a monument for people who had resisted the Highland Clearances. Only Commuter Village therefore lacked any clear village centre. In Peninsula Village the local shop, the community bakery and the book shop (which included a facility for book recycling) also provide information boards and acted as community hubs. In Uplands village, the town hall served as a gathering place, which combined a tourist information centre and library. Local events were advertised inside the building.

Peninsula and Uplands Village had community websites that brought together activities and events from across the community, providing a source of social cohesion. The other villages lacked this central facility with the result that

information was scattered and incoherent. However, Island Village had a newsletter which served a similar function of providing connecting news and information. Peninsula and Upland Village had a large number of community organisations, to judge by their web presence – more than 20 in each locality – and these included heritage sites and museums (Peninsula Village had four museums staffed partly by volunteers and working in restored buildings). Local landmarks and village history were a source of cohesion and pride and could be found online in Peninsula Village especially, but also to a lesser extent in Uplands Village.

Festivals and events were also ways of building social cohesion around collectively enjoyable experiences. The regular ceilidhs (Scottish dances), musical performances and film screenings helped to provide this in Peninsula Village. One of the main annual events was the “Splash and Dash” involving the whole village donning fancy dress and running into the sea at New Year. It is commemorated on videos on the community website. In this village a local composer created an opera in which all the children participated and was broadcast on national radio. Local craft and food markets similarly offer the opportunity for people to come together around shared interests. The creation of community gardens and nature trails provided a focus for collective interests and these were important both in Island Village (where a totem pole and sculpture park had been constructed) and in Peninsula Village. Other events were the annual Gala in Uplands Village and a Regatta and film festival in Peninsula Village. Young people arranged their own informal parties using online communications in the form of “flash mobs” which were communicated and stocked within hours – faster than public authorities or parents could get there to control them.

More informal lines of communication were stimulated by Facebook pages which sprang up around different community groups. All of the communities reported on these, but the Facebook presence was particularly important in Island Village, despite the physical proximity of most of its residents. However, Facebook sites tend to

close off particular community networks which thread through the community. FB sites could also be used for clubs, associations and civil society in a more open and inclusive way. For informal communications older people tended to use email mailing lists, whilst younger people used WhatsApp, instant messaging and so on accessed through their mobile phones.

The level of participation in clubs and associations is a way of creating social cohesion and social capital and we have already observed that there were many of these in both Uplands and Peninsula Village (Gordon and Adriana de Souza e Silva 2011). Whilst people in Commuter Village might have been active in associations such as the Roundtable, these were not necessarily community based.

A key factor in social cohesion is how differences within the community are bridged. Differences mentioned included those between social housing and private housing at different ends of town in Peninsula Villa, the relations between young and old (the former heavily immersed in information technology, the latter less so), the divisions between incomers who moved to the area and those who considered themselves more long term residents (often reinforced by differences in social class and profession as well as attitudes to the environment) and finally differences between “townsers” and “teuchters” (townspeople and country folk) which might overlay some of the divisions already mentioned. Pubs and churches in Britain were the traditional locations where these different community elements met but with the decline in church attendance and closure of many country pubs, these sources of cohesion are disappearing. Clubs and associations are possible sources of community cohesion, but these often reflect the divisions rather than overcome them – in Peninsula Village for example, one end of town attended the camera club and the other end of town the historical association, which met on the same evening each month (it should be noted that where there is more than one pub these locations can also reinforce divisions as different groups meet in different pubs). Communal events and various community committees and organisations

can help to bridge these divisions. But can information technology provide such a bridge?

In Peninsula Village the community website brought together all the different community fractions and celebrated common events and achievements. However, only two of our communities had such websites and only Peninsula Village had a truly community focused one. It would seem that a community website can be a great focus for events, news and information exchange. Other sources might social media as this is increasingly the place where news and events are posted. In some cases social media sites can provide the associative web that connects different elements, but it can also be a way in which different cliques and fractions communicate with each other. Furthermore social media can be the way in which gossip and scurrilous stories are spread, which can fan the flames of community tensions rather than putting them out. A number of our respondents complained about this kind of poisonous virtual gossip and the youth worker in Peninsula Village refused to go on Facebook for this reason. It seems that the absence of face-to-face communications means that the usual controls on behaviour or speech acts are removed and emotions can get out of hand.

The lack of community events in Commuter Village did not necessarily mean that people were unconnected. They were connected to networks and communities outside of the locality, reflecting the busy and mobile professional lives. As one respondent pointed out, when they came home they wanted to switch off and relax rather than engage as they had little time and were often travelling to different locations in the world. He also expressed the ideal that a good community is one where privacy is respected and others do not intrude on private life.

Therefore, social cohesion as an aspect of community well-being could be built both on and off line. Communal spaces provided physical sites of interaction, but community websites provide virtual sites of interaction. Digital communications were especially important for civic associations, which were important for building social capital and channelled work for the com-

mon good such as volunteering. Facebook provided a method of more informal flows of communication. All of these helped to encourage a sense of identity with a place as a good place to live. But how inclusive were they?

## Social Inclusion

Social inclusion refers to the mechanisms by which people could be included or excluded from the community. Informal networks might coalesce around shared interests as represented by civil society groups and as we have seen, in Peninsula Village and Upland Village there were many of them. In these villages there were also many Facebook pages denoting the active presence of online informal networks as well. In these two villages the formal social capital provided by community based associations and the informal social capital of informal networks tended to reinforce each other (Pichler and Wallace 2007). However, in Island Village the Facebook communities were most active of all, even though formal associations were few. This perhaps suggest a substitution of informal for formal social capital. In Commuter Village informal, like formal networks and institutions were few. However, this did not mean that Commuter Village residents were isolated. Interviews suggested that they went to the nearby market town to meet people or pursue cultural interests and that they had online networks through “friends reunited” and other social networks that were not locality based. It is illustrative of the fact that these were professional, mobile people who had wide networks outside the locality and many had moved there only recently.

Many respondents in all the communities talked about the importance of information technology in linking them with family and friends abroad, often in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The advantage of Skype and Facetime is that it enabled these people to keep in touch quite easily across great distances. However, for more immediate networking, phone applications such as WhatsApp and instant messaging were probably more important. Facebook provided a more



intermediate way of communicating with a group of people who may or may not be nearby. For older folk, the email had replaced letter writing as a more immediate form of communication and a way of communicating one-to-one or one-to-many. Younger people were less likely to use this form of communication.

Social inclusion was important for community well-being since it was the way in which different community elements were able to participate in the local community. Digital communications encouraged young and old to interact in different ways but also newcomers and more established residents could find communities of interest locally. Furthermore the community online could be extended to include interested people from elsewhere (including abroad) who for various reasons identified with the local community, including diasporic groups.

### **Social Empowerment**

Social empowerment was facilitated in these four communities through the community broadband initiatives that provided the infrastructure (Wallace et al. 2015). However, these initiatives had very different implications in each site. In Peninsula Village it had been continued through a private, but community-oriented enterprise. In Uplands Village the community fibre infrastructure was being retained by the social enterprise, but the provision of broadband services was being taken over by a private company and in Commuter Village the excellent broadband facilities provided by the social enterprise was continually threatened by other private broadband providers. Only in Island Village, given its isolation, was there no alternative for broadband provision to community do-it-yourself initiatives. This reflected the resourceful and resilient nature of island life and the kind of people who moved there. Hence, whilst these initiatives were based upon social empowerment, their sustainability was variable.

Social empowerment was also embodied in the way in which members of the community were able to use information technology to

develop activities. It is clear that where there was a community actively using IT resources such as in Peninsula Village, all manner of activities took place also online, including heritage and cultural activities, sharing films and uploading various kinds of content or commenting on websites and posts. In Uplands Village there was also a strong presence of activities including political ones taking place on line. It was more difficult to find these activities in Commuter Village, where networks and activities were less likely to be linked explicitly to the locality, whilst in Island Village it was the informal nature of Facebook that facilitated empowerment as well as informal networks.

The use of IT facilitated community empowerment by extending the reach of community events and campaigns. Campaigns were organised in Uplands Village around retaining the Cottage hospital, the Ambulance Service and against the closure of the local school. There were also protests about cuts in local transport. In Peninsula Village campaigns around Scottish Independence and the National Elections found an online presence. The Scottish Independence movement was particularly active in social media, using humour and events to promote their cause.

Two of the local communities we analysed had a strong tradition of social enterprise. Uplands Village claimed to be the village with the most social enterprises in the UK and Peninsula Village likewise had many social enterprises, from the community café, to a local hostel, and a proposal to build “the best old people’s home in the world” which a number of people had already subscribed to. Information technology could greatly improve the potential of social enterprises, helping with accessing funds and resources. In Commuter Village the main social enterprise was the community broadband initiative which had successfully mobilised large parts of the village. In Island Village the land buyout had been one of the main mobilising factors in bringing together and sustaining the community. After a long campaign and national fundraising efforts, the community had acquired their land from landlord and taken over the running of the

buildings and large surrounding areas of forest and mountains. This has particular significance in Scotland since it was part of a social movement to take back resources from large land owners and Island Village was one of the pioneering projects in this respect. A museum to commemorate this is found in the Trust offices.

Many respondents pointed out, however, that community activities often devolve onto one or two individuals who are active in committing themselves to creating community facilities and events. Without these “social entrepreneurs” the community broadband initiatives would not have got off the ground and many other community activities might not have happened. This means that community well-being is often quite fragile unless responsibility is more widespread in the community.

Social empowerment is an important aspect of community well-being as it enables communities to express their own needs and aspirations. An online presence is now an essential part of this as campaigns of various kinds rely on digital communications to start and sustain themselves. Through Web 2.0 local people are increasingly able to control their own communications channels.

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## Conclusions

The study of four rural villages and their connections with information and communications technologies (ICT) has demonstrated that this can make an important contribution to community well-being. Using the approach suggested by Social Quality we have examined each aspect of community well-being in turn: socio-economic security, social cohesion, social inclusion and social empowerment. Digital communications can make a contribution to each aspect.

However, our research suggests that communities embrace digital communications in different ways. The community website can provide an important source of social cohesion and identity if it is well used, but many communities do not have this facility. It can be a way that information is communicated internally but also transmitted

to a wider world. The Community Council, if it is an active one, can play an important role in this. Social media and emails are mostly more private forms of communication, although Facebook can also be used for community groups and social media is to some extent starting to take over from other forms of communication. This can have the advantage of informality and immediacy, but the disadvantage of forming cliques and groups and the problem of gossip communications which can flare up into very emotional exchanges unless it is controlled. In our study there were very few examples of this, suggesting that informal social control of behaviour exists online as well as offline.

The web presence can to some extent perhaps compensate for the loss of community facilities such as pubs, shops, hospitals and schools as these have started to die off following a combination of austerity measures and the aging, more affluent populations in rural areas more often equipped with cars than in the past. However, physical meeting places and community hubs are very important for community well-being and those communities without such places suffered a sense of loss.

Of course well-being is multi-dimensional and only some aspects relate to the community in which one lives. For some this community could be a definite addition to a sense of well-being by embedding people in local social relations, but for others it was quite irrelevant – the community was just a place to live. Therefore community well-being takes different forms depending upon what kind of community has evolved there and the social groups involved.

Our research suggests that online communications are important for rural communities, but they are also a good methodology for researching local communities. They enable researchers to judge the level and intensity of community presence in ways that were not previously possible.

The study we carried out suggest various ways forward for community development. First of all, a community website is important for developing a sense of shared identity, communicating news and events. It is important that this is controlled in such a way that it reflects real activ-

ities in the community rather than just being information for tourists or government services. Local historical associations can also provide a sense of shared identity and cohesion. Information can be communicated through websites but also through Facebook pages where old photos are shared and commented upon. This has proved a very lively source of interaction and a way of recapturing of memories in some of our studies. None of this is possible of course without good broadband communications alongside 3/4G for mobile devices. Where it is not provided by local government or mainstream internet providers, there are a number of ways that it can be provided through community initiatives and participants in these initiatives have formed an online community known as “Fiery Spirits” for sharing information and advice. Thirdly, it is important for communities to have hubs or spaces where face to face communication can take place. This could be a village green, a pub, a church, a school hall.....it is helpful to have both indoor and outdoor spaces in this respect. Fourthly, it is important to have an active Community or Parish Council to ensure different viewpoints are represented and that the community is represented vis-a-vis the various authorities. In many place in the UK these are not operating but where they work well, they can have an important impact on community well-being. The number and nature of community social enterprises were also important – in some cases these overlapped with private enterprises. Social enterprises can be a way of tapping into human community resources, but also accessing funding opportunities beyond the community. Community well-being does not depend upon digital technology – but this can be a great asset in community development.

If we return to the original meaning of community well-being suggested in this volume as “the state in which the needs and desires of the community are fulfilled” we can see that locally based ICT activities can play a crucial role in our understanding of it. The needs and desires of the community can be communicated within smaller or larger circles, depending upon the medium being used (for example Facebook or a commu-

nity website) and information technology can provide a communications hub which either reinforces traditional spaces of interaction (such as village pubs) or provide alternative ones, where many of these have disappeared in recent years. In fact it can provide a more comprehensive space for communication including community segments that might never have visited the pub. It can help to generate social capital, trust, community ventures, community business and a sense of reinforced identification with locality (Gordon and Adriana de Souza e Silva 2011). Rather than seeing the “real” and the “virtual” as two separate realms, we should understand their ongoing interactions. The fact that this was evident in the more “successful” examples but less evident in others, suggests that the IT infrastructure, training and development could form an important element of community development strategies and policies.

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# Festivity, Play, Well-Being ... Historical and Rhetorical Relationships: Implications for Communities

# 10

Vern Biaett

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## Introduction

Organic festivity, an original form of human cooperative play, lead to mankind's earliest sense of well-being, was an impetus for broadening advances in human civilization, for millennia has been a facilitator of *communitas*, and in today's experience economy is a key element to increased bonding and bridging social capital among attendees at community festivals. This supposition has emerged from the furtherance of phenomenological research (Biaett 2013) that explored the on-site behavior of attendees at community festivals by means of participant observation and socially constructed grounded theory method (Biaett 2012). From this initial study surfaced preliminary substantive theory, developed from systematically collected, coded, and categorized grounded data acquired through extensive fieldwork at community festivals, event manager interviews, and professional event association newsletter content analysis. This substantive participant experience theory asserted that both bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam 1993) were amplified as attendee participation progressed from passive spectatorship, into more

physical and emotional activity, and then into creative collaborative experiences. In a concerted effort to further develop and advance this contextual substantive theory, a wide-ranging supplementary inquiry was conducted into literature and other resource material from anthropology, archeology, psychology, leisure studies, folklore, theology, history, economics, visual arts, and the performance arts of drama and dance. Throughout this multifaceted review a reexamination of original grounded data, periods of deep contemplation, and reflective memos, all important aspects of socially constructed grounded theory method (Charmaz 2006), enriched and widened the scope of the initial substantive theory. This systematic process was instrumental in the conceptualization and emergence of a neoteric and more creditable or what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as a "transferable, auditable, and confirmable" hypothesis that I have titled *Organic Festivity Theory*. (Note: The term "organic" is used herein to describe actions that are spontaneous, unforced, raw, natural, and play like.) In this updated scheme the original substantive theory construct of emotional, physical, creative, collaborative behavior (renamed primordial behavior) has been combined with a second construct, sensually infused crowd enthusiasm, to conjointly delineate the prerequisite behaviors and conditions that lead to liminal, social capital fostering optimal experiences at community festivals.

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Leisure experience in general has been shown to have a purposeful function in the enhancement of social capital (Arai and Pedlar 2003; Glover and Hemingway 2005) and Sacramento County, California has allocated grants for community events with the intent of building social capital among neighbors (Molitor et al. 2011). Bonding and bridging social capital has been observed between event organizers (Remington 2003), and feelings of “communitas” (Turner 1982) are believed present at festivals of celebration even when those in attendance are of different economic, ethnic, or social standing (Salamone 2000). An extensive literature review carried out by Acordia and Whitford (2006) has shown that festival attendance leads to more social capital through social cohesiveness and celebration. Organic Festivity Theory, grounded in valid research data, advances this theme as it reveals the underlying constructs of optimal festival experience that give rise to increased social capital bonding and bridging at community festivals. This chapter narrates the historical underpinnings of this theory, explores the rhetoric of festivity, play and well-being, and realigns the concepts of optimal experience specifically for community festivals. It considers implications for those wanting to organize and exploit festivals for purposes of community development specifically to establish or revitalize a genuine sense of community and foster greater community well-being.

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### **Annotated Historical Antecedents of Festivity**

“The discussion of the festivals of extinct or remote societies may throw light on those still to be found in ours (Roy 2005, p. xii).” Assembling a framework for this chapter’s opening statement I start with an updated and abridged version of a historical journey previously presented on the subject of organic festivity as it was examined as a missing element of modern community festivals (Biaett 2015). The earliest *Homo sapiens*, believed to have appeared 150,000 years ago, evolved into the hunter-gathers of the Paleolithic Age lasting from 20,000 to 8,000 BCE. Unlike today, during

this period there was not a division of time into work and leisure (Krause 1971; Nash 1953), these humans were not yet in the subsets of *Homo faber* (worker) and *Homo ludens* (player), and philosophical belief was yet to be split into the spiritual and secular (Armstrong 2005); people existed in tune with their whole world (Pieper 1965). They initially survived by satisfying their most basic psychological needs (Maslow 1943) for food, water, shelter, and safety. After they joined together into small clans their mid-range psychological needs (Maslow 1943) of family and belonging began to be fulfilled. Logically these *Homo sapiens* discovered tool making, perfected hunting skills, and learned to control fire, and as their brains became increasingly more advanced, their first notions as well as anxieties of cosmogony began to surface. As mythological beings these hunter-gatherers, eventually satisfied their highest psychological needs (Maslow 1943) of self-actualization as they participated in creative and collaborative primordial experiences of ecstasy and transcendence as a way to relieve their feelings of uncertainty, grief, agony, and anguish suffered with the killing of animals and the deaths of tribe members. Congregated in bands of approximately 150 individuals (Dunbar 1996), seeking protection from the trepidations of darkness, they celebrated, not worshiped, the celestial night sky, in wild abandonment without restraint or inhibition. These primordial experiences were chronicled in ancient cave art found in France (Burkert 2001) and Australia (Adams et al. 2005) that animated the beating of drums, rhythmic chanting, the wearing of masks and feather headdresses, and dancers arranged in lines and circles (Ehrenreich 2006) self-decorated in red face and body paint (Lewis 1980). Organic festivity, an extremely physical, emotional, creative, and collaborative communal expression of feelings, allowed humans for the first time to relate to their past and future, without purpose or consequence ... and for the first time, humans were touched with feelings of well-being ... they became *Homo festivus* (Cox 1969) ... beings possessed with both the logical wherewithal to survive as well as a mythological soul to playfully celebrate with a sense of belonging.

Around 8,000 BCE, with the arrival of the Neolithic Age, humans slowly began a transition from their roaming hunter-gather roots into agrarian farming hearths. A novel explanation of how embryonic cultural shaped this remarkable transformation surfaced in the early 1990s when German archaeologist Klaus Schmidt initiated the excavation of the 11,000 year old megalithic structure Goebekli Tepe (Curry 2008a, Curry 2008b) in south-eastern Turkey, just north of what historians refer to as the Fertile Crescent or the cradle of civilization. Pre-dating the somewhat smaller, but comparable, Stonehenge megalith by 6,000 years, researchers have begun the investigation of this nearly 20 acre site that rises dramatically from the middle of a vast rural plain. The tentative presumption is that it might well be mankind's first and foremost constructed spiritual place. Large stones have been uncovered and found to be adorned not with the fertility and farming symbols prevalent on carvings of many later megalithic structures, but instead portrayals of death symbolized by such creatures as snakes, crocodiles, and especially vultures, believed by early humans to have carried the dead to the heavens. Surrounding Goebekli Tepe there can be found no remnants of farming or village life, instead only the bones of thousands of butchered and cooked gazelles. This can be reasoned to be a place where multiple hunter-gatherer clans simultaneously assembled, engaged in organic festivity and, with human remains found among the ruins, said farewell to departed companions. It took a formerly unknown populace to construct the massive megalith, and since this endeavor predated both the emergence of rudimentary culture and farming, it acknowledges and lends credence to the sequential assertions of the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga that culture was born of play (Huzinga 1955) and Stanford University archaeologist Ian Hodder that agriculture followed socio-cultural change (Hodder 2014). It is not out of the question to speculate that engagement in organic festivity, with its group play interactions of visual and performance art structuring the original values of material culture, fueled the social capital bonding and bridging between tribes that not only resulted in probably mankind's

first major community development project, but eventually brought on the advent of farming in order to better sustain the small clans that were consolidating into growing communes of more permanent population near the site of Goebekli Tepe and, eventually, other early manmade places.

Throughout the Neolithic Age of early farmers, 8,000 to 4,000 BCE, festivity gradually began to move away from its earliest mythological and organic roots, becoming ever more logical, organized, and temporal. In the Paleolithic Age the hunter-gathers had recorded the phases of the moon (Marshack 1972) and, as represented in ancient cave drawings of mating, pregnant, and molting animals, gained an early understanding of hunting seasons (Krupp 1983). In the Neolithic Age humans developed a more profound sense of the celestial seasons, logically celebrating with organized festivity the solstices and equinoxes as times of renewal, transformation, and rebirth (Heinberg 1993). The Egyptian festival of Opet coincided with the flooding of the Nile and spring planting, the Inca sun festival of Inti Raymi marked the southern hemisphere winter solstice and the end of the potato and corn harvests, the Celts first harvest of the year in August was observed with Lughnasad, the Hindu Pongal (or Makar Sankranti) in January is a time for throwing out the old to welcome the new, the Hawaiian Makahiki festivities began with the arrival of the constellation Pleiades late each year, and on the 15th day of the 8th lunar moon, usually in September, China's Zhong Qiu, the Vietnamese Tet Trung, and the Korean Chusok all celebrate the harvest moon (Liebenson and Nowakowski 2003). With the birth of civilization arose new traditions and customs while "periodic festivals supplied much of the cohesive force" (Heinberg 1993, p. 24).

As farmers produced surplus food, commerce emerged, and the world's first cities appeared between 4,000 and 800 BCE from Egypt to Mesopotamia, China to India, and the Mediterranean to the Americas. It was a time of liberation and pride as humans brought their gods down from the heavens into their temples and every city was a holy city (Armstrong 2005). Rituals and holidays became increasingly organized, but vestiges of primordial behavior still

existed especially in events of rebirth and regeneration as partitions of daily life into the conformities of time and place would temporarily disappear with a return to ancestral saturnalia and festive chaos. During the Axial Ages, from 800 BCE to 1,500 CE, as mighty empires and religious movements ruled the incessant advances of civilization, as mythology was evermore incomprehensible and overwhelmed by the rational discourse of logic, and organized festivity became more common place, the powers to be could still not control and essentially looked the other way at outrageous, out of the ordinary, primordial behavior during holidays and festivals. Organic festivity remained an uncontrolled phenomenon as it transgressed from the historical festival of Greek Dionysia into Roman Bacchanalia and Fornacalia, and eventually Western Europe's Feast of Fools and Carnival (Roy 2005). Secular and spiritual authorities alike understood that primordial behavior was a momentary release from the stresses and struggles of mundane everyday existence, wove together individuals from all social and economic classes, and facilitated an important mindset of *communitas* within their domains.

During the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment around 1,600 CE a new economic philosophy of civilization, capitalism, arose first in Europe and spread quickly into the Americas and other imperial colonized regions of the world. Driven entirely by logic, the capitalistic system was dependent on the mass replication of materials and goods by a previously unknown type of workforce for which organized festivity would take on a different connotation. As the world became increasingly more industrialized, those leading this powerful movement, a ruling class of influential factory owners, merchants, and businessmen, imposed the rigid separation of labor and leisure into clearly defined times and places (Coalter 1990). Rural immigrants with casual lifestyles who had been attracted to urban manufacturing employment were shaped into a dedicated workforce (Malcolmson 1973) with little time allowed for either leisure or festivity. The idea of festivity as a time of physical, emotional, and creative expression, a

release valve for the tedious routine of life, was revised into a work counterpart, a time of relaxation and rejuvenation intended to revitalize factory workers (Krause 1971). This was directly reflected in new forms of leisure activity and festivals that were designed to eliminate primordial behavior, replacing it with passive spectatorship. In the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries we see the appearance of several spectator type activities for the masses including the symphony, community and marching band concerts, horse and car racing, college and professional sports, circuses, firework displays, farm fairs, art shows, theatre, and parades. Organized festivity was morphed into organized amusement.

Concurrently, during this same period festivity was subverted by political powers. As a form of social engineering cities and counties often outlawed dancing, consumption of alcohol, and wild behavior. Festivity was also subjugated by national governments. The traditional German fall harvest celebration became Oktoberfest in 1810 to add distinction to a state marriage of unification in Bavaria (Parker 2009), the French Revolution saw the creation of the Festival of the Supreme Being and The Ninth of Thermidor among other events for purposes of political intimidation (Ozouf 1988), Labor Day was created in the USA to appease organized labor and unions, and Nazi and communist propagandists exploited May Day (Pieper 1965) as forced celebrations of their own political movements.

With capitalism, festivity changed from being organized for purposes of social celebration with primordial behavior expected and tolerated to being organized for purposes of social, economic, and political control with emphasis on passive behavior. Eventually, in the decade following the Second World War, as public relations, commercialism, and technology came into prominence in the business world, festivity shifted almost completely away from people coming together for quality-of-life celebration toward pseudo-events produced to gain people's attention with media coverage, promote products and services, and mercantile activity (Boorstin 1961). Throughout



rural America community festivals became economic engines of tourism development (Green et al. 1990; Wilson et al. 2001) and in urban areas the tools of redevelopment and regeneration (Foley et al. 2012). Valued for their economic impacts (Jackson et al. 2005) and their capacity to craft branded place identities (Jamieson 2004) community festivals are now often only the cookie-cutter, unauthentic products of print, electronic, and social media powered by economic impact and return on investment.

Today community festivals might best be characterized as profane secular events with attendee behavior consisting of predominantly shopping and passive spectator experiences. Festivity, a part of mankind's history, progressed through millennia from the organic group play of the *Homo sapiens*, to the logically organized seasonal festivals of early civilizations, to the organized societal celebrations of empire and religion, but now finds itself far removed from these historical roots, best described as complex commercial organism.

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## Rhetorical Connections

Rhetorical language and elucidations, primarily from psychology, add legitimacy to the bonding of festivity, well-being, and play, with valuable insight coming from the field of leisure studies, too. Highlighted in this section is a very brief sampling of archetypal rhetoric that serves as a basic grounding for this relationship.

## Festivity and Well-Being

Well-being has been described as "known directly to the individual person and known to others through that person's behavior" (Campbell 1980, p. 14), yet counter expressed as best used for groups as opposed to happiness that is better applied to individuals (Brummer and Sarot 1996). According to Diener (2000) well-being arises from long term life factors such as sufficient financial prosperity, good health, and general

overall contentment, however, there is contradictory belief that one cannot recognize well-being "simply from a knowledge of the circumstances in which that person lives" (Campbell 1980, p.1). Mannell and Kleiber (1997), contributors to the social psychological study of leisure, convey that despite these diametric views of well-being a foundational unanimity centered on the three paradigms of happiness, morale, and satisfaction has widely been accepted. Happiness is delineated as that part of well-being representing the short-term temporary feelings one experiences in the present moment, satisfaction described as the positive/negative appraisal of one's life garnered from past experiences, and morale viewed as the positive/negative assessment of one's future. Mannell and Kleiber (1997, p. 86) inform that "good leisure experiences may better contribute to well-being and happiness," which if combined with the consensual triangulation closely parallel a theological revelation on the existence of pure festivity as taking place during a period of momentary celebration that escalates a temporary sense of happiness grounded in the memories of one's ancestors, victories and/or achievements as well as the hopes and dreams of one's future destinies (Cox 1969).

Portrayals of well-being from popular psychology and recreation studies align with the rhetorical foundations of organized festivity. Well-being has been described as a habit of mind, heart, and body (Shimoff and Kline 2008) and in physical, emotional, intellectual, and social terms (Russell 2013), respectfully, both standpoints pose a discernable resemblance to the physical, emotional, creative, and collaborative elemental words that typify primordial behavior.

There are easily recognizable connections between festivity and well-being. Festive behavior and happiness are both fleeting and momentary. Festive celebration of past remembrances and future frontiers are positive constructions of satisfaction and morale that elevate well-being. Festivity and well-being are both focused on the personal and social ephemeral ingredients of happiness occurring within a juxtaposed environment of historical and futuristic perceptions.

## Festivity and Play

The rhetoric of play has boundless meanings, schemes, and theories. Some common words and phrases used to describe and explain the complexity of play include spontaneous, meaningful unto itself, intrinsic, out of the ordinary, absorbing, voluntary, pure enjoyment, and communal. Many of these arose from the classical masterpiece on play, *Homo ludens* (Huizinga 1955) and provide an obvious connection between play and festivity. Huizinga further embraces that playgrounds are everyday spaces transformed into special places only when people engage in play; the same might be said for festival spaces. The previously mentioned belief of Huizinga that ancient play was the inertia behind culture further explains the similitude between festivity and play. From ancient cadenced chanting, rhythmic movement, and pounding beats surfaced the values of material cultural expressed today in folklore, dance, and music. These building blocks, in a highly emotional charged play community environment lead the earliest humans to have feelings of “being apart together” (Huizinga 1955, p. 12) that created complementary universes as they withdrew from everyday into liminal experiences. Huizinga strongly believed that ancient communal ritualistic festivals of transcendence were synonymous with play, a thought partially corroborated by Falassi (1987) who recognized that festivals are the essence of joyful and hospitable communal play as well as Deegan (1989, p. 87) who points out when people come together with strangers for festive celebration it “helps us tolerate and give meaning to life.”

Psychoanalytical rhetoric found in the discourses of Sigmund Freud and B.F. Skinner may be used to somewhat tie festivity to play. Freud believed play could be used to master or escape from troubling and disconcerting thoughts while Skinner viewed play as pleasurable activity sparked by one’s stimulus-response mechanisms. Correspondingly, engagement in organic festivity allows for the temporary escape from reality influenced by primordial activity triggers and sensual crowd enthusiasm that intensifies and incites pleasurable experience.

French intellectual Roger Caillois (1961), writing on the social game aspects of competition and performance, arrived at four fundamentals of play. One of these, *mimicry*, is repeatedly observed during festivity in the wearing of costumes and masks as well as other types of copy-cattening actions. Another, *ilinx*, described as a time when one would “momentarily destroy the stability of perception ... upon the otherwise lucid mind” (Caillois 1961, p. 23) can be found in the distinctive over the top wild abandonment behavior of organic festivity. A third aspect, *agon*, puts all attendees on equal footing and guides their conduct, while the fourth aspect of *alea* adds the element of chance or luck and the idea that attendees don’t always control their destiny at an event.

True festivity is spontaneous, liminal, meaningful unto itself, involves exaggeration, enthusiastic, socially collaborative, physical, emotional, and creative. While play is all of these things and certainly much more, it must be acknowledged that playfulness is an ingredient of festivity; inversely organic festivity is clearly a communal form of group play.

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## Optimal Experiences

Peak experiences have been described as “moments of highest happiness” (Maslow 1968, p. 73). Embedded within Eastern religious beliefs including Buddhism and Taoism, peak, or optimal, experience has long been observed, reflected upon, and studied. Today the most widely accepted theory on the subject of optimal experience is Flow, a condition popularly referred to as being in the zone. Psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1990, 2014) coined the term Flow after he discovered that people from diverse walks of life reached levels of optimal experience immersed in a wide variety of activities. They became so deeply involved in what they were doing that they literally forget about time, they lost consciousness of themselves and their surroundings, their awareness merged completely into their actions, and they developed an inner sense of control.

It is not coincidence that Flow shows striking similarity to folklorist and ethnographer Arnold Van Gennep's (1969 [1909]) term "liminal" used to describe transcendent, different sphere of being, ritual experiences, or to cultural anthropologist Victor Turner's (1974) term "liminoid" used to describe attendee carnival experiences as periods of autonomy and independence with indifference to the awareness of gender, social standing, authority, economic status, and standards of modesty, and to social scientist Alessandro Falassi's (1987) classification of profane events into the rudiments of reversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence. Csikszentmihalyi recognized that when in a state of Flow a person moves into an extraordinary domain where participation in activity becomes the overriding reality, in the much the same manner as those commenting on the subject of festivity recognized that optimal festival experience is also liminal with the participant so engaged they are unaware of themselves or their surroundings, deep into what might be described as a trance-like rapture.

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) charts Flow Theory in terms of competition and performance as a balance between levels of perceived activity challenges and participant skills that any given activity presents to an individual. An activity that has little challenge and requires a participant to have few skills to accomplish it results in feelings of apathy. On the other end of the scale, an activity that is extremely challenging that requires one to possess highly advanced skills to accomplish it results in a peak state of Flow. When activity challenges increase and are out of balance with low participant skills one worries and becomes anxious, but can become aroused if participant skills improve. Correspondingly, when participant skills improve and are out of balance with low activity challenges one is bored and becomes relaxed, but can feel in control if activity challenges become harder. Attendance at a community festival, the act of participating in an activity, may have elements of competition and performance related challenges and skills for some, however, that is not the usually the case for the typical participant. To chart Organic Festivity

Theory in an analogously manner to charted Flow Theory one must envision the constructs that create optimal experience as different perspectives. Flow Theory's perceived participant skill factor is replaced with a construct of primordial behavior, which starts on the low end with passive spectatorship and moves into emotional and physical activity before reaching the high end of creative and collaborative activity. Next, Flow Theory's perceived activity challenges factor is replaced with a construct of sensually infused crowd enthusiasm, an increasing stimulation of event participant sensory systems, going beyond the basic five of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch to include such sensory modalities as temperature, balance, motion, vibration, and even pain. Akin to Flow Theory, in Organic Festivity Theory, when primordial behavior and sensually infused crowd enthusiasm are both at low levels participants feel apathetic and when they are balanced at the highest levels participants lose themselves in a peak state of Festive Flow, playful, with feelings of individual and communal well-being.

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## Implications for Communities

"The community festival was our largest fundraiser with major economic impact ... we were able to create millions of impressions that promoted our community's brand ... there were no major incidents as close attention was paid to safety and security ... our volunteers numbers were up from the previous year." These types of performance remarks are often reported by organizers as indicators of success following a community festival and reflect the practical, positivistic business management approach that has come to dominate event management in our modern era. The problem is that today festivals have evolved into such well planned and executed commercial organisms, for the most part never considering the critical components of organic festivity and missing out on the fact that they can leave attendees bonded closer to friends, family and unacquainted peers of similar demographics, bridged heuristically to strangers with dissimilar

demographics, and bridged hermeneutically to everyone in an enlarged generic sense of *communitas*. Event organizers and producers through the programming of organic festivity, creating optimal experiences that increase a sense of well-being among attendees, have the potential to impact and build the contextual heart and soul of a community. Community festivals should be more than just temporary places of mercantile and marketing activity and passive entertainment.

Event is a word defined as an occurrence, the term special event extends this idea to occurrences of temporary and infrequent experiences, and the phrase community festival further delineates this concept to temporary occurrences of celebration. While these phrases are classified as nouns they also possess significant meaning as verbs for community planners. As actions, festivals can generate revenue, gain people's attention, create a sense of place, but it must not be overlooked that festivals also have the potential to influence individual and community well-being. One should not assume, however, that a community festival will naturally generate these desired results, especially the development of social capital. It is imperative that community event planners possess an understanding of the principles of organic festivity and have the wherewithal to use that knowledge if they desire to maximize the benefits of community festival well-being and social capital. Just as important as the inclusion of organic festivity in the planning, production, and operation of community festivals is the assessment of participant state of Festive Flow with qualitative participant observation added into the evaluation mix with quantitative surveys. Attendees generally report having a good time at festivals when customer service is adequate, but superior, out of the ordinary festive experiences, where a participant is unaware of their surroundings and their conscious state of being, and has lost track of time, are best observed in real time and space.

Elected officials, sponsors, and philanthropies that provide support for community festivals should insist on the use of organic festivity programming that has the ability to generate

intangible benefits for their communities of increased well-being and social capital. Correspondingly, attendees at community festivals should not be satisfied with what have become very common and average, not at all out of the ordinary, passive spectator and shopping experiences. If they are not departing a community festival with a sense of happiness, joyful celebration, the fulfillment of hedonistic cravings, and without having experienced some type of individual or communal interaction they should feel disappointed, expect better, or search out alternative activity in the future. Today we live in an experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999) and the provision of great products and services are no longer enough to satisfy the wants and needs of participants. Community festival planners must get on board with programming organic festivity to create peak experiences for their attendees if they are to survive and prosper. When community festivals are focused on organic festivity they have tremendous implications for both individual and community well-being. A truly festive community is a playful and happy community.

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## Part III

# The “Health” of Well-Being

Dan Witters

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## Introduction

Well-being matters. Subjective well-being – the kind that is measured through survey research – has been linked to a large array of outcomes that are relevant to both communities and to organizations. In workplaces, for example, well-being closely predicts absenteeism, performance, and healthcare utilization (Sears et al. 2014), as well as turnover and employee engagement (Rath and Harter 2010). Well-being among residents of communities, in turn, is correlated to healthcare utilization, violent crime, property crime, high school graduation rates, teen pregnancy, unemployment rates, and life expectancy, among many other metrics (Gallup-Healthways 2009). And *improving* total population health to better realize these outcomes requires a holistic approach, as noted many years ago by officials of the World Health Organization. Health, they noted, was not merely comprised of its physical components and the absence of infirmity, but rather “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being” (World Health Organization 1946).

As America elevates its efforts to improve its well-being, arguably nothing is more important to these struggles than what is taking place – for better or worse – in its cities. America's obesity

crisis, for example, is hitting its cities hard, yielding substantially elevated disease burden, healthcare costs, and reduced productivity among residents of those cities who carry obesity the most, while providing best practices for others to emulate in cities where it is low.

But the story here goes well beyond obesity and chronic conditions. Cities with high well-being set up their citizens for long-term success through both public and private interventions. Bike lanes that encourage active (and sustainable) forms of transportation. Walking school buses that start and end each day energetically – and safely – for our children. Sugary drinks and deep fat fryers eliminated from our cafeterias, and replaced instead with complete foods and nutritional information for each meal. Community events designed to give residents opportunities to learn and grow. Mobile farmers' markets that increase accessibility while simultaneously helping people feel safe when they shop fresh food stands for produce, and well-being certifications for qualifying grocery stores and restaurants. In short, high well-being cities have cultivated and embraced a clear *culture* of well-being. A culture where leaders of healthcare, business, government, education, faith, and the arts act on a philosophy that fostering and maintaining communities dedicated to well-being *is how we do things around here*. In this manner, cities can lead the charge for the betterment of our mutual well-being, our shared commonwealth, and our

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united commitment to the world that we make for ourselves and our children.

When Gallup and Healthways first launched the Well-Being Index on January 2, 2008, no one knew which cities would someday be considered elite places of well-being and which cities would gain the unfortunate distinction of consistently low rankings. There were some indicators, of course. Government-sponsored surveys such as the Centers for Disease Control's Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS), for example, could tell us which cities had the highest levels of obesity or the lowest rates of smoking. But no instrument as comprehensive as the Well-Being Index had ever been administered on the scale that Gallup and Healthways undertook. The Well-Being Index gave us city-level perspectives on 55 unique measures of well-being that went far beyond physical wellness and traditional health risk factors. As it turned out, communities as varied as Provo-Orem, Utah; Boulder, Colorado; San Jose, California; Honolulu, Hawaii; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Washington, D.C.; Austin, Texas; and Lincoln, Nebraska all distinguished themselves as America's top well-being cities, consistently landing near the top of the list of the nation's highest well-being places year after year.

In examining well-being at the community level, some are consistently distinguished on certain characteristics reported by their residents. Boulder, for example, is always at or near the best in the nation for the lowest obesity and diabetes rates. Provo has the fewest smokers. Several cities in Massachusetts – from Springfield to Boston to Worcester – have boasted the highest level of residents with health insurance. Honolulu has the lowest levels of depression. And North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton is consistently strong in produce consumption and healthy eating. Other characteristics have also emerged as common features of high well-being communities. These are things such as learning new and interesting things, providing safe places to exercise, having someone in your life who encourages you to be healthy, and having leaders who make us enthusiastic about the future. College towns in particular were shown to be national leaders in well-being (Witters 2012),

as are communities such as Provo that are particularly high in religiosity (Newport et al. 2012).

Arguably no state is more invested in its well-being than Iowa, where the Healthiest State Initiative (HSI) is a unique partnership of a publicly supported, privately sponsored enterprise intended to lift Iowa to match the nation's best. The HSI represents a best-practice in state-level interventions that are administered in collaboration with the Healthways Blue Zones Project, funded by Wellmark and advocated by Iowa Gov. Terry Branstad. The Blue Zones Project in Iowa is directly involved in 15 Iowa communities, creating opportunities for and laying a foundation upon which a lasting culture of well-being can be secured for thousands of residents.

Regardless of the formality of the intervention, however, no one should discount the role that leadership plays in engendering well-being among residents. Be it politicians, corporate executives, clergy, school principals, managers of local groceries, or community activists, a well-informed and active leadership is crucial to a community's success at building an institutionalized, embedded, and sustained well-being culture. Included within this culture are certain guiding principles by which these leaders should abide, including a shared and uniform definition of well-being, constant and public vigilance in its advocacy, and a clear message that commitment to it in the well-being of the community will never, *ever* go away. In this manner, leaders can fulfill an honorable responsibility to the people that they lead and to the constituents that they serve.

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### **Defining and Measuring Well-Being: The Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index**

In 2008, Gallup and Healthways initiated a 25-year partnership, merging decades of clinical research, health leadership, and behavioral economics research to track and understand the key factors that drive well-being. The Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index (GHWBI) provides an in-depth, nearly real-time view of Americans' well-being by measuring

Americans' perceptions of their lives and their daily experiences through five interrelated elements that make up well-being: purpose in what one does, social relationships, financial security, relationship to community, and physical health. The results shared in this chapter reflect GHWBI data.

Gallup interviews US adults aged 18 and older living in all 50 states and the District of Columbia by both landline (40%) and cellphone (60%) using random-digit-dial methods, and conducts interviews in Spanish for respondents who are primarily Spanish-speaking. Gallup interviews at least 500 US adults aged 18 and older on 350 days out of each calendar year, yielding more than 175,000 respondents that are interviewed annually and over 2.3 million interviews have been conducted to date since 2008. In 2013, Gallup and Healthways expanded their partnership and created the Gallup-Healthways Global Well-Being Index to measure well-being in over 145 countries worldwide.

The overall Well-Being Index community-level data discussed in this chapter are based on interviews conducted from January 2nd through December 30th 2014, while the obesity results are based on data captured from January 2nd 2012 through December 30th 2013. All reported communities are metropolitan statistical areas as defined by the US Office of Management and Budget. The Well-Being Index is calculated on a scale of 0–100, where 0 represents the lowest possible well-being and 100 represents the highest possible well-being. The Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index score for the nation and for each community comprises metrics affecting overall well-being and each of the five essential elements of well-being:

- *Purpose*: liking what you do each day and being motivated to achieve your goals
- *Social*: having supportive relationships and love in your life
- *Financial*: managing your economic life to reduce stress and increase security
- *Community*: liking where you live, feeling safe and having pride in your community
- *Physical*: having good health and enough energy to get things done daily

Nationally, fewer Americans are thriving across all five of the elements of well-being – including community – than are struggling and suffering (Fig. 11.1), underscoring the significant challenges facing American society in its pursuit of a life well-lived (Brown and Sharpe 2014).

Communities and states are ranked according to the overall Well-Being Index score (comprised of metrics representing all elements of well-being), not just that part of the Well-Being Index that is dedicated to the “community” element.

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## The Top Well-Being Communities in America

In 2014, North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, Florida, had the highest Well-Being Index score (64.1) across the 100 most populous communities in the USA. Rounding out the top five are Urban Honolulu, Hawaii; Raleigh, North Carolina; Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, California; and El Paso, Texas (Table 11.1).

The three communities with a Well-Being Index score of 59.0 or lower are Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, Ohio-Pennsylvania; Toledo, Ohio; and Knoxville, Tennessee. In addition to Youngstown and Toledo, the state of Ohio has three other communities among the 10 ranked lowest for well-being: Dayton, Columbus and Cincinnati. Ohio ranked 46th among the 50 states in well-being in 2014, and is 1 of 5 states to have finished among the lowest 10 every year since Gallup and Healthways began measuring well-being in 2008 (Witters 2015a).

El Paso is the only community with the highest well-being in more than one element, leading in purpose and physical well-being. Provo-Orem, Utah, leads in community well-being, while Urban Honolulu is No. 1 in financial well-being. Residents of Chattanooga, Tennessee-Georgia, have the highest social well-being.

Youngstown, in turn, is the only community with the lowest well-being in more than one element, trailing all in both purpose and social well-being. Toledo has the lowest community well-being, giving Ohio metro areas the lowest spot on three out of five elements. Residents of Columbia, South Carolina, have the lowest finan-

**Fig. 11.1** Percentage of US adults who are thriving, struggling, or suffering in each of the five elements of well-being

### State of Well-Being in the U.S.



**Table 11.1** Communities with the highest overall well-being in 2014. Among 100 most populous metro areas in USA

Metropolitan area	Well-being index score
North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, Florida	64.1
Urban Honolulu, Hawaii	63.8
Raleigh, North Carolina	63.6
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, California	63.6
El Paso, Texas	63.6
Austin-Round Rock, Texas	63.4
Provo-Orem, Utah	63.3
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, California	63.2
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, District of Columbia-Virginia-Maryland-West Virginia	63.1
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	62.9

Gallup Healthways Well-Being Index, 2014  
“Metropolitan statistical areas” as defined by the US Office of Management and Budget

cial well-being for large communities, and those of Knoxville have the lowest physical well-being (Table 11.2).

North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, the community with the highest overall Well-Being Index score, does not lead in any element, but is in the top 12 in all five elements. This community is characterized by particularly strong physical, financial and social well-being, ranked second, second and fourth in the nation, respectively, in those elements. Raleigh, Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura and Chattanooga each have three well-being elements in the top 10.

The communities with the highest well-being often have many shared characteristics that are much less common among their lower well-being counterparts. For example, residents of high well-being communities exercise more frequently – an important aspect of physical well-being – but they are also more likely to report that someone close to them encourages them to be healthy, a critical component of social well-being. They are much less likely to be obese, they have fewer significant chronic health conditions, and they feel safe where they live. Those who feel safe where they live are, in turn, more likely to have access to a safe place to exercise and access to fresh produce, which are important

**Table 11.2** Highest- and lowest-scoring communities in 2014, by well-being element. Among 100 most populous metro areas in USA

Well-being element	Highest	Lowest
Purpose	El Paso, Texas	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, Ohio-Pennsylvania
Social	Chattanooga, Tennessee-Georgia	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, Ohio-Pennsylvania
Financial	Urban Honolulu, Hawaii	Columbia, South Carolina
Community	Provo-Orem, Utah	Toledo, Ohio
Physical	El Paso, Texas	Knoxville, Tennessee

Gallup Healthways Well-Being Index, 2014  
 "Metropolitan statistical areas" as defined by the US Office of Management and Budget  
 GALLUP

community characteristics that are linked to lower levels of obesity.

More specifically, compared with residents of the highest well-being communities, residents of the lowest are 32% less likely to have someone in their lives encouraging them to make healthy choices. They are also 35% more likely to have experienced food insecurity in the last 12 months, are 68% more likely to smoke, are 26% more likely to be obese, are 55% less likely to like what they do each day and are 58% more likely to not feel pride in their community (Witters 2015b).

While those living in high well-being communities are more likely to have basic access to food and healthcare, they are also more likely to manage their money effectively and to live within their means, which are crucial components of financial well-being. People in high well-being communities also report being able to use their strengths on any given day and are more likely to learn new and interesting things, two key aspects of purpose well-being.

Ultimately, residents of the top well-being places in the USA are more likely to be thriving across each of the five critical elements of well-being, thus capitalizing on the synergistic benefits of each element acting in concert with one another (see Section "[Beyond Physical Wellness: The Importance of All Five Elements to US Communities](#)"). This may reflect what perhaps the most important factor is in separating the nation's high well-being communities from those with lower well-being: a holistic outlook and an approach that embraces and leverages these synergies. Leaders in lower well-being communities can study and adapt the distinguishing features of high well-being communities to enhance the overall health of their residents.

"Improving and sustaining high well-being is vital to any population's overall health and economy," says Janet Calhoun, senior vice president at Healthways. "State, local and business leaders should consider specific well-being interventions that make the healthy choice the *easy* choice for their population. A comprehensive long-term environmental strategy creates not only a healthier population, but also a more productive workforce and a more robust economy." (Witters 2015b).

With about 80% of Americans living in urban or suburban areas, the role of communities in spearheading the well-being of the USA is significant. City leadership – be it government, business, faith-based, community-based, or education – plays a critical role in the success or failure of a city to embrace and sustain a culture of well-being. Communities such as Boulder (highest average rank across all reporting periods since 2008 among all reportable cities), Provo-Orem (the most religious city, which helps its well-being), and San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara can serve as best-practice examples for leaders of other cities. Key elements of community well-being, such as learning new and interesting things, providing safe places to exercise, routine trips to the dentist, and smoking cessation, are all key vanguards of high well-being places, and

serve as signs for leaders elsewhere to follow and implement in their own locales.

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## Obesity: Computing the Costs to American Cities

The USA spent an estimated \$2.9 trillion on healthcare in 2013 and accounted for 17.4% of Gross Domestic Product (Office of the Actuary in the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services 2014). That's about 17.4 cents out of every dollar spent anywhere for any reason, and about \$9,255 per person per year spent on healthcare. Although the rate of increase in healthcare costs have slowed over the last 5 years to around 4% annually, it continues to climb. Current estimates by CMS have total health expenditures increasing to an average of 5.7% per year for 2013–2023, increasing to a stunning 19.3% of total GDP by 2023. Individual taxpayers, businesses, and cities are footing this enormous bill, but they don't need to be paying this much. A remarkable 75% of all medical costs in the U.S., according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), are associated with chronic, mostly preventable diseases.

Lowering obesity rates would significantly reduce these costs. Total direct annual healthcare costs for an obese person are an estimated \$1,429 more than those for an individual of normal weight (translating to \$1,567 in 2015 dollars). This adds up to as much as \$147 billion every year in incremental health expenditures due to obesity (Finkelstein et al. 2009). Other new estimates from researchers at Cornell University and Lehigh University place this number as high as \$168 billion, with as much as 17% of total US medical costs attributable to obesity (Cawley and Meyerhoefer 2010).

Calculating these direct costs is possible because of obesity's links to diabetes, heart disease, and other medical conditions. Obesity's indirect costs from lost energy and productivity are more difficult to quantify, but they are also real and significant. These hidden costs burden individuals as well as the businesses they work

for and the cities they live in. George Washington University researchers have estimated that annual incremental costs rise to \$4,879 for a woman and \$2,646 for a man when these less obvious factors, such as employee sick days, lost productivity, and even the need for extra fuel at the gas pump, were included (Dor et al. 2010).

## The Most and Least Obese Cities in America in 2013: Healthcare Costs and Savings

Obesity's healthcare costs are not distributed equally across the USA, and as the GHWBI study of 189 metropolitan areas in 2012–2013 shows, definitely not across America's cities. The majority of these communities need to cut their obesity rates by at least a quarter to come close to the national target of 15% set by the CDC in its Healthy People 2010 goals. The most obese cities need to cut their rates by more than half.

From a cost-savings perspective, if all 189 cities reduced their obesity rates to 15%, the USA could save \$32.6 billion annually. And if the nation's ten most obese cities cut their rates – just to the national 2014 rate of 27.7% – they alone could collectively save about \$440 million in healthcare costs each year. Cut to 15%, the cost savings for just these ten communities would climb to over \$1.2 billion annually.

Twenty-one metro areas, led by Huntington-Ashland, West Virginia-Kentucky-Ohio and McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, Texas, had particularly unhealthy obesity rates near 40% in 2013, based on their residents' self-reported height and weight. In the ten most obese cities, where at least one-third reported Body Mass Indexes (BMIs) higher than 30, the annual obesity cost per 100,000 residents was over \$50 million. This is nearly twice the cost in the least obese cities (Table 11.3).

Four of the 12 least obese cities – with obesity rates rounding to 20% or lower – are located in Colorado (Table 11.4). While Denver was 1 of only 11 cities with obesity rates of under 20% in 2013, it still spent an estimated

**Table 11.3** Most obese US Metros, and associated estimated incremental healthcare costs

Metropolitan area	% obese	Estimated incremental healthcare cost due to obesity per-100,000 residents	Estimated healthcare savings per year if only 15 % of population were obese
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH	39.5	\$61,896,500	\$140,000,363
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV	36.7	\$57,508,900	\$87,144,515
York-Hanover, PA	35.7	\$55,941,900	\$80,111,683
Little Rock-N Little Rock-Conway, AR	35.1	\$55,001,700	\$226,041,107
Charleston, WV	34.6	\$54,218,200	\$69,397,704
Toledo, OH	34.2	\$53,591,400	\$183,139,226
Jackson, MS	33.8	\$52,964,600	\$169,922,973
Clarksville, TN-KY	33.8	\$52,964,600	\$80,820,056
Green Bay, WI	33.0	\$51,711,000	\$87,748,302
Rockford, IL	33.0	\$51,711,000	\$97,595,299
Flint, MI	32.2	\$50,457,400	\$112,770,998
Binghamton, NY	32.2	\$50,457,400	\$66,986,956
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	31.9	\$49,987,300	\$355,310,371
Akron, OH	31.5	\$49,360,500	\$181,573,351
Utica-Rome, NY	31.5	\$49,360,500	\$77,065,938
Mobile, AL	31.3	\$49,047,100	\$105,727,947
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX	31.2	\$48,890,400	\$102,602,710
San Antonio, TX	31.1	\$48,733,700	\$563, 609,915
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	31.1	\$48,733,700	\$208,684,490
Bakersfield, CA	31.1	\$48,733,700	\$215,997,533

Based on BMI computed from self-report height and weight  
Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index (2012–2013)  
GALLUP

\$178 million in preventable healthcare costs in 2013 that it could have saved if it reached the national goal of 15 %, thus illustrating that no community is without room to improve in regards to obesity.

Many of the local strategies these Colorado cities are using to combat obesity recognize that successful interventions start at an early age. The Boulder Valley School District, for example, replaced high-fat fast foods with organic, low-fat, whole-grain menus in the school lunch program, while the city of Denver's Public Works Policy and Planning coordinates a coalition of partners ranging from Denver Public Schools to Denver Public Health to Bicycle Colorado to Livewell Colorado (among others) to fund the Safe Routes to School (SRTS) program to construct new trails

to encourage children to walk or bike to school in safe environments.

These cities also tend to foster environments that encourage healthier living. Residents of Denver's Park Hill neighborhood, for example, trade community service for free refurbished bicycles (McConlogue and Hanselmann 2010). Boulder offers frequent public forums on how to prepare healthy meals (CBS Sunday Morning 2011). And more than 5 % of commuters in the Fort Collins-Loveland area use bicycles (American Community Survey 2014), where a strong negative correlation has been found with obesity rates (Maciag 2012). Fort Collins also features at least 48 community or neighborhood parks and 35 miles of trail systems (City of Fort Collins 2015).

**Table 11.4** Least obese US Metros, and associated estimated incremental healthcare costs

Metropolitan area	% obese	Estimated incremental healthcare cost due to obesity per 100,000 residents	Estimated healthcare savings per year if only 15 % of population were obese
Boulder, CO	12.4	\$19,430,800	NA
Naples-Marco Island, FL	16.5	\$25,855,500	\$7,813,697
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	18.2	\$28,519,400	\$15,569,060
Bellingham, WA	18.7	\$29,302,900	\$11,900,885
Chattanooga, TN-GA	18.7	\$29,302,900	\$12,921,200
Denver-Aurora, CO	19.3	\$30,243,100	\$178,236,828
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	19.5	\$30,243,100	\$214,073,682
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	19.5	\$30,556,500	\$133,582,770
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	19.6	\$30,713,200	\$67,312,694
Barnstable Town, MA	19.6	\$30,713,200	\$15,528,121
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	19.7	\$30,869,900	\$328,147,538
Colorado Springs, CO	20.3	\$31,810,100	\$55,507,385
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	20.5	\$32,123,500	\$399,967,520
Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME	20.6	\$32,280,200	\$45,465,803
Durham, NC	20.7	\$32,436,900	\$46,698,295
Madison, WI	20.8	\$32,593,600	\$56,420,029
Burlington-South Burlington, VT	21.1	\$33,063,700	\$20,427,037
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	21.2	\$33,220,400	\$81,218,898
Provo-Orem, UT	21.4	\$33,533,800	\$55,243,143
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	21.8	\$34,160,600	\$614,052,073

Based on BMI computed from self-report height and weight  
 Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index (2012–2013)  
 GALLUP

### Changing Obesity in American Cities: The Biggest Gainers and Losers

The Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index finds that in the past two years alone, obesity at the national level increased 1.5 percentage points to 27.7% – or by about 3.75 million adults who are now obese who were not in 2012 (Levy 2015). Since 2008, it has risen 2.2 points. In America’s cities, there have been big gainers that have contributed to this increase, but some big losers, too. The year-over-year increases or reductions in healthcare costs attributable to these changes

reached into the tens of millions of dollars for each city in 2009.

A mix of cities in the South and Midwest – the two regions that have the highest obesity rates in the USA – led increases in obesity. Akron, Ohio (up 8.5 points to 31.5% obese), Ann Arbor, Michigan (+7.2–27.7%), Jackson, Mississippi (+7.0–33.8%), and Little-Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, Arkansas (+6.7–35.1%) led 177 reportable metro areas in 2013 with the largest 5 year increases since 2008 (Rifkin 2014a). In all, obesity rates since 2008 have increased at least 3 percentage points in 41 metro areas in the U.S.;

only 11 reduced their rates by at least the same amount.

But there is some good news mixed in. Beaumont-Port Arthur, Texas, and Eugene-Springfield, Ore., have trimmed three points and five points, respectively, in their obesity rates between 2008 and 2013. And Boulder has reduced its already low rate from 14.9% to 12.4%. The cities where rates went down may tackle obesity in different ways, but they generally use similar basic strategies that promote healthy lifestyles in their communities. Like the Colorado communities with relatively low obesity rates, many of these cities enlist public schools as frontline allies in combating childhood obesity and recruit national and local organizations to help fund and organize interventions.

In Eugene, Oregon for example, where obesity declined more than five points between 2008 and 2013, the schools and the community are fighting obesity together. The Communities and Schools Together (CAST) program, funded partly by the National Institutes of Health, develops locally targeted policies and interventions using community-based participatory research. CAST activities have included collecting BMI data for children in kindergarten through fifth grade and surveying them on what they ate the previous evening and where they ate. Eugene is also home to well-planned and well-used bicycling networks that include 28 miles of off-street paths, 78 miles of on-street bicycle lanes, and four bicycle/pedestrian bridges spanning the Willamette River (Eugene Public Works 2015). According to the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey data, Eugene's share of workers who commute by bicycle was 8.7% in

2008–2012, which is one of the best rates in the nation among mid-sized cities, well ahead of the national average that is lower than 1%, and just behind Boulder (10.5%).

No metro reduced its obesity rate more during this time than Chattanooga, Tennessee-Georgia. Chattanooga saw its reported obesity level decline from 28.5% to 18.7%, nearly a 10 point drop. Chattanooga is likely benefiting from the Grow Healthy Together Chattanooga (GHTC) partnership, bringing together public and private partners at the city, county and state levels that leverages Healthy Kids, Healthy Communities grant money. These began efforts to increase access to healthy fruits and vegetables, expanding options for physical activity throughout the city, and enhancing built structures for safe movement of pedestrians and bicyclists.

### Residents in Most Obese US Cities More Likely to Face Physical Health Challenges

While it's easy to focus on dollars, it's important to remember that people experience real, physical health costs associated with obesity. More residents in the most obese cities face serious health challenges. Compared to residents of the 10 least obese communities, diabetes is 61% more common among those living in the 11 most obese, and history of heart attacks is 70% higher. The incidence of high blood pressure and high cholesterol is also much higher in the most obese cities (Table 11.5).

These health challenges may help explain why residents in the most obese cities are more likely

**Table 11.5** Key health differences between residents of ten least obese and 11 most obese cities

	High blood pressure (lifetime) (%)	High cholesterol (lifetime) (%)	Diabetes (%)	Heart attack (lifetime) (%)
Least obese cities	24.9	22.2	8.3	3.0
Most obese cities	33.9	26.0	13.4	5.1
% difference in most obese vs. least obese	36	17	61	70

Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index

2012–2013 results; 189 Reportable US MSAs; Minimum n = 300 per MSA

GALLUP



to report lower energy levels than those in America’s least obese places. Residents in the most obese cities are 6% less likely to report significant daily energy. When people lack the energy to get things done and miss regular activities because of poor health, it can potentially drag their productivity down.

Residents in the most obese cities are less also likely to have two useful tools in the battle against obesity – a healthy diet and regular exercise. In the most obese cities, residents are more likely to say they didn’t have enough money at times in the past year to buy the food they or their families needed. And yet, lower family income coincides with higher obesity. On the surface, it may seem counterintuitive that people who are unable to afford the basics – including food – actually weigh more per inch. Gaps in the availability and consumption of healthy foods may help explain this (Larson 2008). In the most obese cities, residents are 7% less likely to say they eat the recommended servings of fruits and vegetables (five or more servings) at least four days a week. But this isn’t because residents of these cities are more able to afford fruits and veggies. Residents in the most obese cities are no less likely to say they can afford fresh fruits and vegetables. They are, however, less likely to report consuming them.

People living in the most obese cities may be making poorer food choices. For some, it may be easier and more immediately satisfying to purchase fast food or unhealthy, highly processed foods. But for others in some low-income neighborhoods where supermarkets are absent and convenience stores and fast food restaurants are abundant, unhealthy, highly processed foods may be among the only choices. Research has demonstrated that income is a bigger factor than food deserts in obesity, although there are additive effects of both factors (McGeeney and Mendes 2013).

Individuals’ poor food choices may also be reinforced when they see others around them making similar choices. Research suggests that social well-being is closely linked to both obesity and exercise, suggesting that the likelihood that healthy or unhealthy choices will be influenced in

part by the quality of our closest relationships (Riffkin 2014b). Additionally, residents in the most obese cities are getting less exercise. The percentage of residents who report exercising for 30 min or more at least three days a week is 10% lower in the most obese cities compared to the least obese (Table 11.6).

Safety is a concern in these communities, but it likely isn’t the sole factor that is impeding residents’ exercise habits. Residents in these communities aren’t much more likely than those in the least obese communities to say that they have a safe place to exercise. The gap in actual exercise is greater.

### Implications for America’s Physical and Financial Bottom Line

Gallup-Healthways data reveal that America’s obesity crisis is hitting its cities hard. The most obese cities have higher-than-average numbers of residents facing serious health challenges and the healthcare costs to prove it. But even in Boulder, the least obese city in the country, there is room for improvement. Its obesity rate is the only metro nationally that beats the national target of 15%, but one out of eight adults are still obese and it still pays more than an estimated \$59 million annually in obesity-related healthcare costs.

**Table 11.6** Key behavioral differences between residents of ten least obese and 11 most obese cities

	Significant daily energy (%)	5+ servings of produce 4+ days per week (%)	Exercise 30+ min. 3+ days per week (%)
Least obese cities	88.0	60.2	57.0
Most obese cities	82.3	55.8	51.3
% difference in most obese vs. least obese	-6	-7	-10

GALLUP-Healthways Well-Being Index 2012–2013 results; 189 Reportable US MSAs; Minimum n = 300 per MSA  
GALLUP

Rising obesity rates call into question whether current efforts to fight them are paying off. Many state leaders are considering applying some of the same policy-based interventions that helped cut US smoking rates to fighting obesity. As new laws such as “sugar taxes,” for example, have been passed and implemented in recent years in states including Colorado and Iowa, Gallup will be able to help track whether such initiatives create any measurable decreases in obesity levels. Real change starts with greater awareness and a combination of community measurement and education, but it is more likely to last if city leaders apply behavioral economics to the problem and change social expectations.

Classical economics assumes people make rational decisions. Behavioral economics highlights the importance of blending psychology with economics to understand people's choices. For example, positive defaults (where the decision maker has to opt out to be excluded from a choice rather than having to opt in) can serve an important role in increasing the probability that citizens will make short-term decisions that are in their long-term best interest. Automatic enrollment in 401(k) plans and organ donation are two examples of how this works.

Positive defaults that could encourage people to make better food choices might come from a combination of availability and pricing. While fresh fruits and vegetables are available to most Americans, so are the immediately satisfying low-cost processed foods that offer empty calories. When people can choose between low- or high-calorie foods that cost about the same, human nature often takes the quick fix. But if people are reminded that the high-calorie choice is bad for them in the short-term (higher prices or lower energy later), they are more likely to make the right decision. Making exercise the social norm, rather than exception, and providing citizens with safe, easily accessible places to walk, ride, and run, where they are more likely to see others exercising, can also potentially affect the health culture of a community. This is sensible in the context of recent research. Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler, who studied social networks within the longitudinal data in the Framingham

Heart Study, suggests that our relatives and friends could influence the spread of obesity. The authors conclude that people we don't even know – friends of friends of friends – can influence our happiness and smoking habits (Fowler and Christakis 2009). It is likely, therefore, that our social circles will influence any substantial change in health and obesity over time.

There are undoubtedly many imaginative ways to make use of behavioral economics to increase the probability that citizens will make the right decisions for their long-term well-being while still providing them with choices. Some city leaders are considering creating well-being institutes that house local health, well-being, and economic data that they can share openly and transparently within the community. Health, business, political, and education leaders can share and discuss common well-being metrics to measure their efforts toward city improvement. Bringing leaders together on a monthly basis to analyze leading and lagging indicators of their community will drive decisive action and policies to create positive results. In the meantime, it is clear that every city in the nation has work to do to reverse an alarming trend in obesity that has implications on America's collective physical health and financial bottom line.

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### **Beyond Physical Wellness: The Importance of All Five Elements to US Communities**

Beyond just obesity, physical wellness more generally is big, and it is everywhere in America's communities and workplaces. The large majority of large employers now offer at least some programs in the workplace that are meant to enhance it, from back pain to weight loss to smoking cessation to stress management. This is good, because employers occupy a unique space when it comes to well-being. Unlike the more limited sway held by leaders of residents of states or communities, leaders of workplaces ordinarily possess a particularly keen influence over the lives of the people who work there. So in those companies where there are leaders who are

spearheading programs meant to improve the well-being of their employees, the chances are pretty good that at least some employees will be positively influenced as long as there is widespread knowledge of the offering. Gallup research has shown that while only 24% of employees participate in workplace wellness programs, this jumps to 40% of those who are aware of what is offered and this climbs still higher among those employees who are engaged in their work (O’Boyle and Harter 2014). So far so good.

But here’s the problem. When it comes to well-being programs, the overwhelming majority are focused on physical wellness, with typically little else dedicated to other elements of well-being. And this leaves a very substantial gap between the outcomes that workplaces are currently yielding from their well-being programs and the outcomes that they *could be* yielding, even in the presence of widespread knowledge among employees of what is at their disposal and even in the presence of great managers that engaging them.

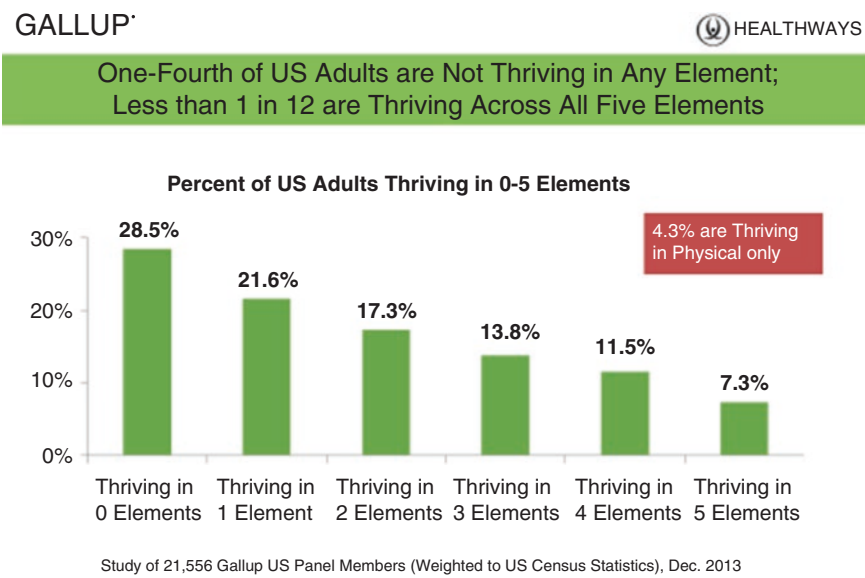
This section summarizes new research that reveals the advantages that come from addressing well-being *holistically* as compared to just physical wellness alone, and will help you understand

just how much potential gain is being left on the table – untapped – due to a prevailing focus that is right minded and worthwhile, but also too narrow and too limiting.

Nationwide, more than one out of every four (29%) American adults are not thriving in any of the five elements, while just 7% are thriving across all of them. So for every adult who is maximizing his or her potential in well-being, there are four who have significant room for improvement in all facets (Fig. 11.2).

Only about 4% are thriving in physical well-being but nothing else. And this is where the experiment gets interesting. After controlling for age, gender, race/ethnicity, income, education, region, and marital status, those who are thriving across all five elements can be compared to those who are *just as physically healthy but who lack high well-being in the remaining elements*. Here are some of the results. Compared to employees who are thriving *across all five elements*, employees thriving in physical well-being alone:

- Miss 68% more work due to poor health annually. Those who are thriving across all five elements miss 1.9 extra days of work each year due to poor health compared to 3.2 days



**Fig. 11.2** The percentage of US adults who are thriving, from zero elements to all five

each year among those who are in good physical health but lack high well-being in the remaining dimensions. This adds up to an estimated loss of \$443,000 in lost productivity due to absenteeism per 1,000 employees per year.

- *Are three times more likely to file a workers compensation claim.* This adds up to about nine extra claims per year per 1,000 employees, or about \$450,000 per year per 1,000 assuming an average direct cost of \$50,000 per claim.
- *Are five times more likely to seek out a new employer in the next year, and are more than twice as likely to actually change employers.* While 39% of those who are in good physical health report that they will look for a job with a different organization in the next year, this drops to just 7% among those who are thriving across all elements. When actual job change is measured, those who are only thriving physically switch out workplaces 42% more than those who are fully realizing their well-being, thus incurring incremental replacement costs for employers.
- *Are less than half as likely to exhibit adaptability to change, and are 26% less likely to bounce back fully after hardship.* Change management is a part of corporate life, as is restructuring, layoffs, mergers, and responses to natural disasters. In these cases, the resiliency of the human capital of an organization is needed more than ever. And in key metrics designed to measure this, adults who are fully realizing their well-being potential consistently outperform their physically-fit but otherwise under-maximized counterparts.
- *Are 19% less likely to have donated to charity in the last year and are 30% less likely to have volunteered in the community.* Corporate social responsibility can take many forms, up to and including how employees are deployed into and engaged inside of their communities. Through the lens of these metrics, it is given a pronounced bump through addressing all facets of well-being rather than just physical wellness.

In fact, across every outcome-oriented metric that was studied – without exception – those respondents who reported high levels of well-being in all five of the essential elements outperformed those who were physically fit but otherwise lacking. In short, it's not just about being physically fit; it's also about all the other things. And those communities and workplaces that embrace this reality and execute on it will lead the nation in building cultures of well-being that thrive and prosper.

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### **The Global Well-Being Index: Measuring Community Well-Being Internationally**

In 2013, Gallup and Healthways began a historic program of international well-being measurement, completing nationally projectable random samples of adults aged 15 and over across 135 countries and with more than 133,000 respondents. In each, ten hand-picked questions – two from each of the five elements – were administered via phone and face-to-face interviews (Gallup-Healthways 2013).

The ten Global Well-Being Index questions correlate closely with the full Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index. While they do not cover all of the conceptual ground encompassed in the complete instrument, they serve as a good proxy for it when they are applied to large populations. The ten questions are designed to yield thriving, struggling, and suffering (TSS) classifications that are essentially equivalent to what Gallup and Healthways find with the full Well-Being Index. The full instrument provides more data and greater detail in each element and allows for the calculation of overall well-being scores and individual-level reporting not found in the abridged global version. However, the ten Global Well-Being Index questions result in thriving, struggling, and suffering proportions that are directly comparable to those found using the complete Well-Being Index, including for community well-being. Therefore, the Global Well-Being Index remains valid despite the exclusion of questions in each element that are found in the

full Well-Being Index question set. The international measurement of *community well-being*, therefore, is covering the same conceptual ground that is measured in the USA. While Gallup and Healthways rank order cities according to their respective overall Well-Being Index scores (not just scoring for the single element of community well-being), internationally we can examine which countries are better or worse at community well-being *as a nation*. Inside of the community well-being element, the two questions asked as a part of the Global Well-Being Index are:

- *The city or area where you live is a perfect place for you*
- *In the last 12 months, you have received recognition for helping to improve the city or area where you live.*

Worldwide, one in six adults are considered to be thriving – or strong and consistent – in at least three of the five elements. Residents of the Americas region are the most likely to be thriving in three or more elements (33%), while those in sub-Saharan Africa are the least likely (9%). For community well-being in particular, 26% of adults are thriving, compared to 60% who are struggling and 14% who are suffering. Community well-being globally is identical for both men and women, improves only slightly with age, and is similarly manifested regardless of living in a big city, small town, suburb, or rural area. It does go up with employment, and improves with increasing income. But even across the richest countries, significant range exists in community well-being, and significant range exists within income brackets inside of any given country (Standish and Witters 2014).

The country with the highest community well-being in 2013 is Panama, with 58% of respondents who were categorized as thriving compared to just 8% who were suffering. The Netherlands and Austria were second and third highest, respectively (Table 11.7).

The country with the lowest community well-being in 2013, in turn, was Armenia, with just 9% who were thriving compared to 33% who were

**Table 11.7** Countries with highest community well-being, 2013

Country	Thriving (%)	Struggling (%)	Suffering (%)
Panama	58	34	8
Netherlands	53	41	6
Austria	52	42	6
Denmark	51	42	7
Sri Lanka	51	46	3
United Arab Emirates	49	42	9
Costa Rica	46	40	14
Sweden	46	48	6
Canada	43	48	9
Ireland	43	47	9

Gallup-Healthways Global-Well-Being Index (2013)  
GALLUP

suffering. Other countries with particularly low community well-being include Bosnia Herzegovina, Italy, Congo Kinshasa, and Croatia. The presence of countries such as Sri Lanka on the list of highest ten vividly illustrates that good community well-being does not always require the absence of conflict, just as low community well-being can exist in a relatively rich and well organized democracy, the likes of which is found in a parliamentary republic such as Italy's (Table 11.8).

Community well-being matters around the world. Sorting respondents into the three *thriving/struggling/suffering* categories previously described reveals significant differences in how they view their lives and how they execute within it. The following are examples of what it means, from a global perspective, to be thriving, struggling, or suffering in community well-being:

- *Thriving:* Worldwide, more adults are thriving in community well-being (26%) than in any other element. Those who are thriving in community well-being are between two and three times as likely as everyone else to rate their current and future lives highly. Further, they are at least 44% more likely to volunteer their time in the community and at least 60% more likely to donate money to charity. Persons who are thriving in community well-being are

**Table 11.8** Countries with lowest community well-being, 2013

Country	Thriving (%)	Struggling (%)	Suffering (%)
Armenia	9	58	33
Bosnia Herzegovina	10	70	21
Italy	10	77	14
Congo Kinshasa	10	59	32
Croatia	10	78	12
Azerbaijan	11	78	11
Montenegro	11	71	18
Haiti	11	49	39
Zimbabwe	11	66	23
Albania	12	53	35

Gallup-Healthways Global-Well-Being Index (2013)  
Gallup

also considerably less likely to experience daily stress.

- **Struggling:** Three-fifths (60%) of adults worldwide are struggling in community well-being. These people are less than half as likely as their thriving counterparts to evaluate their current and future lives highly, and are 22% less likely to say they learn new and interesting things each day. They are 19% less likely than those who are thriving in this element to recommend their city or area as a place to live.
- **Suffering:** Worldwide, 14% of adults are suffering in community well-being. Among these persons, 22% say they are likely to move away from the city or area where they live, double the rate found among all others. People who are suffering in this element are only half as likely as those who are thriving to have donated money to charity and are about 50% more likely to distrust the outcomes of elections. Adults suffering in community well-being are also twice as likely as all other persons to want to move permanently to another country, and the 22% who want to do so is higher than for any other group from any element.

It is strongly evident that well-being is a critical part of good lives and good communities, and that this generalizes to meaningful outcomes

worldwide. It is what leaders do with this knowledge that is the difference between success and failure in its pursuit.

## What Leaders Should Be Doing *Right Now* to Create a Well-Being Culture

Leaders of communities and organizations alike can make substantial difference in the well-being of their constituents. Aside from the fundamental perspective that all five elements should be addressed, here are 11 things for leaders to do *right now* to impact this, based on best practice examples from around the county.

1. ***Provide a strong, sustained voice of commitment to well-being.*** One of the biggest mistakes that leaders can make is to treat well-being as nothing more than a benefits program or some sort of fringe, flavor-of-the-month initiative. Those who do leave vast amount of untapped potential sitting on the table. Those who don't, in contrast, deliver a very clear message to their constituents that says, "This is who we are, this is important to us, and this is never, ever, going away." Above all else, everyone needs to understand very clearly that well-being is here to stay, and that they are expected to be a part of it.
2. ***Verbalize a consistent and uniform definition of what is meant by "well-being".*** Leaders need to be on the same page about what well-being *is*. Gallup research has shown that well-being interventions are proven to be more effective and greater improvement in well-being is realized when constituents gain knowledge of what is precisely meant by it. The key to this is to have every leader singing off of the same song sheet and talking about it the same way.
3. ***Lead by example, set the agenda, and use the bully pulpit.*** Leaders matter in many ways when it comes to well-being, perhaps nothing more so than when it comes to setting an example for others to follow. This

doesn't just mean showing up in the company fitness center or appearing at local community events; it also means establishing hard policies in the workplace – both public and private – that directly influence the foods that people consume, how they are incentivized for good health, the opportunities and encouragement they receive for building financial security, and what is expected of their conduct at home and in their communities.

4. ***Ensure that residents believe that their well-being is authentically cared about.*** Across multiple studies, this metric consistently ranks at or near the top of the most important vanguards of well-being. It can't just be about the improved health utilization or other business outcomes that the organization or the economy stands to gain. It also needs to be about delivering the message that the well-being of constituents matters in its own right. Closely related to this is another key driver of well-being: that employees or organizations believe that their employers care about the well-being of their families, too.
5. ***Scientifically evaluate the effectiveness of programs as a function of change in well-being over time.*** Among the biggest misses observed inside of organizations, community wellness advocacy groups, and city programs that execute well-being interventions is to actually test whether or not they are working. What percentage of employees or residents are participating in programs that stand to benefit from them? How does their well-being change over time? Keep the programs that are being embraced and doing some good. Drop the programs that aren't.
6. ***Make sure every neighborhood in town has safe places to exercise for everyone who lives there.*** Nationally, about 8% of American adults do not have a safe place to exercise, but this jumps to nearly double that percentage in lower income communities. Not having somewhere to go greatly reduces the likelihood that any given citizen will exercise on any given day, potentially reduc-

ing the chance that a future entrepreneur gets created. Businesses, too, can be encouraged to subsidize the membership fees of fitness clubs for their employees in exchange for a minimum number of visits to the gym each month.

7. ***Constantly strive to enhance access to affordable fruits and vegetables.*** It's not just about the cost of produce relative to junk food (although this is part of it). It's also about easy and safe *access* to produce. Convincing businesses to offer free fruit to employees via mobile fruit carts is a smart investment for them to make, and cities can subsidize this practice for partnering organizations. Another high return-on-minimal-investment idea is to establish a small but visible security presence at farmers' markets in high risk, low income neighborhoods. Residents who live there want fresh produce as much as those in low risk, high income neighborhoods, but sometime have the added barrier of feeling reluctant to make the trek to the market out of safety concerns. Removing this barrier can yield substantial dividends in the produce consumption of any community. Mobile farmers markets, in turn, can be a great way to bring healthy and delicious fresh fruits and vegetables to residents throughout each city, regardless of socioeconomics.
8. ***Encourage "business swap" partnering programs,*** where employees of restaurants that offer significant low-calorie, heart-friendly menu options receive discounted rates at local fitness centers, and where employees and members of the local fitness centers receive discounted prices for eating healthy fare at the restaurants. Cities can certify all businesses that partake in the program and promote and advertise their participation in the community. Duly certified grocery stores that provide free healthy menus and cooking classes, large organic selections, and otherwise support good health are great candidates to include in this program as well.
9. ***Get people to the dentist.*** Citizens with good oral health view their lives better, make

healthier choices, are less likely to have periodontal disease, and significantly reduce their chances of having many other negative health outcomes downstream that substantially increase their subsequent per person healthcare costs. Cities can recruit and subsidize dentists to service non-paying customers in exchange for free advertising and publicity, and doing so will create a workforce that burdens its employers with significantly lower healthcare costs.

10. **Recruit the local colleges and universities.** It's no coincidence that college towns tend to score high in well-being. Local academia provides a foundation and environment for culture, learning, debate, and advancement. The more that communities leverage these institutions the more that they will engender a lively intellectual culture comprised of an informed and active citizenry, a proven vanguard of high well-being communities and engaged workplaces alike.
11. **Get the word out.** Only 60% of employees whose employers offer programs are aware of them. This reduces potential effectiveness by two-fifths right out of the gate. For both communities and workplaces, aggressively promoting offerings can be hugely impactful of successful outcomes. Too often available resources are drained in creating the program itself with little left over to advertise its availability to constituents.

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## Conclusion

Objective measures of well-being, including life expectancy, literacy, and employment statistics are important and useful in assessing a community's or country's progress, as are historical trends over time. However, the concept of subjective well-being encompasses the broader aspects of a life well-lived.

Gallup and Healthways research has shown that people with higher well-being are healthier, more productive, and more resilient in the face of challenges such as layoffs or natural catastrophes. People with higher well-being bounce back

faster, are better able to take care of their own basic needs, and feel better able to contribute to and support the success of their organizations, communities, or countries.

Subjective well-being does not necessarily correlate with GDP, the presence of conflict, or other absolute indicators. Residents in poor countries may report that they have high well-being in certain elements while those in wealthy countries may report that they have low well-being in others. Thinking more locally, high well-being communities tend to exhibit many shared characteristics of positive health and well-being outcomes – like low chronic disease rates and high life satisfaction rating – and behaviors such as frequent exercise and less smoking. These commonalities consistently demonstrate a mutual foundation upon which the top cities ascertain and maintain their status as standard bearers of well-being in America.

Compared to low well-being communities, residents of high well-being communities usually have much lower rates of obesity, high blood pressure, diabetes, and physical pain. They rate their lives higher today and in the future, and are much more likely to optimistically report that the city or area where they reside is “getting better as a place to live.” They are more likely to have enough money for food, medicine, and shelter. They are less likely to be depressed and are more likely to report positive workplaces.

The behaviors and choices that occupants of high well-being communities make also distinguish them from their low well-being counterparts, and can serve as a good example for the leaders of other areas to pursue with their own constituents. For example, residents of high well-being cities exercise more, but their leaders also create more safe places for people to go to exercise. They eat more fruits and vegetables, but their leaders also establish safer, more readily accessible places to access their produce. And residents in high well-being cities are less likely to experience significant worry on any given day, but also live in communities where their leaders afford them more opportunities learn and do interesting things.



Ultimately, it's the communities that understand and embrace a holistic approach to well-being that will be most likely to improve it over time and to benefit from it, because to change the culture in meaningful ways requires an "all of the above" strategy. As Dan Buettner, National Geographic Fellow and founder of the Blue Zones Project notes, "There are tangible policies that communities can adopt to actively cultivate and improve residents' well-being. Policies that nudge people into healthy activities – where it is easy to walk to the store, bike to a friend's house, get access to fresh produce, and be surrounded by healthy-minded, supportive friends – are ones that make the healthy choice, the easy choice. Sustained transformation depends on building an environment and establishing social policies that support and reinforce these programs" (Witters 2014). In this manner, communities can lead the nation in how we think about and discuss well-being and how we set about to build lasting change based firmly upon its principles.

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# Public Health and Urban Planning: Challenging Options for Well-Being: Experiences from Germany

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Sabine Baumgart

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## Introduction

Mental and physical health is not only an important factor of individual well-being, but also of the environment. The Charter of the World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO 1946, p. 2). This comprehensive holistic understanding of health was implemented in the model by Göran Dahlgren and Margaret Whitehead, often quoted (e.g. *Gesundheit Berlin-Brandenburg*, p. 7). This model depicts the various factors influencing the development of health and illness in a context including the individual and his/her environment as influenced by numerous factors (see *ibid.*). The term “well-being” also emphasizes the subjective perception of humans.

While the concept of pathogenesis is based on diseases, the concept of the salutogenesis of public health deals with health-maintaining factors (e.g. Bengel 2001). Drawing on the WHO definition, health factors that influence well-being and social participation are also taken into account. There are parallels between the scientific health concepts of pathogenesis and historically developed strategies of security in the urban environ-

ment in urban planning and the technical building regulations. Priority was given to strategies for coping with risk factors which can affect human health and increase the risk of disease. A look at the history of urban development shows this clearly, with construction and hygiene regulations becoming more important during the period of rapid industrialization. Policies emphasizing salutogenetic resources to maintain health factors were conceptualized, giving rise to the concept of salutogenesis as a theoretical basis for health promotion. They aimed at strengthening the individual (including personality traits such as self-confidence, avoidance of risky behaviour) and external/social resources (including socio-ecological living conditions) in terms of prevention. This approach to health promotion was captured by the WHO in its Ottawa Charter (1986), referring to the WHO definition formulated in 1946.

Human health has become an issue of urban planning in recent decades as the built environment has changed in line with varying regional dynamics. In Germany only about one-fifth of land due to be developed for settlements was previously used for agricultural purposes. The vast majority of land was rather part of a human environment in which people lived. Current debates focus on urban visions framed by demographic change and social divisions in cities. This gives rise to conflicts between existing and new usages.

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Urban regeneration and renewal concepts have to consider where urban development should be implemented. Is the aim to create a compact city with higher built densities to reduce consumption of farm land and natural space dominating the urban periphery in accordance with political and professional objectives based on so-called inner development? Or, is the focus on a vision that gives priority to climate change adaptation and to open space benefiting the microclimate?

Health, as part of community well-being, is linked to topics concerning urban visions, strategies and actors. It is the task of spatial planning to find solutions for spatially related conflicts and to consider the environmental and health effects on humans. Elements of health promotion – such as the planning and maintenance of green spaces, non-motorized transport and movement options – are becoming increasingly relevant for managing and planning in existing areas, as they pursue the goal of satisfying the socio-economic requirements of a heterogeneous population that faces demographic and climate change challenges in Germany.

Nowadays healthy living and working conditions are again becoming highly relevant – at least in Germany – in the light of climate change leading to, for instance, extreme urban warming. It is therefore necessary to consider the conflict situations that have evolved from mixed land uses, for example, multiple burdens and urban densification strategies that promote a balanced mixed land use including open space. This is in accordance with the demographic challenge of an ageing population but has to include children as a vulnerable group as well.

There are complex actor arrangements involved in the planning procedure, the nature of which depends on the scope of planning. Public as well as private bodies are equipped with different strategic capabilities based on a number of aspects, in particular their mandates, functions, preferences, interests and action orientations in terms of public welfare and cooperation. The actor constellations and the arenas of interaction influence the planning procedures and the planning instruments applied (cf. Fürst 2010, pp.18–19). The high level of complexity includes the

participation and collaboration of actor networks from the professions of spatial planning and public health.

The institutional framework of public health and urban planning varies and determines parameters, procedures and responsibilities. Urban and regional planning in Germany is framed by the planning code, which particularly focuses on spatially related regulations at the national level, while the public health service is organized at federal state level. The goal of the public health sector is health promotion to the population, administered by the local health departments. Differentiating between sectors of the planning authorities regarding their legal requirements requires not only a deliberation of visions and goals, but also consideration of the coordination of actors and the translation of different fundamental arguments. It becomes increasingly important to recognize synergies and contradictions in the goals of health promotion, environmental justice, the ideal of a compact city, densification and adaptation to climate change.

This paper explores instruments and procedures for the development of current approaches to health promotion as a contribution to community well-being. Of particular interest is the interface between public health bodies and urban planning institutions within their statutory and non-statutory frameworks. As this interface re-emerges, the article firstly reflects on historical traces of collaborative urban visions as opportunities and threats (Sect. 2). It then focuses on experiences of administrative collaboration between urban planning and public health institutions (Sect. 3). Joint strategies of urban planning and public health will then be addressed (Sect. 4) before being summarized in the final conclusions (Sect. 5).

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### **Trajectories of Collaborative Visions of Public Health and Urban Planning for Community Well-Being**

The trajectories are guided by the structural model of analysis developed by Gabriele Sturm (2000). According to this model, different dimen-

sions of space are temporarily linked to explain the interactions and interdependencies as dynamic processes embedded in proactive and receptive actor constellations. With four basic components Sturm provides reliable dimensions to apply to the linkage between urban planning and public health:

- The tangible character of the city and its morphology as either promoting or obstructing human well-being and health;
- Regulations and the institutional setting with its legal framework serving as a basis for urban development;
- The historical set up shaped by actor constellations, providing the roots for urban development and public health until industrialization;
- Cultural manifestations of the narrative and structurally embossed emergence of understandings of health and disease prevention. The dynamic development of cultural conventions and norms include the role of the interacting individuals and the role of the state whether as authoritarian or welfare state, implicit and explicit competences, tacit knowledge and individual responsibilities versus normative dimensions in community, culture of planning and public participation.

Visions for urban development have a long-standing history and have over the years been more concerned with community well-being. When we look back in time, clear linkages to health issues can be observed in different centuries. In Mesopotamia's (3000 BC) capital Ur, the Sumerians cooled and ventilated the city by aligning its main axis according to the prevailing wind direction. Important goals for urban planning and design were found in ancient and medieval towns. Indeed, the Ideal City concepts of the ancient world provided planning principles that are known and used in contemporary citywide land-use planning. The goal to guide and control urban development clearly existed and catalysts from both natural and engineering sciences can be identified at the interface between urban planning and health promotion.

Around 450–350 B.C. the physician and naturalist Hippocrates wrote his treatise on airs, waters and locality, recording his thoughts about limiting urban growth for the benefit of public health. Later Vitruvius (about 60 B.C.) intended to provide healthy settlements when he drew up rules focusing on climate in his first of ten books on architecture. In order to maximize the hygienic benefits the streets were oriented to take advantage of prevailing winds. The lay-out of ancient towns in Greece was also based on a holistic planning concept known today as classic urban design (Mumford 1980), aiming to limit urban growth to safeguard the provision of the population. In medieval times, when settlements in Europe were characterized by narrow streets and a lack of open space, regulations concerning fire safety (fire walls, fireproof chimneys) and land use (e.g. stipulating sites for tanneries) were introduced. Strong walls were established as defined boundaries towards dangerous open landscape.

Several centuries later, laws regulating building lines were passed in both Baden law of (1868) and Prussia law of (1875). The goal was to ensure basic urban planning principles to guide urban extensions and densification in the inner cities required by extensive industrialization. The building lines distinguished private land that could be built upon from public spaces, without influencing the ownership or land use of the building plots. The Great Fire of 1841 that affected the Old Town of Hamburg in Germany provided the conditions to develop comprehensive engineering planning for sewer systems. The engineer William Lindley constructed 11 km of sewers and a centralized system for water supply and public bath houses were built. The Technical Commission was responsible for the concept that guided the reconstruction of the inner city of Hamburg. During these decades, technically oriented spatial plans were developed in German cities like Kiel, Leipzig, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt, with such success that the mortality rate due to typhus dropped from 80 down to 10 per capita between 1868 and 1883 (within 15 years) ([https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Lindley](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Lindley), accessed 12.07.2015).

The construction of grid-bound infrastructure for water supply and disposal contributed greatly to improvements in health (reducing not only typhus but also cholera). The provision of gas and later electricity led to artificial light in factories, permitting longer working days, and to street lighting. This increased safety and “morality” (in line with the political social codex of the time), especially for the young and single women who worked in the factories and docks. The rapidly growing cities appeared as a dangerous urban jungle and new concepts for the built environment were thus required.

The answer was presented by Ebenezer Howard as the pioneer of the garden city concept, which still continues as a guiding principle and should thus be highlighted. But the less well-known Gräfin Dohna also deserves attention as she published her ideas almost 30 years earlier than Howard, using the pseudonym *Arminius* (worried about not being taken seriously as a woman). Issues of morality were a particular core concern of Gräfin Dohna von Poninska, who in 1874 published her book “*Die Großstädte in ihrer Wohnungsnoth und die Grundlagen einer durchgreifenden Abhilfe*” (“The big cities facing housing shortages and the fundamental principles of a thorough remedy” author’s translation).

Some decades earlier than Ebenezer Howard, she thus outlined the development of garden cities with regard to affordable public transport and open green spaces accessible in less than half an hour. Her ideal concerned residential buildings with large courtyards, instead of tenements constructed diametrically with, in some cases, four or more narrow backyards. She already took multiple burdens into account when addressing the needs of workers by differentiating between their working and living conditions by sex and age. For instance, she addressed the eyestrain involved in the work of seamstresses, arguing that they required fresh air and green space to recover in the evening. She not only anticipated modern concepts of education that allows nature to be experienced in school gardens, particularly in deprived areas, and promotes urban green spaces of adequate quality and size. She also emphasized the deficits of living conditions on roads

with heavy traffic and the need for space-related leisure activities, referring to her differentiated perception of vulnerable populations by defining valuation standards for urban design. Her ideas focused on different spatial levels, the neighbourhood and the district as well as the entire city including the urban fringe with open landscape, intended to provide a green belt. From today’s perspective, Gräfin Dohna was a driven social reformist, following her paternalistic ideals as a committed Christian and may thus be classified as taking a social reform approach.

She was thus increasingly concerned about the living conditions of workers, but also feared moral decay among the middle class. Her approach included explosive political goals involving drastic change, especially at the cost of the interests of property speculators, who benefited most from the very narrow and high-rise buildings that made maximum use of the plot. Revenues and rents were the main objectives for urban development at this time. Although her approaches were aimed initially at improving the housing situation, she linked them with requirements concerning space to address basic urban planning functions and provide a framework for community well-being. Gräfin Dohna focused particularly on the residential and recreational qualities of the urban fabric for working young men and especially young women who had migrated from the countryside to the city. She promoted mobility on foot and green open spaces as contributing to good health and thus addressed community well-being as well as, implicitly, the interface between urban planning and public health.

Gräfin Dohna may thus be seen as a predecessor of the famous Ebenezer Howard who in 1898 published his diagram of a garden city. This paternalistic model linked the benefits of the urban with the rural landscape and guided growth and location of public infrastructure to consider the welfare of industrial workers. Maximum population size was based on health considerations and restricted to 30,000 inhabitants (Hotzan 1994). His publication “*Garden Cities of Tomorrow*” (Howard 1902) provided him with the status as the founding father of the garden city

concept, maintained until today. The concept has been adapted in many cities of the global south: e.g. in 1912 a team of British town planners introduced the garden city concept in Delhi, symbolizing British imperial power in colonized India (Priya 1993, p. 824), and in Dar es Salaam/Tanzania in eastern Africa, where the garden city style has been translated into the urban morphology (Hossain et al. 2015).

During the dynamic process of industrialization Patrick Geddes, a Scottish biologist (1854–1932), became an important catalyst as one of the first actors involved in developing an integrated perspective on health and spatial aspects not only in Europe but also in Asia. He criticized the ignorance of basic hygienic needs seen in architecture and housing in the nineteenth century (Mumford 1980). The renewal of substandard housing to allow the construction of healthy neighbourhoods was introduced as a principle objective of planning during these decades (Platt 2007). The first Public Health Act (1848) had provided a foundation for spatial planning regulations aimed at the renewal of housing of insufficient standards in order to improve the environmental conditions of settlements in the European period of industrialization. A local Board of Health was newly established and institutionally rooted to consider these objectives (Albers 1997, p. 58 ff).

The policy, strongly supported by English reformers, led to improvements in hygiene through trunk infrastructure – gas, drainage, water – and regulations for the use of public land as well as the establishment of social infrastructure such as hospitals, boarding houses and public green spaces. Civil engineers like George Eugene Haussmann in Paris (1853/1870), Ildefonso Cerda in Barcelona (1859) and James Hobrecht in Berlin (1862) played leading roles in introducing modern land-use planning with public hygiene profiting from trunk infrastructure, mobility based on railways, and fire protection provided by building regulations. They set restrictions on building heights and standards for high-quality construction to counter land speculation. The location and design of public green spaces became important to compensate for the

loss of private gardens (Grassnick and Hofrichter 1982).

In addition to these catalysts, a role was played by innovations in building techniques framed by the democratic demand for decent living conditions and a consequent emphasis on well-lit and well-ventilated housing in Germany during the 1920s. Linked to these emerging ideas the fourth *Congres International Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), held in 1933, saw progressive architects producing “The Charter of Athens” which contained new principles of modern urban planning. Here the principle of functional differentiation seen in efficient Fordist economic mass production techniques was applied to the urban fabric and its management. The urban plan was characterized by strict functional zoning with green belts, so that various distinct functional areas (residential, work, recreation, transport) were created, thus addressing overcrowding and unhygienic conditions in industrialized cities. This contributed to the establishment of a normative base for planning regulations in the north-western hemisphere with: (i) building codes for security such as fire protection, spaces between buildings and public roads for prevention of hazards; (ii) planning regulations for land use and land tenure to safeguard the climate, restrict emissions from obvious pollutants and facilitate re-use of existing buildings to restrict the growth of cities (Mumford 1980; Grassnick and Hofrichter 1982; Benevolo 1984). This provided the principles of advanced urban planning and the argumentative basis for emission control laws regulating air pollution and noise emission that were later transformed into legal requirements. In 1948 the modern European city planning principle of CIAM (*Congrès internationaux d’architecture moderne*) was adapted by Le Corbusier for the foundation of Chandigarh in India.

At the same time political power constellations triggered the strategic urban redevelopments of Hitler’s regime (“Third Reich”), with political and social control dressed up in the guise of “urban revitalization”. In 1936 standardizing building laws (*Reichsbaurecht*) were passed, which then led to the well-known gigantic urban planning initiatives in Berlin, Hamburg

and Nürnberg and others. When planners currently discuss the “urban landscape”, we should be aware that the term was created in 1940: *“The task is to make the meaning given in the city agglomeration of people and workplaces so that charges against the city be invalidated; the life of the urban population has to be healthy and liveable again. The idea of the urban landscape will satisfy this requirement”* (Wortmann 1941, p. 15 ff, translation by the author). Urban organization as a spatial expression of the political structure of the NSDAP in the so-called “Ortsgruppen” (local groups, translation by the author) was created by Konstanty Gutschow, Wilhelm Wortmann and Hans Bernhard Reichow in an urban concept of “local group as a settlement cell”, compact enough to allow thorough political control. The ideological function was revealed in the new mission statement declaring that a political structure lays the foundation for the spatial organization of land use. In 1935 public health departments were established at the national level to control racial hygiene at the local level. Since this time the notion of public health being part of urban concepts has negative connotations associated with the “Third Reich”.

The reconstruction of the destroyed cities after the end of World War II followed this biological perspective with the design of neighbourhoods. But health promotion as an issue of the public health service and public health was organized at federal state level. Sixteen federal states have laws on the public health service with core elements such as health (hygiene, infection control, environmental health monitoring, pharmaceutical industry, etc.); prevention, care, and education (including school health care, health promotion control, quality assurance); and communication (including health reporting and monitoring, public relations).

The following decades were characterized by suburbanization and extensive new building activities and after the initial development boost triggered by German reunification in 1990, planning became increasingly focused on issues related to the existing building stock and to regeneration concepts. The urban redevelopment and development projects of the 1970s involved

programmes and funding that engaged with the renewal needs of areas that failed to meet general standards for healthy living and working conditions. The legal regulations concerned *“The living and working conditions or the safety of those who live or work in the area, e.g. the amount of light, sun and fresh air reaching housing and workplaces,... the impact particularly of noise, pollution and vibrations from building plots, firms, institutions or transport facilities,... the functionality of the area in relation to, e.g. ... the provision of infrastructure, green spaces, playgrounds and sports fields, and public facilities, particularly under consideration of the social and cultural role of the area in the functional urban region. Urban redevelopment measures serve the public interest and should develop the built structure of all parts of the Federal Republic according to social, hygienic, economic and cultural requirements,...”* (Baugesetzbuch 2014 § 1, translation by the author).

In the 1980s the limits of growth became obvious in every regard. There was a shift of planning paradigms away from large-scale redevelopment towards small-scale, single-object, participatory urban renewal and conservation in the interests of revitalization and the improvement of living conditions. The emergence of a great number of brownfield sites facilitated the urban redevelopment and restructuring of large continuous spaces, such as the coal mining areas in the Ruhr region or the Hamburg docks. This led to changes in the urban fabric in terms of both land-use distributions and the structure of urban spaces. Ecologically sustainable (urban) development, increasingly promoted since the 1992 UN conference in Rio de Janeiro, aimed to reduce private motorized transport in urban areas, to upgrade open spaces and to improve climate protection and the energy efficiency of buildings, thus contributing to urban health (United Nations General Assembly 1992).

Health-related issues and goals can be found in many contemporary spatial planning themes and concepts. Regional spatial planning involves the integration of outlying municipalities, suburbs and districts bordering the city in an attempt to achieve regional development that enables a



reduction in private motorized transport and land use. And particularly demographic change – a shrinking and ageing population in peripheral regions, ageing inhabitants in the urban environment – makes it necessary to deal with urban population development, in- and outward migration and population distributions within urban areas.

To summarize, it can be seen that links between the morphology, as a city's urban layout, and its public health status have in the past often been the beginning of the establishment of planning principles as a historical manifestation, but also as structure-forming regulations. Such links provided opportunities for urban guidance, whether in Mesopotamia to improve air circulation, in medieval times to protect cities from fire hazards, or in the industrial age to fight epidemics such as cholera and typhus by adhering to sanitary guidelines as joint roots for public health and urban development. While the promoters of public health were dominated by social or natural sciences, the professionalization of urban planning and civil engineering in the second half of the nineteenth century was initially a response to challenges posed by industrialization. The establishment of technical (trunk) infrastructure changed the morphology as well as the requirements for regulations and the institutional setting.

Collaborative urban visions were not elaborated between different professional sectors. In the twentieth century the desire to deal with the excesses of uncontrolled capitalist production and to improve the living conditions of the workforce then became increasingly influential. The lack of hygiene and the high incidence of epidemics in rapidly growing settlements first provided a tangible reason for extending the scope of planning regulation beyond merely setting building lines. The scope covers three different rubrics: minimum standards hazard prevention in terms of the regulatory law for health, safety and protection; prevention based on legal requirements; and prevention below legal standards as health provision. The interface of individual well-being and public welfare as a planning goal focuses on minimum standards for residences (also securing

the loan-based investment of private developers), infrastructure for hygiene and the accessibility of infrastructural facilities including open green spaces. An in-depth look into the experiences of administrative collaboration demonstrates possible approaches for future cooperation.

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### **Administrative Collaboration Between Urban Planning and Public Health Institutions**

Currently public health issues are not only allocated to the health remit, but are also closely linked to social, environmental and spatial responsibilities. In terms of administrative organization the departmental responsibilities shape the functional competences for environmental as well as health-related tasks. Policy requires transparency and legitimation for administrative tasks. It is still difficult to work on activities at the interface that are linked to a number of different departments as problems arise with regard to harmonizing instruments and procedures. Harmonization of the expected outcome is also a particular issue, as outcomes are relevant for departmental key figures and the provision of legal certainty. The various actors are driven by social and economic problems, operate within the framework of their financial budgets and are characterized by professional specialization. However, at the interfaces competences are required that embrace a mutual interdisciplinary understanding with respect to the disciplinary perspectives and the methodology applied, embedded into communicative skills for terminologies.

In Germany health promotion is an issue of the Public Health Service at the level of the 16 federal states. Health-related matters are the responsibility of the welfare state and its Public Health Service. Reporting on health matters, such as hygiene and control over professional health training, was traditionally the task of the Public Health Service (Kuhn et al. 2012). The first deviation from this was the comprehensive establishment of state health departments by the Law for the Standardization of Health (author's

translation) in 1935, which involved the Public Health Service being exploited for the National Socialist racial and extermination policy (ibid.) As a result, after the World War II social and population health approaches were discredited in the Federal Republic and the health authorities therefore almost completely withdrew.

Core issues for the health authorities are, firstly, health protection such as hygiene, infections, environmental medicine and pharmaceuticals; secondly, prevention, public welfare and education; and, thirdly, steering and communication in terms of health reports and public relations. In terms of prevention, authorities are more likely to execute the remaining tasks such as health check-ups; while vaccinations have in recent years been transferred to the responsibility of the health insurance companies (ibid.). Selected instruments will be discussed in the following and linked to current challenges at the local level.

Urban visions are particularly suitable for providing a supportive framework, as demonstrated by Sturm. They are determined by socio-economic ideals and the values of society and thus covering cultural norms and standards, encompassing both historical and current manifestations. These are in a continuous process of change in line with political priorities and public debates embedded in and triggered by real-life circumstances and their perception as general topics or local challenges. Due to ecological issues and the limits of natural resources including space, the focus has shifted towards urban regeneration of the built environment and also towards a communicative process of development. Instead of a top-down process visions are developed using a strategic multilevel approach that involves a variety of different authorities and civil society actors in order to capture multiple interests and stakes. As currently the focus is on a compact city and the consistent further development of the built environment, it is demand-oriented and matches the goal of reducing land consumption.

Health promotion and the notion of the environment contributing to well-being are often addressed in urban visions as they facilitate an

attractive image of the city. Looking back in history, it can be seen that visions have been determined by economic frameworks and power structures. Reference is often made to historic urban patterns such as the Garden City concept when formulating contemporary images. Comprehensive approaches at the local level are able to set impulses for innovation as well as for urban marketing by visualizing different fields of action. In this function they are to be understood as non-statutory planning instruments that augment statutory urban planning and also guide the deliberation of the topics covered. Urban visions and concepts provide a scaffold for the definition of goals, agenda setting and the coordination of different actors. Obviously, the cooperation partners have been extended, for example, when the German *Immobilien Zeitung* (Journal for Real Estate, author's translation) formulates ten principles to certify a healthy urban quarter under the title: "Health is the current sustainability". Even in this publishing organ of the German real estate market, health issues are being addressed and promoted in four ways: offering healthy alternatives, options for mobility, promoting accessibility to healthy food, and creating spatial health.

In dealing with a complex environment, urban planning often faces a lack of reliable up-to date data relevant to the demographic situation, particularly for a specific area as territory. A statutory reliable reason is required to initiate an urban planning procedure, particularly when public funding for urban development is involved. Corburn (2013, p. 27) suggests that there are five core topics to consider: democratic participation concerning procedures; integrated decision making in respect of politics; multidimensional monitoring as data provision; social learning in reference to competences; and finally, adjustment and innovation related to policy.

As geo-information systems are now ubiquitously available, spatial observation methods are much improved. At the local level, socio-demographic information on vulnerable populations provides a database allowing the visualization of specific exposures, e.g. to noise, or the mobility pattern of the elderly, as well as sensitive populations (including children younger

than 3) and deprived populations (migrants and jobless people). These then serve as a reliable base for consideration of procedures in informal/non-statutory and formal planning processes. Based on defined indicators for a spatially differentiated report on public health, social status in particular could be linked to the multiple burden of noise, a lack of green open spaces, air pollution and bioclimatic burdens such as environmental exposure (cf. Klimeczek 2012). Taking an urban design perspective, the so-called Walkability-Index has developed a correlation of population density, street connectivity, floor-area ratio of commercial use and land-use mixes of supply, services, recreation and housing (Frank et al. 2009), thus promoting mobility options. The walk scores contribute to definitions of quality standards relating to the proximity and accessibility of a range of urban functions and green open spaces as well as to the variety of urban functions. Furthermore, Ewing and Cervero (2010) developed the five Ds as measures for the built environment: “Diversity” as the mixed use of a residential quarter; “Density” as the level of density of urban space with proximity to different destinations; “Design” with regard to accessibility and the layout of pathways and bike lanes, the connectivity of streets and the attractiveness of public space; “Destination” referring to distance to and accessibility of important destinations for daily activities, leisure and recreation in the urban environment; and, finally, “Distance to travel” from the flat or the workplace to the nearest public transport stop (Ewing and Cervero 2010).

Demographic change particularly requires aged population to have access to physical activities. Important aspects of this are the quality of urban landscape, the proximity and accessibility of open green spaces/landscape and environmental quality in terms of air and noise. The accessibility of facilities for supply, infrastructure and leisure also require attention, as do options for mobility on foot and by bike.

Focusing on the housing market, the growing agglomerations in Germany are challenged by the return migration of elderly populations requiring smaller homes and seeking assistance when needed. Many urban areas struggle to pro-

vide appropriate affordable housing. There is also little housing for specific target groups such as elderly migrants and a lack of social infrastructure providing medical and health care and local housekeeping support. Urban management for elderly people needs to support neighbourhood activities and promote networks of mutual assistance and communication to allow participation in social life. An ageing population presents urban planning with important challenges such as providing public space for transfer (streets), sojourning space in public squares and safe accessibility to public green spaces. Mobility is most important in daily activities. There is a lot of knowledge about the challenges of demographic requirements for urban planning. Scientific surveys have been conducted examining different behaviour, target groups, health status, individual health promotion strategies and the character of infrastructure needed. All these challenges demand closer cooperation between public health and urban planning.

The interdependencies between socio-spatial development and the public health status of urban settlements are again becoming important nowadays. This applies to the fast growing cities of developing and transforming regions, where city authorities often have problems accommodating rapidly growing populations in the global south. It is also relevant for the northern hemisphere where there is tremendous pressure on the real estate market of most metropolitan cities, also in terms of urban regeneration due to the spatial impacts of socio-economic and technological change. The waterfront redevelopments provide strong evidence of this pressure, as do conversions of former industrial, infrastructural or even military functions (at least in Germany). The restructuring of built environments – be they brownfields or urban areas – seeks to respond to a perceived return migration of population to urban residential areas with diverse residential and leisure space. Urban design concepts often refer to the historical model of garden city, the density restrictions of which on small-scale neighbourhoods and green space have been successfully implemented in widely varying ways throughout the world.

Urban strategies require instruments for planning, implementation and monitoring to offer a foundation for evaluating progress. Databases are provided with spatial observation methods and are progressing towards standardization at different spatial levels. They are not yet well linked to health data, data of multiple burdens, or public health data. Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) provides a procedure to involve sectoral departments as well as health authorities and the public and thus has the potential to contribute to the qualification of administrative staff and, in particular, to the policy and technical objectives contained in the policy advice of local political representatives. It also facilitates transparency in the consideration process, most relevant for urban regeneration and planning of new buildings within the existing urban fabric. But it is precisely in these areas where the legal requirements in Germany are lower, providing that the new project does not exceed a defined size and that there are no negative environmental impacts expected. In reference to public health, it could be argued that built environment impacts on human health may be particularly relevant. This would then require an assessment by EIA that includes health impacts. In existing districts and quarters it is necessary to develop manageable indicators that allow the systematic comparison of cities or neighbourhoods with each other, and the importance of environmental assessment for spatial planning must be strengthened. This will have to involve not only generally applicable standards, but also site-specific differentiated qualities which then apply or develop indicators for well-being (cf. Baumgart 2012).

Desired spatial qualities can be the starting point of the strategic use of guidelines, as their constituent elements not only include target concepts and overarching standard-setting goals, but are also able to consolidate and concentrate the arguments using visualization for emphasis, thus providing a basis to support consensus building. The application of EIA as a tool in this goal-oriented context serves more than just legally binding requirements. Actors from the health sector should as far as possible aim to understand their strategic orientation, creating an iterative

decision-making process. At the interface of sectorally related actions, the task is to concurrently reduce and retain complexity. This may include the development of spatial scenarios that use guiding principles and visualizations of objectives as alternatives for discussion and that are based on defined and assessed (environmental/health-related) criteria. From a strategic perspective, this may be a meaningful planning practice when communicating with public and private stakeholders in the face of uncertain quantitative forecast data (e.g. on site-specific impacts of climate change).

Regarding the actors involved, the institutional framework defines the responsibilities as, indeed, it did long ago. Looking back to the nineteenth century, responsibility for health-related issues was explicitly delegated to the Local Board of Health in England in 1848. In Germany the 1883 Social Legislation of Bismarck provided the foundation of the welfare state with its differentiated legal and administrative responsibilities, which became highly permeated by political power structures during the Nazi regime. It was the limits of resources and technical implementation that led to a shift of paradigm towards ecological awareness. But even in recent decades, health has failed to achieve a prominent position in the awareness and strategies of urban planners who are explicitly tuned towards environmental issues, as shown in a survey published in 1991 by Marianne Rodenstein. The survey examined the question of whether urban planners' perceptions of health-related issues in seven German cities have changed since the 1960s when the last survey was published. Working from the hypothesis that increased awareness of health is mirrored by urban planners and health and environmental experts, Rodenstein found that appreciation appeared quite limited and was focused on legal requirements and parameters of noise, climate, air pollution and soil contamination. Further factors that promote well-being, such as socially oriented measures, were only considered by a minority of planners. She stated that it was the environmental aspects rather than health itself that triggered the increased awareness of health. One of the reasons for this is the lack of evidence

for health parameters, which in any case are not objectifiable and are thus difficult to make legally relevant for urban planning; there is therefore a lack of contributions from the health departments. One of the recommendations is to search for strong alliances to encourage health.

To understand the practices of cities attempting to integrate the vision of the WHO's "Healthy city network", some parameters for a healthy city have been outlined such as a safe, ecologically and socially balanced environment with economic stability and reliable healthcare. A survey (ILS 1994) demonstrated that linking environmental and health policies was the most challenging task. Individual behaviour rather than local policy is responsible for health, although there are many linkages to different urban fields of activity, mainly through sectoral working groups or task forces. Urban development and planning are assigned as the main fields for local health visions and guidelines, but these have not yet been activated. To make progress in this field, health-related goals must be specified and communicated to different administrative departments based on political decisions. For administrative implementation, an inter-departmental working group must be established to ensure collaboration of sectoral tasks and procedures and to link their responsibilities (ibid.).

Around two decades later not too much has changed. It can be said that these tasks are still on the agenda. However, current challenges for local and regional policies, particularly adaptation to demographic and climate change, call for sustainable urban development and integration with an explicit focus on procedures based on the legal framework. Databases are required to deliver evidence regarding health status in terms of achieving self-reliant lifestyles, including the mobility of various target groups, housing, the urban environment, and mobility to enable a social life. The setting approach provides urban planning with a definite intervention role, but there are more goals to achieve and cooperation will be essential.

In terms of transport planning, there are long-standing, established and approved sectoral/departmental concepts that provide the institu-

tional framework for infrastructure provision and environmental planning. Development concepts for urban development or concepts to reduce noise and air pollution tend to implicitly include aspects of urban health. But so far not many experiences of constant collaboration can be observed in Germany. The actors involved do not closely cooperate and health institutions are not really equipped to make contributions to planning requirements. There are currently a great variety of urban planning methods, procedures and instruments that can promote health issues and well-being, but there is a lack of roots in planning practice and politics. The goals for health promotion seem not to address the hard core sectors that are driving urban development in the way that economic promotion does. Additionally, cooperation between the actors involved has not yet been thoroughly established and the departmental networks are not well linked to one another. However, some joint approaches may already be recognized.

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### **Community Well-Being: Joint Strategies for Public Health and Urban Planning**

Starting from the interface of different disciplines (urban and regional planning, landscape planning, public health) and fields of action (administrative, freelancing, political, scientific), a creative approach of translation is required to break down the barriers of tangible urban morphologies, legal and institutional frameworks, nomenclatures, specific competences and knowledge of different disciplinary cultures. For translation one may refer to Dewey (Hossain et al. 2015); mutual appropriation by the different actor networks may be a useful approach as it relates to something being changed in relation to a given context – in this case, health issues as interventions for urban planning in relation to the legal framework of urban planning.

Rogoff picked up Dewey's ideas when she emphasized that "*The concept of guided participation refers to the processes and systems of involvement between people as they communi-*

*cate and coordinate efforts while participating in culturally valued activity.[...] it is meant to focus attention on the system of interpersonal engagements and arrangements that are involved in participation in activities (by promoting some sorts of involvement and restricting others), which is managed collaboratively by individuals and their social partners in face-to-face or other interaction, [...]*" (Rogoff 2008, pp. 62–63). Considering the abovementioned barriers, Rogoff applies a socio-cultural approach to link urban planning and public health involving the participation of individuals and organizational patterns including community issues and activities.

A crucial goal in Germany is the closer integration of the public health service into local policies. From an administrative perspective it is necessary to reorient service provision from the individual to the setting, with a focus on socially deprived population groups, and, furthermore, to improve quality management as promoted by the *Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsmanagement* (KGSt, Municipal Office for Public Management, authors translation) (Kuhn et al. 2012).

Firstly, the legal basis has to be emphasized. Urban planning focuses on space and its characteristics determine the goals for health promotion as a conventional topic of urban planning. This is based on a delimited area where improvement of living and working conditions is required. There are two legal bases available: the Regional Planning Act and the Town and Country Planning Code. They represent the legislative basis on national level and contain substantive objectives that include both the spatial order and development planning to explicitly take into account principles of spatial planning and urban development issues in consideration processes. The laws also contain procedural organizational quality standards, in which spatial planning is attributed a coordinating role for a variety of public and private actors. This covers the topic of health where a variety of public and private actors with their space-related activities should be accommodated. Health promotion is a core concern of spatial planning and its instruments as reflected in

visions and models as well as in the legal requirements of approval procedures (based on directives/thresholds). Urban planning is able to take on a coordinating function with a variety of governmental and private-sector actors with their spatially relevant actions including public health departments.

Secondly, joint visions by urban planning and public health aim for coherency and explicit goals for health promotion, enabling implementation by the sectoral administrative departments. The so-called SMART-criteria – specific, measurable, attainable, relevant and time-based – as well as mandatory standards and guidelines have already been developed and are able to provide a foundation for sectoral statements within statutory and non-statutory planning procedures by the authorities. But so far they are not really applied in administrative practice.

Thirdly, several inter- and trans-disciplinary checklists for evaluation have been generated recently and have the potential to contribute to the translation process at the sectoral interfaces of goals, measures, responsibilities and actors, and thus to establish reliable argumentative exchanges and networks. A transfer and adaptation of the “Healthy Urban Development Checklist” for New South Wales in Australia to the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany is forthcoming. It addresses the public health sector, enhancing knowledge about the legal framework of urban and regional planning and providing a range of arguments for statements to be considered in planning procedures. The “*Guideline for Human Health to qualify the health issues within the procedure of the Environmental Impact Assessment*”, published by the UVP-Society in 2013, aims for developing differentiated approaches to health-related impacts by including the advanced knowledge of experts.

Fourthly, the specialist departmental concept for health – *Fachplan Gesundheit* – (Landeszentrum Gesundheit 2012a, b), elaborated at local and district level, serves to highlight problems and potentials in the health sector through problem analysis using existing data and

developing, implementing and evaluating strategies. A spatial representation allows the identification of areas which require particular attention in terms of health promotion compatible with urban planning. Instrumentally, the departmental concept promotes a more effective structure and representation of the spectrum of the Public Health Authority (Öffentlicher Gesundheitsdienst) in North Rhine-Westphalia. This enables better integration of health concerns in public strategies, especially in spatial planning, through bundling the health promotion opportunities of various actors. As a non-statutory instrument, the departmental concept is linked to many departments both at the strategic level and at the operational level in the administrative fields of action. Its content and processes design must be integrated in the specific local situation accordingly. In particular, the space it pertains to and the area-related objectives often compete with the objectives of other departments and other land-use requirements. The management and preparation of the assessment materials for decision-making is a policy task. The sectoral concept should therefore present its arguments for consideration, which can also contribute to the resolution of conflicts between different technical issues. This process is crucial and is influenced not only by city size, location, spatial structure and regional planning function allocations, but also by the budgetary situation and culture of public participation that exists. Of further relevance is the composition of political bodies and their at least partial support for the project of developing, coordinating and implementing this pro-active concept of public health.

Fifthly, a so-called master plan "Environment and Health North Rhine-Westphalia" on federal state level was drawn up in 2014. This occurred under the direction of the Ministry of the Environment (The Ministry for Climate Protection, Environment, Agriculture, Conservation and Consumer Protection of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia 2015) but integrated the perspectives of various ministries responsible for health, education and urban development. In terms of the regeneration of the built environment, the plan aims to focus on par-

ticular aspects of urban health including environmental justice. Particular attention is paid to the burden of noise, the potential of public open spaces to combat health disadvantages, and the environmental and social aspects. Efforts are made to learn from local experiences for the future. In promoting social, environmental and health equity, the federal state government will have to provide platforms for actors to address implementation at all levels. This calls for inter-ministerial coordination regarding concepts and plans as well as cooperation between spatial planning at urban and regional levels with the health authorities and the public health service beyond the historical boundaries of the ministry.

All these approaches provide a reliable basis for the application of interrelated instruments of urban planning and public health and adequate procedures. It is important to define strategic priorities and not to deny the administrative departments their responsibilities: Health in all Policies.

It is obvious that the strategic approach to health promotion as a contribution to well-being has to be launched at different levels and using a variety of instruments. In terms of linking statutory and non-statutory instruments for the development and implementation of visions and the regeneration of the built environment, the setting approach of Public Health provides an option for inclusion and the promotion of aspects neglected so far. A departmental concept such as that for health introduces the development of such strategies and their integration with spatial planning. A health-reporting system should be established and linked to spatial observation methods to visualize the spatially related problems. Argumentation strategies then have to be built in, with established sectors as allies, for example, mobility planning or the real estate market. One might also learn from other emerging issues and processes of establishing a position in consideration procedures, be it with specific sectoral concepts, with specific actors as catalysts or with a Board for Public Health. A brief categorization of German planning instruments, with regard to their various functions at the interface between health promotion and urban planning, concludes the multifaceted approaches.

## Selected Planning Instruments Related to Health and Contributing to Community Well-Being

Function >	Indicative	Persuasive	Guiding	Regulative	Coordinative
Instrument v					
Vision/concept	X	X	X		X
Spatial observation/scenarios/monitoring	X	X	(X)		
Guideline/checklist	X	(X)	X	(X)	X
Sectoral plan	X	X	(X)		(X)
Environmental Impact Ass.	X	(X)	X	X	
Comprehensive plan			(X)	X	X

Author's own construct: X = contribution, (X) = optional contribution based upon the configuration of the instrument applied and the political decision making.

Currently the urban planning processes in Northern Europe, and indeed beyond, focus very much on shaping the built urban environment to accommodate diverse requirements. Attention is particularly directed towards deprived areas with the aim of maintaining and stabilizing the built environment and public space. Private initiatives are addressed, encouraging cooperation not only in terms of involvement, but also in terms of financial resources. Residents want to get information and to contribute their ideas and visions from the bottom up. Current research is oriented on databases and strategies to address not only the population in a defined quarter, but also to link up to the social environment. One might talk about the windows of opportunity for health promotion being relatively open in Germany right now, with sustainability and health promotion being discussed as a foundation to strengthen the well-being of residents in their living environments. Participation of the public and public bodies required by law is an essential task for urban planning (based on the Aarhus Convention 1998) and it is a core element of comprehensive and departmental concepts and implementation processes. A focus on the setting as social environment can provide a supportive approach while guidelines are addressed to the Public Health Service. The political decision in Germany upon the Law for Prevention (18 June 2015) addresses the urban environment, moving

beyond individual behaviour and financial resources from health insurance to urban renewal, including measures for elderly people. Public funding programmes for urban development (Städtebauförderung) provide financial support as well as linkages, coordination and cooperation between both policies and administrative bodies.

## Conclusions

Public health and urban planning are closely linked to community well-being as a goal for urban development. In the light of the demographic challenge facing Europe, with a decline of the population in peripheral regions and shrinking cities on the one hand and agglomerations undergoing a re-urbanization process and facing an enormous demand for housing on the other, the focus of urban planning and public health is on the built environment. In addition to these trends, the challenges of climate change are a core issue of urban planning and public health in terms of climate adaptation measures. With multifaceted functional instruments including procedures of consideration and deliberation, urban planning and public health have the potential to provide spatial and social environments that contribute to individual and community well-being embedded into transparent political decision-making processes.



Integrative and inclusive policies also require attention to be paid to the built environment and its obstacles, referring to the European Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (made law in 2008). The importance of environmental determinants is indicated in the model by Dahlgren and Whitehead as well as by Barton and Grant's (2006, p. 2) health map. Both focus on individual life patterns and lifestyles of people, and also on environmental factors as determinants of health and well-being. The model developed by Bolte et al. (2012, p. 26) differentiates more clearly between the nexus of the socio-economic situation, environment and health linked to different influencing factors such as socio-economic situation, income, education, job/jobless, age, sex, migrant background. Local urban environment as well as individual vulnerability defines individual exposure and finally health status. This refers to multilevel governance, cross-sectoral and participative approaches and the local level of urban neighbourhoods. However, a scoping review documented very few effective experiences with a focus on interventions addressing increasing inequalities (Pons-Vigués et al. 2014). "*Rich and poor people live in very different epidemiological worlds, even within the same city*" – this quotation of a title page of the Lancet (University College of London 2012) refers very insistently to social and environmental inequalities as well.

The origins of contemporary urban planning can be traced back to regulating urban growth in the dynamic periods of urbanization and to ensuring public health through hygienic living conditions. Consideration of these roots has been neglected over the past few decades but it is worthwhile reconsidering the historical linkages. Particularly the nineteenth century as the period of a dynamic industrialization process provided the foundation for comprehensive urban visions and urban planning regulations based on urban growth. In the late twentieth century the focus of urban planning is more towards regeneration of the built environment in the light of global economic and technological changes which have enormous impacts on the urban fabric and urban

social environment worldwide, including living and working conditions and the health status of the population.

Human health is a legally protected good within the strategic environmental assessment, which is to be conducted as part of statutory urban and regional planning procedures. Guidelines have been elaborated, but it is difficult to define the limiting values of any impacts on the different legally protected goods of the environment. If there are defined thresholds and benchmarks then providing evidence for the specific situation in a specific planning case is challenging, particularly within formal and statutory planning procedures. It takes a remarkable effort to understand urban planning as a process of deliberations to balance different stakes. Furthermore, it is difficult to implement as it requires high competences and a basic understanding on the part of the public health departments about the legally based regulations. The translation processes between different professional approaches, legal and institutional frameworks and actor arenas have been initiated. While urban planning is traditionally used to forming alliances with other actors in order to pursue and implement urban design ideas, the actors of public health institutions have only just started to implement the quest for allies with appropriate competences, instruments and networks, particularly those within urban planning. To paraphrase Rolf Rosenbrock: the problem is that public health in Germany is very weakly organized and fragile without a powerful voice. But this is the aim: to develop public health to contribute to the discourse of society as a whole regarding public welfare (cf. Gesundheit Berlin-Brandenburg 2015, p. 9).

In terms of urban morphology, contemporary public debates in Germany focus on mixed land use and functional diversity. This includes mobility with accessible and safe options for physical activity. Based on multifaceted cultural requirements, many cemeteries in Germany are currently undergoing processes of transformation into public parks as fewer spaces are needed. Playgrounds for elderly people provide options for physical activity and communication. There

is a focus on social infrastructure on the local level, such as institutions of education and supply that provide a nucleus for people of the neighbourhood, and on public open spaces as a core attraction for well-being. Visions for urban quarters are to be developed linking relevant objectives for urban planning such as strategies for compact cities or smart/digital cities, demographic change and participatory approaches for the planning procedure.

Current urban design on the local level is more focused on the human perspective by shaping the urban fabric within urban regeneration plans and processes. In the light of the ageing population, public awareness has started drawing attention to the historical roots of urban planning and public health, including a public debate on parthenogenetic and salutogenetic approaches and the different roles of public and private bodies and interdependencies with planning theories, laws and actors.

Facing the tangible morphology with a focus on the urban environment, urban planning tasks are oriented to the provision of healthy working and living conditions for different segments of the housing market and for the commercial real estate within the framework of urban and regional development. Consideration has been given to the extent to which administrative collaboration between urban planning and public health institutions regarding access to data, and debates around spatial visions and land-use planning instruments may ensure health promotion as a component of community well-being.

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# Community-Driven Health Impact Assessment and Asset-Based Community Development: An Innovate Path to Community Well-Being

# 13

Colleen Cameron and Tanya Wasacase

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## Introduction

Achieving community well-being requires citizens to have an understanding of the interaction of the social determinants of health, inequities in health status and the ability to take action. The Commission on the Social Determinants of Health (WHO 2008) argues it is the structural determinants and conditions of daily life that determine the health and well-being of people and communities. They contend that actions are required to improve the conditions of daily living, tackling the inequitable distribution of power, money and resources, measuring and assessing the impact of policies and programs and raising awareness of the social determinates of health (WHO 2008). This sentiment echoes the vision of health promotion by the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion which called for collective action on the determinants of health (WHO 1986). Hence, for communities to work towards community well-being they must be equipped with the critical analytical skills and tools necessary to make informed decisions about the policies, programs and actions that will have an impact on the well-being of the community.

To build the capacity of citizens to assess and overcome the challenges they face in today's world will require innovative approaches. One such innovative approach is the combining of three participatory, health promoting, community development processes: the People Assessing Their Health (PATH) process, the Community Health Impact Assessment (CHIA) process, and the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) process. PATH is a five step facilitated process to engage communities in developing their own CHIA tool (Cameron et al. 2011). This tool, which reflects the community's priorities about what makes and keeps people healthy, can be used to undertake a community-led health impact assessment to look at the potential positive and negative impacts that any policy, program, project or service could have on the health of the community and bring their voice to the decision making table (Cameron et al. 2011). ABCD is a process of community mobilization that draws upon existing strengths and assets within the community (Mathie and Cunningham 2002). Rather than focusing on a community's needs, deficiencies and problems, ABCD helps communities to become more self-reliant and empowered by uncovering, mapping, and utilizing all their local skills, talents, capacities and resources (Mathie and Cunningham 2002).

This chapter will make the case for innovative approaches to building community well-being and then describe the three approaches, the

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benefits and challenges by using practical examples from communities. The origins of each of these processes as well as the theoretical framework and values underpinning the processes will be examined. This chapter will describe for the first time how these processes were combined and facilitated in two First Nations communities in western Canada in 2014. Lessons learned from these experiences will be discussed and recommendations for further practice and research will be put forth. This paper will discuss the steps involved in the PATH, CHIA and ABCD process and demonstrate how these separate processes can be used together for working in the areas of public policy, community development, planning and sustainable development.

In this chapter the authors use “Aboriginal” and “Indigenous” interchangeably to refer to the three distinct groups of Indigenous peoples in Canada: First Nations (Status/Treaty Indian), Inuit (located in Nunavut, NWT, Northern Quebec and Northern Labrador), and Metis (descendants of First Nations with distinct political status and history).

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### **Making the Case for Innovative Approaches to Community Well-Being**

Lee et al. (2015) explore a comprehensive concept of community well-being that includes physical, psychological, political, social, cultural, and environmental factors. They define community well-being as “that state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled” (p. 1). Community well-being, according to the authors, is a complementary concept to community development with overlapping core foundations to community well-being since the focus of both is to improve people’s lives. Amartya Sen (cited in Alkire and Deneulin 2009) envisions the purpose of community development is to enhance people’s capabilities in all areas of their lives, that is, addressing the economic, social, political and cultural context in which they live.

Similarly, community well-being is often used in connection to or interchangeably with health (Public Health England 2015; Solar and Irwin

2010). In 1948, WHO defined health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease” (p. 984) and is determined by the conditions where people live, work, play and age (WHO 2008). The social determinants of health (SDOH) articulated by Health Canada include income and social status, employment and working conditions, social support networks, education, physical and social environments, early childhood development, health services, culture and gender (Bryant et al. 2011). WHO articulates the SDOH to include social gradient, stress, early life, social exclusion, work, unemployment, social support, addiction, food and transportation (Bryant et al. 2011). The Commission on Social Determinants of Health (WHO 2008) believes that structural determinants and conditions of daily life are the major factors in health inequities between and within countries. They recommend that to achieve health equity, there must be actions to improve the conditions of daily living, tackling the inequitable distribution of power, money and resources, measuring and assessing the impact of policies and programs and raising awareness of the social determinants of health among practitioners and the public (WHO 2008). Vicente Navarro (2009) provides a critical analysis of the WHO report on social determinants of health, applauding its analysis and many of its recommendations, but faulting it for ignoring the power relations that shape these social determinants: “It is not inequalities that kill people, as the report states; it is those who are responsible for these inequalities that kill people” (p. 423).

The Centre for Disease Control (Bryant et al. 2011) includes discrimination by social grouping as a determinant and Mikkonen and Raphael (2010) identify Aboriginal Status as a determinant of health. Both these determinants of health imply unequal power relations as a key determinant of health. Rather than Aboriginal Status, several authors have identified colonialism as a major determinant of Indigenous peoples health and the foundation from which discrimination and unequal power relations arise (Czyzewski 2011; Earle 2011; Loppie Reading and Wein 2009). By imposing Western values and laws, Canada profoundly influences many determi-

nants of health for First Nations, Inuit and Metis peoples.

This colonization process involved the government of Canada embarking upon a policy of genocide by assimilation in order to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land, resources and labor. The government's strategy was to destroy Indigenous forms of life and replace theirs with the dominant Canadian form of life. The government legislated, under the *Indian Act*, a host of direct attacks on Indigenous forms of life, including: the abolition of status as independent, self-governed peoples; the imposition of a federally-controlled political systems; banning economic, social, cultural and spiritual activities; and the formal creation of residential schools for Indian children (Chrisjohn et al. 2002). These assimilationist policies have had and continue to have a major impact on the lives of Indigenous peoples which is evident in their poor health status and well-being (Loppie Reading and Wein 2009). In spite of these policies, Indigenous peoples have shown great resilience to the colonial impacts on their lives. Indigenous peoples retain strong links with their communities and are finding new and creative ways to reclaim their cultural knowledge and practices and their connection to the land, which is central to their forms of life and foundation to health and well-being (UNESCO 2013).

St-Pierre (2008) contends that government at all levels make decisions or enact policies that have an impact on the determinants of population health. St-Pierre continues to argue that health impact assessment, as defined internationally, is a valuable approach for supporting healthy public policy, "is an approach that aims to support public policies by providing more information on the potential health consequences of decisions that government authorities are about to make" (p. 4). Mikkonen and Raphael (2010) contend that governments at all levels have neglected the factors necessary for health. The policies which they enact have an effect on the quality of the communities, housing situations, work settings, health and social service agencies, and educational institutions with which we interact. Hence,

this is contrary to the assumption that people have control over those factors that affect their health. This would also explain the huge disparities between the health status of Aboriginal peoples and the rest of the Canadian population (Frohlich et al. 2006).

Brown et al. (2014) demonstrate that involving local people and communities improves the overall design and impact of policies that affect health and reduce inequalities. The National Collaborative Centre for Healthy Public Policy (NCCCHPP) research on health impact assessment and public policy demonstrated that the local level is a relevant one for taking action on the social determinants of health. Since the conditions of life are affected by local factors as well as being subject to the repercussions of decisions made at higher levels, the involvement of people at the local level is crucial. They put forth the cases of restricting tobacco use in Ontario and the fight against pesticides on Quebec golf courses as two examples of local-level initiatives that prompted and even supported the central level to generalize regulations adopted by municipalities (St-Pierre 2008).

Brown et al. (2014) believe that active participation and engagement of local people brings an awareness of the assets of the community that can be used to help solve the complex and interconnected nature of the problems. This in turn, builds the capacity of local citizens to take control over some of the determinants of health as well as informing the decision-makers of some of the consequences of their decisions. The Improvement and Development Agency (2010) in the UK argue that in all areas of the social determinants of health, local governments play a major role and that for health inequities to be addressed and reduced the local governments cannot be ignored. Solar and Irwin (2010) believe that action on the SDOH is a political process which requires the involvement of the very communities that are disadvantaged as well as the government. They contend that "for policy to promote health equity concerns the participation of civil society and the empowerment of affected communities to become active protagonists in shaping their own health" (p. 58).

The People's Health Movement (PHM 2000) and the WHO (2005) discuss the relationship of civil society with governments in terms of participation versus institutionalization. They contend that while the primary responsibility for promoting health equity and human rights lies with governments, civil society groups and movements' participation in decision-making processes is "vital in ensuring people's power and control in policy development" (WHO 2005, para. 1.3). The WHO (2005) makes it explicit what they mean by participation: "Participation implies...people's being present (or adequately represented) and to exert power or influence where policies affecting their health opportunities are weighed and decisions taken" (para. 1.3). This requires going beyond the simple presence and opportunity to have their voices heard. Authentic participation means that people have the ability to effectively advocate for, guide, and have a concrete impact on processes in defense of their social interests. In other words, civil society is invited not simply to endorse programs, initiatives and policies defined by others, but to contribute substantially to the processes. This means the opportunity to exercise real influence on social, political and economic factors affecting people's well-being.

The Ottawa Charter for Health in 1986 carried forth the spirit of Alma Ata which was that social justice and equity were prerequisites for health and advocacy was required for such an achievement (Kickbusch and Buckett 2010). The authors restated the five health promotion action areas identified in The Charter which include: building healthy public policy, creating supportive environments, develop personal skills, strengthen community action and reorienting health services. They make the argument that health impact assessment of public policy is a logical first step in building healthy public policy and go on to promote health in all policies (HiAP) (Kickbusch and Buckett 2010).

MacDonald and Davies (1998) in Raphael (2011, p. 3) identify three key principles of health promotion:

- political and economic structures that provide the prerequisites of health should be strengthened;
- individuals and communities can undertake activities to increase their control over the determinants of health; and
- these thrusts should combine to create healthy public policy that is responsive to the needs of the citizenry.

For citizens and communities to undertake activities to increase control over the determinants of health they must be aware of these determinants. However, research shows that community members are often not aware of the determinants that affect their health most significantly (Lindsay et al. 2014; Aubin 2014). In one study, Lindsay et al. (2014) found that subjects believed medical care contributed 80 % to increased life expectancy. Similarly, Aubin (2014) found that the lowest factor to influence health was income, followed by education and then employment.

To address this misconception that medical care is the main determinant of health, processes to raise awareness about the SDOH are necessary. In the next section, we will describe how PATH, CHIA and ABCD can be used to engage community members in defining the determinants of health that are relevant to them.

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## The PATH, CHIA and ABCD Processes

The People Assessing Their Health (PATH) process is a community development, health promotion process that results in communities developing their own community health impact assessment tool (CHIAT). Research and experience demonstrates that the PATH process raises awareness among community members about the factors that influence their health and the health of their community (Cameron et al. 2011; Gillis and English 2001; PATH 1997; Waldron et al. 2015).

This CHIAT can be used in a Community Healthy Impact Assessment (CHIA) process

which will enable communities to assess the potential impacts that any policy, project, program or service might have on the community. This process allows the community voices to be heard at the decision making table and contributes to healthy public policy (Cameron et al. 2011).

The Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) process is also a community-driven approach which appreciates and mobilizes individual and community talents, skills and assets rather than focusing on problems and needs (Mathie and Cunningham 2002). This approach is participatory, strengthens civil society and places priority on collaborative efforts for economic development.

In order to attain community well-being, where all the community's needs and desires are fulfilled, the social determinants of health, including the inequities in health status and power relations, have to be addressed. As history tells us, achieving community well-being has many challenges and obstacles and will require innovative approaches. The combination of the PATH process with the CHIA process and the ABCD process strengthens the political and economic structure, enables the citizens to take action to increase control over the social determinants of health and contributes to healthy public policy. With this combination of citizen-driven approaches community well-being is much more likely to be achieved.

The following sections will describe the PATH, CHIA and ABCD processes in more detail. It is also important to discuss health impact assessment (HIA) since it is related to but distinct from CHIA and has been developing during the same time as the PATH process.

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## Health Impact Assessment (HIA)

For the past couple of decades, Health Impact Assessment (HIA) has been an evolving practice and its use by governments has been growing during this time (WHO 1999; Harris-Roxas et al. 2014). The WHO Gothenburg Consensus Paper (1999) defines HIA as “a combination of procedures, methods and tools by which a policy, a

program or project may be judged as to its potential effects on the health of a population and the distribution of effects within the population” (p. 4). The Consensus Paper further identifies the values underlying HIA. They are: democracy, equity, sustainable development, ethical use of evidence and a comprehensive approach to health (Quigley et al. 2006).

The roots of HIA are found in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process and the health determinants approach that is found in the area of health promotion (St-Pierre 2008). The initial premise of HIA was created as a process to encourage decision makers, especially those outside the health sector, to consider health and the social determinants of health in the creation and implementation of programs, projects, services and policies (Quigley et al. 2006). It enables decision makers to identify how development induces unintended changes in these determinants and the resulting changes in health outcomes as well as identifying some strategies and actions to manage these unintended changes (Quigley et al. 2006).

While the CHIA process shares the same basic principles of HIA, it is distinctive because the tool and the process are rooted in the values, beliefs and priorities of the community (Cameron et al. 2011). Kearney (2004) and Mahoney et al. (2007) believe the voice of the community is not often heard yet community participation is essential to the HIA process to ensure representation of all stakeholders. Mittelmark (2001) notes that HIA can be considered as a very technical process, but it can also be done in a simple way that allows people at the community level to become engaged in bringing about changes that improve their health. Mahoney et al. (2007) note that there are limited examples of community health assessment with the exception of the PATH and CHIA processes.

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## The People Assessing Their Health (PATH) Process

### History of PATH

The initial PATH process was conceived in the mid-1990s when the Nova Scotia government



was restructuring its health care system and decentralizing its decision making processes, which would involve people at the community level. The question arose among some community development practitioners, what knowledge and skills would community people need to know to be active members in this decision making process? In 1996, a partnership between the local Antigonish Women's Resource Centre, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and the Nova Scotia Public Health Services was established with funding from Health Canada to initiate a pilot project, the PATH process, in three communities in northeastern Nova Scotia (Gillis 1999; PATH 1997).

One urban and two rural communities were selected to be part of the pilot project. Two part-time coordinators trained and supported local facilitators in each community who were then able to use adult education and community development techniques to engage community members in identifying the factors that influence their health and well-being. As a result of these processes, each community was able to develop their own unique community health impact assessment tool (CHIAT), which reflected the vision, values and priorities of each community. Each of these tools were then tested on hypothetical projects to determine if they were missing any key indicators or if there was repetition (Gillis and English 2001).

At the end of the pilot project a provincial workshop was held to celebrate the work done and launch the toolkit entitled "PATHways to Building Healthy Communities in Northeastern Nova Scotia: The PATH Project Resource". It was at this workshop that the PATH Network developed which brought together individuals, community based organizations, universities and government health services to promote the use of the PATH process with community organizations (PATH 1997; Ghosh and Cameron 2006; NCCPP 2009).

A second PATH project was initiated in 2000 with the Antigonish Town and County

Community Health Board (ATCCHB) with funding from Health Canada's Remote and Rural Health Initiative Fund. The goal of this project was to increase the capacity of the community health board volunteers to make informed decisions about community health planning by developing processes and a tool for community health impact assessments (Ghosh and Cameron 2006; NCCHPP 2009).

Since the completion of the second PATH project, the PATH Network and the Coady International Institute of St. Francis Xavier University have been engaged in the PATH process in a variety of settings in Nova Scotia, across Canada as well as in India, Thailand, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. Some examples of these initiatives in Antigonish involved using the ATCCHB tool to assess the potential impact of a large multi-million dollar recreation project, the expansion of a rock quarry and the closure of two small rural elementary schools on the health of their communities. Other communities in Nova Scotia and in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan learned to conduct the PATH process. In 2003, the Association for Social and Health Advancement, based in Kolkata learned to facilitate the PATH process and subsequently used it to help a women's self-help group go through the process and develop their own tool. They also facilitated a tribal community which was embarking on an endogenous tourist development project to develop their own tool. The following year this tribal community used their tool to develop a Charter for Sustainable Tourism. In Ghana in 2009, the Center for Indigenous Knowledge and Development (CIKOD), developed their own tool and used it to assess the potential impact of their proposed ecological tourism proposal. They subsequently used the process with communities to assess the impact of gold mining operations on the health and well-being of the surrounding communities. In Thailand where HIA is mandated in the constitution, many communities around the country are using CHIA tools, which they developed, to

assess the potential impact of industries, extractive industries and tourism projects on the health of their communities (Coady and Cameron 2012). Since 2011, the Coady International Institute has been offering certificate courses in Community-Driven HIA to development practitioners from around the world.

### **The Principles and Values of the PATH Process**

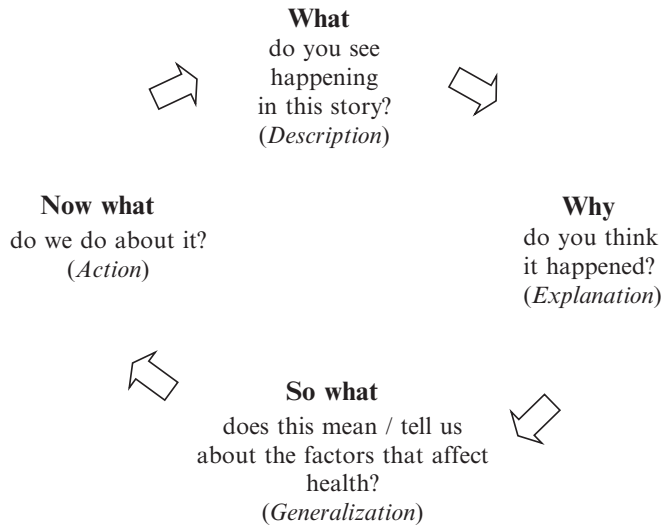
The PATH process is a facilitated adult education, health promotion and community development process. It is based on adult education theory and principles, recognizing that all people have knowledge based on their experiences. In this case, the process enables them to identify the factors that influence their health. It is based on Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle of experience, reflection, generalization and action and uses Labonte and Feather's (1996), storytelling for health promotion process. The PATH process results in the creation of a unique HIA tool that reflects the values and priorities of the community. The process also enables community members to critically analyze their situation, identify the factors which are influencing the health of their communities, become informed decision-makers and develop community plans to promote the health and well-being of their communities.

### **Steps in the PATH Process**

Once the communities are identified, whether they are geographical communities or communities of interest, there are five steps involved in the PATH process. The first step involves organizing small groups of approximately 10- to 15 people, to share stories/experiences that have had an effect on their health or the health of their community. Depending on the size of the community, this step could involve one small

diverse group or numerous small diverse groups of people. For example, a women's self-help group may be the only group to go through this process or in a larger community, there may be various groups made up of youth, elders, women, men, minorities, etc. It is extremely important to get diverse opinions and experiences at this step in the process so that the final result will reflect the ideas and values of the whole community.

This first step uses the story-dialogue method developed by Labonte and Feather (1996) which is based on Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle. Once people have shared their story/experience the group decides on one experience to analyze. The facilitator guides the group through a series of questions beginning with "What happened in this story?". It is important to identify all the aspects of the story at this stage as people tend to jump to the reason it happened before all the aspects are identified. The next question is "Why did this happen?" which is asked for each aspect of the story. Once the reason for every aspect of the story is examined then the next question is "So what does this mean?". It is this question that enables the group members to articulate the different determinants of health. The final question is "So what can we do about this?". This process of exploration and reflection enables the group to analyze their situation and identify strategies to improve community well-being. The reflection of the group is recorded and used in the next step of the process. While the final question identifies possible action or strategies that can be implemented to promote community development, it is generally not used in the PATH process until a later time. Rather the next step in the PATH process is initiated once the group identifies the determinants of health. Again, depending on the size of the community and the number of groups involved, the determinants identified by each group are recorded and a smaller group of people will use this information to move to the second step in the process.



The second step is where the group considers all the determinants and then develops a vision of a healthy community. This vision needs to be holistic and describe what an ideal community would look like in the future. In some cases the group may literally draw a vision of a healthy community which depicts the determinants that have been identified. This vision is the basis for their tool as well a direction for achieving community well-being.

The third step in the process, which may be done by a smaller group representing the other groups, is to identify the key terms in the vision and then develop indicators for each of these key terms. Focusing on these key terms the group answers the questions “what would be happening in the community or what would you see in this community if the different parts of the vision were achieved?”. At this stage the group needs to identify as many indicators as possible. Sometimes the group can be divided up so that each group identifies indicators for a smaller number of key terms. Then they present back to the larger group and see what indicators may be similar and should be removed or what indicators may be missing and need to be added. It is these indicators that make up the HIA tool (Cameron et al. 2011).

The fourth step is to organize the indicators into a tool and test the tool using a hypothetical or

actual project, program or policy. It is through this testing that the tool can be refined to identify any indicators that have been left out or are repeated. Since each community develops their own tool they do not all look the same. Generally they have an assessment worksheet, which has the key indicators and detailed indicators, a place to identify whether or not a policy or project is having an impact and whether it is a positive or negative impact or whether more information is required. There is also a comment section where people can keep track of how each indicator has an impact on the community or various groups within the community. The assessment worksheet is followed by a summery worksheet, which is used to summarize the overall impacts of the key concepts and identify actions that need to be taken. This is followed by a next step worksheet where the group determines the plan for the next steps to be taken.<sup>1</sup> The fifth step is to make a plan to use the tool. This could involve sharing the tool with community members or organizations within the community in order to inform them of the uses of the tool and process. Since the tool represents the values and priorities of the com-

<sup>1</sup>An example of a template designed by the Antigonish Town and County Community Health Board (ATCCHB) (2002) can be found at <http://awrcsasa.ca/archive/pdfs/Antigonish%20CHIAT.pdf>.

munity then any organization or group in the community can use the tool for any potential project, program, service or policy. The CHIA process requires good facilitation and ideally done by a local person who has been trained in this process (PATHways II 2002).

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## The Community Health Impact Assessment (CHIA) Process

As noted above, the fifth step in the PATH process is to test the tool by doing a CHIA process and sharing this tool with other community members. Below we define more specifically the CHIA process and then describe the steps in the CHIA process.

### Defining the CHIA Process

The CHIA process provides communities with a systematic way to assess the potential impact of any policy, program, project or service. This allows the community to identify ways to maximize the benefits of such a policy or program and minimize any possible harmful effects. It will highlight any impacts to particular populations or groups within the community. In other words, the process will highlight any inequities the policy or program might cause. The steps described below are taken from the Antigonish Town and County Community Health Board CHIAT.<sup>2</sup>

### Steps in the CHIA Process

The first step in the process is to choose what you want to assess. Since health is defined broadly, any policy or project, particularly outside the health care sector, is appropriate for a CHIA. Some examples would be policies of governments at any level, infrastructure projects, programs or services of governments, NGOs, community organizations. It is important to

assess a specific policy or project rather than a general one. For example, cutbacks to education are too general, but proposed closure of a school is specific and more appropriate for assessing.

The second step is to prepare for the meeting, including the logistics of the meeting as well as background reading about the project or program. The group doing the assessment should include representation from various stakeholders and reflect the diversity in the community. Both the facilitator and the assessment group should be familiar with the tool. It should be clear to the group that they are not expected to be experts on the topics, but have some basic facts and be familiar with the policy or project. The group and the facilitator should be familiar with the vision and purpose of the CHIA and have a clear understanding of the social determinants of health.

The third step is to facilitate the assessment discussion. The discussion of the indicators requires good facilitation skills to ensure all ideas are heard and discussed in a timely manner. The first part of the discussion is to work through the assessment worksheet. This is where you ask the question “Will the policy or program have an impact on such and such an indicator?”. The question is asked for each indicator. The group needs to decide if there is or is not an impact and if the impact is positive or negative. On occasion the policy/program could have both a positive impact on some people while having a negative impact on others. Sometimes you may need more information to determine if there is an impact or the extent of the impact. Careful notes should be taken at this stage since you will need to refer back to them in the summary worksheet.

The fourth step is to work through the summary worksheet, deciding if the overall impact is more positive or negative. Sometimes the policy or program could have an overall positive impact, but for a small percentage of the population there might be a negative or no impact. This should be noted, so changes can be made to enhance the policy or program.

The fifth step is to work through the next steps that need to be taken and develop an action plan of who will do what, when and how. Also it will be necessary to decide what further information is needed to make decisions? This step can also

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<sup>2</sup>For more detailed description of the steps in the CHIA process, please refer to the facilitator’s guide section of the CHIAT, found at <http://awrcsasa.ca/archive/pdfs/Antigonish%20CHIAT.pdf>.

include writing a report to share with stakeholders.

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## Lessons Learned About PATH and CHIA

The PATH process involves two separate but interrelated processes. The first is a health promotion, community development process that results in the creation of a community health impact assessment tool, while the other process is the use of the tool to carry out a health impact assessment of a project, program or policy. Lessons learned will be discussed for each of these processes.

### The PATH Process and Creation of a Tool

Experience has shown that the sharing of stories/experiences increases people's understanding of the social determinants of health and how these determinants interact to affect the health of individuals, populations and communities (Cameron et al. 2011; Eaton and Cameron 2008; Ghosh and Cameron 2006; Juliana, personal communication June 11 2011; Peters 2002; Waldron et al. 2015). The use of the structured-dialogue, storytelling process enables people of different social, cultural and economic contexts to make sense of their experiences and how the determinants of health, including the sociopolitical processes, can shape their health and well-being. This method of using people's own experiences results in different issues and priorities being identified for each community, and in turn, strengthens people's and groups' capacity for planning and decision making at the local level (Peters 2002). As they learn more about what supports and challenges community well-being, they are more able to envision changes that will be required to promote health and well-being (Coady 2010). In addition to decision making, the use of the tool can generate evi-

dence and build a case for advocacy (Coady 2010; Eaton and Cameron 2008).

The CHIA tool must be grounded in a broad vision of health and involve a diverse range of people from many sectors in the community (Cameron et al. 2011; Eaton and Cameron 2008). This diversity and involvement of typically marginalized members of society ensures a tool that truly represents the community and identifies how the determinants of health can affect diverse groups of people differently and enables equity focused impact assessments (Cameron et al. 2011). The participatory structure of the PATH process enables the diverse voices to be heard and integrated into the tool. As well, the engagement and training of a local facilitator contributes to the broader voices in the community to being identified and heard (Coady 2010; Gillis and English 2001). Having a facilitator from the community is very important as they will be able to help identify who in the community needs to be involved and how to bring the people together. It is also important to have a small committee to help steer the project and support the facilitator (Juliana, personal communication June 11 2011). The processes involved must respect community timelines and informal leadership. Since the process can take a significant amount of time, having the development of the tool as a goal and outcome of the PATH process, motivate people to stay involved (Cameron 2009; Eaton and Cameron). Community based processes require resources such as funding for people to participate, (travel) resources to develop leadership (facilitation skills), and administrative support (Eaton and Cameron 2008; Peters 2002). The PATH process with the development of a CHIAT can vary in length of time depending on whether it is a large geographical community or a small community group. Minimally it takes approximately 15 h to go through the PATH process for one small group and up to 15 months for a large geographical community. Once the tool is developed, with input from a diverse range of people in the community, then the tool can be

used by any group in the community for a number of years to come. As time goes on there may be a need to relook at the tool to see if it needs any updating.

### **Conducting a Community Health Impact Assessment**

There have been many communities and groups who have developed CHIATs over the years but not all have used their tools to assess the impacts of a policy, project or program on their community. Rather some have used the knowledge they gained in other community endeavors such as developing their strategic plans, lobbying for infrastructures or setting up microenterprises (Cameron et al. 2011).

Conducting a CHIA is an empowering process for community members as it validates local knowledge. However, in order to have an influence in public policy, the broader decision-making system must also value this local 'lay' knowledge (Cameron et al. 2011; Kearney 2004; Mahoney et al. 2007). This local, lay knowledge can also be supplemented by other epidemiological or quantitative data to help inform decision making (Eaton and Cameron 2008; Peters 2002).

Similar to the PATH process, the CHIA also requires resources such as human, financial and time. Experience has demonstrated that it can take 3–6 h to conduct a CHIA. Again, it is important that there is a diverse range of people participating in the CHIA process, otherwise that is a danger that some perspectives might not be heard (Eaton and Cameron 2008). There needs to be the political will in place to shift the power and resources to accommodate the voice of the community members and accommodate the changes recommended by the community (Mahoney et al. 2007). When a tool is developed with diverse input, it is more representative of the community and therefore any group within a community can use that tool. When a group who was not involved directly in the creation of the tool is conducting a CHIA, it is important to take some time to make sure everyone understands how the tool was developed and that people have a broad under-

standing of health (Eaton and Cameron 2008). Skillful facilitation is required when conducting a CHIA in order to ensure everyone's voice and opinions are being heard in a respectful way (Eaton and Cameron 2008).

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### **Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD)**

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) is a citizen-led community development approach that builds on what is already present in a community, such as talents, skills, capacities and assets of local individuals, associations, and institutions rather than focusing on the deficiencies and problems of a community (Mathie and Cunningham 2002). Deficit-based approaches have traditionally been used by many helping professions in the field of community development as they look for ways to help address the needs and problems within a community.

### **Origins and Principles of ABCD**

Kretzmann and McKnight developed the strengths based strategy to community development in the 1970s as an alternative to the deficit-based strategies, which they believed were severely handicapping community development efforts (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, 1996; McKnight 1985). They talk about how community members begin to view themselves in a deficient manner rather than involving a total investment of local community members in the efforts for change and mutual benefit. By shifting the focus from needs to assets, Kretzmann and McKnight argue that communities are better able to build internal capacity to address issues for themselves, rather than relying on outside expert or professionals. From an asset-based perspective, the glass is half full rather than half empty. Locating and connecting local assets in a community allows residents to more effectively build and develop their community based on their own terms and in line with their values, priorities, strengths and needs (Cameron and Gibson 2008).

The ABCD process rests on the principle that positive action for community change is more likely to be inspired and sustained by identifying strengths, talents, gifts and assets of individuals and communities. McKnight and Block (2010, p. 4) recognize that communities become powerful when these elements are in place:

1. Giving of Gifts – Individual gifts of people within a community are awakened.
2. Presence of Associations – Gifts are amplified through association.
3. Compassion of Hospitality – Welcoming new relationships to share gifts.

Together it is theorized that these three elements are the key starting points in establishing communities of abundance (McKnight and Block 2010). An ABCD approach considers first and foremost what assets the community has and how these assets can be mobilized in a way that improves community sustainability, well-being and resilience.

### **The Steps of Asset-Based Community Development Process**

The ABCD process has been used as a platform to gather community members around a common framework and to facilitate sorting some ideas on mapping the abilities of the community. While there is no blueprint for an ABCD approach, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) proposed a number of steps to facilitate the process which Mathie and Cunningham (2002) have modified slightly to capture the importance of storytelling in ABCD's early phases. The steps below have been identified by Mathie and Cunningham (2002).

*Step 1: collecting stories.* Collecting stories of past community successes is the first step in the ABCD process for connecting and mobilizing existing assets which is essential to building strong communities. Storytelling, based on appreciative inquiry, identifies and builds on community members' own stories of local-driven success and the assets involved.

Storytelling reveals the positive activities of a time and place in which one or more assets are used to form a successful outcome. The primary objectives are to create a positive space, build confidence in community members, strengthening people's pride in their achievements and to help identify and reflect on the reasons for those successes. The facilitator will enable community members to draw out from these stories the key assets involved, the resources used, and the critical parts of the success story. Comparison of these assets across stories will reveal that there are common assets, both human and physical. Assets are primary ingredients in making good things happen at the community level. The strength of this approach is that stories will revolve around local places and real people and what they did to make their community better.

Once each person has had an opportunity to share, the facilitator asks the groups to discuss in their groups the common elements that made the initiatives successful, how assets or resources were mobilized or linked by the community, and discuss other potential initiatives that could be undertaken by these communities in the future. At this stage, people will begin to notice there are many common elements to their stories. Some of these common elements may include people started with what they had inside the community before securing outside resources, initiatives started quite small and then grew more ambitious over time, outside agencies were attracted to success and contributions of external resources were made as investments.

*Step 2: forming a core group of organizers.* The second step is to organize a core group of organizers who are interested in exploring further the community's assets and acting on opportunities. The community organizers are individuals who can successfully bring people together and facilitate action. The community organizers are well known and respected in their communities because they are usually the people that get things done. Each of these individuals will have a network of relation-

ships inside the community whom they can draw in to the process and build trust between community members and external agencies.

*Step 3: mapping completely the capacities and assets of individuals, associations, and local institutions.* Following the storytelling process, community members begin to map their assets. Mapping assets within a community is integral to the ABCD process and is facilitated by the core group of organizers. These assets include: individuals skills, strengths, physical assets (infrastructure), natural resources, associations and institutions. This activity not only draws attention to the range of resources that people have within their community, but also shapes the relationships between diverse assets and resources and mobilizes these assets together. Mapping community assets is an extensive process conducted by community members themselves. During the mapping processes, community organizers should have an outline to ensure the identification of the following assets:

- Individual and their skills, abilities, interests, and experiences.
- Associations, where individuals come together for a common purpose.
- Institutions, where resources and expertise are concentrated.
- Physical infrastructure and natural resources, that provides the environmental context in which people live.
- Local economy that generates the financial resources to support community members.
- Local culture, the ways people do things and the meanings they attach to their world.

*Step 4: mobilizing assets for community development.* The most important step is the actual process of mobilizing the identified community assets. The group reviews assets and opportunities by displaying the results of the inventory and mapping exercises so that everyone can see and understand the assets and opportunities. Next, they identify a project and set goals. When thinking through the

goals the community organizers need to ensure the following:

- A clear vision of the task.
- Involve people who care about the proposed project.
- Empower people to use and give their gifts.
- Have a level playing field for community members.
- Encourage community members' motivation to act.
- Invite diverse gifts.

Utilizing community assets and opportunities, short-term projects, commonly referred to as 'low-hanging fruit', are identified at this point. 'Low-hanging fruit' are actions that are fairly easily to implement and offer a rapid return on investment, without outside assistance, in order to build internal support and excitement for the planning process. Once these 'low-hanging fruit' are picked, community members' beliefs in the positive benefits of community action, without the help of external agencies, are reinforced and morale elevated. Subsequently, larger projects (the 'higher-hanging fruit') that are more complex could be started and more likely to leverage the support of external agencies. Finally, members convene a core group to develop and carry out the action plan.

*Step 5: leveraging activities, investments and resources from outside the community to support asset-based, locally defined development.* This step involves looking for the activities, experiences, investments and resources from outside the community to optimally operationalize and support existing asset based initiatives to strengthen community development. While many communities have mobilized their assets and have successfully cultivated community enthusiasm, there might come a point where members require additional resources from external agencies to fulfill their goals. The important point here is that external resources are not tapped until local resources have been utilized. This puts the community in a position of strength in dealing with outside institutions.



## Lessons Learned from ABCD

Mathie and Cunningham (2005) identify five challenges to successful implementation of ABCD principles, ideas and strategies. The role of practitioners, external agencies and institutions needs to be clearly defined from the outset in the community development process to prevent community reliance on the experts. It is recognized that fostering an endogenous development process is critical to long term sustainability. The role of practitioners are to serve as catalysts in the initial stages of the ABCD process with deliberate intention of stepping back as it is a community led approach. A successful transition to community leadership is incredibly important to ensure sustainable, self-sufficient communities.

ABCD is an inclusive process in which the contributions of all are valued and appreciated. However this may be more difficult to achieve in practice as the process does not directly confront issues of unequal power relations; instead, it tends to appeal to the higher motive of using power to act in the shared interests of the common good and to uncover the strengths of those who might otherwise be less valued (Mathie and Cunningham 2005).

This leads to the second challenge regarding the notion of community itself. Kramer et al. (2012) identify asset mapping is underwritten by specific assumptions concerning 'community' which may mask the conflict, competition and language. Many approaches assume community to be a geographical entity that houses a group of like-minded individuals who share values, norms and a desire for generative development. While this understanding of community may be true in many respects, the asset approaches fail to consider the complex dynamics in community spaces often marked by competition for scarce resources, leadership conflicts and struggles for voice and representation. For example, the authors point out that the identification of community assets may inadvertently provoke conflict, especially if these resources are scarce and linked to survival. Asset approaches must therefore recognize the connections between generative forces and self-serving interests in the communities and consider

how these dynamics may undermine community-driven development.

The third challenge to a community driven process can be how to keep external leadership at a distance whilst community leadership is fostered and empowered. The nature of this leadership will vary through context and community and consideration of how to identify and formalize local leadership is essential.

The fourth challenge is the selecting of an enabling environment. The degree to which regulatory environments and local institutions are fair and responsive and the degree to which norms of trust and reciprocity extend beyond the associational level are important considerations for the introduction of ABCD as is the scalability of the model (Mathie and Cunningham 2005). As such, it is important to explore and select an enabling environment where local institutions are responsive to an ABCD approach.

Finally, it is also important to deal with the fluidity of association since over time the form and function of associations and informal networks changes. As such, an understanding of the effect of an ABCD process on social relationships and patterns of associations and networks as they are the main arena for longevity of asset mobilization (Mathie and Cunningham 2005).

ABCD aims to mobilize an entire community in order to bring about change in a positive manner, which is more effective than outside forces attempting to implement plans for community change. Although ABCD has room for improvement, the strategy seems to be overall more beneficial and effective for communities due to its positive grassroots orientation. The ABCD process illustrates the importance and value of asset-based community development strategies to overall community well-being.

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## Description of the Pilot Initiative of Two First Nations Communities in Canada

The Coady International Institute, at St. Francis Xavier University, offers diplomas and certificate courses in development leadership for develop-

ment practitioners from the global south and to women and Aboriginal women in Canada. Through the contacts with the Coady Indigenous women alumni, we initiated discussions with two First Nations communities in western Canada. The overall purpose was to assist these communities to engage and take ownership in driving a holistic approach to their community development. While Coady has been promoting citizen driven development for many years, this was the first time to combine the PATH, CDHIA and ABCD processes. Consequently a pilot training program in each community was planned for the winter of 2014.

The overall objectives of these training sessions was to enable communities to develop a broad understanding of health within the context of development and to shift the thinking of development from a needs based approach to an asset based approach. In addition, each community would develop their own tool that could be used to assess the potential impact of policies, programs or projects on the health of their communities.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the colonization of Indigenous peoples is seen as a fundamental underlying determinant of health, which is the case for the two First Nations communities we worked with in western Canada. Both communities are rural with a population between 1,500 and 3,000. Many of their members live away from the community due to limited employment opportunities but they remain connected to their communities. They are rich in culture and history and are deeply connected to the land. Many families still practice cultural activities such as berry picking, gathering of herbs, hunting, tanning and preparation of dry meat, while at the same time adopting a contemporary life in the community. Community members also use the traditional lands for spiritual growth and watch over gravesites of long deceased relatives.

Upon arrival, we were warmly welcomed in both communities by an Elder who conducted an opening ceremony. Elders are very important members of First Nation, Metis and Inuit communities. The term Elder refers to someone who

has attained a high degree of understanding of history, traditional teachings, ceremonies and healing practices. Elders have earned the right to pass this knowledge on to others and to give advice and guidance on personal issues, affecting their communities and nations. Indigenous peoples value their Elders and all older people, and address them with the utmost respect. In each community an elder participated in the workshop.

In the first community, we planned a 4 day workshop for approximately 20 community members including members of the local government (band council). However, there was some misunderstanding about the timing of the workshop and we had only seven people who were able to attend the training. As well there was a death in the community which resulted in us cancelling the training for the day of the funeral. The facilitators also participated in the funeral which was very helpful in gaining a sense of the strong community support and values evident during this time. It also meant that we had to be flexible and adjust the training to fit the schedule. Despite the change in numbers and schedule, participants were able to go through a modified version of the three processes.

Rather than using the story dialogue method to gain an understanding of the determinants of health, we used pictures to stimulate a discussion about 'what makes and keeps our community healthy'. This shorter process still resulted in people articulating all of the social, cultural, political, environmental and economic factors that affect the health and well-being of the community. Once the community identified these factors they were able to develop a vision of their healthy community which reflected their values and priorities. This vision was then used to identify the indicators of their healthy community which became their health impact assessment tool.

We then began the ABCD process using an appreciative inquiry activity of interviewing each other to help them identify some positive attributes and activities that happened in their community. This was followed by an activity that had them examine two communities, one from a

needs approach and one from an asset approach. In actuality this was one community with two different descriptions. They were surprised to learn that it was the same community, just described using a different lens. From this exercise their thinking shifted from a needs based to an asset based approach which helped them do their mapping of their assets exercise.

The next activity of the ABCD process that we introduced them to was the 'leaky bucket' exercise which is a community economic analysis tool (Cunningham 2011). By imagining the community's economy as a bucket with money flowing in and leaking out, it helped them to critically analyze the importance of retaining assets and capital in the community. With this new understanding of their assets and the resources that were coming into and out of their community they were able to identify projects that they could initiate to contribute to the development of their community.

Once they decided on their project which in this case, was a community park/campground project, they were able to use their CHIAT to assess this project. This assessment allowed them to take a broad look at the project through the perspective of their community vision which included a strong focus on their traditional and spiritual values as well as the economic value of the project. By systematically assessing each aspect of the project, the participants were able to identify many ways of enhancing it to reflect their values, beliefs and priorities. They saw this project as being very important to contributing to the education of their youth about their traditions and territory. Moreover, they were very deliberate about being inclusive of all of the members of their community when thinking about the various activities in the project.

In the second community, we arranged to do a 5 day workshop with a small but diverse range of community members. One of the members of this community had previously been introduced to the ABCD process so we were able to build on that and introduce the PATH and CDHIA processes. This community had asked for assistance

in building on and assessing their strategic plan which had already been formulated within their community.

Due to weather we were late in starting the workshop and had to adjust the schedule to fit the community members. However, we had enough time to use the story dialogue process with the participants. This worked well as they were able to identify all of the various factors that influence the health of their community. As with the first community we facilitated them in developing their vision and community health impact assessment tool. As well, we demonstrated some of the ABCD tools such as appreciative inquiry storytelling, asset mapping and the leaky bucket.

Again, with this community participants were surprised at their own ability to articulate the determinants of health and their vision of a healthy community and to develop their own tool. As well they were surprised at how their perspective of their community changed from looking at the problems to the assets that they have in their community.

This community had previously developed a strategic plan with a number of projects and activities which the participants had hoped that they could assess. However, since the plan had a number of projects it was too broad and general to do an assessment on the whole plan. Rather it was decided to assess a project that they had hoped to start in the near future. This was a community radio station which would broadcast some news of the community and provide feeds of music from outside the community. Similar to the first community, when they started to assess the community radio project it became much more robust to reflect the vision and priorities of their community. By the end of the assessment they had a comprehensive, holistic view of programs that would promote indigenous knowledge, storytelling, history, empowerment of youth programs, and much more. The radio station and the various programs that they envisioned would all contribute to the well-being of their community.

## Lessons Learned from the Pilot Initiative

In both of these communities, participants were very surprised at the number and variety of assets they were able to identify, as they usually looked at their communities from a deficit perspective. They were also very surprised, when they used the 'leaky bucket', at actually how little resources stayed in their community.

The PATH process enabled the participants to become aware of and articulate all of the factors that determine the health and well-being of their communities. What was very significant for the facilitators was the ability of the participants to link their own experience to the broader context of colonialism for the community who used the storytelling dialogue method. This was not so obvious in the community which used the picture exercise to articulate the determinants of health.

The use of the tool to assess their projects helped them to see how to improve the benefits of the project and ways to minimize any possible negative impacts and made the project more viable and sustainable. It also reaffirmed the importance of their values, beliefs and practices and it highlighted how the improvement of the project contributed to the well-being of their community as a whole.

While there were many successes that took place there were also some limitations that became apparent. The first limitation we encountered was the lack of a strong relationship with the communities. Although we started developing the relationship long distance, we realized that when we arrived in the community there were misunderstandings. Part of our relationship building was developing a memorandum of understanding (MOU), however, this focused on the responsibilities of each side but did not clarify the processes and who would be involved. Our initial contact for capacity training was with the local government of both communities. Some of the key members of the community were not aware the training was taking place and there was a last minute effort to gather key members to participate in the training. This presented a challenge to facilitators and participants since some members had

to attend to some of their work responsibilities while participating in the workshop.

Another limitation/challenge was the change in schedule and days of the workshop due to unforeseen circumstances in the community. We were able to adjust the training to fit the needs of the community but some of the richness of the exercises was missed by the participants. For example, those who did the shorter picture exercise did not reach the depth of analysis as did the group who use the storytelling dialogue method. On the other hand, changing the schedule and taking part in the funeral allowed the facilitators to witness the strong cultural and social ties in the community. It also allowed the community to get to know the facilitators and appreciated their participation and support.

A third challenge was the limited funding for this pilot initiative. This meant that there was no ability to do follow up support for the communities. As well there was no time or resources to provide facilitator training with local community members who could continue to support the use of the tool. When the funding ended the partnership was no longer able to be sustained.

A final limitation noted was the lack of champions in the community to carry on with the use of the CHIAT and initiate the developments projects previously identified. This lack of champions can be attributed to lack of ongoing support and a key member of this initiative left the community to pursue career goals.

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## Discussion

Doing PATH, ABCD and CHIA together enabled the participants to see a vision of their healthy community, identify a number of local community projects and to see the assets they already had in the community to achieve this vision. The combination of these three processes demonstrated that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This combination enhanced the participatory nature of the processes.

The storytelling process, which is integral to both PATH and ABCD, values and validates local knowledge while enabling them to critically ana-

lyze their own context. The PATH process enabled the community members to become aware of and articulate the SDOH and see what needs to be done to achieve community health and well-being. The ABCD process shifted their thinking to a positive rather than a negative lens as they identified the assets that they can use to achieve community well-being. The ABCD process enhanced the PATH process by bringing into the discussion all of the assets of the community. The CHIA process enabled them to assess their projects to maximize the benefits and mitigate any negative aspects. While ABCD highlights the strengths of the community, it does not deal with the unequal power relations. Both the PATH and CHIA processes bring to light those in the community who are marginalized and discriminated against. The follow up with these communities has not been done so we do not know if they are actually using their tool, but we do know from their evaluations that the combined processes did raise their awareness of what determines the health of their communities, what they need to do and how to go about developing their community.

The development of the vision of a healthy community was done after they identified the SDOH and was the basis of their tool. This was a change from what is normally done in the ABCD process when vision is developed after they identify their project. Doing the vision early in the process allowed them to see what needs to be done to develop their healthy community.

For truly community led, sustainable development there must be capacity within the community itself. That means there should be people within the communities who can facilitate these processes and be supported by a local steering committee. This would involve there being the political will to support and carry on the development process as well as being supported with the appropriate resources.

This pilot initiative indicates that these processes can contribute to empowerment of community members in taking control over the determinants of health and give direction as to how to achieve community well-being. However, the time involved with each community was limited

and there was no follow-up to determine how these communities use their tools. Hence it is imperative that many more initiatives must be done in order to determine the effectiveness of these processes and build upon the lessons learned.

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## Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the concept of community well-being put forth by Lee et al. (2015), which is when the needs and desires of the community are fulfilled. In Lee et al.'s definition, it is clear that the community must be driving the development and community development is focused on improving people's lives. Health is determined by many factors, known as the social determinants of health and how these determinants interact to affect the health of individuals, populations and communities. This interaction of determinants is complex and hence requires a critical understanding of this interaction and ways to mitigate the negative aspects of policies, projects, programs. Public policy creates and affects the lives of people in both positive and negative ways. As a number of authors (Brown et al. 2014; Bryant et al. 2011; Cameron et al. 2011; NCCHP 2009; PHM 2000; St-Pierre 2008) suggest, community members/citizens must be involved in decision making that affects their lives, health and the health and well-being of their communities.

PATH is a community development, health promotion process which raises awareness about those factors that affect their health and enables citizens to not only see the challenges but strategies to overcome these challenges. The ABCD process and approach enables citizens to see their communities from a 'glass half full' rather than from the 'half empty' deficit perspective. The tools used in the ABCD process highlights the assets the community currently has to start to work towards a vision of a healthy community and community well-being. The tool enables the community members/citizens to proactively imagine the potential effects of a policy, program or project so that they can then initiate strategies to maximize the benefits and minimize the nega-

tive effects. The combination of these three processes raises the awareness of the determinants of health and a vision of a healthy community for the future. The ABCD process enables communities to see the possible first steps in the community development process that will lead to community well-being. The CHIA process enables the communities to strategically examine the next steps in the community development process.

Given the colonial relationship with First Nations communities, the combination of these processes has great potential in driving their own development processes. Since the PATH process is participatory, it is a process that can be adapted to any cultural context and reflects the values and beliefs of the community versus those being imposed by the Canadian governments at all levels. Through the storytelling dialogue of the PATH process, the community members were able to connect their personal experiences and situation to the broader context of colonialism. After years of Canadian attempts to assimilate Indigenous people, looking at their communities from an asset approach is an important shift in mindset as they plan to re-develop and re-build their communities. Having their own tool will enable them to assess their development plans with a critical analysis in order to maximize the benefits and minimize the negative effects.

It is clear that policy, developed at all levels, has a direct impact on the health of people, populations and communities. As Kickbusch and Gleicher (2012) contend, policy cannot be just delivered, but rather requires the involvement and cooperation of citizens. PATH, CHIA and ABCD is one innovative way to achieve this cooperation and ultimately community well-being.

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# The Human Development Approach: Stimulating a Fact-Based Conversation About Improving the Human Condition in Sonoma County, California

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## Introduction

Measure of America (MOA) is a nonpartisan research and advocacy project of the nonprofit organization Social Science Research that measures the distribution of well-being and opportunity in the USA and advocates for human-centered policy-making. Inspired by the work on human development at the international and national levels promoted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and guided by the human

development and capabilities approaches pioneered by Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen and philosopher Martha Nussbaum, MOA has produced a series of reports and interactive web applications that present and analyze disparities in well-being in the USA at the national, state, and local levels.

The following is an overview of the human development concept and how MOA has applied it in its research, particularly at the local level, to measure community well-being. Also explored is the impact that local well-being projects are having in one specific community where the human development approach has stimulated a fact-based conversation about progress and is beginning to have tangible impacts on public policy. This example is Sonoma County, one of two California counties for which MOA has produced human development “portraits.” This case study is presented with three questions in mind:

- Can indicators of human development and community well-being be effectively measured at the local level?
- When and how can these data be used by residents and local leaders to drive change in their communities?
- Under what conditions might this process culminate in policy change and innovation?

Portions of this chapter are adapted from Burd-Sharps and Lewis (2014, A portrait of Sonoma county: Sonoma county human development report 2014. SSRC, New York. Retrieved from <http://www.measureofamerica.org/sonoma>) and Guyer (2015, The measure of America approach to gauging well-being and opportunity in the United States: Concept, application, and impacts at the community level. Social Science Research Council Working Paper. SSRC, New York). The authors thank the following for kindly agreeing to be interviewed for this chapter: Alfredo Perez, Executive Director, First 5 Sonoma; Beth Dadko, Program Planning and Evaluation Analyst, Sonoma Department of Health Services; Bette Perez, Executive Director of the Healdsburg Education Foundation; and Lisa Wittke Schaffner, Executive Director of the John Jordan Foundation.

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The chapter concludes with some lessons learned about how and when local indicator research on well-being can be used to help steer policy in a direction conducive to expanding human capabilities—giving people more choices in what they can do and what they can become (Nussbaum 2011).

### **Measure of America and the Human Development and Capabilities Approach**

More than two decades ago, UNDP released its first global *Human Development Report*. This work introduced the world to a new way of thinking about development and included a new measure meant to help policymakers move past their overreliance on economic metrics such as gross domestic product (GDP) as proxies for human well-being. This new measure, the Human Development Index, was created in the late 1980s by economist Mahbub ul Haq and other talented economists; it has become an influential and globally recognized metric, providing the conceptual spine of some 700 national and subnational human development reports published in 135 countries, in addition to the annual global Human Development Report series (UNDP 2014).

MOA was founded in 2007 by former staff of the United Nations and was based on interest in seeing whether the human development conceptual framework and the successful model of local and regional human development reports could be usefully applied in the USA. With *The Measure of America: American Human Development Report 2008–2009* by Burd-Sharps et al. (2008), the organization became the first to publish a human development report for a high-income country. Featuring a foreword by Professor Sen, the first Measure of America volume introduced the human development and capabilities approaches to American audiences beyond university walls and outside international development circles. It presented a modified American Human Development (HD) Index for the 50 states and all 436 US congressional dis-

tricts that was built on the conceptual framework of the UN's Index. Since the launch of its first report, MOA has produced other national volumes and has partnered with philanthropic organizations and the public sector to create human development state “portraits” for Louisiana, Mississippi, and California plus local reports for two counties in California. The group has also produced thematic research briefs on economic opportunity and mobility, women's well-being, and “disconnection” from education and employment among young people.

The human development and capabilities approaches provide the theoretical roots for Measure of America's work:

Human development is formally defined as the process of improving people's well-being and expanding their freedoms and opportunities—in other words, it is about what people can do and be. The human development approach puts people at the center of analysis and looks at the range of interlocking factors that shape their opportunities and enable them to live lives of value and choice. People with high levels of human development can invest in themselves and their families and live to their full potential; those without find many doors shut and many choices and opportunities out of reach. (Burd-Sharps and Lewis 2014, p. 14)

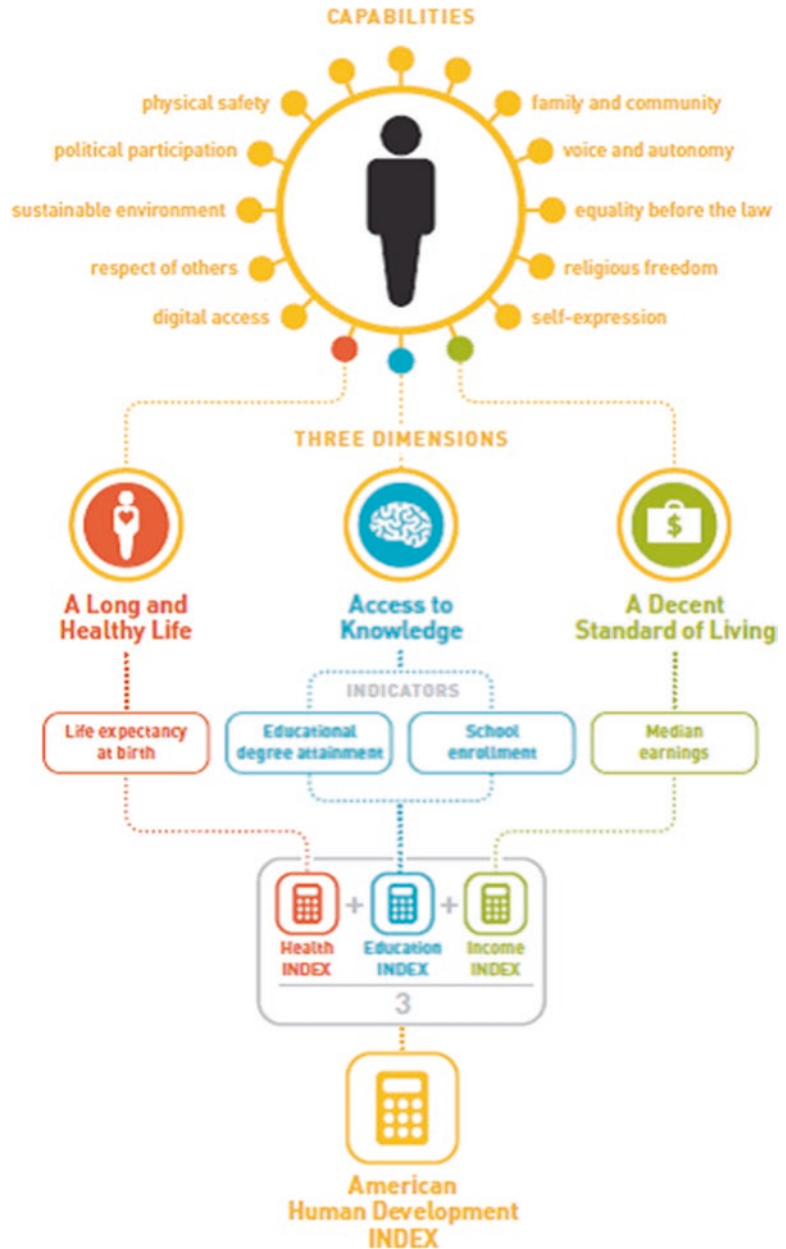
Community well-being is a concept closely related to human development although they are not identical. Lee et al. (2015, p. 2) have defined community well-being as, “that state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled.” The human development concept, with its focus on positive freedoms and opportunities, is somewhat more expansive than community well-being, which focuses on needs and desires. However, these two concepts clearly share much philosophical common ground between them. A place with high levels of community well-being might be expected to exhibit high levels of human development as well.

The main proxy indicator for human development used in MOA's work is the American HD Index, a version of the UN's HD Index but modified by MOA to be more relevant to high-income country conditions. The American HD Index is grounded in the same three basic dimensions: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a

decent standard of living. Life expectancy at birth as a proxy for the capability to live a long and healthy life; educational attainment among adults ages 25 and older and educational enrollment among 3- to 24-year-olds to measure access to knowledge; and median personal earnings for all workers ages 16 and over is used to measure material standards of living. Indicators are normalized based on a standard methodology, and

then the health, education, and living standards proxies are averaged together to calculate the overall HD Index. In order to differentiate it from the global Human Development Index, which is set on a scale of zero to one, the American HD Index was designed to range from zero to ten; ten reflects the best possible outcome, and zero the worst. Figure 14.1 below illustrates how the concept of human development is translated into

**Fig 14.1** Human development: from concept to measurement (Source: Reproduced from Burd-Sharps and Lewis 2014)



concrete indicators and shows how these indicators are combined to produce the American HD Index.

Measuring well-being with the American HD Index has several benefits. First, it provides a meaningful alternative to the economic metrics too often used as proxies for societal progress. As years of UNDP and MOA research can attest, growth in GDP does not necessarily translate into increasing human well-being. GDP is useful for understanding how the economy is doing but can give very misleading signals as to how people are doing. The HD Index also shows how well-being is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and encourages the formulation of responses to well-being challenges that cut across disciplinary and programmatic silos. Finally, the HD Index helps communities see themselves on a continuum of well-being, breaking traditional “us versus them” dichotomies comparing the poor to the nonpoor or the advantaged to the disadvantaged (Burd-Sharps and Lewis 2014).

One drawback of the Human Development Index and its national and local offshoots is that they capture only a small part of the wider human development concept (Fukuda-Parr 2003). Other vital elements of human capabilities such as participation in decision-making and the exercise of political freedoms, are not captured in these composite indexes. In response, to the extent data availability allows, MOA reports include a suite of other available indicators of civic participation and personal and community security as well as many other aspects of human well-being not included in the HD Index.

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## A Portrait of Sonoma County

Sonoma County is located in Northern California, bounded by the San Francisco Bay to the south and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Home to about half a million residents, the county contains several modestly sized urban centers and beautiful coastline and countryside. While the American HD Index does not measure Sonoma County’s breathtaking vistas, the rich diversity of its population, or the vibrant web of community organizations engaged in making it a better place, it

captures outcomes in three areas essential to well-being and access to opportunity—health, education, and living standards. Encapsulated within these three broad areas are many other issues: for example, our life expectancy is affected by the quality of the air we breathe, the amount of stress in our daily lives, the presence or absence of occupational and environmental hazards, and many other factors.

In 2013, the Sonoma County Department of Health Services (DHS) commissioned Measure of America to prepare *A Portrait of Sonoma County: Sonoma County Human Development Report 2014* with the goal to provide a holistic framework for understanding and addressing complex issues facing its constituency. DHS had an ambitious goal: to be the healthiest county in California by 2020. As with all other Measure of America reports, an early step was to design a process of stakeholder engagement that would draw on the expertise of local groups and individuals from all disciplines, sectors, and walks of life and from across the political spectrum. This process both enriches the final product and ensures it will build on existing research and advocacy. It also helps to build ownership among stakeholders and increase the chances it will have a lasting impact. In Sonoma County, this engagement easily developed into a rich collaborative process that benefitted from an existing framework of highly effective Health Action Chapters and community groups (Table 14.1).

Sonoma County’s HD Index value is 5.42 out of a possible 10. This score is well above the US score of 5.07 and slightly above California’s score of 5.39. Sonoma County is made up of 99 census tracts, areas of roughly 5,000 inhabitants designated by the US Census Bureau. The first task in the creation of *A Portrait of Sonoma County: Sonoma County Human Development Report 2014*, was to calculate the American Human Development Index for these 99 tracts, enabling comparisons between and among neighborhoods and communities with roughly the same population size.

At the top of the Sonoma County well-being scale are three census tracts in and around the largest city of Santa Rosa: East Bennett Valley, Fountain Grove, and Skyhawk. Three Santa Rosa

**Table 14.1** Human development in Sonoma County by census tract, top and bottom 3 tracts

Rank	Place/tract	HD index	Life expectancy at birth (years)	At least High School diploma (%)	At least Bachelor's Degree (%)	Graduate or professional degree (%)	School enrollment (%)	Median earnings (2012 dollars)
	California	5.39	81.2	81.5	30.9	11.3	78.5	30,502
	Sonoma County	5.42	81.0	86.9	31.8	11.7	77.9	30,214
1	East Bennett Valley	8.47	82.0	99.5	58.6	24.0	90.2	68,967
2	Fountain Grove	8.35	82.0	95.8	56.6	24.6	88.7	67,357
3	Skyhawk	7.78	83.1	96.4	57.8	22.5	84.1	50,633
97	Sheppard	2.98	76.6	58.2	8.2	3.6	71.7	22,068
98	Roseland	2.95	77.1	59.2	14.4	4.1	65.4	21,883
99	Roseland Creek	2.79	77.1	53.9	8.6	4.3	66.2	21,699

Source: Burd-Sharps and Lewis (2014)

neighborhoods are also at the bottom of the Index: Sheppard, Roseland, and Roseland Creek. Top-ranking East Bennett Valley, (with an Index value of 8.47), is 5 miles from bottom-ranking Roseland Creek, (with an Index value of 2.79). The former has a Human Development Index value above that of top-ranked-state Connecticut, while the well-being outcomes of the latter are well below those of Mississippi, the lowest-ranked state on the American HD Index. Table 14.1 above presents Index findings for the top- and bottom-three census tracts in Sonoma County.

In East Bennett Valley, a baby born today can expect to live 82 years. Virtually every adult living in this tract has completed high school, and nearly three in five have at least a bachelor's degree. Median personal earnings (\$68,967) are more than double those of the typical Sonoma County worker. East Bennett Valley is 90 % white, 5 % Latino, 3 % Asian, and less than 1 % African American. In contrast, life expectancy at birth in Roseland Creek is only 77.1 years, and educational outcomes are alarmingly low, with nearly half (46 %) of adults today lacking the barebones minimum of a high school diploma. The typical worker in Roseland Creek earns \$21,699, about the same as the earnings of an American worker in the late 1960s (in inflation-adjusted dollars). Roseland Creek is 60 % Latino,

30 % white, 5 % Asian American, and 2 % African American.

The American HD Index scores of Sonoma County's major racial and ethnic groups display considerable variation.<sup>1</sup> The ranking of well-being levels by race and ethnicity in Sonoma County follows that of California as a whole, with Asian Americans at the top, followed by whites, African Americans, and Latinos. Detailed results are shown in Table 14.2. A similar pattern holds nationwide, although Latinos fare better than African Americans at the national level, and Native Americans have the lowest score (Lewis and Burd-Sharps 2013).

Although patterns in the HD Index by race and ethnicity in Sonoma mirror national trends in some ways, there are some surprising variations.

<sup>1</sup>These racial and ethnic groups are defined by the White House Office of Management and Budget and: include Native Americans, Asian Americans, African Americans, Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders, and whites. The ethnic categories are Latino and not Latin. People of Latino ethnicity may be of any race. In MOA reports, these racial groups include only non-Latino members of these groups who self-identify with that race group alone and no other. The Native American population in Sonoma County is very small, resulting in a dearth of reliable data for this group. Although *A Portrait of Sonoma County* does not present HD Index scores for Native Americans, it does discuss issues concerning Native American well-being based on available data.

**Table 14.2** Human development index by gender and by race and ethnicity

	HD index	Life expectancy at birth (years)	Less than High School (%)	At least Bachelor's degree (%)	Graduate or professional degree (%)	School enrollment (%)	Median earnings (2012 dollars)
California	5.39	81.2	18.5	30.9	11.3	78.5	30,502
Sonoma County	5.42	81.0	13.1	31.8	11.7	77.9	30,214
Women	5.41	83.0	11.2	33.0	11.8	79.7	25,591
Men	5.30	78.9	15.2	30.6	11.7	76.1	34,219
Asian Americans	7.10	86.2	12.9	44.4	15.4	95.5	32,495
Whites	6.01	80.5	4.7	38.0	14.0	76.7	36,647
African Americans	4.68	77.7	23.8	31.4	12.5	71.8	31,213
Latinos	4.27	85.3	43.6	7.7	1.9	77.4	21,695

Source: Reproduced from Burd-Sharps and Lewis (2014)

One difference is the gap in human development between the highest- and lowest-ranked groups, which is smaller in Sonoma County (2.83 points on the Index) than in California (3.25 points). Given the increasing evidence that extreme racial disparities in terms of income and other factors can be detrimental to many aspects of well-being, this is indeed very good news for Sonoma County (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009).

A second difference concerns the well-being of Asian Americans, the only major racial or ethnic group with an HD Index value lower in Sonoma County than in the USA despite their first-place overall ranking. This lower Asian American level of human development stands in marked contrast to that of African Americans, a population with an Index value 23 % higher in Sonoma than for African Americans nationwide. Similarly, the Index value is 5 % greater for Sonoma's Latinos than the national Latino average and 11 % greater for whites.

What are the factors that are contributing to these lower Asian American well-being levels? Asian Americans make up 3.7 % of Sonoma County's population. Their strongest dimension is health: Asian Americans in the County live longer, by far, than members of any other racial and ethnic group, 86.2 years. The high educational attainment of Sonoma County's Asian American adults is also impressive; 44.4 % have

**Table 14.3** Major Asian subgroups in Sonoma County as a percentage of the Asian American Population

Filipino	23.2
Chinese (except Taiwanese)	17.7
Vietnamese	13.0
Asian Indian	9.3
Japanese	7.9
Other Asian	5.8
Korean	5.2
Laotian	5.1
Cambodian	4.3
Thai	4.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2008–2012, Table B02006

at least a bachelor's degree, as compared to whites with 38 %. One area in which the group lags, though, is high school completion; nearly 13 % of Sonoma's Asian American adults ages 25 and older did not complete high school or an equivalency diploma. One factor to consider when looking at these data is that the Census Bureau-defined category "Asian" is extremely broad. It encompasses those who trace their heritage to a wide range of Asian countries as shown in Table 14.3. This split record on educational attainment can be traced to the differing educational opportunities of immigrants and their children. Nearly 60 % of Asian Indian adults in Sonoma County have obtained a bachelor's degree, while among Sonoma residents who trace

their ancestry to Vietnam, that percentage falls to less than 18 %, far lower than the average for all Sonoma adults (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). But like immigrant groups before them, the second generation tends to have far higher levels of educational attainment than their parents.

Whites, who make up 66.1 % of Sonoma County's population, have an Index score of 6.01, the second-highest among the racial and ethnic groups. Whites can expect to live 80.5 years—on par with the California and Sonoma life expectancies; over 95 % of adults have completed high school; and earnings are \$36,647, well above California's median of \$30,500, but considerably lower than median earnings other nearby counties. Whites in Santa Cruz, Ventura, and Napa Counties, for example, earn roughly \$40,000, \$42,000, and \$39,500, respectively.

African Americans, who make up 1.4 % of Sonoma County's population, rank third, with an Index score of 4.68. African Americans fare better in Sonoma County than in California as a whole, and while they are below Latinos in the national HD Index ranking, they have a higher HD Index value in Sonoma County. African Americans also have rates of college attainment and median personal earnings at or above Sonoma County's average. Yet, as in the nation and in California, they have the shortest life expectancy at birth. An African American baby born today in Sonoma County can expect to live eight and a half years less than an Asian American baby born the same day.

Latinos, who make up 24.9 % of Sonoma County's population, have the lowest score on the Index, 4.27. Yet Latinos in Sonoma County do better in terms of human well-being than they do in the state as a whole (the Latino statewide score is 4.05). Latino life expectancy in Sonoma County is very high; Latinos outlive whites, on average, by nearly half a decade. Education and income indicators are far behind, however. Nearly 44 % of Latino adults did not complete high school, and their median earnings are only about \$21,500, which is below the poverty line for a family of four.

Sonoma County's females edge out males in human development by a small margin; their

score is 5.41, as compared with 5.30. Females outlive males by just over 4 years, women are slightly more likely to have completed high school and college than men, and girls' school enrollment is higher than boys'.<sup>2</sup> Women age 16 years and older in the workforce, however, lag behind men in median earnings by an annual amount of \$8,628.

The difference in life expectancy between men and women can largely be attributed to biological and genetic factors—the world over, females have an average 4- to 5-year advantage in life span over males, though differing patterns of health and risk behaviors play a role as well.

In the USA, women have taken to heart the notions that education is an assured route to expanding options beyond traditional low-paying “female” occupations and that competing in today's globalized knowledge economy requires higher education; girls and young women today are graduating high school and college at higher rates than men across the nation. Yet, as the numbers show, higher educational achievement has not automatically translated into higher earnings.

The earnings gap between men and women remains stubbornly persistent (Drake 2013). Median personal earnings include both full- and part-time workers, so part of the difference is a higher proportion of Sonoma County's women than men working part time (U.S. Census 2012). These gaps are also explained in part by the wage “penalty” women pay if they leave the workforce to raise children; in part by women's predominance in such low-wage occupations as child-care providers and home health aides; and in part by the persistence of wage discrimination—even in a female-dominated field like education, where two in three workers are women, men earn \$17,000 more per year (U.S. Census 2012).

In addition to these descriptive findings about variations in well-being across Sonoma County, the report concluded with an “Agenda for Action,” a set of broad policy recommendations

<sup>2</sup>With the exception of life expectancy and high school completion, these differences are not all statistically significant at the 0.1 level.

that DHS and its allies could implement to improve well-being for the residents of Sonoma and help the county advance toward its health goals. The agenda included a variety of place- and population-based recommendations. The place-based recommendations focused on two groups of census tracts with particularly low scores on the American HD Index. These included neighborhoods in Southwest Santa Rosa as well as the community of Fetters Springs in the southeast of the county and East Cloverdale further north near the border with Mendocino County. Among the population-based recommendations were the institution of universal, high-quality preschool for young children and the reduction of tobacco use among teens and adults (Burd-Sharps and Lewis 2014).

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## Impacts of the Report

As of the time of writing, the *Portrait* has been published for 1 year. In order to assess the impacts of the report since its launch, interviews were conducted with stakeholders in Sonoma County, supplemented with an analysis of policy developments in Sonoma County over the past year as laid out in a Health Action Council Steering Committee update of June 5, 2015. This research suggests that 1 year after its launch the *Portrait* is:

- becoming the “go-to” resource for local stakeholders that has helped forge a rough consensus on the issues and neighborhoods that should be the focus of collective efforts to improve community well-being;
- informing policy changes and funding decisions countywide;
- helping make clear the interconnected nature of health, education, and material living standards;
- providing a new tool to help service providers and advocates appeal to funders and donors, especially the new generation of data-savvy philanthropists, and;
- inspiring and informing a variety of other projects and initiatives aimed at improving well-being in new and novel ways.

In the words of Alfredo Perez, Executive Director of First 5 Sonoma, “You can’t go to a meeting in the community without the *Portrait of Sonoma* being talked about,” (personal interview, April 29, 2015). Other local leaders interviewed for this chapter confirmed that the *Portrait* is regularly referenced in community meetings of all types across the county. This ubiquity is due in large part to DHS’s extensive awareness-building campaign following the report’s launch to communicate the report’s findings to audiences well beyond their traditional health partners. As of December 2014, DHS staff had made 90 public presentations of the *Portrait* and its data, addressing other local government entities, community groups, business leaders, and the general public (Dadko, personal interview, December 4, 2014). Copies of the report have been made widely available, including a full Spanish translation, and data from it may be downloaded free of charge from the MOA website. Findings from the *Portrait* have been extensively covered in local print and electronic media and were incorporated into 30-min television segment called “Place Matters” by KRCB, the Public Broadcasting System/National Public Radio affiliate for the North Bay area (KRCB 2015).

The *Portrait* has been further publicized through awards won by the commissioning agency, Sonoma DHS. In December 2014, Sonoma DHS was awarded the Health Equity Award for Exemplary Medium County Practice with a grant of \$25,000 from the California Endowment, a major private foundation (California Endowment 2014). While it did not ultimately win the prize, the DHS was also a finalist for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Culture of Health Prize, which recognizes communities that build broad coalitions to advance public health goals (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation 2015).

Publicizing the *Portrait* and its findings has been important, but equally important has been the process of fostering ownership of the data, analysis, and recommendations among local stakeholders. One step in this process was the inclusion of a “Pledge of Support” in the opening pages of the *Portrait*. The Pledge was a statement



that local leaders were invited to sign in which they dedicated themselves to using the Portrait's findings. As of today, more than 60 organizations in Sonoma County, including government agencies, service providers, foundations, media outlets, businesses, and nonprofit groups have signed the pledge. Public officials, including mayors, city councilmembers, and local superintendents of schools also signed the Pledge. This public endorsement of the Portrait from such a diverse group helped lend the report credibility even before it went to press. Once the *Portrait* was launched in May 2014, its official acceptance by the Sonoma County Board of Supervisors further imbued the report with a high degree of legitimacy. In the words of one interviewee, "We're all working from the same data at this point and I think that's been really critical in that it's not subjective... they [advocates] can actually point to something that the Board of Supervisors has approved," (Alfredo Perez, personal interview, April 29, 2015).

One important early impact of the Portrait that stakeholders identified was that the report's findings helped focus attention in the county on a finite list of issues and places that needed the concerted attention of policy-makers, philanthropists and service-providers. One of these issues was high-quality universal preschool, which the county had been considering implementing before the onset of the 2007–2009 recession. The inclusion of universal preschool in the report's Agenda for Action, and the explanation for how it relates to health and other issues outside the realm of education, was credited by some with bringing this issue back into the public consciousness and placing it high on the list of policy priorities.

The *Portrait* also identified four clusters of census tracts with particularly low scores on the American Human Development Index for concerted place-based initiatives, encouraging cross-sectoral interventions and investments to improve well-being in these communities. "I think Sonoma was primed because we had a collective impact model and kind of had everybody at the table, I'm just not sure that we had the data to understand what our focus should be and what

areas we should focus on," one interviewee reported. "Focusing on those bottom-five [sic] areas has been really good to bring everybody together," (Lisa Schaffner, personal interview, April 27, 2015). Since that time, both county agencies and the philanthropic sector have developed concerted programs focusing on those tracts. First 5 Sonoma County established a school-readiness program for preschool-aged children in the community of East Cloverdale based in part on the poor performance of that community on the American Human Development Index (Alfredo Perez, personal interview, April 29, 2015). And the Portrait has also become an important reference point for decision-making within private foundations. Bette Perez of the Healdsburg Education Foundation recounted that, "Everybody [on the foundation's board] has their own copy and every single board meeting somebody brings it up in one way or another when it comes to choosing what we're going to fund," (personal interview, April 27, 2015).

Stakeholders in Sonoma reported that some of the place-based initiatives proposed in the Agenda for Action made intuitive sense to many in Sonoma County but that others were subject to some pushback. It was widely anticipated that census tracts in the southwest part of the county's largest city of Santa Rosa would score poorly on the American Human Development Index. However, low scores in other communities such as East Cloverdale and Fetters Hot Springs/Agua Caliente West were surprising to some, particularly to some residents of these communities who did not think of their towns as being areas of high deprivation. One interviewee mentioned that some of these communities struggled to accept Portrait findings that cast their towns in an unfavorable light. However, over time, greater acceptance has materialized due in part to a recognition of the potential funding and support that is being mobilized for communities singled out for place-based initiatives in the Portrait's Agenda for Action (Lisa Schaffner, personal internal, April 27, 2015). Furthermore, stakeholders in Sonoma County who were more familiar with existing local data on need and deprivation were less sur-

prised by these findings than some of their neighbors. Alfredo Perez of First 5 Sonoma mentioned that all of the areas with low scores on the American Human Development Index in Sonoma County mapped closely onto existing data that education experts have used to track school readiness across the county.

Another early impact of the Portrait was making clear the interconnections between health, education and material standards of living. This is one of the key advocacy messages of MOA in all of its work. Still, policymakers and philanthropists often work in silos – focusing uniquely on one aspect of public health or education policy, for example – and rarely look outside of their narrow area of expertise or their epistemic communities when crafting policy or making funding decisions. The executive director of a local private foundation reported that, “most business people don’t think about the fact that health is so tied to education,” but the *Portrait* helped make this clear. “It’s been so powerful for this community to understand that those pieces fit together, and the Portrait did that,” (Lisa Schaffner, personal interview, April 27, 2015).

Data from the *Portrait* has been helpful to those seeking to attract philanthropic dollars to the County. Analysis of downloads of Portrait data from the MOA website, for example, shows strong interest in the data for grant proposals. Stakeholders in Sonoma related how having data to quantify the challenges that exist has been vital to make the case for why funders should invest resources in specific communities or on issues like school readiness and universal preschool. This is particularly true of a younger generation of philanthropists moving into Sonoma County, many from successful tech careers in nearby Silicon Valley, for whom quantitative information has a particular appeal. Data from the Portrait has been a helpful way to reach these new donors and engage them in funding local initiatives (Bette Perez, personal interview, April 27, 2015).

But perhaps most importantly, the Portrait is contributing to public policy changes and new decision-making priorities in foundations and non-profit organizations. Only weeks after the Portrait’s release, the county Board of Supervisors

imposed new limits on the use of electronic cigarettes across Sonoma County (Sonoma Valley Sun, 2014 and County of Sonoma 2015), a new policy that was in line with a recommendation in the Agenda for Action to intensify efforts to reduce tobacco use, based on findings about high use among teens and adults in some of the County’s communities. Municipal governments in Sonoma County followed suit with new tobacco regulations of their own. In October 2014, the community of Healdsburg became the first city in California to raise the minimum age for purchasing tobacco products legally from 18 to 21 (Mason 2014).

Another item in the Agenda for Action was making high-quality preschool available across the county. As mentioned above, some local advocates credit the Portrait with bringing the need for universal preschool back to the top of the county’s policy agenda. Sonoma County moved closer to realizing this goal at a Board of Supervisors meeting in late 2014 when supervisors accepted a report that presented a detailed set of cost estimates for providing universal preschool countywide, indicating their support for moving this plan toward implementation (Sonoma County Board of Supervisors 2014). More work remains to be done to strategize how a program estimated to cost \$20 million to establish and another \$12 million per year to run will be funded. (Alfredo Perez, personal interview, April 29, 2015). However, stakeholders commented on how remarkable it was that near-consensus had been reached within Sonoma County about the need to establish a high-quality universal preschool system. “It might be the first time we have an initiative with complete buy-in [countywide],” said Lisa Schaffner of the John Jordan Foundation, “it’s just a matter of resources,” (personal interview, April 27, 2015). And many steps are being taken to move towards that goal, including the Board of Supervisors’ funding of a Preschool Facilities Grant Program, a response to the dearth of subsidized preschool slots that was brought into sharp focus in the Portrait (County of Sonoma 2015).

Additionally, the Sonoma County Regional Parks Department used the Portrait to identify

communities that need greater access to parks and developed a new program, the Nuestrs Parques hiking series (County of Sonoma 2015). And the County's Workforce Investment Board has used the Portrait to shape their workforce development system (County of Sonoma 2015).

Finally, findings from the report are also being used in novel ways by organizations outside the coalition that guided its creation and have supported its use. Advocates of instituting a county "living wage" of \$15 per hour have cited figures from the Portrait on the very low median earnings in some Sonoma communities as evidence that a higher minimum wage is needed (Martin 2014). And the North Bay Organizing Project has used the Portrait to identify communities for their organizing around tenant protections and affordable housing (County of Sonoma 2015). LandPaths, a local nonprofit group, organized an "Urban Hike" in March 2015 in collaboration with DHS through the Sonoma census tracts that rank highest and lowest on the HD Index. These two communities, geographically separated by only 5 miles, are nonetheless worlds apart in human development terms, with a half-decade life expectancy gap and typical earnings that range from \$69,000 at the top to \$22,000 at the bottom. The hike, to places some participants had never been, was a moving exercise in creating connections between neighbors and seeing life through another's eyes (LandPaths 2015). One immediate result was discussion on how to connect these two worlds through some sort of path. Los Cien Sonoma, a community group, has committed itself to acting on the report's findings, in part by working to engage and educate Latino voters in Sonoma, foster the development of future leaders from within the Latino community, and advocating for the establishment of a cultural center in Southwest Santa Rosa, where the lowest-ranking census tracts in the county are clustered. Such initiatives are intended to "humanize" the data presented in the Portrait and help build bridges between communities that are physically close but vastly different in their human development profiles (Beth Dadko, personal interview, December 4, 2014; Lisa Schaffner, personal interview, April 27, 2015).

Finally, the County initiated a public art program of murals to be commissioned by local artists, starting with the bottom-ranked neighborhood on the HD Index, "a neighborhood that is in need of the healing that public art can bring to a community." (Sonoma County 2015) and expanding to other areas identified in the Portrait.

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## Discussion

This report has been music to my ears. It has been new language for writing a new narrative for how we can begin to talk about improving the human condition in our community.

Oscar Chavez, Assistant Director of Human Services, Sonoma County

This case study has examined one community where dedicated policy-makers, service-providers, philanthropists and other stakeholders are using research and data on community well-being to have difficult conversations and take action to reduce longstanding gaps in well-being that exist across their county. Well-being indicators are being used to galvanize cross-community support for new policy initiatives and have provided a new tool for community leaders to use in their advocacy, planning, and prioritizing. Analysis of this case suggests a few key factors are behind the impacts thus far. One is the importance of having local elected officials and other community leaders take ownership of the findings, both during the research process and after the release of the report. In the case of Sonoma, inviting local leaders to sign onto the Pledge prior to the report launch was one way to ensure buy-in from leaders and to ensure an audience for the report's findings. Involving stakeholders from the outset improved the quality of the report, legitimized its content and boosted local ownership of the report's findings. Local officials who take ownership of the data can use their "bully pulpits" to publicize and build awareness of the issues the data illuminate and convene other leaders from inside and outside of government to coordinate responses (Morris, personal interview, December 5, 2014).

Another related factor is the vital role of local government as a driving force for propagating research findings and coordinating responses to the disparities revealed by the research. In Sonoma County, this research has been having an impact through the establishment of broad coalitions of organizations, including government agencies, community groups, and businesses, to organize collective action in response to challenges facing their communities. This coalition is not limited to the public sector but it was local government, in particular the DHS, which initiated and led the coalition-building process.

This case suggests that providing actionable data that are accessible to both nonexpert citizens and policy-makers has been a boon to those working for change in these and other communities across the USA. For this reason alone, producing local-area data on vital aspects of well-being, presenting it in a clear, accessible way, ensuring ownership through a meaningful stakeholder engagement process, and building capacity of partners to use the report's findings will remain central to the MOA approach to gauging well-being and opportunity across the USA and advocating for people-centered investments.

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# Community Capacity in End of Life Care: Can a Community Development Model Address Suffering and Enhance Well-Being?

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Kyle Y. Whitfield and Martin LaBrie

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## Introduction

One place that care matters most is in community. And nowhere is this more evident than in communities where groups of committed community members are coming together to meet the rapidly growing end of life care needs of their fellow citizens. These citizen leaders are both planning for current and future support and they are also implementing care the best way they know how. However, what remains unknown in both the literature and in practice are the resulting effects, outcomes, benefits and challenges to their community, to those leading such initiatives, to families and to individuals living with a life limiting illness. Communities are working hard to foster well-being and build capacity in their communities yet rarely is this documented or assessed so that other communities may be able to learn from their example. Certainly there is a strong integration between the work of communities in planning hospice palliative care, in community well-being and in the health care system. But, for necessary change to occur, it must occur in multiple places if progress is to be sustained over time.

In this chapter we first provide a context for considering a community development approach to end of life care by looking to the evolution of palliative care in Canada. Following that, we examine community well-being implications of a community-engaged approach to hospice palliative care, presenting key characteristics of a community engaged model. Then, community capacity building in practice is explored. Here we look at community capacity building for local well-being and infrastructure issues to support local development and policy issues. To maintain a view at the level of practice, we present three case examples, or “cautionary tales”, where two communities in Alberta, Canada and one in Burkino Faso, Africa have led their own hospice palliative care processes towards improvement. Finally, we end by coming back to the essential question: can community capacity be developed through a community development model if it is to address suffering and enhance well-being in hospice palliative care?

Throughout this chapter we refer to community as geographic in nature as the conception of place is essential to hospice palliative care planning and provision. And second, we consider that there is an essential association between and amongst people that have some common and shared interest, need and experience and use the term community development to convey and explore this notion. We see community development as a continuum where communities have

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varying degrees of control in decision making about health related processes and outcomes. Our belief is in an ideal state where communities have a high level of control in decisions affecting social, health, economic and even political issues. A community development model, therefore, would be one where communities are well-engaged, sometimes leading activities of relevance to them and where there is an aim to improve the social determinants of health (Milton et al. 2011). In effect, a community development model fosters well-being in that locale but also positively affects health system, regional, neighbourhood, household, family and individual levels. We find Lee et al. (2015) explanation of community well-being to be one that well integrates our working definitions of community and community development, that being 'a state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled'.

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### **History and Evolution of Hospice Palliative Care in Canada**

One of the most important functions of a community is to develop the capacity to manage the suffering of its members, especially when someone is confronted with an advancing, life-limiting illness. Throughout the development of civilization, the palliation of suffering has been the responsibility of the community, with the assistance of "healers" as necessary. The mythology of the Greek god Asklepios (the god of healing), the teachings of Hippocrates, and the hospices established by religious orders in Europe during the Middle Ages are all illustrative of the importance that we place on the management of illness and suffering.

In our modern era, medical science has advanced to the point where illnesses can be managed and controlled or even cured. Life expectancy has increased dramatically as a result of the development of treatments for infectious diseases, improvements in sanitation and food production, and public health interventions such as vaccinations and cardiovascular disease risk management. Advances such as these have effec-

tively reduced the burden of illness and improved our quality of life. The result has been that we now expect our health care professionals to mitigate or eliminate suffering by modifying or curing disease. Communities have developed and relied on hospitals, clinics and extended care facilities in order to address illness and suffering.

Of course, this approach has limitations, which are becoming increasingly evident in the face of the issues confronting communities in both the developed and developing world. In developed countries, the reduction of death from acute conditions such as infections and injuries has resulted in an increase in chronic illnesses such as cancers, heart and lung disease. Many of these illnesses are a result of lifestyle issues such as inactivity, obesity, substance use. Because of the ability of medical management to prolong illness trajectory, more and more people are living to an older age and often with several illnesses. The demographics of an aging population as a result of the post World War II baby boom and the current decline in birth rates are amplifying this trend. Health care systems are becoming more stressed as the need for access to complex health care interventions increase. This often requires access to several different medical specialists as well as other health care providers. Health care systems, therefore, are becoming a severe drain on the resources of communities, to the point where they are becoming or have already become unsustainable.

In many areas of the world, health care resources are extremely limited or even non-existent. The expectation that economic development will lead to modernization of health care delivery, a healthier community and a reduction in suffering as a result of illness has often not been fulfilled. Even in resource rich settings, access to care is not evenly distributed among or even within communities, leading to severe disparities in access and quality of living, marginalization of individuals and groups within communities, and increasing moral distress within communities as suffering becomes more evident and intractable.

Finally, even the act of dying has been distanced from the normal life of communities. As illnesses progress, individuals spend more of their time in care, accessing interventions that become less and less effective in improving quality of living and postponing death. Despite the desire of most people to die in their homes, efforts to prolong living even in the face of imminent death means that care needs cannot be met outside of a health care facility. Very often, these are acute care facilities such as hospitals. Not only is this management often not effective in managing suffering for individuals and their loved ones, it is extremely costly to communities and a large burden on resources (Dumont et al. 2009).

The modern palliative care movement began in the UK in the 1960s as a counterculture response to the medicalization of suffering that individuals and families were confronted with as a result of advancing illness, usually cancer. The initial focus was to provide an alternative to the medical management of end of life, to recognize dying as a part of living, and to maximize the quality of living until death. Dame Cicely Saunders established St. Christopher's Hospice in 1967. Dr Balfour Mount, a surgeon and a student of Saunders, subsequently developed the Palliative Care Service at Royal Victoria Hospice in Montreal in 1975, and at that time coined the term "Palliative Care." Since then, palliative and hospice care has become a widespread movement in many countries, leading to the development of national and international organizations. Community leaders all over the world have worked to develop capacity to manage suffering for individuals living with advancing illness and approaching death. The results of these efforts have been variable, with better success in communities that have access to more resources. In Canada, despite persistent efforts by some legislators to promote access to palliative care services, most individuals do not have access to specialist palliative care services. Any services that are provided by communities often drain community resources. In most cases, the health care system has had to incorporate palliative care services, leading to the professionalization of

palliative care, and resulting in limited access, especially in rural and remote areas, as well as in settings where substantial barriers to access to services exist, for example homeless individuals. Since care is focused on the individual, a "good death" is usually when that person has received effective pain and symptom management, and is able to remain in the setting of that individual's choice, such as their own home. The suffering that results from "collateral damage" such as the drain on family caregivers, the loss of income, and the consumption of family and community resources is rarely addressed.

Despite all of this, there are examples of community palliative care capacity development that enhances the strength of the community, and result in the accumulation rather than the depletion of the communities' resources (Horsfall et al. 2012). Research in this area has increased rapidly, and is sufficiently well developed that we can now begin to address some of the factors that facilitate or impede a community's ability to become healthier by managing the suffering of its members.

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### **Use of a Community Development Approach in Hospice Palliative Care Planning: Community Well-Being Implications**

In a civil society, people are active partners in it. Therefore, when creating compassionate communities focused on well-being, people are central to that vision, active in the planning of that vision and also in providing care to realize that vision.

There is a renewed interest in sincere and real community participation not only because there is a demand for it but there are so many needs that create opportunities for community-led initiatives to evolve (Healey 2015). Civil society depends on it and it is developed and initiated at the sphere of the public- it is not directed by governments (Healey 2015). With the work of the community initiating, planning and delivering significant services they are, in part 'filling gaps in service provision left by state shrinkage' and



in a democratic way (Healey 2015, p. 11). They are responding to our craving for community where we view the suffering of another as our own suffering and happiness as a collective (Hjersted 2013).

As Hjersted (2013) describes it “people are waking up”. They want to be involved in tangible actions, and see such activism as a way of life: “they are choosing determinism over defeat and compassion over apathy” (p. 1), he says. Community-led initiatives mostly start with local activism where people are mobilized and committed around an issue or service gap (Healey 2015). And this trend is occurring in the field of hospice palliative care or end of life care.

In this end of life care, many communities are taking the initiative to lead the planning of hospice palliative care in their own locales (Abel et al. 2013; Horsfall et al. 2012). Again, this is because care matters in community. Committed community members are coming together to meet the end of life care needs of their fellow citizens. They are planning and implementing hospice palliative care the best way they know how. Indeed, such communities are working hard to foster a high level of wellness and quality of life in their communities. They are working at increasing their own knowledge and building on their existing assets so they can offer quality end of life care to their own community members, shifting away from the current medicalized approach of palliative care to one that is local and community-based (Horsfall et al. 2012; Abel et al. 2013).

The literature describing the value of a community development approach for hospice care planning where communities are leading the way is still evolving. Synthesizing the work of Horsfall et al. (2012) and Abel et al. (2013) and the edited work of Sallnow et al. (2012), we learn some valuable lessons. A shift needs to occur in palliative and end of life care for communities to be leaders in the planning and providing such care. Horsfall et al. (2012) describe it in this way—that a service delivery approach or “professionalization”, which is led by experts who identify health and social needs, is the biggest barrier to any focus on the community. This is because for-

mal services take over and often focus on curing rather than on helping people live as fully as possible with a life limiting illness. This reduces the caring capacity of the community and of families and decreases people’s ability to develop their own skills and knowledge (Abel et al. 2013). If care was actually community care, say Abel et al. (2013), it would engage communities in end of life discussions moving away from the dominant service delivery model, essentially, which is care by professionals. Ways to support communities to care for those at the end of life and find ways for formal services to act as a back up or support or be available as needed is occurring, but this needs to occur with the community—not the other way around—by professionals.

This movement towards a community development approach in hospice palliative care is one that means that key decision-making needs to be made by those most affected by decisions in the community (Horsfall et al. 2012). And for this to occur, support needs to be ongoing to facilitate capacity building within communities so they can meet their own end of life care needs.

When care in the end of life is occurring in the community, strong networks become well established. Horsfall et al. (2012), therefore, wanted to know the effect of these networks as a result of someone dying. They examined varying changes in the sizes of such networks that became established, their strength and their effect asking if such networks benefited people with a terminal illness. The existence of social networks indicate strong social capital in a community, which can produce improved health and well-being (Horsfall et al. 2012). However, from their findings, the authors are cautious, as “social capital does not guarantee [successful] community development and [well-developed or sustainable] capacity building” (p. 374). After gathering data from 94 people, using mainly network mapping and interviews, they found that the biggest enabler of maintaining a care network is ensuring that control is with the person with the terminal illness: “...the dying person took control and did the work of keeping the social connections alive...” (p. 377). Horsfall et al. (2012) also found that people who are part of such a network

feel transformed: “being involved in caring for a person who is dying extends the knowledge, skills, and personal resources of people who participate in caring networks...[so] personal development needs to ripple out into the broader community...[for community capacity to be fostered]” (p. 377).

For a community development approach to be successful, a social citizenship lens may further expand our understanding of hospice palliative care planning and provision. Since citizenship *is* social, “it involves the art of being with others, negotiating different situations and identities, and articulating ourselves as distinct yet similar to others” (Isin et al. 2008, p.7). When mobilizing for improvement, we develop a sense of rights as others’ obligations and others’ rights as our own obligations so self and other are one. For a community to address suffering, social citizenship and a morale that the rights of the individual and the community are one is essential. Caregiving, using this lens, facilitates individuals finding their place in family and in community because: “when we build identity in the home...we build community” (Kershaw 2008, p. 49).

To move the above issues to a more applied level and establish a clearer picture of community well-being, we could consider the following as characteristics of a community-engaged approach to good hospice care planning and provision: sustainability in planning so that a long term, systematic view is central (Cox et al. 2010); the community having control in care related decisions (Cox et al. 2010; King and Cruickshank 2010); evidence of improved hospice palliative care in that community, over time (Crooks et al. 2011); that citizen engagement takes place on a wide community level and that planning processes are inclusive and that such inclusivity is maintained over time (Abel et al., 2013); and that policy is influenced so that hospice palliative care is named, planned for and integrated into both planning and into practice (Carstairs 2010; Panelli et al. 2006). And when there is social capital, social organization is grounded in trust, that is, social networks are focused on care which facilitates wellness and efficiency for the individual with the life limiting illness, their families

and for the whole community (Horsfall et al. 2012; Ogden et al. 2014; Lewis et al. 2014; Milton et al. 2011). And, if community well-being is central to a community in hospice care planning and provision it adds to realizing a vision where citizenship is social, shifting us from an individuals rights based focus to one that Isin et al. (2008) calls “individualized collectivism”. It is this level of collectivism that these authors say is essential to our human condition. They say citizenship is social because it is about “...being with others, negotiating different situations and identities, and articulating ourselves as distinct yet similar to others in our everyday lives, and asking questions of justice. [In this capacity] we are performing citizenship. It is in this deep and broader sense of enactment that citizenship is social” (Isin et al. 2008, p. 7).

We present this as a beginning, adding to the still evolving literature on community well-being in contexts where groups of citizens are taking the lead in hospice palliative care planning and care provision. For example, it could be a set of criteria to determine the value or outcomes when a community leads the way in planning and providing hospice palliative care.

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### **Community Capacity Building in End of Life Care: Community Well-Being as Practice**

Building capacity for well-being in the community to better facilitate community development for hospice palliative care planning and provision considers some of the following issues and questions: What do communities need to do to address suffering associated with illness when people may be approaching death that health care systems and other institutions cannot provide? How do communities normalize living for someone living with a life-limiting illness and their carers? Can focusing on the community as the subject of intervention, or “the community as the patient”, contribute to the wellness of the community and make that community healthier? And what are the factors that can both limit and promote that capacity over time?

Jennings (2014) makes an association between the person with the life limiting illness and larger social structures that constitute our social and civic community. “Civic palliative care” is what he refers to as a new system that considers the capacities, resources and social capital of the whole community, and one that solidifies moral awareness. To make hospice palliative care “public” and to move it away from dying as a personal problem and into the civic community realm, we must: ensure compassion, minimize suffering, sustain a sense of agency for the person with the life limiting illness and make certain that care is “just” and fair and fosters dignity, says Jennings (2014). Saying it the same way, “dying badly is a social problem [...] a failure of civic imagination and solidarity [its conveys] our lack of a shared mortality” (p. 274) and thus solutions and new approaches require civic solutions. This “civic (or social) palliative care” (p. 274) is a movement shifting us from a focus on the individual to the communal.

Sallnow and Paul (2014) also talk about this shift when they describe a community engagement approach to end of life care. They say that a community development approach to hospice palliative care is about engaging communities in the planning and in providing care. Community engagement ensure care at the end of life is of the highest quality just as death is also of a high quality; it ensures a response to local needs and situations; it ensures higher possibilities for sustainability; and it fosters broad community impact so that health behaviors are improved and social capital can be developed (Sallnow and Paul 2014).

In end of life care, explorations and dialogues about community engagement are still recent i.e. last 10 years (Sallnow and Paul 2014). Discussions about community development in end of life care say such an approach: improves service relevance; it shifts reliance on specialized and professional support to more informal supports; it helps citizens develop skills and knowledge about end of life care thus fostering greater supports for coping while living with a life limiting illness and while caring for someone with such an illness (Sallnow and Paul 2014). A com-

munity development approach in end of life care also helps build more positive attitudes towards dying and loss (Sallnow and Paul 2014). Although not in an end of life context, Healey (2015) reminds us that when citizens are actively engaged in local level planning in their communities, governance capacity is also strengthened. This is another value of a community development approach that can have a huge benefit for hospice palliative care.

The need to improve the quality of life for people with a life threatening illness as well as that of their families is becoming more and more urgent. Life expectancy has increased; people are often living with a terminal illness in the community for longer periods of time than in the past; choice and preference in ones location of the death is often in ones own home and community; and specialized professional palliative care is often not an available service. These are all significant factors emphasizing the need for communities to develop their capabilities in becoming active participants in both continual planning for and providing support for quality hospice palliative care, on an ongoing basis; this is the current and future direction for community capacity building for local well-being. We are reminded by Cohen and Deliens (2012) that health is improved when there is a collective and social response to restore wellness.

To facilitate good hospice palliative care, a community development model needs to be supported at many levels. Infrastructure, which are the structural elements of a system (Scholz et al. 2015), needs to be fostered for local well-being to be developed. In this context, local level infrastructure needs to contribute to the overall community building of hospice palliative care. It can involve such things as: well trained volunteers to be companions to those with a life limiting illness; ongoing bereavement support; community organizations that can match volunteers and individuals needing and wanting to be befriended (c.f. St. Joseph’s Hospice in E. London, England); organizations that can work together so they act as hubs of support for people and their carers; training for citizens in advocacy so that policy can be influenced and pushed from the bottom or

grass-roots, upwards; and training for community members in governance and leadership skills so that planning and organization become part of a range of skills and expertise in the community that are developed on an ongoing basis when addressing rapidly changing hospice care needs. Communities can't be expected to inherently have skills and knowledge in strategic planning nor in knowledge of models and methods of governance, nor in advocacy but these can be honed over time but with resources and other infrastructure support.

Professionals of palliative care services, who are key people in the caregiving process as they help to minimize suffering in end of life care, have to be viewed as helpers and enablers to the community, but not the central interveners. A focus on building compassionate communities, views communities as assets which builds on people's strengths and capacities rather than on assuming that people have problems to "fix". This creates a shift towards a community-based approach to caring rather than one that asks the formal health care service system and to address health problems and fill service gaps.

To conclude, a community engaged approach to hospice palliative care requires the capacity building process to be supported by resources and infrastructure in the community. This sustains ongoing citizen engagement which can result in good community care. Communities need to continually be enriched with new resources, initiatives for skill building, new knowledge, the support by developing infrastructure and new community members who are continually contributing to the overall plan and provision of care, where possible.

### **Building Policy Capacity for Local Well-Being**

Key policy issues surround a community development model for hospice palliative care and alongside those issues are also related challenges. When talking about supporting palliative care in sub-Saharan Africa, a place where families and

communities are the essential care planners and providers, Downing and Harding (2012) say that appropriate policy is the cornerstone of effective palliative care because it helps to maintain standards and it ensures care is promoted and accessible to the most number of people. They also talk about the need for policy that ensures training for policy makers. Policy makers need to be aware of hospice palliative care issues at the national and provincial levels, certainly, but they also need to know about the similarities and differences at provincial, regional and local community levels. But mostly, they need to ensure that policy is useful and relevant and has positive impacts for the people that it directly affects.

Policy development in palliative care has begun to progress at a global scale in palliative care (Clarke 2012). Such work has helped to describe and map levels of palliative care existence, the development of key associations and organizations, levels of policy support, availability of opioids, at a country level. As well, such work has offered a better picture of the type and level of activism taking place in palliative care (Clarke 2012).

When we look at palliative care policy in Canada, as an example, *Raising the Bar: A Roadmap for the Future of Palliative Care in Canada* (Carstairs 2010), the following statement encapsulates the details of the report, but moreso, summarizes the policy related priorities in Canada: "we need[...] a culture of care, sufficient capacity, support for caregivers, integrated services, and leadership" (p. 3). These characteristics already discussed at length in this chapter: care, capacity, support, integration and leadership all speak loudly to a need for a community development model for hospice palliative care. More recently in Canada, in a 2015 Federal budget, several commitments for enhanced palliative care were made: a Family Caregiver Tax Credit, a time extension to the existing Employment Insurance Compassionate Care Benefits, and a dedication of \$42 million (over 5 years) to improve the health of seniors (Government of Canada 2015). And the *Blueprint for Action 2010–2020* (Quality End-of-Life Care Coalition

of Canada 2010) focuses on access to palliative care services, support for caregivers, education and training for professional caregivers; research, and on advanced care planning. These all convey the policy related priorities in Canada required to meet national and locally focused needs and they facilitate a community development approach; resources that surround local communities are necessary to help local level capacity grow and be sustained.

Along with policy, a community development model has a health promoting dimension (Clarke 2012). In end of life care, this is where the focus is on fostering healthy behaviour like citizen engagement in planning and care provision taking the focus off of professionals and specialists as the only experts; policy needs to find ways to support this direction. Again, as suggested by Clarke (2012), it will be in the next decade that a higher level of policy recognition will be necessary, one focused on health promotion at the community, neighbourhood and family levels.

There are challenges associated with policy supporting a community development model. Policy usually favors a service provision model over a community focused one, so policy development too needs to shift alongside the growth of a capacity building model (Abel et al. 2013). If policy is driven by local level issues and concerns and reflects provincial and national realities, work is needed to foster that balance, especially if a community-based approach is to be sustained. Overall, policy-making to support such an approach to palliative care remains limited. The words of Clarke (2012) make this evident: “[regarding policy] still limited progress [...] has been made in integrating palliative care within the architecture of global, regional, and national policy making” (p. 215).

The following examples offer practical views of how communities are working to improve their own palliative care and mostly without the support of related policy.

## **“Cautionary Tales” of Community Development in Hospice Palliative Care: Case Examples from W. Canada and W. Africa**

The examples that we draw on here offer practical application of ways that community development principles and practices have been used to build hospice palliative care at the very local level. Two examples or cases are from Western Alberta, Canada and one is from Western Africa. In each, we present: background information that provides a context for each story, a description of several key successes resulting from a community engaged process and challenges associated with fostering community well-being when using a community development approach in hospice palliative care planning and care provision.

### **Western Alberta, Canada: Case Community**

In this rural community of approximately 8,500 people in central Alberta, located 100, or so kilometers north of Calgary, a handful of community members connected with one another in 2008; they shared a profound experience- someone in their life had recently died. For some, the dying of their loved one was very positive and for others, it was not. Those having more of a positive experience attested this to their loved one living their remaining days at a hospice. But that hospice was located several hours away. For many reasons, this highly committed group of individuals soon had a goal to establish a hospice in their own community.

Over time they generated a plan for the next several years to improve the experience of living with a life limiting illness in their community. They began by conducting a needs assessment to determine both the needs and resources available in their community to meet their growing hospice

palliative care needs, and as interest grew among the community, their focus was on establishing some type of governance structure resulting in the establishment of a formal hospice society with a vision of “helping people live until they die”. They were determined to have a free-standing hospice in their community to promote a “good death” but over time, this aim shifted—they wanted to serve the immediate needs of those with a life limiting illness and their loved ones—now. By 2011, they began training volunteers to help companion people with a life limiting illness and their families that live in the community. And by 2015, their mission also grew to one of providing quality, compassionate care for those facing death by offering physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual and educational support to individuals, their families and to the community both at the end of life and during bereavement. Currently, they continue to train many volunteers to help enact that mission, they offer grief support and now have two hospice suites within an existing residential facility in their community. Since they began meeting in 2008 to enhance their hospice palliative care, they have been providing hospice care—not in the form of a physical building, but most certainly in the form of real community care.

In the process of this community providing care for those at the end of their life, they also experienced some very real challenges. Soon after the founding community members began meeting, they contacted one of the authors (KW), a researcher with expertise in community-based approaches to rural hospice palliative care and a study was conducted to understand some of the key factors that helped them and hindered them in addressing their community hospice care needs. They were helped by the overwhelming support of the broader community and were mainly challenged by feeling pressured and responsible to succeed and by a lack of direction for how to set up hospice support in one's community. In addition, little to no government support for such community directed initiatives to enhance hospice care was available to them.

## **Western Alberta, Canada: Case Community**

In 2010, one of the authors (ML) was approached by business leaders in a community that had evolved from a small agricultural centre to a suburb of an adjacent metropolitan area. The suburb's health facilities had not developed with the growth of the community, and there had been considerable activity within the community directed at the provincial government that was intended to improve the situation. These business leaders had each experienced the death of family members who had been cared for in residential hospice facilities, and were impressed with the compassionate care that their loved ones had received. Their goal was to develop a residential hospice facility for their community.

Prior to seeking advice on how to proceed, the community leaders had visited another community in the region that had developed a hospice facility similar to the one that they envisioned. They were discouraged by the difficulties that had been encountered in the development of the hospice, particularly the very large financial burden that the hospice had encountered in order to maintain operations, and the intense effort that was required to continue fund-raising within the community. The hospice operating costs, in that community, were ultimately funded in part through an agreement with the regional health authority, but the hospice society continued to contribute a significant proportion of the costs, and the health authority imposed standards for clinical practice. Admissions were managed centrally by the health authority, meaning that individuals from outside of the community were frequently admitted to the hospice.

Discussions with the community business leaders then focused on the development of a hospice society for the community and surrounding rural district that would assist individuals who were living with chronic or progressive life-limiting illness to remain not just in their own homes, but as part of the community. The society would be volunteer driven, and would identify resources that community members could pro-

vide to the individual and family that would reduce isolation, help to reduce the burden of care that family caregivers encounter, and keep the individual and family connected with their community. Health care resources within the community (primary care physicians, home care resources) would continue to be responsible for providing professional services, and it was hoped that the community and health care resources would be complimentary. It was recognized that a residential hospice facility would also be required eventually, but would be integrated in to the community-based activities of the society, in collaboration with government support.

The community leaders proceeded to recruit an interest group, established a charter for the society and obtained a charitable organization status that allowed them to raise funds through tax-deductible donations. They developed a governance structure, and began to raise awareness within the community through media, presentations at community activities and through a speaker series. They developed a compassionate care fund to provide emergency funding that could cover emergency expenditures for families, particularly for needs that were not covered through the health service or private health insurance.

The hospice society considered the infrastructure and support that they would require in order to develop the cadre of volunteers that they would need in order to develop their vision of community mentorship and engagement for individuals living with advancing illness, but over time came to realize that it would not be possible to recruit the resources that they would need, either through the volunteer activities of the community or through financial support that would fund a paid position for a project coordinator. Currently, there has been a gradual turnover of board members, and ultimately the society has begun to re-focus its efforts on the development of a residential hospice facility. They continue to work to increase awareness within the community regarding palliative and end of life care.

## **Western Africa, Burkina Faso: Case Community**

In 2009, one of the authors (ML) received a request to assist a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in northern Burkina Faso to develop their capacity to address the palliative care needs for individuals living with HIV in their communities. Burkina Faso is an extremely resource poor country of 17 million people, ranked 181 out of 187 countries on the United Nations Development Programme Human Development Index (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BFA>). Median age is just over 17 years, 82% of the population lives in poverty as defined by the Multidimensional Poverty Index, and 45% of the population lives on less than \$US 1.25 per day. Life expectancy at birth is 56.9 years for women and 55.7 years for men. 75% of the population is rural, and subsistence agriculture is the main source of livelihood.

The incidence of HIV in Burkina Faso has been much lower than in other areas of sub-Saharan Africa. According to UNDP, the prevalence of HIV in 2014 was 1%, down from a peak of 7% in the 1990s ([http://www.bf.undp.org/content/dam/burkina\\_faso/docs/publications/UNDP\\_bf\\_vih\\_en.pdf](http://www.bf.undp.org/content/dam/burkina_faso/docs/publications/UNDP_bf_vih_en.pdf)). However, the impact of HIV on communities is amplified by several factors, most notably the severely limited health resources available. According to the USAID Health Financing and Governance Project ([www.hfgproject.org/resources/health-systems-database/country-profiles/burkina-faso/](http://www.hfgproject.org/resources/health-systems-database/country-profiles/burkina-faso/)). Burkina Faso had 1,000 physicians and 9,700 nurses and midwives for an estimated population of 16 million in 2010. Access to HIV treatment is limited, and the capacity for laboratory monitoring of efficacy of treatment is almost non-existent. As well, polygamy (pleural marriages with one husband and up to four wives) is common, particularly in the Northern Region. The result is the high prevalence of widows living with HIV infection who are left to try and support their children, as well as a large number of orphans and vulnerable children. These people are almost universally burdened by severe poverty.

The Burkinabé NGO is based in Yako, a city of approximately 25,000 residents. Its mission is to promote development, combat poverty and improve the quality of living in the Northern Region, which consists of four provinces. The NGO had partnered with a Canadian development aid organization in a project that was intended to address HIV prevention and treatment in the area. They had established a clinic for testing and counseling for persons living with HIV. Because of stigmatization, these individuals experience severe isolation, and the clinic became an important source of community. The HIV-infected individuals attended the clinic on a monthly basis, often traveling several kilometers by foot, on bicycle or motorized bicycle. They would be assessed by the clinic nurse, obtain their HIV medications, and have access to support from a social worker and volunteers. They would also come together as a group to provide mutual support and share a meal. In spite of the very limited medical and nursing resources available, the clinic was very effective in establishing and maintaining treatment for these individuals, and the result was a dramatic improvement in the health of the clinic attendees.

In January of 2010, a review was undertaken to assess the capacity of the health care system in the region to address the palliative care needs of people living with HIV, as well as the effectiveness of the HIV management provided by the NGO. It became apparent that the physicians and health care providers in the state-operated health facilities in the region understood the need to address the suffering of individuals with HIV and other progressive illnesses, but could never be in a position to address this with the limited resources available to them. The NGO's HIV clinic was remarkably effective in addressing the medical needs of the individuals who attended, as well as in providing support for the emotional burden that these people faced, but was doing so with extremely limited resources. It was a tremendous drain on the resources of the organization, and was teetering on the brink of being unsustainable. The NGO was also well connected with community groups and associations in the Northern Region. At a workshop attended by many of these

organizations it became very evident that these community groups were instrumental in attempting to address the total suffering experienced by people living with HIV, illness and poverty, and were in fact providing palliative care.

While the HIV clinic was effective in addressing the needs of the people who lived close enough to be attended to there, the NGO had little knowledge regarding the experiences of individuals living in remote villages who were infected with HIV. The majority of the population lived in very small, widely scattered villages with limited or no access to communication or transportation. Individuals might have had access to rural clinics that had the support of a trained health care provider. Testing for HIV could be undertaken, but no medical management for the illness was available. The care providers at the HIV clinic in Yako had no capacity for outreach services. The review suggested that community outreach should be undertaken, perhaps with the help of the NGO's community partners.

In response to the identification of the need to develop community capacity to support individuals living with HIV, the NGO recruited several clients of the clinic who had the knowledge and leadership skills to work as peer counselors. A training program was developed, which included modules on sexually transmitted infections, HIV and palliative care. Through financial support provided by international partners of the NGO, these counselors were then equipped with single-gear bicycles, and were assigned to areas where they could provide information, increase awareness, and provide assistance to individuals and families whose lives were impacted by HIV infection. The counselors had initiated their activities within 6 months of the first assessment in 2010, and by the time the project was reviewed in February of 2012, there were 15 counselors who would meet monthly to document and review their activities. They were in contact with approximately 100 individuals every month. The counselors were enthusiastic in demonstrating their capacity to address the suffering of people in remote areas, and one of the counselors stated "we have become the light for people living with HIV in our communities."



It is evident from these “cautionary tales” that a community engaged approach to better end of life care is a process rather than a single end. In each case, the development activities arose from leaders who perceived a significant and often urgent need for their communities. In the one community in Alberta, they were able to mobilize community resources allowing the community as a whole to gain value from this. But the outcome is still a process—that they are focusing on improving access to services for individuals, sometimes at great cost to the citizen leaders and the community at large. In the second Alberta community, they received, and continue to receive, ongoing mentorship with the hope of keeping a focus on the community as the intended target, and are now refocusing their capacity building efforts on developing institutional capacity. They show that it is difficult to accomplish things without adequate policy and infrastructure support. Community development approaches don’t always have tangible results. We are reminded by Horsfall et al. (2012) that the presence of social capital does not necessarily guarantee community development and nor capacity building (p. 374).

In western Africa, outside palliative care specialists were tasked with helping to enlist the health care system in addressing suffering for persons living with HIV. The end result was the development of community-level capacity— in this case, there was an absence of a health care system leaving no other choice. These stories convey a capacity that was built, differently in each community, to improve their ability to include terminally ill individuals in the life of the community, rather than setting them apart, which is what we do when we medicalize care.

Is the work of communities enough to foster well-being in end of life care? Long time projects like HOME Hospice (Horsfall et al. 2012) in Australia also offer us direction, combined with the stories above. Its been a community development initiative in Sydney, Australia for 30 years providing community mentoring for those caring for someone with a terminal illness. In regards to this initiative developed in the community, by the community and for the community, “there will be

enough community development and resilience to do this [work] without any kind of formal [i.e. government] support, [this shows] a kind of tipping point for development when further increases in community capacity to care for the dying grow organically from within communities” (Abel et al. 2013, p. 384).

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## Discussion and Conclusion

In this final section we bring concluding insights to our core question about how a community development model might foster and help build community capacity so that a community can address suffering and enhance well-being in end of life care. When we look at the evolution of palliative care, throughout the development of civilization, the palliation of suffering has always been the responsibility of the community. But, over time, factors that have helped us increase quality of life have also made us rely too heavily in professional care placing great limits on our health care system exhausting resources in our communities to the point where they are becoming unsustainable. A counter culture, which began in the U.K. (in the 1960s), started by the work of Dame Cicily Saunders and Dr. Balfour Mount, has helped make the hospice movement widespread resulting in the development and creation of international, national, regional and local leadership, greatly fostering the development of hospice care. That is, it has helped to: build individual, organizational, even system level capacities, skills and knowledge in communities around the world; further advance and strengthen, again, both individual level and community level assets so suffering can be better managed in sustainable ways for individuals living with advancing illnesses and their families.

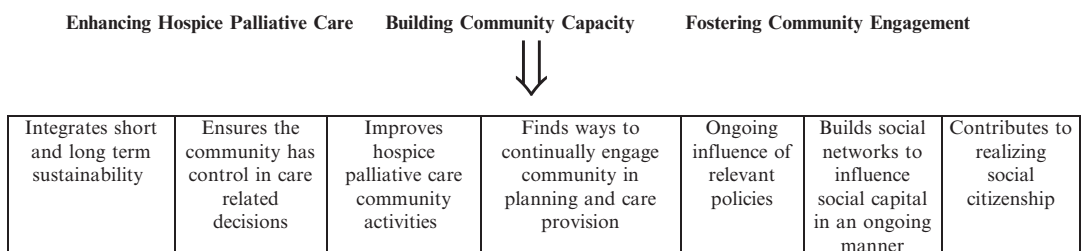
When drawing on a community development approach to advance hospice palliative care, there are enormous implications for well-being. For example, people are at the core of building compassionate communities so must be part of planning and developing that vision if it is to be realized. This is one way to see suffering of another as the suffering of one’s own self. In fact,

this powerful sense of collectivism is occurring and it is shifting us away from an expert/professional focused view and towards one that builds on citizens supporting one another- in their own neighbourhoods and in their own communities.

Community involvement in the planning and the provision of care, although essential, is not simple (Abel et al. 2013), nor are communities sufficiently developed in their capacity to plan and provide care, "...but there will be variations in willingness and [in] ability to develop that capacity" (Abel et al. 2013, p. 387). The need to focus on the capacities that *already* and *do* exist in communities is great; doing so will only advance such capacity building even more. Essential for community and capacity well-being in end of life care are strong social networks. The findings of Horsfall et al. (2012) regarding the value of social networks makes it so apparent that such networks build social capital, they enable control for those with a life limiting illness and offer great benefit for those who are part of the social network. Also essential for community and capacity well-being in end of life care is a social citizenship view. This view reminds us that the rights of the individual and the community are one. Some key characteristics for a community engaged approach to good hospice palliative care, therefore are: sustainability; community control in care related decisions; improvement in HPC; continual community engagement in planning and care provision decisions; ongoing influence of policy, informed by local issues and contexts; building social networks to positively influence social capital; and considerations towards building social citizenship (See Fig. 15.1).

But fostering community well-being for quality hospice palliative care in the community requires that ideas, principles and characteristics are practical. This means that we have to begin to develop a shared mortality (Jennings 2014) and to do this, communities, with their existing and potential capacities need to be both the planners and the care providers for good end of life care. Community engagement means that citizens are empowered to be responsible to respond to their own local conditions. This call for a community engaged model in end of life care is urgent. This is because life expectancy is increasing, there is a lack of available specialized palliative care professionals, people with a life limiting illness are living longer, and their preference is often to live and die in their own homes, neighbourhoods and communities. The emphasis on this heightened role of community as planners and providers of care requires resources in the form of infrastructure such as, for example, organizations as local hubs for volunteer training, grief support, training in citizen advocacy so professionals are helpers and enablers in the community and not the core interveners. Although policy development in palliative care remains in its infancy, it too has to be driven by community and local level issues. This is one of the biggest challenges to date. Certainly future research is required to know how to ensure policy is driven by community issues and priorities but future research also needs to examine the outcomes, impacts and benefits where there is community engagement and leadership occurring that is aiming to improve hospice palliative care.

In this chapter, our ideas are not necessarily novel. Many communities around the world are



**Fig. 15.1** Characteristics of a community-engaged hospice palliative care approach for community well-being

**Table 15.1** Community-engaged activities taken to enhance well-being in end of life care commonly occurring in the three presented case study communities (Items are presented in no particular order)

Community-engaged activities used to enhance well-being in end of life care in the three presented case study communities
Sharing a personal experience of dying in ones life (usually one that was recent)
A formal meeting of interested citizen leaders that became ongoing
Conducting a needs, capacity and resource assessment to plan improvement for hospice palliative care
Establishment of a governance structure
Development of an incorporated hospice society
Commitment to improving hospice care in that community
Continuation of professional palliative care i.e. by a Primary Care GP, Home Care etc.
Fundraising to advance community capacity i.e. to hire a coordinator, to train volunteers etc.
Strong sense of urgency to improve existing methods of end of life care in that community
Some abilities and resources to train volunteers to companion people with a life limiting illness
Development of a plan that is decentralized to address rural palliative care needs
A commitment to and means to foster public awareness about hospice palliative care in the community
Commitment, openness and even invitation to an outside expert i.e. researcher, palliative care clinician to participate in the capacity building of that community
Desire for compassionate care in ones community
Experience of and discouragement with old/previous approaches to palliative care approaches in that community
Visit to other communities to learn from their experience of building a residential hospice
Realization of the enormous commitment to build a residential hospice

This table summarizes the range of actions that took place in the three communities we examined that commonly occurred as they worked to build their own community capacities to improve end of life care. Not all activities occurred in all three communities

leading their own processes towards improving care at the end of life and this is enhancing their capacities to address suffering and improve well-being. We offer the three case communities as examples from which to draw and learn admitting that they are only “cautionary tales” but they

offer novel insights nonetheless. From these case examples, we do learn that in building community capacity for better hospice palliative care, there are a wide range of activities that arise out of massive planning and processing that is usually conducted by a small number of highly committed citizen leaders in a community. Table 15.1 lists some of the activities we found to be commonly occurring in all three presented case study communities.

To conclude, the institutionalization of palliative care may be addressing the suffering of the individual, but it has disconnected them from the communities in which they live. Coming back to Jennings (2014), we need a sense of a shared mortality and a “civic (or social) palliative care” (p. 274) because this is what reconnects us back to the communities in which we live.

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## Part IV

# Planning, Design, and Measuring

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# From National to Local: Measuring Well-Being at the Community Level

# 16

Bryan Smale and Margo Hilbrecht

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## Introduction

From this apparently simple question asked by a board member of a philanthropic organization in Canada began the process of developing the *Canadian Index of Wellbeing* (CIW). Frustrated by the reliance on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to provide a sense of how well are we doing as a society, the Atkinson Charitable Foundation in Toronto, Canada, set out to create an index of the well-being of Canadians that reflected their values and those aspects of their lives that mattered most to them. The frustration was rooted in the persistence of GDP being used as a measure of a society's progress or well-being when it was never meant to be. Indeed, as early as 1934, Nobel laureate Simon Kuznets recognised that, "The welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income" such as that defined by GDP (Kuznets 1934, p. 7). GDP tells us nothing about how well or poorly we are doing in a wide variety of social, health, environmental, and other economic deter-

minants that shape our country, our communities, and our everyday lives.

To shift the conversation away from purely economic measures and facilitate action to enhance quality of life, the mission of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) is to: (1) conduct rigorous research related to, and regularly and publicly report on, the quality of life of Canadians; (2) encourage policy shapers and government leaders to make decisions based on solid evidence; and (3) empower Canadians to advocate for change that responds to their needs and values. Each of these objectives is guided by the interrelated functions of research and knowledge mobilisation, which ensure a connection that best contributes to evidence-based decision-making and policy development.

In this chapter, we set out to do four things: (1) to describe the development of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing's (CIW) conceptual framework and measurement process, (2) to outline how the CIW framework guided the development of the *Community Wellbeing Survey* in collaboration with community partners, (3) to provide selected examples from survey results in three communities to illustrate how citizens' well-being is affected by selected perceptual and situational factors in community, and (4) to describe how the Community Wellbeing Survey has been used to initiate social change within communities where the survey has been conducted. We conclude the chapter with some considerations of the

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limitations and possibilities of the survey approach along with avenues for future research with communities interested in assessing well-being locally.

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### **Measuring What Matters: Development of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW)**

As an initial goal, the Canadian Index of Wellbeing set out to develop a composite measure that reflected social progress at a national scale, with the possibility of separating out composite measures for each of the ten provinces, to serve as a complement and challenge to GDP. By including indicators of social, physical, environmental, as well as economic factors, the CIW would broaden our understanding of quality of life and the complex interplay of those aspects that influence it. By doing so, policy development, resource distribution, and program provision would all be more focused on what mattered most to Canadians. Inevitably, developing such a composite measure was a long-term process and presented considerable challenges.

### **Identifying Canadian Values and the Domains and Indicators of Well-Being**

The Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) is based on a conceptual framework which evolved following lengthy public and expert consultations, and ultimately guided the development of a composite measure of the well-being of Canadians. In conjunction with the Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN), the Atkinson Charitable Foundation (ACF) conducted public consultations across Canada in 2000 involving almost 350 participants in 40 discussion groups. During those discussions, Canadians were asked to describe what mattered to them, about their aspirations for themselves and their communities, and about those aspects of their lives that contributed to – and detracted from – their quality of life. At the outset, Canadians identified those val-

ues that they regard as essential to their lives: *fairness, equity, diversity, inclusion, health, safety, economic security, democracy, and sustainability*. These values reflect Canadians' belief in a "shared destiny" and in social justice, which then provided the foundation upon which participants in the focus groups reflected on as they considered those things that most contribute to a higher quality of life. The public discussions culminated in a series of reports by CPRN that identified the most prevalent thematic areas (CPRN 2001a) as well as some of the specific indicators (CPRN 2001b) that Canadians felt were at the core of their quality of life.

Throughout the mid-2000s, a number of round-table discussions and workshops involving over 60 experts on social indicators and well-being were organized to begin sifting through all of the information from the public consultations with the intent of narrowing the focus to those domains regarded by Canadians as most central to overall quality of life. These experts with specialisations in health promotion, community development, economics, education, environmental studies, political science, and recreation, arts, and culture, worked in collaboration with practitioners and government officials, to ensure that the emergent domains were valid, credible, and consistent with the core values of Canadians. These deliberations set the stage for a further series of 19 focus groups involving approximately 250 more individuals in 14 communities across Canada. Participants were drawn from diverse populations including Aboriginal peoples, government officials, the media, business leaders, and representatives of a variety of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The participants in the focus groups were asked to consider and reflect on the initial outcomes of previous consultations and workshops, and to offer advice on the initial conceptualisation of what was now being called the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW). A number of recommendations resulted that served to finalize the specific domains of well-being as well as their definitions.

By 2008, the final eight, inter-connected domains that would ultimately comprise the CIW's conceptual framework had been identified:

*Community Vitality, Democratic Engagement, Education, Environment, Healthy Populations, Leisure and Culture, Living Standards, and Time Use* (see Fig. 16.1). With these domains established, a definition of well-being that both reflects and guides the mission of the CIW emerged concurrently from the consultations. We define well-being as:

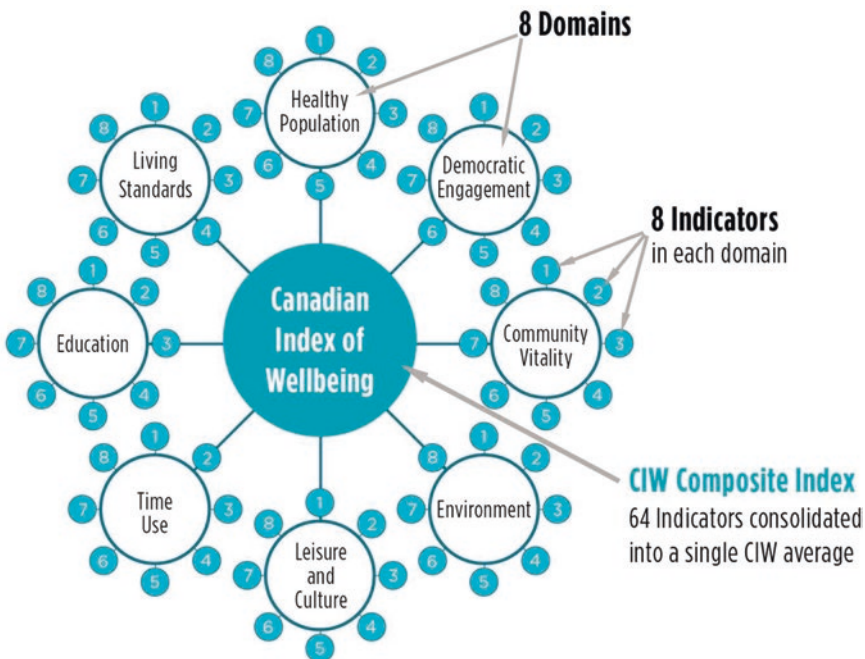
the presence of the highest possible quality of life in its full breadth of expression, focused on but not necessarily exclusive to: good living standards, robust health, a sustainable environment, vital communities, an educated populace, balanced time us, high levels of democratic participation, and access to and participation in leisure and culture. (Canadian Index of Wellbeing n.d.)

Our definition reflects both the key elements that emerged during the development of the CIW and shares aspects found in other definitions that were compiled during an environmental scan of other global initiatives and the literature.

Throughout 2009–2011, research teams from across Canada undertook the final work to produce individual reports focused on each of the eight domains. The research teams were charged

with: (1) undertaking a comprehensive review of literature to establish the direct links between various aspects of the domain and well-being; (2) identifying indicators emerging from the literature review that were the most valid and relevant measures consistently contributed to or detracted from well-being; (3) identifying nationally-representative sources of data for the selected indicators that were reliably gathered over several of the previous years; and (4) based on the previous three tasks, recommending 8–14 key indicators that would define the domain. While each team approached their task somewhat differently, they adhered to certain principles in the process of identifying indicators of well-being within their domain.

As part of the first objective in their task, the research teams generated broad conceptual definitions of the essential meaning of the domains. These definitions served to characterize the nature of the domain’s contribution to well-being and to help guide the development of a conceptual structure for the domain and the identification of indicators (see Table 16.1).



**Fig. 16.1** The Canadian Index of Wellbeing conceptual framework



**Table 16.1** Domains of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing

Domain	Description
Community vitality	Vital communities are those that have strong, active and inclusive relationships among residents, the private and public sectors, and civil society organisations – relationships that promote individual and collective well-being
Democratic engagement	Engagement democratically is the state of being involved in advancing democracy through political institutions, organisations, and activities. A healthy democracy requires ongoing democratic engagement both during and between elections
Education	Education is the systematic instruction, schooling, or training given to the young in preparation for the work of life, and by extension, similar instruction or training obtained in adult age. Societies that thrive encourage that thirst for knowledge – at every age and stage
Environment	The environment is the foundation upon which human societies are built – it is the basis for our health, our communities, and our economy, and is the source of our sustained well-being. It involves our efforts to prevent waste and damage, and to revitalise the quality and sustainability of all our resources
Healthy populations	Healthy populations considers not only the physical, mental, and social well-being of the population, but also examines life expectancy, lifestyle and behaviours, and the circumstances that influence health as well as health care quality, access, and public health services
Leisure and culture	By participating in leisure and cultural activities, whether arts, culture, or recreation, we contribute to our well-being as individuals, to our communities, and to society as a whole. As forms of human expression, they help to fully define our lives, the meaning we derive from them, and ultimately, our well-being
Living standards	Living standards considers the level and distribution of income and wealth, with particular emphasis on poverty rates, income volatility, employment, economic security, and work-related issues and outcomes
Time use	Time use measures how people experience and spend their time, and how the use of our time affects well-being. The implicit assumption is the notion of <i>balance</i> , and therefore considers the length of our work week and our work arrangements, our levels of time pressure, and the time we spend in leisure and volunteerism

As the literature review was proceeding, potential indicators were selected based on the amount of compelling evidence demonstrating the direct links of an aspect of the domain to well-being, whether at the individual, community, or broader societal level. Consequently, caution had to be exercised to avoid selecting factors – and hence indicators – where the evidence of their links to well-being were contested in the empirical literature. Further, indicator selection was intended to include a mix of objective and subjective indicators. The distinction between objective and subjective indicators is typically that the former are measures of individual or community circumstances (e.g., property crime rate) whereas the latter are persons' perceptions or appraisals of those circumstances (e.g., feelings of safety from crime within one's neighbourhood). A combination of both types of

indicators has been regarded as a more meaningful strategy for capturing quality of life (Diener 2006).

Once a broad array of indicators had been generated based on the literature review, the process of narrowing the list down to the key indicators was initiated considering a set of four criteria: (1) *validity* – the extent to which the indicator was directly related to well-being based on compelling evidence in the literature; (2) *quality* – the extent to which the indicator could be derived from credible sources and was easy to define and understand; (3) *reliability* – consistency in the way in which the indicator has been measured in different years (e.g., consistent question wording across survey years); and (4) *feasibility* – the extent to which data were available and relatively easily accessible. The first two criteria – validity and quality – were given greater importance in the rating process by the research

team thereby ensuring that the “best” indicators *conceptually* were identified. The ratings of indicators on the second two criteria – reliability and feasibility – were guided more by pragmatic concerns and took into consideration the availability of data sources. The research teams reviewed the highest rated indicators to ensure that they reflected the components of the domain’s conceptual structure.

Ultimately, practical concerns strongly affected the final decision on which indicators to recommend. The process for identifying and evaluating indicators was conducted in conjunction with the exploration of available national data sources because even if an indicator had great conceptual promise, if there were no data to support it (i.e., feasibility), it could not practically be included on the final list. As the criteria suggest, data had to be available from credible sources such as Statistics Canada – known for the reliability, validity, accessibility, and timeliness of its data collection – and gathered consistently over a number of years so changes and trends could be tracked. Despite these practical constraints, each of the other reports followed a similar approach by first developing a conceptual structure to guide and define how its domain contributed to individual and community well-being and then identifying indicators that, based on the research literature, were consistently and directly related to well-being.

By way of illustration, the domain report for *Community Vitality*, which was prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD), offered a conceptual structure that emphasized the importance of “understanding vitality as the capacity to thrive and change in the pursuit of individual and social well-being, in ways that are inclusive and respectful of the needs and aspirations of diverse communities” (Scott 2010, p. 56). The structure identified two major components underpinning community vitality, along with their sub-components: (1) *social relationships*, which includes a consideration of citizens’ social engagement, social support networks, and elements of community safety; and (2) *social norms and values*, which includes citizens’ attitudes on issues of trust, respect for diversity, and sense of community belonging. These components and sub-components lead to the identifica-

tion of relevant data sources and the specific indicators that measured the contribution of community vitality to overall well-being. Adhering to the same criteria for selection, eight indicators were identified that are now used to reflect the contribution of the *Community Vitality* domain to Canadians’ well-being (see Table 16.2).

### **Compiling the Indicators into Domain and the CIW Composite Indices**

Once the most viable eight indicators had been identified to represent each domain, the next task was to compile all of the indicators for the years since 1994 to establish trends for each indicator and to prepare for the consolidation of the eight indicators into a composite index for each domain. The baseline year of 1994 was selected as the starting point for tracking indicators because it coincided with the initiation of national surveys that were planned to be re-administered to large, representative samples of Canadians in subsequent years. However, depending on the data source, measures for each indicator may or may not have been available for every year since 1994. For example, measures for all eight indicators defining the *Living Standards* domain are available for every year whereas for domains such as *Leisure and Culture* and *Community Vitality*, data are available only periodically for some indicators. Consequently, a simple algorithm was created to estimate measures for intervening years between those for which “real” data points are available. Further, because the indicators used many different units of measure (e.g., participation in time per year, expenditures in dollars, ratings on scales), to allow for direct comparisons, the baseline year of 1994 was set to 100 and each subsequent year was calibrated as a percentage change from the preceding year. This not only facilitated direct comparisons, but set the stage for compiling the indicators into a single index representing the domain for each year and for monitoring trends for each domain over the entire study period (Michalos et al. 2011).

A composite index for each of the domains was determined by compiling the standardised percentage changes over the years and calculat-

ing the mean of those changes within each year for all eight indicators. The trends in those changes over the designated time period can then be tracked and an overall percentage change calculated to reveal how the domain had fared, whether it showed improvement or decline. Finally, change in overall well-being was calculated by taking the mean score for the average percentage change for each of the eight domains in each of the years under consideration (see Fig. 16.1). Similar to the trends for each domain, the composite mean score of the eight domains can be tracked over time to reflect trends in Canadians’ overall well-being.

Consequently, the CIW can track changes in well-being over time at the individual indicator level, at the domain level – often referred to as a “dashboard approach” – and overall in a composite index of well-being incorporating all eight of the domains. Trend data is therefore available to provide three different means of describing how Canadians’ well-being has changed – for better or for worse – from 1994 to 2013, and in particular, to describe and understand the contribution that a single domain and each of its indicators made to well-being. First, the overall composite index for the CIW could be calculated, reflecting the contribution of all eight domains and their constituent indicators to well-being. This composite measure, which reveals annual changes in well-being since the base year of 1994, can be held up to comparison with GDP and the changes it saw over the same time period (see Fig. 16.2). In principle, if Canadians’ well-being had been improving to the same degree as GDP, we would expect to see similar rates of change in the trends of both composite indices. With an almost 30 % increase in economic productivity, but only 7.5 % in well-being, that clearly has not been happening.

### Development of the CIW’s Community Wellbeing Survey

With the release of the national index, considerable interest was generated among not-for-profit organizations and communities wishing to assess well-being locally in order to more effectively

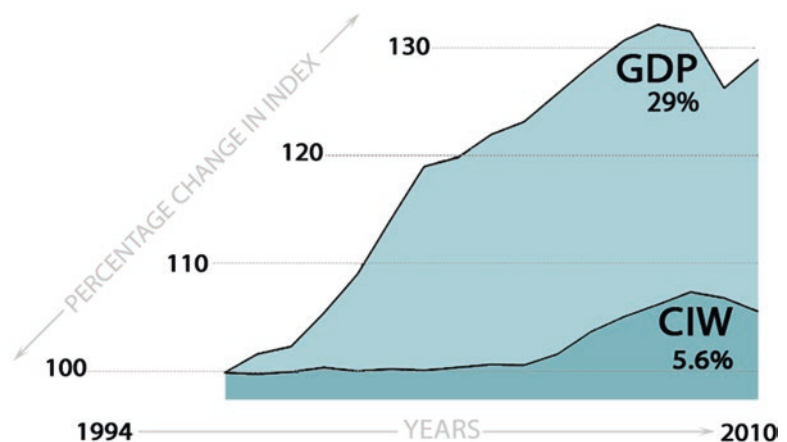
**Table 16.2** Well-being indicators for the *Community Vitality* domain

Component	
<i>Sub-component</i>	Indicator
Social engagement	
Social and civic participation	Percentage of population reporting participation in organized activities
	Percentage of population who provide unpaid help to other living on their own
Social support	Percentage of population with six or more close friends
Community safety	Crime severity index
	Percentage of population that feels safe from crime walking alone at night
Social norms and values	
Attitudes towards community	Percentage of population that feels most or many people can be trusted
	Percentage of population that has experienced discrimination in the past 5 years
	Percentage of population reporting a very or somewhat strong sense of belonging to the community

*Note:* All of these indicators are derived from ongoing national surveys conducted by Statistics Canada (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/start-debut-eng.html>) and include the General Social Surveys (GSS) on Social Engagement and Time Use; the Canadian Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating; the Canadian Community Health Survey; and the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey

allocate resources, provide programs, and target services that could improve residents’ quality of life. This interest led to the creation of the Community Wellbeing Survey, guided by the CIW framework, to gather information on the subjective well-being of residents. The Survey provides a comprehensive assessment of factors linked to individual and community quality of life in each of the eight domains as well as measures of overall well-being. It allows communities to see how each domain contributes separately to well-being, understand linkages between domains, and identify areas where residents feel more can be done to enhance well-being. Furthermore, it offers a source of locally relevant, timely, and accessible data to community part-

**Fig. 16.2** Trends in Canadian well-being based the CIW compared to GDP (per capita) from 1994 to 2010



ners because the data sources for many of the national indicators cannot easily be disaggregated to the local or regional level.

The Community Wellbeing Survey is administered in collaboration with community-based partners – municipal governments, local not-for-profit organizations, and/or community “collectives” – who have come together with a desire to bring about positive change in the lives of their residents. By providing local knowledge and understanding of community issues, collaborations with partners are critical to provide local context, insights concerning the results, and ultimately, the leverage to mobilize resources for change.

### Creating the Community Wellbeing Survey

Drawing on the CIW framework, the Community Wellbeing Survey included several questions within each domain concerning the factors and circumstances that had direct bearing on the well-being of people’s lives within their communities. As mentioned, not all of the sources of data for the indicators defining the CIW composite index could be directly adapted to the community level in a resident survey, so the Survey’s design and the questions included were based on three principles. First, questions derived from nationally representative surveys used as indicators in the

national CIW composite index were selected as long as the question was meaningful at a community level. For example, one of the indicators for the *Community Vitality* domain used to generate the CIW index was taken from a question used in various cycles of the nationally administered General Social Survey: “How many *close friends* do you have, that is, people who are not your relatives, but who you feel at ease with, can talk to about what is on your mind, or call on for help?” Using the same questions in the Community Wellbeing Survey maintains consistency with the CIW framework and provides the opportunity to compare the results from a community to those for the province and country as a whole.

Second, when questions from national surveys were not available or not applicable to the local level, alternative questions and measures were drawn from the academic literature. For example, a scale measuring sense of community for local communities – an aspect strongly related to both individual and community well-being, and a characteristic of vital communities – was included in the survey based on the work of Prezza et al. (2009). The scale not only provides an overall measure of residents’ sense of belonging to their community, but also highlights key sub-dimensions of the construct: the extent to which they feel they have access to help in case of need, whether needs are adequately fulfilled, and their perceptions of the community’s social climate and bonds.

Finally, when appropriate measures were not available from national survey data sources or directly from the academic literature, new questions were created to capture selected aspects within domains. The creation of these questions was guided by both scholarly work and other credible sources (e.g., the OECD) and adapted to be meaningful to residents. For example, indicators within the CIW's national index for the *Environment* domain included objective measures of environmental conditions such as greenhouse gas emissions and ground-level ozone. Asking residents for their perceptions of such objective measures survey was not seen as a viable approach. In order to capture these aspects consistent with the CIW framework, the Survey adopted the OECD's strategy of asking individuals to report, for example, their participation in conservation and recycling activities such as reducing energy and water consumption, and recycling household materials (OECD 2104).

In addition to questions pertaining to each of the eight domains, the Survey asked residents to rate their level of satisfaction with 16 items linked to each of the domains, which provides domain specific measures as well as an overall measure of well-being. The Survey also included a comprehensive set of demographic questions, which set the stage for deeper analyses of groups of interest in the community (e.g., low income residents, un- and under-employed; new immigrants) to determine if their well-being is at greater risk due to the circumstances within which they live. From these analyses, communities are able to develop well-informed, specific strategies to facilitate change that enhances the well-being of residents within the community who may be marginalized or disadvantaged in some way.

## Procedures for Administering the Survey in the Community

### Sample

In order for the data derived from the Community Wellbeing Survey to have the greatest utility, a sample of residents must be selected that is representative and of sufficient size to permit subse-

quent analyses of sub-groups and areas. Consequently, to ensure representativeness of the final sample, the total number of households selected to take part in the survey is based on a sample that is randomly selected and stratified proportionately by geographic area to capture all parts of the community, including connected outlying areas if they fall within the jurisdiction of the municipality. In some instances, smaller population areas are over-sampled to ensure their inclusion.

To select the sample, data from the most recent Census of Canada are used to determine the total number of residential households in the community and their geographic distribution. Working backwards, for example, if a final sample of 1,500 households for a mid-sized community (e.g., 150,000 population) is desired, and anticipating conservatively a response rate of 20 %, then approximately 6,000 households are randomly selected as part of the initial survey population. Adjustments are made depending on the population size of the community and its geographic reach; for smaller communities, a higher percentage of households might be initially selected to ensure a large enough final sample.

Upon completion of the *Survey*, the community's demographic profile is assessed against census data and the data are weighted to ensure that the results are representative of the character and make-up of the residents. For example, if the respondents are predominantly older or if a neighbourhood in the community is under-represented, then the data are weighted based on relevant census data to ensure the sample results are characteristic of the community-wide profile.

### Process

The CIW Community Wellbeing Survey is a self-administered questionnaire made available to sampled residents in two forms. The primary method of data collection is through an online survey system, and the secondary method is with a mailed-back, paper questionnaire that potential participants can request in lieu of completing the online version. The process for administering the *Survey* begins with a community leader (with whom the CIW is partnering) sending a letter to

each of the randomly selected households, inviting a member of each household at least 18 years of age to participate in the CIW *Survey*. The letter includes the website where the questionnaire can be accessed (URL) and a unique five-digit code for each respondent to use for authentication. Approximately 2 weeks after the invitation letter has been mailed, a reminder postcard is mailed to all of the originally sampled households who have not yet responded, reminding them about the survey and encouraging them to participate. A second reminder is sent about 1 week later if necessary, although additional reminders are encouraged depending on resources.

Prior to and throughout the administration of the survey, community partners assist with raising community awareness and interest in the survey by involving their memberships and constituents and by engaging local media. These efforts serve to increase response rates and, importantly, bring the community together around issues of common concern.

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### Three Examples of the CIW Community Wellbeing Survey in Context

In this section, we provide examples of how the survey has been adopted by three community partners which are organizationally distinct, but shared the goal of advancing well-being among residents. Each of the three community partners had a different organizational structure, purpose, and specific objectives for the survey, but they were all equally concerned with understanding determinants of well-being in their respective communities in order to most effectively target resources to areas of greatest need. The examples presented here are drawn from a municipal government, a Community Foundation, and an umbrella organization representing a multi-sectoral collaboration of community-based groups. Comparisons are provided on selected aspects of well-being using survey data to illustrate differences and similarities between communities, followed by examples of how the survey results influenced our partners' next steps

in promoting well-being in each of the communities.

### Three Unique Community Partnerships

#### Partner 1: A Municipality

The City of Guelph is located in Southern Ontario, about one hour's drive west of Toronto. It has a population of just over 120,000 people (Statistics Canada 2013a) and is comprised of six geographic wards, each with a different character and demographic profile. In 2011, the Mayor of Guelph commissioned *A Plan for Wellbeing in Guelph*, with the purpose of developing a comprehensive strategy for change that would include a clear set of goals designed to improve well-being in the community (Taylor et al. 2011). To guide the process, the City of Guelph adopted the CIW framework to explore the state of well-being in Guelph, recognizing that well-being is a complex construct that includes multiple, inter-related factors that merit consideration in a broader context. The initiative included several strategies that emphasized citizen engagement in assessing well-being, one of which was the Community Wellbeing Survey, which was conducted in 2012. With the evidence provided by the survey, the municipality hoped to develop an informed community plan to enhance well-being, and then direct resources strategically in order to implement the plan.

#### Partner 2: A Community Foundation

In late 2012, the CIW entered into a partnership with the Community Foundations of Canada to pilot the Community Wellbeing Survey with member organizations that regularly produce Vital Signs® reports. Community Foundations are philanthropic, volunteer organizations located in almost 200 communities in Canada and more than 1,700 cities throughout North America and internationally. They manage privately accumulated endowment funds and strive to strengthen communities by providing funding to a broad spectrum of community projects and services designed to nurture and build community assets

(Community Foundations of Canada n.d.). The Vital Signs® reports, which are produced at the local level, provide a periodic community checkup that measures community vitality, identifies social and economic trends, and supports actions to improve quality of life. An ongoing challenge to developing an insightful report that accurately identifies community strengths and weaknesses is finding locally relevant, timely, and accessible data. In 2013, the Community Foundation of Kingston and Area (CFKA) became the first to undertake a Community Wellbeing Survey for this purpose, and invited the local Public Health Unit to partner in the process. Located in southeastern Ontario, the city of Kingston is comprised of about 120,000 residents, and approximately another 40,000 people live in towns and villages in the surrounding area (Statistics Canada 2013b).

### Partner 3: A Community Coalition

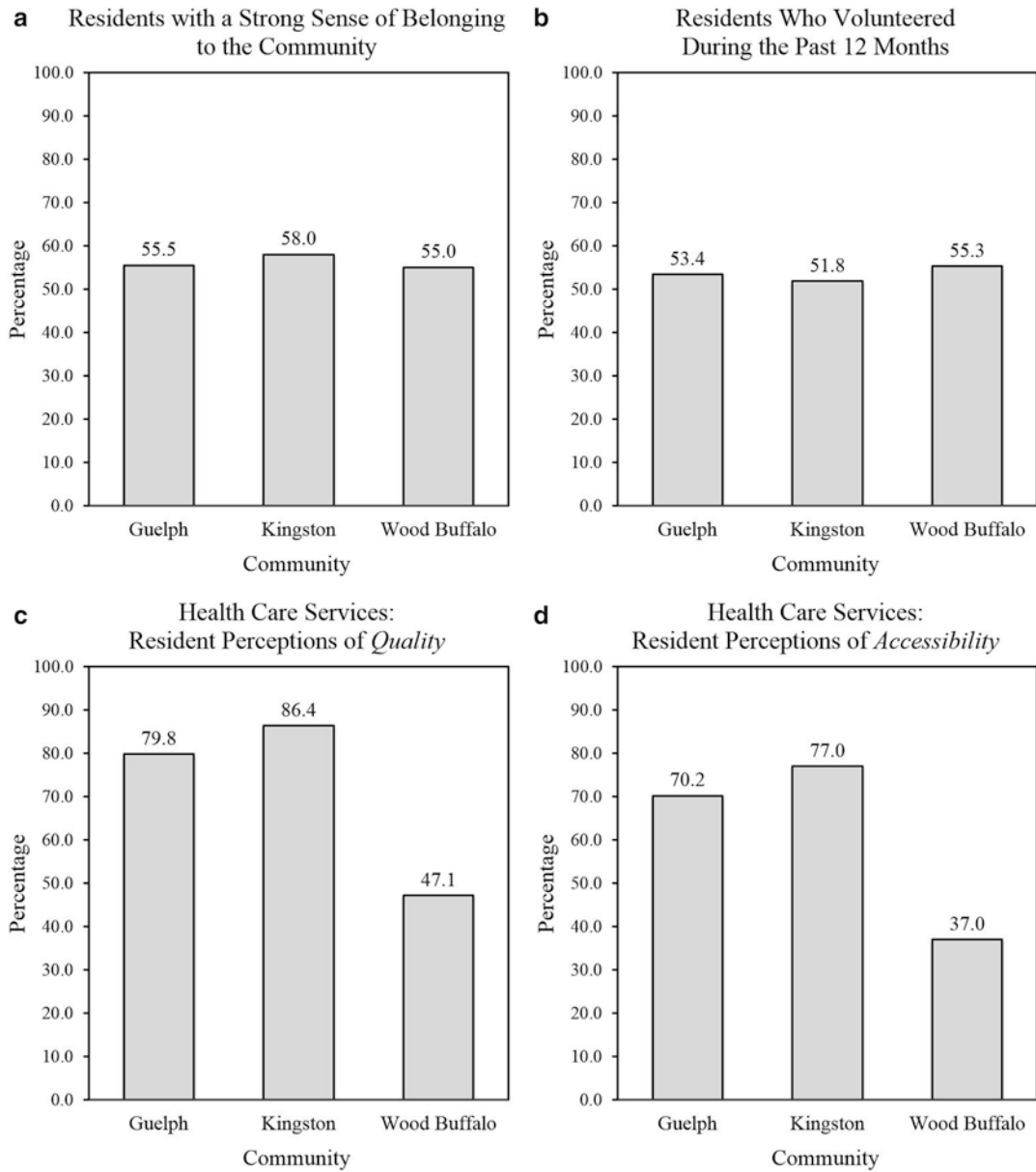
The third type of organization to partner with the CIW and conduct a Community Wellbeing Survey represented a consortium of community partners with a shared goal of building and sustaining social change and innovation in the region of Wood Buffalo in northern Alberta. The organization, Social Prosperity Wood Buffalo (SPWB), followed a *collective impact model*, where multi-stakeholder initiatives are thought to be more effective in addressing complex social issues or problems through a central organization, with “dedicated staff, and a structured process that leads to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants” (Kania and Kramer 2011, p. 38). SPWB brought together representatives of local government, the Suncor Energy Foundation, members of non-profit groups in Wood Buffalo, Tamarack (a charitable institute for community engagement), and the University of Waterloo. It was originally inspired by the vision of the Suncor Energy Foundation to build capacity among community-based non-profit organizations in order to improve quality of life in Wood Buffalo (Zywert 2014). The Wood Buffalo region is perhaps best known for its oil and gas resources and industries, and compared to the other two commu-

nity examples, has a population that is younger with more newcomers and young families. The main city, Fort McMurray, has a population of about 66,000, with an additional 1,300 people who reside in the surrounding rural area (Statistics Canada 2013c). The Community Wellbeing Survey was administered during the spring of 2014.

### Focal Interests of Community Partners

Following the survey, an initial report was provided to each community partner with details on all aspects related to each domain as well as measures of well-being and a demographic profile of residents. By comparing selected results, similarities and differences between the communities are evident (see Fig. 16.3) and provide the basis for learning from and sharing with one another. For example, Fig. 16.3a shows that in each community, just over half of the residents reported a strong sense of belonging, with just 3.0 % variation among communities. In Fig. 16.3b, we see that the percentage of people who volunteered in each community during the past year was similar, too, and in both examples, these results are similar to national patterns on these measures. In contrast, when residents were asked about their satisfaction with the quality and accessibility of health care services, notable differences between communities were evident. Kingston had the highest percentage of residents who rated both the quality and accessibility of services as good, very good, or excellent (86.4 % and 77.0 % respectively), followed relatively closely by the City of Guelph, which had about 7.0 % fewer residents rating health care quality and accessibility in their community as good or better. The percentages of residents in Wood Buffalo region, however, were substantially lower on ratings of both health care services quality and accessibility than in the other communities, indicating an area of concern that needs to be addressed in order to improve well-being among residents of Wood Buffalo (see Fig. 16.3c,d).

Beyond a common goal of gathering information to provide baseline data for assessing and



**Fig. 16.3** Resident characteristics on selected indicators of well-being

monitoring trends in well-being in the community, each partner organization had a mandate that centred on specific sector, sub-population, or other defining characteristics. Based on this mandate, the organizations chose to focus on learning more and gaining insights from the survey that would serve to facilitate its abilities to enact change in the community.

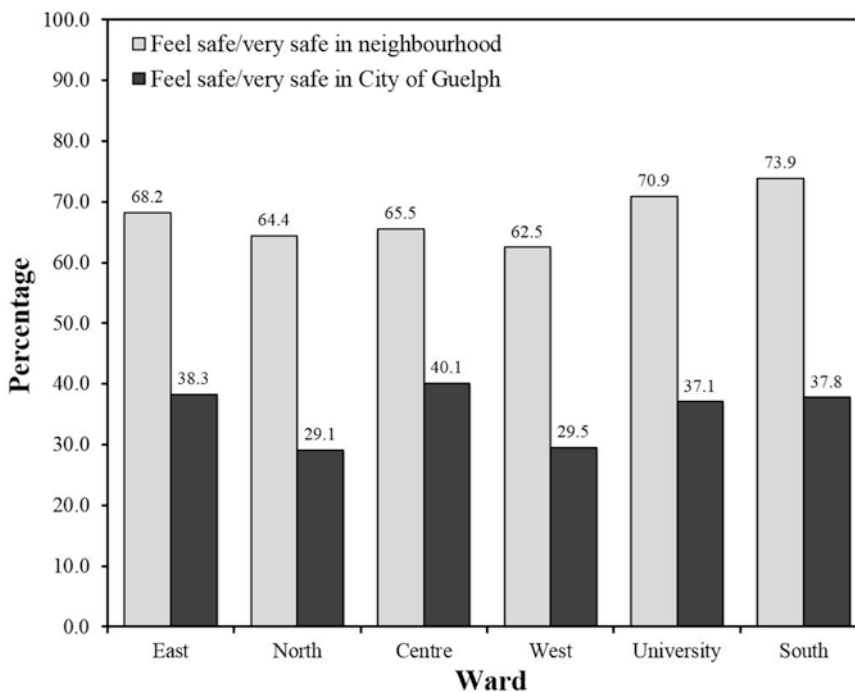
The City of Guelph was concerned with differences in well-being among its six geographic wards, especially with respect to community vitality and to leisure and culture, and in the relationship between income and well-being. For example, residents’ feelings of safety at night in both their neighbourhood and in the broader community were examined for differences by



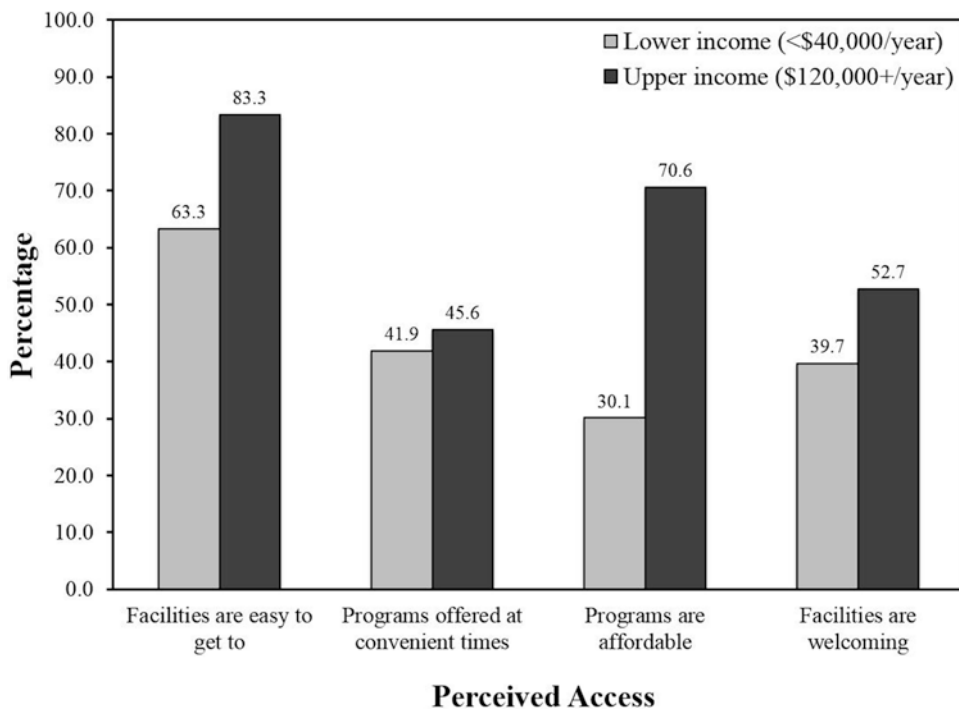
ward (see Fig. 16.4). Perhaps not surprisingly, a considerably higher percentage of people feel safer in their neighbourhood, where surroundings are familiar, compared to the rest of the community. Residents of the West ward stand out as having the lowest levels of perceived safety when compared to others, both at the neighbourhood and city level. This may point to real or perceived issues of safety and/or incidents of crime that the city could address. When looking more closely at the income gap with respect to access to leisure facilities, the City examined the extent to which people agree that recreation and cultural facilities are easy to get to, are offered at convenient times, provide affordable programs, and feel welcoming (see Fig. 16.5). The results illustrate that on all points of accessibility, people in the lowest income group feel that recreation and cultural facilities in the community are less accessible. Further, irrespective of the income difference, less than half of all residents believe that program times are convenient. These results indicate that the City could consider directing resources toward lower income groups to ensure equitable

access for all – a basic municipal goal of service provision – and explore alternative times and places for the delivery of its programs.

Like the City of Guelph, the Community Foundation of Kingston and Area (CFKA) was also interested in geographic and income differences, along with differences in well-being by age group. Further, with a municipal election approaching, they wanted to take a closer look at how participation in civic activities was related to well-being in each of the CIW domains. As a funding organization, they were in a position to ensure resources were provided to disadvantaged groups regardless of where they lived in the area. With its interest in civic activity, the CFKA also wanted to promote demographic engagement, especially among youth. To this end, a civic engagement index was created based on residents' participation in nine different civic activities during the previous 12 months. Examples of civic activities included such things attending a municipal council meeting, participating in a public demonstration or protest, joining a Facebook page on a local issue, and participating



**Fig. 16.4** Residents' perceptions of safety in their neighbourhood and in the city



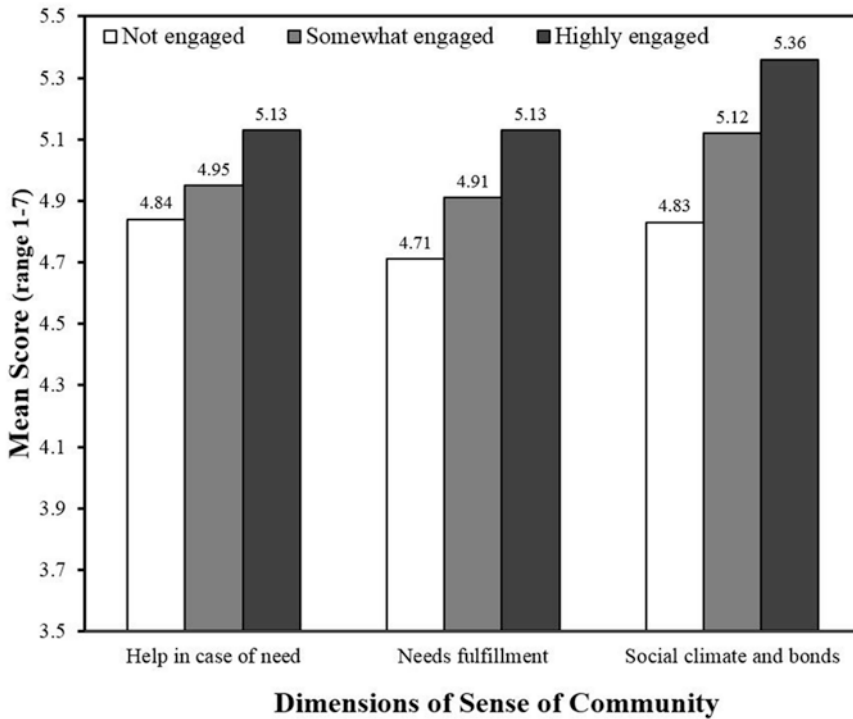
**Fig. 16.5** Residents' perceptions of accessibility to recreation facilities by income

in an event in support of the local community (e.g., “pick up litter days”). Based on the range of activities in which they participated during the past 12 months, residents were grouped into one of three categories: *not engaged* (no participation), *somewhat engaged* (participated in one or two activities), and *highly engaged* (participated in three or more activities).

The results showed that the Kingston residents who were highly engaged in civic activities volunteered more, did more to help the environment, participated more often in leisure activities, and reported greater satisfaction with life overall. Residents also had higher scores on several aspects of sense of community (Prezza et al. 2009) including social climate and bonds, needs fulfillment, and help in case of need (see Fig. 16.6). Conversely, those who were *not* civically engaged showed the lowest scores in each of these areas. These results raised some thought-provoking questions for CFKA, such as whether funding initiatives should be aimed at increasing civic engagement or, presuming that improvement in one area of well-being might spillover to

others, whether it might be more effective to promote greater volunteer participation or involvement in community recreation activities as way of indirectly enhancing both civic engagement and well-being (Phillips et al. 2014).

The initial results of the Wood Buffalo survey led Social Prosperity Wood Buffalo (SPWB) to focus their members' attention on differences between established and newcomer residents for two household types: those with children age 19 years or younger at home, and those without children at home. Household type was of particular importance to SPWB because a high proportion of residents have moved to Wood Buffalo primarily for work reasons, and concerns have been expressed over their ability to engage with the community and hence their quality of life. Generally, the findings indicated that residents with children at home, whether they were established or newcomers, volunteered more, had a stronger sense of belonging to the community, and reported higher levels of life satisfaction, although not surprisingly, they also felt somewhat more time pressure.



**Fig. 16.6** Residents' sense of dimensions of community belonging by level of civic engagement

SPWB was also keenly interested in how residents' sense of community belonging was linked to their quality of life. Similar to the Kingston findings with regard to civic participation, Wood Buffalo residents with a stronger sense of belonging volunteered more often, engaged in more community recreation activities, and reported the highest levels of life satisfaction. Given the prevalence of shift work and long work hours in the oil and gas sector, SPWB also wanted to better understand how these factors were related to sense of belonging. The findings showed that a much higher percentage of people with a strong sense of belonging had a regular Monday to Friday daytime schedule (60.6%), as compared to those on regular shift work (28.6%), or reporting an irregular work routine (10.8%). Clearly, those residents with non-traditional work schedules, who represent a significant part of the community, are finding it more difficult to feel a part of it.

Reflecting upon these results, SPWB decided to use the survey in a different way. Rather than

looking at factors to see how they might be related to well-being, they organized the residents into groups based on their well-being – below average, at or near average, and above average levels of satisfaction with overall well-being – and then examined the characteristics of each group. Using this approach, SPWB discovered some interesting, although perhaps not entirely unexpected, results. For example, continuing with the focus on paid work, about one-third of Wood Buffalo residents with below average well-being (33.4%) reported regularly working 60 h per week or more, whereas fewer than one-fifth of those with at or near average well-being (19.1%) or above average well-being (17.1%) worked similarly long hours (Smale and Hilbrecht 2014). With respect to health care, accessibility to health care services was rated as good or better by a substantially higher percentage of people with above average well-being (61.3%) than residents with average well-being (35.2%) or people with below average well-being (20.9%) (Smale and Hilbrecht 2014).

These results provide further support for the importance of directing efforts and resources to addressing health care infrastructure needs, especially in light of low levels of accessibility and quality of health care services noted earlier in comparison to other Canadian communities.

Community partners in SPWB also were interested in comparing the results from the community well-being survey to provincial and national figures. With some questions drawn directly from surveys regularly undertaken by Statistics Canada, comparisons to provincial and national benchmarks were possible. Based on these comparisons, partner organizations could look for underlying reasons for differences in their respective community and begin initiatives to address discrepancies. For example, the Wood Buffalo Community Wellbeing Survey revealed that the number of weekly work hours reported by residents ( $M = 46.4$ ,  $SD = 15.0$ ) exceeded the average for both the province of Alberta ( $M = 44.4$ ,  $SD = 13.0$ ) and Canada ( $M = 42.1$ ,  $SD = 12.4$ ) reported in the 2010 General Social Survey (Cycle 24). These findings served to alert industry partners to consider more closely monitoring weekly work hours because over the course of a year, Wood Buffalo residents work approximately 100 h more than other Albertans, and 200 h more than other Canadians, which has implications for the quality of both community and work life.

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### **Making Measures Matter: From Measurement to Impact**

One of the strengths of the Community Wellbeing Survey is that the holistic framework allows a more multi-faceted understanding of well-being in the community. In addition, the survey captures a considerable amount of demographic information that provides local context to help make sense of the well-being data. Organizations can then direct their attention to areas that fit best within their scope of influence, and where they are most advantageously situated to effect social change. The different features of the structure of the three community examples and their partner

organizations provide both strengths and limitations to how the data may be used to best advantage. Common to all three communities, however, is the recognition that change takes time, whether in implementing services or in creating a broader cultural shift toward well-being-focused policy.

### **Guelph: Four Themes for Initiating Improvement**

The City of Guelph saw the Community Wellbeing Survey as an opportunity not only to collect baseline data, but also to identify areas of greatest need. From the information derived from the survey, as well as from other citizen engagement processes, four key areas of concern emerged: social connectivity, physical connectivity, food security, and affordable housing (City of Guelph 2014a). The data suggest that addressing these areas will have the greatest impact on overall well-being in the community.

The survey revealed that 27.4 % of residents did not feel connected to their community, which is a cause for concern because of the relationship between sense of belonging and physical and mental health. In response, the City is focusing on enhancing the capacity of local non-profit organizations by facilitating shared space, resources, and knowledge exchange capabilities (City of Guelph 2014b). They also have committed to supporting ongoing communication between community organizations to promote greater streamlining of resources and more targeted delivery to those with the greatest need.

Physical connectivity is a key issue because of concerns about traffic congestion (47 % of citizens believed it was a problem) and reliance on cars for transportation, especially in newer neighbourhoods. Over-reliance on cars is not only linked to lower levels of physical activity, it also excludes people who do not drive or cannot afford their own vehicle. In response, the City plans to increase bicycle lanes and parking, to continue to provide active, accessible transportation options, and to work with local developers to access land for walking and bicycle paths (City of Guelph 2014c). Like social connectivity, the

City also is recommending better integration of organizational resources to coordinate administrative functions and more data collection to gain a better understanding of barriers and constraints to connectivity.

Food security focuses on food use, food availability, and food access. Observable increases in the cost of food and the number of people using food banks contributed to just over 16 % of households in Guelph being considered food insecure, with seniors, children, and youth disproportionately affected. Not having enough food was more common among residents in the lowest income category, with over 10 % not having enough food at least once per month compared to less than 1 % of residents in the highest income category. There are a number of community groups dedicated to alleviating food insecurity, but they often operate in isolation. The City is recommending pooling resources and coordinating food distribution functions, communications, and data and resources (City of Guelph 2014d).

Affordable housing is strongly tied to health, employment, and social inclusion. The survey showed that one-third of the lowest income group (32.9 %) felt that their residence was barely affordable, and even more (37.5 %) sometimes could not meet their other needs in order to afford their current residence. A contributing factor is that Guelph has one of the lowest vacancy rates in the province of Ontario. Among the recommendations provided by the City were supporting advocacy efforts for Social Impact Bonds, a form of social impact financing that links investors to social service providers. The City also is committed to exploring and piloting housing programs such as *home sharing* with common facilities for cooking, eating, laundry, and workshops (City of Guelph 2014e). The strategy is viewed as particularly beneficial for older adults because it can help to alleviate some of the financial burden and allow them to remain in their homes longer.

### **Community Foundation of Kingston and Area: Informing Vital Signs®**

The primary purpose of the CFKA in conducting the survey was to obtain current, locally specific data in order to create a more relevant Vital Signs® report and thereby direct philanthropic resources to areas of greatest need. These goals were met, and there were additional benefits that emerged from the process. First, the Community Wellbeing Survey was seen to raise the visibility, profile, and credibility of the CFKA in the local region. Although the organization had been in existence and active in the community for some time, the survey generated greater awareness of the organization and the opportunities for funding charitable organizations in the area. Second, conducting the survey in partnership with KFLA Public Health served to elevate the Community Foundation's role to an active participant in public policy making. Third, the collaborative development of the survey and the sharing of results in a public forum provided opportunities to collaborate with other organizations and to facilitate community dialogue (Hilbrecht et al. 2014). In particular, the data were seen to be helpful in building more effective health promotion policies. The survey indicated, for example, that although KFLA Public Health had a strategic priority to promote healthy active living, residents reported relatively low usage of municipal facilities such as arenas, swimming pools, and outdoor rinks, and in addition, low levels of monthly participation in vigorous exercise. These findings led to a greater focus on more effective health promotion strategies and priority funding for facility access. Moreover, the collaborative effort between CFKA and KFLA Public Health helped to reduce silo decision-making with regard to community well-being strategies, and drew greater attention to the role of the public health agency in the community.

## Social Prosperity Wood Buffalo

A goal of SPWB was to generate baseline data with the Community Wellbeing Survey that would more easily allow the partner organizations to monitor trends in well-being and the impact of shared initiatives in the community. There had been little targeted data collection previously in Wood Buffalo, so an important contribution of the survey was to provide empirical evidence of demographic, attitudinal, and experiential factors associated with well-being in the region. The population of Wood Buffalo is small relative to its geographic size, and data from Statistics Canada can be difficult to access for the Regional Municipality, if available at all. Moreover, there are few other reliable, regularly updated sources of data. The community has experienced rapid growth during the past 5–10 years, leading to significant changes in the region's demographic composition with concomitant implications for social services, municipal policies, and demands on the local infrastructure. The CIW framework was seen as an optimal way to facilitate a common dialogue between members of the community consortium and, ultimately, to implement a shared measurement system. The survey was conducted relatively recently, so there has been less time to implement policy change based on the results. Nevertheless, the *Wood Buffalo Strategy Roadmap* has been developed with alignment on several aspects of the CIW framework and the Community Wellbeing Survey. The roadmap is a planning document that allows the social profit sector to set priorities, monitor change, and avoid duplication in specific areas (FuseSocial 2014). About half of the Community Wellbeing Survey questions are being used to track indicators outlined in the document, which uses a common language to facilitate understanding among multiple partners in well-being initiatives.

## Measuring Well-Being in Communities: Challenges and Considerations

The preceding sections have outlined some important outcomes from efforts to measure well-being in communities. Although the nature and structure of partner organizations differed, consistent among them was a need for timely and reliable local data that addressed well-being from a holistic perspective. All partners understood that efforts to improve well-being cut across domains and that improvements in one area would likely have a ripple effect that could result in improvements to overall quality of community life. By working with different types of partner organizations, a number of similar characteristics emerged that contributed to (or detracted from) a successful survey experience. In this section, we highlight five of these factors: partner commitment and leadership, engaging local stakeholders, access to resources, communications, and realistic timelines. We also discuss ongoing challenges and considerations with measuring well-being in communities.

Gathering high quality data that meets community needs is dependent on a number of attributes. The first key factor is *partner commitment and leadership*. Partner organizations are often working with other groups in the community to conduct the survey, and clear and specific goals and objectives for the survey must be set to ensure that everyone understands how the community will use the data to enhance quality of life. To facilitate this unified vision for the survey, a clear leadership structure is necessary to organize the survey administration, address issues as they arise, provide feedback to residents, and liaise with external organizations.

Related to the first point, the success of the survey in reaching its vision can be significantly facilitated by *engaging local stakeholders*. Input

from local stakeholders, especially during the early stages, helps to ensure that they have the opportunity to provide suggestions and feedback on the questionnaire, and voice any concerns about community issues or sub-populations that may have been overlooked. Further, if community groups can benefit from access to the data, they are more likely to promote survey participation among people who use their services. They also may offer resources, either monetary or in-kind, to facilitate survey uptake among groups that might not be as likely to respond, but whose experiences are vital to capture in order to effectively measure and plan for the well-being of all community members (e.g., at-risk or vulnerable populations, youth, persons with a chronic illness or disability).

A third factor in the success of the survey is *access to resources*. Resources include not only adequate financial support, but also human resources and time. Depending on the type of organization leading the administration of the survey, they may be able to provide services and support that can offset expenditures on communications, printing, and/or postage. The City of Guelph, for example, was able to cover costs associated with mailing the Mayor's letter to residents inviting them to participate in the survey. Additionally, the community organization or partners in the process may be able to provide staff supports to serve as community-based liaisons who can address any concerns raised by residents about the questionnaire itself or with technical issues arising during the completion of the survey.

*Communications*, both internal and external to the organization, need to be clear and effective. Among the participating organizations, regular updates, reporting, and feedback on the survey process help all parties to prepare for next steps and to be aware of any problems, concerns, or changes to original plans. Externally, effectively promoting the survey to the community's residents is particularly helpful. Given the volume of "junk mail" – both print and electronic – that people contend with on a daily basis, a survey invitation can easily be dismissed, especially if

the sender is unfamiliar. By working together with partners prior to data collection, awareness of the survey and its relevance to the community's residents can help to boost response rates.

Finally, establishing *realistic timelines* for the entire survey process is critical. The initial planning and pilot stages can sometimes expand beyond time allotted, especially when multiple stakeholders and/or other community partners are involved in the process. For example, allowing extra time during the initial development and pilot testing stages can help to ensure that the administration of the survey does not spill over into holiday periods or other times when data collection might be compromised. Also, setting time aside to communicate initial findings with partners is important so that the results – whether expected or unanticipated – can be fully considered in light of the goals and objectives of the community partner.

In terms of ongoing challenges, participant burden remains a concern. With questions related to each of eight domains, overall well-being, and numerous demographic factors, the time commitment requested of residents can be substantial. The trade-off between a shorter questionnaire and a more fulsome range of data can be difficult to balance without affecting response rates. Further, communities are increasingly expressing an interest in understanding well-being among recent immigrants. With growing levels of diversity and multiculturalism in Canada, languages other than English and French may be preferred for the questionnaire, which raises challenges for ensuring accurate translation and providing assistance to potential respondents if needed. With respect to partner organizations, a variety of options for generating clearer and more graphic presentations of findings in survey reports must be considered to make the results more accessible and meaningful. Relatedly, some community partners may need support to effectively interpret results to enable insights into how they might be used to promote change. Again, when establishing realistic timelines, setting aside adequate time to meet with partners and discuss the community issues and questions they hope to address,

is helpful both in establishing how the data can create possibilities for doing so and how the findings can be interpreted to satisfy their needs.

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## Implications for Policy Change

As the previous examples have illustrated, examining the well-being of individuals and communities can lead to positive social change by better understanding the factors that contribute to and detract from quality of life. More broadly, the examination of well-being has the capacity to effect changes to policy in three important and interrelated ways: (1) by monitoring progress in order to identify those areas in which we are doing well, holding course, or falling behind; (2) by informing policy design with innovative solutions to address areas of concern; and (3) through policy appraisal to assess their effectiveness in enhancing individual, community, and societal well-being (Dolan et al. 2011). On the first point, regular monitoring of well-being and those factors related to it can position governments and organizations to be more responsive to trends as their communities evolve and change with shifts in social, economic, and environmental conditions. When trends in well-being falter, communities are better prepared to identify the factors that have coincided with those trends and take informed and decisive action. Such action can be more innovative by recognizing the multiplicity of factors that contribute both directly and indirectly to well-being and then devising solutions that integrate an understanding of their collective and complex interactions. This approach moves away from the “one problem, one solution” style of policy development that typically ignores these complex interactions of factors that contribute to well-being, and rather, leads to policies designed to address more and broader issues of public good. Over time, the ongoing monitoring of well-being and of innovative policy design can be assessed to determine which actions have led to the most effective changes in community development and overall quality of life.

Using evidence-based decision-making and policy development based on community well-

being has the added potential to avoid solutions that are overly generic and continue to marginalize certain groups within our communities. However, if done with recognition of the implications for all residents, evidence-based approaches to policy are superior to those solutions driven by ideology or political expediency. In the case of the CIW, its lengthy, rigorous, and highly consultative process helps to ensure that solutions are based on values shared by Canadians and result in a greater degree of social justice, especially for those frequently left behind by “one size fits all” policy solutions. On balance, any changes to policy should be consistent with the CIW’s conceptual framework and recognize the intersection of each domain of life with other domains. Not only can changes be suggested for specific aspects of one domain, but solutions also might be suggested by a feature of another domain. Indeed, the interconnected nature of the conceptual framework grounding the CIW remind us of the necessarily complex nature of any policy solutions – changes in one domain have implications for and are influenced by changes in all others domains of well-being. Part of the solution to enhancing well-being, therefore, involves not only addressing aspects of, for example, community vitality, but also, for example, working towards more balanced time use, ensuring better living standards to create more opportunities beyond employment, and building a stronger sense of community where citizens are more engaged democratically and mutually supportive.

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# Building Well-Being: Neighbourhood Flourishing and Approaches for Participatory Urban Design Intervention

# 17

Jamie Anderson and Cathy Baldwin

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## Introduction

Life is changing in our cities and neighbourhoods with the pressure of global challenges such as economic crises, health epidemics and the effects of climate change. Communities need to develop their collective strengths to support each other and collaborate (Baldwin and King [forthcoming](#)) in order to maintain or improve both their individual and social well-being (GOS [2008](#)). In turn, strong communities experiencing high levels of well-being are more likely to develop the ‘adaptive capacity’ (Berkes and Ross [2013](#)) to respond resiliently to challenges (Zautra et al. [2008](#)). Additional benefits associated with subjective well-being (SWB) include better learning and productivity, pro-social behaviour, stronger relationships and tolerance of others (GOS [2008](#)). Designing our cities to support SWB is a key opportunity to address challenges that require strong communities.

Further rationale for linking well-being and urban design, and reasons why both are of con-

temporary importance, are twofold. Firstly, international interest in well-being policy, particularly subjective measures of individual short-term (e.g. happiness) and evaluative (e.g. life satisfaction) well-being, has increased dramatically in countries including France, Canada, the USA, Mexico and the UK (Legatum Institute [2014](#)). Psychologists have now developed scientifically robust measures of sustained well-being or *flourishing* (Seligman [2011](#); Huppert and So [2013](#)), but interest in community SWB lags behind. We introduce and apply a new framework for *neighbourhood flourishing* (NF), a subset of community well-being, to urban design to draw these two fields together. Urban design can, itself, promote or aim at promoting well-being.

Secondly, local involvement in urban design can be positive for well-being and community empowerment. National and local governments in countries, such as the UK, New Zealand, and some US states<sup>1</sup>, have shown an interest, sometime rhetorical in reality, in *localism* – greater local governance and development. Ideally, residents should be empowered to co-design and co-maintain their neighbourhoods alongside their local authorities (LGA [2013](#); McKinlay Douglas Ltd [2014](#)). Additionally, in urban planning and design theory, community participation or ‘co-design’ (King [1983](#)) are aligned with democratic

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Andrew Simmons, Urban Design Consultant, Washington DC, April 2015.

principles (Fagence 1977; Sanoff 2010): that people have opportunities to participate in collective decision-making that affects them (Sanoff 2010). The World Health Organisation (1999) also stated people’s right to participate in the development of policies which affect their lives. Heterogeneous communities require effective collaboration with local government officers (e.g. planning and health), private sector developers and other stakeholders.

Within the chapter, first we introduce the *neighbourhood flourishing framework* (NFF) and our conceptualisation of urban design. We then explore the application of the NFF to two urban design case studies, where two approaches – Extreme and Participatory Citizen Science (EPaCS) and Health Impact Assessment (HIA) – provide the vehicles by which participatory involvement in urban design may improve both actual designs and the prevalence of NF in general populations. The case studies centre on public spaces including green spaces and community buildings which, with appropriate designs, can invite social interaction and engagement, promote psychological feelings and community-building processes (see Talen 1999; Arup 2014), leading to an increase in NF.

We then map key pathways outlining connections between public involvement in urban design projects and potential positive NF outcomes. We

also review the strengths and weaknesses of EPaCS and HIA, finishing with recommendations and a synthesis of case study conclusions.

## Neighbourhood Flourishing

### A Neighbourhood Flourishing Framework

Our preliminary NFF aims at capturing subjective community well-being at neighbourhood-level (Tables 17.1 and 17.2). The NFF comprises 14 features splitting between two separate areas (*neighbourhood feelings* and *functionings*), each of which are related to a local geographical area.

The idea of community is not limited to geographical area (Anderson 1991; Obst and White 2005). In modern life, people interact in many networks – ‘personal communities’ (Pahl 2005; Morgan 2005) – that are not centred on the local socio-residential community (Baldwin 2012). This framework may not resonate within alternatives such as an online community or ‘communities-in-the-mind’ (Pahl 2005, p. 633). However, we concentrate on the idea of local networks within a neighbourhood. Socio-residential communities, where residence overlaps with face-to-face interaction and belonging (Tönnies 1887), are still an aspiration for some residents

**Table 17.1** Summary of neighbourhood feelings and example questionnaire items

Neighbourhood feelings	Description	Example item(s)
Belonging	This feature measures sense of belonging to people in the local area in terms of attachment and identification	I feel close to the people in my local area
Respect	Perception that other local people treat the respondent with respect	To what extent do you feel local people treat you with respect?
Trust	Social trust measures the extent to which respondents expect fairness from, and trust, other local people	Generally speaking, would you say that most local people can be trusted?
Support	Two sub-features: (a) The extent to which people feel they have others who support them. (b) Perception of how much people in the respondent’s local area help each other including all types of support	How many local people, if any, are there with whom you can discuss intimate and personal matters? To what extent do you feel that people in your local area help one another?
Safety	This feature measures how safe respondents feel when they use their neighbourhood in everyday life	How safe do you feel walking alone in this area during the day?

**Table 17.2** Summary of neighbourhood functionings and example survey items

Neighbourhood functionings	Description	Example item(s)
Reciprocity	This is a balance between give-and-take or reciprocity in social exchange i.e. perception of support from locals and providing help and support to them in turn	To what extent do you (a) receive help and support from local people? (b) provide help and support to local people when they need it?
Celebration <sup>a</sup>	Two sub-features: the extent to which people feel that their local community values and actively celebrates (a) fellow members and (b) creativity	To what extent do you (a) feel your community celebrates local achievements? (b) embraces creativity of local people?
Engagement	Refers to positive social relationships, that can be intimate or more informal – as in more numerous but more superficial	I greet people when walking in the neighbourhood I make a point of learning neighbours' names
Autonomy <sup>a</sup>	Residents' perceptions of their influence over the local area and in shaping community life or activities, free from others people's control	Do you agree or disagree that you can influence decisions affecting you local area?
Resilience <sup>a</sup>	Refers to returning to a previous level of normal functioning, following severe period of hardship	When things go wrong locally, it generally takes people a long time to get back to normal
Altruism	Genuinely doing something good for someone, for its own sake and not for personal gain	If I help someone locally, I do not expect some help in return
Contribution	The feature represents an evaluation of one's social value. It includes the belief that one is a vital member of society, with something of value to give to the world	Do you think you have something valuable to give to the local community
Optimism <sup>a</sup>	Optimism refers to an individual's assessment of the future of their local community as a whole	For most people locally life is getting worse rather than better
Participation <sup>a</sup>	Refers to the realisation of opportunities to be engaged and included locally – through access, cooperation, skill and effort	I participate in a good range of enjoyable activities locally

<sup>a</sup>New features introduced by author (Anderson)

(Baldwin 2012). They are often cited as the principal focus of urban design theory (Gehl 2011; Cooper-Marcus and Francis 1997) and policy (DCLG 2014; HCA 2000).

The proposed NFF and its nuanced range of definitions and associated questions are based on previously developed survey items. However, in most cases the questions have been adapted to reflect a geographical orientation. Each requires several types of further systematic development, as outlined within the conclusion.

Well-being is often used to describe an objective circumstance, or a subjective experience. We

focus on neighbourhood well-being in its subjective sense (SWB), referring to the way that citizens experience their lives, which may bear a robust or only a weak relationship to the objective facts of people's local areas. Tables 17.1 and 17.2 therefore comprise solely of SWB features and are based largely on conceptualisations from psychology and social science. In particular, we draw upon the work of Huppert et al. (2006, 2012), Keyes (1998), Rogers (2003), and Social Life (2013). In addition, a model of individual flourishing underpins the *feeling* and *functioning* division within the framework.

## A Framework That Started with Individual Flourishing

Increasingly psychologists define well-being as something more than positive emotions, or the balance of positive to negative emotions (e.g. Kahneman and Krueger 2006). Moreover, it combines a temporary type of well-being (hedonic) associated with momentary experiences of well-being, with more enduring positive experiences, sometimes referred to as psychological well-being, or Aristotle's eudaimonia: the life well-lived. The Aristotle viewpoint departs from hedonia in the sense that momentary experiences of pleasure are not as important as fulfilling those needs that are rooted in human nature such as the realisation of potential (Waterman 1993; Ryan et al. 2008). Instead of the passive experience of attaining pleasures and positive emotion, eudaimonia is about an active process of 'well-doing', being holistically engaged, being challenged and exerting effort (Waterman 1993). Examples of positive functioning include having a sense of engagement and being resilient in the face of setbacks in day-to-day life. This combined sense of feeling good (hedonic well-being) and functioning effectively (eudaimonic well-being) is increasingly referred to as flourishing.

Recently key well-being researchers (e.g. Seligman 2011; Ryan and Deci 2001) have made significant contributions to what constitutes positive mental health, pushing beyond a single questions of *life satisfaction*, combining feeling good (hedonic well-being) and functioning effectively (eudaimonic well-being). Although there is overlap between these approaches and most agree that well-being should include a combination of feeling good and functioning effectively, each scholar or group has their own preferred list of components.

Huppert and So (2013) have made substantial inroads in establishing an essential list of well-being components and measures of those components, in an objective manner. Their model comprises of ten features, of which three are outlined alongside example questions in Table 17.3.

**Table 17.3** Huppert and So's features of flourishing and example survey questions

Feature	Example measurement items
Competence	Most days I feel a sense of accomplishment from what I do
Emotional stability	(In the past week) I felt calm and peaceful
Self-esteem	In general I feel very positive about myself

These individual measures have been combined using robust statistical techniques to create a summary measure of flourishing, which can be compared between groups or tested for links to potential determinants – such as income. Alternatively, it is possible to compare individual features of flourishing within population groups and sub-groups. However, with the exception of a single feature (referred to as positive relationships), this model focuses on positive mental health experienced by individuals in a personal sense. It does not tell us what people feel about their community or perceptions of how their community is getting along about community or neighbourhood well-being.

## What About Social Flourishing?

The NFF may overlap with a single feature of individual flourishing, but in general it constitutes an independent phenomenon that can also be measured at the individual level.

Keyes has shown that *social well-being* is an independent concept from individual well-being (Keyes et al. 2007). His early work (1998) shows that individuals evaluate their well-being and personal functioning against social criteria, such as level of coherence (e.g. perceived organisation), integration (e.g. one's relationship to community), acceptance (e.g. trust), contribution (e.g. social value added by individual) and actualisation (e.g. community that grows and realises its potential). These measures represent personal responses to the social environment and are part of an individual's health (Larson 1993; Keyes 1998).

Building on Keyes work and following Aristotle's earlier conception of eudaimonia (section "A Framework That Started with *Individual Flourishing*"), we advocate that a well-lived life includes the quest for positive social lives, involving meaningful interaction with family, community and wider society. This goes beyond individual based functioning, which involves personal experiences associated with personal lives (e.g. I have a strong sense of competence). Together the presence of both social feelings (e.g. I feel close to my community) and social functioning (e.g. I feel supported by my community) reach beyond perceptions of one's self and represent a key part of positive *social health*.

This is important because, a local population might, on average, experience high levels of individual flourishing. This prevalence of positive mental health means that these people are feeling good and functioning effectively on a personal level and, each are likely to fend for themselves successfully on a day-to-day basis. However, the same population might respond badly as a community to a big challenge, which requires a collective response (e.g. flooding and food shortages). Without positive feelings towards and perceptions of other local people, for example, it is less likely that a community will pull together and may experience greater vulnerability.

## Neighbourhood Flourishing for Urban Design

Our preliminary NFF centres on the combined notion of social feelings and functionings in relation to geographic or local area. We started our consideration of what features should populate the NFF by reviewing previous definitions of community well-being in the context of urban design (e.g. Social Life 2013; Farahani and Lozanovska 2014). However, we found that they do not concentrate on social SWB nor adopt the combined approach of feeling good and functioning effectively. Accordingly, Huppert et al.'s (2006) well-being framework developed for the European Social Survey (ESS) was adopted and

then adapted, as it clearly distinguishes interpersonal features (e.g. receiving help from others) from personal feelings (e.g. I feel happy). Additional features introduced within the 2012 ESS survey were incorporated (Huppert et al. 2012) together with four additional concepts: optimism, resilience, safety, participation and celebration (Table 17.3).

Optimism and resilience were adapted from existing individual level well-being concepts included in ESS. Here they represent a *neighbourhood* version that was deemed to be of critical significance. For example, a local community's ability to pull-together and demonstrate collective resilience. Safety and participation were included in light of Roger's (2003) substantive development of a social cohesion index and their absence from the ESS model. Celebration overlaps with Roger's concept of *creativity* (community that encourages imagination and boldness) but also includes the notion of appreciation.

Within psychology, key concepts are beginning to be agreed upon and survey items developed for individual features of flourishing. The same process would be applicable to the NFF so that individual NFF features may be combined as a single summary measure of neighbourhood flourishing. This would permit urban designers to compare prevalence in different neighbourhoods but, before this is possible, this would require considerable development as an *operational definition* (i.e. very clear parameters and procedures).

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## What Is Urban Design?

Urban design aims to create places such as villages, towns, cities and urban extensions that are economically, socially and ecologically sustainable. The NFF may be applied in the area of social sustainability via the overarching aim of designing places that support community networks, social activity and well-being. Urban design can be considered as two overarching categories: (a) urban design as a physical product and; and (b) urban design as a process.

### Urban Design Product

As a physical product, urban design manifests itself as groups of buildings, streets and public spaces, whole neighbourhoods, in-fill development, regions or districts and cities. Emphasis is placed on the public realm, space that is public and used freely on a daily basis, by the general public (Gehl 2011).

There have been several rigorous attempts to define the key principles and characteristics of urban design. A key text is the *Urban Design Compendium* (UDC) that is used internationally. The built environment consists of a large range of physical parameters and a notable bid to measure the features prescribed by compendiums such as UDC, is the NeDeCC (Neighbourhood Design Characteristics Checklist) (Burton et al. 2011). Table 17.4 provides two examples of key characteristics and selected examples of categories developed and validated by testing whether different researchers apply the concepts in a consistent way.

### Urban Design Process

Urban design as a process is a complex phenomenon, but crucial to understanding how the approaches outlined within this chapter can be used to improve NF. Carmona (2015) summarises urban design processes as having three key features. Firstly, two overarching contextual factors: the history of a place and its economic policy context. Secondly, the influence of these contexts on four active place-shaping processes: (1) design; (2) development (3) space usage; and (4) management. These processes, as outlined in Table 17.5, comprise ideals and practices that together shape physical urban design outcomes (Carmona 2015). Thirdly, the stakeholders involved – such as local authority officers, land-owners, local communities – hold different levels of power to shape design outcomes, often pulling in contrasting directions. For example, regulation and policy guidance aim at reducing car usage in a new neighbourhood, whilst members of a community demand at least two parking spaces per household.

The EPaCS and HIA case studies in the next section “Approaches for Participatory Urban

**Table 17.4** Examples of key physical urban design products taken from Burton et al. (2011)

Product	Definition	Example categories/scales
Size of blocks	Size of blocks as bounded by roads or paths and measured in plan	(1) Very large block (≥250 m)
		(2) Large block (151–249 m)
		(3) Medium block (91–150 m)
Types of open space	How much and what variety of public space types are provided	(1) Green corridor
		(3) Playground
		(4) Churchyard
		(5) Allotments

*Design and Neighbourhood Flourishing*” concentrate on active place-shaping approaches that involve design, development and management processes (Table 17.5).

## Approaches for Participatory Urban Design and Neighbourhood Flourishing

### Introduction

EPaCS and HIA are both processes useful to urban design that can be used to support NF. Although they may lead ultimately to successful urban design products (e.g. sustainable places), they are also useful in achieving positive process impacts (e.g. co-developing a guiding vision for a run-down place). Each is described and a case study offered. The EPaCS case study was undertaken by the author (Anderson) in central Manchester (UK). HIA reports were sourced from the USA and New Zealand by the author (Baldwin). We show how each has been linked to NF or may be theorised as doing so. Pathway diagrams then show how, within our approaches, public participation and its outcomes can beneficially influence NF. The strengths and weaknesses of the approaches are discussed.

EPaCS and HIA differ in their applicability to NF. EPaCS is a new and grass-roots experimental process not formally recognised within legal and regulatory contexts, but the case study offers an

**Table 17.5** Carmona's theory of urban design process (2015)

Process	Definition	Examples
Design	The key aspirations and vision, and contextual and stakeholder influences for a particular project or set of proposals	Establishing a vision Making trade-offs Innovating (or not) Shaping constraints
Development	The power relationships, and processes of negotiation, regulation and delivery for a particular project or set of proposals	Lead and coordinate Marshalling resources Injecting quality Garnering support
Space usage	Who uses a particular place, how, why, when and with what consequences and conflicts	Activities Associations Amenities Adaptation
Management	The place-based responsibilities for stewardship, security, maintenance and ongoing funding	Investing long-term Everyday stewardship Curating place Controlling space

incubator example of applying several features of the NFF. HIA is well-established in various nations, statutory in a few (Birley 2011), but not in many nations or federal states. We demonstrate the first application of the NFF to HIA.

### 'Extreme' and 'Participatory' Citizen Science

Citizen science is scientific study undertaken in whole, or in part, by amateur or nonprofessional scientists. The term *citizen science*, entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 2014, defined as:

scientific work undertaken by members of the general public, often in collaboration with or under the direction of professional scientists and scientific institutions.

Popular examples include amateur astronomy, butterfly observation, ornithology and the development of modern technology. Typically investigation is performed by individuals, teams, or networks of volunteers. When large numbers of volunteers are involved, these networks allow scientists to achieve research that would be too expensive or time consuming if attempted by traditional means. Citizen scientists often partner with professional scientists to achieve common

goals such as the preservation of wildlife, or reaching a deeper understanding of the solar system.

Citizen science can be conceived as the public's engagement in scientific research activities whereby active contribution is made either in terms of intellectual effort, or with their tools and resources (Socientize 2013). More specifically, Haklay (2012) offers four levels of citizen participation in citizen science. These range from 'crowdsourcing' (level 1) where the citizen acts as a passive sensor (e.g. wearing a pollution monitor); 'distributed intelligence' (level 2) where the citizen acts as a basic interpreter (e.g. asking questions about the data collection); 'participatory science' where citizens contribute to problem definition and data collection (level 3); to 'extreme citizen science' which involves collaboration between the citizen and scientists in problem definition, collection and data analysis (level 4).

Typically, urban design relevant research does not exceed levels 1 and 2 of citizen science. Examples of innovative level 2 research can be found within health research. For instance, participants agreeing to wear Global Positioning System (GPS) recorders and accelerometers, in order that links between the physical environment and health behaviours can be better under-



stood (Harrison et al. 2014). The following case study outlines an example of extreme citizen science, aimed at understanding the role of public space in promoting both individual and community well-being.

### **Case Study 1: A 'Louse Vegas' Experiment, Manchester**

This study comprises a community-led well-being experiment, involving collaboration between psychologists from the Cambridge Well-being Institute (CWI) and members of a community in central Manchester (UK). The 19 citizen scientists represented people who lived and/or worked in the local area and were recruited via local community forums and a Manchester City Council (MCC) database.

The study took place in the Northern Quarter (NQ) of the city, situated to the north of Piccadilly Gardens and to the south of Ancoats and centred around Oldham Street. This neighbourhood is one of the most vibrant and historically rich areas of Manchester. Today, the NQ is known for independent stores, creative industries, entertainment venues, cafes and bars (Kellie 2010). Until the 1990s and with the exception of a small amount of social housing, the NQ was not designated as a residential area. In recent years however, it has become a popular place to live, with a substantial increase in residential community.

#### **An Extreme and Participatory Method**

In accordance with the Haklay model, the experiment consisted of a mixture of the two highest levels of citizen science: 'participatory' (level 3) and 'extreme' (level 4). The method was extreme in the main because a significant proportion of the participants (a) defined the problem(s) and solutions/questions (b) were involved in choosing data collection methods (c) helped in collecting data and (d) were involved in analysis of data.

To start, a workshop was held at a local NQ venue, facilitated by CWI and experienced urban design practitioners, in June 2011. The problem described by citizen scientists was the general poor quality of outdoor neighbourhood space

around the NQ. The main solution proposed was to intervene to improve quality of public space and therefore quality of life for residents, workers and general users. CWI suggested undertaking a well-being experiment whereby a public space is improved to test whether intervention of this nature would bring about the desired affects. A behavioural approach to the improvement of well-being was also suggested, as the evidence base demonstrated that the pursuit of key activities (e.g. socialising, altruism, physical activity) were key drivers of positive mental health (Aked et al. 2008), to which the citizen scientists agreed.

A specific public space was chosen for citizen intervention (treatment space), which was in part dictated by circumstance (e.g. ownership and local policy support). However, beyond these factors, site selection was dictated by the citizen scientists. CWI presented behaviour observation involving frames from time-lapse photography taken of the site, to the citizen scientists at the workshop, highlighting both negative and positive behaviours in relation to existing features (e.g. littering or people sitting/leaning on railings). These observations were interpreted by the participants and combined with their own experiences of the space, so that a joint analysis of baseline data was achieved. Suggested public space physical improvements (interventions) were chosen by the participants, with help from urban design practitioners, who offered a wide range of choices (e.g. types of greenery, public art).

#### **Intervention**

Several improvements suggested in the workshop were chosen for implementation on the basis of urgency, affordability and likelihood of approval from the Local Authority (MCC). These included the introduction of an outdoor exhibition space comprising two types of ecological-based public art. The first involved the creation of a 'Bug Hotel-Strip', which was named "Louse Vegas". The main purpose of the hotel-strip was to accommodate endangered native invertebrates (e.g. beetles and bees). Signs depicting names were also constructed and hung on or adjacent to the hotels. The second strand involved commis-

sioning a local artist to create an environmentally orientated mural, which depicted a cartoon woodland setting. Additional work included the installation of a free high-speed WiFi service, shade-tolerant planting, an inner-city lawn, vegetation management, recycled seating, painting and general cleaning. CWI co-led the project and the improvements were implemented by a group of nine 'extreme citizen scientists', who represented a proportion of the original wider group who attended the workshop. The more involved citizen scientists led imaginative fund-raising and, at times, hard physical labour, whilst other participants contributed intermittently.

In order to evaluate the success of the public space, CWI discussed options for data collection other than time-lapse photography. The citizen scientists felt that a range of methods ought to be used alongside behaviour observation and that a wider range of stakeholders ought to be consulted (e.g. local independent businesses). A mixed methods approach was adopted by CWI including questionnaires and semi-structured interviews at the site and with local businesses. CWI also suggested a matched control site and, in order to avoid contamination of results, a moratorium on local press coverage until all post-intervention data was collected. Although the majority of data was collected by CWI, a significant proportion of the survey was gathered by citizen scientists using the same questionnaire in conjunction with a smart phone, or 3G enabled digital tablet. The citizen scientists were involved in the interpretation of baseline data but not in the statistical analysis of collected observational, questionnaire and interview data.

## The Results

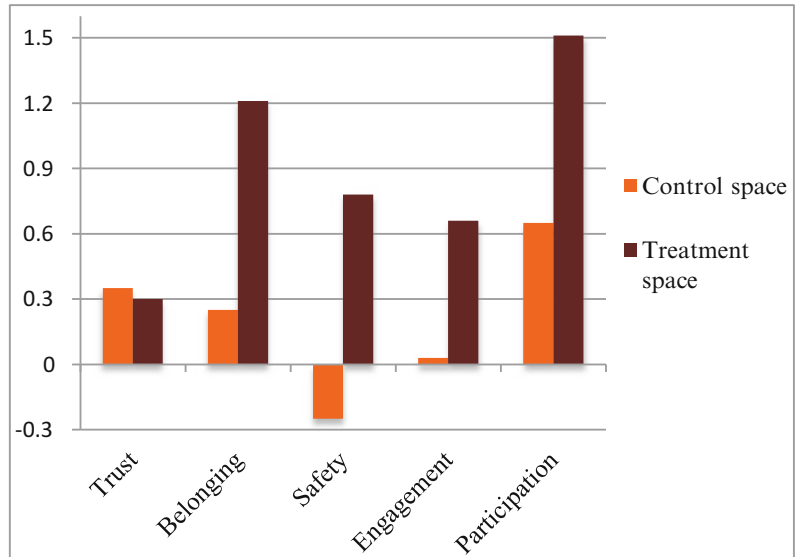
During 42 days of CWI's before and after study (21 in 2011 and 2012), a sample of 212 users of the spaces completed a short questionnaire, approximately half in the site and half in a control space. Users who were resting or had paused in the space were approached, and invited to answer a series of questions presented via a smart phone or digital tablet screen. Survey participants did not include previous participants of the workshop or volunteers involved in the implementa-

tion of physical improvements. The questions focussed on user's momentary individual SWB (e.g. happiness) and perceptions of the immediate physical environment. People were also asked to report approximately where they lived and whether they worked in the NQ. Persons who lived and/or worked within the NQ boundary were considered to represent members of the local community (48 respondents) and were presented with statements relating to their experience of social well-being.

These questions covered five features of the CFF: trust, belonging, safety, engagement and participation. Participants were given a 5-point Likert based response scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). They were also given the opportunity to respond by saying 'don't know', which was not awarded a number value in subsequent analysis. Figure 17.1 shows the average change between baseline measurement (i.e. before citizen scientists implemented their ideas) and post-intervention (i.e. after implementation), for each of the five CF features. It was found that with the exception of trust, four features increased substantially (i.e. between 0.6 and 1.5 points, on a scale of 1–5) compared to the control space where no interventions were undertaken. CWI were able to take confounding factors into account such as the opening or closing of a nearby transport hub that coincided with data collection (Anderson et al. 2015). However, because the social well-being part of the questionnaire was only given to 48 respondents, this sub-group of respondents was not large enough to undertake statistical testing. It is therefore possible that some of the increases observed here are due to chance and not the improvements themselves.

Amongst other behaviours (e.g. physical activity and taking notice), CWI also monitored the impact of the space improvements on social behaviour within the 42 days of before and after study. Specifically, the scientists recorded the number of people who stayed in the space (e.g. stopped to use a bench, or paused to observe the public art) and engaged in 'talking and listening'. Comparing the baseline and post-intervention counts, there was an increase of 394 % in talking

**Fig. 17.1** Comparison of average increase in five CF features in control and treatment spaces



and listening. CWI were able to estimate that around 20 % of this increase represented local community members. Potential confounding factors were taken into consideration and because this aspect of the study involved observation of 22,956 public space users in total, it is highly unlikely that this finding was due to chance ( $p > 0.0005$ ).

The user survey also asked for general comments, which uncovered several positive perceptions of celebration. For example, users referred to Louse Vegas as humorous and engaging and the art-work as a generally a ‘really refreshing use of space’. Several respondents referred to the interventions as imaginative and important because they reinforced the NQ’s original ‘independent and arts based’ identity and represented a ‘counter-culture’ to increasingly commercial dynamics.

I love the quirkiness of the Bug Hotels for the NQ; it counteracts the bland beer culture, which has developed recently.

Male survey participant, 2012

Finally, CWI also noted several instances of positive impact of the process intervention itself, on the citizen scientist’s well-being. During the work-

shop, participants were visibly engaged and expressed enjoyment in the opportunity to brainstorm ideas and meet fellow community members. However, it was during the fund-raising events and physical implementation stages that the strongest feelings of both individual and community well-being were expressed. For example, several participants remarked repeatedly of experiencing positive emotions such as elation and happiness. They also mentioned enjoyment in the opportunity to engage with activity of meaning for the local community and relished praise from passers by, who often offered rewards for their contribution to the neighbourhood (e.g. drinks and food).

For the 9 and 10 year old school children, Louse Vegas involved learning outdoors and understanding bugs, ecological processes and recycling first-hand. The level of engagement was palpable. Each child took on a separate compartment of the hotels, catering for different species and their adaptive niches. The children still bring family and friends to the site and the project has inspired similar projects in other schools. Three years later, in 2015, the hotels remain unscathed and a talking point amongst visitors to the city centre and several internet blogs, including Creative Tourist.

## Health Impact Assessment (HIA)

HIA differs from EPaCS as it does not involve the direct testing of hypotheses. It seeks to identify how changes potentially caused by policies, plans, programmes and projects (Cave 2015) in development – including urban design interventions – may affect people, including vulnerable groups<sup>2</sup>. Health and well-being impacts may occur as a result of ‘unintended changes to health determinants and resulting changes in health outcomes’ (Quigley et al. 2006). A ‘health determinant’ is a factor with the potential to cause changes in mental and/or physical health and SWB status. A ‘health impact’ is a positive or negative, intended or unintended, direct or indirect, change in the determinants of health status or actual health status of an individual or group (cf. Scott-Samuel et al. 2001). The longer-term health and well-being consequences/outcomes of impacts are hard to trace, thus HIA aims to prevent negative impacts/outcomes and maximise health benefits.

HIAs tend to follow the WHO’s (1946/1948) definition of health that acknowledges the influence of the social environment and encompasses social well-being. Many HIAs thus examine how the ‘social determinants of health’ (SDH), including social and community influences (Dahlgren and Whitehead 1991; Wilkinson and Marmot 2003), will be intentionally/unintentionally changed. Several HIA off-shoot formats consider mental health and well-being alone, e.g. in the UK, Mental Well-being Impact Assessment (MWIA) (Cooke et al. 2011). We differentiate the NFF’s offering in the conclusion.

### ‘Social Process’ Social Determinants of Health (SPSDH)

SDH include dynamic social processes, described by sociological concepts such as *social capital*, *social cohesion*, and *social connectedness*. These concepts appear similar, but they have distinct meanings and describe different occurrences.

They can be analysed among people at neighbourhood level. They are contested and variously defined by practitioners and public participants in HIAs. Each process, grounded in group social interaction and activity, includes the formation (and maintenance, or not) of individual and group relationships, what people accomplish within them, and changes to such patterns of social activity (cf. Gillin and Gillin 1954). Each has behavioural, psychological, and emotional implications for the people involved, and known links, via causal pathways, to positive and negative well-being and health impacts/outcomes (see Thornley 2008; Narayan 2013).

Within the following HIA case study: the community and researchers defined *social cohesion* as: ‘bonds that bring people together in society, particularly in the context of cultural diversity’ (Narayan 2013). As part of the social process, cohesion helps to ‘build networks and friendships that provide access to material and emotional support including the ability for a community to take collective action’ (Narayan 2013).

The social cohesion process thus works. Several types of bonds and ties are found in socio-culturally diverse contexts. ‘Bonding social capital’ describe strong bonds between, for example, neighbours (Putnam 2000; Coutts et al. 2007), as developed through regular, positive social interaction that can provide advantages such as ‘mutual help’. Bonds have an emotional component. ‘Attachment’ is highlighted as a main factor by sociologist, Hirschi (1969). A more intricate explanation of the role of emotions in bonds is provided by social psychologist Scheff (1997). ‘Bridging social capital’ (Coutts et al. 2007) describes weaker ties that link heterogeneous social groups. Within the process, bonds (and weaker ties where intra-group cooperation is negotiated) should be utilised during social interaction and relationship building to gain advantages, including collective action. The process has behavioural features (social behaviours in interaction leading to relationship building) and collective action, and a psychological/emotional feature (emotional attachment).

<sup>2</sup>HIAs also examine the distribution of impacts and potential health inequalities.

## Conceptual Connections Between 'Social Process' Determinants and NF

There are two conceptual connections between SPSDH, that occur in a community social environment, and NF, split here into two categories. Our theory here shows the linkage between the dynamics of group social interaction and subjective well-being outcomes.

Category (1): all or some of the behaviours, psychological and emotional features associated with a SPSDH are the same as features of the NFF.

Another SPSDH, 'social connectedness', as applied in New Zealand, describes an idealised social 'state' for a community that is not static but a fluctuating dynamic process, whereby 'people feel part of society, family and personal relationships are strong, differences among people are respected, and people feel safe and supported by others (Statistics New Zealand 2002)' (Thornley 2008, p. 15). The extent of this ideal varies in a given community. This description shares features with the NFF. Respect, safety, and support are all listed as feelings in Table 17.1. Interaction/relationships are aligned with engagement, a functioning describing positive social relationships built through neighbourly behaviours. An HIA would assess whether a design/development project would change aspects of social connectedness for better or worse, and subsequent well-being/health outcomes. The NFF provides a combined set of SWB outcomes indicative of community well-being. If aspects of 'social connectedness' are also features of the NFF and found to be adversely changed or lacking in a community, the NFF could be used as an analytical tool within HIA to judge whether community well-being is at risk.

Category (2): an improvement in a SPSDH, that does not share features with the NFF, may have subsequent SWB impacts that are identifiable as features of the NFF.

If a SPSDH is positively changed in a locality, local people may experience subsequent SWB impacts in the form of the NFF's feelings and functionings. For example, if poor social cohesion is improved, increased cohesion could lead

to increased socialising among community members and have the impact of triggering a feeling of belonging and greater participation (a functioning). These are positive SWB *impacts* in HIA. Conversely, a negative change in a determinant may lead to negative *impacts* on features of the NFF. The NFF may be used to analyse changes in a SPSDH and subsequent SWB impacts of this change.

## The HIA Process

We examine HIAs where urban design projects influence NF via SPSDH and several other routes. HIAs use different methods and procedures to judge the potential health impacts of a development on a population on a population, whilst recommending actions to manage them (Quigley et al. 2006; WHO 1999). Methods and procedures are applied through the stages of 'screening, scoping, assessment, reporting/feedback; and monitoring and evaluation' (Cave 2015). The process is facilitated by an HIA practitioner and/or team, and usually driven by a key stakeholder steering committee. It includes the collection, collation, review and analysis of varied information, for example, scientific, policy, previous experiences, stakeholder input, qualitative and quantitative evidence etc. It results in evidence-based recommendations made to influence project decisions, so as to maximise positive impacts and minimise detrimental ones (see Birley 2011; Cave 2015).

Examples of how an HIA of a plan or design for a public space can try to identify how the proposed space and its design features can impact on NF are outlined within the following case study and discussion.

## HIA, Public Participation and NF

Some HIAs include public participation to gain a greater understanding of how people affected by an intervention will be impacted by a change in the SDH. Globally, community participation is regarded by practitioners and researchers as important (Mahoney et al. 2007), and called for by important guidance documents (e.g. WHO 1999; Scott-Samuel et al. 2001; WHIASU 2012). Some but not all HIAs include it. Community

members may participate in, for example, a steering group (Mahoney et al. 2007), be asked to input their views into, or help with data collection (e.g. Narayan 2013), or give input into recommendations (e.g. Ministry of Public Health, Thailand 2004). Such HIAs are known as ‘participatory HIAs’ (Mahoney et al. 2007). Another type, ‘community-led’ HIAs give a community ownership of the process and final decision-making with technical support (Mahoney et al. 2007; Harris-Roxas and Harris 2011). We examine how public participation and NF are linked via community input as a form of data, via participation itself and through the outcomes of an HIA.

### Methodology for HIA Case Studies

We adopt a simple case study approach to explore the application of NF to an HIA. SPSHD are not considered in all HIAs – as either determinants or impacts. This depends on the nature of the HIA and its subject matter, their consideration in other IAs (e.g. Social Impact Assessment [SIA])<sup>3</sup>, and other factors.

Public participation in HIA can be limited (Iroz-Elardo 2014) and is not usually fully collaborative. Community-led HIAs are rare, labour intensive and can cause tension in communities (Mahoney et al. 2007). Their influence can be (but is not always) limited through lack of official status (Harris-Roxas and Harris 2011). More widespread are participatory HIAs.

After making a broadly framed request for participatory HIAs from practitioners on two online forums: *HIANET*, and the HIA Group on networking site, *LinkedIn*, we received ten HIA reports or summaries from seven countries and we refined our criteria to: (1) a focus on planned public spaces, (2) inclusion of SPSDH with conceptual links to NF, and (3) documented community involvement. Due to space limits, we focus on a USA HIA that encompassed all criteria, and refer to a New Zealand HIA to show conceptual links only. Both are small-scale projects to create/improve core community amenities with a greater likelihood of

beneficial outcomes and community buy-in than a disruptive infrastructure project, igniting public fears of adverse change (Baldwin 2014).

### Case Study 2: Participatory HIA of Coffelt Neighbourhood Regeneration, USA

The Coffelt-Lamoreaux Public Housing Project (Coffelt) is an old, blighted and physically dilapidated public housing complex on the outskirts of Phoenix, Arizona, USA. Surrounded by industrial businesses, and socially isolated from other neighbourhoods, it houses low-income residents (median household income: \$9,985) including many single parent families (70.6 %) and Spanish speakers (66.3 %). Deprivation, isolation, its poor physical state and a socially fragmented community have resulted in a lack of social cohesion, with negative health implications. Residents listed problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence and assaults, and fear of crime as reasons for social fragmentation (Narayan 2013).

A participatory HIA (Narayan 2013) was initiated by the Housing Authority of Maricopa County (HAMC) and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) to explore the health and well-being implications of a proposal to redevelop the 296 residential units and internal public spaces. These included a park with adjacent community centre. The HIA aimed to inform decisions about the redesign of the physical and social infrastructures by mitigating the negative well-being and health impacts of existing conditions through redesign, and maximising the potential health benefits of the new infrastructures.

During the HIA process, a multidisciplinary HIA team co-operated with the developer, local government housing and community sector stakeholders, and local residents: ‘context specialists’. A big effort was made to recruit and involve the community. At scoping stage, a team from the Phoenix Revitalization Corporation, a local community development corporation, approached residents on the streets and distributed flyers on the HIA and its workshops.

<sup>3</sup>As agreed by a discussion of leading international HIA practitioners on the online practitioner discussion list, *HIANET*, hosted by jiscmail.ac.uk (5–6 March 2015).

Various SDH were recognised, but not initially social cohesion. At scoping stage, the HIA team included this as a determinant, once a lack of social cohesion was identified as problematic by residents, who had lacked a community forum to realise that together, this represented a collective problem. Residents participated in several data-collection methods: 38 completed health survey questionnaires, and 66 and 44, respectively, took an active role in two consecutive workshops. They mapped community assets on an area map, discussed liabilities and desires, and expanded upon their thoughts and feelings about potential changes. Informal conversations between the HIA team and residents on the streets were also important. Pairs of residents completed walking audits of streets and parks (including the park discussed), where physical and biophysical barriers to social cohesion were identified. The HIA team observed key social barriers to cohesion that sometimes worked in tandem with physical barriers. Limited social cohesion became a major focus within the assessment.

Physical and biophysical obstacles were evident within the complex and in local public spaces – Coffelt Park and Coffelt Community Center. These were the dilapidated condition of the park and its facilities and amenities (including the Center), and its surrounding streets, causing negative perceptions of safety, especially at night. This was reported by local people as reducing park usage and impacting on social cohesion. Obstacles are summarised in Table 17.6 alongside several impacts reported by the HIA team. Social obstacles associated with the overall development and its community spaces are also included.

Residents, the HIA team and built environment specialists developed recommendations for the developer, housing authority and local development corporation. Those relevant to the built

environment are summarised in Table 17.7, with potential impacts and Category 2 links to NF.

The redesign of park facilities and amenities, including a new communal garden, a celebratory space, and spaces for gatherings, creates many potential benefits for well-being and health. The park redesign will increase the presence of residents throughout the day, providing natural surveillance and potentially reduce crime. It will create opportunities for physical activity and healthy eating. The functional and aesthetic improvements of the neighbourhood are likely to engender a sense of pride and identity. Social spaces and events increase the chances of fostering a sense of community (Category 2: belonging, respect, trust). Even participating in the HIA stirred stronger social networks. Additionally, Coffelt residents felt empowered by hearing their ideas turned into recommendations, which may improve perceptions of autonomy (Category 2: autonomy).

After the HIA report was disseminated, its lead integrated many of the Coffelt park recommendations into a proposed redesign. This and recommendations for housing and the overall site were positively received by the developer and merged into the redevelopment plan. It received \$44 million dollars of funding, igniting further interest in the implementation of the HIA recommendations, and construction is underway.

Whilst the Coffelt HIA did not demonstrate Category 1 links, Category 1 and 2 links can be found in an HIA from New Zealand (Thornley 2008) that appraised potential positive and adverse impacts of a plan for an urban village green on the features of social connectedness. We linked these with NF. It was undertaken in Ranui, an Auckland suburb, with significant Māori and ethnic minority populations. Examples features/links are given in Table 17.8 from a longer list.

**Table 17.6** Physical, biophysical and social obstacles to social cohesion

Site	Physical and biophysical obstacles	Social obstacles in Coffelt overall
Coffelt Housing Project (overall)	Obstacles:	Obstacles:
	No physical markers to identify the community, e.g. welcome sign or signage with community's name	Poor perceptions of safety
		Residents' lack of time due to work, influenced decision to stay home
	Impact: Lack feeling of belonging	Social divisions caused by cliques/factions
		No mechanism to socially integrate newer residents
		No community forum for outreach efforts
Poor communication between housing authority, developers and community		
	Impact: Poor social cohesion	
Coffelt Park	Obstacles:	Obstacles:
	Concrete cracks on basketball court with missing nets	Poor perceptions of safety
		Reduced public usage
		Impact: Poor social cohesion
	Unsafe children's play equipment	
	Access to play equipment locked with chains	
	Vandalism: tagging, litter	
	Few trees creating shade over picnic benches and seating when park is very hot	
	Lack of water features	
	Impacts:	
Poor social cohesion		
Coffelt Community Center	Obstacles:	Obstacles:
	Lack of access to public restrooms and drinking fountains when closed	Restricted opening hours: 4–8 pm, Monday to Friday, and 10 am to 4 pm, Saturdays
	Poor lighting	Impacts:
	Vandalism, tagging, poor maintenance	Limited social gatherings, confining elderly to homes during days; sunday closure didn't suit working adults
	Inadequate shade for when park is very hot	No community space to get to know neighbours or participate in events
	Impact: Lack of community pride	Poor social cohesion



**Table 17.7** Recommendations, their impacts and links to NF

Site	Recommendation interventions	Interventions to be implemented	Potential impacts on social cohesion and subsequent Category 2 links to NF
Coffelt Housing Project	1. Construct community sign at entrance to the project 2. Create decorative wall and landscape at one community boundary	Decorative fencing around the edge of property	Potential impacts: Build sense of community Instil community pride Establish community identity (i.e. stand out from neighbouring sites) Improved privacy Reduced vehicle noise Potential category 2 links: Celebration Belonging Optimism Safety
Coffelt Park	1. Additional trees for cooling 2. Add seating 3. New working and safe play 4. New jogging track and improved lighting to mitigate fears for safety on dark streets 5. Improved maintenance 6. All day opening	Redesigned as a multigenerational space with: Mural of community's story with input from teenaged graffiti artists, decorative, lit signage identifying the community by name Intended to provide: a venue for the elderly and children after school, and contribute to cohesion	Potential impacts: Community focused space for residents of all ages Cooler microclimate Streets and jogging feel safer Places to sit after walking or playing Increase physical exercise and perceptions of safety Potential category 2 links: Safety Engagement Belonging

<p>Coffelt Community Centre<sup>a</sup></p>	<p>1. Establish partnership between housing authority and local agencies to extend operational hours                  2. Hold community meetings and celebrations                  3. If open all day, community center restrooms can also serve park                  4. Design and construct a community gallery/celebratory space as platform for residents,                  5. Provide community kitchen                  6. Use as a means to create more resident involvement in council</p>	<p>Community Centre is being redesigned by the developer to provide a community space for residents</p>	<p>Potential impacts:</p> <p>Pride</p> <p>Congregation opportunity when too hot for elderly</p> <p>Improved interaction and strengthened relationships between individuals and groups</p> <p>Restroom availability improves park functioning</p> <p>Potential category 2 links:</p> <p>Engagement</p> <p>Autonomy</p> <p>Appreciation</p> <p>Belonging</p> <p>Contribution</p> <p>Reciprocity</p> <p>Supply fresh fruit and vegetables to residents, and educate them on nutrition</p> <p>Maintenance of garden brings different generations together</p>
<p>New community garden</p>	<p>Create community garden</p>	<p>No information available yet</p>	

<sup>a</sup>Including a purpose-built community space

**Table 17.8** Examples of social connectedness features linked with NFF features

Determinant of health and social connectedness – example features	Ranui community as a whole	Māori	Children and young people	Category 1 and 2 links to NF
Increased sense of belonging	√	√	√	Belonging (1)
Increased social support	√	√	√	Support (1)
				Reciprocity (2)
				Respect (2)
				Trust (2)
Increased safety (surveillance and reduced criminal and antisocial opportunities)	√	√	√	Safety (1)
				Serenity (2)
				Trust (2)

Adapted from Thornley (2008: 35)  
 Key: positive change [√]

**Discussion**

**Pathways Between Participation and Neighbourhood Flourishing**

We outline three pathways that link participatory EPaCS and HIA approaches with urban design (UD), which may improve people’s collective sense of NF. Our case studies reflect predominantly positive outcomes, which may not always be the overall result.

**Pathway 1**

The first pathway (Fig. 17.2) comprises an urban design process intervention (e.g. a participatory workshop) that leads, via one or both of two routes, to NF. The first route is direct via participation in the process (see also Sanoff 2010), who refer to benefits such as citizen empowerment). Although research using a NF measure (i.e. combination of feelings and functionings) is lacking, the Manchester case study provided qualitative evidence of the impact of the workshop, implementation and fund-raising elements on participants. Positive outcomes represented a mixture of short-term happiness (i.e. positive feelings) through to more enduring experiences such as a sense of meaning (i.e. strong functioning). It is feasible that in working alongside neighbours (both fellow participants and passers-by), participants experienced feelings such as belonging and

support. However, it is not clear how long these experiences persist. While residents’ experience of the Coffelt HIA was not evaluated using the NFF, residents reported that participation, and having their recommendations turned into sustainable local solutions to health and social problems, was empowering. This may lead to a sense of local autonomy.

The second route (Fig. 17.2) is indirect, and may also lead to and/or reinforce NF, or its individual features. As in the Manchester project, involvement in the participatory process provides opportunities to meet new local people, or build on existing superficial relations. Combined with the opportunity to improve an asset (i.e. the neighborhood) common to all parties, this led to enhanced relations between Manchester residents and a sense of shared meaning, each contributing towards improved NF. Similarly in the Coffelt HIA, residents in a community that was viewed by some as generally previously factionalised and cliquish, came together to share and solve problems with a lack of social cohesion, and inform the redesign, thereby forming stronger social networks. Resulting social initiatives included training residents to sit on a Community Council, potentially leading to functionings such as participation and engagement, and feelings such as contribution and belonging.

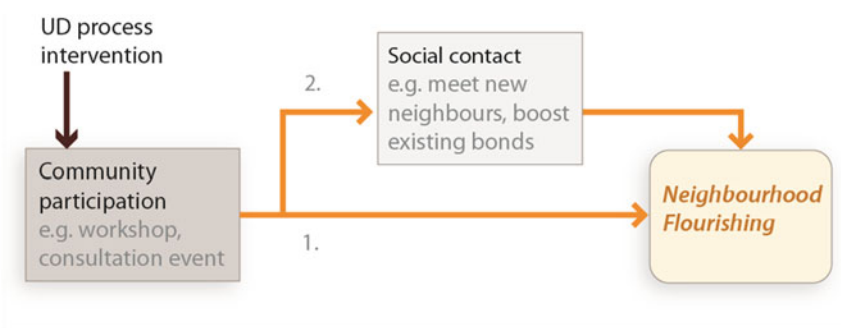


Fig. 17.2 Pathway 1

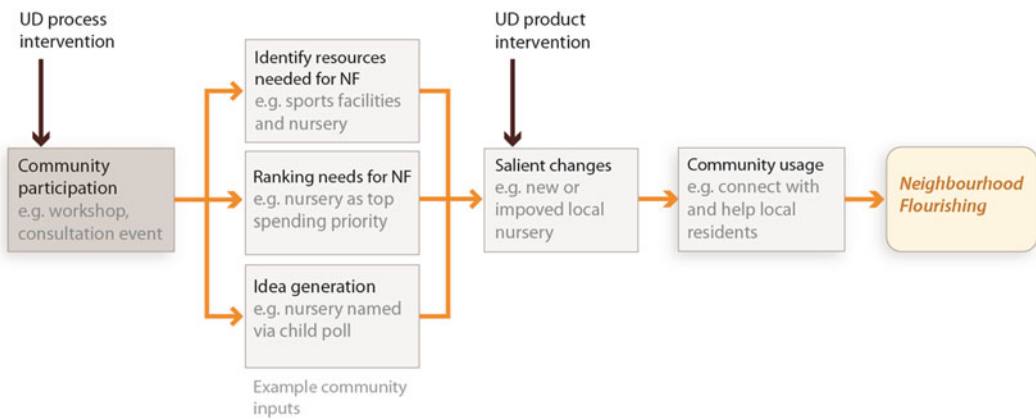


Fig. 17.3 Pathway 2

**Pathway 2**

The second pathway (Fig. 17.3) involves an indirect route whereby a process intervention impacts on the quality of an urban design, which in turn influences community activities, and finally NF. This was evidenced by participants in Manchester. They identified, ranked and brain-stormed physical improvement, which was suggested to improve well-being. These changes to urban design were found to significantly increase the amount of community users socialising in the space and four features of NF (belonging, safety, engagement and participation). Similarly, in the Coffelt HIA, residents or their representatives anticipated how public space plans and their prospective uses could positively affect social cohesion, with potential SWB impacts in the form of the NFF’s feelings and functionings.

**Pathway 3**

The third pathway (Fig. 17.4) is an indirect route whereby public participation positively influences the authorities and developers involved, so that they adopt future actions that support NF. In the Coffelt HIA, public involvement strengthened the relationship between community and housing authority who funded a development that is likely to enhance NF. The process involves: developers’ better understanding of residents’ needs and communicated further with them; residents’ needs informed the designs; and community buy-in was created, and finally, expectations managed. Altogether this informed the developer’s wider decision to start to use participation in future projects. Local government departments also created a process to implement the recommendations and attracting funding from external bodies.



Fig. 17.4 Pathway 3

**Strengths of Case Studies for NF**

We set out the strengths of using HIA and EPaCS to help achieve NF drawing from the case studies.

- **The conceptual basis of HIA:** SPSDH – as conceptualised within social sciences and psychology – have a compatible conceptual basis with the NFF.
- **Inclusion of subjective data:** Some HIAs include subjective data on speculative impacts (Harris-Roxas and Harris 2011), negative and positive, such as that acquired through the workshops, informal conversations and walking audits in Coffelt. These provide a self-reported, nuanced and localised understanding of feelings as an example of the psychological effects connected to existing or proposed design features and functionings arising from behaviours prompted by them. These data sources, showing how neighbourhood social activity relates to its physical environment, can be used to positively inform designs, thus potentially increasing uptake.
- **Political Voice:** Participatory or community-led HIAs, such as Coffelt’s, can give communities a voice in decision-making processes (Mahoney et al. 2007) about urban design and development. They can be a learning experience (Elliott and Williams 2004) and can be used for advocacy (Harris-Roxas and Harris 2011).
- **Resource efficiency:** Within the Manchester EPaCS study, committed civic scientists with good scientific leadership/support achieved considerable intervention and research undertakings, possibly not achievable within the

normal funding remit (i.e. contribution of volunteer manual labour).

- **Holistic Perspective:** The HIA report synthesised the input of multiple stakeholders, thus offering designers a holistic perspective on improving design with NF outcomes.

**Weaknesses of Case Studies for NF**

There are weaknesses of using HIA and EPaCS to affect NF. HIA practice, and to some extent that of EPaCS – especially via the pathways outlined, is shaped by relevant complex institutional, political (Parry and Wright 2003), financial, and human dynamics. For example, for EPaCS this would mean national policy for local-led planning. Relevant examples are given from the EPaCS case and HIA literature.

- **Time intensive approaches:** short timeframes and lack of funding can limit what can be achieved via public participation (Kearney 2004; Chadderton et al. 2012).
- **Reliance on stakeholder management and commitment:** The Manchester interventions involved thousands of hours of volunteer-time, mostly spent on phone calls and e-mails. Stronger local authority coordination and commitment would have saved time and effort. The authority took months to engage (a process initiated by a councillor who made an official complaint on the volunteers’ behalf) and subsequently were unable to help on a range of issues.
- **Finding a top-down and bottom-up balance:** In the institutional and political contexts surrounding HIA, and possibly EPaCS, ‘exist-

ing power structures may prove resistant to the kind of reflection and deliberation required' for communities to become 'equal deliberative participants' (Chadderton et al. 2012). One view of HIA is as ideally a collaborative and considered process 'through which evidence (of different kinds), interests, values and meanings are brought into dialogue between relevant stakeholders (politicians, professionals and citizens)' (Elliott et al. 2010). In reality, HIAs are beset by the tensions inherent in the unequal distribution of power between different stakeholders: government sector, developers, HIA practitioners, and community members (see, for example, Chadderton et al. 2012).

- **Perceived invalidity of subjective data:** It is problematic when subjective data is considered biased and unreliable by authorities with a traditional positivistic view that data should be collected using objective scientific methods (Parry and Stevens 2001). This belief questions the legitimacy of public input.
- **Reconciling trade-offs:** Applicable to both EPaCS and HIA are the trade-offs made, and not always negotiated, between the authorities' and the involved participants' objectives. In the Manchester EPaCS, the design aspect that the community considered most important – decking across part of the public space – was not implemented. The local authority was worried that attachment to the space could undermine future development of the site, which it prioritised over a temporary design feature.
- **Adverse impacts of plans for public space:** Positive impacts can be accompanied by negative implications, such as loss of homes to create a public space, requiring careful mitigation and management (see Thornley 2008).

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## Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter introduced and applied the *neighbourhood flourishing framework* (NFF) to two approaches – EPaCS and HIA – that can facilitate public involvement in the design of public spaces.

We reflect on NFF's merits, our approaches' contributions to NF, and conclude with recommendations.

As outlined in our chapter introduction, subjective well-being is established as a worthwhile endeavour that goes beyond ill-health. It is also increasingly considered as the responsibility of policy and decision makers (Legatum Institute 2014). This recognition has extended to built environment policy (DCLG 2014) and urban design practice (Igloo SRI). However, it would benefit urban policy makers, planners, and designers to know how to define relevant SWB outcomes and how to improve them. However, in order to achieve these objectives much further work is required in relation to community well-being.

We advocated that a key part of a person's positive mental health may consist of positive social experiences, alongside positive personal experiences. When brought together in an operational definition, these social experiences may represent a coherent and independent type of flourishing – neighbourhood flourishing. This measure may go beyond the understanding provided even by the most textured of definitions of individual flourishing as, at present, they do not consider social well-being adequately. As such, we presented a preliminary NFF model based on feeling good and functioning effectively. Example social or inter-personal questions were aimed at local geographical areas as the primary remit of urban design, although we recognise this may not be relevant to all its spatial levels, and other social programmes and policies.

The proposed NFF comprises 14 features that may be brought together as a composite measure, or as a profile/dashboard. A composite would allow the prevalence of neighbourhood flourishing to be expressed simply as an overall percentage. For example, revealing that 35 % of the NQ community in Manchester can be deemed as experiencing NF, would be useful when comparing to other neighbourhoods and identifying discrepancies, whilst taking confounding factors into account. However, we could also compare individual features within NFF to identify areas that need improvement. For instance, if the NQ

community scored very poorly on celebration, support and trust – urban design interventions known to help these features could be implemented on the ground.

We advocated the use of both composite and profile approaches. However, much work is required before either can be convincingly applied. Firstly, a wider debate is required on which features should be included within NFF. Researchers would need to engage with community SWB beyond the literature referenced here. As well as discussing definitions and survey questions, this deliberation would also consider the fundamental nature of NF. For example, should it only comprise of SWB, or can it be combined with objective measures – such as observed behaviours and material resources? Is the simple dichotomy of social feelings and functionings adequate in capturing NF? Secondly, empirical psychometric work would be required to understand the various questions used to measure agreed features (e.g. cognitive interviewing and factor analyses). It is likely that will reduce a substantial number of features to those that offer key and coherent insight.

Sections “[Case Study 1: A ‘Louse Vegas’ Experiment, Manchester](#)” and “[Case Study 2: Participatory HIA of Coffelt Neighbourhood Regeneration, USA](#)” linked NF with urban design via process interventions, in the guise of EPaCS and HIA. When intervention is successful in furnishing communities with suitable opportunities, particularly those which support positive social functioning, this may in turn bring about improved NF. Our new model was discussed in relation to two cases of public involvement in urban design processes.

The first, more novel case study saw EPaCS in action in Manchester. This method brought about both direct and in-direct positive impacts on NF. Directly, local adult and children citizen scientists experienced features of NF from either participating, or in the more involved sense – collaborating on the project. Indirectly citizens also reported experiences of NF on the back of improved social contact. In addition, a more elaborate pathway was identified linking the participatory process and physical UD interventions to NF. Here local scientists were found to positively influence the shaping of a public space via three key urban design action processes embedded in

the EPaCS approach: (a) design (e.g. establishing a vision for the site and ranking their ideas); (b) development (e.g. injecting quality by identifying affordances such as public art and marshalling resources via fund raising and choosing materials); and (c) management (e.g. everyday stewardship of the improved space). Collaborative monitoring with scientists demonstrated that the physical interventions brought about by EPaCS brought several positive NF improvements (e.g. belonging, engagement).

EPaCS demonstrated promise as a tool useful in developing an understanding of the determinants of NF, as well as bringing improvement in NF directly. However, the process was not entirely smooth, and the outcomes were not all positive. Further work is required in developing this tool with local authorities and stakeholders. A clear common understanding of expectations, outcomes and the sub-processes is required. It may also be that some ‘extreme’ elements of EPaCS do not lend themselves to urban design at a larger scale and over longer timeframes. The tool may be best suited to the improvement of existing settlements via incremental and small/medium-sized intervention, and not the development of new cities or neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, we recommend the inclusion of NF measures throughout the process, as well as the further usage of technology such as those used in the Manchester case (e.g. smart phones and digital tablets).

We superimposed the NFF over two HIAs, substantively and briefly, over and above their existing concern with community well-being and health, to show two conceptual links to improved NF. First, when a SPSDH shares features with the NFF, improvements in these features generated by designs may be indicative of an improvement in NF. Second, when a SPSDH does not share features with the NFF, but changes to it triggered by designs may result in potential positive impacts that are NFF features, these may be indicative of improved NF.

The NFF offers HIA practitioners an additional framework for identifying the well-being impacts of changes to SPSDH, within HIA’s holistic assessment of mental and physical health and well-being issues. When community input on such changes is analysed as a form of data, a

further developed NFF can be used as an analytical tool to judge responses. The NFF differs from MWIA, which addresses mental well-being at individual, community and socio-economic/environmental levels. The NFF looks in more detail at specific feelings and functionings that can arise from changes to, or the impacts of changes, to dynamic SPSDH occurring in neighbourhood contexts. Two of MWIA's four protective factors of mental well-being are, though, the same as NFF features (resilience and participation).

The three pathways showed how: (a) Coffelt residents felt empowered through their participation; (b) their social networks were strengthened, design features selected and public spaces shaped so that their presence or usage would potentially contribute to NF; and (c) responses taken by the local authorities and developer, could indirectly lead to NF.

HIA has two overall strengths for building NF. It provides a framework for public participation with the end goal of protecting and enhancing well-being and health outcomes that general public consultation on its own does not always do. Also, HIA is established and practiced around the world, advocated for and trusted by many proponents, thereby a viable approach for urban design projects seeking to improve SWB.

A weakness of applying the NFF within HIA is that HIAs are sometimes prospective (Harris-Roxas and Harris 2011), and thus restricted to impacts, which may occur, or not. Unlike the EPaCS case study, the HIA process does not include temporary or permanent physical interventions. The implementation of HIA recommendations is not always within the control of the HIA team, and monitoring and evaluation is not always conducted. HIA is not a scientific exercise, but it and its presence does help to influence decisions made about design for well-being (cf. Birley 2011) and raising awareness. It captures a response to a set of conditions at a particular moment in time whilst long-term measurable health outcomes happen over time and can be hard to track (Tamburrini et al. 2011). Anticipating the impacts of design *before* a plan is finalised sensitises urban designers as to the likely impacts of what they create.

In order to further develop the NFF, we recommend stronger collaboration with other

disciplines, for example, anthropologists who can contribute an understanding of the dynamics of group-level social interaction that leads an individual to experience feelings and functionings. We encourage local authorities to collaborate with practitioners to define specific urban design features that promote NF, which developers can address through planning. Finally, in both EPaCS and HIA practice, we recommend improvements in the quality of community involvement procedures, e.g. a 'self-revealing' rather than 'pre-emptive' approach to community input, and in HIAs applied to small-scale projects, more 'collaboration' as well as 'participation'.

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# Stakeholder Preferences on a Working Waterfront: Quality of Life, Land Uses and Planning Processes in Chelsea, Massachusetts

Justin B. Hollander and Jessica Soule

## Introduction

Waterfronts, particularly urban waterfronts, are a limited and unique geographical space. They simultaneously act as a natural boundary and a gateway to maritime pursuits. The well-being of the community living and working together at the water's edge is tied closely to the waterfront, and may define the waterfront's value in economic, environmental, social, and cultural terms, often in combination (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006, p. 121). The myriad of opinion regarding the waterfront's possible uses, compounded by local, regional, and global economies, as well as standardization of shipping practices and technologies, are just a few factors that influence the spatial transformation that working waterfront undergo over time (Schubert 2011, p. 55). These spatial changes may reverberate through the community and impact its economic, environmental, social, and cultural well-being.

Not surprisingly, waterfront transitions have been historically documented as “rarely smooth, often socially painful, and frequently contested”

(Ward 2011, p. 71). Within limited geographic confines, waterfront planners are faced with the challenge of designing a waterfront that satisfies competing interests while balancing limitations of the market and the environmental realities of the waterfront property itself.

Even with a shift in waterfront redevelopment towards “social impact assessments” (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006) there still is a need for a more participatory waterfront planning process that goes beyond reducing issues of contention and negative community impacts, to allowing the community to assist in creating the vision (Sandercock and Dovey 2002), and that acknowledges the deep and complex ties between community and place (Mattessich and Monsey 2004). This builds on the theoretical framework of just sustainability and community well-being, to begin to understand how local residents' waterfront knowledge and visions could contribute to, and enhance, city- and state-level waterfront planning in an urban, medium-sized port city. Through this “co-production of knowledge” (Corburn 2005, p. 4) city planners can develop stronger plans that address community concerns, while city residents can feel valued and a part of their community's future.

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## Literature Review

### Waterfront Redevelopment Cycles

Waterfronts are not static geographies; they undergo life cycles of redevelopment. As Hoyle introduced and Schubert explores in more detail, waterfront redevelopment often includes dereliction, disuse, visioning and planning, and redevelopment (Schubert 2011, p. 60). This cycle is not clearly defined or structured. The length of time at each stage, the transition period between stages, and the end result of each stage depends on a variety of forces.

While there are many examples of waterfront redevelopment at ports such as the London Docklands, Charlestown Navy Yard, and Baltimore's Inner Harbor (what Gordon [1997] called "prominent examples of physical planning and urban renewal" p. 61), even these examples are fraught with differences that make generalization difficult or undesirable in other settings. Individual ports change in a variety of unique ways based on port size, location, planning process, project funders, and intended future uses, and the underlying values held by planners and stakeholders involved in the process (Schubert 2011, p. 60). This makes comparing across redevelopment case studies, and gleaning information for future port revitalization efforts, a challenge.

Despite the many differences in these waterfront redevelopment case studies, these waterfront communities often share similar characteristics before redevelopment. Waterfront property is often undesirable due to real or perceived contamination. Waterfront cities are often inhabited by diverse communities that live near and rely on the port for livelihood or low cost of living (Schubert 2011, p. 57).

At a time when the waterfront was seen as an area of business and industry, these environmental and social challenges were often seen not as issues of community quality of life, but as barriers to economic development. To overcome these barriers, waterfront redevelopment that occurred during 1960–1980s urban renewal took a "laissez-faire" or "accommodationist" approach based on economic deregulation to attract private investment (Fainstein 1994, p. 101). During these

decades, planners and cities attempted to make the waterfront appealing to individual developers or investors who would be attracted by the supply of available waterfront property. This strategy would help overcome typical waterfront challenges that make a site less attractive to a developer, such as the cost of remediating "brownfields", sites with real or perceived contamination from previous use.

Because of this focus on land use outcomes, not planning process, many waterfront redevelopment case studies focus on the funding, permitting, economics, and built outcomes, rather than on the process used by planners to design a waterfront revitalization plan. This was due, in part, to the fact that in these laissez-faire situations public participation typically did not extend beyond what was legally required and failed to address issues of concern to many stakeholder groups. Hagerman (2007) noted that the accommodationist development style may force out marginalized groups and long-time residents who have lived with the industrial waterfront (p. 3). Fainstein (1994) also noted that piecemeal development often resulted in conflicting neighboring uses and the "juxtaposition of rich and poor" (p. 101).

While waterfront planning and redevelopment has historically been a top-down affair, several planners have recently attempted to shed light on the role of various stakeholders in redeveloping a waterfront and the impact that redevelopment has on the waterfront community. These include both negative and positive effects of waterfront redevelopment. For example, Sairinen and Kumpulainen (2006) have identified four categories of social dimensions of urban waterfront planning that impact the community. These areas include (1) resources and identify (what is the value of the waterfront), (2) social status (for whom are particular land uses planned), (3) access and activities (what is planned), and (4) waterfront experience (what can be experienced in the planned waterfront space) (p. 125). Cau (1996) attempted to measure how well planning efforts in a section of Plymouth, United Kingdom (UK) were meeting community expectations of a welcoming, safe, clean waterfront. In analyzing Melbourne's Riverscape revitalization, Sandercock and Dovey (2002) outlines the com-

plex costs and benefits to a variety and changing “public interest”. Bunce (2009) found that following a sustainability framework was not enough to prevent gentrification and may in fact have been a cause on the Toronto waterfront.

These examples point to the fact that the planning process and goals determined at the outset of a redevelopment project can create inequality, conflict, and future problems within the waterfront community. This points to a need to identify a planning process that can identify a waterfront revitalization plan that produces outcomes that are, if not balanced, transparently consider and weigh the economic, environmental, and social concerns of the community.

### Community Well-Being on the Waterfront

Community, as described by Chanan (2002), “...is not a thing. It is a number of people who have repeated dealing with each other.” In a waterfront, community is connected to geographic area. Individuals living in a waterfront community often perceive the waterfront as their livelihood, home, backyard, or all three.

Lee et al. (2015, p. 2) define community well-being as, “that state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled.” Cox et al. (2010) defined it more specifically as economic, social, environmental, and cultural elements. Other broad terms such as quality of life, happiness, and sustainability are often used to describe communities (Lee et al. 2015).

The variable and sometimes conflicting nature of community well-being makes it difficult to comprehend and to apply. Despite these challenges, Lee et al. (2015, p. 1) argue that, “common frameworks of concepts and measures can assist communities in prioritizing goals and values.”

For a waterfront community, that means giving residents the opportunity to bring their own localized knowledge of the environmental, health, economic, and social issues related to the waterfront before any redevelopment is planned. Corburn’s *Street Science* (2005) exemplifies how local knowledge can be used to enhance knowledge that extends beyond traditional scientific methods. In other instances, engaging the public

has been shown to help overcome traditionally challenging and contentious projects (Gallagher and Jackson 2008, p. 629). The sharing and constructing of public knowledge is a main benefit of participatory planning identified by Innes and Booher (2004). By sharing their opinion residents become invested in the process and help legitimate the decision-making.

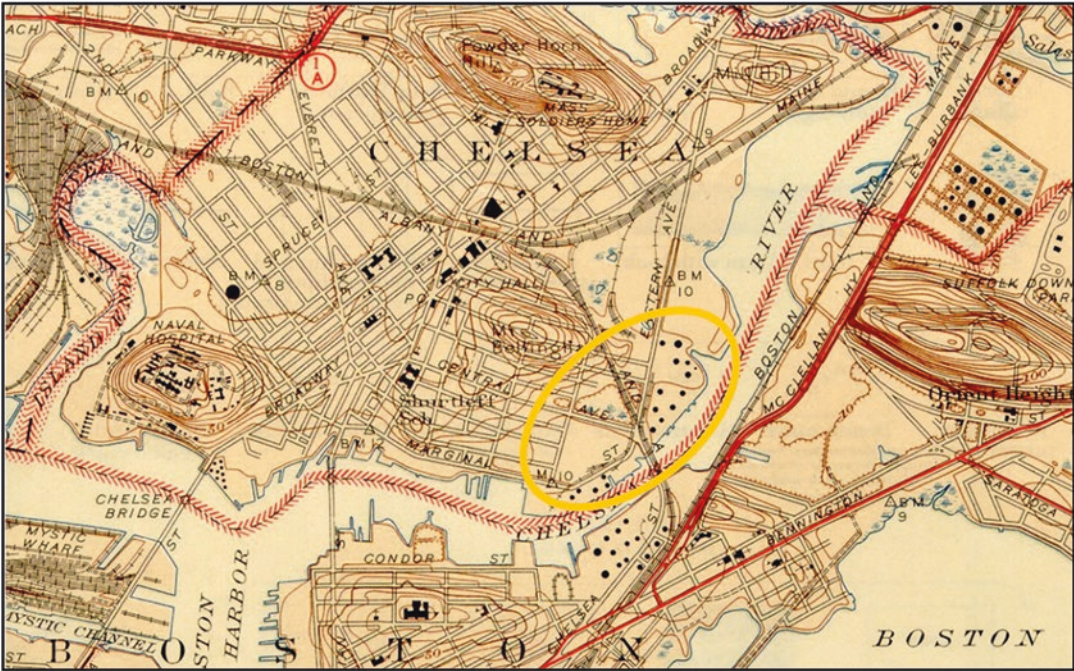
In the case of waterfront redevelopment planning, which is often contentious, the benefits of a democratic participatory process in the early planning stages could reduce later conflict. The question still remains as to how planners should best gather, analyze, and store community knowledge as part of that planning process. As Innes (1995) put it, currently there are no professional standards to “evaluate what ordinary people know” (p. 185). It is this value that hoped to be understood through this research, a methodology had to be determined to best engage the local residents and community activities in a meaningful way at the preliminary stages of waterfront redevelopment planning.

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## Background

### Chelsea, Massachusetts

Chelsea, Massachusetts is bordered on three sides by water, the main water body being Chelsea Creek. The Chelsea Creek runs through the cities of Everett, Revere, and Chelsea, and lead to Boston Harbor. Land use along the Creek has undergone many evolutions in its history as a working waterfront. In the mid-1800s it was home to shipbuilding and rubber, paint, and shoes manufacturing. Chelsea’s 1.8 mi<sup>2</sup> were densely populated, reaching 30,000 people by 1895, which resulted in close physical proximity between the working population and industries (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1980). By the early twentieth century the waterfront along Chelsea Creek was lined with oil tank farms (storage facilities) that relied on the Chelsea Creek for transportation. Oil storage tanks are clearly visible as black circles in the 1946 USGS map of the area shown in Fig. 18.1, and Chelsea remains a major source of jet fuel for Logan Airport today.



**Fig. 18.1** United States Geologic Survey (USGS) Boston, North, 1946

In recent years, some land uses along the waterfront have changed from maritime industrial to temporary businesses and park and ride lots, and even eco-friendly housing, while others have remained maritime industrial. This aligns with Schubert's description of the fifth phase of the waterfront redevelopment cycle of urban port restructuring. Chelsea is located adjacent to Boston, Massachusetts, a much larger and containerized port. As a medium-size community and tributary the Creek does not offer the same possibility to containerize. More evidence for this waterfront transition is the fact that local residents, city officials, and state officials have begun visioning and planning for the waterfront's potential futures.

### Past Planning Efforts

**State:** At the state level the Executive Office of Energy and Environmental Affairs' Office of Coastal Zone Management developed a Designated Port Area (DPA) program in 1978. Twelve pre-existing industrial ports, including

Chelsea, historically a backbone in the Massachusetts regional economy, were chosen as industrial "land banks". The goal was to protect these working waterfronts from the pressures of non-maritime-industrial land uses. The goal was to prevent "current economic development and public use [from] preclude[ing] future maritime opportunities" (Coastal Zone Management 2003, p. 27).

As a result of the DPA, Chelsea Creek was protected from the development of housing, hotels, or other projects that might prevent future industrial waterfront uses. Despite the DPA's success at preventing non-maritime-industrial development, the program was less successful at "channel[ing maritime-industrial] development to underutilized properties" (Boston Harbor Association (BHA) 2003, p. 3–6). Development within the DPA boundaries was supposed to be limited to uses that are both water-dependent and industrial (310, CMR 9.51(3)(c)), such as oil storage facilities and a salt transfer company. By 2010 many non-industrial and non-water-dependent uses are allowed by temporary 10-year permits, including staging areas for construction

and several airport park-and-ride lots. Thus, both city plans and community-based organizations questioned whether the waterfront is able to serve its DPA function; what Rafferty (1996) deemed a “development impasse” (p. 276). Planning documents developed by both the city and a community-based group acknowledge the state’s DPA designation for the waterfront while also envisioning a much broader spectrum of future waterfront land uses.

**City:** *Community Development Plan*, 2004. In this 2004 document, the city considers the role of its waterfront district in future community development efforts. It specifically sites the waterfront as Chelsea’s “top underutilized resource”. In the plan it is stated that “Chelsea should not be prevented from realizing substantial economic and recreational benefit from its waterfront (p. 58)”, and sees the DPA designation as a direct obstacle to achieving this goal.

*Chelsea Creek Open Space Plan*, 2003. One of the goals highlighted in the 2004 Community Development Plan was to connect park nodes across Chelsea. The 2003 Open Space Plan identifies several waterfront parcels that could act as nodes, identified a parcel where a waterfront walkway might be compatible with current DPA land uses, and acknowledge the popularity of the city’s one waterfront park among residents.

*Chelsea Creek Waterfront Study*, 2005. This study analyzed waterfront parcels in Chelsea and Revere, MA, the community sharing the other side of Chelsea Creek. It focused on understanding what opportunities for redevelopment were present along the creek at a total of six main parcels, three in Revere and three in Chelsea.

*Chelsea Creek Waterfront Plan*, 2007. As a follow-up to the 2005 study, this detailed analysis of waterfront land uses as of 2007 emphasized the opportunities for future redevelopment and revenue that could occur if non-DPA land uses were allowed to operate on Chelsea Creek. The plan concluded that DPA regulations would greatly inhibit the type of development that could occur on many waterfront lots (Vine Associates, Inc., 2007).

**Local community:** *Chelsea Creek Community Vision Plan*, 2004. This 2004 plan was initiated

and conducted by the Chelsea Creek Restoration Partnership, not the City of Chelsea’s planning department. This partnership was based on a local community group, Chelsea Creek Action Group, and a nearby non-profit, the Urban Ecology Institute. Using a series of four community focus groups, the plan applied a set of values and priorities to waterfront parcels that were in transition or had the potential to have major impact on the waterfront landscape (Chelsea Creek Action Group, 2004).

## Community Composition

Chelsea is currently home to a diverse population, with over 50 % of residents classifying themselves as Hispanic or Latino, 9 % African American, 10 % another race, and 22 % as two or more races (US Census, 2009). The community’s small land area (1.8 mi<sup>2</sup>) and high population density (19,000/mi<sup>2</sup>) puts it at high risk for conflicts between human health and the industrial waterfront, which lines three sides of the city McEntee and Ogneva-Himmelberger (2008) have already found evidence that Chelsea residents suffer from disproportionately high asthma and lung cancer rates due to the large number of industrial trucks traveling on nearby highways and roads. In addition, the community’s limited waterfront has suffered environmental damage caused by oil spills in Mill and Chelsea Creek (Table 18.1).

Within the community a local nonprofit organization, the Chelsea Collaborative, has frequently taken on the roll of representative of Chelsea’s residents. The Collaborative has orga-

**Table 18.1** Chelsea statistics (U.S. Census Bureau 2009)

Median household income: 64 %
Chelsea: \$40,477—Massachusetts: \$64,684
56.1 % Hispanic and Latino populations
9.0 % Black or African American
10.9 % Other race
37.6 % foreign-born
62.2 % of residents speak a language other than English at home

nized groups around tenant and housing issues, workers' rights, and open space and the waterfront. In the past the Collaborative has protested against city decisions and also conducted a community-led risk assessment process.

The waterfront's uncertain future has caused tension between residents, city officials, property owners, and developers. This project began the task of understanding the complex set of visions and values of one of Chelsea's important groups, residents and active citizens, and what insight community knowledge might contribute to city officials' understanding of their waterfront. We asked:

1. What are city residents' and officials' attitudes towards the waterfront in its current condition?
2. What waterfront land uses would city residents and officials prefer to see in the future?
3. How, if at all, do residents prefer the city engage them in waterfront planning efforts?
4. How might a city planning department integrate local knowledge and opinion in future waterfront planning?

First we hypothesized that residents would be more openly discontented with the current waterfront land uses than city planning documents. We thought that this discontent would stem from environmental, social, and economic injustices they were experiencing. In addition we hypothesized that Chelsea residents would identify broad issues of livability like health, safety, and economic security as their primary concerns. This hypothesis is based on theories of just sustainability, that focus on "quality of life; present and future generations; justice and equity; [and] living within ecosystem limits" and that "aim... to create an inclusive, representative, deliberative civic process" (Agyeman 2005, p. 89).

Finally, we hypothesized that city plans will focus heavily on *sustainable development*: a more growth- and economics-based development model. This may include economic diversification, acquiring development capital, and leveraging the regional uniqueness of a limited coastline. Sustainable development may also focus on new development patterns which do not pollute or

cause long-term damage to Chelsea's ecosystems. Its critics claim it does not do as well a job of integrating social equity along with economic and environmental issues (Agyeman 2005).

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## Data and Methods

The methodology and purpose of this study is similar to Cau's (1996), which attempted to determine community needs in the Cattedown peninsula, a section of working, industrial waterfront in Plymouth, UK. While Cau measured residents' perceptions of their neighborhood to assess how well city planning efforts addressed community need, the goal of this study is to go beyond perceptions of existing conditions to residents' suggestions for waterfront redevelopment. Therefore, rather than conduct a city-wide survey to understand residents' perceptions of existing conditions, we conducted targeted one-on-one interviews with local residents and community leaders to gain a more in-depth understanding of residents' opinions and knowledge. Similar to Cau, we assumed planning documents reflect the City of Chelsea's waterfront plans.

While there are many stakeholder groups in Chelsea that should be involved in any long-term waterfront planning, this project aimed to measure how effective one-on-one interviews with citizens was at gaining local knowledge about the waterfront.

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## Data Collection

For this study, data collection included City planning and visioning documents, as well as semi-structured interviews with ten residents and active community members.

Similar to Cau's (1996) study of Cattedown we used pre-existing planning documents as representation of planners' perception of the state's and city's needs and long-term goals. Most of the necessary data (preferred land uses) came from these documents. We accessed all of the most recent reports, plans, or visions that were available and currently applied to Chelsea's waterfront. In order to clarify the meaning of these



documents and interpret them correctly, email correspondence was necessary with the city Planning and Development Department. This also helped clarify the participatory planning strategies employed by the department.

Previous research done by a <name of institution removed to preserve anonymity> faculty and graduate student team had collaborated closely with the Chelsea Collaborative's Open Space Planning Committee and its Waterfront subcommittee. These committees provided initial contacts for interviews, among community members who had shown an interest in the waterfront in the past. Using a snowball sampling technique we conducted 10 semi-structured interviews lasting, on average 60–75 min. The interview guide was designed, per Kvale (2007), to address the three main research questions: residents' opinions of existing waterfront conditions, residents' ideas for future waterfront land use, and preferred planning strategies.

To understand residents' current attitudes towards the waterfront they were asked a series of questions adapted from Cau's (1996) survey to approximate the aggregate attitude towards the waterfront's existing conditions. Residents were asked to rate their feelings towards six dimensions of the Chelsea Creek waterfront. These dimensions were its perceived safety, friendliness, attractiveness, cheerfulness, healthiness, and cleanliness. In this study, the dimensions were intentionally left ambiguous, in order for respondents to define and explain their answers in more detail. For instance, "safety" could be interpreted as a matter of crime, bodily injury (for example, stepping on a rusted nail), human versus nonhuman safety, or proximity to a variety of "unsafe" conditions such as soil or water contamination or a busy street.

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## Data Analysis

### Planning Documents

We compared across planning and visioning documents in three ways. First, we compared specific land uses identified for those underuti-

lized parcels along the waterfront through manifest analysis, specifically counting what is stated in the text. Second, we analyzed the document language using latent analysis, using "key word in context" (kwic), to understand what issues (economics, housing, environment) were considered, and in what context. This was particularly important for documents like city zoning, which are designed to address community need without specifying particular land uses. Finally, we assessed the planning processes used (or preferred) through an open reading of the texts to understand which stakeholders were included in the process, what participation techniques were used during the plan (Gaber and Gaber 2007).

### Resident Interviews

The ten resident interviews were thematized and coded in a way similar to the content-analysis, mentioned above: using both a list of codes/themes generated before analyzing the notes/transcripts, as well as introducing new codes/themes during the reading.

The small number of targeted interviews attempted to understand Chelsea's diverse population while not fully representing it. Table 18.2 compares the ten interview participants to Chelsea's entire population. Interview participants' ages ranged from 19 to 64 years, with a median age similar to the average Chelsea resident. Interview participants had received more formal education and were less diverse than the typical Chelsea resident.

While not fully representative, the goal of conducting a small number of intense interviews was not to achieve full representation. Rather, it was to test what opinions and knowledge community residents, of any background, had to contribute to the existing body of planning knowledge about Chelsea's waterfront. Because this varied with each individual's own personal narrative about their experiences with the waterfront, many more interviews would be necessary to gather full representation, which was beyond the scope of this study.

**Table 18.2** A demographics comparison of interview participants and city residents

		City of Chelsea	Interview participants
Age	Median years	33.4	34.5
Education	No high school diploma	31.7 %	0.0 %
	High school graduate	40.3 %	10.0 %
	Some college, no degree	11.0 %	20.0 %
	Associate's degree	3.5 %	20.0 %
	Bachelors degree	8.2 %	10.0 %
	Graduate or professional	5.2 %	40 %
Gender	Female	53.3 %	50.0 %
	Male	46.7 %	50.0 %
Race	White, non-Hispanic	56 %	70 %
	African American or black	9 %	0 %
	Other race	10.9 %	0 %
	Hispanic or Latino	56.1 %	30 %

## Findings

### Attitudes Toward Existing Waterfront Conditions

Residents were asked to rate their feelings towards six dimensions of the Chelsea Creek waterfront: its perceived safety, friendliness, attractiveness, cheerfulness, healthiness, and cleanliness. As interviewed residents explained, the Chelsea Creek is not a place where residents feel safe, comfortable, or welcome. Many explained that they frequently travel outside of Chelsea to state parks when spending time with children, families, or exercising. Several respondents noted, in reflecting on their responses, that although they seemed to say relatively negative things, they still felt positively towards the creek itself. Respondents seemed able to separate the physical ecosystem of the Creek, which many respondents wanted to protect and restore, from

the industry and land uses on its shores. Through this separation they continued to appreciate and value the potential for future change on the waterfront, despite its current unwelcoming appearance.

As noted in the summaries of city plans, the city's attitude towards existing conditions, and DPA in particular, was negative. The designation as a forced working waterfront is described as a burden to the surrounding community, creating underutilized properties that are an obstacle to the city's preferred land uses. City planning is constrained and limited by DPA-designation.

### Preferred Waterfront Land Uses

When asked to discuss how they would like the Creek to feel, and what they would like to see on the Creek, summarized in, the interviewed residents suggested a variety of land uses for the Chelsea Creek waterfront, including open space, waterfront access, and housing. While the nuanced explanation was unique to individuals, all ten respondents mentioned open space and public waterfront access as key elements they would prefer to see on the Chelsea Creek. The specific types of open space/waterfront suggested included active recreational uses, such as soccer parks and biking paths, and more passive uses, like viewing corridors to connect the waterfront with adjacent neighborhoods and waterfront walkways adjacent to industry that could be lined with benches, trees, art displays, and historical/educational stations.

Many of the themes uncovered during resident interviews were also discussed in the City's four plans or studies: Community Development Plan, Open Space Plan, the 2005 and 2007 waterfront studies.<sup>1</sup> All four plans discussed open space and waterfront access for the public. The Open Space Plan emphasized these topics more than the others, but the Open Space Plan's suggested rehabilitating existing parks rather than develop new

<sup>1</sup>Because the two waterfront studies focused on the Eastern Avenue district, these findings do not reflect the city's priorities for the Marginal Street district.

ones, or suggested the future development of parks on waterfront parcels that are currently owned and in use, and therefore unable to be constructed. For instance, the plan envisioned a park on the site of a business that not only continues to operate with no intentions of vacating its current location, but is in fact likely to expand its operation along the waterfront.

## Framing of Preferences

When discussing their preferred waterfront land uses, interview respondents had explanations for desiring each land use, particularly open space, waterfront access, and housing, on their waterfront. Of primary concern to residents were public health, public safety, ecosystem health, economic development/ revitalization and a need to “balance” industry’s presence on the creek.

Public health, particularly air quality in the region, was mentioned by seven respondents. There seemed to be an understanding that poor public health and lack of open space were interconnected with existing industry. The proximity of Chelsea to a major overhead highway as well as truck routes connecting waterfront industry to the region, make the city an air quality hot spot. As one resident noted, without reducing air pollutants in the city, providing open space will only expose residents to poor air quality. Despite the existence of one waterfront park in the city, this respondent and her friends who exercise outdoors travel to another park outside of the city because of their air quality concerns.

I hesitate to want the harbor open to more people until it’s cleaned up. It’s all well and good to get park space for residents, but I don’t necessarily want residents out there breathing in pollutants.

Public Safety was defined in a variety of ways by six respondents. This ranged from safe access to parks through improving pedestrian and cyclist safety on waterfront roadways, to safety if exposed to the creek’s water. Nearly as many respondents (five) mentioned environmental health concerns such as water quality and pres-

ence of wildlife. Often, concerns of public and environmental health and safety overlapped.

Look-wise, it’s not that important...Health and environment is most important. Remove the debris, test the waters. All these industrial companies, do they follow safety precautions? Are they leaking things into the creek?

Despite these public and environmental concerns, respondents were not put off by the idea of future waterfront development and understood the reality and benefits of economic development and revitalization for the city. Six respondents mentioned development projects for the waterfront, some of which fit within current DPA guidelines like small-scale shipbuilding, marine research laboratories or offices, and warehouse space for start-up businesses. One respondent noted that, “when Brownfields are eventually redeveloped, industry is a good use.” It was very clear, at least for some residents, that their dislike of existing industry would not overshadow the potential for future development. In addition to mitigating current threats, residents also wanted to ensure future land uses could not cause the same public and ecosystem health problems, and would not further cut off the community from the waterfront.

Interview respondents did not always provide similar suggestions for future industry, and did not necessarily hold the same opinions for all aspects of waterfront redevelopment. While some respondents mentioned marketing Chelsea as an attractive, affordable, residential alternative to Boston, others felt that development and planning efforts should be limited, and should protect the existing community who might not necessarily be driving the demand for new services.

We have the Wyndham Hotel. It’s pricey. We’re a low income community. You’re not thinking about us using it when you build it. If there had to be a hotel, I’d want it to be eco-friendly, and low-cost rates (like Red Roof Inn). It could be nice for locals to “get away right down the street, on the beach, with a nice view.

While city plans also suggested open space and public waterfront access, it was often framed in the light of economic development/revitalization, particularly making it more marketable for

hotels, housing, and businesses. City plans often noted that plans for new open spaces or parks were often balanced by the argument that public access was not always compatible with existing industry, and that it could not disrupt or endanger the security of the oil facilities. The city plans do also note the importance of open space for resident quality of life. To a lesser extent planning documents included mention of public health, air quality, or ecosystem issues.

### Preferred Planning Strategies

Most (7) respondents had been involved in some type of city initiative, frequently through their existing involvement in civic organizations or city committees. Some respondents mentioned that, despite attending public meetings and events, they felt their voice went unheard by the City, or that they remained unable to make an impact.

I have no control over what happens next. Like all the condos going up – I feel like I have no idea.

People with political power are our voice. I could stand outside all day with a sign, but they have the power.

Despite the fact that interview respondents seemed very aware of how to access the City's planning documents, at least one respondent mentioned that they didn't feel like they were the "norm" for the community: that other residents might not feel as comfortable looking for information at city hall, or feel intimidated. Another potential barrier is language, with a larger percentage of residents speaking Spanish as a first language. While the city has made strides to remove the language barrier, including implementing a mandate that requires language translation at public meetings, it must be requested by residents in advance, and may be conducted by volunteers without training in two-way translation. In addition, the city's guide to public participation is currently only available in English.

When asked who they would contact with an issue, idea, or problem, the answers varied. Six of ten respondents said that they would turn to the Chelsea Collaborative with any community con-

cerns, suggestions, or ideas. These six respondents felt that most of Chelsea's community knew of the organization and would use it as a resource.

Everybody in Chelsea comes out and solves issues together. There's a lot of support.

We're a tight community. I know people would be involved – they just don't know how to be.

One respondent suggested that the City take more advantage of organizations like the Collaborative that appear to act as a main source of resident "voice" in Chelsea. Other respondents said they might turn to city councilors, city planners, the city Manager, or even state agencies such as the Department of Environmental Protection if the problem was environmental or severe enough.

Nine of the ten interview respondents said that they would like to be involved in future waterfront planning in Chelsea, but respondents were candid in their pre-requisite conditions for their involvement. One was interested in being involved, but knew that it might require more time than s/he could invest. Another would only want to be involved if the process was truly community-driven, and not a token community signoff on projects that had been planned long before between the City and developers.

If they gave me the option I'd say 'sign me up'.

According to interview respondents, the City's current planning system is not working. As one respondents explained, the City reacts rather than plans. Several respondents noted that they were not sure where the necessary leadership or vision would come from. In addition to not being forward thinking enough, some respondents felt that the City's planning efforts were not inclusive enough. Despite the importance of community involvement described in City reports, one respondent noted, "When there is participation it isn't meaningful. The City will get the same type of people to attend public meetings – white, middle aged." As explained by City planner John DePriest (personal communication, March 10, 2010), planning documents and public notices are not translated into languages other than

English. This includes the 2005 document “Guide to Public Participation in the Zoning Board of Appeals and Planning Board Process”. Despite the fact that the City does offer some translation at public meetings, and offers translation (no request required) at special neighborhood or open space planning meetings, one respondent felt that the City’s effort wasn’t enough.

Past planning efforts by the City have used varying degrees of public participation. For the City’s 2004 Economic and Housing Plan there was no public input; the City’s 2003 Open Space Plan involved two public meetings and consultations with multiple stakeholder groups representing the state, environmentalists, and community residents; and the City’s two waterfront studies, completed in 2005 and 2007, included no public participation. Ironically, the 2005 study recommended that the City conduct “a systematic canvassing of individual property owners, businesses, regulatory agencies, public use and other advocates be undertaken to create a coherent record of aspirations of all the stake holders who will have a direct say in the future of Chelsea Creek” (Byrne et al., 2005, p. 10). The 2005 study made this recommendation despite the fact that in 2001–2002 there had been a Chelsea Creek Community Visioning process led by community groups.

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## Analysis

### The Potential for Co-production of Waterfront Knowledge

Contrary to our initial hypothesis, interview respondents and city documents frequently prioritized similar waterfront land uses. Although similar land uses were discussed, they were often prioritized and discussed differently. These differences included using different levels of specificity in descriptions, addressing the connectivity between issues to a different extent, and basing their preferred land use decisions on different criteria.

Many of these differences between interviewees and city plans seem to stem from a difference in how issues were framed and considered. First, despite the fact that both resident interviews and city plans emphasized open space and waterfront access, interviewed residents perceived waterfront access and community health to be an issue of justice: as rights due to the community. The city plans mentioned open space and waterfront access, but considered them to be long-term goals rather than priority issues.

Another difference between interviewed residents and city plans was the specificity of suggestions. Although city plans recognized the need for active and passive recreational area, interviewed residents identified more specific land uses, and gave more detailed explanations of their thought process. They considered what types of individuals or groups might use certain spaces, and included specific details such as art, cultural attractions, educational areas, park supervision, and benches – the functional aspects of open space that would draw people to use the park. Interviewees made very clear that the construction of open space alone would not guarantee its use. Functional, social, and health factors influence their decision as well.

Interviewed residents were more holistic in their land use conceptualization. For example, interviewed residents showed a high level of concern over both human and ecosystem health. Water quality, animal populations, wetland restoration all defined what it meant to truly have a “waterfront”. To some of the interviewed residents, having a walkway along an unhealthy, polluted harbor would not be enough. The superficial appearances can be more easily fixed; a healthy environment is a more difficult long-term goal for residents.

Many of the concerns identified by residents: general cleanliness of the city, public health, civic capacity of residents, were not specifically discussed in connection to waterfront planning. City plans did not explore the complexities or significance of a clean waterfront. The city plans did not mention land uses that specifically protect

the Creek, or would invest in wetlands remediation. None of the city plans specifically mentioned the City’s high asthma rates or how future development may address or reduce the problem.

Another respondent concern that went unaddressed in city documents was fear gentrification, and a future in which they were no longer welcome in Chelsea. These fears were similar to documented effects of traditional waterfront redevelopment: the forcing out marginalized groups and long-time residents (Hagerman 2007) and the development of conflicting neighboring uses and the “juxtaposition of rich and poor” (Fainstein 1994, p. 101). None of the city plans, nor resident interviews, specifically addressed strategies to stabilize existing residents.

In general, respondents’ understanding of “higher and better” uses had less to do with specific land uses or economic value (although residents recognized the importance of creating more jobs and having a bigger tax base) and more to do with the effects on their quality of life. This was juxtaposed with the City’s “higher and better” waterfront uses, which would generate tax revenue, bring in new residents, and add to the consumer base.

With economics as a priority, the City’s general attitude towards the current DPA regulations was much more negative than many residents, calling the DPA a severe cost burden to the community, preventing the City from achieving the land’s highest and best uses (City of Chelsea 2004). Interviewed residents were generally supportive of mixing light industry, research, or other maritime uses, as long as it did not harm them or the Creek, and allowed open space and waterfront access (Table 18.3).

Finally, some stakeholder groups, such as current property owners along the waterfront, receive even less attention or inclusion in planning than residents have. Frequently both the City and residents oppose the current land use, and therefore do not seek the cooperation of existing property owners. The majority of Chelsea’s long-term waterfront planning disregards existing waterfront land uses, regardless of whether the current owner and businesses intend to remain.

**Table 18.3** Comparison of resident- and City-ranked considerations

Common interests	Framing by residents	Framing in City plans
Open space	Public health	Prevent unwanted development
Waterfront access	Safety	Attitude towards DPA
Housing	Youth	Economic development
Development to revitalize city	Meeting community concerns	
	Ecosystem health	

### Towards a New Planning Process in Chelsea, MA

To the interviewed residents, participatory planning meant being involved early and often in the planning process—before any developers have begun suggesting uses along the waterfront. Interviewed residents thought the City, along with resident guidance and input, should establish specific waterfront development criteria that considered issues of sustainability and climate change, as well as economic revitalization.

This study was able to uncover several types of resident knowledge, which could contribute to the existing city plans and body of knowledge regarding the Chelsea Creek. First, interviews uncovered how residents currently perceive their waterfront. Second, interviewees shared their thoughts and visions for their ideal future waterfront. In addition, respondents shared the process by which they would prefer to engaged with the city in future waterfront planning efforts.

Interview respondents in Chelsea felt optimistic about the future of their waterfront, despite feeling slightly negatively toward its current state. Respondents felt that in the future the waterfront’s redevelopment should focus on open space and public access. All ten interviewees mentioned that public access, open space, and parks should be key elements. There was the sense that residents of all ages lack enough open space and connection to the waterfront.

Public health was also a frequently mentioned priority, because the respondents perceived the water, soil, and air around the Creek and throughout Chelsea to be contaminated. The connection between existing industry, public health, and waterfront access was made by several respondents. Some were concerned that only allowing open space while not mitigating air quality would have further negative health consequences for the community.

Despite the overall negative feelings towards some of the existing industries along Chelsea Creek, residents were generally open to some types of future industry or development. Interviewees identified a balance between open space and industry that would protect human and ecosystem health as their highest priority. While Chelsea residents were more concerned about fairness of the process and the livability of their waterfront, the specific land uses they suggested were often different from the city's waterfront plans—more industrial or commercial.

While interviewees frequently suggested common themes, they did not always agree. To some respondents, hotels, housing, and other developments would not benefit current residents enough to be appropriate. There was concern over development that was meant to attract outsiders rather than improve the lives of current residents. To other respondents, most land uses would be fine as long as they allowed public access and maintained the Creek's health.

Interviewed residents suggested not only different land uses, but different ways of conceptualizing, prioritizing, and choosing among future scenarios. Even when interviewees and city plans shared similar conclusions in suggested land uses, they were frequently based on very different selection criteria, and discussed using a different language. Despite the presence of existing industries and the fact that residents would prefer a more balanced industrial waterfront to the existing uninviting conditions, the City's long-term strategy to revitalize the waterfront seems to be an incrementalist hold-out for changes to DPA regulations.

Interviewed residents and city officials seemed to define participation differently, and put a dif-

fering degree of emphasis on participation. Respondents felt that the current planning department practices were inaccessible to newer and more diverse residents. There was a general feeling that lacking Spanish translation and interpreters was not acceptable in a community with such a high percentage of individuals speaking English as a second language, with 62.2 % of residents speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census 2009).

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## Conclusion

In a working waterfront, community is connected to geographic area. Individuals living there often perceive the waterfront as their livelihood, home, backyard, or all three. The waterfront plays a role in the quality of life and happiness of the community members. When a waterfront community is undergoing change and redevelopment, it can affect many aspects of community well-being.

Although a main argument against public participation is its potential to cause additional conflict and drain the City's resources. This case study highlights how understanding and integrating public preferences could potentially facilitate the successful development of space by gaining support from residents in preliminary planning stages. Such participation may prevent resident anger during later-phase public meetings, and increase overall community well-being by giving residents the opportunity to bring their own localized knowledge of the environmental, health, economic, and social issues related to the waterfront before any redevelopment is planned.

This case study also demonstrates that Chelsea residents can add a complex level of understanding to how space is planned. This contrasts with the picture generally painted of environmental justice communities, which assumes that residents can only offer opposition to land use change. Planners should see residents' insight and way of thinking not as a challenge to traditional methods, and must be careful not to dismiss public input immediately if it does not conform to typical planning language or traditional scientific methods. Given the opportunity,

interviewed residents provided valuable input, made connections, thought broadly, and suggested land uses that went beyond the scope of the city plans. Even the most well-intentioned planning department may not be able to fully understand the complex ways residents think about the future development of their community.

This study's interviews were also designed to serve a wide range of stakeholders, especially those residents who may not have attended public meetings, or may not speak up in a larger group. One-on-one interviews also avoided potential conflicts between stakeholder groups, and provided individuals time for their own expression. The suggestions of interviewed residents was much more nuanced and complex than could be conveyed during a brief, one-time public meeting. An interview also allows people to participate who may not want to commit to a long-term planning strategy: those people who want to be very involved and be heard, but who cannot be involved in a long-term process. After working with respondents, it was obvious that some would not have been as open in a more public setting.

While residents were unanimous in their desire for a more open and participatory waterfront planning process, a fairer process would not remove the difficult decisions that face Chelsea and other similar waterfronts. For decisions such as whether to fight the DPA status of Chelsea Creek, there is no right answer, highlighting the conflicting and variable nature of community-wellbeing. While the DPA status does result in less-attractive land uses and more limited public access, it provides the city with economic development and suppressed property values compared to other nearby communities. The removal of DPA status would allow for a greater variety of land uses popular to residents and city officials alike, but would have the potential to introduce gentrifying forces into Chelsea. In Chelsea's working waterfront, there is not one solution that would address all of the needs of the community.

Instead, this case study highlights the importance of open lines of communication and the stronger the relationship between city officials

and residents, including establishing community dialogue through a non-profit or other neutral party. Together, residents and city official could begin the challenging conversations about shared goals, values, and quality of life that affect community well-being on the waterfront.

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## Limitations of this Study

Even a participatory method, such as interviews, is limited to the stakeholders that the planner can identify and interview. Snowball sampling and word of mouth have limitations regarding diversity of stakeholders. Although this study focused on residents, the interviews could be used to gather information from additional stakeholder groups like local business owners, environmental groups, and affordable housing advocates.

Another limitation of individual interviews is the loss of learning and reflection between residents. Single interviews provide equal time for both quiet and outspoken individuals, but interviews do not encourage communication between groups with differences, nor does it increase civic capacity. Many respondents were interested in hearing about what other residents thought about the waterfront. These interviews did not provide a venue for that type of open community discussion. Other limitations of interviews are time and language barriers. Without a bilingual staff major communication gaps exist between the planning department and Spanish-speaking residents.

Because some of the questions being asked during the interview were about the City's planning process and its openness, respondents may have felt uncomfortable answering these honestly if they had been interviewed by city planning staff. A third party facilitator or anonymous survey may be the ideal method of getting honest resident input regarding the City's planning processes.

A participatory planning process cannot be accomplished through a one-time community engagement. This research was only a preliminary step in understanding what residents feel, know, and how they think about the waterfront. This step alone is not enough to support a truly



participatory waterfront redevelopment effort. Instead, this knowledge should be used to shape future planning efforts and future community outreach and involvement. It allows the City to understand how its current actions are perceived by residents.

Future follow-up participatory efforts could include an ongoing survey to get ongoing feedback regarding the community's feeling towards the current waterfront. This study's findings could be used to develop a series of focus groups and public meetings to discuss how the City could improve community involvement in future waterfront (and all) planning efforts.

This research supports what is suggested in the literature: that public participation can provide planners with unique insight and knowledge from community members. Residents were able to contribute several levels of understanding regarding existing conditions, preferred land uses, and preferred planning process. Interviews also provided insight into how residents think holistically about land uses, frame their discussions and make their decisions. These were often different than was included in existing city planning documents. Gathering this information can make the planning process more successful by gaining community trust, support, and understanding differences before they develop into major conflicts.

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# LISADEMAS: A Life Satisfaction Decision-Making System for Integrated Community Development Planning

# 19

Vaios Kotsios

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## Introduction

Development thinking, as a set of ideas about development, and its relevant aspects, theory, strategy and ideology (Hettne 1995), has changed many times during the twentieth century (Potter et al. 2008, p. 81). Analysis of development meaning (Pieterse 2009; Hettne 2009; Willis 2005; Cole 2001; Martinussen 1999; Rist 1997) points out a number of concepts such as progress, change, flourish, convergence, industrialization, growth, modernization, accumulation, reform, deregulation, liberalization, destruction, guardianship, restructuring, and privatization. At the same time, there is not even an agreement on whether development research and planning are distinct disciplines with their own approaches, methods and theories, because there is a strong interaction between the interpretation of development and the nature and content of both development studies (Kothari 2005) and development planning (Potter et al. 2008, p. 3). As a result of this interaction, there are plenty of views (Chowdhury and Kirkpatrick 1994; Quaddus and Siddique 2001; Stimson et al. 2006; Kooros and Badeaux 2007)

over the determination of the thematic field, since they reflect the way in which ideology of development is perceived (Potter et al. 2008 p. 3).

However, what is the ultimate purpose of development? Many researchers maintain that the improvement in the quality of life for all people should be at the core of development processes (Pawar 2009; Dale 2005; Rokos 2003) at all levels – internationally, regionally, nationally and locally. Nonetheless, people do not feel happier despite of development activities (Schimmel 2007). Major economic crisis, not only the financial and debt crisis after 2008, tend to be followed by crisis in subjective well-being (SWB) (Bjørnskov 2014; Habibov and Afandi 2015; Hariri et al. 2015). These crises, especially in countries such as Greece, pressed for the exploration of new approaches, with methods and tools, to optimize development planning policies or, in other words, the planning of any organized endeavour that aims at promoting development (Dale 2005, p. 15). A research challenge in development planning is to explore and substantiate logical chains of linked variables from the level of outputs to the level of development objective (Dale 2005, p. 63) such as the overall improvement of life satisfaction.

The causal relationship between local economic development and quality of life is, however, a difficult and controversial topic (Wong 2001). The synthesis of happiness and development is not a new idea. Studies on the determinants of subjective well-being indicators are

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flourishing, which furnish important new insights for the redesign of development and welfare policies in highly industrialised countries (Becchetti et al. 2009). However, research on the impact of the broader concepts of well-being and life satisfaction of development projects is still in its infancy. As Duncan (2008) highlighted, recent social surveys of happiness (subjective well-being) have given a new stimulus to utilitarian political theory by providing a statistically reliable measure of 'happiness' of individuals, which can then be correlated with other variables. It may, however, be wrong to conclude that happiness research findings can be directly translated into authoritative actions by governments for the well-being of all members of society, other than providing feedback on the social programmes that governments have already delivered. Future debate about the politics of happiness would need to take into account the complexity of policy networks and processes, and the diversity of communities and their values, and to treat reflexively the questions of problematization and normalization that may underlie the apparently benign and innocuous prescription that happiness should be the goal of good government (Duncan 2008).

In response to these challenges, in this chapter we present a life satisfaction decision making system (LISADEMAS) to support integrated development policy, which is based on new approaches and methods in research and planning for development. First, it involves the synthesis of theories of Community Well-Being (CWB) and Worth Living Integrated Development (WID). Without a theory, the practice has no strength (Friedmann 2011, p. 62) and research studies are likely to be highly descriptive with limited explanatory claims (Sumner and Tribe 2008, p. 83). Second, the specific characteristics of local reality are explored (Chambers 2008) to ensure that the proposed actions are appropriate for the needs they seek to address. Besides, the role of planning, as Frieddman claimed (2011, p. 60), aims to make retrospective connection of knowledge with action or, even simpler, to support scientifically documented general policies. Third, participatory research methods are used to allow community members to have their say on

the development issues and on how research is conducted (Laws et al. 2003; Brock and Harrison 2006). Fourth, the integration challenge is adopted as the imperative to produce a whole through integration that is greater than the sum of the individual qualitative and quantitative parts (Fetters and Freshwater 2015).

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## Theoretical Framework

Development research must clarify the theoretical framework which supports the goals and approaches and the data used, and how these lead to effective and efficient achievement of the objectives (Dale 2005, p. 7). As we already mentioned, LISADEMAS is based on the theories of CWB and WID. Community well-being seems to be an appropriate concept to connect government and governance to citizen life (Kee et al. 2015, p. 1) and WID is a development mode that not only combines social, economic and environmental needs, but also gives a meaning to the lives of individuals in a society (Koroneos and Rokos 2012).

Words used in conjunction with community well-being often include happiness, social quality, socioeconomic quality, quality of life, healthy community, and sustainability, leading to a lot of discussion and debate on its definition. Lee and Kim (2015), after comparing CWB with happiness, quality of life, community development and well-being, argue that CWB is a more comprehensive and dynamic concept that takes an asset approach and points to the value-driven goal of flourishing. They further point out that more comprehensive or holistic definitions of CWB should include a number of community factors, such as physical, psychological, political, social, cultural, and environmental. Community well-being in most cities and regions tend to incorporate economic, social and physical dimensions, particularly in the context of specific population groups (Lee and Kim 2015). Cox et al. (2010) provide an integrated approach through encompassing economic, social, environmental, and cultural, as well as governance goals and priorities. Lee et al. (2015) define community

well-being as the state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled. In this context, community well-being can be thought of as encompassing “the broad range of economic, social, environmental, cultural and governance goals and priorities identified as of greatest importance by a particular community, population group or society” (Cox et al. 2010, p. 72).

As far as WID is concerned, Rokos (2003) considers that development can only be an organic “whole” of the multidimensional and complex relations, interactions and interdependencies of economic, social, political, cultural and technical/technological energetics and efforts. According to this aspect, development is a new, improved dynamic balance between human relations and systems of land use, production, employment, consumption and distribution, which aims at the “optimal” use of potential physical and socio-economic reality according to:

- The average social conscience of the citizens,
- The specific social dynamics, and
- The political will of authorities.

The intersection of CWB and integrated development theory seems to be a fascinating one. As we can easily understand there is a deep connection between the two concepts. In the following paragraphs, we present a life satisfaction decision-making system for integrated development planning based on these theories.

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## Study Area

The need for such planning approaches becomes more intense in mountainous areas which cover 24 % of the global terrestrial surface (Price et al. 2004) and remain to a large extent outside development strategies. Previous development approaches had a deeply uneven geographical distribution (Evrard 2011; Rokos 2010), leading to the fact that residents of mountainous areas are by far the poorest and most disadvantaged (FAO 2011). Moreover, as noted by Tomaney et al. (2010), the impact of the financial crisis on the outlook for local and regional development is

depressing because it is geographically uneven and possibly longer in regions with specific geographical features.

Development of robust planning strategies for rural areas is at the forefront of scientific research (Zhelezov 2011). Therefore, the development of new methodological approaches has been the focus of major research programs such as BioScene (Soliva 2005), DIAMONT (Schönthaler and Werburg 2006), SARD-M Project (FAO 2007), Green Mountain (2012). Rural web (Van der Ploeg et al. 2008) is one of the new comprehensive theoretical frameworks on rural development. As Messely et al. (2013) point out, the web, not only offers a tool for comparative analysis of different development paths both within and between regions, but can also be used as a diagnostic tool for exploring the potentials and limits of rural development patterns.

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## Research Methodology

There are a number of handbooks providing discussion on a vast array of community quality-of-life measures and the approaches used to choose appropriate measures (Sirgy et al. 2006; Phillips and Pittman 2009). However, there is a lack of research on how the measurement of outcomes ties to social or political action in a community (Cobb and Rixford 1998). Brutschy and Zachary (2014) point out that more research is needed to address three key issues. First, how communities move from data to action? Second, how communities work to align community quality-of-life measures with program performance measures? Third, how the development in one domain impacts on other domains (the issue of interconnectedness)?

We thus constructed a life satisfaction making system in three stages. In the first stage, a mixed methods strategy was conducted by an Interdisciplinary Research Team to investigate factors that tend to play an important role in well-being – in the fields of economy, society, culture, policy, technology and environment – by using subjective and objective indicators. The research aims at understanding the local psychical and

socio-economic features; the political will of authorities at local, regional, national and European level; the average social consciousness of the problems, constraints, opportunities and prospects of development and the social dynamics of the study area.

In the second stage a knowledge base was created based on triangulation (Denzin 1970) and descriptive statistical analysis. A synthesis of primary and secondary data on the local features was made. The results were correlated with the data obtained from the investigation of average social consciousness and social dynamics of local residents. Finally, policies related to the study area in intermediate and macro level and associated problems, limitations, dynamics and prospects of the region were investigated.

In the third stage, in order to develop the decision making system, linkages between variables were elaborated based on bivariate and multivariate statistical analysis. Logical chains of linked variables from the level of outputs to the level of overall improvement of life satisfaction were substantiated through means-ends analysis (Fig. 19.1).

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### Step 1: Mixed Methods Strategy

Wagner et al. (2011) substantiate the need for interdisciplinary approaches in research by indicating that integrated synthesis is both different and better than the sum of its parts. According to Ayre and Nettle (2015), one of the major challenges of conducted integrated research is the way to combine and effectively manage diverse disciplinary perspectives and other knowledge/s in the generation of new knowledge for practice and policy change. Furthermore, without knowledge from several academic disciplines, important problems in contemporary society cannot be solved (Buanes and Jentoft 2009). Accordingly, an Interdisciplinary Research Team, including Agriculturist, Architect, Cultural Environment Manager, Economist, Environmentalist, Civil Engineer, Forester, Political Scientist, Sociologist, Surveying Engineering, was established.

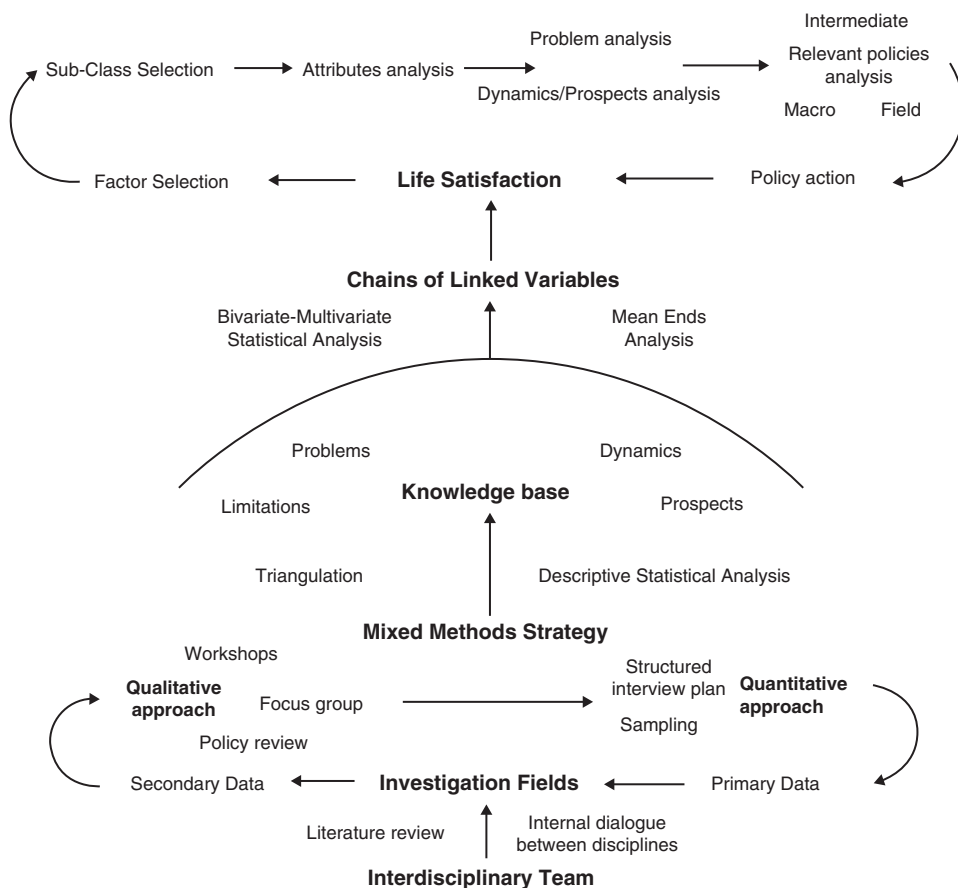
Any comprehensive evaluation of quality of life should include both subjective and objective aspects (Rezvani et al. 2012). In order to assess the relative importance of various variables in predicting well-being, Diener et al. (1999) examined health status, culture, demography, socio-economic status, geography and social capital. Sirgy et al. (2009) specified 14 different life domains through which community conditions and services impact on residents' overall life satisfaction. These are: social life, leisure life, health life, safety, family/home, political, spiritual life, neighborhood, environmental, transportation, education, work, financial, and consumer life. These life domain perceptions influence residents' overall perception of community well-being, their commitment to the community, and their overall life satisfaction. A study by McGregor et al. (2003) focuses on a Hawaiian community and reveals five elements of well-being that are important to the community, namely, individual, family, community, nation and *Aina* (which is an eco-spiritual term uniting humans to nature).

After an internal interdisciplinary dialogue, relevant indicators were selected. This was then followed by bibliographically and empirically research with extensive discussions within the team (Table 19.1).

The foundation of LISADEMAS is based on reliable, accurate and comprehensive knowledge of physical and human assets, not only of their interdependencies and interactions, but also their general physical and socio-economic conditions in which they are committed and thus constitute the potential natural and human environment. However, the recording of knowledge is a difficult and time-consuming process. For this reason, a mixed methodological approach was used with regard to three characteristics. The first is the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches; the second is the linking of these approaches through the process of triangulation; and the third is the practical approach to research problems (Denscombe 2010, p. 138).

Secondary data were identified according to literature and by visiting competent agencies and services. In order to recognize the prevailing

### Life Satisfaction Decision Making System



**Fig. 19.1** Research methodology

social framework of principles and choices of the area, the views and opinions of local and regional authorities on issues that concern local residents were identified. Workshops were held with Councilors, Chairmen of Local Councils and citizens. The theoretical framework and the research methodology was analyzed and documented, with the interdisciplinary team’s presence. With the use of the “Focus Groups” research approach, the identification of development policy at an intermediate level first took place. Along with the method of content analysis, the strategies outlined in the business plan of the municipality for the period 2012–2014 and the 2002 OECD study for the region were encoded.

This approach provided the opportunity of conducting a representative social research since there was a unanimous assessment by the local authorities. Key people were identified in the local community whose voluntary help was critical in establishing communication with residents in the local community to seek their participation in the research and to achieve a representative sample. The contact with each interviewee lasted about 45–60 min, which required effort and patience from their side. Nonetheless, the faith in the investigation’s objectives and purposes led local residents to actively participate, which helped to provide optimum stratification of the sample.

**Table 19.1** Investigation fields

Sector	Fields
Economy	General: income, per capita GDP, investments, employment by sector of economic activity, unemployment
	Primary sector: percentage of employed population, products, land use, crop supplies, livestock, farm fragmentation, property values, agricultural products, traditional products, forest products, age structure
	Secondary sector: percentage of employed population, number and type of business, industrial units and crafts products
	Tertiary sector: percentage of employed population, number of public services, number of private service firms, number of tourist accommodation and catering units, special tourist infrastructure, attracting visitors – tourists poles
Society	Demography: permanent, actual and lawful population, population trend, population density and concentration, population structure by sex and age, education level, social groups: number of clubs – groups with social action, action type, number of persons engaged in collectives and composition of participants, percentage of population participating in collectives, change of solar composition of individuals and collectives involved in the actions of these
	Living: comfort residential, income assessment, access to borrowing, sense of security, means of travel, frequency of car use
	Communication: frequency of mobile phone use, frequency of internet use
	Perceptions of quality of life/evaluation: life satisfaction, access to health services satisfaction, quality health services satisfaction, cleaning services satisfaction, entertainment satisfaction
Politics	Quality of governance: enhancing local issues, innovative programs developed and completed by local government
	Efficiency: satisfaction with the work of the Municipal Authority
	Strengthening local initiatives: number of organizations/initiatives involved in the development process
	Social participation: participation voters in municipal elections, parliamentary elections, European elections, e-Government
	Trust in institutions: trust in the Greek parliament, political parties, politicians, police, the European parliament, the justice, the church, the media
Politics: understanding policy, contacts with politicians and political parties, participation in collectives, participation in decision making	
Culture	Cultural available: churches – Monasteries Traditional Bridges and Fountains (and fulling mills) traditional settlements and buildings traditional occupations, museums, historical data
	Cultural associations: variation of solar composition of individuals and collectives involved in these actions, number and type of cultural events, number and kind of newspapers, websites for updated number, number of projects aimed at highlighting the cultural elements of the regions and the strengthen the local economy of the areas of intervention, level of satisfaction and recognition of the efforts for promotion of local cultural heritage, traditional occupations

(continued)



**Table 19.1** (continued)

Sector	Fields
Technology	Waste infrastructure: generation of hazardous waste, municipal waste allocation, destination household waste, household waste collection rate, cleaning service satisfaction
	Energy demand/consumption: energy consumption by fuel/energy source, electricity generation in the region: type of power plants, renewable energy facilities that are going to enter the area (small hydro, wind, solar, geothermal, biomass), ability for renewable energy in the region, share of RES in electricity
	Social dimension: share of household income spent on fuel and electricity
	Environmental dimension: deforestation rate to cover heating needs
	Transport: length overall road network in km, highway, highways, main roads and secondary roads in km, secondary or provincial roads in km, road conditions, frequency of car use, road density, access to public transportation
	Health infrastructure: percentage of population with access to primary care, Beds/1,000 standard, Doctors/1,000 standard, Nurses/1,000 standard, outpatient physicians/1,000 standard, expenditure on health, number of doctors/specialists
	Education infrastructure: number of students/teacher, school grade, school distance from settlement, access time, how to transfer students, tutoring, remedial teaching
	Water infrastructure: demand and supply water locally, commercial drinking water tanks, quantity, method of water
	Infrastructure entertainment: number – clubs catering outlets by region
	Infrastructure without current uses: determination by region infrastructure is not used
Environment	Abiotic characteristics: geomorphology, relief, soil characteristics, climate, hydrographic network, protected areas
	Biotic features: Flora and Fauna, ecosystems
	Natural available: forests, mineral wealth, health spas, wind – solar – potential hydroelectric potential
	Land use: determination sorted remote sensing imaging based on the NSS and the Corine program
	Pressures on the natural environment: interaction of natural and human environment

Since the association of in-depth interviews with quantitative surveys is a new challenge (Samberg and Tucci 2010), a new research tool was designed. The structured interview plan contained three types of questions: first, questions to determine or to update variables that required primal data; second, questions regarding the social consciousness of problems, constraints, opportunities and prospects for the development of the region; and third, questions investigating the social dynamics that exist in the region. A pilot

study was used to evaluate the research tool. During the period of June to November 2011, a representative empirical research was conducted using structured interviews, targeting 371 random responses, stratified by region, gender and age, weight by the population census of Hellenic Statistical Authority (HSA) in 2001, with a confidence level of 95 % and 5 % error. In total, approximately 430 responses were collected and 371 of which were selected as appropriate (Table 19.2).

**Table 19.2** Sampling method

Study area	Population >=15 years (EL. STAT. 2001)	(95 % confidence level, 5 % confidence interval)	Survey sample	15-24		25-64		65+	
				M	W	M	W	M	W
SUM	10,710	371	371	21	19	111	98	57	65
<b>Communities</b>	<b>Population &gt;=15 years (2001)</b>	<b>Sample (community population 371/10710)</b>	<b>Survey sample (R<sup>2</sup> 0.98)</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>
Agnantō	810	28	27	1	1	7	7	5	6
Athamano	844	29	30	2	2	9	8	4	5
Anemoraxi	332	12	12	1	1	3	4	1	2
Vougaréli	694	24	24	1	2	7	7	3	4
Graikiko	578	20	19	1	0	6	5	3	4
Distrato	275	10	10	1	0	3	3	1	2
Theodoriana	860	30	31	2	2	10	8	5	4
Kataraktis	600	21	21	1	1	6	6	4	3
Kato Athamano	525	18	18	1	1	6	4	3	3
Kato Kalentini	176	6	6	0	1	2	1	1	1
Kapsala	137	5	5	0	0	2	1	1	1
Kentriko	354	12	12	0	1	3	3	2	3
Koukoulia	288	10	10	0	1	3	2	2	2
Ktistades	231	8	7	0	0	2	2	1	2
Kypseli	539	19	18	1	0	5	4	4	4
Lepiana	392	14	14	1	1	3	4	2	3
Melisourgoi	575	20	21	2	1	8	5	3	2
Mesoynta	412	14	15	2	1	5	4	2	1
Mikrospilia	376	13	13	1	1	4	4	1	2
Palaiokatoyno	597	21	20	1	1	6	6	3	3
Ramia	367	13	12	1	0	3	3	2	3
Tetrakomo	748	26	26	1	1	8	7	4	5

## Step 2: Knowledge Base

As a result of the previous step, a knowledge base for the study area was created. After completing the empirical research, data was entered in the SPSS software for statistical analysis. For the process of open questions, all possible responses were first recorded and then similar dichotomous variables (Yes/No) were formed. Results are expressed as mean, standard deviation (SD) or 95 % confidence interval (95 % CI). Consequently, with the method of triangulation (Denzin 1970), a synthesis of primary and secondary data on the characteristics of reality was made. The results were correlated with the data obtained from the investigation of average social consciousness and social dynamics of local residents to first confirm and validate the methods, and second, to ensure the reliability of data (Brophy 2001, p. 185). Finally, policies relating to the study area in intermediate and macro level and associated problems, limitations, dynamics and prospects of the region were investigated.

The study area is bounded by the administrative boundaries of the Municipality of Central Tzoumerka which is one of the four municipalities in the Region Unit of Arta, which belongs to the greater Region of Epirus. The municipality is bordered to the west by River Arachthos and to the east by River Acheloos. To the southwest of the municipality is the artificial lake Pournari, created by the construction of the homonym hydroelectric dam for ensuring energy supplies. The study area consists of 257,351.60 acres, of which 33.0 % is abandoned farmland, 26.0 % pasture, 22.0 % forests and woodland, 10.0 % rocky areas, 4.0 % agricultural crops, 3.0 % settlements, 2.0 % water surface, and 1.0 % barren land (SES of Greater Region of Tzoumerka 2006). The area is mountainous and the altitude ranges from 89 to about 2,330 m. The area belongs to the geotectonic zones Olonos – Pindos and Ionia – and is structured by the formation belonging to these zones. Its climate is mountainous, with heavy winters and cool summers (Fig. 19.2).

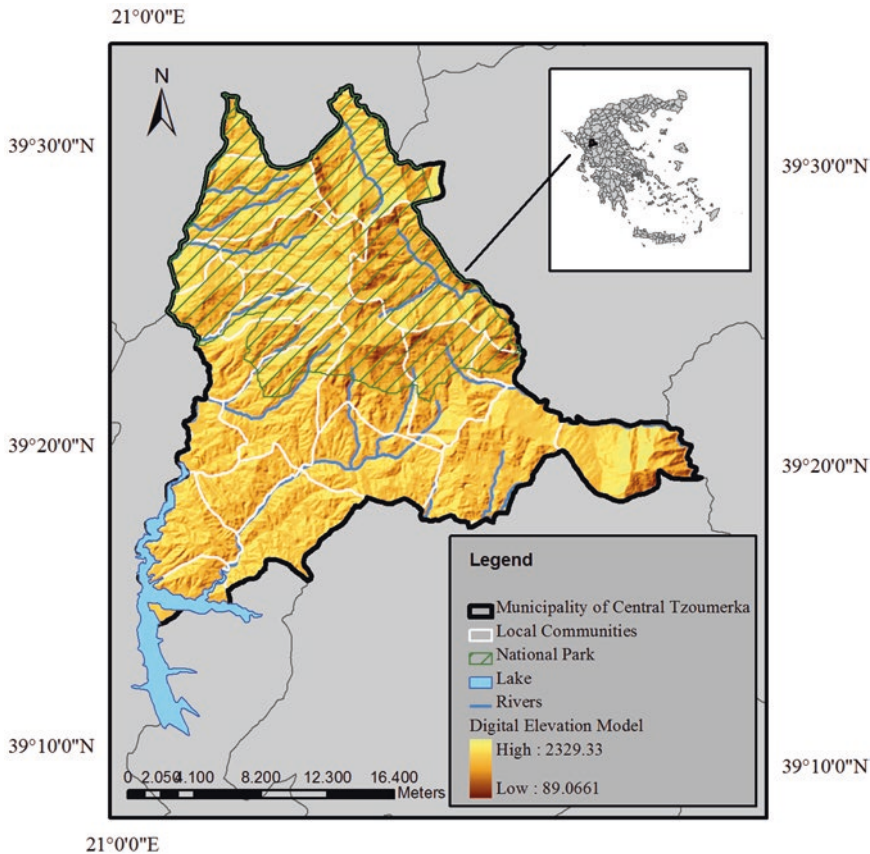
According to the 2001 census of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (HSA) in the Municipality

of Central Tzoumerka, the permanent population of the municipality was 7,862 people, the actual population was 12,069 and the lawful population was 17,106. The 2011 census, however, indicates that the permanent population of the municipality is 6,178 people, the lawful number is 12,731 and de facto population, in other words the individuals who are recorded (or are attributed) to the geographical area where they were presented a specified time of the census, is 6,945 (HSA 2011). The study area has a population density of 12.20 inhabitants per square km, much lower than the average of Greece (81.75) and Epirus Region (36.58). The dependency ratio of the municipality is 0.71, higher than in the Ioannina region unit (0.49), the region of Epirus (0.52) and the whole country (0.47). The ageing index of the municipality is 2.70, higher than that of the region unit (1.43), in the region (1.40) and in the whole country (1.10).

According to the 2001 census (HSA 2001), 23.0 % of the population in the study area had lower than primary education level, 42.0 % at primary level, 10.0 % with partially secondary education, 17.0 % at secondary level and 8.0 % with higher education. Ten years later, the research results showed change in the educational level of the population: 6.7 % reported below than primary education attainment, 33.4 % at primary level, 32.1 % secondary level and 27.8 % with tertiary education.

The analysis of the variable on internet use revealed that 53.6 % of respondents did not have internet access, 12.0 % had access but never used it, 9.0 % used several times a week, 3.0 % used several times a month, and 20.0 % used it daily.

The investigation revealed an average income of €13,495.72 (with an error of  $\pm$  €554.12 and 95 % CI [12,485.90, 14,613.60]). The IMF estimated the income per capita of the country's inhabitants for the year 2011 at €22,168 (parity € 1/8/2012), whereas according to the Operational Program of the Epirus region, the declared income per taxpayer in 2008 in the region of Epirus was €14,800. Therefore, there is a discrepancy of about 39.1 % in the average income of the country and 8.8 % in the average declared income in the Region of Epirus.



**Fig. 19.2** Study area

The Gini factor for the Municipality of Central Tzoumerka was estimated at 0.41, which means that there is a moderate maldistribution of wealth in the region. The Lorenz curve shows that the poorest 10 % of population owns only 0.7 % of the total income; the middle 10 % of the population owns 7.9 % of the total income; while the richest 10 % of population owns 27.7 % of the total income.

As shown in Table 19.3, most of the residents felt that they coped with the present income level, followed by those who found it difficult to live. However, almost one to ten found it very difficult to live with the present income. As far as safety is concerned, most residents felt safe or very safe in the study area. However, in Greece, according to ESS (2010), less than 50 % of the population felt safe or very safe.

The 2001 Census (HSA 2001) revealed that the region lacked economically active population (51 % of the total). The investigation showed that 38.5 % of the population was economically active (pupils and students 5.8 %, retirees 32.7 %) and 61.5 % was not economically active. Most people work in the tertiary sector of production (54.4 %), followed by those working in the primary (13.5 %) and secondary (7.7 %) sectors. When compared to the latest HSA census data (2001): the number of workers in the primary sector was 15.0 %, 24.0 % in the secondary sector and 40.2 % in the tertiary sector. It should be noted that many workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors have second jobs, usually in the primary sector, mainly for financial reasons. For the third quarter of 2013, the HSA announced a rise in the unemployment rate of Greece to 27 %, which

**Table 19.3** Descriptive statistics of income assessment and safety

Factor code	Factor label	Variable values	Number of responses	Percentage
SA	Safety	1. Very insecure	41	11.9 %
		2. Insecure	40	10.8 %
		3. Safe	95	25.6 %
		4. Very safe	192	51.7 %
IA	Income assessment	1. Very difficult on present income	37	10 %
		2. Difficult on present income	108	29.1 %
		3. Coping on present income	158	42.6 %
		4. Living comfortably on present income	49	13.2 %
		99. Refusal	19	5.1 %

means the number of unemployed reached 1,345,387, while in the 2011 survey, the percentage of the unemployed was 17.7 %. In this study, the unemployment rate was estimated at 10.4 %, thus there is a positive deviation of about 7.3 % point of the national average. There are no significant differences in relation to the last published census conducted by the HSA in 2001 (11.97 %).

In the region, electricity is generated by utilizing water resources. According to Independent Power Transmission Operator (HTSO data), until the end of 2011, four Small Hydropower (SHP) projects began to operate. The total installed capacity of the project is equal to 6.92 MW. So far in the region nine production licenses and installation permission for RES projects have been approved by the Regulatory Authority for Energy, excluding those which acquired Authorization. The total power produced by SHP and, considering only authorized units, the generated electricity amounts to 18.2 % of the total energy from Epirus region's SHP and 3.5 % of the whole country (HTSO 2011). Taking into consideration the maximum number of wind turbines which can be installed in the region and that a typical wind turbine is of about 2 MW, the total installed capacity is estimated at 464 MW. The differences in solar radiation intensity between the municipality districts are not that important. The annual forest biomass produced from timber activities of firewood is 660 tones. The average annual amount of oil consumed in the region is about 1,646 CI 95 %

(1,200, 2,265) liters/year and 4.2 CI 95 % (2.5, 7.2) tones of firewood per family. The average heating cost is influenced by the fact that in many cases the cost of wood is zero. Considering that deforestation is mainly due to tree cutting for technical timber, an average deforestation rate for all manageable forests is 13,500 m<sup>3</sup> per decade. According to the on-site survey, 64.4 % of respondents said they would be willing to install a domestic renewable energy system. In addition, if they were to be given a grant for installing such a system, the percentage rose to 85.98 %. The main reason of unwillingness in installing such a system is the cost of the investment. However, an important reason seems to be the lack of information and ignorance about the specific applications, as well as the fact of non-permanent residence in the area.

## Problems

Table 19.4 shows the main problems identified by the residents of the study area. For open questions about local problems, all possible responses were first recorded which were then converted into dichotomous variables (Yes/No).

As we can see, most of the problems are infrastructure related. Regarding the road network, the geospatial data process revealed that the national road network has a length of 688 km, but only 46.2 % of which is paved. The connection between municipal units is problematic in terms of time – distance or due to pavement quality.

**Table 19.4** Descriptive statistics of main problems

Variable code	Variable label	Variable values	Number of responses	Percentage (%)
PR	Road network	Yes	174	46.9
		No	197	53.1
PW	Water supply network	Yes	78	21.0
		No	293	79.0
PU	Lack of new jobs	Yes	46	12.4
		No	325	87.6
PH	Health	Yes	39	10.5
		No	332	89.5
PDM	Demographic problems	Yes	35	9.4
		No	336	90.6
PE	Electrification	Yes	34	9.2
		No	337	90.8
PT	Transport	Yes	30	8.1
		No	341	91.9
PCS	Cleaning services	Yes	29	7.8
		No	342	92.2
PE	Entertainment	Yes	30	8.1
		No	341	91.9
PED	Education	Yes	20	5.4
		No	351	94.6
PI	Irrigation	Yes	19	5.1
		No	352	94.9
PWM	Waste management	Yes	16	4.3
		No	355	95.7
PM	Telecommunications	Yes	16	4.3
		No	355	95.7

The main problems of the road network are low geometric standards, lack of supports and inadequate signage. Considerable part of the road network requires systematic maintenance during winter because of landslides and pavement subsidence phenomena caused by difficult weather conditions in the region. Limiting factor for improving road networks in the region is the mountainous geomorphology of the territory. In the study region, the needs for water supply and irrigation are covered exclusively by pumping water from rivers Arachthos and Acheloos, mainly by abstracting natural sources and streams with limited drilling. The total water supply is 1,314,785 m<sup>3</sup> per annum and the quantity offered to the consumers is 842,812 m<sup>3</sup> per annum. The problem of water supply is related to factors such as seasonality and fluctuation in demand, uneven

distribution of water resources within the municipality and networks losses. In the 2007–2013 regional operational programs for Epirus region, invitations for improvement projects and construction of road and water networks are found.

The lack of new jobs is one of the main reasons that contributed to population decline in the study area. Factors such as reduced availability of new employment in the primary sector and the decline in construction activity resulted in the unemployment of many middle-aged workers. The construction of the Mesochora dam, for many years, offered technical work to the workforce in the area. The completion of this project and the inhibition of other major construction projects (mainly roads) in the region have deprived these technical workers from the opportunity of employment. The limited development

of secondary sector as well as the distorted growth of the tertiary sector also played an important part to population decline. The nearly absence of manufacturing enterprises in agriculture or livestock is another limiting factor for the development of both the primary sector and the tourism sector, as there is a lack of association between tourist services and local region products. The size of hotel units is estimated to be 350 beds while the municipality of Zagori where tourist activity is stronger is estimated to be approximately 1,160 beds. The tourist demand is not very large and is limited during December and January (Christmas – New Year), April (Easter) and August (15th August festivals).

The average satisfaction of access to health facilities was 5.20 in a 10-point scale and the average satisfaction of the quality of health services was 5.31. As revealed by further investigation, the proportion of doctors (Study area:0.48, Arta:4.40, Greece:5.40) and nursing staff level (Study area:0.96, Arta:5.33, Greece:3.20 per thousand people) is much lower than national indicators which reveals the deficiency in specialized medical and nursing staff in health facilities in the region.

The study area went through various stages of growth or population decline. Since 1940, the region has the largest population until today numbering 18,473 residents. By 1950, the population was decreased by 12.16 %. From 1951 to 1961, the population remained stable (1 % growth rate). In the years 1961–1971 there was a decrease of 23.0 %. The next few years (1971–1981) show an increase of 13.74 %. During 1981–1991, the population reduced further by 17.1 %, though the period from 1991 to 2001 showed some stability (0.8 %). From 2001 to 2011, the population declined by 20.7 %, mainly due to lack of jobs and ailing infrastructure. Regarding the possibility of re-habitation of new residents, opinions differ since 50.9 % were positive while 49.1 % were negative. The main inhibiting factors were again the lack of jobs (48.8 %) and the problems with infrastructure (18.6 %).

In the region, there are no serious deficiencies in energy and communication networks. However, some malfunctions may occur, espe-

cially during winter when power outages frequent occur due to difficult weather conditions. Schools in the region reported the problem of power outage as serious. There is also a problem with broadband services as there is no coverage in the whole study area.

There are problems in transportation because the frequency of service varies depending on the time, distance and size of settlements. As a result, there are several mountain villages that are not served by the bus. Intercity buses or private cars are used as means of transport within the municipality, since there is no program of inter-municipal transportation between settlements and the municipality.

Regarding cleanliness in Central Tzoumerka Municipality, there were 16 Areas of Uncontrolled Waste Disposal on record which are not used and have recovered. The majority of municipal solid waste, including household, are driven to the county Landfill. However, according to data from the on-site study, the majority of the waste produced consists of organics (51.1 %), followed by plastic (27.8 %) and paper (19.6 %), which means that the municipality could follow a completely different waste management policy. Due to absence of processing enterprises and small industries in the region, hazardous waste is not produced. The average satisfaction in cleaning services was 5,20 on a 10-point scale.

Descriptive statistics and main percentiles are presented in Table 19.5 showing local residents' satisfaction with different domains of community life, baseline explanatory variables and additional structural factors in the system.

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## Dynamics

According to 20.2 % of survey respondents, demographic revitalization can be achieved through combining primary/rural production with processing, while for 7.8 % it is tourism in conjunction with quality of life, and 5.9 % rated the unutilized available resources (Table 19.6). The European policy of introducing quality products to mountainous regions (European Parliament 2012), with the trademark “product of

**Table 19.5** Descriptive statistics of satisfaction of local residents with domains of community life

Factor code	Factor label	M	SD	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
LS	Life as a whole	6.39	2.40	4.00	1.30	0.80	3.80	6.70	17.30	14.80	16.40	15.60	9.40	9.70
SHI	Access to health services	5.20	2.77	8.90	1.30	8.60	11.60	5.40	18.90	5.40	15.60	14.00	5.70	4.60
SHQ	Quality of health services	5.31	2.83	9.40	2.40	6.50	8.90	4.60	22.90	5.70	12.40	15.10	6.50	5.70
SCS	Cleaning services	5.20	2.81	12.10	1.30	5.40	5.10	8.90	21.80	8.90	11.90	14.60	5.10	4.90
SE	Entertainment	4.84	3.22	18.10	2.20	6.20	8.90	6.50	16.70	6.70	7.00	14.00	5.90	7.80
SFG	Country's financial statement	1.44	2.02	53.60	11.30	8.60	10.00	5.70	6.70	2.20	0.30	0.80	0.30	0.50
SLA	Work of the municipal authority	4.30	2.58	15.40	2.40	4.90	10.50	17.30	21.60	8.60	9.20	5.10	2.70	2.40
SILA	Information about decisions of the local authority	3.24	2.92	29.40	4.00	6.50	23.70	3.80	11.60	4.00	6.50	4.90	1.60	4.00
SCH	Cultural heritage protection satisfaction	4.28	2.60	12.67	4.58	7.01	14.02	12.40	18.60	8.36	10.24	8.09	1.89	2.16



**Table 19.6** Descriptive statistics of main prospects

Variable code	Variable label	Variable values	Number of responses	Percentage (%)
MA	Multifunctional agriculture	Yes	75	20.2
		No	296	79.8
PU	Tourism	Yes	29	7.8
		No	342	92.2
PW	Unused resources	Yes	22	5.9
		No	349	94.1

mountain farming”, is going to enhance the prospect of farming, as part of the new regulation. Simplifying the registration process aims to encourage farmers to record their products and their ingredients with quality systems trademarks, which will better explain the added value of their products to customers.

The empirical research highlighted that agricultural products (Agriculture: vegetables, vines, chestnuts, herbs, nuts, corn, fruit; Livestock: honey, meat and milk; and Forest: timber, fuel, heath roots, mushrooms, wild herbs), when organized and controlled, can emerge as quality products of mountainous areas. Basic quality food products can be processed in the area and then promoted are “tsipouro” (a kind of brandy extract) and milk products (Table 19.7).

Tourism is another important perspective for the development of the study area. Rich natural and cultural environment in the study area can attract tourists with appropriate actions throughout the year rather than the typical tourism seasons. Since 2002 (OECD report), the rich cultural assets of the area of Tzoumerka has been recognized. The investigation revealed 64 cultural monuments, 65 monasteries/churches, 21 traditional stone bridges, 28 fulling mills and 10 interesting museums and libraries. However, the survey results suggested that the general inhabitants’ satisfaction of the municipality’s effort in promoting local cultural heritage was moderate to low (4.28). The mountainous area of Tzoumerka is well endowed with natural resources with rich and interesting flora including rare and characteristic species of mountain and alpine zone (OECD 2002). In 2009, the area of mountains ‘Tzoumerka, Peristerion and

Arachthos gorge’ was designated as National Park with four zones. The empirical research showed that 52.0 % of local residents knew little about the national park, 35.0 % had a positive opinion and 13.0 % a negative one. Moreover, the empirical research found 104 unused infrastructures. Regarding their quality of life, survey participants expressed a mean life satisfaction (6.39 on a 10-point scale), while average satisfaction in the whole country is 5.65 (ESS 2010).

## Prospects

The objectives of modernizing and restructuring economic activities are hardly reached to the level of individual producers. Restraining factors are the fragmentation of cultivated land, the gaps and inequalities in expertise for implementation of policy measures, low education level, reduced use of the internet and the dependence of people employed in the primary sector. The need for cooperative actions was illustrated in the report of the OECD (2002), since they may ensure access, collection and usage of extensive relevant knowledge, and help to coordinate all interest parts and actions of different groups. Furthermore, the empirical research showed that 63.6 % of local residents see the creation of cooperatives and cooperation between communities as a key mechanism in supporting economic activities in the region. In the past, fundamental features of life in these villages were communal property, solidarity, voluntary work, trustworthiness and mutual trust, hospitality and special relationship with nature. All of these values and characteristics that formed the basis of relations and local

**Table 19.7** Descriptive statistics of main products

Variable code	Variable label	Variable values	Number of responses	Percentage (%)
VP	Vegetables	Yes	96	25.9
		No	275	74.1
HP	Herbs	Yes	44	11.9
		No	327	88.1
VP	Vines	Yes	50	13.5
		No	321	86.5
NP	Nuts	Yes	42	11.3
		No	329	88.7
CNP	Chestnuts	Yes	49	13.2
		No	322	86.8
MP	Milk	Yes	120	32.3
		No	251	97.7
HOP	Honey	Yes	78	91.9
		No	293	21.0
MP	Meat	Yes	56	15.1
		No	315	84.9
TSP	Tsipouro	Yes	136	36.7
		No	235	63.3

development of mountainous communities could return to form foundation for efforts that can promote local tradition. The empirical research revealed that 65.5 % of respondents consider that there may be cooperation between the communities of the region in areas such as: production, processing and logistics, tourism, cultural events and cooperative structures. Cooperatives as organizational structures do not always ensure success. There were concerns about the introduction of a new structure for cooperatives, considering the failure of many organizations that have adopted similar structures without adapting to local conditions. The main problems identified by the inhabitants of the area were the prevalence of personal interests over collective ones, the wrong operating structures and the involvement of political parties.

## Limitations

However, the empirical research revealed that the participation level of local people is quite low, with only 15.4 % being active members of trade unions, associations or clubs and only 18.3 % of respondents always or often involved in decision-

making processes at the local level. Moreover, trust in political institutions has been too low, mainly due to reduced satisfaction with the economic situation of the country (53.6 % with zero satisfaction, averaging 1.44). In addition, 66.0 % respondents answered zero confidence to political parties (the average was 1.16); 62.8 % showed zero confidence to politicians (the average was 1.39); 49.1 % indicated no confidence to the Greek Parliament (the average was 2.12); and zero confidence to the European Parliament zero was rated by 36.4 % of respondents (with an average of 2.99). The low levels of confidence on the political system are also confirmed by the European Social Survey for the whole country (Political parties: 1.38; Politicians: 1.36; Greek Parliament: 2.04; and European Parliament: 2.56) (ESS 2010). Agreement was shown regarding the leading role that both municipality of the region (92.8 %) and the residents themselves (91.9 %) ought to play in the development of the region, by taking advantage of the possibilities offered by science and technology. Moreover, both the average degree of confidence (3.82) and the satisfaction with the local government (4.30) increased compared with the general confidence in the political system. The highest degree of confidence the

respondents shown was to the police (5.11), a fact which is confirmed by the election of a police officer as a Major and by the results of the European Social Survey (4.64). Regarding information on the decisions of the local authority, only 50.9 % of respondents said that they were informed. The online promotion of the municipality did not seem to help since 62.3 % of respondents visited the website of the municipality reported an average satisfaction (4.30) of the services (Table 19.8).

The low averages of trust in the political system are confirmed by the results of the European Social Survey for the whole country (ESS 2010) (Fig. 19.3).

### Step 3: Developing the Decision Making System

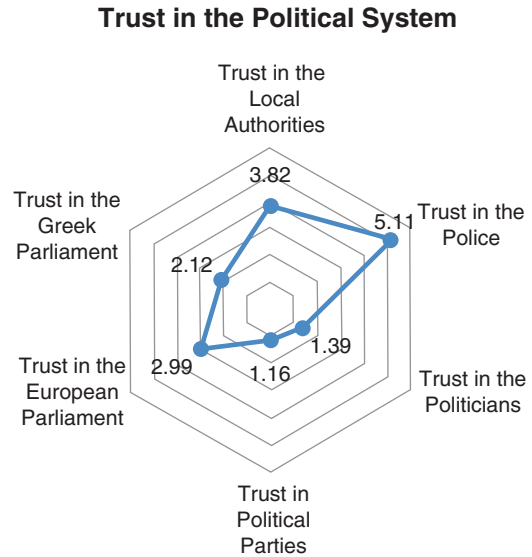
In order to investigate the special relationships between factors in the first phase, bivariate analysis was conducted. Quantitative data without a normal distribution was analyzed with non-parametric tests, and data with a normal distribution was analyzed with parametric tests. The statistical analysis was conducted at 95 % confidence level, with  $p$  value less than 0.05 considered as statistically significant. In cases where the homogeneity control was statistically significant, non-parametric criteria were used. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to analyze the normal distribution of the variables ( $p > 0.05$ ).

The non-parametric Mann-Whitney  $U$  test was used to determine variations in the level of education, assessment of income, problem of road network, and participation in decision making in relation to the permanence of residence in the area. In particular, non-permanent residents reported significantly higher levels of education ( $U = 10494.50$ ,  $z = -6.53$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $r = -0.38$ ), higher levels of income assessment ( $U = 11675.00$ ,  $z = -5.36$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $r = -0.28$ ) and faced more problem with the road network ( $U = 14992.50$ ,  $z = -2.43$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ,  $r = -0.13$ ). Finally, permanent residents participate more frequently in decision making ( $U = 14103.50$ ,  $z = -3.02$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ,  $r = -0.16$ ).

The non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test was used to determine the difference in the use of internet in relation to the level of education; diversification of educational levels in relation to age; diversification of income in relation to individual communities, the assessment of income, age, employment, gender and level of education; diversification of the problem with the road network in relation to employment and the individual local communities; diversifying the problem of water supply in relation to local communities; the diversity of potential cooperation between the villages of the region in relation to employment and educational level; the diversity of participation in decision making in relation to age and level of education; and the diversity of participation in collectivities in relation to the level of

**Table 19.8** Descriptive statistics of trust in institutions

Variable	Trust in institutions (%)										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Local authorities	25.1	3.8	5.9	11.6	8.4	17.3	7.5	8.4	4.9	3	4.3
Politicians	62.8	6.7	5.9	5.7	4.6	8.4	2.2	1.1	1.9	0	0.8
Political parties	66.0	5.9	7.0	6.2	4.3	7.5	0.8	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.5
Greek parliament	49.1	4.3	7.8	10.2	7.3	11.3	3.2	3	1.1	1.1	1.6
Trust in the European parliament	36.4	4.0	5.7	13.7	5.7	14.8	4.9	7.5	3.8	1.3	2.2
Justice	27.0	5.7	7.0	7.3	9.4	14.3	6.5	8.9	6.2	4.9	3.0
Media	44.2	6.2	9.4	8.4	5.9	10.8	3.5	4.6	4.6	1.1	1.3
Police	19.7	1.1	5.9	5.4	5.9	15.1	7.0	8.4	12.4	8.6	10.5

**Fig. 19.3** Means of trust in institutions

education and employment. The parametric test, One Way Anova, was used to determine the variation in the assessment of income and annual income in relation to employment.

As far as average annual income is concerned the analysis revealed a statistically significant difference in relation to local communities [ $H(21) = 39.84$ ,  $p = 0.018$ , age  $H(4) = 56.17$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ], in which we found increased until the age of 64 and then declined. The relationship between income and various variables: that is, educational level [ $H(3) = 28.4$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ], employment [ $F(6, 371) = 9.40$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $\omega = 0.38$ ], and gender [ $F(1, 371) = 7.83$ ,  $p = 0.005$ ,  $\omega = 0.42$ ], was also confirmed.

As far as residents income assessment was concerned, there was a significant effect on employment [ $F(1, 370) = 5.58$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $\omega = 0.10$ ] and age [ $F(4, 366) = 2.53$ ,  $p = 0.041$ ,  $\omega = 0.20$ ]. Furthermore, there was a significant effect of employment on levels of life satisfaction [ $F(6, 364) = 2.39$ ,  $p = 0.031$ ,  $\omega = 0.22$ ]. There was a significant effect of local communities on levels of access to health services satisfaction [ $H(21) = 61.56$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ], quality of health services satisfaction [ $H(21) = 36.07$ ,  $p = 0.021$ ], entertainment satisfaction [ $H(21) = 51.63$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ] and cleaning services satisfaction [ $H(21) = 38.73$ ,  $p = 0.011$ ].

As far as residents' trust in institutions, there was a significant effect on participation of decision making in the Municipal Authority [ $F(4, 366) = 7.73$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $\omega = 0.30$ ] and in the European parliament [ $F(4, 366) = 4.13$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ,  $\omega = 0.23$ ].

Table 19.9 shows the correlation coefficient between selected factors. The results clearly indicate a positive relation between perceived value of life satisfaction and satisfaction with access to health services satisfaction, quality of health services satisfaction, local authorities, cleaning services, entertainment, trust in the Greek parliament, the local authorities, the politicians, the European Parliament, income assessment and local problems with the road network and the local transport.

As mentioned earlier, the community well-being is a multi-dimensional concept. In order to find out the underlying dimension of life satisfaction, factor analysis was applied by using 23 subjective attributes obtained from the research. Factor analysis is a statistical technique used to determine the number of underlying dimensions in a set of observed variables (Li and Weng 2007). The KMO value for this study is 0.75 and the Bartlett's test has a significant level of  $p = 0.00$ , which suggests that the data is suitable for factor analysis. The results of the factor analysis

**Table 19.9** Correlations of life satisfaction

	M	SD	LS	SFG	SLA	SHI	SHQ	SCS	SE	TGP	TLA	TPOL	TEP	IA	RP	PTN
LS	6.39	2.40	1													
SFG	1.44	2.02	0.176**													
SLA	4.30	2.58	0.145**	0.204**												
SHI	5.20	2.78	0.159**	0.082	0.145**											
SHQ	5.31	2.83	0.202**	0.147**	0.119*	0.443**										
SCS	5.20	2.81	0.152**	0.087	0.374**	0.088	0.126*									
SE	4.84	3.22	0.217**	0.123*	0.012	0.167**	0.129*	0.038								
TGP	2.12	2.58	0.157**	0.464**	0.227**	0.152**	0.179**	0.109*	0.146**							
TLA	3.82	3.00	0.180**	0.254**	0.593**	0.183**	0.190**	0.325**	0.110*	0.414**						
TPOL	1.39	2.24	0.109*	0.461**	0.197**	0.095	0.098	0.100	0.167**	0.667**	0.351**					
TEP	2.99	2.88	0.112*	0.307**	0.224**	0.118*	0.136**	0.079	0.112*	0.555**	0.349**	0.457**				
IA	2.74	0.98	0.356**	0.152**	0.124*	0.077	0.002	0.039	0.169**	0.144**	0.064	0.091	0.086			
RP	0.47	0.50	-0.126*	-0.049	0.010	-0.009	-0.045	-0.143**	-0.075	-0.005	0.008	0.025	0.042	-0.074		
PT	0.08	0.27	0.105*	0.053	0.078	0.000	0.034	0.036	-0.004	0.056	0.037	-0.012	0.083	0.037	-0.081	

\*P < 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*\* p < 0.01 level (2-tailed)

are shown in Table 19.5. The eight factors explained 60.55 % of the total variance and the dimensions of general community well-being are defined as follows:

1. Factor 1. This factor shows high loadings on trust in the political system including trust in politicians, the Greek Parliament, the Political Parties, the European Parliament and on satisfaction with the financial state of the country. A higher score for this factor indicates greater trust in the General Political System.
2. Factor 2. This factor shows high loadings on trust in Local authorities and on satisfaction with the work of local authorities, the cleaning services and the information about local authorities decisions. A higher score for this factor indicates higher satisfaction and trust level of Local Authorities.
3. Factor 3. This factor shows high loadings on attributes of social reality including income assessment, education level, internet use and age (15–24 year old). A higher score for this factor indicates better social aspects.
4. Factor 4. This factor can be labelled as citizenship, since it signifies participation in decision making and membership of unions, associations or clubs. All these variables are positively correlated with the fourth factor. A higher score for this factor indicates higher level of active citizenship.
5. Factor 5. This factor can be labelled as health and entertainment since it shows high loadings on satisfaction with quality of health services and access to health services. All variables are positively loaded.
6. Factor 6. This factor shows high loadings on problems associated with lack of production and organization.
7. Factor 7. This factor shows high loadings on infrastructure problems such as road network and electrification network.
8. Factor 8. This factor shows high loadings on demographic problems such as lack of young people.

The first factor is the most important one, indicating 17.45 % of common variance. The internal scale reliability for the subjective attributes has

been found to be as high as 0.75 (Cronbach's alpha) (Table 19.10).

However according to Wong (2015) the development of composite sub-indices and an overall index tend to be the default options used to simplify an indicator set, as it provides a hard and fast technical synthesis. The challenge is then how to choose the most robust 'weighting' system to combine the indicators. In order to weigh the most important domains, which explains the variance of satisfaction, the step-by-step regression analysis has been used. In this model, only five factors have significant predicted value. The results of regression analysis are shown in Table 19.11.

The measurement and use of quantitative indicators is closely intertwined with the prevailing policy regime (Wong 2015). As we have already noted a major research challenge in development planning is to analyse means-ends relations converging on the development objective and to then formulate a logical and well substantiated structure of linked variables, particularly from the level of outputs to this overall objective. In Means-ends analysis (MEA), the overall goal is decomposed into objectives. Each objective is then decomposed into individual steps or actions. This applies systems thinking to planning. The concept that 'every attainable end leads up to a more general end' is the basis of MEA. To understand how proposed actions can be organized to achieve goals, we need a framework that reflects the procedural aspects of knowledge (Rescher 1996). Based on previous analysis in Fig. 19.4 we present the conceptual framework of the LISADEMAS. Altogether, there are five factors with significant effects to the overall life satisfaction of local residents. Factor 1 refers to trust in General Political System, factor 2 refers to satisfaction and trust level of Local Authorities, factor 3 refers to specific social aspects, factor 5 refers to health and entertainment, and finally, factor 7 refers to specific local problems. Moreover, in the figure we can see some other variables also have significant effects such as employment, community of residence, participation in decision making and permanence of residence. In order for decision makers to increase CWB through the maximization of life satisfaction, they need to go through the steps which described in Fig. 19.5.

**Table 19.10** Rotated component matrix<sup>a</sup>

	Component							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
TPOL	0.862							
TGP	0.845							
TPP	0.782							
TEP	0.655							
SFG	0.629							
SLA		0.803						
SCS		0.676						
TLA		0.672						
SILA		0.590						
IU			0.760					
A1			0.631					
IA			0.564					
EL			0.559					
CM				0.740				
PDM				0.707				
SHI					0.795			
SHQ					0.788			
SE					0.412			
PLP						0.788		
PO						0.694		
PE							0.765	
PR							0.548	
PY								0.883

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis  
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization  
<sup>a</sup>Rotation converged in 7 iterations

**Table 19.11** Model summary

a. Dependent variable: LS

Model		Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	6.385	0.114		55.781	0.000
	Factor 1	0.300	0.115	0.125	2.620	0.009
	Factor 2	0.369	0.115	0.153	3.220	0.001
	Factor 3	0.568	0.115	0.237	4.959	0.000
	Factor 5	0.557	0.115	0.232	4.863	0.000
	Factor 7	-0.327	0.115	-0.136	-2.853	0.005

b. Dependent variable: LS

Model	R	R square	Adjusted R square	Std. error of the estimate	Change statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R square change	F change	df1	df2	Sig. F change	
1	0.410 <sup>a</sup>	0.168	0.156	2.20468	0.168	14.721	5	365	0.000	1.987

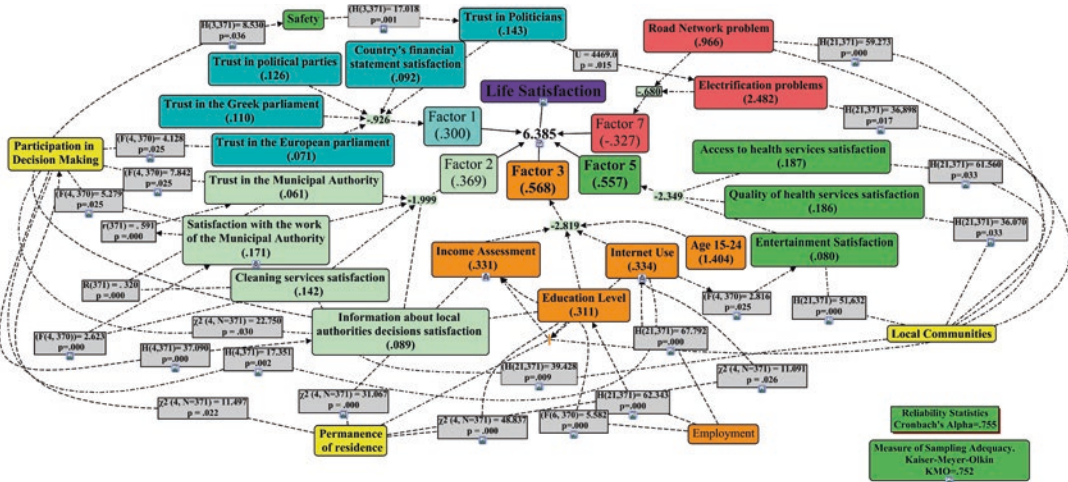
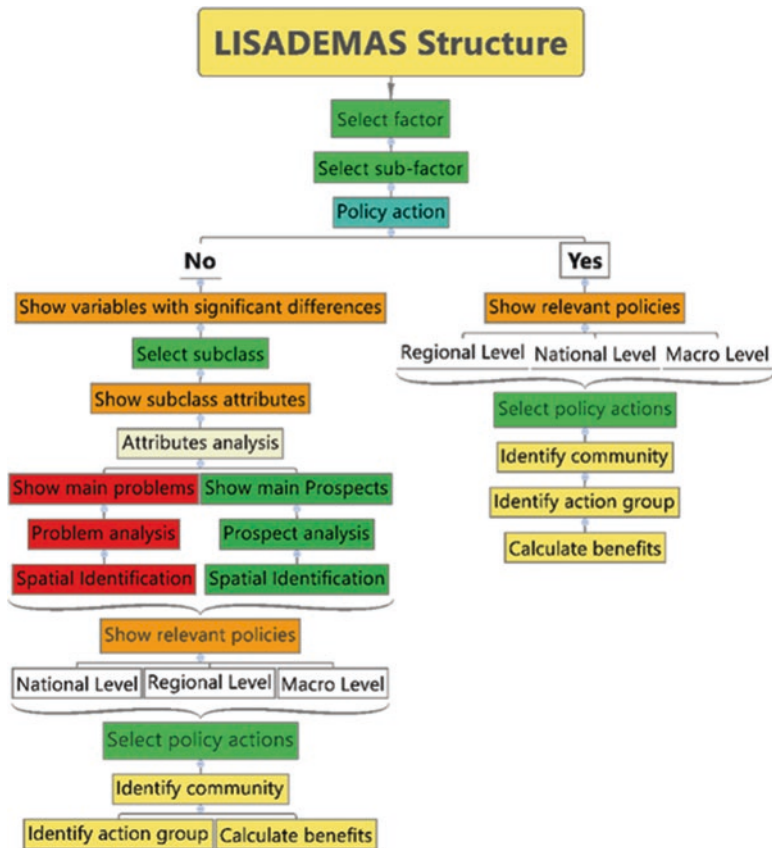


Fig. 19.4 Conceptual framework

Fig. 19.5 System process





With the use of these steps decision maker can plan specific development actions in any of the five factors since he/she can see all the variables with significant differences in terms of the selected factor, analyze their attributes, identify action groups, learn about relevant policies and select specific development policy actions.

### Example of Decision Making

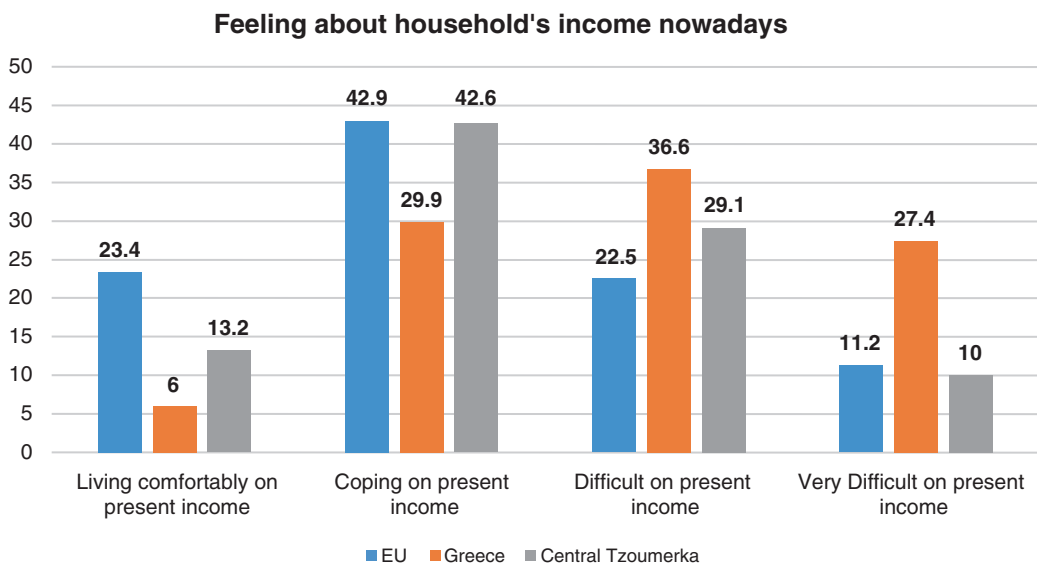
An example of the use of these steps is presented in the next section. In order to increase CWB through maximization of life satisfaction with the use of the system, the first step decision makers can take is to select any of the five factors, based on both the predicted value and their own political will. Let us suppose that they select factor 3. As we can see in the Fig. 19.4, factor 3 shows high loadings in the attributes of social reality including income assessment (IS), education level, internet use and age (15–24 years old). The exact predicted value of each sub-factor is presented in the Fig. 19.4. The decision maker can now select one of the following three sub-factors. In the case of selecting IS, first he/she can see the general results about the residents IS and com-

pare the results with those about the general population of Greece and the EU (Fig. 19.6).

Then the decision maker can see factors with significant difference in terms of IS. One of these factors is employment. Moreover, he/she can see factors with significant difference in terms of employment, such as age, education, income, LS, PR, and IS (see Fig. 19.7).

The next step for the decision maker is to select one of the sub-classes, based on both the results of bivariate analysis of employment and his/her own policy will. If, for example the decision maker wants to help residents with the lowest rate of IS and LF, he/she can select those who work in the primary sector of production. Otherwise, he/she can select any of the sub-classes of employment and follow the same steps as follows. In the next stage/step, the decision maker can see the main attributes of the selected sub-class such as age, local community, permanent residence, education level etc. in order to identify its main features (Fig. 19.8). Furthermore he/she can see and analyze the main problems and prospects of the selected sub-class to identify them spatially.

After spatial identification, the decision maker can see the exact communities for policy action



**Fig. 19.6** Income assessment analysis

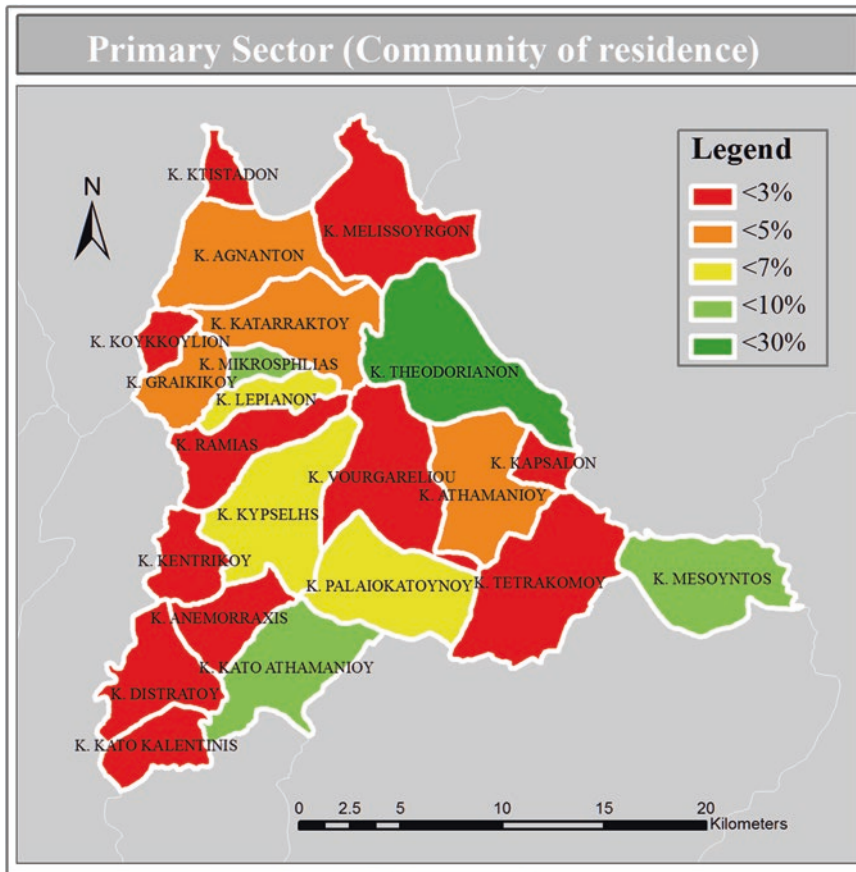


**Fig. 19.7** Factors with significant difference in terms of employment

(Fig. 19.9). In the same way, prospects can be analysed and spatially identified in order for the decision maker to clarify the actions needed.

In the next step, the decision maker can see the relevant policies at regional, national and European level. In this case these policies at each one of the three levels are presented in Fig. 19.10.

Then the decision maker can select the appropriate development policy actions based on both those policies and his/her personal criteria. In this case, in order to help the primary sector workers solve their main problems, the decision maker can propose specific policy actions, for example, creation of an Agricultural Infrastructure Center to develop product processing, as high environ-



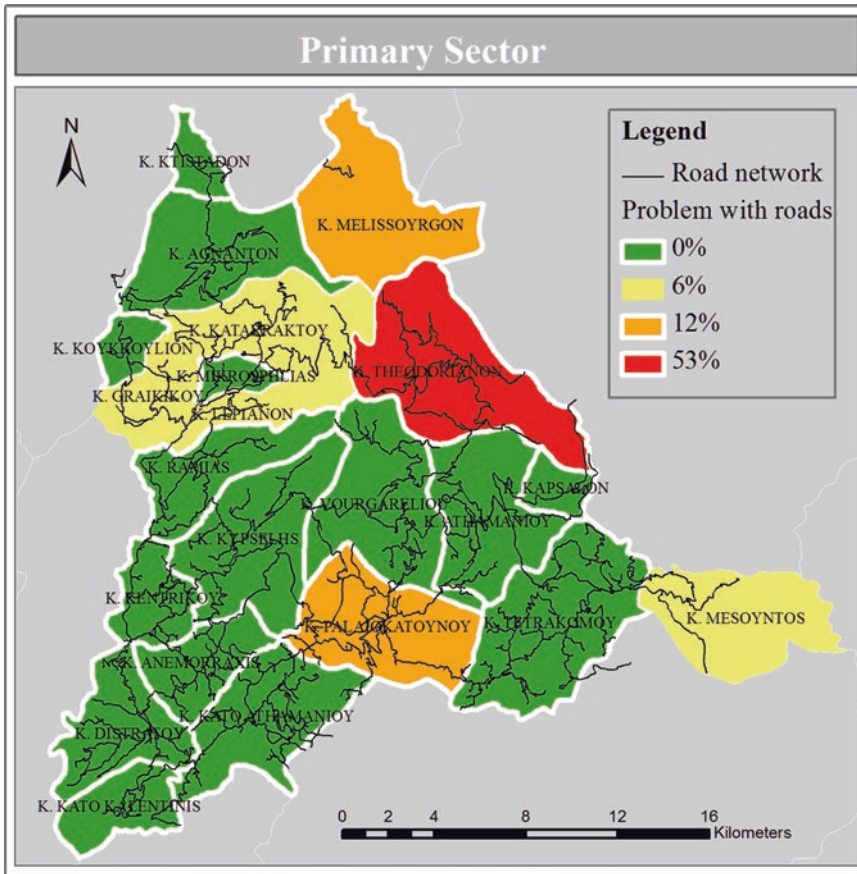
**Fig. 19.8** Primary sectors community of residence

mental protection and hygiene safety are essential criteria for local products to be labelled as “Mountain Quality Foods”. Finally, the decision maker can identify the local action group of beneficiaries needed for the realization of the policy action and calculate the benefits for the primary sector workers. Similarly, the decision maker can find out the appropriate policies for the other subclasses of employment or any factors or sub-factors.

## Discussion and Conclusions

The basic objective of this chapter was to present a decision making system for development planning. The analytical steps set out above aim to provide a basis to inform the debate over what might be the most effective development actions

for the support of CWB in different kind of communities. This system can be used as an important tool for those who are officially entitled to contribute to policy planning. These people, as Rokos (2007) points out, are the comprehensively educated, active, responsible and conscious citizens (as well as their agencies, their collectives and their initiatives) who can decide at all levels for all matters concerning their land and their lives. With the use of this system they would be able to identify the appropriate development strategies for different groups of people, calculate the benefits and clarify connections between the outputs and their intended effects on people’s life satisfaction. Moreover, according to Attwood (2013), when local people understand and engage actively in the research, it has benefits both at the local level (empowerment and improved quality of life) and at the national or



**Fig. 19.9** Road problem analysis for the primary sector



**Fig. 19.10** Policy analysis for the primary sector

international policy level where lessons and insights are shared through research findings.

Basic limitations of the system include facts and circumstances as well as the dialectical unity of the relationship between human and material productive forces. Production relationships are linked not only to the methods and patterns of

production, distribution, exchange and consumption, but also to the overall attitude of the state, human and social groups against the particular circumstances of our physical and socio-economic reality. For this reason, in any integrated development proposal for CWB, a set of principles and values should be clarified to help residents to

stand up and reject actions and policies that lead to the degradation of their living standards. The basic principles of an integrated development proposal thus include: objectivity; openness; transparency; scientific and better interdisciplinary documentation and convincing justification of political and social proposals, choices and practices; reliability of indicative or imperative programs and their consistent implementation and monitoring; social control and feedback to any systematic “development” approach; and taking responsibility and initiatives on behalf of citizens and movements. Furthermore, the development programmes and actions should simultaneously, equally and harmoniously address the integration of economic, social, political, cultural, technical/technological and environmental dimensions, based on the universal values of peace, justice, solidarity, political, economic and social democracy and morality, creative contention, moderation and respect for nature and cultures of people.

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# A Geographic and Mixed Methods Approach to Capture Unequal Quality-of-Life Conditions

# 20

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and Gianluca Miscione

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## Introduction

There is an increasing interest in achieving more equitable, cohesive and sustainable urban areas. An important element of that concern relates to improving our understanding of spatial variations in quality-of-life conditions within and across communities. Intra-urban comparisons are relevant to know where certain citizens and communities are suffering from relatively low quality-of-life conditions. However, there is not a common understanding on how to map and assess citizens and communities conditions and how to incorporate different views and sources of information. Since policymaking is often influenced by decision-making, the spatial component of policy tends to be overlooked. This chapter proposes space as important aspect to be considered.

A better understanding of quality of life in urban areas and the monitoring of unequal conditions is of the interest of policy makers to better

target and reallocate resources on most disadvantaged areas (Martínez 2009). Quality-of-life studies allow the identification of: well-being and deprived areas (Tsfazghi et al. 2010), general patterns of multiple deprivation (Pacione 2003) as well as specific domain-related conditions and perceptions (e.g. housing, access to education, access to water). However, very few studies on quality of life make use of mixed methods approaches (Tonon 2015) and map spatial variations contrasting different sources of information.

This chapter presents a methodological approach to map unequal quality of life and citizen's self-perceived conditions. The aim is to critically explore new approaches where the combination of multiple sources of information and mixed methods offers new insights at the same time as raising new challenges. This chapter stresses the spatial dimension of quality of life and the importance of understanding geographical variations.

This chapter draws from a geographic perspective and various case studies carried out in the global South and North. All the cases made use of adjustments of a framework that combines measures of objective and subjective quality-of-life in a mixed method approach. Although the cases are located in cities of different countries, the results show the emergence of similar questions and concerns related to the construction, use and validity of the collected information on

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quality-of-life conditions and poses new questions about what knowledge can be derived from it. The results also show the policy relevance of mapping and explaining self-perceived quality-of-life conditions for targeting and implementing both remedy policies as well as general policies.

The identification of context sensitive life domains and relevant data sources requires the combination of different forms of knowledge from local governments, but also from citizens and other actors, especially from civil societies. Compared to quantitative approaches, mixed methods and Qualitative Geographic Information Systems in particular offer new insights in quality-of-life inquiries by capturing and representing unmonitored conditions and explaining reasons behind citizen's self-perceived conditions.

This chapter first introduces the main goal of a geographic and mixed-method approach, in relation to quality-of-life and community well-being studies (section "[Quality of Life and Community Well-Being](#)"). It then discusses the proposed methodological approach to monitor unequal quality-of-life conditions (section "[A Mixed Methods Approach](#)") and critically presents and discusses cases where the approach has been applied (section "[Case Studies](#)") before concluding on the limitations and potentials of the application of the approach (sections "[Challenges](#)" and "[Conclusions](#)").

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## Quality of Life and Community Well-Being

Quality of life is a term used by several disciplines and is multidimensional in nature. It relates to various domains of life such as housing, income, built and natural environment, health and the level of satisfaction that individuals have with those domains and the overall satisfaction with life (McCrea et al. 2006; Tesfazghi et al. 2010; Seik 2000; Sirgy et al. 2006).

Community well-being stresses on what quality of life means to residents (Lee et al. 2015) and on those particular domains that matters to them (Lee et al. 2015). In quality of life and

community well-being studies, a common distinction is made between "objective" and "subjective" conditions. Objective quality of life (or objective well-being) is usually measured by using indicators that represent observable and measurable conditions (e.g. durable housing, adequate water provision, availability of green areas, accessibility to schools). It is usually considered as a relatively "objective" assessment done by experts. However, "objective" measures may require some sort of subjective judgment (for example, when is a household being considered as overcrowded? How do thresholds vary across contexts and countries?). Similarly, a "subjective" assessment is done by residents when it is referred to subjective quality of life. It relates to the perceived or (self-)expressed (dis)satisfaction with specific domains or life in general. It relates to issues of expressed demands, needs, and wants/desires. Here we would like to make a distinction between subjective conditions that can be expressed (collected during a survey or a participatory mapping process) and those that are self-expressed when a resident voluntarily provides the information (e.g. to a complaints registry via any form of platform including web and mobile ICT devices<sup>1</sup>). We argue that the objective/subjective dichotomy alone prevents us from having more sophisticated monitoring of quality of life and community well-being. However, as detailed later, the distinction between objective and subjective is usually conflated with quantitative vs. qualitative methods. Indeed, it is common to measure objective dimensions of quality of life and to collect qualitative data about subjective ones. The point we make is that firstly, subjective conditions of quality of life can also be measured (Likert scales, opinion polls, Q methods) and, secondly, objective conditions of quality of life may be captured through qualitative methods. Two contrasting examples may help clarifying this point: the water may be objectively polluted but the pollutants may not be perceived

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<sup>1</sup>If the information is georeferenced, created, assembled and disseminated by a harnessing of ICT tool, it is usually conceptualized as Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI) (see McCall et al. 2015).

by (observable to) the population, which might result in obvious health risks from drinking, bathing, etc. The opposite would be that inhabitants may perceive the water as being polluted because of their subjective assessment of smell, taste or mere rumour of pollution, and therefore buy water from other sources (including illegal providers), even if it is measurably safe for consumption. This distinction is particularly relevant because people ultimately act on what they believe. In sum, both objective and subjective conditions need to be considered to understand community well-being.

When the needs and desires of a community are met it reaches the state of well-being (Lee et al. 2015). Pursuing the improvement of people's life and the participation of the community are key elements in community development practices (Lee et al. 2015). The recognition of citizens' views and diversity of perspectives are also central in current co-production of knowledge, inclusive development and planning discourses (Feldman and Khademian 2007; Watson 2014).

### **Capturing Needs and Views with Geographic and Participatory Approaches**

The relevance for planning and policy of capturing needs and self-expressed conditions, and the use of participatory approaches has been extensively discussed in the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Participatory GIS literature. Webster (1993), while studying the role of GIS in urban planning, differentiated between imputed and expressed demand of public infrastructure. Imputed demand (or derived demand) is evaluated indirectly by inference from locational information by means of demand indicators (e.g. via census data). On the other hand, expressed demand reflects the complaints made by members of the public. Expressed demands can be related to rights, wants and needs. To say that people have rights, according to Smith (1994, p. 34), is "to require them to be treated in a certain way, to get something to which they are enti-

led or at least to raise this expectation". Rights – which are respected and guaranteed- can be differentiated from wants – which can be met and are related to personal desires - and from needs – which can be satisfied and quantified using an external standard (Smith 1994). Subjective quality of life involves a combination of needs and wants since it represents the (self-) expressed (dis)satisfaction -as perceived by the individual- either with their individual well-being (e.g. adequate housing) or the community well-being (e.g. social and physical infrastructure). This is an important distinction especially for urban planners and policy makers seeking spatial justice in the reallocation of resources.<sup>2</sup> A caveat is then needed in the interpretation of sources of data used to map variations of subjective quality-of-life since they might not necessarily reflect needs but wants or demands of specific groups with lobby power.

The methods of acquiring qualitative spatial information have developed from the well-developed practices of Participatory and Rapid Rural Appraisal (PRA and RRA) for community oriented planning in the 1970s. The projects had a strong and explicit research focus and an emphasis on social action "as a means of creating more responsive local services and of encouraging self-help" (Loney 1983, p. 3). There had also been a fairly substantial series of debates around the significance and importance of people's participation in various aspects of government activity such as the Skeffington Report on planning (Damer and Hague 1971).

In the early 1990s the first participatory actions included GIS as a tool for participation. The feasibility of applying GIS tools in a participatory way has been under discussion of whether GIS could be used by local people to 'give them powers to influence decisions' (Corbett et al. 2006). The idea of participative cartography spread out during the 1990s as part of a new pluralist eclecticism and creativity regarding participatory methodologies (Chambers 2006). Participatory Geographic Information Systems

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion on spatial justice and geography, see Smith (1994) and Soja (2010).

(PGIS) and Public Participation GIS (PPGIS) are trends that have arisen in the last two decades among those who criticize classical GIS as rigid and disembodied, emphasising positivist mode of thinking and focused on technical solutions while forgetting the human, more qualitative stories behind the data (Elwood 2006; Lukubwe 2013; McCall 2004). Over the last decade, researchers supporting a GIS and society-oriented conceptual framework have attempted to integrate local knowledge held by members of community into such systems (Hawthorne 2005).

PGIS has become an “engaged” practice in relation to its involvement with community progress and the ethical viewpoint it takes with respect to the information it elicits. The concept of Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI) came from researchers in GIScience that were more interested in the information than in the participatory process that created it. In a general GIScience framework, VGI is more about application and data (Tulloch 2008) because it is conceptualised through the advance and accessibility of technology and open data, while PGIS is more about processes of involving participants in a planning problem that has a spatial dimension and uses maps and geospatial technologies as facilitation tools (McCall and Dunn 2012).

Different stakeholders and communities will have different views towards quality-of-life domains and will produce different knowledge about quality-of-life conditions. It is this duality of objective and subjective quality-of-life conditions that requires the combination of different sources of information, some officially generated by local governments (e.g. census), but others directly generated and expressed by citizens and communities or captured through ad hoc surveys.

PGIS/PPGIS practice has been applied in many communities with the perspective to include and manage qualitative spatial information in the process of change in their communities, but also as a point of obtaining data and as a benchmark of knowledge. Properly facilitated practice has so far guided practitioners to adhere to a pervasive practice in much of the global South. PGIS/PPGIS nowadays provides innova-

tive techniques and mechanisms to incorporate and represent different forms of quantitative and qualitative knowledge from a diverse array of stakeholders in communities.

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## A Mixed Methods Approach

Traditional approaches of quality-of-life studies (Sirgy et al. 2006) make predominantly use of quantitative methods (e.g. multivariate statistics, factors analysis, likert scales). Most of quality-of-life studies use surveys to capture perceptions and (dis)satisfaction (e.g. making use of categorical or cardinal response scales, open ended interviews). In this section, we present a geographic and mixed methods approach that recognises material conditions as well as perceptions and experiential issues.

Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) identify three distinct paradigms underneath both qualitative and quantitative research: that is, positivist, interpretive and critical. This means that both qualitative and quantitative research can be based on any of these paradigms (Myers and Avison 1997). An ethnography, for instance, can be conducted with the positivist aim of fully understanding the reality out there, or with the interpretive aim of establishing a mutual understanding and meaning negotiation, or else with the critical aim of changing unjust current situation. Because of these often-overlooked methodological fundamentals, we prefer to leave aside the usual dichotomy of objective and subjective, which is too often taken as synonymous with positivist and interpretive respectively, and by extension, also questionably with quantitative and qualitative.

Rather, we take the experts as being usually considered the source of objective views and laypeople as the usual source for subjective views on quality of life. Experts rely on formal knowledge, laypeople on their own immediate experience and tacit local knowledge. From anthropology a useful dichotomy can be borrowed: emic and etic. Emic is the internal view from the community considered and is a perception of living conditions according to the people experiencing them first hand. Etic is the view

from outside, the view of the external observer who comes in and sees living conditions from the outsider perspective. In studies of quality of life, the etic view is the expert's view. The dichotomy emic/etic is helpful because it avoids the wicked question of "who is in the position of producing objective views, the experts or the locals?"

Observable and measurable conditions (e.g. durable housing, adequate water provision) tend to fall under the experts' etic view, but emic inputs may be very relevant to those same matters and can be expressed either in qualitative or quantitative data. On the other hand, emic views tend to highlight subjective quality-of-life assessment from the residents. Thus, emic quality-of-life relates to the perceived or (self-) expressed (dis)satisfaction with specific domains or life in general and can be expressed either in qualitative or quantitative data as well. In sum an etic account can be a description of a behaviour or a social situation, by a social analyst or scientific observer (a student or scholar of anthropology or sociology, for example), that can be applied across settings and cultures. An etic account attempts, but may fail, to reduce ethnocentrism. Since it is the expression of local views, perceptions and experiences in local's own terms, an emic account is deliberately ethnocentric.<sup>3</sup>

### Etic/Emic Dichotomy

Quality-of-life studies that work *across* the etic and emic dichotomy are those that combine objective and subjective perspectives –the material and the experiential. As a result, these studies can determine divergent and convergent assessments of quality-of-life conditions. The case study presented in section "Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)" illustrates how this combination allows four possible resulting states of quality-of-life: well-being, deprivation, adaptation and dissonance.

<sup>3</sup>For more details about emic/etic significance, see Harris (1976).

In well-being studies, the presumption and imputation traditions<sup>4</sup> (Rojas 2015) operate exclusively from the etic perspective. Examples of studies that operate within the etic are those using income-based data to measure poverty. Rojas (2015, p. 330) argues that poverty should be considered as a "characteristic of persons rather than as an attribute the expert places on people". Therefore, instead of counting the poor as they claim, they are actually classifying people as poor. On the other hand, the subjective well-being tradition operates from the emic perspective. Rojas (2015, p. 320) describes that the subjective well-being tradition understands well-being as "the experience of being well people do have. The approach states that it is a human condition to experience wellbeing, and that every person is in a privileged position to appraise her wellbeing".

The emic vs. etic dichotomy also helps us to introduce a typical social sciences dichotomy to classify social relations: community vs. society (Tönnies 1988). The first type refers to subjective arrangements derived from feelings, traditions, and informal relations. The latter refers to societal modes of relations based on rational agreements and mutual informed consent. It is of course possible that people whose quality of life is studied are experts and perceive themselves as part of a large-scale society shaped by formal rules. Nonetheless, in the vast majority of cases, the objects of quality-of-life studies are people whose views tend to be oriented towards community values and well-being. Therefore, emic views could and should very well compensate etic views, based on broader and more general approaches, with a dose of community values and insights on their own well-being. Of course, those may be elicited via different methods and

<sup>4</sup>Rojas (2015, p. 320) describes presumption and imputation as follows "The presumption tradition postulates that wellbeing is something that people experiences, but it keeps the authority to assess a person's wellbeing situation in the hands of third-persons. The imputation tradition is based on the idea of a third party – usually assumed as a thoughtful person or institution providing criteria to judge a person's life".

techniques and find proper representation both in qualitative and quantitative data.

The qualitative vs quantitative dichotomy prompts questions such as: How do we capture and map quality-of-life conditions? What do we know about the resulting states of combining objective and subjective quality-of-life conditions? Why is there adaptation and dissonance? As explained in the next section and illustrated with case studies in section “[Case Studies](#)”, some of these questions can only be answered by crossing the qualitative vs quantitative divide.

### Qualitative/Quantitative Dichotomy

Despite the fact that very few studies in quality of life make use of mixed methods (Tonon 2015), the advantages of triangulating, complementing and integrating methods are obvious when it comes to cross and transcend both the etic/emic as well as the qualitative/quantitative divide.

Bryman (2006) identified several ways and rationales of combining qualitative and quantitative research. *Triangulation* – usually used as synonym of convergence – involves validating or corroborating findings obtained from mixing methods. Other ways to combine include *completeness* (offering a more comprehensive account), *context* (where qualitative research provides contextual understanding), *explanation* (of findings obtained by the other method) and *unexpected results* (where one method produces surprising results that are understood by employing the other).

Considering the relevance of the etic vs emic dichotomy in quality-of-life studies, we recognize the *diversity of views* as the most relevant rationale. This does not only include both the rationale of combining researchers’ and participants’ views, but also exposing those among research participants (Bryman 2012). Likewise, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p. 674) recognized that one of the utilities of mixed methods approaches is that they “provide the opportunity for presenting a greater diversity of views”. This is strongly related to the possibility of contrasting different sources of information and visualizing

divergent and convergent views about quality-of-life conditions. Two other utilities mentioned by the same authors are that “mixed methods research can answer research questions that the other [purely quantitative or qualitative] methods cannot” and that “mixed methods research provides better (stronger) inferences” (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003, p. 674). In a similar way, Knigge and Cope (2009) indicate that mixed methods’ advantage lies in the “productive tensions that can arise in allowing data from different methods to rub up against each other, conflict, complement, or even raise new questions”. Geo-visualization like GIS mapping is seen as one of the approaches that allow for that possibility (Cope and Elwood 2009; Martínez et al. 2011).

This approach of combining both quantitative and qualitative methods with a spatial perspective has been reflected in the last decade as a separate strand within GIS studies under the names of Critical GIS and Qualitative GIS (see e.g. Cope and Elwood 2009). Several authors have used this mixed approach to capture – usually from a critical perspective – the perceptions and experiences of space from particular groups (Kwan and Ding 2008; Knigge and Cope 2006). The capacity of GIS in combining different data sources and types allows for the integration of knowledge on both the “measured” (etic) -through official databases like the Census- and the “expressed” (emic) quality-of-life conditions, needs and deprivations (Teshfazghi et al. 2010; Martínez 2009).

A mixed methods geographic (qualitative GIS) approach involves some level of participation at the consultation level (e.g. focus groups participants select specific domains and perceived conditions to be incorporated). It might meet the criteria of good governance based on the principle of equity and respect for multiple views (McCall and Dunn 2012). Equity and governance are also the key concepts that community well-being and development realm engage with (Lee et al. 2015).

Respect of multiple views comes with the integration of multiple sources of information and triangulation of evidence. By integration, we do not necessarily mean the creation of

composite indices. In terms of policy relevance, dealing with separate specific quality-of-life domains might be more informative and have a higher diagnostic value than a general measure of quality of life (e.g. average score or index).

### Geographic Dimension

The geographic dimension in this approach elicits spatial variations within and between neighbourhoods. This is of particular relevance for policy and planning because it maps the locations of deprived and well-being areas and places experiences and perceptions in their actual spatial context. As we discussed in 0.2.1 this is a shared rationale of PGIS and critical cartography (Crampton and Krygier 2005). We recognize the notion of geographical space as both Cartesian as well as subjective, experiential space (Mikkelsen and Di Nucci 2015).

We are also aware of the risks of disciplinary bias that any approach may bring, in particular if the research only works from an etic perspective.

Rojas (2015, p. 340), while describing the risks of experts classifying people as being in a state of deprivation exclusively from their own constructs, writes:

It is a common complain of politicians that ordinary people do not show the same passion for well-being indicators as those who are constructing and using them show. In consequence, experts face the risk of classifying others based on their own disciplinary focus, rather than on people’s own life focus.

We believe that the risks of a disciplinary bias is reduced when both etic and emic accounts are collected and when a multidisciplinary approach informs the quality-of-life research.

Following from the above, we propose a two by two matrix (Fig. 20.1) which helps in classifying materials about quality of life without falling in simplistic, and often flawed, dichotomies that hide the complexity and variety of living experiences and the ways they can find expression. In the following sections we present case studies where this approach has been empirically applied.

	EXPERT VIEW (ETIC)	LAY VIEW (EMIC)
QUANTITATIVE data	<p><i>(material and objective or indicator based conditions)</i></p> <p>Data from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Quantitative indicators</li> </ul>	<p><i>(perceptions / experiential)</i></p> <p>Data from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Assessments of satisfaction using numerical and categorical scales</li> </ul>
QUALITATIVE data	<p><i>(material conditions)</i></p> <p>Data from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Landscape appreciation</li> <li>- Consideration of human environment in terms of local cultural milieu</li> <li>- Relations material/social setting</li> </ul>	<p><i>(perceptions / experiential)</i></p> <p>Data from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus group discussions</li> <li>- Participatory mapping</li> <li>- Open interviews</li> <li>- Walking interviews</li> <li>- VGI</li> </ul>

**Fig.20.1** Mixed methods approach to capture unequal quality-of-life conditions and different ways it can be expressed

## Case Studies

The case studies presented in this section were carried out in both the global South and North. All the cases made use of adjustments of the framework presented in section “A Mixed Methods Approach” and summarized in Fig. 20.1.

### Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)

The conceptual framework of this case works across the etic and emic dichotomy (Fig. 20.1). It combines objective and subjective perspectives –the material and the experiential–determining divergent and convergent assessments of quality-of-life conditions (Tesfazghi et al. 2010). The possible outcomes of such a comparison are presented in Table 20.1.

This two-way matrix was applied in Kirkos (a “sub-city” or district of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) to assess the emic and etic conditions in each of its 11 “kebeles” or neighbourhoods (Tesfazghi et al. 2010). Etic data on quality-of-life conditions in 13 domains were measured using secondary data and Geographic Information System (GIS) was used to derive proximity variables (i.e. nearest distance to school and health facilities). Responses for subjective quality-of-life conditions were measured using 6 points Likert scale (1 = completely dissatisfied to 6 = completely satisfied). Two separate indices of overall subjective and objective quality of life were created and a cut-off point of 3.5 was applied

to differentiate between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ quality of life.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, the conditions of quality of life in each neighbourhood were identified as a state of *deprivation*, *well-being*, *dissonance* or *adaptation* based on the average score. If both the etic and emic quality of life are good, then there is *well-being*; while if both are bad, then there is *deprivation*. If the etic is good but the emic is bad, then there is *dissonance*; while if the etic is bad but the emic is good, then there is *adaptation*. Sirgy et al. (2006) refer to these four states as Hell/Paradise/“Fool’s hell”/“Fool’s paradise”. One can also argue that if both the internal and external point of views are equally important the adaptation status should be referred to as dissonance status (cf. Rojas 2015).

GIS was used to visualize the four conditions of quality of life in Kirkos sub-city (Fig. 20.2). Areas of *dissonance* are of particular interest since they show areas where the perception of quality of life is worse than objective conditions.

In the Kirkos sub-city research (Tesfazghi et al. 2010) we mapped areas where *adaptation* and *dissonance* occurred. However, the quantitative methods used were insufficient to answer questions related to the reasons of divergence between the external (etic) and the internal view (emic). Henceforth, in subsequent studies we incorporated mixed methods, crossing the qualitative vs quantitative divide by looking for comprehensive, contextual, and explanatory accounts. Above all, it allows eliciting diversity of views: expert, lay and across residents.

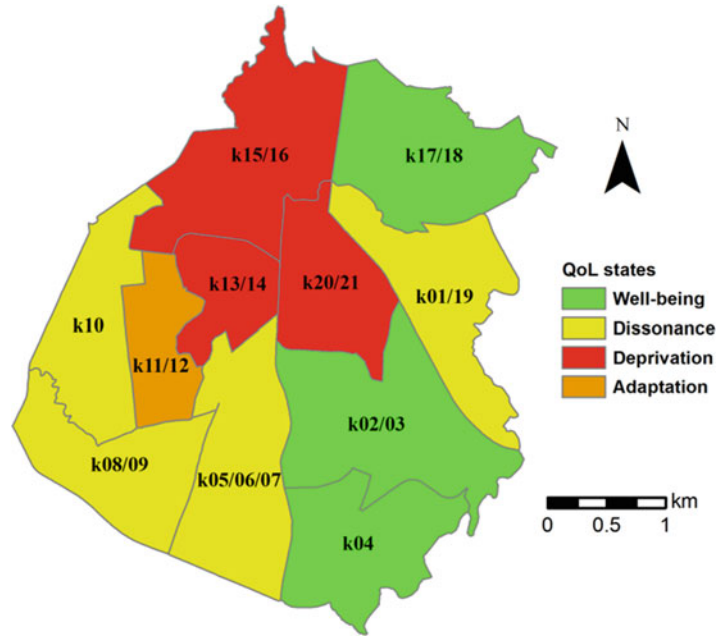
We mapped this variation of perspectives by making use of community sketch mapping where the emic perception of the community could be contrasted with that of individual respondents (Woldetinsaye 2011) (Fig. 20.3).

**Table 20.1** States of quality of life

		Objective condition (external point of view: etic)	
		Good	Bad
Subjective condition (internal point of view: emic)	Good	Well-being	Adaptation
	Bad	Dissonance	Deprivation

<sup>5</sup>This relates to some epistemological questions we mentioned earlier in the chapter. How do we know what is “good” and “bad”? In our research, we used a relative perspective (e.g. city average) as threshold (there is no pre-defined absolute threshold).

**Fig. 20.2** Spatial variation of quality-of-life states in Kirkos sub-city (Source: Tesfazghi et al. (2010))



In a study for another Ethiopian city, we incorporated walking interviews to bring a contextual explanation of *adaptation* and *dissonance*. Walking interviews are important for quality-of-life studies because they explore the relationship between what people say and where they say it (Evans and Jones 2011), they capture people’s understanding of a particular place or the whole neighbourhood. This method therefore enhances understanding and helps identifying the reasons behind the divergence between emic and etic views (Berhe et al. 2014).

From the walking interviews, we obtained some explanations of *adaptation* (Fig. 20.4a):

we are only two even though the room is small it is enough for us. Even though it has no kitchen but I am satisfied. Getting a house is very difficult in this Ketena since it is located in the centre of the city. the house is small and it is not in a good condition but I am satisfied because I cannot pay more than what I am paying now for house rent if I do so my kids will starve.

Explanations of *dissonance* were also sought (Fig. 20.4b)

I am not satisfied because it is very expensive [access to education]. The other issue is most of the students in the school are from rich family and

since they are teenagers there is high competition in dressing and school meals.

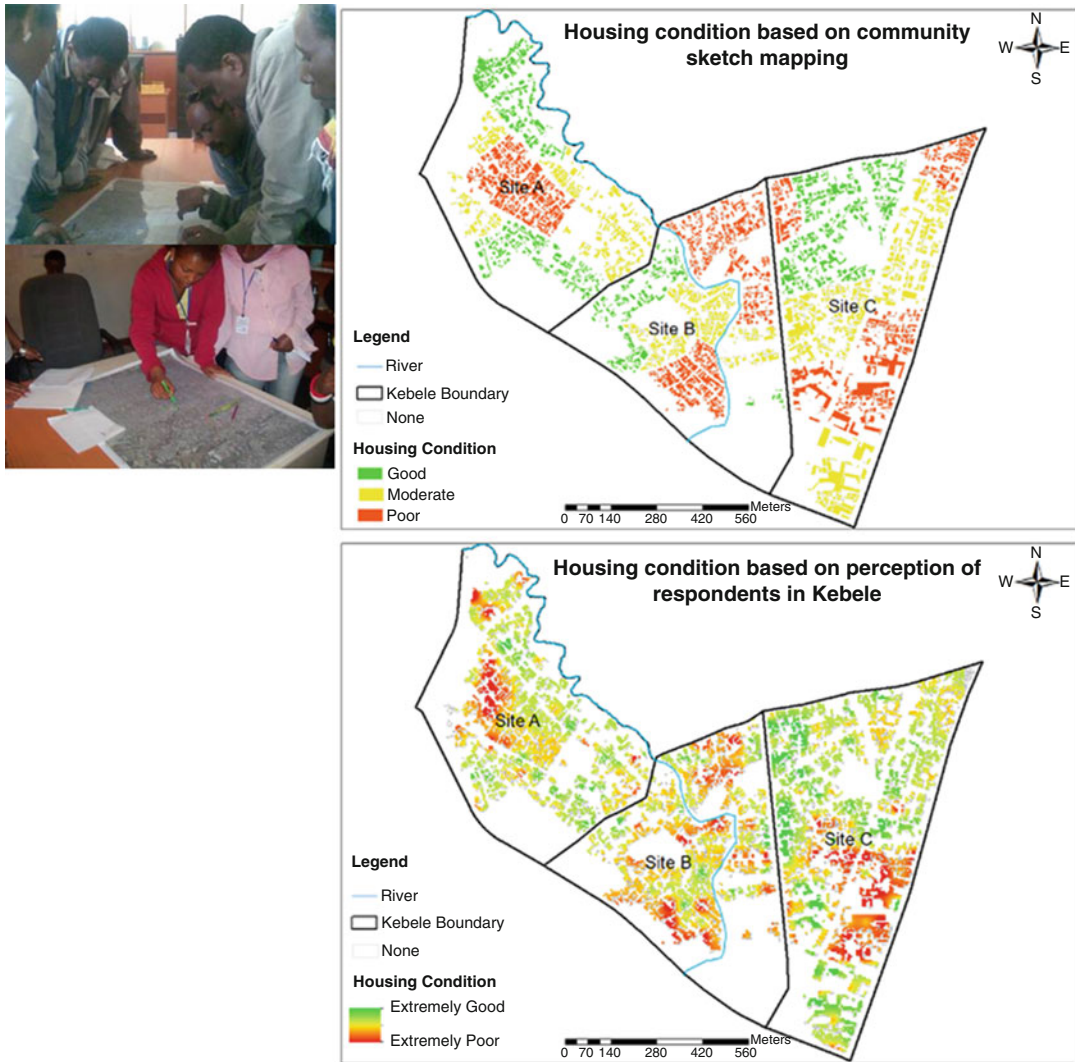
While the etic view used GIS and considered access to social infrastructure (e.g. education) as an issue of proximity, the walking interviews with residents exposed other dimensions attached to accessibility such as affordability and safety (the school was located at the side of a busy road where children were exposed to traffic accidents).

**Zanzibar, Tanzania<sup>6</sup>**

This study looked at the emic quality of life in the *Shehias* (neighbourhoods) Mwanakerekwe and Mpendae in Zanzibar. This was based on primary data collected from randomly selected households in the two study areas. The household survey was conveyed to the residents by the community leader (*Sheha*) and his officers

<sup>6</sup>Adapted from Ndungu (2012) Applicability of volunteered geographic information in assessing quality-of-life: case from Zanzibar. Enschede, University of Twente Faculty of Geo-Information and Earth Observation ITC, 2012.

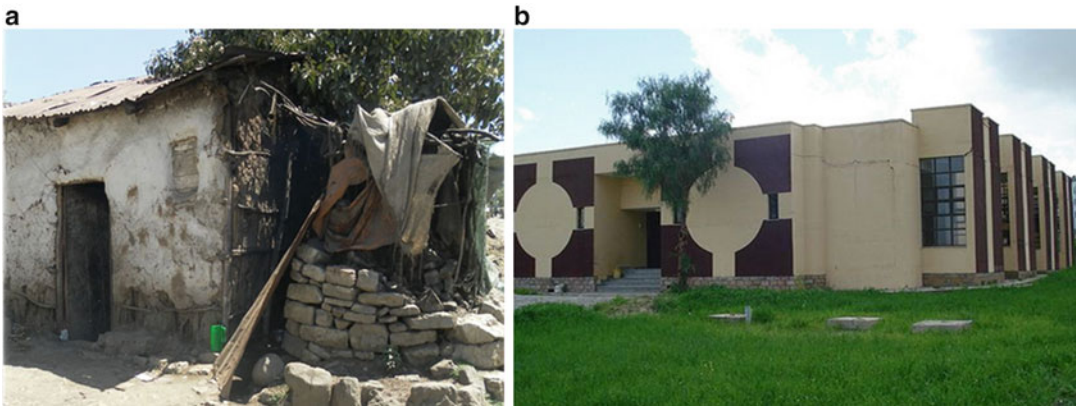




**Fig. 20.3** Community and respondents’ emic view on housing conditions in Kebele (Source: Woldetinsaye (2011))

who requested the residents to cooperate and take part in the survey and this provided an easy entry into the community. A total of 150 households were selected randomly from each study area. During focus group discussions, participants were first asked to clarify what they understood by quality of life and what it meant to them. Afterwards they were asked to identify the domains that they considered playing a vital role and contributing to their quality of life.

Apart from the etic domains common to quality-of-life studies such as “housing, built environment, neighbourhood safety, accessibility and affordability of public service”, participants identified additional emic domains contributing to their quality of life. These included availability of clean water, availability of streetlights, dumping sites, children’s playground and storm water drainage system. Majority of the participants agreed that the mentioned domains contributed greatly to what they perceived as quality of life.



**Fig. 20.4** (a, b) Examples of housing (in state of adaptation) and access to education (in state of dissonance) (Source: Berhe et al. (2014))

The findings of this study reveal that both study areas are similarly divided in terms of residents' satisfaction with their quality of life. There exist spatial variations between areas: areas that are characterised by well-planned, wider access roads and a structured layout pattern of housing units are perceived as offering good quality of life; while those living in areas that exhibited irregular layout pattern of housing units with narrow access roads perceived their quality of life to be poor. The visualization of the emic view of Mpendae (Fig. 20.5) clearly shows this distinction between the Northern and Southern part. Two clusters of quality life conditions are obvious. A sense of deprivation (north) and well-being (south) can be distilled from this, while at the same time there are no clear signs of adaptation or dissonance. The Mwanakerekwe area (not displayed) exhibits similar features with emic appreciation of quality of life clearly being related to the physical urban structure.

## Birmingham, England

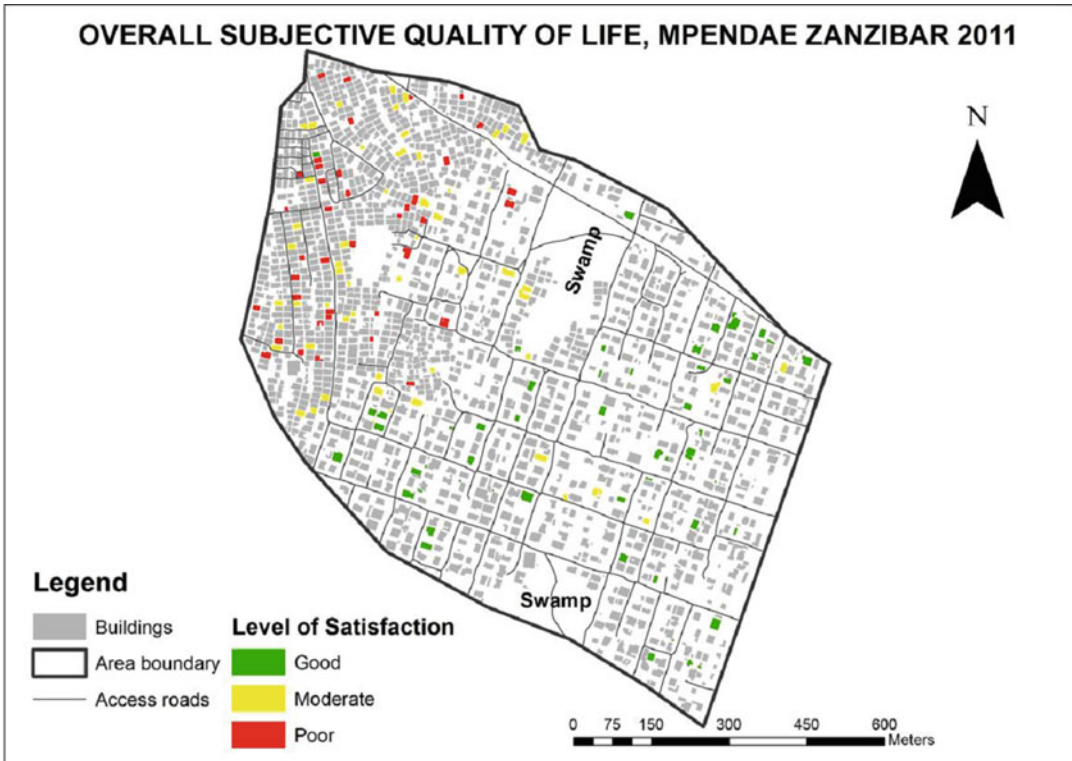
One of the advantages of applying this mixed method approach is that it exposes many axis of differentiation that might be ignored if only an etic view or quantitative data is included. In particular, gender is one of the dimensions to be considered in the experience and perception of

quality of life in order to elicit emic views of vulnerable groups.<sup>7</sup>

In Birmingham (England) this mixed method approach was used to identify and compare the gendered (emic) quality-of-life domains in a deprived and non-deprived neighbourhood (Khaf 2013). Alongside the quantitative data obtained from an Index of Multiple Deprivation, open questionnaires and individual interviews were used to obtain residents' emic perceptions about quality-of-life conditions in their neighbourhood.

The results show that in deprived neighbourhoods both women and men mentioned similar quality-of-life domains to be relevant for their community (access to facilities, street condition, safety, green space and social interaction). However, there were different emic views towards issues of safety, access to facilities and street condition (see Figs. 20.6 and 20.7). Overall, a qualitative analysis for the neighbourhoods revealed that while in deprived contexts many differences toward gendered perception of quality of life have been found; in non-deprived areas respondents showed strong similarities in the perception of their neighbourhood.

<sup>7</sup>In another study (Shumi et al. 2014), we used this mixed-method approach and elicited emic views to understand how the quality of life of women garment workers in Dhaka (Bangladesh) was affected by the walking conditions of the routes they take from home to work.



**Fig. 20.5** Overall subjective quality of life Mpendae, Zanzibar (Source: Ndungu (2012))



**Fig. 20.6** Word cloud based on keywords extracted from coding men and women perceptions (Source: Khaef (2013))

**Enschede, The Netherlands<sup>8</sup>**

The main objective of this research was to visualize the perceived quality of life accord-

ing to subjective indicators and inhabitants' preference in the Wesselerbrink neighbourhood of the city of Enschede in the Netherlands. The visualization of the urban quality of life has been a significant aspect of the research concerning the contemporary city and an increasingly support to urban planning and management.

<sup>8</sup>Adapted from Kumar Dashora (2009) Visualisation of urban quality-of-life at neighbourhood level in Enschede. Enschede, ITC, 2009.



Fig. 20.7 Women and men perceptions (Source: Khaef (2013))

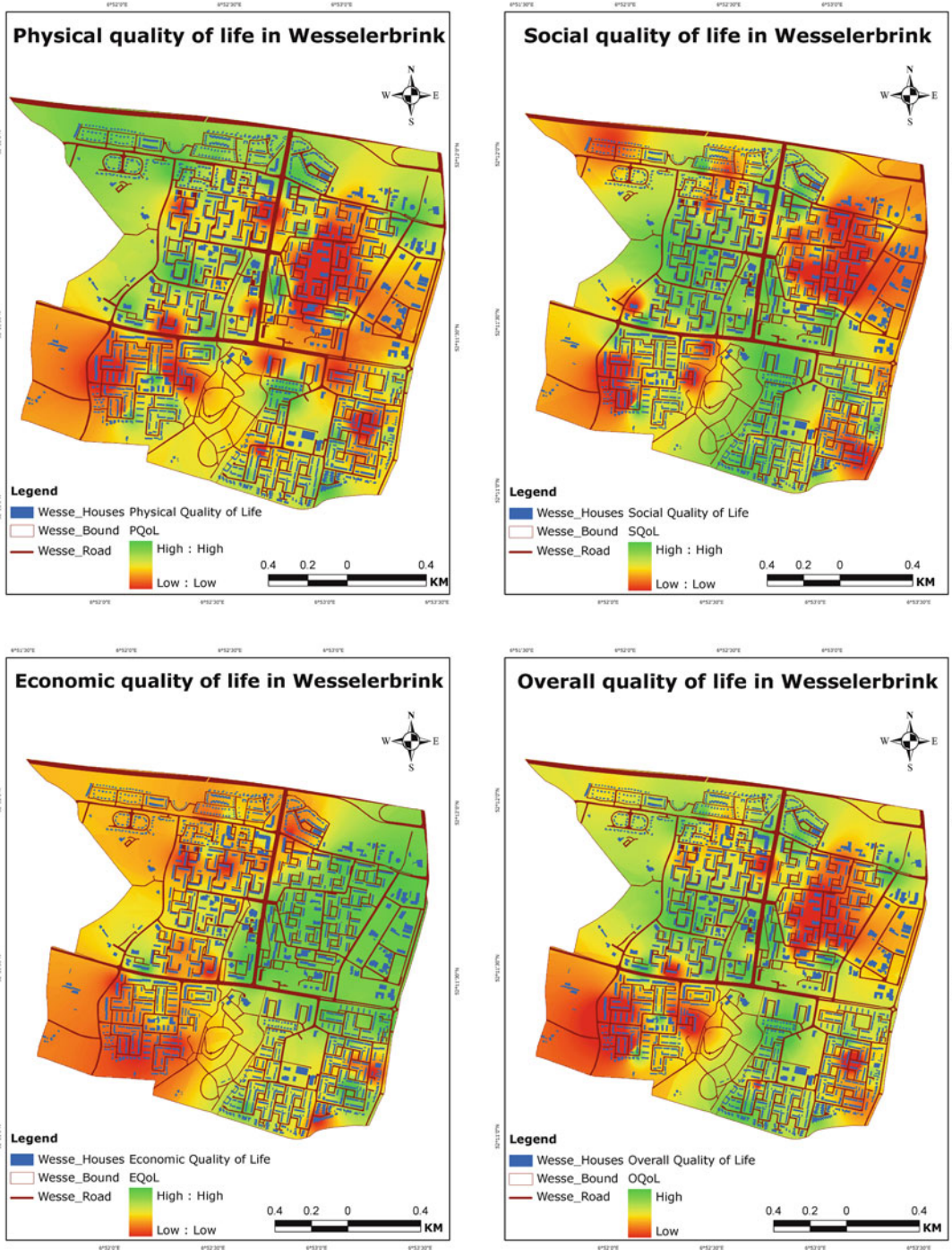
The Wesselerbrink was one of the 56 deprived neighbourhoods in The Netherlands which were prioritized in 2003 for overall quality of life improvement. These neighbourhoods were selected by the Government out of the largest Dutch municipalities. The selected neighbourhoods was primarily related to the gravity and accumulation of their existing problems with quality of life.

In this study a geographic visualization of emic preferences (1 % sample of households) was made to provide a better understanding of what the local environment meant to local residents, what were their opinions, whether they were really pleased with their situation and what were the priority areas for future development of the Wesselerbrink?

This case illustrates how an etic assessment from a national perspective can label the whole neighbourhood as being deprived based on a societal standard. The visualizations in this case however show that the generalised deprivation label based on aggregate statistics (etic) is not

applicable for the whole neighbourhood as there are significant differences between the community (emic) perceptions of various domains of life within the neighbourhood (Fig. 20.8). Only the South West corner of the neighbourhood scored consistently low regarding the four quality-of-life domains. Considering the visible variability even within this quadrant we might argue that signs of *adaptation* are emerging here. The North East corner of the neighbourhood in that respect showed signs of *adaptation* by being valued best for economic quality while being one of the most deprived areas otherwise.

The research shows that neighbourhoods are well recognized units of urban hierarchy in the Netherlands and have good policy support for development. The research also demonstrates that public participation and inhabitant's observations, perceptions and preferences play a significant role in ranking and analysing the urban areas. The research also shows that visualization of perceived quality of life facilitates the urban redevelopment process.



**Fig. 20.8** Quality of life at neighbourhood level in Enschede-Wesslerbrink (Source: Kumar Dashora (2009))

## Challenges

In this section, we discuss and reflect on: (1) how different data collection methods and technology affects our understanding of quality-of-life conditions, and (2) what are the challenges and new emerging questions across the etic vs emic view and the quantitative vs qualitative dichotomy.

### Dichotomy 1 (Etic vs Emic Views)

Some questions emerge if we critically analyse the etic vs emic dichotomy. We have to enquire about the different domains of quality of life that matter for a specific context. We need to determine when a quality-of-life condition is good or bad and, more importantly, whose values are used to make that assessment and who is likely to benefit from the outcome (*cui bono?*). Forthwith, one of the main challenges emerging from contrasting the etic and the emic views is the appropriateness and relevance of the perspective.

In the case of the etic view -dominant in “objective quality-of-life approaches- one could question the validity of the norms and standards set by experts. The case study in Ethiopia (section “[Addis Ababa \(Ethiopia\)](#)”) shows that accessibility measures determined by experts may differ with how residents perceive access. From an etic view, experts calculate access to social infrastructure in a community by making use of different proximity measures (e.g. buffers, catchment areas) and evaluate them with different thresholds and norms. As a consequence, while one expert may consider 1,000 m as an adequate distance to school, another expert may consider 500 m a more adequate norm. An expert may even choose a particular measure or norm that is not applicable to different social groups and gender, overlooking the context and different groups’ accessibility and time constraints. Taking a geographic perspective, there is also the challenge of the validity of the scale chosen by the expert to represent the problem. Choosing large areas of representation and ignoring quality-of-life heterogeneity and variability within areas lead to the problem known as ecological fallacy (cf. case of

Enschede in section “[Enschede, The Netherlands](#)”).

The emic view also poses questions on the validity and relevance of internal views and how those views are elicited. This is of particular concern with the use of new forms of geographic data collection such as Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI). Some of the emerging questions when it comes to elicit the emic are: Has the emic view been voluntarily expressed or solicited through a survey? What are the differences between information obtained from surveys that capture the perception of all (sampled) residents and information obtained from VGIs where only those who voluntarily self-expressed their concern are being reflected? Which groups are (over) represented or excluded? For example, if gender variations are not considered, emic views of more vulnerable groups might be excluded (cf. case of Birmingham in section “[A Mixed Methods Approach](#)”).

Literature on PGIS and VGI discuss similar issues. Notably, ethical concerns in relation to surveillance and transparency of data collection processes emerge with data mining and crowd-sourcing (McCall et al. 2015).

### Dichotomy 2 (Quantitative vs Qualitative)

There are many challenges in combining qualitative and quantitative data in quality-of-life studies in particular and are extensively discussed in the literature of mixed methods (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010). Informed by the cases presented in this chapter, we would like to concentrate on understanding convergent and –more importantly- divergent views and states of quality of life.

*Dissonance*, as we presented in section [Addis Ababa \(Ethiopia\)](#), is a quality-of-life state indicating a negative evaluation of quality-of-life conditions from the emic view and a positive evaluation from the etic or expert view. If the quality-of-life research needs to inform policy we could argue whether the view of “dissonant residents” emerges only from empowered residents (e.g. with access

to technology if we use VGI tools) and therefore biased towards specific groups within the community (Miscione et al. 2013). Some of the emerging questions are: How can we qualify reputation, legitimacy and representativeness of producer of quality-of-life information? And more importantly, when is *dissonance* a problem and requires explanation and the attention of policy makers?

The opposite state of *adaptation* – as we have seen in the case presented in section “Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)” – can be explained by qualitative methods. This state could reflect a livelihood strategy and a coping bias rather than a satisfaction with a condition classified as “bad” by the etic view of an expert.

Finally, from the equity and social justice perspectives one could question which of the four states (*well-being*, *deprivation*, *adaptation* or *dissonance*) should receive more attention in remedial policies. Should policy makers target deprived areas by following exclusively an external point of view (etic) by including states of *deprivation* and *adaptation*? Alternatively, should they follow an emic view and incorporate areas in *dissonance* and *deprivation*? In addition, politicians in search for votes may make promises to voters who perceive problems rather than seeing problems from etic views. We believe that only by incorporating qualitative methods we can better inform practice since these methods can go further than simply counting and are enriched by exploring the emic view.

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## Conclusions

In this chapter we presented a mixed methods approach to capture unequal quality-of-life conditions. The approach recognizes the potential of mixing quantitative and qualitative information to elicit etic and emic views. Informed by the case studies presented and the discussion made in previous section we can conclude on three main elements.

First, “objective” quantitative quality-of-life measures (e.g. of accessibility) as externally viewed by experts do not necessarily converge

with “subjective” needs and dimensions considered by emic views of residents. There are aspects of quality of life that quantitative methods cannot measure. For those, the options are to identify proxy measures that can be used to approximate to the concept at stake, or by collecting qualitative data.

Second, for policy and planning purposes, it is of relevance to identify context sensitive life domains and combine different forms of data to elicit both the etic view of experts and the (various) emic views of residents and communities.

Finally yet importantly, we believe that to recognize the heterogeneity of communities we need to improve our understanding of spatial, gender and divergent views by incorporating geographic and qualitative methods. It is only in this way that we can have a more nuanced understanding of unequal quality-of-life conditions.

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# Distinguishing Flourishing from Distressed Communities: Vulnerability, Resilience and a Systemic Framework to Facilitate Well-Being

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*Without community, there is no liberation.*

—Audre Lorde (Feminist and Civil Rights Activist)

## Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to expand the conceptualization of community well-being, the indicators used to measure it, and to suggest fresh and more systemically comprehensive considerations for research and practice in distressed and flourishing communities. In so doing, we draw on literatures from several academic and institutional perspectives, including psychology, sociology, quality-of-life (QOL) studies, economics, macro-marketing, consumer research, public health and policy, and systems theory; all of which, individually or collectively, can help scholars, policy makers, managers and citizen-stakeholders to discern the extent to which a community is indeed distressed or flourishing, and in turn to shape policies and practices to enhance community

well-being. We begin with an overview of the depth and breadth of indicators. We then discuss flourishing vs. distressed communities, introduce a definition for both, and flesh-out a set of outcome indicators, again from multiple perspectives. The last segment of the chapter focuses on a conceptual model; indicators capturing antecedents or determinants – and their interactions – that ineluctably impact community well-being, albeit at potentially different weightings in different contexts. This model provides a framework for discovering and considering extant forces and potential indicators, and developing new measures and methods for generating policy; it draws attention to various factors that must be addressed and coordinated if we hope to generate best practices to move distressed communities to flourishing communities, and thus to ensure the well-being of community residents and potentially other stakeholders beyond it.

Further to the introduction of this chapter, readers likely know that we are not working in a vacuum. Literally hundreds (maybe thousands) of indicators projects exist to ascertain community well-being. Data from most of them are not published in scholarly journals, such as *Social Indicators Research*, *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *Quality of Life Research*, *Applied*

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*Research in Quality of Life*, and the *Journal of Macromarketing*. However, the vast majority of them have websites to introduce mission and foci and to report their findings. For a listing of community indicators projects, for example, visit the website of Community Indicators Consortium at [www.communityindicators.net](http://www.communityindicators.net). The World Bank comparatively tracks and publishes more than 1300 indicators for “development” (World Bank 2014). Many indicator projects create their systems of indicators using a bottom-up method (Dluhy and Swartz 2006), which allows community residents and community stakeholder groups to identify indicators that are important to them (and therefore the community at large). The end result is a QOL index that may be constrained in meaning or theoretical relevance. In contrast, the top-down approach to the development of QOL measures and indices is guided by well-established theory. As such, QOL measures and indices that are developed using a top-down approach tend to have much more credibility because they are based on sound theory that imbues meaning to the indicator system and guides its development and implementation. In what follows, we share some background, and begin our discussion of concepts, perspectives and measures as we work toward our larger model and its explication and implications.

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## Background

Community well-being can be categorized as distressed or flourishing. It may also be viewed as a continuum, anchored on one end by “distressed” and the other by “flourishing.” Indices may generally reveal a community tends toward one or the other, while having variances or sub-communities counter to the overall pattern or measure. The assessment of community as distressed or flourishing may be subjective, based on individual values and/or cultural norms. Conceptualizations for well-being, distressed, and flourishing therefore differ, can be ethereal, are often politically charged and manipulated, and, not surprisingly, may be difficult to measure in ways that satisfy the vested interests of all stakeholders.

Sirgy (2011) contends that distressed communities can be distinguished from flourishing communities using need hierarchy theory (Maslow 1954, 1970). Specifically, the basic premise of the argument is the notion that a community characterized as high in QOL is one that plays a significant role in satisfying people’s developmental needs. Developmental needs refer to a hierarchy of lower- and higher-order needs such as health, safety, and economic needs (basic, survival, or what is commonly referred to as “lower-order needs”), as well as social, esteem, actualization, knowledge, and aesthetics needs (growth or is commonly referred to as “higher-order needs”). Further, lower-order needs are more pre-potent (i.e., stronger and take precedence) than higher-order needs. To achieve a high level of QOL, community residents have to satisfy the full spectrum of their developmental needs – both lower- and higher-order needs. The challenge for public policy officials is to plan and implement programs and policies designed to enhance need satisfaction (the full spectrum of development needs of the community residents). Sirgy (2011) suggested a set of indicators distinguishing distressed communities from flourishing ones based on need hierarchy theory (see Table 21.1).

Table 21.1 shows examples of community indicators capturing lower- and higher-order need satisfaction. Programs and policies targeting lower-order needs can be viewed in terms of nine dimensions: (a) environmental pollution, (b) disease incidence, (c) crime, (d) housing, (e) unemployment, (f) poverty and homelessness, (g) cost of living, (h) community infrastructure, and (i) illiteracy and lack of job skills. In contrast, programs and policies targeting higher-order needs involve nine different dimensions: (a) work productivity and income, (b) consumption of non-basic goods and services, (c) leisure and recreational activities, (d) educational attainment, (e) community landscape, (f) population density and crowdedness, (g) arts and cultural activities, (h) intellectual activities, and (i) religious activities.

It is difficult to achieve higher-order needs without firstly attending to lower-order needs.

**Table 21.1** QOL indicators guided by the human development concept

Indicators of satisfaction of lower-order needs	Indicators of satisfaction of higher-order needs
Measures of <u>environmental pollution</u> (air, water, land, and noise) and environmental programs to reduce environmental ill being	Measures of <u>work productivity and income</u> and community programs to enhance productivity and quality of work life
Measures of <u>disease incidence</u> and healthcare efforts to reduce health-related ill being	Measures of <u>consumption of non-basic goods and services</u> and community programs to enhance consumer well-being
Measures of <u>crime</u> and safety and law enforcement programs to reduce crime and enhance public safety	Measures of quality of <u>leisure and recreation activities</u> and community programs to enhance leisure well-being
Measures of <u>housing conditions</u> and community programs to meet housing needs	Measures of <u>educational attainment</u> and community programs to enhance education well-being
Measures of <u>unemployment</u> and community programs to reduce work ill being	Measures of the quality of <u>community landscape</u> and community beautification programs
Measures of <u>poverty/homelessness</u> and community programs to assist the poor and the homeless	Measures of <u>population density and crowdedness</u> and community programs to reduce crowdedness and congestion
Measures of <u>cost of living</u> related to basic goods and services and community programs to reduce the cost of these basic necessities	Measure of <u>arts and cultural activities</u> and community programs to enhance cultural well-being

(continued)

**Table 21.1** (continued)

Indicators of satisfaction of lower-order needs	Indicators of satisfaction of higher-order needs
Measures of <u>community infrastructure</u> (e.g., utilities, roads, transportation, telecommunications) and community programs to maintain a minimum level of infrastructure	Measures of <u>intellectual activities</u> and community programs to enhance knowledge well-being
Measures of <u>illiteracy and lack of job skills</u> and community efforts to eradicate illiteracy and enhance job skills	Measures of <u>religious activities</u> and community programs to enhance spiritual well-being

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) work on poverty, or more accurately, poverty-reduction, corroborates this assertion. UNDP equates poverty with disease, high infant mortality, low life expectancy, malnutrition, hunger, lack of access to water, education, knowledge, public and private resources, housing, clothes, and security (UNDP 2005, 2015a, b). At a more micro-level, or community-level, neighborhoods struggling with basic challenges such as homelessness must develop methodologies, tools and measures to aid policy makers, so that effective programs and strategies to enhance community QOL can be designed and implemented (e.g., Alexander-Eitzman et al. 2013; Butler et al. 2013). Many QOL researchers in fact have argued this position. Venhoveen (1988, 1991), for example, was able to build a case for the influence of basic needs satisfaction and subjective well-being. People with higher income levels can more easily satisfy their basic needs (food, housing, health, etc.) and therefore are more likely to experience higher levels of subjective well-being. We emphasize however that comprehensive community research on community well-being must include research on higher-order needs and many indicators projects are developed with a special focus on them. For example, Lloyd and Auld (2002) and Michalos and Zumbo (2003) conducted an indicators project focusing on the broad topic of leisure and its relationship to the QOL. Michalos (2005) con-

ducted an indicators project that has focused exclusively on arts and its relationship to QOL (cf. Michalos and Kahlke 2008).

## The Concept of Flourishing in Positive Psychology and Quality-of-Life Research

Research rooted in positive psychology has proliferated in the last two to three decades. The focus of positive psychology is on human flourishing to distinguish it from traditional psychology emphasizing psychopathology (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). Hence, much of the research in psychology, social psychology, as well as community psychology has distinguished concepts of well-being from their traditional counterparts, namely ill-being. Let us review some of the literature on well-being (contrasted from ill-being) by discussing some of the emergent concepts of positive psychology and quality of life – concepts such human flourishing, self-determination, psychological well-being, flow and engagement, and purpose and meaning of life.

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### Human Flourishing, Self-Determination, and Psychological Well-Being

Several psychological theories of human flourishing have been developed in recent years. They are essentially based on early humanistic psychology. For example, Ryan and Deci (2000) suggest there are several universal human psychological needs, such as the need for competence, relatedness, and autonomy that contribute to human flourishing. Keyes (2002) argues that the presence of mental health is flourishing in life, and the absence of mental health is languishing in life (cf. Ryff 1989; Ryff and Singer 1998). “Mental health” is thus a syndrome of symptoms of both positive feelings and positive functioning in life. Further, Fredrickson’s (2001) broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions suggests that cultivating positive emotions is useful for

building resilience to stressful events. In essence, positive emotions enhance coping behavior. Recently, numerous efforts from various philosophical perspectives have attempted to conceptualize, measure, and apply the construct in a number of settings for a variety of purposes (e.g., Davis and Brotherton 2013; Entwistle and Moroney 2011; McCormack and Titchen 2014; Wise 2014). In the QOL domain several measures were developed guided by the theory of human flourishing. For example, the most popular theory-based measure is Ryff’s (1989) instrument to assess psychological well-being. This measure is designed to gauge six dimensions: self-acceptance, positive relations with others, personal growth, purpose in life, environmental mastery, and autonomy (cf. Ryff and Keyes 1995; Ryff and Singer 1996). A more recent attempt is the Flourishing Scale (Diener 2010), a brief 8-item summary of the respondent’s self-perceived success in important areas such as relationships, self-esteem, purpose, and optimism.

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### Flow and Engagement

Csikszentmihalyi (1990, 1997) and Seligman (2002) discuss flow and engagement as basic to human well-being, forming the basis of “psychological capital.” The *flow* concept describes an optimal state of mind that individuals similarly report when they are acting with focused and intense involvement in an activity. Flow is a function of the relationship between perceived challenge of a task vis-à-vis the person’s skill level. Flow is experienced when the task is both challenging and the individual feels that he or she has the necessary skill to meet the challenge.

Methodologically, the flow and engagement experience has been captured using the experience sampling method or ESM (Csikszentmihalyi et al. 1993; Massimini and Carli 1988). ESM involves contacting subjects several times before, during, and after the focal activity prompting the subject to record his or her level of arousal and directionality of affect.

A more recent theory of flow and engagement has gained much attention in QOL research is

eudaimonistic identity theory (Bauer et al. 2015; Waterman 2005; Waterman et al. 2008). For example, Waterman and his colleagues argue that identity development proceeds most successfully when people identify their best potentials and engage in activities that move them toward realizing those potentials. Engagement in those activities produces feelings of personal expressiveness. These feelings, in turn, reinforce the motivation that people feel to continue to engage in those activities.

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### Purpose and Meaning in Life

QOL researchers have shown that the concept of purpose and meaning in life plays a very important role in subjective well-being. They make reference to ideas developed by Victor Frankl (1963, 1967) and the panoply of subsequent writings (e.g., Battista and Almond 1973; Steger et al. 2008). Much of these writings support the notion that purpose and meaning are beneficial to human functioning. People who are aware of what life aspects are most vital and live their lives consistently with those values are likely to experience high levels of subjective well-being.

Examples of QOL measures based on the concept of purpose and meaning in life include Palomar (1997) that asks questions such as “How do you feel about your sense of purpose in life?” More recently, Schulenberg and Melton (2010) have provided some evidence of construct validity in relation to the Purpose-in-Life (PIL) measure (cf. Chamberlain and Zika 1988; Dyck 1987; Hicks and King 2007; Melton and Schulenberg 2008; Morgan and Farsides 2009). Respondents express the extent to which they feel enthusiasm in living, whether they feel life is exciting, if they have clear life goals, whether the life they live has been worthwhile, whether they have a reason for being alive, whether the world is meaningful, and whether they feel they have a life purpose.

### Distressed Versus Flourishing Communities

We submit that a flourishing community is a recognizable assembly of people with shared values, cooperating to ensure clear evidence of positive physical, economic, environmental, and social well-being, which empower constituent members in their efforts to affect further prosocial outcomes for stakeholders of the community. To be considered flourishing, it must also have demonstrated a temporal sustainability of these domains and a capacity for continued growth and resiliency in these domains. In contrast, a distressed community is a recognizable assembly of people with actual or potentially shared values, that evinces the presence of recent, current, or imminent negative states or occurrences in regards to the collective well-being in any or all physical, economic, environmental, or social domains that inhibit health and members’ empowerment to affect prosocial outcomes for stakeholders. A community is also considered distressed when its capacity for continued growth and resiliency in these domains has been significantly diminished.

It is important to recognize that these definitions attend to the temporal and transitory aspects of a “flourishing” or “distressed” community. Generally, there is movement and not stasis. Some communities historically have been distressed due to long-term economic, environmental, or societal deficiencies (e.g., subsistence agriculture or protracted civil war); they have often adapted to austere or even brutal conditions and survive with little or no margin for administrative error or systemic shocks. While some observers might argue these types of communities were historically viable and are viable for the future, very few would insist that such communities are “flourishing.”

We also have seen that many other communities that could be considered distressed under our definitions may have experienced events in the

recent or not-too-recent past, such as violent conflict, institutional and economic crisis or collapse, and natural disasters. A number of studies have explored the impact of these events (e.g., Chang et al. 2012; Nguyen et al. 2014; Rodriguez-Llanes et al. 2013). Finsterwalder (2010), in an examination of the post 2010 earthquake community in Christchurch, New Zealand provides a good table summary of studies that look at various aspects of post disaster community response. These specific events may occur alone, but they may often occur in conjunction with, or trigger, others. For example, a civil war or natural disaster (e.g. earthquake, tsunami) will often destroy a community's infrastructure and economic systems (e.g., transportation, marketplaces, food production).

Pottebaum and Kanbur (2004) suggest that more advanced and developed communities and countries, which are systemically complex with unique vulnerabilities, potentially can be at greater risk of significant destruction to their social fabric and well-being. War-ravaged places – the Balkans, Cambodia, Central Africa, Iraq, Syria, Ukraine – have seen flourishing communities quickly distressed to the point of societal disintegration (e.g., Shultz et al. 2005). Natural disasters – Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and the USA Gulf Coast, the earthquakes and tsunami's in Aceh, Indonesia and Fukushima, Japan – have quickly distressed or even devastated communities. Broad-based political, economic, social responses and community resiliency however facilitated, or can still facilitate, the re-creation of flourishing communities. Thus, a community's flourishing cannot be simply measured within the context of its current positive state-of-being, "what is," it must also be measured within the broader normative context of "what is, if...." This is a crucial aspect that needs to be taken into account when seeking to better understand the temporal, transitory and spatial nature of flourishing and distressed communities.

Consistent with the idea that community well-being may be transitory, we briefly explore two dimensions, vulnerability and resiliency. A number of studies have sought to integrate these con-

structs into the sustainability and well-being of communities (e.g., Orencio and Fujii 2013); understanding them provides positive effects toward resisting deterioration of community well-being, and restoring of or even enhancing wellness in degraded communities. These two constructs moreover have been used extensively to assess pre-disaster risk, and the speed, sustainability of, and robustness of recovery in post-disaster environments (e.g., Adger 2006; Atsamon et al. 2014; de Oliveira Mendes 2009; Guillaumont 2009; Islam et al. 2013; Marulanda et al. 2010; Norris et al. 2008; Sherrieb et al. 2010; Shultz and Holbrook 2009).

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## Community Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a concept used in numerous disciplines, often to depict a state of risk; a condition of fragility, susceptibility and even incapability (cf. Baker et al. 2005). It particularly resonates in the context of living entities. The ecology literature examines interdependent species of plants and animals, their substrates and the extent to which an ecosystem is vulnerable. Physical sciences address, for example, climate change and geological structures (Kelman and Mather 2008). In regards to humans, the concept has been applied extensively from individuals (cf. Garnezy 1991), to groups (cf. Bhattacharjee et al. 2013), and to communities and greater society (cf. Orencio and Fujii 2013; Shultz 2015). Indeed, many life-forms – *homo sapiens*, certainly – are born into a community and depart a community in a state of mortal vulnerability. Life is risky, we are vulnerable; the level of vulnerability waxes and wanes over the life of any organism, and of course is affected by many factors, including whether one's community is distressed or flourishing (Shultz and Holbrook 2009).

Various literatures reveal excellent summaries for the construct of vulnerability. Füssel (2007), for example, provides a comprehensive discussion of its conceptual framework regarding climate-change research. This work and contributions by others (e.g., Adger 2006; Lei et al.

2014)<sup>1</sup> studying climate and natural disasters are highly relevant for insights on community vulnerability vis-à-vis the flourishing construct. What becomes very clear is that the community and its members exist within a system in which a variety of subdomains interact with each other and events, and actions within one of these sub-systems have clear ramifications for others, if not the entire system. The recognition of extensive interaction from within and without the community system is crucial when seeking to develop measures in regard to flourishing. We include below a table, from Füssel (2007), which recognizes both the distinctiveness and interactive nature of domains within and without the community system (see Table 21.2). Füssel notes that it is important to recognize what can be considered “largely independent dimensions of vulnerability factors.” These are Sphere and Knowledge. Both of these dimensions include two sub-dimensions, which from our point of view, help to recognize the far-reaching nature of the community system.

The table shows that Füssel’s classification addresses both distance- and control-dimensions; that “sphere” vulnerability factors relate to control by the community itself, and notes that the consideration of internal or external is dependent on a given scope of assessment and breadth of the evaluation. In other words, if the assessment pertains to national response, the internal boundary expands greatly. The “knowledge domain” groups the socioeconomic dimensions together, whereas the “biophysical” domains are examined by the “physical sciences.” One can clearly see that there is space for interaction and impact across the various classifications as policies at the national or local levels can impact, for example, land and water. They can also degrade natural

resources and impact climate through pollution, and excessive harvesting. In other words, the socioeconomic processes interact with their surroundings and impact the biophysical, and vice versa. As biophysical and socioeconomic events occur, the systems that operate within a given community are impacted in positive or negative ways.

By recognizing the broad biophysical and socioeconomic aspects of vulnerability, the variety of definitions address what could be construed as sensitivity of the system to an internal or external negative shock. A vulnerable system may be quite susceptible to significant damage and/or disruption. The more vulnerable the system the more expansive and destructive negative shocks become. This view is consistent with literature regarding community vulnerability (see Lei et al. 2014, p. 612, for a summary of definitions). For our purposes, we are most interested in the impact on the ability of the community system to build and protect a capacity to flourish. We offer the following definition of vulnerability as it pertains to community flourishing: The sensitivity and susceptibility to a negative event/shock(s), such that a community’s capacities to contribute positively to a sustainable and desirable state of flourishing are prevented, limited or compromised.

As noted in the previous paragraphs, communities are part of larger interrelated system(s) so when vulnerability is assessed, it is also often linked to other concepts related to the operation of the system(s). Vulnerability is often linked to resilience (cf. Kleiner 2011). Work by Kasperson and Kasperon, as cited by Lei et al. (2014), concludes that vulnerability is the “flip-side” of resilience. The resilience of those community systems is crucial in that regard, some ideas to which we turn below.

<sup>1</sup>For Definitions and Summary of research and measure classifications see both Füssel, H. (2007). Vulnerability: A generally applicable conceptual framework for climate change research. *Global Environmental Change Part A: Human & Policy Dimensions*, 17(2), 155–167 and Lei, Y., Wang, J., Yue, Y., Zhou, H., & Yin, W. (2014). Rethinking the relationships of vulnerability, resilience, and adaptation from a disaster risk perspective. *Natural Hazards*, 70(1), 609–627.

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## Community Resilience

Resilience is a construct used in many academic disciplines. Approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing resilience therefore abound.



**Table 21.2** Fussel's (2007) four categories of vulnerability sources

Sphere	Knowledge domain	
	<i>Socioeconomic</i>	<i>Biophysical</i>
<i>Internal</i>	Household income, social networks, access to information	Topography, environmental conditions, land cover
<i>External</i>	National policies, international aid, economic globalization	Severe storms, earthquakes, sea-level change

Source: Adapted from Füssel (2007, p. 158)

Norris et al. (2008)<sup>2</sup> note the concept had its genesis in physics and mathematics. In physics, for example, it relates to regaining “equilibrium after a displacement.” In the social sciences it has been applied to individuals and social structures large and small, across the biosphere (e.g., Magis 2010). This widespread use across a variety of disciplines and contexts has led to some concerns regarding its misuse and application. Researchers do agree, however, that resilience is a multi-faceted concept. Sherrieb et al. (2010) recognize that it connects to capacities in four areas: (1) economic development, (2) social capital, (3) information and communication, and (4) community competence. Pfefferbaum et al. (2015) offer five domains which they call (1) connection and caring, (2) resources, (3) transformational potential, (4) disaster management, and (5) information and communication. Both of these works take advantage of one of the more recently developed tools for assessing resiliency. It is the Communities Advancing Resilience Toolkit (CART), which provides a set of measures and processes for assessing community resilience. The toolkit developed by Pfefferbaum et al. (2011, 2013) is available for download from the University of Oklahoma.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>For an extended discussion of Resilience, please see Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1–2), 127–150.

<sup>3</sup>Pfefferbaum R. L., Pfefferbaum B., and Van Horn R. L. (2011, 2013, May [revised]). Communities Advancing Resilience Toolkit (CART): The CART integrated system©. Oklahoma City, OK: University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, Terrorism and Disaster Center. Retrieved from [http://www.oumedicine.com/docs/ad-psy-chiatry-workfiles/cart\\_online-final\\_042012.pdf?sfvrsn=2](http://www.oumedicine.com/docs/ad-psy-chiatry-workfiles/cart_online-final_042012.pdf?sfvrsn=2)

Building upon Norris et al. (2008), who bounded resilience within the context of community, we use a slightly modified definition of resilience to frame our brief examination of the construct and measurement issues. They defined resilience as “a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance.” (p. 30). We suggest the definition shared by Norris et al. (2008) is offered within the framework of disaster response. They borrow from McFarlane and Norris (2006), providing parameters for the given event that disrupts the equilibrium of the community in its previous state. Their definition of “disaster” is “a potentially traumatic event that is collectively experienced, has an acute onset, and is time delineated: disasters may be attributed to natural, technological, or human causes” (p. 4). Comparatively, we depart somewhat from the Norris et al. (2008) framing and the use of a single defined disaster of McFarlane and Norris (2006) to a broader interpretation of equilibrium and stasis as being able to clearly delineate the temporal parameters and a discrete event to which the community responds. Given the multi-faceted nature of flourishing, we felt it was important to capture the broad influences of a variety of elements within the community’s local, regional, and extended system in which it exists. In other words, we sought to offer a more systemic conceptualization that recognizes that slow decay or slow rise of community flourishing may be driven by a complex interaction of various natural, technological, or human causes over broad periods of time that may even occur in non-sequential and seemingly disconnected manners. That is, Community Resilience is an adaptive process driven by the possession of, or access to, resources that allow a timely restoration of its

capacities to contribute positively to a sustainable and desirable state of flourishing.

In the previous pages we have worked to provide justification for treating Community Flourishing as a construct that evolves and shifts over time. What we have argued is that communities exist on a continuum that ranges from Distressed to Flourishing. This is a continuum upon which the community is subject to a variety of both internal and external forces/events that define its movements toward the desired Flourishing position or its retreat on the continuum toward the undesirable Distressed position. We have also noted that the stability and sustainability of a community’s place on the continuum, and the speed at which it moves in both positive and negative directions is driven by a set of community characteristics related to vulnerability and resilience. We share a Continuum of Community Flourishing in Fig. 21.1.

The Flourishing Continuum provides us with an initial temporal framework in which to move forward, toward a theoretically sound set of directed indicators that are based around the concept of human development; it is developed below in a Systemic Framework to Facilitate QOL in Distressed and Flourishing Communities.

### A Systemic Framework for Community Indicators

Building on the preceding text – much of which explicitly or implicitly draws our attention to many factors that are predictors for flourishing communities – in Fig. 21.2 we expand a model posited by Shultz et al. (2012), to move toward the development of a set of indicators that can address antecedents or “inputs” that are linked to outcomes.

### The Framework Explained

Some articulation of the framework’s components and the rationale for their inclusion follows. Examples from the authors’ field work are used to make key points. Regarding that fieldwork, readers may be interested to know that the authors collectively have over 75 years of experience administering multi-method field research designed to understand and to facilitate QOL in numerous communities, on six continents. These communities are broadly represented on the “distressed-to-flourishing” continuum, from fractured or obliterated communities in Bosnia

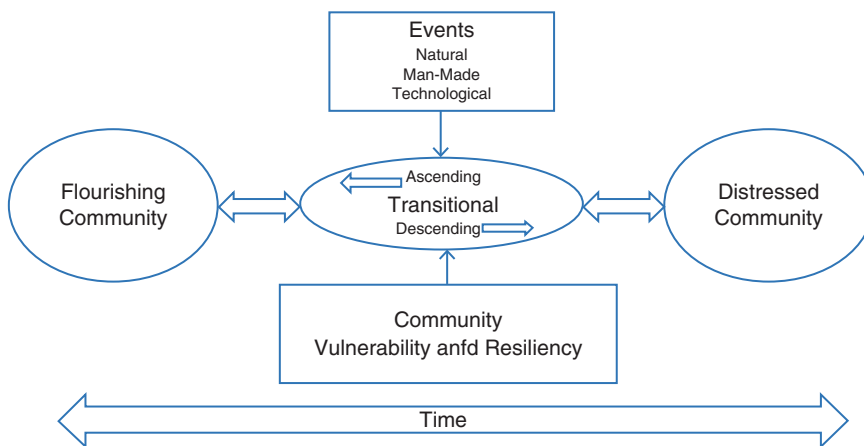
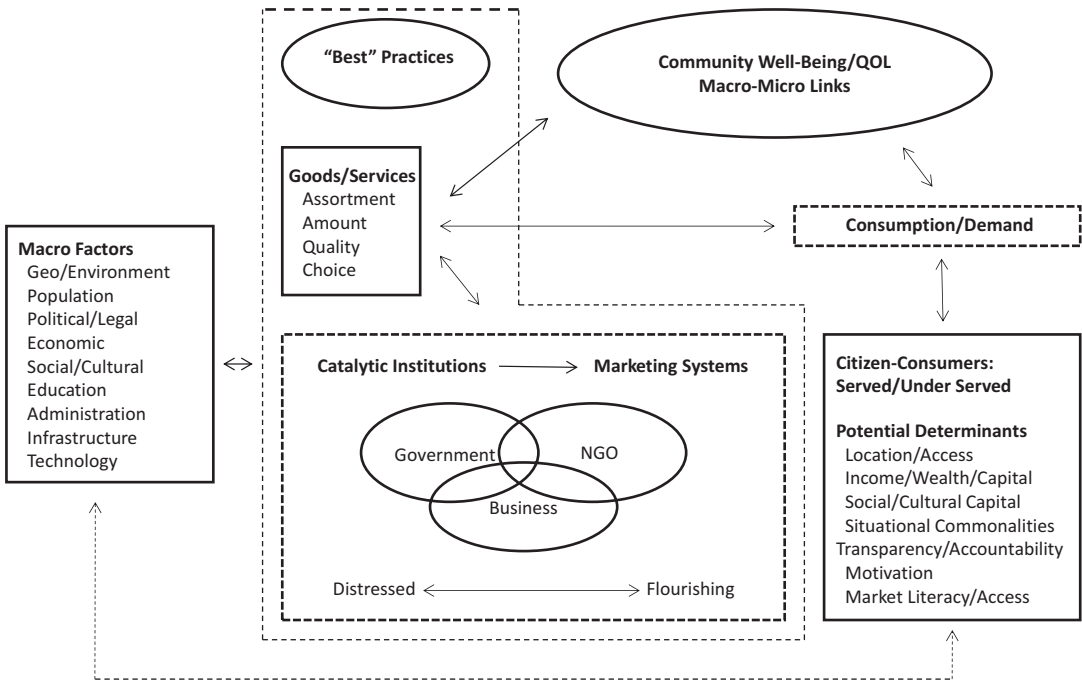


Fig. 21.1 Community flourishing continuum



(see also Shultz & Pecotich, 1997; Shultz, 2007; Shultz et al., 2012; Sirgy et al. 2012)

**Fig. 21.2** Toward a systemic framework to facilitate QOL in distressed and flourishing communities

and Cambodia to well-administered communities flourishing in suburban America and urban Germany. They reveal ubiquities, commonalities, complexities, necessities and practicalities, which must be considered and often must be managed/coordinated – often among bitterly adversarial groups – if communities are to flourish.

We firstly draw readers’ attention to the targeted goal: “Community Well-Being/QOL”, located inside a sphere, which is up and to the right of the model. While the goal is obvious, the journey to achieve it may not be; actualizing the goal requires several “Macro-Micro Links” that must be recognized, understood, valued, and deftly managed in the form of “Best Practices”. Particularly salient “Macro Factors” are addressed briefly. We begin with geographical or environmental forces. They tend to be most constant; they often are the very reason some communities are found in some places and not in others. Predictable and temperate climates, and abundance of water, food, building materials and

other resources often are predictors for flourishing communities. These physical assets literally make a place inviting and habitable, offer the foundation (again, literally) for a community and can sustain a population; indeed, they are requisite for it to flourish. From this foundation arises behavioral patterns, traditions, society and culture; as well as political, economic, educational and administrative models to manage resources and to enable a community to thrive. The absence, degradation, dysfunction or mismanagement of any of these factors, can greatly distress any given community. Alternatively, explicit changes in policy and practice can repair or bolster all of them, which in turn abets the community. What has become increasingly obvious to us is the game-changing effect of globalization and the accordant effects of infrastructure and technology; again, when they are managed well.

Good management requires cooperation among community stakeholders, and leadership from governments, NGOs and businesses. With

the global shift toward market-oriented economies, most governments are encouraging business and entrepreneurship as drivers for national and community prosperity, with commensurate improvements to QOL indicators. Business is increasingly a catalyst to development and community QOL and arguably could play a larger role (Kim 2015). Still, business and the private sector more broadly remain either underappreciated, sub-optimally managed, or perhaps even nefariously engaged in many communities, hence the representation of the three interdependent “catalytic institutions” which must cooperate if communities are to flourish. These institutions often are the lynchpin of Macro-Micro link and thus truly are “catalytic”; they enable communities to create marketing systems capable of delivering a wide assortment of quality goods and services in amounts that give community-members (Citizen-Consumers, i.e., community residents) almost countless choices, from building supplies and healthcare products to education and entertainment to political choices (see also Layton 2009; Shultz and Pecotich 1997; Shultz and Rahtz 2006).

“Citizen-Consumers” usually are the ultimate arbiters of the effectiveness of the catalytic institutions. Distressed communities tend to have large numbers of underserved citizen-consumers; indeed, residents often are disenfranchised and are not, or may not feel as if they are, citizens of any community. Several factors potentially determine whether consumers are under-served or well-served and, equally importantly, what variables might be addressed by catalytic institutions to ensure that all citizens can be served, so that the community may flourish. Among them are Location and Access, Income/Wealth/Capital, Social/Cultural Capital, Situational Commonalities.

Note the dotted line that connects Consumer-Citizens to Macro Factors, creating a cradle of sorts on which the Catalytic Institutions rest. This arrangement reminds us again that Macro factors are linked to micro factors and forces, via catalytic institutions and the marketing system that emerges from those institutions. Furthermore, some of these forces can affect subjective inter-

pretations of “distressed,” “flourishing” and/or “well-being”. On the one hand, situational commonalities might indicate a product is “good” and will enhance well-being in most if not all communities. Consider bottled water in Croatia or Vietnam, for example. On the other hand, a marketing system that produces and distributes an abundance of some goods and services might be interpreted as enhancing life quality in some communities, but degrading it in others. Readily available, high quality, inexpensive pork, professional women and schnapps would be welcome in most of Rotterdam, and likely interpreted as enhancing individual and community well-being; their presence and availability in Riyadh presumably would be interpreted as an egregious degradation of community. In such situations, the three catalysts, the marketing system and the consumers in that system determine what will be the demand, assortment, amount, quality and choices of goods and services to enhance the QOL in a community.

“Best Practices” throughout the system, from production to consumption, furthermore would be a relative term, greatly influenced by culture and its artifacts. It would stand to reason that “appropriate” measures for QOL and “good” or “high” scores on them also might be relative. Flourishing communities tend to have marketing systems that deliver goods and services valued by citizen-consumers of those communities. Perceptions/measures of life-quality accordingly tend to indicate high levels of health, happiness and satisfaction.

Some marketing systems, particularly *laissez faire* or unregulated marketing systems, also can be social traps, whereby some practices yield short-term benefits and happiness for citizen-consumers and entire communities, but at long-term costs and suffering. Cheap and high-quality gasoline, tobacco products, water, and sugar-laden foods, for example, all may be readily available, demanded and enjoyed, and therefore are sources of short-run happiness. However, in the long run, their (over)consumption will adversely affect the QOL of citizen-consumers and distress the community (see also Dawes and Messick 2000; Shultz 2015).

Matters of transparency, purchasing power and market literacy also are important; they also may be unappreciated. Flourishing communities have well-functioning marketing systems that have legal and accounting transparencies, with traceable behaviors; thus reducing citizen-consumer risk for predation, poisoning and other problematic occurrences. Such systems also have – and continually strive to improve – citizen-consumers who are market literate, which in turn renders consumers more motivated to participate in and be engaged with responsible marketing activities and stakeholders throughout the system. Through their choices and behaviors and their political activism, consumer-citizens can spur catalytic institutions, and ultimately best practices and community well-being.

Viewed in its entirety we see citizen-consumers of any community aspire to a QOL as measured potentially by a litany of indices; these people require various goods and services to actualize it. A number of endogenous or idiosyncratic factors (various forms of capital, motivation, literacy, and so forth) macro factors (e.g., physical, political, economic, social, technological) and catalytic institutions interact to determine whether an appropriate marketing system will emerge that can yield best practices to deliver those goods and services in ways that enable a community to recover from distresses that it may be enduring, and to flourish in ways commensurate with the shared values of said community, as well as generally recognized indices that capture health and well-being. We turn to further discussion of those measures, below. In the paragraphs that follow we will focus on providing sets of indicators that focus on the broad indicator types that are introduced above, particularly in tables and our normative model.

### **Indicators of Flourishing Versus Distressed Deduced from the Framework**

Pursuant to the preceding text, particularly Fig. 21.2 and the Shultz et al. model, we explore and discuss some example-determinants of flourish-

ing versus distressed communities. Indicators are shared in context of conceptual entries entered in the model.

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## **Macro Factors**

These factors are fundamental underpinnings of any community. Their condition or management by catalytic institutions and marketing systems are predictors for existence, assortment and quality of goods and services available in any community, the extent to which citizen-consumers' demands are met and thus community members are well served or underserved, and ultimately whether well-being results and communities flourish.

**Geography/Environment** physical assets/liabilities of one's community / ecosystem; size, condition, topography (e.g., mountainous vs. flat; inland vs. coastal); weather (e.g., temperatures, precipitation; weather patterns and cycles); seismic activity (earthquakes, tsunamis); land, soil and water capacity; food-production capacity and type; potable/industrial water; materials for technological application and development; degradation, pollution and sustainability; and opportunities and threats to the community's environment (US Geological Survey 2015).

**Population** number, growth rate, density, location, and demography.

**Political/Legal** a political apparatus to govern; authoritarian vs. democratic; political parties; rule of law and civil procedures; independent judiciary; free and fair elections; violence, war, social unrest, unexploded ordnance; militias, military expenditures and expenditures per capita; corruption; trade unions; right to assembly; and civil and human rights more broadly.

**Economic** hunter-gatherer, agrarian, feudal, command, market, or hybrid economy; developed or developing; sectors (e.g., agricultural, industrial, service); private sector (e.g., entrepreneurship, SMEs); economic growth; debt load;

trade; per capita income; income growth, purchasing power; income inequality; and jobs and employment.

**Social/Cultural** shared values regarding the members, boundaries, organization, purposes and services of the community; expenditures and artifacts related thereto (e.g., parks, theatres, museums, musical institutions, sports and social clubs, religious and other social institutions, demography, and tolerance/xenophobia).

**Education** a literate and learned community; materials, curricula, schools, from kindergarten to tertiary education (number, per capita, ranking, accreditation); inclusion, subject-mastery, and graduation rates; teacher-student ratios; teacher/faculty training, salaries and teaching loads; and academic freedom.

**Administration** a recognizable, credible administrative apparatus to enable and to manage civil society to affect community wellness.

**Infrastructure** buildings, roads, rails, sea and airports, water purification systems, and energy supply (number, type, quality, and reliability).

**Technology** tangible human inventions to develop resources – including human resources, and goods and services – and to affect positively aspects of other elements found in the model; and sustainable technologies are increasingly valued and valuable.

Readers will see that some boundaries within the model blur. For example, are schools, buildings, parks and pdf books macro factors (vis-à-vis education, infrastructure, and social/cultural, technology, respectively) or goods and services resulting from catalytic institutions and marketing systems in response to citizen-consumer demand? In our view, the extent to which Macro Factors are appropriately developed to enhance citizen-consumer and community well-being is a function of catalytic institutions and marketing systems delivering (governments, NGOs and businesses) and the goods and services they provide. When those goods and services can be

clearly identified and quantified by category – and by brand – and their availability, assortment, consumption, use, efficacy and citizen-consumer satisfaction can be measured over time, they become indicators for goods/services, and possibly predictors for whether a community is distressed or flourishing.

Consider, for example, a community well known by the authors, Virginia Tech: an educational institution with buildings and leading technology, in a physical place (with assets and liabilities), serving a population, thanks to social/cultural forces, political decisions, infrastructure and again technology (Virginia *Tech*), in response to citizen-consumer demand; provided those same citizen-consumers can gain access to Virginia Tech,<sup>4</sup> have the financial resources to do so, are learned enough, savvy enough (social/cultural capital), are sufficiently motivated and familiar enough with Virginia Tech (evincing purchasing power, intellectual aptitude, situational commonalities and market literacy) to access and to flourish in Blacksburg and the more circumscribed university community.

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## Catalytic Institutions

Catalytic institutions manifest in three forms.

**Government** representative; physical, legal, symbolic and human presence; recognized authority; agencies and employees engaged in communities to affect pro-prosocial citizen-consumer outcomes. Transparent and accountable to citizen-stakeholders they represent (see Transparency International 2015).

**Business** private enterprises of various size and scope, creating and delivering legal goods and services to the community, generating wealth and largesse, creating jobs, providing tax revenue, infrastructure and other benefits, e.g., community

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<sup>4</sup>Interestingly, Technology, Education and Access, are increasingly intertwined, complementary and are affecting other factors, including community well-being.

engagement, social services, environmental enhancement/repairs, etc.

**NGO(Non-GovernmentalOrganizations)** religious institutions, aid groups, community groups, social-service providers, which largely make contributions to communities where governments or businesses cannot or will not.

The coordination of these entities is vital to the creation and maintenance of a Marketing System, an idea to which we turn, below.

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## Marketing Systems

Marketing Systems are essentially an adaptive network(s) or a matrix of individuals, groups or entities; among them are governments, businesses, NGOs and citizen-stakeholders, linked through policies, participation and engagement in economic and social exchanges. These interactions jointly add economic value and personal/social wellness to individuals and institutions through the production, promotion, distribution, sale/purchase, consumption and disposition of goods, services – even experiences and ideas – that emerge in response to or in anticipation of demands by citizen-stakeholders (cf. Layton 2007, p. 230). Marketing systems more generally function best when viewed as prosocial and holistic assemblies or societal endeavors, coordinating and integrating the aforementioned factors, forces and even other systems, with a larger purpose: flourishing communities.

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## Goods and Services

The breadth, quality, efficacy/utility, safety, need-fulfillment, consumer-stakeholder satisfaction and sustainability of goods and services provided by Catalytic Institutions and the Marketing System ultimately determine whether a community will flourish. Quite literally, everything purchased or consumed by an organization or individual in a marketing system could be considered an indicator. From cars to condoms, horses to heroin, and printing services to prostitu-

tion, *everything* sold, bought (perhaps stolen) and consumed potentially can be counted and assessed for impact on community. Clearly, some goods and services are more positive or nefarious than are others; some legal and well-intended services and goods (counselors, medicines, firearms, etc.) can be abused and in turn can very quickly render a flourishing community a distressed one. Virginia Tech again provides an example, as one deranged community-member embarked upon a killing spree, leaving more than 30 people dead and an entire community deeply traumatized (Hauser and O'Connor 2007).

As previously suggested, the social, cultural and political structure of a community greatly determines whether any good or service – and the many socioeconomic activities that culminate in the purchase and consumption of them – will distress a community or help it to flourish. In the case of Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, and the greater USA, a debate continues among consumers, gun-owners, gun-manufacturers, retailers, lobbyists, legislators, students and scholars as to whether guns – their existence, type, licensing, sale, availability, ownership, storage, use (each a potential indicator for several constructs, incidentally) – distress a community or enable it to flourish. More generally, resource allocations, purchases and expenditures for goods and services, and use of those goods and services, are indicators of community values and whether it is distressed or flourishing.

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## Citizen-Consumers

The members and stakeholders – citizen-consumers – collectively form a community and broader communities that affect it. Their behaviors (purchases and consumption of goods and services), outcomes from those behaviors, attitudes toward those outcomes, and subsequent behaviors serve as indicators. Again, the Consortium of Community Indicators (2012), World Bank (2014), and UNDP (2014) all have composites of indicators and predictors to measure well-being. We will not belabor them, here. We however will share some determinants

regarding whether a community or subsets of a community are served or under-served, and thus whether a community is likely to flourish.

**Location/Access** Fundamentally, citizen-consumers must be engaged in – must have access to – that which the marketing system provides or could provide. This can occur in physical space (e.g., the purchase and consumption of food, shelter, healthcare) or, increasingly, in cyber space (e.g., the process of education/\_learning, shopping, recreation, and services rendered).

**Income/Wealth/Capital** Significant determinants of access are income, wealth, and/or capital. That is, purchasing power to gain access, or to purchase in, consume in or experience the marketing system, is paramount, through one's own resources, family resources or resources provided by one of the catalytic institutions. In distressed, dysfunctional, dystopic or even devastated communities, opportunistic or criminal activity and resources may facilitate access.

**Social/Cultural Capital** Social and cultural forces affect access to and success in the marketing system. One's ethnicity or social class may be predominant determinants in some flourishing communities; when they are the primary determinants we might be inclined to conclude that exclusion, ethnocentrism, xenophobia and even racism also exist, which surely would and does distress some if not all community-members. Even in more democratic or egalitarian and inclusive communities, belonging to the dominant ethnic group or political party, attending the "right" church, graduating from a prestigious university and/or having membership in the most fashionable social club, to name a few examples, also may afford access, privileges and desirable outcomes beyond the grasp of those without such capital. We would suggest that communities tend to flourish when institutions of the marketing system are accessible – particularly housing, healthcare, education, jobs, and markets – and rewards and benefits of the community and its marketing system are then earned.

**Transparency/Accountability** As previously suggested, inclusive, representative, transparent, and accountable governance and management are requisite to flourishing communities. Indicators include rosters, elections, open bids, full disclosures, quarterly and annual reports, media access, competition, regulatory agencies, independent watch groups, and independent media.

**Motivation** Flourishing communities have engaged citizen-stakeholders, empowered and *motivated* to affect change. Lack of access, low purchasing power, the "wrong" social capital, opaque and unaccountable governance and management all alienate citizen-stakeholders, who in turn are less motivated to engage, thus ossifying the marketing system, and limiting its ability to provide and the community to flourish. Elections, election turn-outs, consumer advocacy and other forms of community participation, polls and attitude measures re services provided by the Marketing System, as well as citizen-consumer social psychological dispositions, such as locus of control (Lefcourt 1976), and helplessness/optimism (Abramson et al. 1978; Seligman 2006) are appropriate indicators.

**Market Literacy** The last four decades have seen a global transition to the market, as command economies have collapsed or have instituted radical or gradual market-oriented reforms. It is now easier to list the one country that still greatly resists this trend – North Korea – than to list all the other countries that either fully embrace market economies or accept and have instituted practical market-oriented policies that have pulled hundreds of millions of people from poverty. This market(ing) dominant paradigm is omnipresent in physical, cyber and global space, which means transactions are continuously occurring the world over. Yet, while poverty-reduction has been tangible (World Bank 2014), more than a billion citizen-consumer stakeholders still are unequipped or poorly equipped to thrive in this space because they lack market literacy and savvy. Such market illiteracy can result in disenfranchisement and exclusion, which also creates distress for people and communities.



Market literacy – rudimentary understanding of the marketing system and the ways to thrive in it – is vital. Fluency in currencies, banking and finance, retailing and other aspects of distribution, consumer rights, commercial/market exchanges and flows, digital and Internet proficiency are requisite. Smart phones, Internet access, bank accounts, lines of credit, one’s standard package (Keyfitz 1982) of goods and services, are all indicators of connection to local markets and a global marketing system, even when possessed communally, if not individually.

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## Conclusion

Readers will recall that the goal of this chapter is to expand the conceptualization of community well-being, some indicators used to measure it, and to suggest fresh and more systemically comprehensive considerations for research and practice in distressed and flourishing communities. If communities are to flourish, they must be studied systemically and systematically, using multiple methods and measures championed throughout the social and physical sciences, over time. In the preceding pages we distinguished between distressed and flourishing communities, while noting that the distinction is not necessarily categorical and can be subjective. We did so by identifying some QOL indicators that are used by community planners, community-indicators researchers, development groups and multilateral agencies to assess and monitor the QOL of communities and their residents. We revisited and integrated salient ideas found in various disciplines, from psychology to physics and from the academy to the World Bank; we also shared conceptual models and a framework illustrating key variables for assessment and actualization, some of which can be catalysts to move distressed communities to flourishing communities, and to keep flourishing communities, resilient, adaptive, robust and healthy.

QOL indicators for distressed communities focus on the alleviation of ill-being among their residents. In contrast, indicators for flourishing communities focus more on well-being than ill-

being. Much of the research related to positive psychology has examined and measured concepts of well-being. Examples include human flourishing, variances in needs, self-determination, psychological well-being, flow and engagement, and purpose and meaning in life. These concepts reflect what Abraham Maslow identified as “higher-order needs” or growth needs. Maslow contrasted higher-order needs from lower-order needs or basic/survival needs. Such a distinction helps us better understand community development. In distressed communities a majority of residents tend to be pre-occupied with meeting basic or survival needs. As such, community planners in distressed communities should have a comprehensive set of indicators that capture the ill-being. Doing so helps them develop policies and programs to meet the basic and survival needs of the majority of residents in those distressed communities.

Flourishing communities are different from distressed communities, as indicated in earlier text, these differences can be nuanced, relative and found disproportionately represented or experienced throughout both types of communities. Most residents of flourishing communities have quality services and amenities meeting their basic and survival needs. These are ensured by the coordinated and cooperative efforts of many stakeholders of that community – citizens, consumers, government, NGO, and businesses – to create a marketing system that delivers appropriate goods and services valued and demanded by the community. Because their basic and survival needs are met, residents of flourishing communities focus on satisfying a different set of needs, namely growth or actualization of some pre-determined ideal condition or goal(s). As such, community planners, investors and other citizen-stakeholders should monitor community well-being using a set of QOL indicators that capture a broader spectrum of human developmental needs – both lower-order and higher-order needs.

The text, tables, figures and framework shared here ultimately are intended to synthesize and to elucidate, but also to be normative. We therefore should like to close with a call for action. It is

imperative that QOL researchers invest more time and effort to distinguish further among well-being and ill-being indicators, and the dynamic system(s), factors, processes, players and interactions that predict community well-being. The “Systemic Framework to Facilitate QOL in Distressed and Flourishing Communities” is a very useful tool toward that goal. Indicators projects – and the multiple perspectives, methods and measures used for them – organized toward and attending to the variables in this model will further develop QOL theory. Progressive projects will help to generate new measures and more comprehensive initiatives, which in turn will assist community planners and leaders to develop policies and programs that meet both lower-order and higher-order needs, and ultimately enhance the systemic well-being of all communities, whether distressed or flourishing.

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# Measuring Community Well-Being and Individual Well-Being for Public Policy: The Case of the Community Well-Being Atlas

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Yunji Kim and Kai Ludwigs

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## Measuring Social Progress: Why Focus on Community Well-Being?

Public goals are powerful because they dictate where public resources should go. In comparison, indicators have a more subtle power that dictates what is being measured and how. For years, growth has been the major public goal of many nations as measured by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, the GDP was never supposed to be a measure of national progress; Simon Kuznets developed it in 1934 to measure national income or productivity so that policy-makers could assess the severity of the Great Depression. Kuznets was acutely aware of what the GDP does and does not measure. In his report to the US Senate (1934), he states, “The welfare of a nation can, therefore, scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income as defined above” (p. 7).

Regardless of the creator’s intentions, the GDP spread as a measure of growth, success, and even a source of power. Philipsen (2015), an economic historian, traces the rise of GDP and notes

that by the early 1950s any country that wished to trade with other countries had to use the GDP accounting system. Scholars have noted the technical limitations of GDP, such as adjusting for inflation of market prices and measuring services that do not have explicit market price, such as housework (see Stiglitz et al. 2010). This spurred efforts to develop revised GDP measures, such as the Genuine Progress Indicator, Genuine Savings Accounting, and Green GDP.

Meanwhile, others are more critical of the fundamental limitations of measuring progress with GDP. These scholars point to the logic of GDP that values consumption and production over any other activities and the focus on growth, narrowly defined as increases in quantity. Cobb et al. (1995) describe the perverse conclusions of this logic:

By the curious standard of the GDP, the nation’s economic hero is a terminal cancer patient who is going through a costly divorce. The happiest event is an earthquake or a hurricane. The most desirable habitat is a multibillion-dollar Superfund site. All these add to the GDP, because they cause money to change hands. It is as if a business kept a balance sheet by merely adding up all “transactions,” without distinguishing between income and expenses, or between assets and liabilities. (The GDP Today: How Down Becomes Up section, para. 4)

South Korea (hereafter referred to as “Korea”) is a good example to illustrate the limitations of GDP as a measure of social progress. Roughly a quarter of Japan in area (100,209 km<sup>2</sup>), the small

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country grew rapidly after The Korean War ended in 1953. In the 1960s, Korea's GDP was lower than that of Congo or Ghana. By the 1970s, Korea's GDP exceeded both of these countries, and in the 1990s, Korea transitioned from a recipient country of official development assistance to a donor. In 2010, Korea hosted the G20 Summit, making it the first Asian country to do so. Scholars and political leaders have called Korea's economic success a miracle, and many look to Korea as a model for developing countries. However, the country's economic growth has correlated with the growth of social problems. As one example, the country's suicide rates have increased rapidly and Korea has had the highest suicide rate<sup>1</sup> among all Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries since 2002 (OECD 2013a). Recognizing the need for a new vision of social progress, the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF) launched the Social Science Korea project in 2010. The project called for scientists to present a national agenda for the next decade and the NRF has been funding the community well-being project since then.

The search for alternative measures of progress have a long history in the international arena and in western countries, such as Australia, Canada, and the USA. In fact, the calls to measure more than just GDP were popular in the 1960s during the social indicators movement that began in the USA. The movement produced a variety of indicators measuring quality of life, happiness, well-being, and health. However, these new approaches still fall short of providing a vision for a collective goal that we can use for public policymaking. We have argued that community well-being (CWB) is an appropriate public goal in Kim and Lee (2014), and provide a brief summary below.

First, CWB is a more comprehensive goal than happiness, life satisfaction, or sustainability. One of the main criticisms of GDP is its narrow focus on economic growth, but this can also

apply to social indicators. For example, some indicator systems have a narrow focus on environmental sustainability, built-environment, emotional health, or physical health. Depending on the purpose and users of the indicator systems, a narrow focus can be appropriate. For example, the ministry of health may want to focus on health measures exclusively. However, if the purpose is to measure social progress in order to plan for a city or nation, then a more comprehensive measure, such as CWB, is necessary.

Second, CWB has a unit of analysis that is more appropriate for public goals. That is, the concept focuses on the collective needs and desires, rather than that of individuals. Sometimes individual goals align with collective goals, but this is not always the case. If all individuals try to advance their own goals, then the collective would soon fall apart with conflicting goals within the group. Democratic theories have pointed out the dangers of individualism long ago (e.g. Dewey 1954; Tocqueville et al. 2003), and these warnings are still timely (see Bozeman 2007; Wolin 2010). Since our goal is to measure social progress to guide the use of public resources, we focus on the collective. This does not mean we are dismissing the importance of individual needs and desires. On the contrary, we argue it is important to understand the relationship between CWB and individual well-being (IWB)<sup>2</sup>. A lot of research on CWB and IWB exists, but the relationship between the two are still unclear. Some treat the former as an aggregate of the latter, while others simply ignore the differences. Even after clarifying the theoretical relationship between the two concepts, methodological challenges for measuring the two remain. In this chapter, we outline the limits of existing measures of well-being and introduce the CWB Atlas project as one way to address these limits. We conclude with a discussion of the future direction of CWB measures.

<sup>1</sup>According to the "OECD Factbook 2013," Korea had 33.5 suicides per 100,000 persons in 2010, compared to the OECD average of 13.3.

<sup>2</sup>We use the term subjective well-being and happiness interchangeably in this chapter.

## Limits of Existing Community Well-Being Measures

We conducted a literature review of existing CWB measures, including international, national, and local projects. We highlight three limitations of existing CWB measures, and argue that these act as barriers to connecting the CWB framework to public policymaking.

First, we found few surveys that focus on CWB exclusively. This is not surprising given that CWB has been used interchangeably with quality of life, happiness, and life satisfaction in the literature. Without a clear definition and understanding of CWB, it is difficult to differentiate it from other similar concepts. In fact, efforts to collect CWB data may seem redundant (more on this in next paragraph). Without a clear understanding of CWB, current data at the local level offer partial information about CWB. In detail, some surveys use a single item that asks about overall life satisfaction or overall happiness to measure CWB. This partial measurement of CWB is not very useful for policymakers because a community's overall life satisfaction or happiness can be influenced by several factors (e.g. cost of living, green space, etc.). Without detailed information on the different aspects of the community, the single measure tells us little about what needs to be improved. Another way existing data offers partial information on CWB is by limiting the focus to subjective aspects of CWB. Equating CWB with a narrow definition of emotions leads to the conclusion that governments should not and cannot affect CWB. In Korea, detailed objective data on local resources, such as number of culture and arts centers, number of teachers per student, number of medical centers per resident, were easily accessible. Such detailed information can lead to clearer policy implications, but we were unable to find corresponding data on the various subjective aspects of CWB.

Second, the measurement of CWB and IWB are confused. We observed many studies aggregating answers to questions about individual happiness to operationalize CWB. This follows an understanding based on economic individualism

that simply treats the sum of individuals as the collective. However, CWB differs from happiness as a theoretical concept as it begins, not from an individual perspective, but a community and collective perspective. The concept already assumes that our well-being levels are deeply intertwined with the social space as well as physical space. Theoretically, the questions of what is CWB and how it is related to individual happiness and life satisfaction remain. Empirical studies can help answer these questions, but this is difficult without data that distinguishes CWB and IWB.

Third, we were unable to find comprehensive CWB data at the local government level. The lack of local level data not only limits research, but also policymaking. Hillier and Culhane (2005) emphasize the need for small-area data because localities are better connected to efforts to improve communities. They argue that small-area data can help with needs assessment, program planning, site selection, resource allocation, and long term planning by measuring program impacts, and forecasting demographic and housing change.

Since national governments were the main leaders of the social indicators movement, it is not surprising to see that these measurement efforts tend to focus on the nation as its unit of analysis. The sustainability indicators movement, which was spearheaded by the Brundtland Commission on an international scale, also led to many international organizations leading the measurement efforts. Some examples are UN's Indicators of Sustainable Development, UN's Human Development Index, The World Bank's World Development Indicators, and the World Health Organization's Quality of Life (WHOQOL) measures.

In some countries, there have also been active grassroots efforts to measure happiness, quality of life, and sustainability in a smaller area. These efforts have been especially concentrated in Australia, Canada, and the US. Examples include the Jacksonville Community Council Inc.'s Quality of Life Index (USA), The Canadian Index of Well-being (Canada), Community Indicators Victoria (Australia), and The Local

Well-being Project (UK). However, because these are locally driven initiatives, there is little consistency in the indicators, limiting the possibility of comparative studies.

We also found similar issues in Korea. While the use of surveys to ask about life satisfaction or happiness levels by local governments have become more popular, these efforts were sparse and only found in localities that have the capacity to administer these surveys. For example, Seocho gu or Gangnam gu, relatively affluent districts in Seoul, collect data related to life satisfaction or happiness.

In sum, existing measures of CWB lack a holistic measure of CWB, fail to illuminate the relationship between CWB and IWB, and have limited local-level data. These limitations act as barriers for translating the CWB framework into policymaking. In the next section, we discuss the CWB Atlas project that has the potential to bridge these gaps.

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## **A Holistic Measure of Community Well-Being: The Community Well-Being Atlas Project**

The CWB Atlas is a joint project by two research organizations: the Community Wellbeing Institute in Korea and the Happiness Research Organisation in Germany. The purpose of this project is to create a comprehensive dataset of CWB and IWB for cities around the world. The Atlas is a combination of quantitative, qualitative, and geographic data. The use of both quantitative and qualitative data provides a richer picture of CWB levels in communities. Moreover, the use of geographic data that links the quantitative and qualitative data to a specific space in the community will help to identify the location where public intervention is necessary. Currently, pilot projects in Frankfurt and Wuppertal, Germany and Seoul, Korea are in progress, and we have future plans to expand to other cities around the world.

The CWB Atlas has two parts: one that focuses on the community and the other that focuses on the individual (see Fig. 22.1). The CWB part is

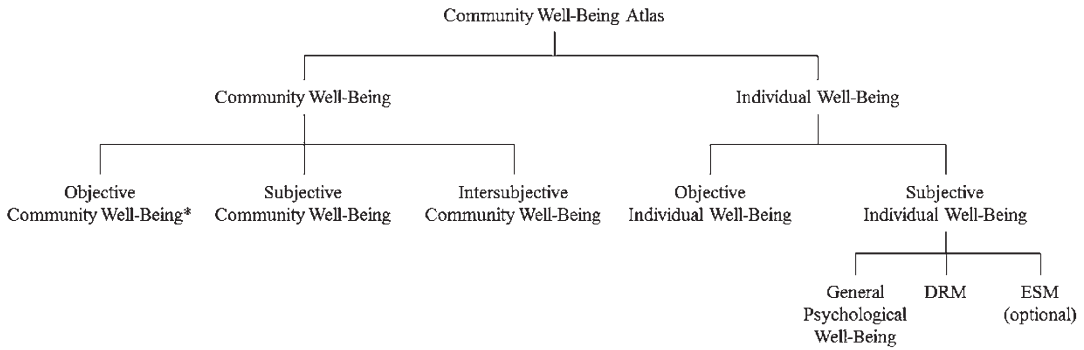
further divided into three parts that measure the three types of CWB: objective, intersubjective, and subjective. We rely on existing data for objective CWB. Due to limitations of existing data for intersubjective and subjective CWB data, we use a survey to collect these. Even though the project is called “CWB Atlas”, we include IWB data as well. This is to ensure that the project provides a more comprehensive picture of a community. We already emphasized that IWB needs to be conceptually differentiated from CWB in section “**Limits of existing community well-being measures**”. However, this does not mean that we ignore the connections between the two. As discussed in the previous section, limited studies have looked at the relationship between IWB and CWB using the same dataset. The question of whether and how CWB is related to IWB is an empirical one that needs to be tested. Our project will make this possible. In the remainder of this section, we discuss the theories and questionnaire design for the two parts of the project: CWB and IWB.

## **Community Well-Being**

The Community Wellbeing Institute initially drafted the CWB portion of the survey. We conducted a literature review of CWB theories to define CWB, particularly as a distinct concept from IWB. We defined CWB as “that state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled” (Lee et al. 2015, p. 2). Our model of CWB is an asset-based approach. We identified six capitals that constitute CWB: cultural, social, human, political, economic, physical. This CWB model is a modified version of our model in Kee et al. (2015). Cultural capital refers to leisure, art, heritage, ethnicity, and shared knowledge. Social capital refers to trust, commitment, community bonding, and mutual help. Human capital refers to labor, education, and health. Political capital refers to equity, representation, access, and political participation. Economic capital refers to financial assets, and physical capital refers to both natural and built environment.

As we discussed the aspects of CWB in detail in Lee and Kim (2016), we provide a brief sum-





**Fig. 22.1** Structure of community well-being Atlas

mary below. We specify the aspects of CWB along an objective-subjective spectrum, similar to measures of subjective and objective IWB. However, with measures of CWB, we add a third aspect called inter-subjectivity because of the collective nature of CWB. Intersubjectivity is a philosophical term that was first used by Edmund Husserl in the beginning of the twentieth century, and is often understood as shared knowledge or shared understanding. On our spectrum, the intersubjective aspect is located between the objective and subjective extreme. The subjective nature comes from the fact that the measures rely on individuals' subjective evaluations. At the same time, it has an objective nature because individuals attempt to make objective evaluations that other people agree with. The purpose of the CWB Atlas was to collect data on all aspects of CWB: objective, subjective, and intersubjective.

### Objective CWB Measures

The first step of the CWB portion was a review of existing CWB indicators. During this process, we realized that there were few measurement systems that specifically used the word "community well-being" so we also examined some of the larger and well-known datasets on quality of life, sustainability, livability that could potentially be used as a proxy for CWB. We examined both measurements developed by international organizations that are applied to national levels as well as those developed by national governments that are applied to either the national or local levels.

Examples by international or non-governmental organizations include: OECD's Better Life Index, UN's Indicators of Sustainable Development, UN's Human Development Index, The Economist Intelligence Unit's Quality of Life Index, The World Bank's World Development Indicators, World Health Organization's Quality of Life (WHOQOL). Examples by national or local governments include: Jacksonville Community Council Inc.'s Quality of Life Index (USA), The Canadian Index of Well-being (Canada), Community Indicators Victoria (Australia), The Local Well-being Project (UK), Statistics Netherlands' Sustainable Development Indicators (Netherlands), and People's Life Indicators (Japan).

After gathering a list of previous CWB indicators, we examined what data are available at the local level in Korea. In detail, Korea has a two-tier local government system: metropolitan level (tier 1) and local level (tier 2). As of 2013, Korea had 17 metropolitan governments, which are further divided into 227 local *si* (75), *gun* (83), *gu* (69) units. While there were annual information available on a variety of items at the metropolitan level, there were fewer data sources available for the local level.

We used the following data sources: Seoul Statistics ([stat.seoul.go.kr](http://stat.seoul.go.kr)), Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS) e-Local Indicators, and Regional Development Information Service (REDIS; [www.redis.go.kr](http://www.redis.go.kr)). These data portals provided objective indicators of local government districts by category, such as population,

infrastructure, income, employment, agriculture, manufacturing, housing, public finance, leisure and culture, social welfare, health and medical services, public safety, family and teenagers, educational environment, globalization and information, and natural environment.

We organized the existing objective indicators into the following 12 categories: health, environment, physical infrastructure, culture, education, welfare, administrative services, public safety, community, labor, public finance, and economy. The asset-based CWB model guided the CWB Survey design, but we also paid close attention to how subjective and intersubjective CWB could be matched with already existing measures of objective CWB.

### **Subjective CWB Measurement**

We measure subjective CWB with the personal level of satisfaction regarding various aspects of the city, such as overall living environment, medical service, waste collection services, air quality, culture and arts activities, etc. There are 28 items in total and the same items are repeated for the intersubjective measurement (see next paragraph). These items are ranked on a 7-point Likert scale with the following options: very low, low, rather low, neither nor, rather high, high, and very high. We chose the 7-point scale based on previous studies that show the strength of this scale (Finstad 2010; Preston and Colman 2000) and its widespread use in well-being measurement (e.g. Diener et al. 1985, 2010).

### **Inter-subjective CWB Measurement**

The measures of intersubjective CWB were most difficult to design. Conceptually, inter-subjectivity is difficult to understand and in a survey of the wider population we had to make sure that respondents understood the concept without crowding the survey with a laborious description. The earliest version of the questionnaire, which was pilot-tested in Seoul in 2013, asked respondents to evaluate certain aspects of the city in comparison to other cities. In the 2013 pilot-test results, respondents showed differences between satisfaction (subjective CWB) and evaluation (intersubjective CWB) of city elements, but this

required the research assistants administering the surveys to provide additional verbal explanation. Based on the definition of inter-subjectivity as shared knowledge, we revised this question to read as follows, “How satisfied do you think all other residents of your city are with each of the following aspects?” The question asks the respondent to think about how the community evaluates the various items.

## **Individual Well-Being**

The Happiness Research Organisation initially drafted the IWB portion of the survey. As with the CWB portion, we also include both objective and subjective IWB measurements to provide a comprehensive picture of IWB.

### **Objective IWB Measurement**

Our questionnaire has a sociodemographic portion at the end that asks respondents for their gender, age, nationality, length of residency in community, marital status, education level, employment status, and income. We use these responses as measures of objective IWB.

### **Subjective IWB Measurement**

The individual well-being portion of the questionnaire builds from the work of Happiness Research Organisation on the Happiness Analyzer (Hendriks et al. 2016): a smartphone application collecting subjective well-being (SWB) data. The OECD defines SWB as “Good mental states, including all of the various evaluations, positive and negative, that people make of their lives and the affective reactions of people to their experiences” (2013b, p. 29). SWB has been widely tested for its reliability and validity (e.g. Rässler and Riphahn 2006; Frey and Stutzer 2002; Pavot and Diener 1993; Schneider and Schimmack 2009). Researchers note strong correlations with SWB measures and physiological measures, such as higher left-frontal-cortex activity (Urry et al. 2004) and lower cortisol rates (Steptoe et al. 2005). Scholars have also found that SWB measures link to actual behaviors. For example, SWB scores are linked to frequency

and intensity of smiling (Frey and Stutzer 2002; Kahneman and Krueger 2006) and positive changes in behavior (Frijters 2000). SWB measures are also sensitive to life-events (e.g. marriage, becoming unemployed, etc.; Diener et al. 2006), the level of income (Sacks et al. 2010), life circumstances (e.g. health status, social contact, etc.; Dolan et al. 2008) and daily activities with the SWB-Scores indicate high construct validity (Kahneman and Krueger 2006).

There are several ways to measure SWB. We follow the OECD guidelines (2013b) on best practices of SWB measurement based on recent academic research to develop a standard measurement of SWB in the future. This guideline has been reviewed by leading researchers in this field and will continue to be updated, making it an ideal model to adopt.

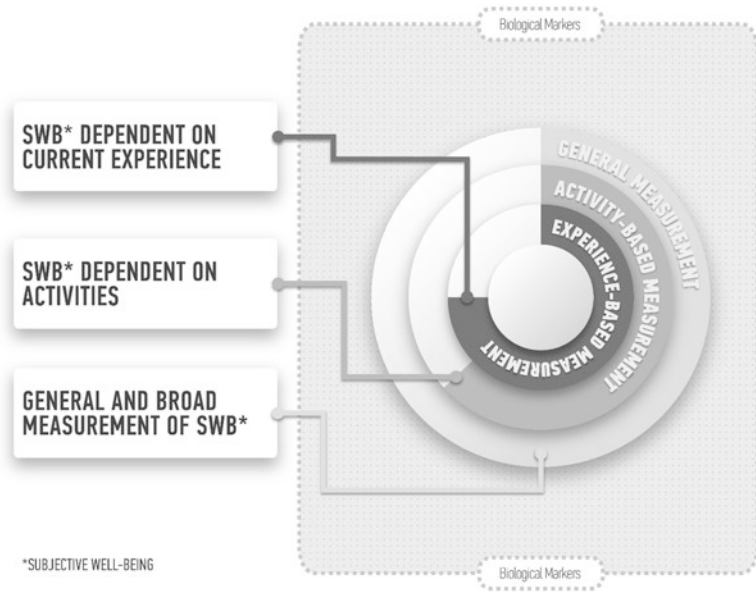
According to the OECD guidelines (2013b), SWB consists of three elements: (i) life evaluation – meaning a reflective, cognitive judgment of a person’s life or specific parts of it; (ii) affect – meaning a person’s positive and negative emotions and feelings; and (iii) eudaimonia – defined by Aristotle (2000) as living a meaningful life by fulfilling one’s purpose.

The OECD guideline outlines six modules for measuring SWB: (i) core measures consisting of a few questions on overall happiness and life-satisfaction; (ii) life evaluation with multiple questions on different aspects of life; (iii) affect measures with multiple questions on different emotions; (iv) eudaimonic well-being module with multiple questions on sense of belonging or sense of purpose in life; (v) domain evaluation with multiple questions about specific life domains (e.g. health or standard of living); and (vi) experienced well-being module using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM; Csikszentmihalyi et al. 1977) and/or the Day Reconstruction Method (DRM; Kahneman et al. 2004).

The OECD report is helpful for understanding SWB and summarizes the various ways to measure SWB. However, the relationship among the different elements of SWB and the relationship between the elements of SWB and its measurement are unclear. The Happiness Research

Organisation developed a model to better clarify the construct of SWB. This Onion Model (see Fig. 22.2; Ludwigs and Erdtmann 2015) has the following three layers: experience-based SWB, activities-based SWB, and general and broad-based SWB. The first and innermost layer is the experience-based SWB that refers to the daily experiences. The second layer is the activities-based SWB that is more expansive than the first layer, and consists of activities. The third layer is general SWB. In Fig. 22.2, we also indicate how the three layers can be measured. The outermost layer of general SWB is measured with survey questions, while the activity-based SWB is measured with DRM and the experience-based SWB with ESM. In terms of the OECD’s SWB measurement modules, the survey questions for the general SWB measurement are the first five modules while the sixth module (module vi experienced well-being) corresponds to the two inner layers of experience-based and activity-based SWB. In addition to the OECD modules, we can overlay biological markers, such as pulse and heart rate variability, skin-conductance response (via smartwatch), and the stress hormone cortisol or testosterone (via saliva analyses). While the CWB Atlas project does not currently include biological markers, we included this in Fig. 22.2 as a future possibility.

We follow the OECD guidelines (module i through v) for measuring general SWB and use questions from previous studies. The entire general SWB measurement consists of six modules. The first two are a core measure of happiness and life satisfaction, both from the European Social Survey (2014). As the test-retest reliabilities of single questions are relatively low, we included additional questions to measure affect and life evaluation in more detail. The third module is a Domain Evaluation Questionnaire (OECD 2013b) that asks respondents’ satisfaction with ten life domains (standard of living, health, productivity, personal relationships, safety, community, personal security, free time, environment, job) on an 11-point Likert scale. This is a new scale that lacks any official translations into different languages, comparable data, or test-retest reliability figures. Our project will provide

**Fig. 22.2** The onion model

the first data for validity tests. The fourth module is the Flourishing Scale (Diener et al. 2010) to measure eudaimonia. The Flourishing Scale is an 8-item summary measure of the respondent's self-perceived success in important areas such as relationships, self-esteem, purpose, and optimism. The scale provides a single psychological well-being score. The fifth module is the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al. 1985) that measures global cognitive judgments of satisfaction with one's life. The last module is the Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE; Diener et al. 2010) asks respondents the strength of 12 different emotions in the last 4 weeks on a 7-point Likert scale.

There are two main approaches to measuring the sixth module of the OECD guidelines – experience-based module. The first approach is the ESM (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003). This method tracks people's direct emotions by contacting them, for example, via a beeper to ask them questions about how happy they are, and what they are doing. Traditionally, this method uses a paper and pencil questionnaire. The second approach is the DRM (Kahneman et al. 2004), developed by Nobel Prize laureate Daniel Kahneman, in response to the costs of Experience-Sampling-Studies. His

method aims to lower these costs and to gain a full understanding of people's time-use by asking them to reconstruct their previous day by summarizing it in episodes (e.g. 8–9 breakfast, 9–12 work, etc.), and rating their happiness levels during these episodes. Although researchers can get information about the full time-use of a person, the disadvantage is that the emotions reported here are reconstructed from memory and have the possibility of errors or omission.

Due to the rapid dissemination of the internet and smartphones, it is now possible to gather ESM and DRM data in a panel with lower costs compared to paper-pencil or interview studies. Researchers have already used these technological advances in their data collection. For example, Killingsworth and Gilbert published an iPhone app in 2009, using ESM to track people's happiness (Killingsworth and Gilbert 2010). The app contacted people a few times a day with short message notifications, asking them to rate their happiness on a scale, to explain what they are doing, with whom and where. MacKerron developed a similar app in 2011 to build a happiness map of Great Britain (MacKerron 2012).

A major restriction of these apps is that they only work on iPhones and not on all smartphones. Since not everybody is able to afford an iPhone,

and elderly people may not even have a smartphone, it is not possible to generate representative, large-scale studies with these methods.

A second problem of the apps mentioned above is that they only use ESM to track people's happiness. As nearly nobody participates more than six times a day, it leads to big gaps in the time use profiles. With the goal of obtaining a better database, Veenhoven, Bakker and Oerlemans developed the "Gelukswijzer" or "Happiness Indicator" ([www.gelukswijzer.nl](http://www.gelukswijzer.nl); [www.happinessindicator.com](http://www.happinessindicator.com)). The "Happiness Indicator" is a webpage that allows people to report on their happiness score as often as they want with an email reminder. Because the "Happiness Indicator" is a webpage and not an iPhone app, more people – especially older people – were able to use it, generating a representative sample.

In order to address the second problem of gaps in time use profiles, Veenhoven, Bakker and Oerlemans integrated an applied form of the DRM into the "Happiness Indicator." In this "Happiness Diary," people choose between different options to define their episodes and rate their happiness on a smiley-face scale. Unfortunately, the data showed low participation rates; only a few participants gave their DRM every day over a long period. This implies limits to tracking people's daily activities and emotions with enough detail and particularly changes in happiness in the long-term by using only a webpage and email reminders.

The Happiness Research Organisation tried to solve these issues by developing a survey tool to measure SWB. This tool, called Happiness Analyzer, differs from other survey tools for its accessibility as it can be a web-based questionnaire as well as an offline smartphone and tablet application (regardless of phone or OS type) and for its flexibility to track people's opinion and feelings in line with the onion model (see Fig. 22.2). We integrated the CWB questionnaire into the Happiness Analyzer. With the combined app, we can track both CWB and IWB with a single tool in different communities.

Ideally, participants answer the CWB questionnaire, followed by the SWB questionnaire,

and lastly fill out one DRM. This took about 15 min in our pilot studies. Afterwards, participants can choose among three options: (i) quit the survey at this point ("short version"); (ii) continue with the survey and fill out six additional DRMs to create their own Happiness Profile ("medium version"); or (iii) continue with the survey and fill out six DRMs and four ESMs per day to create an even more accurate own Happiness Profile ("long version"). In our pilot tests, the last two options took about 1 h.

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## Future of Community Well-Being Measurement

GDP is currently the dominant measure of social progress, but its limitations are restricting the definition of progress to consumption growth. Scholars and practitioners have advocated for different measures of progress, but new measures and policymaking remain disconnected. In this chapter, we reviewed existing CWB measures and identified three limits. First, the definition of CWB and its constructs are unclear. Second, its relationship with IWB is vague. Third, data at the community level are limited. All of these difficulties lead to the concept being difficult to employ in policymaking, with little connection to policies and long-term planning. We introduced the CWB Atlas as one way to overcome these barriers. We summarize the strengths of the CWB Atlas in the broader context of CWB measurement below.

First, the CWB Atlas is based on theories of well-being. It provides holistic information on CWB, including all three types of CWB and two types of IWB. The project clearly distinguishes the different types of CWB and the focus on intersubjective CWB is particularly important. Data on CWB will be more useful to policymakers, as they must decide where and how to spend public resources. By examining the various types of CWB and IWB data together, we can build models to show the relationship among these different types of well-being. This will help create more comprehensive policies as we can see how policies in one aspect of the community affect

other aspects of the community, and ultimately affect individual lives. By collecting both CWB and IWB, the project can clarify the relationship between the two.

Second, the CWB Atlas provides various types of data, including quantitative, qualitative and geographic. The geographic data will be particularly useful for local policymakers who want to know where community needs are concentrated. This geographic data is a strength, but also a liability for personal privacy. The project has adopted the following mechanism to address these privacy concerns. After downloading the app, the participant gets an individual, randomized participant code. By doing so, the participant's data is anonymous and cannot be tracked back to him or her. This allows us to reduce social desirability biases and protect privacy.

Third, the use of technology can expand the scope of our sample. For recruitment, we developed a video and a website to explain the project. For the pilot project in Frankfurt, we used webpages, Facebook, mailing lists, and newspaper ads to promote the study in cooperation with the TEDx community Rhein-Main. Since the app is accessible on webpages as well as any smartphone or tablet, this reduces some concerns about exclusivity. Nevertheless, it does not eliminate it. In particular, the elderly population may not have access to either webpages or apps. We plan to use interviewers who will directly visit these respondents for data collection.

Lastly, with the use of technology, the project is able to create panel data. One of the most persistent problems with panel data is attrition. The CWB Atlas app gives respondents the following three options: (i) the short version (ii) medium version and (iii) long version (described in previous section). Using notifications on the app, we can build a city panel to validate and actualize the data we collect in the first round. Every 6 months, a new sampling round would take place by publishing the data in an online atlas for both politicians and citizens, and asking them to continue or begin to participate. The data can then be used for workshops with politicians and citizens to think about potential interventions. Whether the intervention was successful or not can be evaluated by

the panel by looking at the general survey data and by adding specific questions about the intervention into the app.

Even though the GDP has been criticized since the 1960s, the measure maintains its prominent position. The frustration around this has led to some calling to completely abandon the measure (e.g. Philipsen 2015). While these calls are powerful and necessary, they may be ignored if the past 50 years are any prediction of the future. If so, another way to change the framework of measuring social progress may be from the bottom up. That is, looking for measurements that are more useful to policymakers on the ground. CWB measurements have the potential to be such useful measures.

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# Delivering Community Well-Being from the Happy City Concept: A Practical Approach to Urban Planning and Design

# 23

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## Introduction: The Paradox of Unpleasant Well-Being in the Modern City

This chapter discusses the most difficult dilemma that all planning professionals have encountered in modern town planning. In spite of having by 2007 achieved the pinnacle of urbanization, with more than half of the total population in the world residing in urbanized areas, we failed to maximize the quality of life and happiness of people at the same time (The World Bank 2015). In this new millennium, we have successfully made our cities the wealthiest places in the world, yet we have exhausted most available lands, energy and resources. Also, we have realized the most luxurious lifestyle and mobility in the history of mankind. Many studies, however, to the contrary, indicate that more people, especially urban residents, are suffering more than ever (Allen and Allen 2015). It is a paradox that on the one hand, cities pursue GDP in a lopsided manner and invest the greatest amount in development while on the other hand, we usually disregard social and environmental resources, which result in a negative impact on the well-being of humanity

(The UN 2015). Along with a trend toward income polarization, gaps related to inequity have become wider than ever (The Marmot Review Team 2010; The Institute of Health Equity 2013). Soon, this effect will be felt worldwide. Communities and citizens in developing countries suffer more due to incomplete physical and social infrastructure. Hence, it is clear that a sense of happiness and well-being does not necessarily have a direct correlation with development that occurs in the physical environment and economic growth. There thus remains a major challenge for both planners and designers to create enjoyable places for people to visit and live.

## The Influence of Planning and Design on Place-Making

A review of planning history shows that design is always considered as a good tool for place-making. The ultimate goal of place-making is to enhance the connection and emotional attachment between a place and users, that is, citizens. At the early stage, the application of town planning tools was intended to improve living quality and was mostly for public health purposes. The promotion of the garden city movement by Ebenezer Howard was the first attempt to tackle the issues associated with the unhealthy, overcrowded and unpleasant urban environments that were troubling the cities at that time (Howard 1898). Although the garden city

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movement was not as successful and feasible as Howard expected in the end, no doubt, it established a role-model of how modern place-making should be done and what elements should be considered. Up to the present, the idea of a garden city is still very influential in both Europe and the USA in terms of ideal place-making. Furthermore, advocates of sustainable development, quality of life, healthy cities, and happy cities have been inspired by it and aim at similar goals.

Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte followed Howard in the 1960s and highly emphasized the responsibility of planners and designers to make cities more liveable (Jacobs 1961). It is believed that through thoughtful design and plan techniques, a place can be made to be enjoyable, pleasurable, and can create a positive ambience. On the other hand, a place with poor design quality can easily cause feelings of unpleasantness, intimidation or isolation. Introducing mix-use development, different building types and friendly public space designs has become vital to urban areas (Oc and Tiesdell 1997). The success of the Nottingham City Centre Management Plan in the 1990s confirmed that integrating good design principles and management is crucial for place-making and city centre revitalization. Since the 1990s, the urban design movement and new urbanism has had a strong influence on reining in urban sprawl and has evoked a trend towards smart growth, historical preservation and further collaborative efforts between architects, designers and urban planners. The *Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism* published in 2008 (Moule et al. 2008) further indicated “a set of operating principles for human settlement that re-establish the relationship between the art of building, the making of community, and the conservation of our natural world”.

With the increasing concerns related to major contemporary urban challenges, namely climate change, ageing population and globalization (Hong and Song 2010), the meaning and the need for place-making has become even more important. A cross-disciplinary approach with more evidence-base is required to design a place to provide supporting data not only for cultural value and aesthetic purposes, but also for disaster-resilience and robustness at the same

time. Moreover, at the community level, user-oriented planning and design strategies need to be applied especially for deprived and disadvantaged neighbourhoods, that is, ageing communities and lower income communities. For instance, the Age-Friendly City and Community movement was initiated by the WHO in 2009 and over 200 cities/communities worldwide have participated in the program. The movement identifies eight domains, including outdoor spaces and buildings, transportation, housing, social participation, respect and social inclusion, civic participation and employment, communication and information, and community support and health services, as essential to making urban life more age-friendly (WHO 2007). This is not the first time that the WHO has initiated a global movement, but it is the first time that the WHO emphasized a bottom-up approach to ensure that the target group, in this case, the ageing population, is proactively involved. This is a typical example to demonstrate that modern city planners and designers need to work with other professionals and place users more than ever to formulate places that respond to demands with limited resources. In other words, the future goal of place-making should be aimed at balancing the demands of difference stakeholders according to individual cases and requires more detailed investigation and sophisticated planning and design techniques in order to create community well-being.

### **The Happy City Concept**

The idea of a happy city has been brought to planner’s attention for several decades. Mostly the term has been used in political statements and has seldom translated into planning and design language. Similar concepts such as liveable, sustainable, ecological and healthy cities have been promoted simultaneously with different focuses. The fountainhead of the happy city concept is the idea of utopia in Plato’s *Republic* in which a model society exists with conditions that are equal and preferable for all citizens. In such an ideal community, citizens can easily feel a sense of happiness. It is believed that when we are

happy, we are more effective both in our own lives and in what we contribute to others. Style (2011) indicated that there are two type of happiness, ‘being happy in the moment,’ which is also called hedonic happiness and eudemonic happiness, which is a much more meaningful term and consists of more lasting and long-term happiness. Eudemonic happiness implements fulfilment and contentment in relation to well-being.

However, in planning and design practices, the concept of happiness is too ambiguous. To conceptualize the meaning of happiness, several research institutes since 2010 have developed their own ways of evaluating or measuring the level of happiness for each country worldwide. The intention is to conduct regular large-scale collection of data to enable further detailed analysis of the impact of current policies, including spatial planning and economic development. The Happy Planet Index (HPI) includes three component measures – life expectancy, experienced well-being and ecological footprint. A total of 151 countries were evaluated based on field survey in its third and latest 2012 report (Abdallah et al. 2012). In the same year, the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network published The World Happiness Report (WHR) (Helliwell et al. 2012). The indicators include well-being measures, life satisfaction, and log of incomes. To further review the measures adopted in these surveys, the key question should be “whose happiness are we talking about?” The HPI clearly concerns the happiness of the natural environment over that of human. Hence, the HPI report indicates that most developed countries have lower rankings. The WHR, on the other hand, focuses more on human well-being and placed countries in Northern Europe on the top of the happiness list. Nevertheless, the most interesting findings in the WHR reveal a paradox that at any particular time, richer individuals are happier than poorer ones, but over time, the society did not become happier as it became richer. In some cases, disproportionate income gaps result in conflicts between income groups and in turn lower the level of happiness. Moreover, other societal factors, such as insecurity, loss of social trust, and declining confidence in government, especially in developing countries, have counter-

acted any benefits felt from higher incomes. Also, due to its targeting at the national level, the selected indicators are not able to reflect the conditions of the physical environment.

Montgomery (2013) pointed out that specific surveys mostly follow the same trajectory to emphasize the inseparable relationship between happiness and GNP, but further suggested that there should be more components of happiness that money simply cannot buy. He stated that self-reported happiness, such as good health, more leisure activities, and shorter commutes usually involves how well a place is designed. Happiness does not have to be a privilege for certain income groups and can be delivered with good place-making. The City of Bogota, for instance, started its happy city movement led by Mayor Penalosa in the late 1990s. The famous statement by Penalosa was “We might not be able to fix the economy. We might not be able to make everyone as rich as Americans. But we can DESIGN the city to give people dignity, to make them feel rich. The city can make them happier.” (Montgomery 2013, p. 4). One thing for sure, when it comes to deciding what approaches should be applied in the delivery of a happy city, scale does matter. More comprehensive indicators can only work at the national level. According to the UK’s national well-being and happiness statistics launched in 2014, one out of ten major domains concerns the living environment (Office for National Statistics 2015) (Fig. 23.1). Six sub-factors were identified, namely crimes against the person, safe walking after dark, accessed natural environment, neighbourhood belonging, transport access to services, and satisfaction with accommodations. Thus, at a smaller scale such as the scale of a community, the sense of well-being and happiness will depend more on the planning and design of the physical environment.

### Happy Community Practice

When British philanthropists built model villages at the turn of the twentieth century, they stated that they would be creating a community for all people of all ages and that the new villages would

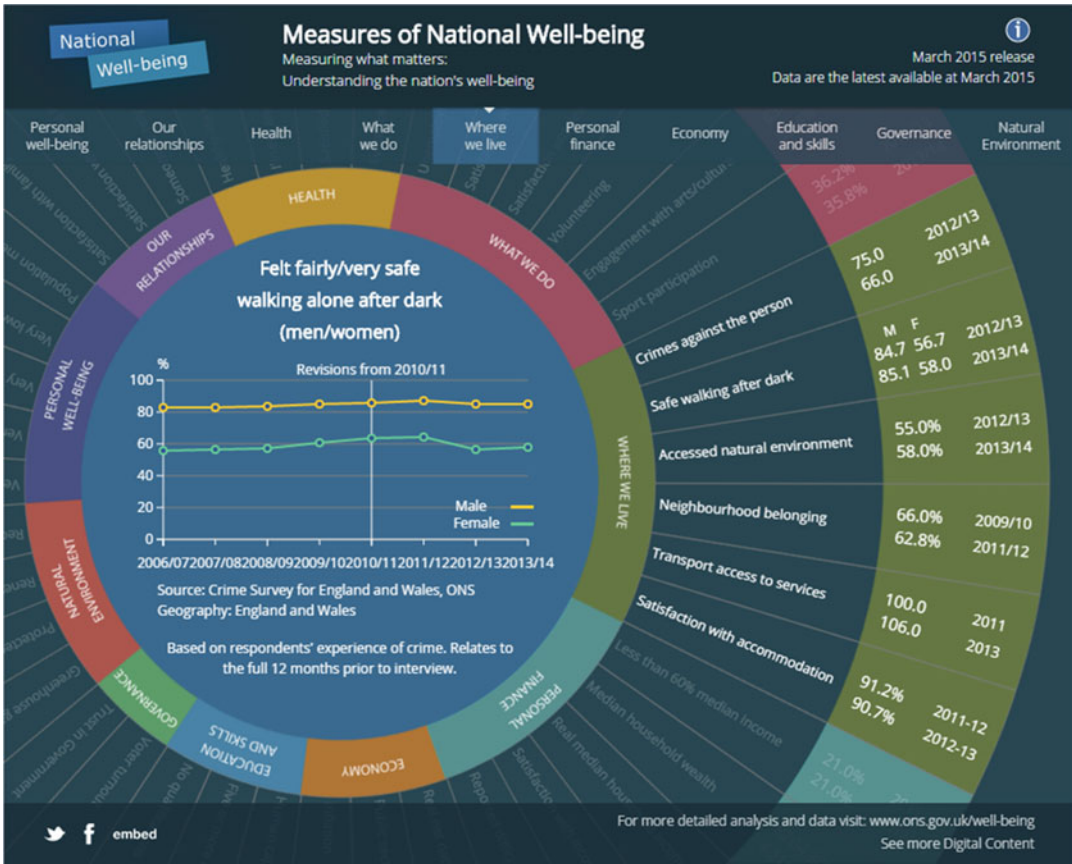


Fig. 23.1 Measures of national well-being of the UK (Source: [www.ons.gov.uk/well-being](http://www.ons.gov.uk/well-being))

provide for people from ‘cradle to grave’. This spirit has continued to remind planners who followed to ensure that the purpose of place planning and design is to create a ‘community’ where residents are ‘willing’ to stay for good. However, due to the multiple functions that a community is expected to serve in modern busy urban life, the core spirit of planning tends to become lost and the focus moves toward pleasing people who visit the community instead of the people who live in the community. In Taiwan, the national policy emphasizes tertiary industry by creating more ‘tourist-friendly’ areas that has resulted in many famous tourism towns suffering from conflicts between tourist activities and the daily lives of

the residents. Based on the happy city and community well-being concept, the Class of 2015 graduation studio of the Department of Urban Planning at National Cheng-Kung University of Taiwan took the famous historical township of Anping (in Tainan City of Taiwan) as the practice site to propose a place-making planning, design and development project. The aim of the project is to solve the dilemma related to happiness between tourism activities and the daily lives of the residents by taking into account the unique local historical assets. The project started with the observation of the area and a review of the literature of happy city. The questions to be answered are as follows:

- *Whose happiness should be considered?*
- *What are the different types of happiness for different persons?*
- *How can happiness be measured, evaluated and defined in your project?*
- *How do you retrofit existing communities so that past mistakes can be overcome?*
- *What issues should be addressed at different stages of planning, design and development in order to make your happy community a reality?*

The project ran from September 2014 to June 2015 and was divided into three phases. The first phase was the observation of the community with happy city measures that the team came up after the literature review. Local needs were identified through interviews or investigation. The second phase took on the key issues and started a dialogue with the current planning system and design regulations. The team had to propose a revised community plan and design guidelines. In the third phase, the team selected a prime site to initiate a development project involving a detailed site plan and an architectural design that echoed the core concept developed in the previous phases.

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### **Case Project: Anping Community Waterfront Multimedia Museum**

Tourist destinations tend to have controversial effects on the lives of local residents. The burdens that the large number of visitors place on traffic and the influence of typical tourist activities on the area's everyday lives often outweigh the economic advantages they bring. Since it is the planner's classical role to mediate between different stakeholders and user groups of a locality, such circumstances always provide room for developing creative spatial strategies by taking into account the needs of both tourists and locals; even though the conflicts can be generalized, every place calls for a unique solution.

In the case of Anping District, there is one extra factor in play, even though not atypical for historic districts: that is, its proximity to water. Anping was Taiwan's first Han settlement and a

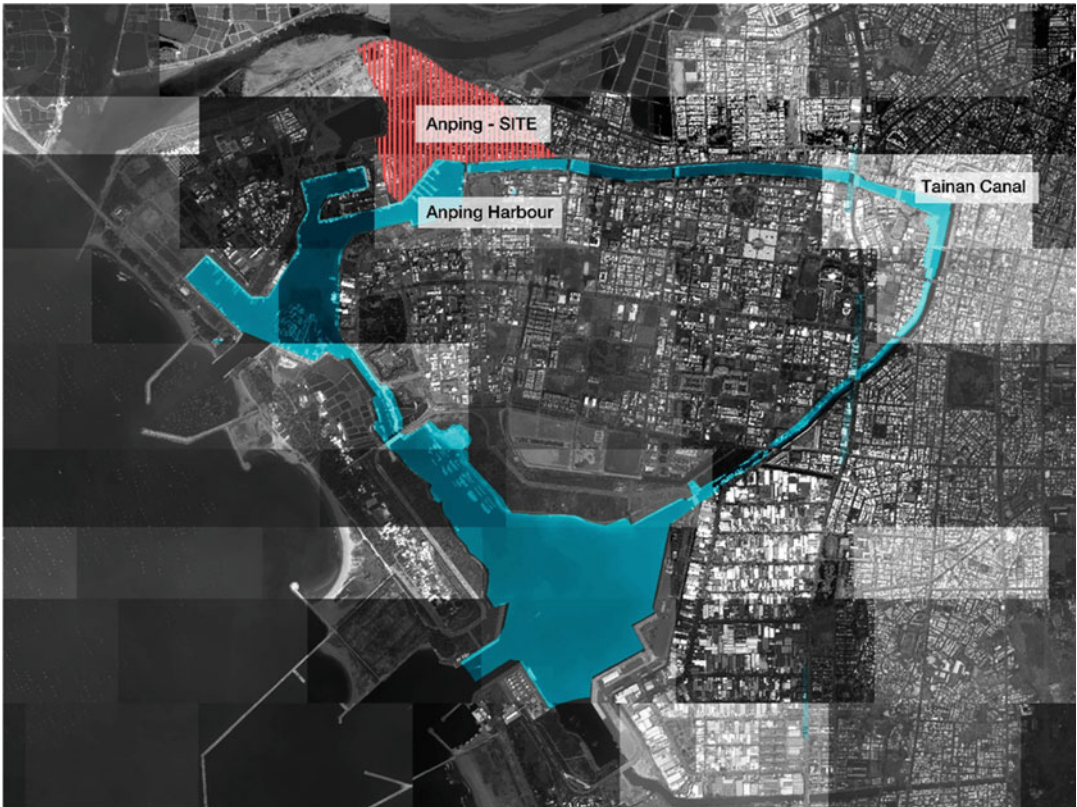
bustling commercial and political centre of the island back in the day – mainly due to the fact that it is located at a natural harbour. The once-flourishing seaport gradually lost its importance, and today, Anping Harbour functions as a minor fishing port. The waterfront is completely neglected, whereas the remaining historical centre of the settlement, just a couple of blocks away, is overcrowded with tourists in the weekend, causing significant inconvenience for the local residents and depriving them from the free use of public spaces.

The project aims at balancing the time span and spatial distribution of activities in the area by reconnecting Anping with its waterfront and proposing the development of a new multimedia museum at the harbour that will act as a catalyst for the waterfront regeneration process. Safeguarding and enhancing the local residents' quality of life was a primary concern throughout the planning process.

### **Site Conditions**

The project site in Anping District is an old settlement, with a total area of 59 ha and a population of 6,800. Its geographic conditions make it a special part of the city: the site is surrounded by water from three directions. This is the place where the Tainan Canal reaches Anping Harbour, and this body of water gradually broadens from East to West and borders the site on the South, which constitutes its largest waterfront. On the North, Yanshui River separates the site from Taijiang National Park; and on the West, a small, artificial lake confines the old settlement. Hence, the area has definite potential for developing water-related activities. Yet, even though the site was historically a central area of the city, today it is considered as a rather peripheral part of Tainan, with limited accessibility.

Anping Old Settlement's economic activities are mainly tourism-related. On weekends, the number of visitors to the site often reaches 10,000 per day. In line with this trend, central government designated Anping as an international tourist port and has proposed plans to develop the



*Image: The site and its relation to the water*

area into an important historical and cultural tourist destination. A cultural zone is proposed to be built on the north-western part of the old settlement, while a Yacht Marina is proposed for the southern waterfront. Since the two roads connecting the area to the city centre cannot handle the flux of cars during the weekend, a transit hub is also planned to mitigate vehicular traffic flow.

### **Cultural Assets**

Tainan is the oldest city of Taiwan and is often referred to as the ‘cultural capital city’ of the country. Anping, the earliest settlement in the area, in turn, served as the starting point for Tainan’s development, and was the core district of the city for centuries. Anping’s history started with the Dutch East India Company establishing a colony and a fortified commercial base here in 1624. Then, Ming loyalist Koxinga set up the first Chinese government for the island in Anping

after defeating the Dutch in 1662. Many architectural relics from the Koxinga-era have been preserved and can still be seen today. More importantly, the Anping Old Fort served as the administrative centre of the government for three generations. Hence, it is one of the most significant historical sites in the country. Remarkable buildings survived from later periods of the Taiwanese history: the Anping Tree House and a nineteenth century British Trade House, to name just the most important ones. Many buildings were preserved through different centuries and changes in the island’s political situation are apparently reflected in the variety of architectural styles that the old settlement of Anping blends together. Walking along the main street of Anping, one witnesses a stunning mix of building styles.

This abundant architectural heritage, along with the special atmosphere of the settlement’s



*Image: the main street of Anping*

narrow, historical streets, attracts huge numbers of domestic and foreign tourists every year.

Apart from its built heritage, Anping is also famous for its cultural traditions. Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mainland Chinese had to face the danger of crossing the sea to reach Taiwan, therefore, cults related to the gods of the sea and the weather flourished in the port city. Such religious traditions are still present in the form of festivals and processions, religious symbols for decorating walls and doors, and a very high density of temples and shrines. During its long history, Anping has also developed a unique cuisine consisting of small dishes and snacks, which is part of the reason why it is a very popular tourist destination.

## Issues

### Traffic Congestion

There are only two roads connecting the settlement with other parts of the city: Minsheng Road and Minquan Road. During afternoon peak hours

and weekends, the capacity of these two secondary roads is insufficient to deal with the traffic and tend to get very congested, which in turn blocks all East-west traffic in the area, including thru-traffic. The situation is further worsened by an inappropriate distribution of parking spaces: large car parks can only be found in the western part of Anping, and among these, the largest is located right at the waterfront, which means that tourist buses and private vehicles have to drive through the narrow and already congested streets of the settlement before reaching the car park. This is particularly disappointing if we consider that the site would best fit pedestrian traffic due to its moderate scale and short distance between scenic spots.

### Lack of a Genuine Visitor Experience

Although being a tourist destination, the site only offers a very limited spectrum of activities: visiting listed buildings and trying out some of the local dishes are the only ways to spend time in Anping. Hence, tourists cannot have an in-depth



Image: Area issues

experience of the century-old culture of Anping and Tainan. In addition, while people coming from other parts of Taiwan crowd the area every weekend, it does not attract local people living in the city. The daily life of local Anping residents has been badly affected by the massive traffic and the thousands of tourists crowding up in the small alleys. The site lacks a large public space where different user groups could engage in different activities to understand the cultural and historical importance of the area.

### Unutilized Waterfront

The large waterfront bordering the site on the south has huge development potential, yet at present, this potential is fully ignored: a car park takes up most of the area, which is definitely not a very effective way of using a site with such unique conditions. There is also a wastewater treatment plant located right next to the water's edge, in the middle of the waterfront strip, and an

underused community centre next to it. None of these land uses bring added value to the waterfront, nor are they particularly visually appealing.

### The Happy City Concept

Our principal guideline throughout the concept generation phase was *Charles Montgomery's (2013) book, Happy City: Transforming Our Lives through Urban Design*. We found the book extremely useful during the planning process of the project because we came to realize that the substantial psychological influence the waterfront could have on both the residents and visitors of the harbour area. On the one hand, we aimed at mitigating conflicts between the locals and the tourists, in order to safeguard the living conditions of the former while providing the latter with a more diverse cultural experience; and



Image: A parking lot takes up most of the waterfront area

on the other hand, we intended to unlock the potential of the waterfront as an open space that enhances the physical and mental well-being of all citizens by offering a ‘meeting point with nature’.

Hence, we studied the cases analysed in *Montgomery’s* book and based on those experiences, we developed our own definition of a happy city. A happy city is defined as a place that satisfies the needs of different groups of users, makes them feel good and comfortable, and encourages every user group to use the public space freely, hence make them feel fully welcomed. Such ‘happiness’ can be further divided into the more straightforward category of *liking a place* or *feeling good being in a place* and the rather abstract quality of *a sense of belonging*.

### User Groups: The Tug-of-War

#### Local Residents

Obviously, local people were the most important group to be considered throughout the planning

process. The locals are currently facing issues such as the flow of visitors taking over every corner of Anping during weekends, which affects their activity zones. The only facility where the locals gather is the community centre on the waterfront, but it is severely underused at present.

Apart from enabling free movement and unrestricted use of public spaces for the locals, the ultimate goal is to reconnect them with the century-old culture of Anping and to help them thoroughly understand the historical importance of the place they live, thus helping them develop a unique identity, which is rooted in this place, and encouraging them to proclaim and pass on this identity.

#### Tourists

The site is an important tourist destination, attracting many domestic and foreign visitors. Since the historical centre has retained its traditional morphology, with narrow alleys, the area easily gets overcrowded, and the range of activities offered to



tourists is limited to visiting monuments and listed buildings. At present, Anping does not even have a proper hotel. No wonder that a typical visitor only spends half a day in Anping and literally no one spends the night there.

Hence, our goal is to broaden the scope of activities in Anping, so that the average time of visit can also be lengthened. We specifically aim at activities that would enable visitors to experience the unique culture of the place. Since the tourist activities at present are rather dynamic, there is a need to complement them with ones that are more static in nature, as well as to encourage contemplation and a more thorough reception of Anping's special atmosphere.

### Residents of Tainan

Tainan has a vast abundance of historical sites, yet the city has not been excelling in finding innovative ways to present its culture in an attractive and competitive way. Tainan lacks a platform that could act as a catalyst for the city's cultural life.

Besides, most of these historical sites are treated as primarily tourist destinations and therefore have little to offer to local residents. Anping is the epitome of this situation. Therefore, the project goal is to add programs to the site that attract people from Tainan that can also function as weekend or evening leisure venues for the residents of Tainan.

### The Happy Environment

Only places that bring perceivable joy and delight to people can pave the way towards a 'happy city'. Waterfront regeneration is an ideal choice to reach this goal. Turning the harbour side into a public space and even extending activities *onto* the water is to scale up and diversify the open space system. This would not only result in a healthier and more inspiring urban environment, but would also help to distribute visitors to Anping more evenly by bringing some of them out of the inner blocks of the settlement to the waterfront. These would in turn significantly increase the overall quality of the place.

The next step towards realizing the 'happy city' concept involves building up a *sense of place* that draws upon the historical values of

Anping and strengthens its identity. Local residents need to be offered the opportunity to get actively involved in preserving, propagating and even renewing the local culture. This is a general principle that holds for every neighbourhood in every city, yet it becomes an even more explicit requirement in the case of Anping, the oldest settlement of Taiwan.

To visitors of Anping, a *sense of place* means gaining a more thorough understanding of Anping's glorious past, the historical connotations of every place within the settlement, and most of all, that they experience Anping as the very origin of Taiwanese culture.

### Site Planning

We took a strategic approach to tackle the issues of traffic congestion, the unutilized waterfront and the lack of variety in tourist activities. The final site plan focuses on developing the waterfront, scattering visitors between the waterfront and the inner blocks, and creating new open spaces.

To solve the problem of traffic congestion, we turned the full area of the old settlement into a pedestrian-only zone, which means that only the local residents are allowed to drive in. Visitors are required to park their cars at one of the parking lots located outside the historic centre or to walk or bike into the site.

In order to maximize the pedestrian-friendly experience, we created a set of urban design guidelines:

1. Connecting the existing pavements to create a continuous pedestrian circulation system.
2. Renovating the facades of buildings facing the Anping Harbour.
3. Placing street furniture and trees along the streets.

These urban design guidelines also help to develop the waterfront into a more attractive environment to all users.

However, urban design in and of itself would not be sufficient to effectively regenerate the

waterfront. We decided to locate a signature development right at the harbour, so that visitors would be attracted to the waterfront. To this end, building an amusement park, a sports stadium or a hotel could also be a viable choice. However, these programs would not be related to the site's cultural values. It is thus essential to propose a development scheme that is compatible with this extraordinary historical context.

At this point of the planning process, we arrived at the concept of a 'cultural stage' that could duly display the history and values of Anping, the city of Tainan, and even Taiwan itself. We intended to complement the already existing 'cultural hardware' (monuments, ruins, listed buildings, etc.) with 'cultural software' that could not only preserve, but also innovate local culture. We opted for a facility that could act as a platform by bringing together locals and visitors and encouraging the sharing of cultural narratives, while at the same time strengthening the locals' sense of belonging.

The proposed multimedia museum is meant to account for the various needs of different user groups. Introducing rather 'still' types of activities (e.g. watching movies, dramas, etc.) could broaden the range of programs for visitors. Besides, since the proposed museum would feature thematic screenings related to cultural and historical topics, visitors could learn about Anping's past. Taiwanese films and dramas would constitute the bigger part of the museum's program; film festivals would be held periodically, and the visitors could also take part in workshops organized by local residents. In addition, a concert hall, exhibition spaces and a floating cinema could help popularize the area's unique culture.

### **Project Financing**

The government would be expected to play an initial role in drafting the development plan and formulating urban design regulations. The development of the waterfront multimedia museum would be carried out in a PPP structure (Public-private partnership). The government would lease public land to private investors to implement the development at their own expense. The

government would then repurchase the ownership of the building, but the investor would retain the right to operate the facility for a certain period of time. During the operation, the government would have the right to supervise the private operator, in order to prevent excessively commercialized operation or incompatibility with the concept of the cultural stage.

### **Landscaping and Architectural Design**

Just as in most cases of waterfront regeneration design, the ultimate goal of the plan was to 'return' the waterfront to the citizens of Tainan and everyone visiting the city. Since Anping Harbour is a unique natural asset of Tainan and with historical connotations that make the place significant for all Taiwanese people, it was evident from the outset of the project that the design had to be as inclusive as possible. In practice, this meant considering the preferences and needs of three different user groups: locals living in Anping, the people of Tainan, and tourists.

Being a development project involving private investors, the plan had to be financially feasible; that is, part of the programming had to be commercial in nature. Tourists and people living in Tainan city were identified as potential consumers of the services provided by the Waterfront Multimedia Museum. However, the last thing we wanted to see was 'consumption' being a prerequisite of 'entertainment' and activities in the area. Safeguarding the openness of the waterfront and providing high-quality indoor and outdoor gathering places for the locals were priorities in the design. Most of the waterfront area was retained as open space, and emphasis was put on connecting and extending the existing open space network of the old settlement to the waterfront. In addition, we also considered the actual architectural design as an extension of already established community functions and activities – the museum building itself could be seen as part of the open space/public space system, connecting land and water.

Yet we did not just aim at fulfilling the needs of different user groups by accommodating dif-

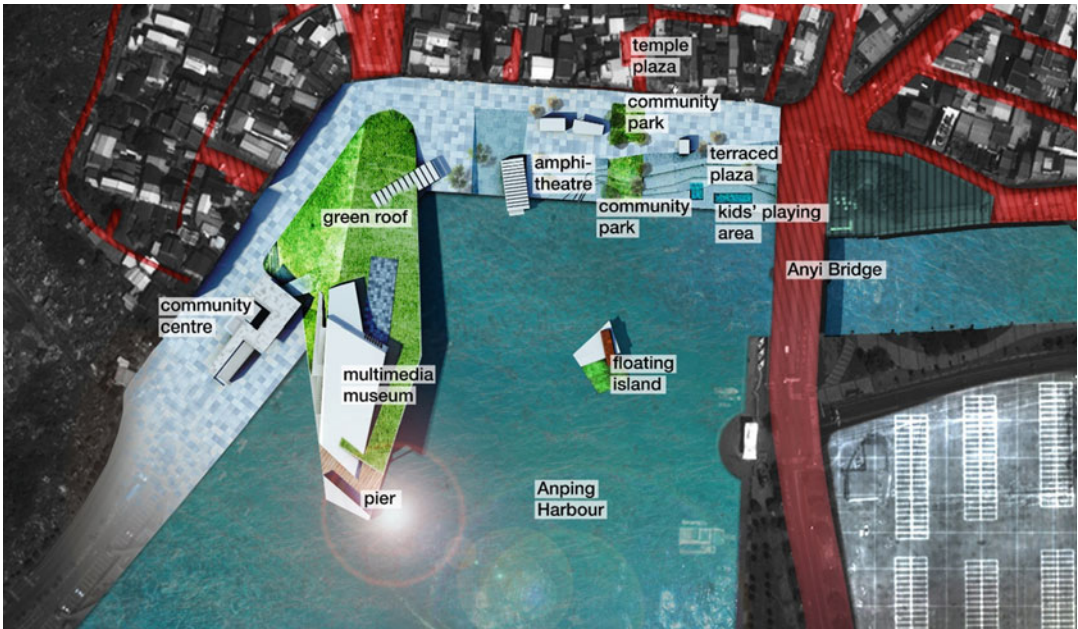


Image: Site Plan

ferent functions separately within the site, but also wanted to generate interaction between these groups. We saw ‘activity’ as a means of creating community and engagement. Hence, we decided to involve the locals in cultural consumption – as providers of cultural services. Community workshop spaces located in the museum were intended to serve this purpose. As for the open space design, we intentionally located activity areas serving different user groups as close to each other as possible. Even though physical proximity in itself does not guarantee interaction, we drew upon the ‘triangulation’ effect that *William H. Whyte* (2012, p. 154) defined as a social bond between people generated by some external stimulus that prompts strangers to talk to each other. We considered the water itself, and potential activities and events *on* the water to be an excellent medium of such ‘triangulation’ and therefore, part of the design featured spaces that accentuated the view of the harbour.

### Open Space

The site plan covers a 1.8 ha waterfront strip, most of which is open space. The 300-m long waterfront features a kids’ play area with two

pools, a terraced plaza with stairs leading all the way down to the water’s edge, two community parks, an outdoors amphitheatre facing the harbour, and a ramped plaza. Less conventional open space elements include an artificial mobile island floating on the harbour’s water, the green rooftop of the museum building sloping up from the ground all the way to the two-storey height of the building, and a pier extending from the museum.

The design intentionally blends the characteristics of a large, airy open space (that could also take care of the overall circulation) with smaller ‘pockets’ of public space to accommodate rather specific activities. The capability to host a variety of functions is an explicit goal of the plan to achieve social inclusiveness.

### Water in Focus

Water has always played a crucial role in Taiwan’s history. Due to its proximity to the sea and being Taiwan’s very first settlement, Anping, has become a living display of different cultures and styles. No other place in Taiwan offers such a density and abundance of historical relics and listed buildings as Anping does from literally

every important period of the Taiwanese history. This is mainly because back in the day, new influences always came from the sea and Anping Harbour was the first stop for bringing new cultures to the island. The Dutch established their first military colony in Anping, and a couple of decades later, Koxinga also located the seat of his government here. A bustling han settlement was formed, and from the beginning of the twentieth century, the Japanese also made their contribution to the architectural and spatial diversity of the place.

It is clear that water has actively influenced the history and culture of Anping (and of course, the whole of Taiwan as well), yet apart from the symbolic significance that it bears, Anping Harbour also has practical importance, especially for the locals: it has long been functioning as a fishing port. Even though the fishing industry is declining in Anping, and the government plans to relocate the existing small fishing port closer to the sea, the piers stretching into the harbour and the small boats sailing out from Anping still show a very tangible, although fading, connection between Anping and the sea.

It is evident from many signs that Anping Harbour is a neglected part of the city at present. Nothing refers to its past glory and unique importance in the island's history. The only thing the waterfront has to offer today, apart from a small community park, is a large and comfortless car park. It is thus not surprising that no one wants to spend time close to the water and Anping Old Fort remains the only tourist destination of the area. This neglect isn't just a symbolic loss for the Tainan city. Tainan is wasting away one of its greatest natural assets, for the harbour has the potential to be developed into a large-scale open space, a signature waterfront that contributes to the overall urban quality of the city.

Hence, our principal design guideline throughout the whole project was not only to reflect, but also to strengthen the relation between land and water, and sometimes to even blur the line between them. We deliberately tried to establish and re-establish visual and physical connections with the harbour. Our aim was not just to create an attractive and relaxing open space, but also to

make water its main theme and to emphasize its cultural and historical vitality.

Defining a variety of views of the harbour was an important part of the design process. The landscaping could offer different visual experiences of the water, achieved by shifting view angles and elevations: as one walks over Anyi Bridge to enter the site, one gets an 'overview' of the harbour at its widest section, with the museum building stretching into the middle of the harbour providing a grand focal point. The waterfront plazas let one become close to the water, where stairs and a ramp lead the viewer all the way to the water's edge. As one gets on the 'floating island' which takes them to the middle of the water, then one has a 360° view of the harbour. Last but not least, by walking up to the top of the museum's green roof, one can have a full view of the entire harbour from above.

Allowing people to touch the water and experience its presence with all their senses was another important concern. We believed in the notion of 'community through activity,' and hence were committed to helping people become engaged in water-related activities. The above-mentioned ramp sinking into the water was designed to tempt people to get as close to the water as possible, and it could even function as a 'water playground' for children. The pier extending from the museum building could provide an experience similar to that of walking on one of the fishing piers back in the day. A trip on the floating island would blend the fun of a boat ride and the experience of being on a tiny little green island in the middle of the water.

Besides the design principles discussed above, one overarching concept of the plan is what we might call 'water as a stage.' We intended to animate the harbour and its considerably large body of water to achieve these effects: (1) the waterfront will become a more attractive place; (2) it symbolically refers to Anping Harbour as a 'stage of Taiwan's history'; and (3) it has the potential to create community through the effect of 'triangulation'. In practice, this means that there would always be something going on near or on the water. The most obvious example is the mobile floating island that moves back and forth between

the waterfront amphitheatre and the museum pier, which could be anchored in the middle of the harbour. Watching the island moving slowly on the water can be a pleasant Sunday afternoon activity in itself; yet even more interesting is watching *the people* who are on the island. As Whyte (1980) notes in *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, ‘people looking at other people looking at other people’ is the sight most intriguing in every public space. Hence, we aimed at a design that would provide opportunities for people ‘to look at other people’ while also providing interesting backdrops for these people. People on the floating island could look at those at the waterfront, and vice versa; from the top of the museum’s green slope, one could see all the activities occurring on the waterfront, while at the same time also being looked at by others.

In other words, the water – and the structures on and stretching into it – provides a stage for a variety of human activities and hence offers opportunities for casual encounters and the strengthening of community bonds.

### Public Spaces

As described above, the waterfront is meant to be a transitional area between land and water. This also means that even typical public functions located there experience a significant increase in quality simply due to their proximity to the water. Hence, the plan proposes a number of public spaces serving different user groups within the waterfront area to relate them to the harbour as much as possible. What local residents need the most are not fancy landscaping and landmark designs, but practically designed open spaces for everyday use. Even though the site plan is definitely an ambitious one, turning the waterfront into a signature project that is significant even at the city scale does not mean the exclusion of the more traditional and ordinary open space programmes. On the contrary, well-functioning public spaces are typically the ones that accommodate both everyday uses and more special functions (such as tourism, night life, etc.), for this is the best way to safeguard a balanced time span of activities. The mixing of activity types that complement each other guarantees that there are peo-

ple using the waterfront at almost any time of the day and every day of the week, and this is what will make it a lively public space. Without involving the locals’ needs in the programming, the site would easily become a rather monofunctional place, being overused at times, while lying completely unutilized most of the time, which in turn would also lead to safety issues. Hence, inclusive programming has strategic importance in the project, and the design utilizes water as an extra attraction in these public spaces.

Inclusiveness, among other things, means providing for a variety of age groups. The terraced plaza on the East would be ideal for families with children; kids could play in the two pools on the lowest terrace, while their parents could just sit on the stairs and watch them playing freely against the backdrop of the harbour.

The same logic of using the water as a backdrop for activities was applied in the design of the outdoor amphitheatre that extends from the terraced plaza. This corner could also be used as a kids’ play area and a community gathering place, or a place for contemplation and observing the harbour, yet it is also meant to accommodate performances and outdoors film screenings right in front of the water’s edge.

A terraced park wedged between the plaza and the amphitheatre was proposed. This part of the design is particularly important since it would create a green space explicitly for local use. This strip of green was meant to be the extension of an already existing focal point of local community life: a small public square in front of a temple. Since it is a well-functioning public space, we decided to build on it as a base point from which activities could be pulled to the water. Hence, the park was designed to cut through the waterfront, bringing people all the way down to the water’s edge. Even though people here have been living with water for centuries, the waterfront has never actually been seen as an opportunity for leisure and sporting activities. There are a few small-scale parks in Anping and people use the schoolyard of the local elementary school as a sports and activity venue, yet we believed that the local residents deserved more than just these ordinary facilities. Creating the type of open space that the locals are

most familiar with and most used to using – a park – could make it easier to attract them to the water and make them aware of the unique qualities of their immediate living environment.

Besides, the community park is by no means an isolated piece of land that separates the residents from other users of the waterfront. The plan deliberately located it in the middle of the terraced plaza. The park would therefore be surrounded on both sides by lively public areas where families coming from other parts of Tainan could spend their Sunday afternoons and where tourists could gather and take photos of the harbour while watching their children play. However, the park's trees and greenery could still provide the locals with some degree of privacy.

### Architectural Design

Adding new buildings to a historical district is always a risky task. Even though the new development was planned to occupy a neglected open area of the settlement, we still had to respect the built context and the traditional street grain. The strategic approach demanded some sort of a landmark building to be located at the harbour, so that people would be attracted to the waterfront, or

else there would be no hope to enliven the area. Yet it was also obvious that the design should not compete with the historical buildings that mark Anping. We, therefore, adopted for a design that would complement the architectural heritage of the area, while at the same time being remarkable and bold enough to become a signature of Anping's renewed waterfront.

Building height was a main concern. Anping's tallest building is the tower of the Old Fort, and we did not want this to change. Instead of its height, it is its position that made the new building stand out. It would stretch far into the water, making it impossible to miss it if one arrived from the east or south. Such a design was also meant to be a symbol of the unique identity of Anping and its people, by connecting land and water.

### Publicity

Looking at it from the north, however, the museum building would appear to be more like a grassy hill, gradually elevating above the harbour. The idea of such a 'green' design was not an end in itself. The slope leading all the way up to the top of the museum building aimed to convey a visual message of complete openness and inclu-



*Image: Visualization of the proposed waterfront design and the Multimedia Museum – view from the North*

siveness where everyone would be invited to use the building. The museum was planned to be there to serve as everybody's space. This is particularly important to emphasise, since some functions of the museum *would be* in fact exclusive, in the sense that one would need to pay to enjoy them (e.g. the cinemas). However, the overall design was fully inclusive. One could walk up the sloping roof to enjoy the view of the harbour from the top freely and for free. Some parts of the museum might be closed at night or on certain days, but the building *as a public space* could be used around the clock without any restrictions. Hence, its presence could also be significant to those who do not want to watch a movie, visit an exhibition or consume anything in particular, which would be very likely to apply to most of the local residents who need a quality open space and community gathering spaces rather than cinema complexes. The design ensures that the locals would not feel alienated from the building, but rather consider it the extension of the waterfront's open space.

The semi-open arcade running the length of the eastern side of the building was planned to open to the public without any restrictions. This corridor would connect the waterfront with the pier extending from the museum, so no one would be excluded from experiencing the harbour from this unique perspective at any time of the day.

### Community Focus

The museum building was designed to offer some functional features to the local community. Since the museum would stand right next to a small community centre building, we decided to connect the two physically with a side entrance that led into the museum from the centre. A community room was planned to locate at the first floor of the museum with connection to the main hall of the building. The space was intended to be an educational venue hosting seminars and workshops related to the history and culture of Anping and was aimed at helping local residents understand their past and present more thoroughly as well as providing them with an opportunity to share their knowledge with visitors to Anping.

## Conclusion and Discussion: Towards a Happier City Future

This chapter starts with pointing out the paradox that all planners currently face and suggests that the essential way to improve the level of happiness and well-being at the local level is through the use of planning and design tools. No matter how things change and how techniques advance, the core reason for people to stay and live in a location is still good place-making that helps them feel attached and happy. What really makes a city vital are people and their activities, and only when planners interpret the true meaning of happiness in individual communities and incorporate them with local ambiance during the planning and design process, can a happy and balanced community be delivered.

In the case project above, the goal for the project is very clear: to improve the happiness for all stakeholders through planning and design. The project site Anping is a typical small yet internationally famous historical community submerged by ever-increasing tourists with limited land to grow. No doubt the living quality has been deteriorated and requires an urgent change. To start off with a more research-oriented investigation, the team successfully defined what constitutes "happy city" in local context and identified the important element, water, in the project area that could contribute most to the overall joy of the community. By understanding the history of the relationship between the waterfront and local residents and tourists, the team believed that happiness could be achieved through three important senses of human body, sight, hearing, and touch. Hence, they intended to unleash the repository of pleasures through remaking the waterfront to be a medium that could ease the increasing tension between tourists and local residents.

Several strategies were adopted to pay tribute to former planners' happy or enjoyable place statements. First of all, the project emphasized the accessibility of waterfront and skilfully designed the linear waterfront to respond to the demand of public and private users. Secondly, the design maximized the positive image of the waterfront by transforming it into a new focal

point of “triangulation” at the Anping Harbour where the hidden treasure has been neglected and an eyesore for several decades. Thirdly, the project identified the critical role of time span in the Anping Township and intended to increase the activities of both tourists and local residents day and night. By introducing the idea of 24-h city and smartly bringing the noise away from residential areas to the waterfront, the proposal managed to enhance the vitality without creating further conflicts. Last but not least, the team proposed a pedestrian-only zone in the whole area, which is a bold approach in Taiwan. It was an effort to restate the fact that no matter how technique advanced and how we change our lifestyle, the walkability is still an essential element for a great place-making. Also, the idea of barrier-free place-making was widely adapted in this project to make the site more age-friendly.

Nevertheless, it is never easy to bring something new to a place that is already compact and full of historical assets. In the project, the team challenged the traditional relationship between water and local residents by pushing the idea of “water can be enjoyable”, when water was simply seen as the resource to earn their living. By introducing a new meaning and a new use (museum) to the waterfront, one might concern the possible impact on the historical context as a whole of Anping Harbour area. Besides, in this project, the team failed to explore a bit more on why the waterfront was neglected and turned into a car park in the first place. Understanding the context of former place-making will be helpful to avoid making similar mistakes. The idea of ‘floating island’ is an ambitious attempt. It will be more convincing if there is any recognition from the main users, that is, the tourists and local residents. Lack of public participation during this planning and design process may bring back the question of ‘whose happiness should be considered?’ and raise other questions such as ‘can you please everyone?’, “if a place was made attractive to people, will it be attractive to more people including the undesirables?”. Anyhow, it is an experimental practice to diagnose a conflicted area from a psychological perspective and to retrofit a historical waterfront with more well-being

considerations. The truth is that there may not be a perfect plan/design to please everyone, but as Montgomery (2013) states, planners and designers should have faith and build a happy city by living it.

Following the global trend, Taiwan has established its National Well-being Indicators (NWI) and started its annual evaluation in 2013. Although the Taiwan NWI contains multi-dimensional indicators, it mainly focuses on social-economic well-being, with “distance to open/green space” as the only planning/design indicator (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan Taiwan 2013). Nevertheless, the ‘subjective wellbeing indicator’ was firstly included in the NWI in Taiwan to reflect the perception of residents’ life. One thing for sure, people in different cities and communities will have different definitions of happiness, to propose a happy city planning and design scheme, it has to be a grassroots approach. When facing the more challenging future in terms of climate change threats, urbanization trends and global competition, cities and communities need to be more adaptive to all of the above, but must also help their environments remain attractive, meaningful and enjoyable for both residents and visitors. More importantly, by understanding the elements of happiness from each user group, planners can think outside of the box and step out of their personal point of view to propose good designs that people will truly appreciate.

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**Part V**

**Community Concepts and Applications**

## The Role of Community-Based Organizations: The Case of the Saemaul Undong Women's Club

Oe-Chool Choi

### Introduction

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the Saemaul Undong as a successful community development model and has shared its process and strategies with developing countries since 1990. The Saemaul Undong is also considered to have played a critical role in the success of Korea's national development in the 1970s (The Economist 2014, 12). Community development as a goal is used widely in the USA, UK, and Commonwealth countries, focusing on poverty solution programs. Saemaul Undong is a successful national project based on Korea's experience in the 1970s. Its overwhelming success in overcoming national poverty within a short period has been named the 'Miracle of Han River' by international organizations. National development in Asia and Africa has been a critical priority by governments of the region, and Korea's success is considered a benchmark.

Several international researchers (Moore 1985; Haruo 1989; Wasserman and Faust 1994; Collins 2012) examined Saemaul Undong focusing on what makes it successful in communities. They discovered that motivating community residents to participate was a major factor. Many

studies (Choi 1987, 2008, 2013, 2014a; Kwon 1997; Reed 2010) found strong correlations between the commitments of community leaders and presidential leadership. This also includes additional factors such as villagers' voluntary involvement and the freedom of self-organization in determining goals and methods, which ultimately increased their participation in community development projects (Douglass 2013; Eom 2011; Go 2006). The villagers' participation in community projects was based on several organizational systems such as the Saemaul Undong Women's Club (SUWC), the Youth Club, the Forestry Club, the Good Farming Club, and so forth.

The SUWC was a community-based organization focused on improving the living conditions of people's homes and poverty reduction not only in farming villages but also at the national level. In the poor farming villages of 1970s, Korean women were mostly charged with housework, such as raising children, maintaining sanitation, and managing family earnings due to culturally rooted gender discrimination (Lee and Chung 2013). Under the contemporary system of Confucian traditions and family values, efforts by international development and non-profit organizations at the national level failed to achieve significant gender equality or better lives for women. However, the SUWC was an exception as it played a critical role in overcoming poverty in farming villages and improving the lives of

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women, children, and families. Their management and process for overcoming poverty were effective and their leadership was critical in establishing community prosperity. Working within the constraints of traditional Confucian culture, the SUWC took on several roles for bettering the lives of residents and reducing poverty among families and communities. Being well acquainted with the hardships of impoverished village life and patriarchal culture, women had convincing reasons for self-selecting to participate in reforming these conditions. As a result of self-directed efforts, the women in the SUWC were able to reduce poverty at both familial and national levels while also addressing gender discrimination in Korea (Lee and Choi 2013).

I suggest that the SUWC successfully established female residents as stakeholders in Saemaul Undong. Therefore it should be studied as an effective community-based organization for improving residents' well-being. Previous research shows that financial and environmental factors, as well as the social and economic conditions affect community development. However, many community development practitioners have been confronted with resistance from residents when it comes to contributing to projects, resulting in serious conflicts between residents and practitioners. The most successful cases of community development include active resident participation and community organization involvement (Choi 2014a). The SUWC is a representative case from Korea that contributed to the success of the Saemaul Undong for poverty reduction. This chapter investigates how the club organized and proceeded, considering the roles of community-based organizations for community well-being and poverty reduction, and reflects upon the challenges they face in economically advanced communities at present. It also studies how the SUWC works at the community level and considers its associated roles and challenges.

The concept of community can include all levels of administrative concern, such as local, national, and international. Thus community-based organizations can exist at any associated level of community. They can work to build

neighborhoods and lead changes in those community where they are initiated. The SUWC is a successful case study which demonstrates how such community-based organizations can reduce poverty and improve living conditions in agricultural villages. SUWC activities emphasize the need for economic improvement and better residential environments in communities. It gives implications for changing landscapes in order to develop local wealth by focusing on common goals agreed upon by residents of all genders who also encourage each other through trained leaders. The SUWC was developed based on the common goals of village projects and community-based values. Chapters of the SUWC were incorporated individually and then developed into a larger community group through national guidance. As a national model the SUWC can show developing countries how each locally incorporated unit with different needs and purposes can still be brought together for improving the national community. To understand the SUWC, it is necessary to consider the circumstances and development initiatives that helped give rise to it.

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### **The Saemaul Undong and Community Well-Being**

The Saemaul Undong is a successful community development model (Choi 1987, 2008). In the 1970s, the Saemaul Undong started as part of Korea's national modernization program, inspired by a rural village consisting of residents who undertook community recovery efforts by themselves following natural disasters. These affected villages transformed their communities through a development process based on self-help and cooperation. This success case was introduced by then president Park Jung-hee at cabinet meetings in order to be benchmarked for recovery efforts that were intended to address flooding disasters ravaging the country at the time. Since the president introduced the success these villages experienced, public officers and local governments rapidly disseminated the model. This community development model was named the Saemaul Undong (New Village

Movement). At the national level, every village participated in the Saemaul Undong and it was applied depending on local community context and objectives, but poverty reduction and better community environments remained common goals to be shared by all. This approach made the Saemaul Undong more of a grass-rooted community development model (Choi 2014b).

The Saemaul Undong encouraged residents to select their own personal targets and goals for development projects. The process of incentivizing participation depended on instilling in residents a new type of ideology based on a few core values as discussed in the next section.

### **Saemaul Sprit: The Basis of the Saemaul Undong**

The Saemaul Undong was introduced as a model for residents to restore their community's well-being and improve rural conditions. As a national campaign, it focused on the "why's" and "how's" of community development in order to incentivize resident to participate and satisfy their needs through the development process. The basic spirit of the Saemaul Undong can be summarized as "diligence, self-help, and cooperation". It was important for the individuals involved to have this spirit to instill confidence needed to initiate community change as opposed to giving in to fatalist views. Residents needed to believe that they could better their lives without relying on outside intervention. To achieve this, it was important to work diligently on one's own life while also cooperating with each other toward shared community goals. Diligence, self-help, and cooperation were promoted to people through songs and various posters and slogans, and was soon made into a national banner. Wherever people went, the Saemaul Undong song echoed in the morning for people to wake-up to and start the day. Also, collective participation was realized at schools and worksites with the slogan, "Just do it!". Most Saemaul Undong leaders in the rural communities at the time solely emphasize the "just

do it" mindset, but the program advanced to focus on instilling the "can do spirit" based on an expanded slogan of "diligence, self-help, cooperation, sharing, service, and creativity" (Choi 2013). This encouraged participants to have the confidence to overcome extremely difficult situations on their own.

The basic spirit was defined as aiming to reform participants' minds and attitudes toward individual and community life by elevating community well-being. In order to achieve a well-established community it must have a satisfying quality of life. For community well-being pursued from the community development perspective, resident participation in self-initiated community projects were considered critical. In the Korean experience, the Saemaul Undong and its spirit encouraged community members to become voluntarily involved in community projects. The SUWC is an exemplary case which shows how community involvement and cooperating towards well-being can achieve poverty reduction and other development goals.

As the Saemaul Undong progressed residents began to realize that participation could be increased by involving women in the development discourse. The need for consensus and voluntary participation in community projects created an opportunity for women, historically barred from active community participation, to initiate changes in gender roles as communities were also undergoing changes in their value systems.

### **Korean Women's Status in 1970s**

The status of Korean women up until the 1970s was labeled as severely poor by international standards. Due to the effects of poor economic conditions and a dominant patriarchal culture, women were not given many opportunities for active participation in social or community life. Under patriarchal culture, women were raised not to be exposed to or included in social activity. This resulted in low educational opportunities and poor economic conditions for women.

Regarding the enrollment rates of elementary, middle, and high schools from 1965 to 1980, there was a small difference between male and female rates in elementary school, but there was a stark difference in enrollment rates at the upper level of educational institutions. In the 1965 statistics, the enrollment rates of males in middle and high school were 51.7 % and 34.3 % respectively, but those of women were very low at just 30.5 % and 18.1 % respectively. It was very difficult for girls to continue learning beyond elementary school. In the 1980s, the enrollment rate of women in middle school reached 92.5 %, which was a substantial increase, but the enrollment rate in high school was around 56.2 %, which was still low when compared to males (Lim 2011).

The scope of activities considered appropriate for women was limited to housework. Although at the national level there were efforts to change these traditional roles, it was difficult to find women who had successfully entered society or even held a job. Many of the female teenagers from farming villages moved to cities to work at factories. In general, however, most of them worked at the factories only up to a certain age and then returned to domestic life when they became housewives after getting married. Women who remained in farm villages instead of heading to the cities had to do both domestic and farm work as housewives. Compared to those who worked at the factories in cities where there was some limited education provided through affiliated schools or night schools, the women living in rural areas rarely had the opportunity to receive education after finishing elementary school (Choi and Ahn 2001).

Because of the strong Confucian traditions and patriarchal culture, women's educational background was severely restricted and this resulted in low female economic participation. It is not surprising that the female participation rate in the economy was low given the limitations they faced in opportunities outside the domestic sphere. Not only were there few opportunities for a full-time job, but even if women were employed most were forced to retire after getting married or giving birth.

Regarding the economic participation rate for men and women from 1963, women exhibited about half the male participation rate shown Table 24.1. This demonstrates how most women were socially forced to take on the role of housewives whose activities were not recognized as having economic value, while at the same time there was a patriarchal perception that officially productive activities were an area reserved only for men. According to the data from the 1970s, even if women were employed they suffered from poor labor conditions and low wages. It was reported that women received about 43 % of the average wages of men (Social Indicators of Korea 1980).

Women in Korea in the 1970s were under-educated, under-employed, and confined to domestic spheres. In other words, they were underutilized in society. Therefore, in terms of community development efforts, women came to be considered an important potential human resource for advancing the national economy based upon their untapped potential.

## Female Economic Activities in Rural Communities

Since women were unable to receive a requisite education, it was impossible for them to even dream of finding a job. The women living in the rural areas led lives where they helped out in domestic work and farm work from very young ages. Upon reaching "maturity" they would be married through matchmakers to take on lives in

**Table 24.1** Economic participation rates between males and females (%)

Year	Participation rate in economic activity	Gender	
		Male	Female
1963	56.6	78.4	37.0
1965	57.0	78.9	37.2
1970	57.6	77.9	39.3
1975	58.3	77.4	40.4
1980	59.0	76.4	42.8

Source: Statistics Korea, Survey on Economically Active Populations

which work was restricted to the household and farm. Women lived a difficult life consisting of domestic and farm work as well as raising children, and they were not able to express their opinions under the watch of the patriarchal system. Since households were traditionally formed mainly in big families, it was considered a virtue to accept the opinions of parents-in-law and husbands. Disagreement with in-laws was both discouraged and punished while society considered economically active women to be disruptive, as if they were troubling the husbands. Therefore, women had to live without having any say in matters within her family.

However, the most exceptional thing regarding female participation rates in economic activity in rural and non-rural areas from 1963 to 1980 (Statistics of Korea) is that women's economic participation rates in rural areas were higher than the non-rural areas. In particular, regarding the female participation rates in rural and non-rural areas between 1970, when the Saemaul Undong started, and 1975 when the movement entered into maturity, the female participation rate in economic activity in rural areas was about 20 % higher than in non-rural areas at 49.3 % (1970) and 53.4 % (1975), respectively. This could be due to the women in the rural areas being classified as farm workers instead of housewives in census data, or due to the fact that they actually participated in a variety of production activities.

Such participation in production activity among women was taken into consideration in the promotion of the Saemaul Undong to rural agricultural women. In particular, the Women's Saemaul Undong was able to lead economic growth in farming villages by focusing on programs targeted at increasing the income needed to achieve noticeable growth. This was possible because of the high participation rate in the economy among women in the rural areas compared to women in the cities. Even though the actual female participation rate in production activities in rural areas was higher than in the cities, the status of women in the farming villages was much worse than that of women in the cities. There was a strong perception of male predominance over women in the rural areas compared to

the urban areas, and the poor economic situation limited the opportunities of education for women. Also, since the domestic work and farm work took place in the same location, even though farm work was considered as an actual production labor, it was not recognized as an independent wage-earning labor because farm work and housework were considered overlapping.

Therefore, the farm work performed by women existed as a kind of hidden labor that could not display its true value. Moreover, the level of household chores in the poor residential environment was harsh beyond description. For example, it was very difficult to manage being responsible for water supply, laundry, and cooking when there was an inadequate water supply facility in the first place. Nor was it easy to take charge of childcare and education when the household economy was poor. During the days when most women lived in despair under such poor economic and social conditions, some of the educated women returned to the rural areas from the cities in order to change the atmosphere of farming villages through the activities of the Women's club. These women attempted to introduce new programs for increasing income by establishing women's gatherings. The Saemaul Undong in the 1970s acted as a catalyst in facilitating these movements by women.

The government-led Saemaul Undong was a nation-wide movement mainly led by men to promote the economy in rural areas (Park 2005). It mostly focused on training and educating male leaders as the agents of the movement. However, during the process of implementing the movement, the importance of women's roles was recognized as they were the ones practically responsible for the day-to-day household living conditions (Lee and Choi 2013). As a result of national and grassroots outreach, the Women's club consisted of women gathered in their respective villages and was utilized as an organizational structure that helped to implement the movement. To achieve this, education was provided for female leaders. These female farmers in turn organized the Women's Saemaul Undong and played important roles in actively leading the movement for each village.

A majority of women in the rural areas that participated in the Saemaul Undong during 1970s through the Saemaul Undong Women’s Club (SUWC) took pride in the fields and rice paddies they helped to cultivate. Their involvement in the SUWC was a turning point for women, a point when they could experience physical and spiritual satisfaction in the development of their communities.

### The SUWC Structure for Community

This section presents the organization, goals, and leadership development approaches of the SUWC.

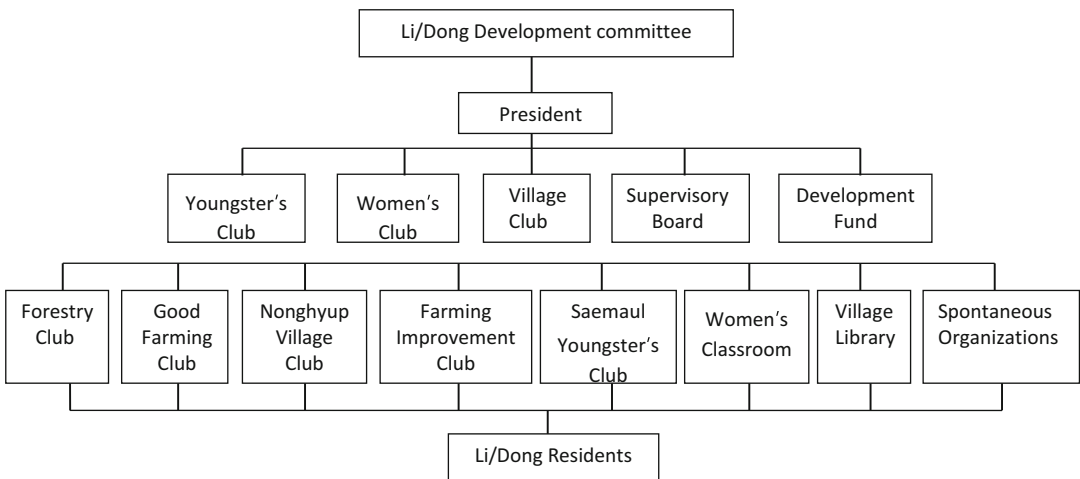
#### Organization of the SUWC and Saemaul Affiliated Clubs

The SUWC is a representative implementation system of the Saemaul Undong at the neighborhood level. The movement’s live well slogan meant implementing both poverty reduction and improving immediate living conditions. In the local community sector, the *li* or *dong* is an administrative level used to denote village and neighborhood units, respectively; it was the basis for the development committee format shown in

Fig. 24.1, charged with overseeing the Saemaul Undong. The Development Committee had all of the residents of the *li* or *dong* as members, while the representatives of the various public and spontaneous organizations had less than 15 members for each village. For example, there was the Youth Club, the Women’s Club, the Village Club, the Supervisory Board, and the Development Fund underneath the President of the Committee, who was responsible for the Saemaul leaders of the *li* or *dong*. These clubs consisted of representatives as well as other spontaneous organizations.

The business plan for the *li* or *dong* would be finalized after establishing and going through the decision-making process in residents’ consensus meetings and then getting the approval of the mayor (or governor) in accordance with the policy guidelines. The progress made on the programs was reported to the head of lowest village administrative levels (such as the *eup* or *myeon*) every month when the committee conducted its own evaluation. At the end of the year, the annual performance was reported and evaluated at the residents’ meeting (Ha 2009; Gyeongsangbuk-do 2009).

The Development Committee mediated the activities of the residents’ organizations according to their functions, while also aiming to efficiently implement the administrative measures



**Fig. 24.1** Organization of the Li/dong Development Committee (Source: Samael Undong Junganghoe (year unknown), p. 38)



issued by the government as discussed and decided on the Saemaul programs. The functions of the Committee included the following: deciding on the Saemaul programs (i.e. development goals) and establishing plans for reaching those goals; implementing the development programs through the cooperation of residents; storing support materials; taking responsibility in management; and taking responsibility in follow-up measures on completed programs.

The Women's Club was a major organization in the Development Committee and played a central role in implementing and facilitating the Saemaul Undong in each village. The Youth Club was important in reaching consensus by gathering the opinions of the villagers in the process of planning and implementing programs for the villages by mainly focusing on the Saemaul leaders. For example, in transferring private lands to a program for expanding and paving village roads, it would have been necessary to actively consult and persuade the land owner. Resolving conflicts that arose between residents in these processes were regarded as extremely important to the point that the Saemaul leaders and the Youth Club had to intervene.

The Women's Club played an important role in actively utilizing the labor and creativity of women in the village. In particular, the Saemaul women leaders who were elected for each village contributed to improving the economic and social status of women in rural areas during the process of planning and implementing the programs for increasing income and improving the village environment. The specific programs or activities that the Committee took charge of covered a variety of topics including: discussions and resolutions regarding Saemaul programs; programs for village protection such as crime prevention, anti-spying (against North Koreans), and fire protection; programs for farming production such as increasing production, improving farming, and cultivations and repairs; programs for welfare benefits such as cleaning, disinfection, quarantine, sanitation, family planning, and the improvement of living conditions; programs for social and cultural activities such as congratulations and condolences, respect for the elderly, guid-

ance for youth, and village sports and reading events; discussions and cooperation on the administrative affairs of the li or dong, and decorating or recommending improvements to the li or dong; and developing national merit ([Saemaul Undong Junganghoe year unknown](#)).

### Goals of the SUWC

The main goal of the SUWC started with the Saemaul Undong. It was not different from the Saemaul spirit under the banner of 'diligence, self-help, and cooperation' on the surface. But in reality, for behavioral objectives, it focused primarily on modernization and increasing household income. Modernization helped people escape outdated cultural concepts in order to accept more rational and efficient modes of living – through improving residential environment and lifestyle and increasing income to realize the key goals of the Saemaul Undong in terms of the ability to live better.

The modernization process pursued by the SUWC was viewed as an upgrade from the existing rural lifestyle to a modern one. For rural Koreans living with outdated lifestyles, during the period of 1960–1970, it was almost impossible to adapt to the rapidly changing capitalistic society. In particular, it was very difficult to change the habits and modes of production in rural areas from the characteristics of feudal agricultural practices into a capitalist mode. However, the female leaders of the Saemaul Undong recognized that it was possible to achieve the goal of increasing income through modernization, and succeeded in improving the overall lifestyle and attitude of rural areas to better suit capitalist production methods. The typical methods introduced by the female leaders in changing lifestyles and attitudes were writing daily records on ministries and time management.

Since the women in rural areas began to open their eyes to the potential of pursuing profits, they started to think of ways to make even more money. Saving money began to be suggested as the best strategy for escaping poverty. In accordance with the guidance of the SUWC, the

women in rural areas began to put the money they earned through saving rice or through doing side jobs in a village safety box. By doing so, they witnessed the small sums turning into large reserves. The villages used the money saved up in the safe to plan joint programs for villages to further increase their profits, and then they allocated those profits again to the individuals, thus allowing the village as a whole to share in the effects of profitable businesses.

Likewise, the Women's Saemaul Undong, which targeted the introduction of modern lifestyles and increased income, not only increased village wealth by improving the farm income through specific programs, but also successfully removed the factors that had been hindering agricultural development. In particular, the activities of women during such processes could be observed from various perspectives, including the physical and psychological. The women in rural areas became workers under the Saemaul Undong just like the men by participating in its programs themselves in order to improve their environment. Also, they acted as important agents in improving the outdated lifestyles and biases that were deeply rooted in the households and village communities.

### Leaders of the SUWC

The people that played the most important role in successfully implementing the Saemaul Undong were those selected as Saemaul leaders. They led the Saemaul programs after being elected as representatives for each village. Saemaul education planned and implemented by the government played an important role in enabling the leaders to guide people through the movement. Saemaul education was first implemented at the Productive Farming Training Institute in 1972 when the facilities of Nonghyup University were utilized. Half of the budget was supported by Nonghyup, while the teachers were mostly Nonghyup employees, and the education program lasted for 2 weeks. In particular, since it was an education program that received considerable attention from the president, the completion rate for train-

ees was very high. Also, the Saemaul leaders who received the training showed more devotion when they went back to their villages to implement Saemaul Undong.

This Saemaul training was supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Blue House (the national president's administrative unit). The secretary and special aides at the Blue House paid close attention to fostering Saemaul leaders by developing various support programs. Among the programs, the most representative formats were the small group discussions and the presentations of best practices. President Park visited the Saemaul Leadership Training Institute frequently in order to encourage the trainees in their Saemaul leadership education because he held a strong conviction that village leaders would play critical roles in guiding and motivating their community members to participate in the Saemaul Undong.

The Saemaul leaders from each region exchanged opinions on the directions and development plans of the Saemaul Undong through small group discussions. The government determined that such processes promoted Saemaul spirit, which was the basic goal of education, through the discussions and debates that took place from the bottom up. In addition, the presentations on best practices provided opportunities for people to discuss with their peers ways to overcome individual crises and to conquer obstacles experienced during the movement.

The leaders who participated in the educational training during the early days were mainly male. However, after implementing a third round of Saemaul education programs, the men argued that women should also receive education in order to successfully carry out the Saemaul programs. The men agreed that it was easier to encourage the participation of residents when women stepped forward in the implementation of the programs. The most frequently referred to factor that triggered women to eagerly become involved in Saemaul projects was when the goal was improved living conditions in the villages rather than just increased agricultural productivity (Kim et al. 2005). When examining the frequency of tasks for the small group discussions during the early days

of the Saemaul Undong (1972–1973), the biggest concern of the leaders at the time was to increase the residents' participation. The leaders began to actively consider embracing female participation in resolving this matter.

Even though the tremendous role of women leaders in the Saemaul Undong was recognized, it was not easy for these women in rural areas to leave home and receive training for a duration of 2 weeks. That is, despite the growing notion of men allowing their wives to receive training, those same men still expected those wives to perform their domestic duties. Therefore, the women's training program was scaled back to just 1 week. In June 1973, the first female leaders for the Saemaul Undong received training in a program where 130 women from rural areas participated together. The best practices of the female leaders in the Saemaul Undong mostly illustrated the process of overcoming poverty and difficulties with endurance and diligence after marrying into poor families, while also sharing the experience and knowledge they acquired in the process and how it could be used to improve village environments and increase income. The act of sharing a diverse set of knowledge and experience acquired by an individual or a family directly illustrated the basic Saemaul spirit of 'diligence, self-help, and cooperation.' In particular, the best practices that female leaders provided included detailed explanations about how they overcame the patriarchal culture and outdated family relations which hindered their participation in the Saemaul Undong. Without getting approval from the parents-in-law or husbands, it was impossible for them to engage in any social activity. Therefore, they implemented various Saemaul programs as female leaders by finding a common ground from which to negotiate or reason instead of trying to eliminate all of the existing values and ways of thinking. They especially emphasized the value of filial duty and the sense of unity as a community as rationales for participation (Kim 2014).

The women who lead in their villages during the Saemaul Undong combined the emergent val-

ues of capitalist production systems and national development with traditional concepts of filial duty and community relations. This enabled them to expand their spheres of interaction in society by negotiating the "old values" to new situations rather than simply rebelling against the dominant traditional culture.

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## Projects and Achievements in the SUWC

The Saemaul Women's Society played the most important role in supporting the female leaders of the Saemaul Undong and implementing their plans by making sure they had the ability to act as self-directed representatives.

## Members

The rural areas in Korea had already organized women's societies during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the most active women's society at that time was regarded as an organization for women to receive educational benefits, and in most cases, they usually acted as female representatives that supported the ruling party during election periods (Park Jin Hwan 2005, p. 167). Comparably, the SUWC was set up in the 1970s and took charge in the programs for improving the village, which made it different from the former women's society. Female leaders were elected based on whether they had the experience in actively participating in the Saemaul programs for the development of their village and their sense of community spirit.

This new women's society consisted of strong female leaders who belonged to the SUWC under the Development Committee who, together with the male leaders, took part in deciding and implementing various village programs. The Saemaul Undong Women's Society was mainly composed of women who age 20–60 years old. Women who were over 60 were treated as special members. In accordance with the regulations of the previous

women's society, the executive committee included one president, one vice president, one auditor, one secretary, several managers, and an advisor. The tenure of the executives was 2 years. The women who were the most active in the society's projects were the young members in their 30s (Ministry of Home Affairs 1980). They demonstrated and executed various ideas and plans for the village businesses, special products, and side jobs. Female members who were older mainly supported these activities.

From 1971, under the name of the Saemaul Undong Women's Society, women's organizations in rural areas were established or reestablished and the number of members increased rapidly shown in Table 24.2. Until 1970, the number of women's societies remained at 2,572, but it increased nearly fourfold to 9,472 by 1971, also increasing the number of members by the same number. Ten years after initiating Saemaul Undong, in 1980, the number of women's societies had increased by about 33 times to 84,693, and the number of members increased by about 36 times.

## Organizational Divisions

The divisions of the Women's Society could increase or decrease depending on business expansions. Generally, these included a Savings, Environment/Living Improvement, Family

Planning, Cultural Activity, and Income Development Divisions. The Savings Division was responsible for planning the rice yield fund, the rice saving fund, the village fund, the waste recovery center, and other consumption activities. The Environment/Living Improvement Division were in charge of improving the environment, food, clothing, shelter, nutrition, and business management. The Family Planning Division planned and conducted research on implementing birth control, healthcare for mothers and children, and national welfare management. The Cultural Activity Division actively carried out guidelines for family rites, various educational programs for sound households, programs for agricultural welfare and culture, and social volunteer programs. The Income Development Division was mainly in charge of the business related to farming activities, side job development, regional development programs, and income. This division was practically in charge of the program for increasing income in the Women's Saemaul Undong (Ministry of Home Affairs 1980, p. 368).

In this way, the Saemaul Undong Women's Society began to grow quantitatively and took the lead in the programs for improving the environment, modernization, and increasing income, which were the key programs of the national movement. First of all, they led the reformation of the outdated lifestyles and attitudes that had remained in the households and communities. Also, they planned and implemented various programs for increasing income and actively participated in programs for improving the environment of the village as a whole. Although they were women, they participated in programs together with men to cultivate farmlands, expand village roads, and construct bridges by exerting physical labor in carrying cement, bricks, and steel frames. During the off-season, they put pressure on the men in the village and their husbands to keep them working, rather than gambling and drinking. Meanwhile, these women utilized their sophisticated skills and had a tremendous influence in increasing farm income by earning extra money from producing embroidery, socks, and small household products.

**Table 24.2** Number of the Saemaul Undong Women's Club and members

Year	Number of SUWC	Number of members
Until 1970	2572	82,000
1971	9472	312,000
1972	28,313	1,633,000
1973	96,920	1,694,000
1974	41,672	2,090,000
1975	43,210	2,161,000
1976	45,545	2,254,000
1977	360,352	2,424,000
1978	68194	2,552,000
1979	80,115	2,678,000
1980	84,693	2,950,000

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs (1980)

## Modernizing and Transforming Patriarchal Culture

The modernization of households and communities was viewed as the greatest achievement the Women's Saemaul Undong had made. Even though the Saemaul Undong started off as a nation-wide movement, villages led the detailed implementation of the plans, making it difficult to receive support from the nation if the Development Committee of each village failed to reach an agreement. This was why villages were forced to emphasize efficiency and effectiveness in their business plans and resource allocation when modernizing during the awareness and decision making process. In particular, the adoption and establishment of a more modern decision-making system provided opportunities for women in rural areas to voice the opinions that have previously been suppressed, and to establish a foundation for taking a leading role in planning and implementing their businesses.

It was meaningful that the village people were given the opportunity to experience such a mechanism of basic politics. Especially for women in rural areas, the experience of participating in the decision-making process provided an opportunity to grow into modern capitalist individuals who had political rights based on rational social contracts instead of traditional stereotypes. Also, the number of village community centers that were constructed during that decade reached 37,012, which meant that the physical foundation for facilitating the community meetings and for allowing participation in the decision-making were installed through the scope of the Saemaul Undong's program for developing villages. In other words, learning about democracy took place systematically and consciously, and intensified through acquiring the physical spaces needed for such learning.

In the process of organizing the Saemaul Undong, there was an increase in the awareness of procedural democracy and individual rights (participating as one vote in the decision-making process) as well as in the public awareness on competition systems and efficiencies. In particu-

lar, the nation's selective support method that encouraged competition was based on the principle of efficiency, which promoted the perception that achieving many things in a short time was a success. An attendance record was drawn up for the people who participated in joint programs of the village, with the records of the arrival times and the calculation of the hours spent working. Penalties were given if people failed to fill the allotted time amount.

People started to worry about ways to efficiently increase income to make a profit as based on their performance. Such a change in consciousness was an innovative transformation in that it was the opposite of the existing outdated values and later it acted as the main value that led the transformation of Korea's agricultural society. Similar to the other Saemaul leaders, the female leaders in the Saemaul Undong also introduced democratic measures and implemented them in various programs. Based on past experiences, they were well aware of the fact that it would be difficult to achieve any project without reaching an agreement with the community. As a result, they created regulations requiring projects to obtain the approval of the female members, and implemented various support programs based on this regulation shown (Table 24.3).

Through the process of implementing the Saemaul Undong and pursuing modernization, traditional values controlling agricultural society transformed in a direction that accepted competition and pursued economic profits. However, the process of such a transformation did not occur naturally. A wind of change emphasizing democratic efficiency and competition acted as a threatening force in the village communities that were accustomed to existing traditional values. There were many conflicts that needed resolution in order for women to be able to carry out development activities and be recognized by their families and neighbors as economic agents. Given the conditions, female leaders had no choice but to compromise with traditional values during the process of accepting modern capitalist values and applying them in their activities. The values that they accepted and justified in their activities were "communalism" and "filial duty".

**Table 24.3** Regulations of the Saemaul Undong Women's Society**Section 1, General Provisions.**

*Article 1, name:* this meeting shall be referred to as the "Saemaul Women's Society" of li and dong (tong, ban) level

*Article 2, purpose:* This meeting aims to achieve the perpetuation of the Saemaul Undong by contributing to regional social development by improving the welfare of women and by fostering sound households and embodying the Saemaul spirit

*Article 3, programs:* this meeting shall implement the following programs to achieve the purpose mentioned in the precious article

1. Programs for improving general culture and abilities to foster sound households
2. Programs for educating children
3. Programs for developing regional society
4. Programs for simplifying rites, including the environment, clothing, food, shelter, and living (operation of a joint settlement and fixed affiliates)
5. Program for improving nutrition in rural areas
6. Program for teaching farming to women
7. Program for cooperative volunteer projects (implementing joint work, operating joint work sites)
8. Program for operating nursing houses during farming season
9. Program for saving (safe business, rice saving, waste collection, etc.)
10. Program for developing extra money for households

**Section 2, membership fees and expenses**

*Article 1, fees and expenses:* in order to pay for expenses in implementing the programs in Article 3, this meeting may impose a monthly fee and accumulate a portion of the business profit and joint funds

*Article 2, management of funds:* the accumulated fund shall be managed in the most reasonable and safest way as decided by the president at the executive meeting, and the management of the fund shall be reported at the monthly meeting

*Article 3, using funds:* the actual expense required to implement the business shall be withdrawn from the accumulated funds in accordance with the decision of the executive meeting, which shall be reported and receive approval at the following monthly meeting

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs (1980, p. 366–370)

Among the female leaders of the Saemaul Undong, an ascetic lifestyle expressed through diligence, faithfulness, and thrift was emphasized in the process of acquiring the concepts of profit

and time from the modern living perspective. Such a change in lifestyle started with the critical self-examination of one's past where, "Women had the wrong idea where they thought one could live well only if one was born with luck, and lived in despair as if they were destined to poverty" (The National Council of Saemaul Undong Movement in Korea 2015). This led to both criticism towards men who lived aimlessly engrossed in the existing value system, and to inspired efforts to improve their lifestyle.

**Increasing Income**

The program for increasing income was an important one that established a foundation where women could voice their opinions in the village community. It certainly matched the fundamental purpose of the Saemaul Undong as a living-well movement, but it also played an important role in allowing women, who had previously only acted as wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law in the patriarchal system, to participate in economic activities and make their own money; thus allowing them to feel confident in the household economy and in the village community. During this process, the leadership of women in the Saemaul Undong devised many plans to increase income among their peers.

The trading business was the most frequently discussed project among female Saemaul leaders. According to oral and written records, the trading businesses were operated mainly by young female members and acted as an important type of project that allowed individuals to renew their perceptions about profits by returning the profits back to the village community.

The female leaders allowed the villagers to purchase goods they supplied at a cheap price in a joint trading place in the village without having to travel far away for the same items. The free labor provided by the members of the SUWC in producing those goods played a substantial role. The members took turns in taking charge of the trading place for about 2 weeks and handed over the profits to the next person in line. In the process, depending on who took charge of the trad-

ing place, there was a difference in the profit margin, which was related to age differences among managers; the younger people were faster in calculating and selling products because they were better educated. The trading business not only sold daily necessities, but also expanded to other domains that made profits. One of the most notable things amongst such activities was to open a village bar. At the time, it was common for the male farmers to drink and gamble during the agricultural off-season. Therefore, the female members began to sell alcohol at cheap prices. The consensus within the SUWC was that if men were going to drink anyway, they might as well drink at the village bar managed by the SUWC so that village could reap the profits. Consequently, the profits made through the village bar were transferred to the joint fund and were used for various programs for the village. The profits were also allocated to individuals who participated in supporting the program. By allocating the profits to individuals, people became more motivated to participate in the program and this especially demonstrated the possibility that women could increase their own incomes without being directly reliant upon men.

The trading business was an important foundation that provided an opportunity to plan other businesses for the female leaders. Many successful stories and best practices were disseminated by Saemaul leaders during training and printed in Saemaul newspapers to be shared among other SUWC members. After learning how to make profits from conducting the trading business, SUWC members began to start their own businesses for their club members and communities in order to produce and sell specialized local products to other regions. This showed that the female leaders who pursued profits by reselling what they had purchased were able to produce and sell their own products based on the experience they had. The programs of the SUWC were implemented in accordance with the regulation of the Saemaul Undong Women's Society. The accumulated assets from the profits made in the business were operated through consultations at the village general assembly in accordance with the regulation of the management and creation of

Saemaul assets. This showed that the procedural democracy and the village residents' participation in the decision-making process were ensured formally and systematically.

### **Land Cultivation and Trading Businesses**

The system and rules drawn up through consensus ensured the participation of the village residents and female members, and projects were operated transparently in order to minimize any conflicts arising from the accumulated assets of the villages. The leaders could develop and expand the joint programs that made great profits by getting the approval of the village.

Along with the increase in individual wealth, the female leaders in the Saemaul Undong underwent extensive cultivation projects in wild and barren lands in order to increase the wealth of the village community. For the agricultural industry, land was the most valuable root of production. Therefore, cultivating the barren land to widen one's own farm land was an important mission in establishing the foundation for accumulating wealth. At the time, the female leaders who cultivated the mountain areas learned the meaning of saving money and pursuing profits by raising cows and by planting fruit trees with their husbands, and then they applied their know-how to the village programs to make more substantial profits. The process of increasing the joint profits of villages based on their experience counterbalanced the previous traditional image of women as non-remunerative domestic servants. Meanwhile, it was also a process of reaffirming that a genuine pursuit of money and profit was not something that should be criticized.

Besides the land cultivation or trading businesses, the female leaders operated their own enterprises, which started to increase the farm income for their members. One woman initially worked as a teacher but was appointed as the Saemaul female leader after being sent to a rural area. She used her talents to make various handicrafts which elevated the farm income during the off season. Later, she also made products, includ-

ing handbags and corsages, together with the female members by using discarded stockings. Based on the experience gained by making small products, the storyteller taught embroidery to other female members in order to sell embroidered folding screens to the Korean residents in Japan. The business started off as a profit-making project for the village, and later became an important foundation for many subsequent enterprises, including her own business that later produced and sold regional products including sweaters and blankets.

There were also other attempts made by the villages to start their own business to increase individual incomes through side jobs. Other various side jobs were developed where people made income through labor, such as the production of straw bags, making and sell sportswear for the village school, and doing joint cultivation of the village land with crops and selling them to share in the profits. The income made through other labor was all accumulated for the village programs and the rest was distributed to the individuals. The profit distributed to individual members of the Women's Society was used to achieve changes in the power relations among the family members by adding to their resources.

### **Improving the Living Environment**

The program for improving houses and village environments was a project that combined the concepts of maximizing productivity in relation to the workforce, efficiency, and time management. Improving the inefficient thatched roofs, improving the housing structures, providing a communal washing place, and installing electrical and water supply system were all important factors that changed the way in which women executed domestic work. At the same time, it also provided an opportunity for them to participate in public arenas and profit-making businesses.

Together with the improvement of housing structures, the program for improving the village

environment reduced the workload of women in rural areas. The inefficient thatched roofs, which had to be replaced regularly, were changed to permanent slate roofs, while housing structures that did not take women's movements into consideration were transformed into more accommodating homes through modernization. Also, water supply systems were provided so that people no longer had to go outside to fetch water, and the widened roads made it easier to transport and move between villages. These changes provided a foundation for women to more easily enter into the public sphere. Above all, the time spent on doing domestic work was reduced, which increased the physical and psychological time spent in public activities. Also, the increase in spatial accessibility through the widened roads increased the scope of activities for the female members. Moreover, the joint cooking preparation areas and laundry facilities made in the village allowed women to spend time more effectively during the farming season, where they could exchange opinions and enjoy joint activities. The calculations done on the amount of labor and expenses saved from using a communal kitchen and food preparation space showed how the women in rural areas adopted the concept of efficient use of assets and labor, and the concept of profits.

The program for expanding village roads was one of the most nationally representative programs in terms of improving rural environments. At the time, rural villages were established without any civic planning and most of them had narrow unpaved roads. These roads turned into mud when it rained or snowed, and dirtied the poor water supply systems. Also, cars could not travel these roads because they were too narrow. As the villagers joined hands to put cement on the roads, the foundation for increasing income was established. Above all, cars could get in and out of the roads, allowing agricultural goods and fertilizers to be more easily transported. Also, the sanitation of the villages improved.

The program for expanding the village roads was one that could cause huge conflicts between



residents. If the private land of individuals was to be included in the roads for expansion, the government would not compensate for it. Therefore, in most cases, the village residents would collect a fund to compensate for the land, or the land owner would donate the land to the village. Considering the social and political atmosphere at the time, most of the people donated their land to the community without objection even if they suffered a loss. Whether it was by force or not, the incorporation of private lands to widen the village inroads made it easier to mechanize the agricultural industry of Korea. The widened village roads provided a foundation for the mechanization of the agricultural industry, which helped the women in rural areas. They were able to improve the efficiency of labor by not using livestock or personally moving the goods. Also, the sanitation level of the whole village improved, which strengthened the interactions of female members.

In summary, the Women's Saemaul Undong, which started with the goal of modernizing the farming villages and increasing their income, instilled a modern concept of time and profit to the women in rural areas. Based on this, a modern capitalist shift took place in attitudes and lifestyle. The women in rural areas were able to execute diverse activities through increasing their income independently through the organization of the Saemaul Undong Women's Society and the SUWC. By gaining wealth as the result of their activities, they established a foundation where they could justify their activities. They worked as much as the men to cultivate farmland, to improve village environments, and to do side jobs for additional profits. This was not only for individual wealth but also for the wealth of the village community. Also, they shifted the outdated traditional cultural values about family and community toward a more modern direction by making strategically appropriate compromises and resistances. The activities of national development through Saemaul brought many changes in the spiritual and physical lives of women in Korea's rural areas.

## Conclusion

This chapter examined how the SUWC worked to reduce poverty at the village level as a community-based organization. It focused on scrutinizing the club's roles and contributions to helping impoverished communities develop and overcome their poverty. From the viewpoint of community well-being, the activities of the SUWC can be interpreted as a community nonprofit organization for rebuilding communities by turning them into places where residents can live well by reducing poverty. The club had an important role in reducing poverty in rural villages throughout 1970s' Korea. Reviewing the activities of the SUWC in bettering communities reveals successful practices that can be applied to community-based organizations seeking to improve residents' well-being. The role of the SUWC in rural community development in Korea demonstrates how such organization can help residents to self-organize and contribute to their community's well-being.

Based on this fact, recommendations should take into account how the Saemaul Undong Women's Club organized and proceeded, and how it was initiated. Additionally, it would be useful to further refine definitions of community-based organizations, examine the specific projects used by the SUWC to reduce poverty, and to highlight which practices can be applied to different contexts and cultures. The SUWC took on an enormous role in overcoming historical challenges not only against poverty but also in changing women's status in Korean society.

Having a woman as Saemaul leader in a village had ensured that women participated in community decisions and performed roles to rebuild their communities. SUWC leadership has strong implications for community development to address poverty at the family and community levels. The leadership of women is strongly associated with the keys to successful community building efforts in developing communities. The presence of woman leaders in communities through groups like the SUWC encourage women's participation and involvement in community

issues as an asset in community development. Without women's leadership in the Saemaul Undong in Korea, community development may have been poorly implemented (Choi and Ahn 2001).

The SUWC was critical in facilitating the participation of women in several community projects. As community leaders in rural areas, the SUWC as a group was able to influence some behaviors of individuals or groups towards a more desirable neighborhood and community environment. The SUWC is a neighborhood association in a community context and acts as an NGO with all leaders chosen on a voluntary basis. They were elected by the members of the communities and appointed by the Department of National Unity. Most of the SUWC leaders had a strong desire to serve by doing anything that they could to help the community, such as solving residential problems and bringing about socio-economic changes. Other reasons that have been given include a strong motivation to do something for the community, having a strong interest in and capacity for leadership, being very interested in voluntary work, and having the necessary support from friends and neighbors.

During the community building process, women deserve to participate as stakeholders. It makes community members more aware of gender equality and pushes them to recognize its importance, thus making them treat woman with improved rights. Through the SUWC activities, women at the community level were able to exercise their right to voice their opinions and had a chance to vote on community issues. The SUWC can also be considered an experimental field for practicing democracy among women under traditional Confucian culture in order to guarantee their universal human rights of decision making and self-determination. As a democratic model enabling women to practice democratic processes and discussions, the SUWC was a way to practice democracy at the community level. It provided women, particularly housewives, an opportunity to engage in self-determination, making the family an independent unit in community projects in Korean rural development. Choi's study (2013) showed the SUWC to be one of the pillars con-

tributing to poverty reduction in Korea. The SUWC took on a critical role in addressing poverty by enabling women in the community to reach a consensus and determine their own cooperative methods to improving their living conditions. The SUWC was successful in community development programs as evaluated by achievements in increased income, increased trading and business, and improving living conditions.

The SUWC, as a community organization, was focused on resolving specific issues related to residents' unique local situations. It was not complicated to involve women in their village because of the guaranteed accessibility when organization support was provided in the area. The organizational connection with others under similar goals put forth under the Saemaul spirit allowed women to build a more widely accessible power structure, often with the end goal of poverty reduction and improved living conditions. The SUWC generally sought to build groups that were open and democratic in governance as shown by Kim and Lee (2014). They showed how the Saemaul Undong and SUWC affiliated projects encouraged consensus in decision-making with a focus on achieving general goals.

Governance among the government, businesses, and communities was conducted with specific groups organized at the grass-roots level, including the SUWC as a value-based community organization. The SUWC is a grassroots bridge between strategic national development policies and highly variable regional conditions. It also shared in the common faith of the Saemaul spirit; self-help, diligence, and cooperation were crucial in the practices of SUWC projects. The community services for which the SUWC was responsible that showed representative achievements in improving community living standard included sanitation projects, kitchen appliance renovation, and nutritional improvement in local diets.

The reason the SUWC has been referred to as one of the best practices for developing countries by international organizations is because it was the result of public-private-partnership in governance. It contributed to community development

without external payments or financial support, nor much of an operating budget. With unpaid voluntary work in their community, members developed their own network among other SUWC villages and established an infrastructure with other Saemaul clubs such as the Saemaul Youth Club, the 4H club, and village Saemaul Club. Thus the SUWC can be understood as a community-based organization that is non-profit and works through neighborhood membership. And it inclusively utilized community facilities and interaction among residents. The foundation of the SUWC relates to Saemaul leaders' selection and education. They formed collaborations not only through membership but with other organizations in residential areas using community integration, poverty reduction, and improved community well-being. The cooperation and integration of residents and other organizations was a contributing factor to the success of the SUWC as a community-based organization. SUWC served not economic development but human services such as health, education, farm work, child rearing, parenting, and nutrition in local residential communities.

In sum, the SUWC was one of most prominent community-based organizations which worked to improve rural communities' quality of life and well-being through poverty reduction and improved gender equality. As reviewed above, the Korean case of the Saemaul Undong Women's Club contributed to community well-being by supporting women in transforming their traditional roles and status in Korean society. This has implications for underdeveloped and developing countries as women's status often needs to be improved so that future generations can lead better lives. In particular, the SUWC tapped women as a potential force in the labor market whose fully developed human capital should be considered. Moreover, the SUWC demanded that girls be included in mandated educational opportunities alongside boys. And outreach projects stemming from the women's society resulted in evening courses and vocational training courses offered by the SUWC for underrepresented rural women to improve their education, training, and place in society.

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## Widening Understandings of Poverty and Well-Being

The difference between this and other definitions [of poverty] lies in its purpose, which is to reveal how poor people live, perceive their situation, and think it should be modified. It aims to show the way in which they see themselves and those they interact with, how they define the actions of the latter and interpret the world around them. It also seeks to show how their ways of knowing set limits to the notions and concepts which the observer approaches them (Vasilachis de Gialdino 2006, p. 484)

So in all fairness I think our quality of life now ain't that bad at all Obviously there are people who are better off but we don't want a great deal. Peace and tranquillity, one of the reasons we are here is for that isn't it, and we don't want to be greedy. (George (a resident of rural Wales))

Drawing on results from ethnographic research in Buenos Aires, the sociologist Vasilachis de Gialdino (2006) recently offered a critique of poverty research that debated the conventional categorisations of poverty, arguing that such approaches are underpinned by normative, materialistic (poverty based on levels of income and material possessions), and statistical

approaches that largely ignore the ways in which poor individuals perceive their own situations. Through her research she argued that previous approaches to poverty studies have too often emphasised the material differences between 'poor' and 'nonpoor' groups in communities. This, she suggested, diminishes the importance of the "essential components of poor people's identity which is common to all human beings" (ibid, p. 483) and embellishes the material deprivations of their lives. Such approaches also risk downplaying the individual sense of well-being that people within these groups may have about themselves and their particular circumstances and the ways in which the community they live in understand and position them. A more balanced approach to understanding poverty is argued for by Vasilachis de Gialdino that enables poor people to be viewed as individuals whose positions within various networks provide forms of exclusion *and* inclusion, thereby suggesting the need to understand the relationship between the individual and the community.

Similar interactions and scales of inquiry are also present within well-being research. In these contexts, community is often defined based on an aggregation of individuals that have common relationships and interactions within a defined place (Gill 1999). As Ramsey and Smit (2002, p. 369) argue, it "can be defined based on geographic or spatial boundaries, as well as social/cultural, economic, institutional, and political

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structures and functions, particularly where there is a widely shared common interest". For rural areas, well-being can be defined based on a range of criteria, including employment, income, economic structure, crime, education, population density, fiscal need and fiscal capacity, as well as poverty (Reeder 1990) at both the individual and community scale. This chapter specifically focuses on well-being in rural areas and seeks to broaden understandings of poverty within community well-being research.

When exploring the community well-being of the poor it is important to understand poverty situations in relation to the mix of "material, symbolic, spiritual and transcendent goods" (Vasilachis de Gialdino 2006, p. 468) that poor people possess or lack in different combinations, as opposed to the privileging of one of these goods – the material – over the others. Vasilachis de Gialdino goes on to contend that there is a need for more sensitive accounts of poverty that are better able to capture poor people's situations, actions, and perceptions and "make the known subject's voice heard, taking care that they are not distorted through translation into the codes of scientific text" (ibid, p. 486). Other authors have also questioned the conventional normative and materialistic approaches to poverty research. Lister (2004) for instance explores the state of poverty research in the United Kingdom (UK) and criticises the privileged position of experts within the knowledge construction of poverty, arguing for researchers to take the viewpoints of poor people more seriously. Empirical studies have also explored how groups normatively defined as 'poor' and 'homeless' will actively deny these labels (see Beresford et al. 1999; Veness 1993). Additionally, some researchers have discussed the need to understand poverty in relation to its material *and* sociocultural components. Social forms of deprivation associated with living on low income, for example, were explored nearly 40 years ago in Townsend's (1979) study of relative poverty. While recognising the role that low income plays in the production of poverty, Sen's (2006) work on capabilities related to poverty in the developing world also highlighted its social dimensions, arguing that

attention must be given to the broader social, cultural, and political contexts that influence the quality of life experienced by poor people. Importantly in relation to community well-being as a whole, this also included their ability to sustain social goods and actively engage in community life. Increased attention must also be paid to the cultural dimensions of poverty, specifically in relation to the development of antipoverty strategies (Alkire 2004). In discussing results of her research, Alkire notes that the importance of materiality by participants did not outrank culture in their constructions of everyday life, instead the two were interspersed, leading her to argue that:

poor persons have a complex notion of well-being, with plural constituents, ranging from the tangible (food, health) to the intangible (a lack of security, a lack of self-respect, and inability to bring up children, a lack of peace of mind, a lack of happiness, and a lack of harmony or spirituality) (ibid, p. 190).

In a similar vein, Small et al. (2010) discuss how a "greater sensitivity to cultural conditions can enrich our understanding of poverty" (p. 8) and argue for new engagements between poverty and cultural studies to enhance understanding of the value sets possessed by poor people, the manner in which they perceive themselves within their wider surroundings and community, and the repertoires or cultural toolkits that they are able to utilise in particular situations. Through the work of Swidler (1986) they discuss how "the poor do not possess different values from the rest of society but rather have access to a different repertoire from which to construct their strategies of action" (Small et al. 2010, p. 10). They also go on to emphasise the importance of narratives of personal experience for making sense of the life worlds of poor people and their use of symbolic boundaries to define a "hierarchy of groups and the similarities and differences between them" (ibid, p. 11).

In making sense of the linkages between poverty and culture, it is useful to draw on the works of Bourdieu (1984, 1986). He suggests that class distinctions and inequalities are revealed not only through the economic arena but also through everyday cultural tastes and behaviours, leading

to an “unconscious acceptance of social differences and hierarchies – to a sense of one’s place and the behaviours of self-exclusion” (Bourdieu 1984, p. 141). Culture can become an important economic marker of differentiation between economic classes due to the transference of economic resources into cultural forms of capital. As a result, the cultural tastes and behaviours of the middle classes (and their associated institutions) become the norms by which the working classes, and in the case of this chapter those living on low income, position themselves and are positioned by others. This can lead to the cultural traits of impoverished groups within their communities and mainstream society often being constructed as ‘out place’.

This chapter seeks to explore these wider considerations of poverty by drawing on results from recent research with poor people in rural places. As suggested by the second of the opening quotations, the connections between normative and self-definitions, and between material, social, and cultural understandings of rural poverty, community, and well-being are not always straightforward. George, a man in his 70s and living in a village in northwest Wales, UK, is officially categorised as living in poverty in terms of his low income. He recognises that, in material terms, there are others in his village who are better off than him, however he perceives his quality of life and well-being as “ain’t that bad at all”. In George’s case, the place characteristics that offer “peace and tranquillity” are able to compensate for material deprivations as well as the ways in which low levels of material expectation can shape people’s constructions of quality of life. This chapter aims to construct bottom-up accounts of the relationship between the material, social, and cultural dimensions of poverty and well-being by drawing on the narratives of individuals living on low income in rural places. To do this, the chapter utilises statistical data from a survey of households in rural Wales and qualitative materials from interviews with people living below the official poverty threshold. However, it is important first to explore the nature of poverty and well-being as revealed by recent scholarship in this area.

## Recognising the Social and Cultural Dimensions of Rural Poverty and Community Well-Being

Poverty results in a wide range of issues in relation to well-being, with poor individuals having higher rates of illness, crime victimization, stress, unemployment, as well as decreased levels of life satisfaction (Pearlin et al. 1981; Ross and Huber 1985; Williams 1990) and lower levels of social resources, such as social networks and family contacts (Amato and Zuo 1992). However, many of these issues have originally been drawn from an urban perspective rather than rural understanding of poverty. Issues of rural poverty in the UK have been discussed since the 1970s, when academic debates explored how to conceptualise problems of poverty and deprivation within the wider context of service provision in rural areas (Shaw 1979; Walker 1978). Since that time, rural poverty has become recognised as a discreet area of research in the UK with a well-developed set of associated literature (see Alcock 2007; Lister 2004). The first robust exploration of rural poverty began in the mid-1980s when an evidence base was developed based on a 750 household survey. Based on Townsend’s (1979) indicator of relative poverty, the survey collected data in five locations in rural England and revealed that a quarter of households lived in or on the margins of poverty (see Bradley 1986; McLaughlin 1986). A repeat survey of these five locations in addition to 11 other rural areas in England and Wales 10 years later found a persistent problem, with a nearly identical level of poverty in the original five areas as well as at least one fifth of households in or on the margins of poverty in 13 of the 16 other areas studied (see Cloke et al. 1995; 1997a; 1997b). A continuation of this trend has been confirmed in more recent studies based on official data on low income in England. Palmer’s (2009) analysis of households living below average income, for example, highlighted that 19 % of households in rural England were living in poverty in 2006/2007.

Statistical data such as this has been highly influential in raising the profile of rural poverty within the wider poverty literature, which

particularly in the UK focused largely on urban areas. Yet, additional research has demonstrated how certain key aspects of rural poverty perpetuate its invisibility within academic, policy and lay discourse, with the most apparent concerns related to the spatial characteristics of rural poverty. The more urban poor tend to have greater physical visibility in public discourse as a result of their spatial concentration, compared to rural and remote settlements which often result in scattered populations dispersed across large areas (Cloke et al. 1997b; Milbourne 2004a; Shucksmith 2000). In addition, the nature of rural poverty results in marked differences between urban and rural understandings of poverty within communities due to the unique social attributes of poor groups in rural areas. Rural poverty, for example, is less related to unemployment, one-parent households, and ethnic minority groups than urban poverty. Older people also constitute a larger majority of the poor population in rural areas (see Milbourne 2006). The physical characteristics of rural areas often results in a limited provision of social goods, such as public housing and transport, the consequence of this is that most poor households are forced to rely on private or informal provision of key services in order to stay in that rural community (see Cloke et al. 1997b; Milbourne 2004a). This is at odds with the typical perception that people impacted by poverty are often more reliant on the public sector. The reliance on the private sector, however, can magnify people's poverty due to excessive associated costs in rural areas, with a recent study of minimum income standards in the UK indicating higher costs of living in rural places (Smith et al. 2010).

In relation to well-being, rural poverty has a range of sociocultural processes that further complicates the lives of poor rural residents as a result of perceptions of the 'rural idyll' in the UK. The idea of the 'rural idyll' is popularised within national media and public discourse leading to a denial of the presence of poverty in rural places (Cloke and Milbourne 1992). The desire to embrace the concept often leads to migration by generally wealthy residents from the cities to rural areas (see Phillips 2002), which reduces not

only the physical and statistical presence of rural poverty (Milbourne 2004b) but also the social and cultural contexts of rural communities. This changes the make-up of local social institutions and creates different cultural norms of rural living, changing the relative way particular groups feel about their place in the community while also expanding existing social inequalities (see Cloke et al. 1998; Gilbert et al. 2006; Milbourne 2004a).

The social context of place is very important for understanding an individual's sense of well-being and relationship to the wider community. Previous rural poverty research explored how the social context shaped understandings and experiences of poverty. For example, the dominance of local systems of paternalism resulted in sharp class divisions within rural society and led to the normalisation of particular forms of poverty within the agricultural workforce in rural England in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Newby et al. 1978). More current place-based research on attitudes towards poverty and welfare support in rural areas has highlighted how cultures of paternalism can influence community inclusion (Milbourne 2004a). Previous research on rural community well-being has highlighted the variable ways in which groups within rural areas manage distress and stress (Luloff and Swanson 1990; Wilkinson 1991). While in the USA, ethnographic research on rural poverty has shown how the relationship between poor and nonpoor groups is influenced by the nature of a community, impacting the ability for certain groups to move out of poverty and generate a greater sense of individual well-being (Duncan 1999). Duncan (1999, p. 294) notes that poor people's "immediate social context shapes who they become and how they see their options, both as individuals and as a community" (see also Duncan and Lamborghini 1994). Additional research by Sherman (2006) has discussed poverty in rural California and how the local sociocultural context affects the behaviour of poor people, as well as "dictating appropriate means for surviving economic hardships" (ibid, p. 909). He goes on to note that resultant local cultural norms can also foster informal work and



self-sufficiency over welfare dependency while providing a coping mechanism for the rural poor:

within a small, tightly-knit, rural community, the choices that the poor make influence not only their material survival but also their community standing through the creation or diminution of ‘moral capital’, a form of symbolic capital based on perceived moral worth. Coping strategies that may be commonly used in the urban setting and seem financially rational, can be socially and economically irrational in the rural setting (ibid, pp. 891–892).

More recently, it has been argued that rural poverty needs to be constructed as a broader cultural process (Shubin 2010). Drawing on the works of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) in relation to education, society, and culture, Shubin discusses poverty as a “complex set of practices and experiences which unfold through the inter-relationships between local cultures, opportunities, and lifestyles” (Shubin 2010, p. 556). Utilising research undertaken in rural Ireland and Russia, he goes on to argue that local social and cultural context actively influences the everyday lives of those on low incomes in rural locations:

poverty is constructed within social, cultural and moral networks, which make it changeable and difficult to categorise along the conventional lines of affluence, contentment and remoteness. Poverty is therefore not reducible to material hardship and it is more of a cultural process enacted in the course of everyday networked connections (ibid, p. 565).

These accounts of the sociocultural contexts of poverty and well-being are explored in the next section through the rather complex relations between the material, social and cultural dimensions of poverty in rural communities. This is drawn from research on the study of poverty in rural Wales, which involved an extensive survey of households and in-depth interviews with individuals living in poverty in order to understand how it impacted on their well-being and sense of place in their community. A representative sample of 4,071 households in rural Wales was conducted in 2007 covering a wide range of themes relating to living and working. Income was included as a question which allowed households to be categorised as ‘poor’ or ‘non-poor’ based on the official UK threshold of pov-

erty. Following on from the survey, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with a sample of 30 people living in poor households in 2008 in order to generate a more nuanced understanding of material situations and experiences of low income in rural places, and the impact of these on their sense of well-being. Household type, gender, age, and location of interviewees were varied to provide a range of poverty situations.

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### The Material and Sociocultural Disconnections and Their Complexities in Rural Wales

For the purpose of this research, rural Wales has been defined as the nine most rural local authority areas in Wales: Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Conwy, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Isle of Anglesey, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, and Powys. The survey explored the percentage of people living below the official UK poverty threshold of 60 % of the national median income for Wales, which at the time of the survey was approximately £10,000 per year. It revealed that 18 % of households in rural Wales lived below the official poverty threshold in 2007. Looking at this information in detail however highlights a distinctive spatial pattern of rural poverty, with the highest levels of poverty of greater than 20 % noted in the more remote westerly local authority areas of Anglesey, Gwynedd, and Ceredigion in west Wales. Eastern rural areas closer to England fared far better, with Monmouthshire, in south-east Wales, which is within commuting distance of the major urban centres of Cardiff and Bristol, recording only 9 % of households in poverty. In addition to this west-east pattern, there exists substantial variation within local areas, with many districts recording sharp contrasts of high and low rates between neighbouring areas. In addition, the levels of poverty in some of the more westerly areas are similar to rates in some of the ex-industrial valleys in southern Wales. This is notable as these ex-industrial valley areas have received a high level of political and policy interest in relation to poverty reduction and

well-being advancement compared to these rural areas in Wales.

The household survey provided some key findings in relation to rural poverty. Poor households were overwhelmingly white (99 %) in terms of ethnic group, while household composition highlighted a particularly large percentage of poor older households with 36 % containing at least one person aged at least 65 years and only 12 % of rural poor households comprised of single parents. Low-paid employment and its relationship to poverty and well-being is also noticeable, with 29 % of poor households containing at least one person in work. Finally, poor households were largely reliant on the private sector for key goods and services rather than the public sector, with only 21 % of households living in social rented housing, 52 % having no peak-hour public bus service, and 71 % of those surveyed in poor households requiring a private vehicle for their everyday travel.

While such data is useful for understanding distinctions between urban and rural as well as spatial variations of poverty, there is a need for a more normative understanding of the links between poverty and well-being. This is provided in reference to the ways in which individuals categorised as poor according to their income consider their quality of life, personal finances, and places of residence. In regards to the first of these issues, 86 % of those surveyed from poor households considered their quality of life to be either 'very good' or 'fairly good'. This may be considered a rather high figure given their low household incomes and the fact that it is only 12 % lower than the percentage recorded by affluent households (98 %), who are defined as those with an annual gross income of at least £52,000. Table 25.1 demonstrates the high levels of quality of life ('very good') that were registered from the various groups categorised as rural poor. It is worth noting that individuals from the smallest settlements and those who had lived in the local area for longer periods, and who were in the older age groups, were most likely to respond in positive terms.

Those rural respondents living in poverty also tended to frame their personal financial positions

in largely positive terms, with only 30 % of respondents in poor households describing their financial situation as 'difficult' or 'very difficult'. This figure is considerably higher than the entire sample (13 %) and the affluent households category (3 %), however surprisingly more respondents in poor households considered themselves to be 'coping' on their current income than 'experiencing any financial difficulties'. An additional 23 % assessed themselves as 'living comfortably' on their present income. It is also worth noting that place was discussed in broadly positive terms by poor households, with nine out of ten households stating that they were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with their location as a place to live, which is only slightly less than those in affluent households at 95 %. Table 25.2 also highlights that the main attributes of place that were valued by respondents in different categories are incredibly similar. Also notable from the table is that the more natural aspects of a place – such as its 'peace and quiet', 'scenery', and 'pleasant environment' – are most valued by affluent and poor respondents alike.

**Table 25.1** Respondents in poor households describing their quality of life as 'very good' (Source: household survey)

n = 493	%
Place of residence	
Town	48
Village	48
Hamlet/isolated property	53
Length of residence	
Less than 5 years	47
More than 30 years	53
Gender	
Male	52
Female	48
Age (years)	
16–34	49
35–44	45
45–54	64
55–64	67
65 or over	74

**Table 25.2** The positive place attributes mentioned by respondents in different income groups (Source: household survey)

n = 4071	Poor (%)	All (%)	Affluent (%)
Peace and quiet	49	53	54
Scenery	30	27	33
Pleasant environment	24	21	22
Good location	20	20	24
Friendly people/neighbours	15	13	12
Community spirit	10	9	6
Local facilities	10	10	11
Closeness to nature	9	11	13
Safe environment	8	9	12

These categories are derived from an open-ended question. As most respondents mentioned more than one attribute, the figures in each column total more than 100 %.

### Individual Reflections on the Material and Sociocultural Complexities of Poverty and Community Well-Being

These understandings of quality of life, personal finances, and place align well to two of Vasilachis de Gialdino's claims. The first is that the poor discuss their well-being in largely positive terms and, second, that poor and nonpoor groups often share similar value systems that go beyond material possessions in constructing their sense of well-being. Further exploration of these issues is now provided through a discussion of themes that emerged from interviews with people living in poor rural households. The interviews place particular attention on the manner in which participants discuss their relative well-being in relation to personal finances and understandings of poverty.

The interview transcripts highlight a comparable disconnection between the material and sociocultural dimensions of poverty to that discussed in the survey research. The following extracts of interviews with two older people note the material difficulties of living on low incomes, including the reliance on state welfare payments

and the inability to repair the household car. Yet it is also apparent that material deprivation is being discussed within a fairly positive discussion of their situation, with both individuals discussing a sense of 'happiness' in their lives:

I find myself now entirely dependent upon the state benefit, which of course is not very much .... We are a bit pushed financially but, contrary to popular opinion, I don't think that happiness ... lie[s] with how much money you have got in the bank, you know we just have to cope. (male, seventies, small town, north Wales)

Going by our neighbours, I mean the one side they are working and I guess they've got a very good standard of living. The other side they are retired and I guess they have got a much better standard of living than we have because they've got two cars and they keep changing cars, whereas mine is a very old car and when mine packs in, that's it, I can't afford another one. So I guess looking materially, then probably we are worse off, but we are happy and we've got our home and that counts for a lot, I think. (female, sixties, village, southwest Wales)

Other respondents discussed material hardships in relation to the broader sociocultural contexts of rural places. Specific reference was made to how local community provides a useful mechanism to improve well-being by addressing issues of poverty through informal support mechanisms allowing for the alleviation of individual situations of low income and material deprivation. Jane, for example, a woman living in a village in north Wales discussed the ways in which other individuals in the village were able to assist her in managing the material difficulties she had on low income:

I am a single parent so it's not easy sometimes and I have to work, you know. We get by but I can't afford carpet and things like that. I've never got any cash to do things like that – I rely on what people give me the people I know in the village would, if they had a bit extra or if they went shopping and things were reduced, they would buy some extra and bring it round with a little food parcel. (female, thirties, village, north Wales)

Interviewees also noted how local cultural norms shape the understandings of poverty and an individual's feelings of well-being. A number of

participants living in villages and more isolated areas argued that living on low income in a rural area involves a careful balancing of the material, social, and environmental aspects of everyday life, with community, landscape, and nature viewed as elements that improved personal well-being, helping to compensate for material deprivation. Other interviewees discussed sets of material expectations, limitations, and compromises that local cultural norms impose on the lives of the poor in rural areas:

A lot of people have lived in the area for quite a long time and they are something like myself in that they don't look for entertainment and they live pretty simple lives. (male, sixties, village, southwest Wales)

I know of an older person who is definitely struggling but who is very proud and won't ask for help. And I know that obviously there are people who just have a very simple lifestyle shall we say. (female, forties, village, southwest Wales)

Returning to the survey evidence, a further important disconnect between material and sociocultural understandings of poverty is apparent. The presence of poverty in their local area was noticeable by 38 % of respondents categorised as living in poor households. What is perhaps more surprising is that a higher percentage of respondents in nonpoor households recognised the presence of poverty – at 43 % for all households and 47 % for those in affluent households. As before, it is the same three subgroups of the poor population who were least likely to mention any problems. Local poverty was only acknowledged by 25 % of those aged 65 years or over, 26 % of people resident in their local area for more than 30 years, and 28 % of those living in the smallest settlements.

Three main themes are apparent in the interview transcripts in relation to this denial of local poverty among poor people which draw on constructions of community level well-being rather than individual well-being. The first of these is in relation to the physical invisibility of poverty in the local area, in part due to the dispersed nature of rural settlements as noted by one participant:

We're not like in the cities where you've got the areas who [sic] are deprived, so probably not [got

any people in the area on low income], not to a great extent anyway. It's very difficult for me to say. (female, sixties, southwest Wales)

The second theme relates to comparisons with historical perceptions of welfare provision. A number of participants, especially older ones, framed the current provision of welfare support as being able to assist those without work or on low income from entering into poverty. As a woman in her 70s in southwest Wales noted, "I think the Government look after people these days, don't they." In relation to this discussion, the third theme discussed by older interviewees concerns the perceived acceptable standard of living of those people in receipt of state benefits:

*Would you say that there are people on low income in your area?* No, I don't think so the unemployed got cars and things like that, so I wouldn't say they're on the breadline around here they all seem quite comfortable and happy, you know. (male, seventies, village, northwest Wales)

More broadly, however, there was a greater recognition of the presence of poverty in local rural communities. These were often manifested through individual discussions of well-being, with one single parent noting,

yes, I live amongst them. On the council estate everyone is skint. There are a lot of single mothers here and families with no jobs because there's not an awful lot of work down here. (female, thirties, southwest Wales)

A key spatial distinction was noted in relation to the 'council estate' which was seen as the site of poverty in rural areas by some respondents. These small estates are often located on the edges of rural villages and therefore add a particular spatial dimension to the social marginalisation experienced by their occupants:

*Any people on low incomes in your area?* Yes I would think so I know areas where like there are housing association homes there are quite a few single mums about here, that sort of thing. (male, sixties, village, southwest Wales)

I'm thinking about the people in the old people's bungalows and there are a few of those, and there is another place nearby where there is a lot of council housing. (female, fifties, town, northwest Wales)

## Well-Being and Poverty: Social Capital and Community Participation

Urban poverty and well-being literature have both raised concerns about declining levels of social capital and community participation present within disadvantaged communities and the ways in which difficult local social contexts can exacerbate the misery of poverty and declining sense of community and individual well-being in cities (see Dinham 2006; Lupton 2005; Lupton and Power 2002; Warr 2005; Warren et al. 2001). Based on the preceding discussion, however, rural areas appear to be more complex due to the local sociocultural context that is associated with both exclusionary *and* inclusionary processes. Based on the household survey, it can be seen that the vast majority of respondents in poor households were extremely positive about the social and cultural fabric of their community (see Table 25.3). More than three quarters of poor households make reference to a strong sense of local community, feeling safe in their area, and claiming that people look after each other. As with other aspects of the survey, it can be noted that the views put forward by poor households broadly align to those reported by other income groups. Once again, it is also notable that within the poor group the survey data demonstrates that it is the older, long-established residents, and those living in the smallest settlements that are most likely to make positive reference to the community.

In relation to local community participation, Table 25.3 highlights high levels of community involvement amongst the rural poor as well as apparent similarities between those in different income groups. It is worth noting that 80 % of respondents in poor households viewed themselves as members of their local community, which is just slightly lower than the rates recorded for the other income groups. In addition, nearly two thirds spoke with their neighbours on a daily basis as opposed to half of those in affluent households. Where a greater contrast can be seen however is in relation to isolation. Despite a majority of poor households reporting that they did not view themselves as ‘isolated living where

**Table 25.3** Levels of social capital and community participation by income (Source: household survey)

n = 4071	Poor (%)	All (%)	Affluent (%)
People in my community look after each other	80	83	81
I feel safe living in my community	90	94	95
There is a strong sense of community in the place I live	76	78	79
I consider myself to be a member of the local community	80	82	84
I speak to neighbours most days	64	58	50
I have provided care for a neighbour or friend during the last 12 months	43	43	45
It can feel isolated living where I do	25	17	18

I do’, it is apparent that isolation is a greater issue for poor households, at 25 % compared to 17 % for all households and 18 % for affluent households. In relation to this, it is noteworthy that rates of expressed isolation were higher amongst those living in villages compared to those in hamlets and open countryside, as well as for recently arrived residents compared to established residents. This highlights the key role played by social and cultural factors in mitigating experiences of poverty and improving individual well-being.

The interviews took these themes forward through explorations of sociality and community. Community belonging for older and long-established interviewees was often framed in relation to social familiarity and friendliness. Pat, a woman in her 60s living in a rural town in central Wales discussed it this way:

Everyone knows me from the young to the old. Some of the older people remember me growing up and say do you remember when you did this and that. It’s a lovely way to be. I like being friendly.

John, a single man in his 70s who lives in a small town in north Wales, discussed sociality in relation to how community belonging was able to overcome his feelings of personal loneliness:

Everybody knows everybody. If you're feeling down at home you can surely walk down the street into town and you will see somebody you know to have a chat. It's very friendly.

Consistent reference is made throughout the interviews to the presence of strong, established, and local systems of informal support. Many of the interviewees highlight how 'the community' would often come together to offer help to people during periods of crisis:

I mean while I have been ill, there have been endless people coming and looking after me; all the cooking done, all the other things, all the cleaning done, you know. (male, seventies, village, north-west Wales)

You know if somebody gets hurt or somebody dies, or something like that; people do rally around. I know, I lost my mum a few years ago and the people were fantastic and they still are even today, you know. (male, forties, town, southwest Wales)

There was also reference made to community resilience as a key coping strategy for individuals who lacked the necessary private transport to allow them to travel to health services and retail facilities located far from where they lived:

There was an old gentlemen, sorry he has gone now, but he used to go down to [name of nearby town] shopping and many a time we have seen him at the bus stop and we have picked him up and brought him home, rather than him catching the bus. Or if he was walking along the road and somebody passed from the village, they would stop automatically and pick them up. There is always somebody that would help out. (male, sixties, village, northeast Wales)

These positive aspects of community and the role it played in improving individual well-being dominated the discussions provided by interviewees. However also noticeable were some of the more negative aspects of rural poverty. The local culture of self-help, self-sufficiency, and limited expenditure were contrasted against material hardship and entitlement to national welfare support. The behaviour patterns of people living in poverty were often seen to be influenced by the insular nature of rural community living, resulting in conformity to local cultural norms and directing concerns of material hardship towards private sector solutions. The local character of place also mani-

festated itself. This was most apparent in rural communities where Welsh was the dominant language, where community inclusion of the poor was complicated by issues of us-versus-them and the protection of cultural identity:

Sometimes I feel as though I belong, other times I don't because I was actually born in Yorkshire you see and Welsh isn't my first language, and here it's very, very Welsh speaking. It's very much a Welsh community and sometimes people can be OK with you, and other times people will not; they'll look at you as if you are an outsider even though I've lived here for 37 years. (female, thirties, village, north-west Wales)

These inside-outsider contrasts were also evident with other interviewees who distinguished between poor local households who were deserving and outsider groups that were undeserving, as noted by one older participant:

There are quite a few social service hangers-on mainly people who don't want to work. I think they are layabouts, you know they're mainly people from the Midlands and places like that.

In addition, in certain coastal towns the cultural competences of low-income groups moving from nearby English cities were constructed by the 'local poor' as very much 'out of place':

There is a mass exodus of people coming from troubled areas around Manchester and Liverpool. They are people called the social misfits, they are on drugs, they have been in jail and the women are [as] equally hard as the men. These people are more or less like fish out of water and they start pushing themselves around and behave as they would in places like Manchester and the surrounding areas, and with the locals there is resentment. (male, sixties, town, northwest Wales)

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## Discussion

This chapter has sought to develop a more critical and nuanced understanding of poverty that is capable of capturing the material, social, and cultural aspects of poverty in relation to community well-being. Drawing on research materials from a study of poverty in rural communities, the chapter has discussed how individuals who are

normatively defined as living in poverty (on the basis of their low income) frame their personal well-being and their relationship with community and place. A series of important disconnections between external and internal, and material and sociocultural constructions emerge as a result. The first of these key findings tends to support Vasilachis de Gialdino's criticism of conventional poverty categorisations. It notes how individuals living below the officially defined low-income threshold were quite reticent to define themselves as poor or identify problems with their general sense of well-being. In fact personal characterisations of their circumstances were overwhelmingly positive, with the majority of individuals living in poor households noting high levels of satisfaction with their quality of life and community.

In addition, a large amount of commonality was apparent between 'poor' and 'nonpoor' groups in relation to their value systems and sense of well-being, with both groups demonstrating similar viewpoints on place, community, and local poverty. This supports Vasilachis de Gialdino's assertion that the 'poor' need to be discussed less as a distinct social group and more as individuals positioned within a range of social, cultural, and political networks. These findings offer questions about the ways in which poverty and well-being should be defined and approached. Yet, in contrast to Shubin (2010), there is not necessarily a need to reject statistical and income-based categorisations of poverty. Instead, it should encourage researchers to develop more joined-up approaches to poverty and well-being research which combine external and internal as well as statistical and experiential discussions of poverty and well-being in order to offer a more meaningful understanding of poverty and the ways in which individuals perceive their well-being within different sociospatial contexts (see also Milbourne 2010).

The second type of disconnection involves a clear distinction by those defined as poor who were part of the study in how they discussed their everyday social, cultural, and natural worlds in relation to personal income and material consumption. While participants discussed the mate-

rial problems associated with low income, such as concerns about the ability to purchase essential household items, accessing services, and travelling between rural and urban places, many of these issues were framed in relation to wider well-being factors, community belonging, and attachment to landscape. These sociocultural and natural contexts of place are used by households defined as poor to improve their sense of individual well-being through their community and compensate for some of the material problems associated with life on a low income in rural areas.

There is also a need to explore these issues of inclusion within the social, cultural, and natural fabric of rural places in more critical terms due to the existence of a complexity of sociocultural mechanisms in these places that regulate belonging and inclusion. Community within these rural locations can at times promote certain moral discourses of rurality and welfare that, at best, downplay the significance of poverty through compensatory factors viewed as improving well-being and, at worst, deny the presence of poverty altogether. Poor households' concepts of community inclusion are often restricted to rather insular social networks, which consist of bonding rather than bridging forms of social capital (Woodcock 2001). This results in these individuals being largely removed from those people and institutions of power that are located beyond their local networks. There are also examples of discourses of localism being mobilised to exclude 'out-of-place' groups from the local community, particularly in relation to cultural identities associated with the Welsh language and the perception of 'inappropriate' behaviour of those deemed to be nonlocal poor.

Reliance on community for improved well-being compared to the state can be noted as a legacy of local paternalism. Within these communities the state remains largely absent due to previous local political systems that regarded the provision of social housing and other welfare services as anathema to local economic interests. The lack of state involvement has generated a 'false consciousness' amongst many of the rural poor as improvement in individual well-being is

constructed less in relation to state entitlement and more in terms of informal support and self help that is provided *by* local people *for* local people. An alternative interpretation can be drawn from the work of Bourdieu (1986), who suggests that the rural poor lack the ability to cross fields between one social arena that is focused on local cultures of paternalism, self-help, and denials of poverty to another that is dominated by an appreciation of material hardship and the need for state support to diminish that hardship. This can potentially generate a vicious circle of poverty denial within the community as individuals impacted by material hardship are reluctant to approach non-local state agencies for assistance, leading to ignorance within those agencies about the nature of poverty in rural communities, which then acts as an obstacle to the development of state antipoverty initiatives in rural places and focused efforts to improve well-being for poor households.

Within this context it is also important to draw attention to the recent rise of austerity as a key policy discourse within the UK and consider the future implications of this for rural community well-being. The bulk of the research discussed in this chapter was undertaken prior to the introduction of welfare reform by the UK Government and associated austerity measures that have seen the withdrawal of state funding from a range of social programmes. Rural communities are potentially well positioned to manage a reduction of state funding due to the strong local networks that exist in many of these communities and general lack of reliance on the state. Existing practices of community-based welfare provision may be sustained or even thrive in an environment where alternative local service delivery innovation is valued. Yet, austerity policies also risk reinforcing long-standing local politics and cultures of anti-welfarism in rural places, perpetuating some of the darker exclusionary practices of rural communities noted previously, resulting in vulnerable groups becoming more isolated (Milbourne 2015). The lower existing levels of welfare provision in rural communities also raises the possibility that poor households will be disproportionately affected should austerity poli-

cies *remove* rather than just *reduce* welfare provision due to the higher costs of delivering such services resulting in potentially negative impacts on rural community well-being.

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## Conclusion

The study has highlighted that rural poverty and well-being is associated with a complex mix of material and sociocultural disconnections, intersections of identities, and different experiences. In order to understand the life worlds of poor people it is necessary to appreciate the ways in which the material, the social, and the cultural come together or remain separate in different spatial and temporal contexts. To do this, it is necessary to understand the ways in which ‘the sociocultural’ defines everyday experiences of rural poverty and well-being through the workings of moral discourse and value systems, symbolic boundary making, and the influence of social and cultural forms of capital. There is also a need to recognise the ways in which the more-than-human impacts the lives and well-being of the poor within communities. Ultimately, what is necessary is a more nuanced understanding of the meanings of and relationships between ‘the material’ and ‘the cultural’, which will require the simultaneous dematerialisation and rematerialisation of (rural) poverty and well-being research. As Latham and McCormack (2004) argue in relation to the materialities of the city:

We cannot simply take the ‘material’ and add ‘culture’ (or the ‘symbolic’ or whatever) and arrive at a neat balance between the two. To think about the unfoldings of culture within the very thereness of the urban requires a quite fundamental rethinking of how we understand both terms (a rethinking that places the very idea of ‘thereness’ into question). (ibid, p. 718)

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# The Role of Spirituality in Building Capacity for Women's Leadership in Crisis Conditions: A Community Level Analysis of Burma

Phyusin Myint

## Introduction

This research focused on the implementation of sustainable development in crisis conditions with particular attention to the leadership roles of women based on spiritual and religious traditions as it relates to community well-being. Since the publication of the Brundtland Commission Report, *Our Common Future*, serious attention was supposed to be paid to the significant role of women and equality along with the economic and environmental aspects of human development (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Sustainable development as a field is defined as development that meets “the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfill their aspiration for a better life” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, p. 8). Unfortunately, while the international dialogue on sustainable development promised to bring social, economic and environmental issues together, the challenge for integrating all three elements remains neglected in the discussion.

Social development is one of the three pillars crucial to sustainable development. According to the *Copenhagen Declaration and Program of*

*Action*, at the first World Summit for Social Development, the ultimate goal of social development is to improve and enhance the quality of life for all people (United Nations Copenhagen Declaration 1995b, p. 42). Therefore, social development emphasizes, ‘democratic institutions, respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, increased and equal economic opportunities, the rule of law, the promotion of cultural diversity and the rights of persons belonging to minorities and an active involvement of civil society’ (United Nations Copenhagen Declaration 1995b, p. 42). Furthermore, social development is linked to the cultural, ecological, economic, political, and spiritual environment of the context indicating that an initiative to build social development requires the development of peace, freedom, stability, and security (United Nations Copenhagen Declaration 1995b, p. 42). Attention to the integration of the environmental, social, and economic dimensions is crucial to understanding why communities are in or were in crises, to addressing grievances and circumstances that fuel crisis conditions, and to moving beyond them to a sustainable future (Cooper and Vargas 2008, p. 43). Thus, one of the key components to understanding and building sustainable development in crisis conditions is the need to pay attention to the concept of community well-being.

The following study focused on Burma as a case study in which to examine this important

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dynamic. This research utilized a content analysis of the ALTSEAN-BURMA (Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma) Reports on *Women's Voices*, a collection of stories and poems written by women of Burma to address the following question: *How do religious and spiritual traditions contribute to the leadership roles of women that can be effective in building sustainable development in crisis conditions?* Although Burma is the case study for this research, this research seeks to contribute to theory and practice more broadly and in other settings.

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### **The Intersection of Community Well-Being and Sustainable Development**

The survey of literature and practice on community well-being points to a broad range of definitions and meanings based on the context. Many of the key values and goals at the core of these definitions are interrelated to the core principles of sustainable development. First, community well-being defined by scholars such as Cox et al. encompasses the three dimensions of sustainable development – the economic, the social and the environmental (physical dimension) (Cox et al. 2010). Second, while the concept of community well-being focuses more closely upon the community level, it is a practice that requires a much broader perspective of regional, national and often global politics (Lee et al. 2015, p. 2). Furthermore, many of the concepts that have been incorporated into the lexicon of community well-being align quite well with several principles of sustainable development. Principles such as equality, human-centered development, decentralization, partnership, livable community, health, and wellness are just a few of the principles that address the issues at the core of community well-being.

### **Community Well-Being and the Principles of Sustainable Development**

The principles of sustainable development are a set of overarching principles developed by the world community through many years of conferences and plans in an attempt to establish a universal language in their commitment towards the implementation of sustainable development (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 21). The discussion to follow reviews some of the principles of sustainable development that address the core issues critical to establishing community well-being and thus, aid in the development of community well-being particularly in the midst of crisis conditions. The *equality principle* advocates for a new form of development incorporating broader measures of well-being for individuals and communities, while including greater social and economic equality, human rights, and opportunities for political participation (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 38). In crisis conditions, ethnicity, gender, social and economic circumstances are but just a few of the causes of discrimination (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 37; Linnell 2013, p. 3). The issue of equality and ensuring inclusivity is crucial to building community well-being in designing crisis and disaster management efforts.

Another principle of sustainable development that also speaks directly to community well-being is *human-centered development*. The principle of human-centered development is based on the belief that sustainable development must be centered upon people, with an emphasis on eradicating poverty, promoting full and productive employment and enhancing social integration (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 34). Development efforts in crisis conditions in particular demand that attention is paid to carefully consider different community concerns to build lasting outcomes (Cooper and Vargas 2004, 2008, p. 35).

The *decentralization* principle advocates the importance of incorporating local knowledge, as well as cultural and historical assets within development initiatives in an effort to adhere to the principles of equality and participation. There are two questions to consider within the decentralization principle. First, is the contemplated action truly nondiscriminatory? Second, does it provide meaningful opportunities for participation, and does it seek to build capacity for participation by those previously excluded (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 68)? Policy designs that are not rooted in community knowledge, such as an understanding of national policies, cultural and religious roles and political economic patterns, are likely to be irrelevant (UNDP Human Development Report 2010, p. 12; Pye-Smith et al. 1994). A wholesale transplantation of a development model to developing countries often results in resistance and challenges during implementation. The act of transplanting a model to a nation not only ignores the real needs of communities in crisis, but also assumes a top-down approach that does not fit or address the communities' real issues and concerns.

The *partnership* principle related to decentralization argues that national governments alone cannot achieve sustainable development goals without the participation and commitment of governments at all levels, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 38). This principle speaks to the overwhelming evidence that governance today is multilayered, in that particularly in crisis conditions, operating simultaneously at the intersection of such design is of significant importance for long-term commitments to sustainable development (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 68).

Existing approaches including reconstruction, market economy, and nation building approaches are unable to address current crisis conditions and are too often based upon outdated post WWII actions (Cooper and Vargas 2008, p. 31). These models tend to be based on

the assumption that rebuilding what was broken would be the answer and often concentrate on the challenges at hand rather than incorporating the strength of the community's resources and networks for partnerships (Alayasa 2012, p. 4–7; Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 31–32). Furthermore, the adoption of policy is only the first step and there are many barriers in the path of implementation. In order to ensure success, it is important that development efforts focus on building the capacities that exist within local communities.

The principles of *livable community* and *health and wellness* speak to building some of the foundational conditions necessary for community well-being. The livable community principle addresses two questions. First, is the planned action likely to improve the livability of the community as judged by the people who live there? Second, what is the objective evidence as to the impact of a proposal or a comprehensive plan on the quality of life in the community (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 68)? Livability as defined by the Habitat Agenda is as follow:

Livability refers to those spatial, social and environmental characteristics and qualities that uniquely contribute to people's sense of personal and collective well-being and to their sense of satisfaction in being the residents of that particular settlement. (Habitat website, paragraph 135)

The livable community principle emphasizes on a commitment to improve environmental quality, economic development and social development in an attempt to ensure the development of community well-being. Lastly, the *health and wellness* principle argues that unless society is committed to "promote and attain the highest standards of physical and mental health, people will not be able to pursue sustainable development" (United Nations 21 1992, p. 22). Therefore, in order to ensure such standards, decision makers must consider two questions, "First, does the proposed course of action have health care impacts? Second, do inequalities in health care access or quality of care affect the ability of community

members to participate in or benefit from the planned action?" (Cooper and Vargas 2008, p. 8).

These aforementioned principles have provided the foundation to define and operationalize the concept of sustainable development as it relates to community well-being. As with most complex concepts, there are multiple challenges to the application of these principles. Though condition under which all of these principles are satisfied is rare, it is important to maintain these principles as the core of our analysis on community well-being. The following discussion on the community well-being and gender relations will further explore these challenges within the post-conflict framework.

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### **Crisis Conditions, Community Well-Being and Gender Relations**

Current literature on gender and development tends to emphasize that crisis conditions provide a unique avenue for transforming societal structure and gender norms and that the role of women in society may provide a strong foundation for understanding the strengths of communities (World Bank 2012; Anderlini 2007; United Nations Beijing 1995a). However, the literature continues to be isolated from the core sustainable development literature. Furthermore, current approaches used to address crisis conditions such as the reconstruction and market economy approaches are problematic, as they are solely 'restoring' or 'returning' to a state of gender relations that resembles the past or unambiguously favor men that does little to address the potential for positive change from the crisis conditions (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 2005, p. 235). In a research study conducted in several countries affected by conflict including, Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Mali, Angola, Eritrea, and Rwanda, findings suggest that the challenge of gender relations and changes experienced during crisis often exacerbate the powerlessness of marginalized populations (El Bushra 2004).

For both women and men, the earnings in the aftermath and also during the war often rely upon an informal economy. In crisis ravaged societies

where formal trade has not yet recovered, if it had ever developed, women entrepreneurs are often the ones able to meet local urban demands for affordable food that governments cannot provide (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 2005, p. 241). A survey of Somali refugees by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1994 notes that women have become increasingly involved in the informal economy and acquired a virtual monopoly of the barter trade in food, clothing, and other items (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 2005, p. 241). Unfortunately, macro-level policy efforts for the postwar context tend to ignore the vulnerability and challenges of women's lives involving small scale trade in the informal economy (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 2005, p. 241).

In addition to these challenges, trade and retail activities are rarely supported by government policies nor are they given their due credit. Literature on gender and sustainable development continues to miss linkages between the strengths of community factors, such as the roles of women, culture, tradition, indigenous knowledge and religion, and the contributing and inhibiting factors of sustainable development. The lack of understanding of these linkages is particularly problematic in crisis conditions where gender sensitive approaches are crucial to establishing sustainable development and recognizing the strengths and patterns of survival in communities.

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### **Community Level Leadership of Women in Crisis Conditions**

There is a need to explore the leadership roles of women at the community level. While formal incorporation of women into leadership roles is extremely valuable towards establishing equitable communities, observing the informal foundations of leadership is also valuable to support these formal efforts at the community level. This informal structure of leadership is particularly important in crisis conditions, especially in the aftermath period of crises where there may be a

breakdown in the government and formal institutions (UNDP Rwanda 2007, p. 70–72). In addition, many people in leadership positions may have been killed or arrested. If formally recognized leaders do exist, they are generally not trusted by the community, particularly where the violence or crises were sponsored by the State. Under these conditions, analysis of leadership at the community level, in comparison to national or governmental level, provides a closer observation of the activities that are taking place in the midst of crisis conditions (Alayasa 2012, p. 9–11).

Unfortunately, leadership contributions of women in their communities often go unnoticed and unrecognized in the leadership literature. It is important to note that traditional and formal conceptions of leadership tend to be “dominated by images of presidents and prime ministers speaking to the masses from on high” (Burns 1978, p. 442). James M. Burns, however, argues that leadership has little to do with dominance, positional authority or power, but to connect to common purposes and collective needs. True leaders are able to engage followers to act in accordance with the values and motivations of both the leaders and the followers (Burns 1978). Burns also makes the argument that leadership is not confined “to political sphere and in fact great leaders include – mothers, teachers, peers and mentors” (Burns 1978, p. 426).

Following Burn's definition of leadership, this study aims to capture the symbolic and informal forms of leadership roles of women. While efforts to improve women's participation in the political structure are vital, this study captures the foundations of leadership in the traditional and cultural context, a neglected domain. It is important to note that often the traditional role of women as household managers and caregivers points to the strengths and potential of women's informal networks in crisis conditions (UN Beijing Declaration 1995a, p. 19). Moreover, the spiritual and religious roles, often the foundational pieces in communities, are generally protected and passed along by women to the next generation (Jackson and Warren 2005, p. 560). Women behave as reproducers of culture and spiritual

knowledge, advancing their participation and involvement at the community level by relying upon their status as traditional women instead of giving it up (Jackson and Warren 2005, p. 560; Alayasa 2012). Thus, the traditional roles of women in society provide a strong foundational basis for understanding the strengths of communities in crisis conditions.

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### **The Value of Religion and Spirituality for Community Well-being**

Religious institutions, especially nongovernmental organizations (NGOS) have been present as operational service arms of many faiths and have a long standing and honored role in development work (Haar 2011, p. 345). With regards to poverty alleviation, literature on sustainable development has provided evidence suggesting the contributions of religious institutions to the poor both as an institutional structure in aid and as a spiritual connection that is integral to improving poor people's lives and survival. The findings in the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor Series: Can Anyone Hear Us* indicates that religious leaders are trusted by communities throughout the world to a greater degree to be in positions of power and leadership. This trust is partly due to the fact that religious organizations work more closely with grassroots communities than other networks (Haar 2011, p. 209; World Bank 2000).

Spirituality is integral to many people and their understanding of the world and their place in it, and is thus central to the decisions they make about their communities' development. Spirituality “affects decisions about who should treat their sick child, when and how they will plant their fields, and whether or not to participate in risky and potentially beneficial social action” (Ver Beek 2002, p. 31). Spirituality, as a relationship the individual has with the supernatural or spiritual realm, provides meaning and a basis for personal and communal reflection, decision, and action (Ver Beek 2002, p. 32). Spirituality also has a relationship with knowledge and information and is shaped by how people understand

experiences and share those experiences with others (Tamas 1999, p. 9). In many communities, spiritual knowledge is deeply connected to tradition and is regarded as valid sources of guidance and knowledge for navigating everyday life (Tamas 1999, p. 10).

In crisis conditions, spirituality and religion can play a critical role as parts of a community's belief system. In the dialogue on restorative justice and religion, Haar argues, "it is of vital importance to acknowledge the fact that religion is an integral part of the lives of many people in the world, inseparable from the social and moral order" (Haar 2011, p. 313–314). Spirituality and religion have been noted as playing a critical role in the demobilization process, in providing hope and strength to communities that were displaced during the conflict as well as in assisting individuals suffering from traumatic stress. Spirituality and religion are critical tools to helping foster community well-being particularly in time of crisis.

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### Burma as a Critical Case

It is important to explain the history of Burma and the current challenges of a country with a problematic history. In 1962, General Ne Win of the Burmese military assumed dictatorial power, staging a coup against the democratic regime and chairing a 24 member Revolutionary Council (Schock and Jenkins 1992, p. 358). Since that time, the regime has expanded the role of the military in politics, civil society and the economy as well as developing its central role in governing the Burmese people. The years of military rule have been marked by severe repression of the people in Burma. More than 3500 villages have been destroyed, with the military using rape as a weapon of war, enslaving hundreds of thousands of Burmese people as forced laborers, and practicing scorched earth campaigns (US Campaign for Burma 2013).

Recently, the Burmese regime has been making changes to their political structure and gaining international attention with its discussion for a potential transition to democracy (Kate 2011). Therefore, sustainable development in Burma, particularly development in crisis conditions,

involves a whole spectrum of community well-being related activities from meeting humanitarian needs, physical restoration, political restructuring, economic regenerating, dealing with reconciliation and trauma, and establishing foundations for sustainable development. At the more local level, the military faces the challenge of demobilization and establishing peace. Based on these conflict-ridden conditions, it is important to note that Burma is still in the early stages of opening up and is a complex and potentially dangerous environment for research on gender and women's roles.

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### Characterizing the Data

The *Women's Voices* series is a collection of stories and poems written by the women of Burma about their experiences under the military regime. These experiences range from everyday life as students, mothers and community members, to that of their experiences as refugees, human rights activists, migrant workers and political prisoners. The *Women's Voices* series provide seven editions during the period of 1998–2010 with thematic topics for each of the report. The themes for the reports include: *Voices of Women in the Struggle* 1998; *More Women's Voices* 2000; *Women's Voices for Change* 2002; *Women's Voices Together* 2003; *Women's Voices for Freedom* 2005; *Women's Voices for Hope* 2005; and *Women's Voices for Peace* 2010. The stories collected include the voices of different ethnic groups of Burma, speaking from different socio-economic status and backgrounds, as well as religion and age groups (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 1). Each volume of the *Women's Voices* includes 23–59 stories providing a rich selection of women's experiences in Burma.

This body of literature was selected as a laboratory for analysis due to several reasons. Considering the current political situation and its history of repression, designing an exploratory research to understand the contributions of gender roles in the Burmese tradition is difficult on several grounds. First, it is important to note that despite the rhetoric for change in Burma, including the release of political prisoners, many men



and women still do not feel comfortable or safe to share their experiences of leadership without repercussions (McKay 2012). Thus, the concerns regarding the safety for both potential research participants as well as the researcher inhibit the research. Furthermore, even if the participants were willing, gathering such a large quantity of data is difficult to do under the watchful eyes of the Burmese regime (Torres 2009, p. 24).

Additionally, it is important to note that security is not merely the end of war, but:

the ability to go about one's business safely, to go to work or home, to travel outside knowing that one's family will not suffer harm. It is the assurance that development gains made today will not be taken away tomorrow. (UNDP Afghanistan 2004, p. xxv)

Despite talks from the regime regarding the political transition, security as defined above is still not addressed in the country. Considering the circumstances, the *Women's Voices* series provides a useful and potentially very valuable body of data without jeopardizing or posing safety and ethical concerns for participants.

These stories provide a powerful source of information for analysis on the inner workings of spirituality, tradition, and religion to foundations of women's leadership at the community level. Though the stories are narrative in nature, they reflect real experiences of women, in their own words, invoking the real voices of women. The stories here, selected by the women themselves as crucial moments of their experiences, provide a deep insight into their background, their traditions, the spiritual and religious influences as well as their recommendations for a peaceful future in their homeland.

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## Findings from the Data

### The Value of Spirituality

Throughout the *Women's Voices* series, the theme of spirituality appeared as a critical component to building sustainable development and to assisting communities and individuals in crisis conditions. The first of these discussions is around the concept

of prayer as an asset to addressing and building sustainable development in crisis conditions. Prayer is defined by Meraviglia as "an activity of the human spirit reflecting connectedness with God – a defining attribute of spirituality" (Meraviglia 1999, p. 10). While prayer can be part of a personal religious practice or an institutional format, the discussion from the women's writings of prayer has both a personal and social abstract meaning. Prayer as defined from the data is any form of communication reflecting connectedness with a supreme being, oneself, or others, both verbal and contemplative (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 6; ALTSEAN Burma 2005, p. 21). The data indicates that prayer influences women's leadership for sustainable development.

The analysis of these writings reveals that there are numerous variations on how prayer is used as a coping strategy to address many of the uncertain situations in crisis conditions. First, the evidence suggests that prayer could be used in times of fear when the individual is removed from their familiar surroundings due to crisis conditions. Thus, prayers are often used when individuals are removed from their community. This include cases of relocations ranging from examples such as residing in refugee camps, being displaced, and being separated from their families due to environmental, economic and social infrastructure breakdowns.

In many examples, women explained the unsustainable conditions of living that has been particularly damaging and discriminatory to their families and environment. One author explained the challenges of the unsustainable living conditions under the military rule,

[a]t the time the population had to rely on smuggled products from Thailand to meet our daily needs – medicine, cosmetics and essentials. I was irritated that we had to exchange our valuable precious stones and gold with those plastic products from Thailand. I thought if we had a democratic system in Burma, with freedom of expression and trading, we would be able to fulfill the potential of our country. (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 6)

These challenges prompted the author's involvement with the resistance efforts against the regime. Prayer was for her and others, a tool to

cope not only with the immediate trauma of the crisis, but also with the long-term challenges of living amidst existing unsustainable conditions.

Prayer is also valuable to the women in the data in terms of contributing to their physical and mental well-being. One of the primary motivations for prayer was to ensure one's own safety or the safety of others (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 71; ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 101). For example, when the women felt helpless in crisis conditions because they are unable to provide their sons or daughters a stable home, or when they are separated from their loved ones, as in the case when their husbands or children go off to participate in the resistance efforts, they prayed. Prayer became an active form of participation in their family members' lives and building a livable community. The act of praying allows the women to remain active in building a livable community indirectly for the spiritual protection and security of their children and husbands who are far away. From the data, this spiritual protection that the women try to build appears to be quite valuable in their efforts to retain cultural roots, ways of life, and language in a time when human security in the obvious sense is threatened.

Additionally, the data indicates that women do not rely solely upon prayer in a passive manner as the only means to provide them safety and solace. Rather, they rely on prayer as a way to find meaning and purpose in their own life. Praying allows them to transition their roles from passive victims of conflict to active participants of the development process.

To keep away from danger,  
I do not pray.  
Only to face it bravely,  
I pray  
To alleviate pain,  
I do not pray,  
Only to conquer it,  
I pray.--- (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 12).

This excerpt from a poem on prayer highlights this key role of prayer as a tool for human-centered development (Cooper and Vargas 2004,

p. 33–35). When individuals are faced with the challenge of no longer having the freedom to have significant influence on their environment and their future in the midst of crisis, prayer serves as a powerful reminder of one's capacity and purpose. Prayer is what helps them to continue taking risk and working in leadership roles to fulfill their goals and visions for sustainable development in dark and dangerous times (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 75).

Prayer is also a reminder of happier times in their communities prior to the conditions of conflict and extreme repression. In peaceful times, praying and spiritual ceremonies were used to bless homes and gardens, often bringing people in the community together for celebration. One author explained how prayer and her family's garden played an important role in her family's happy past. She wrote, "[m]y parents used to have a party for our garden every year. They would invite the people who lived nearby and they would also invite many monks to pray for good luck for our garden" (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 115). Throughout the story, the author spoke to the ways in which her parent's garden was a critical part in her development as a child. The garden was the space where the children were educated and where the children learned a great deal about respecting their environment and living in harmony with their surroundings (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 115).

Second, these yearly spiritual gathering also brought communities together. The author explained that villagers from other towns came to this particular event to celebrate and share their traditional knowledge with the villagers in her community (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 115). Prayer and the physical space created in the garden through this spiritual gathering promoted collaborative relationships across different ethnic and religious groups. Thus prayer has an important role in the building and managing of stronger partnerships between communities across divergent ethno-cultural backgrounds. The data indicates that prayer allowed communities to come together and share their cultural and spiritual

knowledge. In sum, prayer is used for different reasons and outcomes and for these women it was often tied to the conditions of conflict and repression they experienced. These discussions of prayer suggest an area for consideration by scholars not present in the current literature.

Another way for the authors to experience spiritual strength was through meditation. The participants in the data described their experiences with meditation as related to enhancing their well-being, development of a peaceful mind, release of stress and anxiety, and empowering their leadership. Meditation was one of the most frequently mentioned methods to achieve a spiritual connection; it was described as a means to create peace in the midst of a conflict-ridden context (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 109; ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 52). One author noted that Buddhist meditation, her son and other women were the sources of her happiness and peace (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 52). Peace according to that author is a sense of "feeling calm on a personal level. Peace is freedom from suffering, freedom from worrying. Peace is being able to be happy" (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 52). Building peace through meditation and other spiritual means proves to be one of the most helpful coping strategies for communities in crisis conditions.

Considering the wide array of usages and values that spiritual beliefs and ideas play at the community level, it is no surprise to find that the authors through the *Women's Voices* series emphasized the need for "faith" in helping build courage. Faith is treated as a necessary resource to enhance the building of sustainable development and sustainable development in crisis conditions (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 25). Though the request for faith and belief in something is emphasized, faith here is not a blind belief. It is an active belief that demands both action and sacrifice. The author continues that, "[w]e have to make sacrifices. This is the sacrifice I am making- being separated from the ones I love" (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 25). Faith is a tool that empowers and aids in the author's ability to make those necessary sacrifices to work for their vision. Faith does not assume that "truth and jus-

tice" will be served in Burma merely through divine intervention. Faith as defined by the data is aided in both sacrificial and hopeful hard work of the everyday people (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 25).

### **The Foundation of Women's Leadership at the Community Level Reveals the Value of the Informal Leadership Roles of Women**

The data demonstrates that at the community level, foundations of women's leadership are found in informal leadership roles. Mothers, grandmothers and aunts throughout the *Women's Voices* series are described as sources of inspiration for the authors. Additionally, while women traditionally are observed in the non-public spheres, they are the ones who are in charge of essential elements at the community level that often address critical concerns. One author describes the role of women at the community level as follows:

During harvesting, small amounts of rice stalks tend to fall in the field and be left behind. It is usually the women's job to go into the field and walk around picking up the rice stalks that have been scattered here and there. It is sometimes harder work than the main harvesting but someone has to do it, because we cannot afford such waste. In the same way the women's movement has started to deal with the essential issues that our male leaders have overlooked – either because they are dealing with the main harvest or because they have no time to bend down. (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 91)

This example of women picking up rice stalks illustrates women's attempt to address the issues of poverty and dwindling resources in their communities. Additionally, as the author described, while the sphere of issues the women addressed may appear to be small in comparison to the main harvest, the fact that the women are the ones who have to bend down and deal with some equally crucial issues are often disregarded by the men. Many of the issues that the women are dealing with at the community level are critical issues related to the well-being and survival of a family unit, the education of their children, the value of

traditional knowledge, security and protection for families, and many other essential issues that are necessary to move sustainable development efforts along and to building of community well-being.

The role of women as leaders of the household becomes even more complex, with the additional challenge of the crisis condition. With men fighting in the opposition forces against the military regime, being taken as porters or leaving to find work as migrant workers, many of the stories in the data reveal that the mother becomes the head of the household.

First, the role of the supportive wife was observed with the women doing their best to support the revolution while also waiting for their husbands to return from the civil war. However, the data reveal that the women are not just sitting idly, waiting patiently at home, they are also observed giving “moral support and strength to their children” (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 102). One woman in the data explained that since her father was involved in the revolutionary efforts, her mother was left to care for their five children on her own. She explained:

[m]y father was a revolutionary. My mother gave birth to me on the Salween River under the moonlight when the moon was just a little curl...When our mother gave birth to any of the five of us, our father was away. (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 28)

In other examples, women also described circumstances where they raised their children while following their husbands throughout the revolutionary efforts (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 66; ALTSEAN Burma 2005, p. 122; ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 40).

The second critical role that women play in crisis conditions reveals that women not only become the main household leaders in the absence of men, but they are also the main financial provider of the family. Many of the women found work in their communities to ensure the financial survival of their families. One woman’s account of her story, *My Success*, explains how proud she is of raising her five children alone: “I bought up my five children without any help and I married off my two daughters with my own money that I earned from hard work” (ALTSEAN

Burma 2010, p. 62). The author worked very hard to not only financially support her family, but also to ensure that her children were educated. Women’s efforts to continue finding means for financial support of their families support the formal and informal market forces during times of war and in the aftermath of war (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 14).

In other examples, when the men were taken away as porters for the government, the women also endured physical labor such as planting their own rice in the field in order to support the family (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 33). The act of taking over the work of tilling the rice field may be able to prevent the collapse of the formal economic infrastructure in their community, which speaks to the ways in which the market during crisis conditions is supported by informal leadership roles of women. Since the breakdown of ways of trade and production is common in periods of conflict, the task of maintaining that infrastructure, however informal and limited, is critical to development after conflict (Cooper and Vargas 2008, pp. 267–307; World Bank 2003, Ch. 1).

Another example regarding the economic role of women in crisis conditions is the case of single women. Similar to the men who had to venture far away to support their families financially, many single women in the data spoke to the experience of traveling to another country or working far away from home. The women in this role tend to travel far to find work either as domestic servants or factory workers. Many of the women worked in neighboring countries as undocumented migrant workers and risked the danger of sexual harassment and sexual abuse to “save some money and send it back” to their families (ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 48). Since the single women are generally young and not tied to the responsibilities of their children or husbands, they are the ones tasked with the risk of traveling far when crisis conditions disrupt the local infrastructure (ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 47–52; ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 53–55).

In addition to supporting their families, the women are also active participants in the civil war in their role as defenders who take up arms

for security and protection. The women on the front-line were not only providing health and education services to local people, they “also had to perform all of the duties common to the male soldiers...” (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 102). Women who actively join the frontlines not only take on the role of the soldiers as is expected of the men, but they also take on a broader and more complex set of responsibilities. In addition to fighting, the women defender role required working at the community level to provide social services. They not only address the resistance efforts, but also address their communities' social and environmental needs (Cooper and Vargas 2004, p. 34). Thus, in addition to their role as soldiers in the war effort, women often provided health care and education to the community at the frontlines, taking an integrated approach to ensuring health and vitality of their communities.

### **The Value of Community Level Support Systems in Crisis Conditions**

A common base of discussion in the women's writings is the physical space of the community which most often encompasses the village, the town or the region:

[t]here are 89 households in our village. We all know each other. We are all friends and relatives to each other. Most of us were born here and thought we will live here all our lives until we die, like our ancestors. (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 3)

Many of these communities have existed through many generations, and up until the era of military rule and conflict, residents of these communities assumed they would reside in these regions for eternity (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 3). This community space often provides a venue for cultural and traditional exchanges critical to enhance community well-being. Prior to the era of conflict, the villagers would visit one another to exchange cultural and spiritual knowledge (ALTSEAN Burma 2007, p. 115). These visits allowed for the villages to connect with one another, engage in dialogue regarding critical

issues affecting their communities and share their culture and traditions with others:

The adults in my community talked quietly about the political situation and listened to BBC, Voice of America, and exiled Burmese radio station with the volume turned low. They also had to take note of the strangers who came to the village. (ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 33)

Authors throughout the *Women's Voices* series make references to the community in which they grew up. Unfortunately, given the disruption of traditional community life and displacement of residents that resulted from the recent turbulent era in Burma, the “community” being defined solely through locality has shifted. A new definition is that of community bounded by struggle. Throughout their writing, the women made references to the change in their definition of community, as well to the focus of the community's effort and energy. One author explained that her community is now about her relationships with those who she has shared the experiences of war (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 36). In this conceptualization of community, individuals are united in their efforts not only by the injustice they have seen or the blood they have shed, but also in their desire to help teaching, protecting and healing their communities. Often, these communities are found and supported in refugee camps or villages near the frontline, where displaced population work as a unit to build a new community after their previous homes and traditional sense of community have been destroyed.

Many young people receive their education through community schools, but the community also serves as a source of their informal education as well. Where the educational system was not established to support the traditions or language of the people, the community worked together to build their own educational system. In one example, the author, a Chin woman, explained that their children were not taught much about the Chin language and culture in the local schools. Thus, the community decided to open their own school that would provide the Chin children a more culturally appropriate education (ALTSEAN Burma 2003, p. 16).

Upon graduation from the community schools, many of the young adults continue to work in the refugee camp, “[m]ost of the students when they finished high school joined the camp health and education department as teachers or nurses. Some of them joined the army” (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 53). Often, this was due to the fact that there were limited opportunities for these young refugees beyond graduation. Graduates from the community schools often deliberately chose to work within their communities to address its needs. Even within the general population, when young adults seek an education, they do so with the intention of returning to their communities and addressing their communities’ health, technological, environmental, political, and social needs (ALTSEAN Burma 2005, 102; ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 86). These authors reported that when the formal, institutional and state infrastructures for health, education, and social services are damaged or eliminated by conflicts or government actions, their community developed its own set of informal resources to circumvent these challenges (ALTSEAN Burma 2005, p. 101). The community often established its own sets of teachers and nurses to continue providing for the needs of the people.

Community members also worked together to rebuild the physical and political space when this informal community structure was attacked. One author explained that her village had to rebuild the homes when the military attacked their village for a second time, “[t]wo years later they came back and burnt our camp down again. All the houses and schools were destroyed both times and had to be rebuilt each time” (ALTSEAN Burma 2005, p. 101). Though the process of rebuilding these communities is time consuming and difficult for already stressed villagers, community members provide each other support to ensure that the morale of the community remained high.

In addition to the health and education services, the community is also the physical space where people share their beliefs and values. This definition of community as bounded by the political beliefs and values explain that the community is defined as the space to support and

encourage the work of one another, and also encourage dialogues on critical issues. Much of the work with regards to organizing for political and social transitions occurs at the community level. One woman explained that her political involvement in the resistance against the regime began at the community level (ALTSEAN Burma 2010, p. 88). Another author explained that the community level is the space where efforts for change and advocacy are most evident and influential. Under the totalitarian regime, this community, bounded by political ideals, became an established space in the lives of individuals to address the contradictions and conflicts inherent in the propaganda of the military regime.

### **Partnerships with Other Women in the Community as a Resources in Crisis Conditions**

Women throughout the *Women’s Voices* series mentioned the unity they experienced in working with other women at the community level, as well as the intimacy they experienced throughout the country in their united struggle against the military regime (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, 98; ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 14). This spiritual connection that women experienced with others was repeated throughout the entire *Women’s Voices* series in examples such as the following:

When I reflect on the unquenchable spirit of my fellow countrywomen to continue to struggle and survive against all odds, I am struck by the true meaning of feminism. The women of Burma have been my motivation and inspiration to continue to work on women’s issues, immigration detainees and my country. (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 62)

This connection speaks to a variety of ways in which women in the community feel supported and connected to one another.

At the community level, women work together in unity in both formal and informal women’s groups to tackle community issues and concerns. For example, in the Karen community, men were struggling with alcoholism, a problem introduced to the community when the military moved in, the women formed a religious organization to

tackle this issue (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 88). As a group, the women in this community went from house to house to remove the alcohol, demanding that the military men respect the community's demands. The women also prepared food and invited the military men to their group meetings to discuss the issues their community is facing as a result of this cohabitation.

Women also described how this connection with other women provided an avenue for them to learn and develop intellectually. Women in prison explained that despite the imprisonment, they were able to continue building an informal infrastructure in the prison:

We established a routine in our cell. Each night we listened to BBC English, we conducted classes for the younger girls. There were 10 or 12 very young women, who needed the opportunity to study. One woman had worked as an announcer for the BBC so she taught the youngest girls at night (ALTSEAN Burma 2005, p. 12).

The older women in prison established informal education processes for the younger girls. The women also worked in unity to build a disciplined environment where they continue to develop their political and intellectual knowledge.

Women also addressed each other as sisters, united in their sisterhood for peace and dignity (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 102; ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 116). This respect for other women, however, is not solely reserved for the women in their ethnic group. One author explained this admiration as follows:

I have bowed to sisters of all ethnic groups for marching forward towards the goal of peace despite the fact that their lives have been very painful and bitter. I cannot resist kissing the hands of those sisters, who sow the seeds for peace, for those in similar circumstances... (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 26).

This unity that women experience with other women in the struggle is not only helpful to the individuals, but also speaks to the ways in which the issues of reconciliation in the country can be addressed. One woman explained this supportive connection as follows, "[w]e must unite first before we can move forward. We have to start with our family, then the community, our vil-

lages, and finally our whole country" (ALTSEAN Burma 2003, p. 14). The language from this statement emphasizes the role of ensuring the community's well-being as a foundation for reconciliation and building peace for the country as a whole.

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## Lessons for Practitioners and Scholars

The discussions from the data presented are critical to both theoretical development and practical applications. It is also important to consider the lessons from the field as the foundation for theory building. The discussion here identifies five important lessons that will be helpful for other regions and contexts beyond the scope of this study's analysis.

### Importance of Acknowledging the Informal Leadership Roles of Women

The informal leadership roles of women are important to the practice of sustainable development and even more so in crisis conditions. The focus in practice has often been based on strengthening the representation of women in formal leadership roles. In the example of Rwanda from the Human Development Report, the country required a minimum percentage of women in the legislature in the years after the genocide (CEDAW 1999, p. 17–24). While the formal leadership roles of women are in fact critical to the advancement of women in society, it is also important to recognize the strength of the leadership that women are taking on in their communities. This informal context includes the leadership roles of women in their communities as mothers, teachers, spiritual leaders, and community leaders speak to the foundations of women's leadership in their community and contribute to the larger discussion of women's important role in development efforts. Again, while the feminist literature has, for understandable reasons, stressed the importance of formal leadership roles, this study shows that those informal

roles matter a great deal and should not be undervalued.

### **The Shifts in Gender Roles due to Crisis Conditions Is Important to Understanding Participation and Responsibilities of Men and Women**

Crisis conditions context, despite its problematic and chaotic nature, can perhaps ironically provide the physical and social transformation necessary for change that opens the door for leadership roles for women. Crises often force women and men to take on new roles and responsibilities to ensure survival of their families, removing the socio-economic structures of the community, which may inhibit collaboration. Therefore, crisis conditions offer opportunities for women to emerge as agents of social change rather than victims of the process. This study shows that these women were ready and willing to step into those leadership roles. Understanding the shifts in participation and responsibilities of men and women in response to crisis conditions can expand the roles of women from informal agents of social change to critical leadership that is a catalyst for sustainable development.

### **The Value of Community Level Support Systems**

Community level support systems ranging from the support of the immediate family and community, partnerships with other women, to the spiritual community that binds individuals in similar circumstances, provide a strong foundation for survival, resilience and leadership. This idea of spiritual sharing as a glue that holds together different people in difficult times is one of the clear findings of this study. The practice of sustainable development would benefit from a closer observation and operation at the community level with attention to religion and spirituality as strength and not just as barriers to development. The community space provides a venue for sharing of

resources for survival in addition to the exchange and support of cultural, traditional and spiritual knowledge. The community provides education, health care, financial assistance, and other social services particularly in times of crisis conditions when the formal institutions and structures may be broken as in this particular case study (ALTSEAN Burma 2003, p. 16). In addition to providing services and community level support systems in crisis conditions, the community level support systems are critical to providing resources, hope, inspiration and solutions with spirituality playing an important role.

### **The Meaning of Community Shifts in the Crisis Condition Context**

It is also important for practitioners to understand the different meanings and use of the community in crisis conditions. Intangible factors like spirituality are especially important in those times. While the community in its broad and historical definition is often seen as the physical location which brings connection and value to individuals, due to various challenges of relocation and displacement, there are new definitions and value of what a community is when war, civil war, or state repression put stresses on the traditional community. One prominent definition of community is one that is bounded by their struggle (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 36). This understanding of community unites individuals in their effort to help one another through the challenges they are facing. This community serves as a powerful source providing the foundations for building connections and opportunities for assisting personal development and sustainable development of their communities, with spirituality often at the center of those efforts (ALTSEAN Burma 2000, p. 83).

Furthermore, when individuals are separated from their immediate families or communities due to the crisis conditions, many of them found solace in the new families and communities they have built. Many of these communities are transient in nature due to the crisis conditions. However, they are temporary communities that



often have lasting influence on the individual (ALTSEAN Burma 1998, p. 100). These variant definitions of community are helpful to practitioners in the field who are working with the crisis context, as a resource for healing and moving forward from the challenges of crisis conditions.

### **Community-Level Leadership Roles of Women Speak to Ways in Which Reconciliation Can Be Addressed**

Incorporating women into decision-making processes in sustainable development efforts will enhance the community's capacity to heal and rebuild at a faster pace. One of the primary steps to reduce political and social exclusion of women is to change the perception of women's capacity and leadership. The community level leadership roles of women from the content analysis speak to the ways in which the current analysis of women's roles can begin to recognize this powerful leadership role of women in fostering sustainable development.

Women have displayed their ability to address and integrate the various needs and perspectives across diverse ethnic groups and traditions. Women throughout the data indicated their respect and admiration for women from other ethnic backgrounds and see their efforts as a united front towards a sustainable future for the country of Burma (ALTSEAN Burma 2002, p. 26). The leadership endeavors that women are partaking in at the community level as well as the informal and formal experiences of women working together across diverse ethnic and cultural traditions speak to the ways in which the issues of reconciliation in the country can be addressed (ALTSEAN Burma 2003, p. 14). Women bring a culturally sensitive and spiritually integrative approach to their work with others and have an interest in reconciliation efforts to address ethnic tension produce by the civil war. The leadership in reconciliation efforts of women at the community level when recognized, respected, and supported can contribute to the implementation of sustainable development in addition to reducing political and social

exclusion of women, children and other marginalized groups in the community.

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### **Conclusion**

This study began with an interest in exploring the interaction between spirituality and leadership roles of women as it contributes to community well-being, particularly in the integrating of sustainable development in crisis conditions. Relying upon the data of women's stories through ALTSEAN- BURMA's (Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma) Reports on *Women's Voices* series, the chapter observed four critical themes that emerged from the content analysis – the theme of spirituality, the theme of women's leadership at the community level, the theme of community support systems, and the theme of partnerships with other women. The case of Burma proved to be an interesting and significant case to observe the role of spirituality in promoting sustainable development for communities under crisis conditions. This study finds that there is significant evidence that religion and spirituality play important roles in the development of women as leaders in crisis conditions, both directly through their statements about religion and spirituality and indirectly through their discussion about their experiences in the family, in the community, and in informal as well as some formal leadership roles. Spirituality is a potentially critical component to supporting women's leadership in sustainable development efforts for building community-based processes towards social cohesion, reconciliation, and policy implementation for sustainable development in crisis conditions.

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## Introduction

Scholars in the field of community well-being and development have long been concerned with the theme of participation. Since external resources of various kinds are often limited (DeFilippis and Saerget 2012), community members need to take charge of their own development—a process which should assist them to engage in deliberate action to improve their quality of life. Some community members may be involved in this process as professionals; government agencies or nonprofit organizations usually employ these individuals. However, the number of such professionals dedicated to any given community usually falls drastically short of the needs, and it is generally not sufficient for community participation to be reduced to their efforts alone. A great deal of time and energy from many volunteers are therefore required. Although all members of a community can contribute in one way or another as volunteers, one of the most important resources a community possesses is its young people (Finn and Checkoway 1998). Recognizing the agency of young people and highlighting the importance of volunteering

one's time to promoting the well-being of the community can substantially broaden the potential for greater participation in community development.

The first section of our chapter begins by articulating some of our key terms—including 'community', 'community well-being', and 'community development'—and the relationships among them. Our understanding of these terms has important implications for the way in which youth can contribute to their communities and the nature of programs that strive to raise their capacity to do so. We then discuss common perceptions of young people, and the possibilities for greater participation in promoting well-being when they are viewed as potential volunteers for community development, as opposed to regarding them solely as consumers (Giroux 2009), potential threats to society (Lesko 1996), or students (Kurth-Schai 1988). Youth are in fact particularly well suited to the work of community development, if we consider their adaptability (Lerner et al. 2005) and the relatively large amount of discretionary time available to them (Larson and Verma 1999). If we examine the Canadian context, youth also have an impressive track record of volunteering (Hall et al. 2009).

With this new perspective on the potential of youth, it is possible to explore a conceptualization of youth and community development that establishes a mutually reinforcing relationship between the two. As youth contribute to the development of their communities, their own development is

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advanced and their capacity grows (Christens and Dolan 2011). Of course, young people need support and assistance to be able to contribute to the development of their communities in a structured way. Youth programs are required that assist them to acquire the relevant knowledge and to develop the requisite qualities, attitudes, skills, and abilities for participation in the process of promoting community well-being. We therefore explore three elements of such programs—their content, the way this content is delivered, and the youth group itself—to identify characteristics of the kinds of programs that can help advance the two-fold process of youth and community development. The chapter concludes by reviewing a few examples of Canadian programs that incorporate some of these characteristics.

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### Community Well-Being and Development

The concepts of ‘community’, ‘community well-being’ and ‘community development’ are in need of further articulation. The descriptions and models used to better understand complex phenomena—regardless of their level of sophistication or comprehensiveness—can never completely encompass them, and thus must avoid oversimplification. The following points aim to offer a few basic ideas to help readers understand the logic of the chapter, rather than to establish absolute definitions.

Although the term community can be applied to a group of individuals united by factors other than geographical proximity (Phillips and Pittman 2009), the present chapter will be more concerned with place-based communities. This is in part because examining the contribution of young people to community well-being focuses our attention on groups of individuals and families living in relatively close proximity and the local institutions and structures with which they interact. However, it is important to not lose sight of the greater context within which place-based communities find themselves. In this connection, DeFilippis and Saerget (2012) have convincingly argued that it is impossible to isolate communi-

ties from the larger national and global structures and processes to which they contribute and which in turn shape them. This has implications for our notions of community development and well-being. For example, a community’s well-being and development will naturally be affected, though not determined, by the conditions and dynamics of nearby communities, their national and cultural milieus, and, of course, the state of global affairs of the time. It is thus important to remember that a community’s vision will, at some point, necessarily need to move beyond its own borders if it is to achieve greater and greater levels of well-being. This point adds relevance to the enthusiasm young people often demonstrate in the context of social action aimed at international issues, such as the environment or cases of injustice in other countries.

At a basic level, community well-being can be conceived of as the aim or end towards which a community wishes to strive. While notions of this aim or end vary greatly (Lee et al. 2015), we would like to avoid a position of extreme relativism in this regard, in which ‘anything the community wants’ becomes a potentially valid definition of community well-being. Of course, time and place, among other factors, will naturally influence a particular community’s notion of what its well-being might be, and rightly so. However, all too often has a community defined its well-being in terms that exclude one or another group of individuals. It is clear, then, that certain principles and values, such as inclusion, are independent of the needs and desires of particular communities and shape our notion of community well-being. The question of the universality of such principles and values is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is sufficient to state that we will strive to avoid a relativistic notion of community well-being, while at the same time acknowledging that every community has a particular reality that will shape its priorities and goals at any given moment and, perhaps more importantly, the path it walks towards its well-being.

Recent literature emphasizes that community well-being is multi-dimensional and should not be reduced to narrow notions of social and economic development (Lee et al. 2015). One

implication of this idea is that, while there are certain measures that may give us insight into the quality of life in a given community, in light of its broad character, it could never be reduced to a single measurement. Broadening our notion of community well-being also creates opportunities for greater participation in its promotion. For example, if our notion of community well-being is restricted to economic development and income-generating activity, much of the work of volunteers no longer becomes pertinent, and the potential for youth to contribute is greatly reduced.

Another idea central to the concept of community well-being is a notion of togetherness (Lee et al. 2015). Members of a community, including its youth, do not strive for well-being in isolation from one another, nor would the well-being of a small segment of a community be considered equivalent to the collective well-being of the whole. At the same time, community well-being is much more than just the aggregate of its individual members' well-being. While a community strives to provide an environment that will contribute to the well-being of individuals, communities do not exist solely for the benefit of their members. An individualistic interpretation threatens to reduce communities to settings that enable individuals to pursue their own self-interest while limiting the damage they do to one another. Such an understanding of the role of community seems inconsistent with the discourse of scholars in the field of community well-being. In general, it seems that the field strives to overcome the tension that is often assumed to exist between individual and community priorities (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006).

Yet another pertinent idea is that the community itself—its members and local institutions—is the key protagonist in the process of increasing well-being. While certain outside resources—financial, human, intellectual, and other kinds—are required, in the final analysis, it is the community itself that must play an increasingly active role in this process. What is more, resources from outside are, unfortunately, often quite limited (DeFilippis and Saerget 2012), reinforcing the need to consider the important role of local

participation. In addition to being a key element of the process of striving for community well-being, participation is also often used as an indicator of quality of life (Phillips 2003). Emphasizing the role of the community as a protagonist in its own development also creates space for its younger members to contribute to promoting well-being.

Much of what has been mentioned in relation to community well-being can also be said of community development, a concept often broadly defined, incorporating a vast array of goals and priorities, that can be economic and social, among others (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012). Lee et al. (2015) argue that community well-being and community development share many of the same underlying concepts and principles. Community development is described as both a process and an outcome (Phillips and Pittman 2009). For the purposes of this chapter, we will use the term community well-being as an equivalent term to community development as outcome. In other words, the process of community development will be considered the same as the process of striving to achieve community well-being.

Despite the significant overlap with the concept of community well-being, a few additional ideas in relation to community development are worth highlighting. First, while the concept of participation is present in the discourse on community well-being, there seems to be a much more substantial body of literature on participation in the field of community development. Participation is often evaluated in terms of its depth and breadth. Depth pertains to the degree of participation: for example, are community members simply being surveyed by professional community developers from outside (a relatively superficial level of participation) or have many individuals from within the community been consulted, educated, and mobilized as volunteers and decision-makers (a more profound level of participation)? Breadth, on the other hand, refers to the percentage of community members that are meaningfully involved in the process in different ways. The highest degree of participation, in the sense of its breadth, is universal participation, in

which all community members are involved in the development of their community in different ways. As a process, then, community development usually seeks to extend and deepen the level of community participation (Phillips and Pittman 2009). These changes, in turn, are usually among the expected outcomes of community development and, as mentioned above, indicators of quality of community life. In relation to youth, then, one can ask what percentage of youth in a community are involved in its development, and how deeply they are participating.

Second, the concept of capacity building seems to be central to many descriptions of community development. Phillips and Pittman (2009) equate the process of developing the capacity of a community with its development. A large number of more practical and identifiable capacities, of course, contribute to this more general capacity of a community to contribute to its own development. For example, a community needs to develop the capacity to consult on issues that arise in a way that clarifies understanding rather than polarizes opinion; to provide an environment that nurtures the minds and characters of its children and youth; and to encourage cooperation among its members. In addition, individuals and local institutions within the community will also need to develop a range of capacities in order to participate effectively in the process of community development. Local groups, for example, would need to develop the capacity to assess the impact of various technological proposals for the community, which would then help inform the discussions of its decision-makers. Building the capacity of every segment of the population, including young people, to contribute to their community's development would therefore seem to be an important component of promoting well-being.

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### **Broadening Community Participation by Viewing Youth as Volunteers**

We have thus far said that community members need to participate in the process of their community's development, and that external resources

for this end are often scarce. Reliance on the talents and resources of community members themselves is therefore called for. Naturally, not all of the individuals residing in a community will contribute in the same way. Phillips and Pittman (2009), for example, distinguish between two types of contributors: paid professionals and volunteers. Since the field of community development is broad, a wide range of professional occupations can, in theory, contribute to the process. If professionals are conscious of the broader context within which they work, are sensitive to the needs of their community, and strive for their efforts to contribute to the common weal, they will no doubt contribute to the well-being of their localities. Some professionals will, of course, be much more explicitly directed towards community development—these are usually employed by the government or in the nonprofit sector. In most cases, however, such full-time workers are relatively few in any given community. In relation to the second type of contributor, authors have described how, given the proper channels and support, any individual can contribute his or her time, talents, and energies to his or her community as a volunteer. Scholars have reported that volunteers represent a significant and growing pool of resources for community work (Downie et al. 2005; Omoto and Snyder 2002).

The term volunteer is used in a variety of contexts and its meaning has taken various forms over time. Through content analysis, Cnaan et al. (1996) have identified four dimensions found in various definitions of the term. These four dimensions are: free choice, remuneration, structure (i.e. formal or informal), and the intended beneficiaries (friends or strangers). According to these authors, a volunteer, in a strict sense, has offered his or her time entirely of their own accord, is not being paid, is contributing to the work of an organization, and is providing assistance to individuals that are not necessarily known to them. In a more broad sense, volunteers could include others who, for example, receive some level of remuneration or help their families and friends informally. In thinking about youth as volunteers, irrespective of whether the act performed is formal or informal, stipended or not remunerated at

all, well-developed educational materials can cultivate within young people a spirit of service so that actions are carried out with the conscious purpose of contributing to society.

In Canada, where an ethos of volunteering is a defining characteristic of Canadian culture and identity, there are a number of social spaces, including schools, community centres, and religious forums that provide all, especially the young, with opportunities to volunteer and contribute to the development of their communities. The most recent general social survey on Giving, Volunteering and Participating provides data on volunteering activity across the country (Statistics Canada 2013). It shows that almost 15.5 million Canadians—44% of the population aged 14 and over—volunteered during the 1-year period preceding the survey. The highest rates of volunteering were among young Canadians, those with higher levels of formal education and household income, those with school-aged children in the household, and the religiously active (Statistics Canada 2013). Canadians volunteered almost 2 billion hours in 2013—the equivalent of close to 1 million full-time jobs, representing a vast reservoir of energy that, if appropriately directed and channeled, can lend great impetus to the process of community well-being.

Young Canadians aged 15–24 were more likely to volunteer (53% volunteered) than Canadians in any other age group. Thus, young people in Canada represent an eager pool of resources. For the processes of community development, mobilizing large numbers of young people back into their own communities—rather than always volunteering elsewhere—would have several benefits, including avoiding the us/them dichotomy that plagues so many development initiatives. The youth would be a part of the local communities they are serving, and would avoid common challenges when deploying elsewhere, for example, as international volunteers to the developing world, where there is the potential to perpetuate neo-colonial perceptions and practices (Simpson 2004).

## Perceptions of Young People

Not only are many youth willing to participate in the process of community development—they are also particularly well-suited to the task, especially when given adequate assistance. However, young people are not always—some would say seldom—perceived in this way. This section will explore three influential perceptions of youth that inhibit society's ability to see them as competent contributors in the process of promoting community well-being, as well as some of the characteristics that are inherent in young people that make them ideally suited to this work.

One such conception, shaped by forces of excessive materialism and aggressive individualism, promoted by mass media, and perpetuated by free market fundamentalism, is that of youth as consumers, and taken further, youth as commodities. Giroux (2009) describes the “commodification of youth”, where youth become targets for commercial growth and, through mass advertising campaigns, are encouraged to see their identity in relation to their purchasing power. In such a process, young people also become objectified themselves. Their sense of agency is reduced to that of consuming and, far from encouraging youth to contribute to the common good, energies are directed towards fulfilling individual wants.

Another representation of youth portrayed routinely in the media is that young people are the source of trouble or danger. Youth are seen as a major social problem, prone to violent behaviour, unplanned pregnancy, and lack of motivation to secure employment (Lesko 1996). Viewed through this lens, they are frequently deemed ‘at-risk’ and the general mantra in community development becomes to ‘keep kids off the streets’, away from the potential risks or problems they may get themselves into. In this context, youth are even seen as a threat to society (Giroux 2012). This reality has far reaching consequences; for example, the increasing hostility towards young people, which leads, more often than not, to



criminalization and imprisonment, surveillance, and control (Giroux 2012).

Both of these characterizations—youth as individualized consumers and youth as potential threats to society—have created a kind of ‘disposability’ for youth, especially for the poor and underprivileged (Giroux 2012). If they do not assume the role of functioning consumers, youth are considered a disposable population, waste products of a society that deems them of little value.

Lastly, yet another Western phenomenon that inhibits young people’s abilities to participate in the life of their communities is the tendency to conflate adolescence with childhood, failing to recognize emerging capacities that enable them to take meaningful action in the world. Kurth-Schai (1988) ably describes the predicament:

Contemporary images of childhood are united in their failure to acknowledge the potential of young people to contribute to the social order. Youth are confronted with confusing and contradictory patterns of protection and pressure, with conflicting perceptions of their abilities and inadequacies, rendering their social presence inconsequential and their social power invisible. Goodman refers to this phenomenon as the “underestimation fallacy” and contends that it represents a serious misconception concerning the nature of childhood, reflected in the minimal expectations provided for children in modern industrialized societies. (p. 116)

Kurth-Schai (1988) argues that the “underestimation fallacy” places upon young people little to no expectation that they can contribute to the welfare of the family or community. Instead, the only responsibility assigned to young people is academic achievement, an objective that today seems to be pursued for the benefit of the individual rather than of society. This situation is exacerbated by attitudinal barriers that claim youth do not have the capacity or understanding to work on complex community issues (Bartsch 2008). Little wonder, then, that those who attempt to overcome this tendency and connect young people to society through community service or ‘service-learning’ initiatives in schools often see these initiatives firstly as mechanisms by which academic achievement and social development is

enhanced, rather than seeing them as meaningful actions for the promotion of community well-being (Karlberg 2005a).

Despite a reality that places seemingly insurmountable obstacles in the way of young people’s meaningful participation in the life of their communities, with appropriate support, youth can combat these forces and contribute a great deal to the well-being of their communities. Some have called this view “youth as resources” (Kurth-Schai 1988), and a plethora of programs in many countries around the world exist that operate on the basis of this premise. For example, an article by Finn and Checkoway (1998) asks the question: “What would happen if society viewed young people as competent community builders?” (p. 335). The authors suggest, by examining six community-based youth initiatives, that groups of youth are indeed capable of bettering their communities through meaningful action with the assistance of certain adults (Finn and Checkoway 1998).

When young people in a given locality are viewed as potential volunteers, the scope for local participation in the process of achieving community well-being widens significantly. For example, Bartsch (2008) writes that youth can be resources in revitalizing communities and that by focusing on transforming the relationship between schools and communities, the energies and skills of young people can be directed towards pressing economic, cultural, and environmental issues. The author describes how the State of Maine, in the USA, is identifying and mobilizing its young people to address issues of school improvement and community revitalization. The following example from Poland High School, where educators and community organizations are working hand in hand, is highly illustrative:

Grade 11/12 students approached the local planning board with a 6-year plan for correcting an erosion problem surrounding school property. It seemed that when the school was built 5 years earlier, plantings had been installed near a major road to avoid a potential erosion problem. Unfortunately none of those plantings survived. The town struggled with the ways and means to correct the problem. Part of

the student's plan was to research and select plants that could reduce further erosion. The planning board voted unanimously to support the student's proposal. Another biology class worked closely with the Tripp Lake Improvement Association and staff from the Androscoggin Soil and Water Conservation District to address erosion problems at the lake's Hemlock Campground, assess water quality, and conduct a purple loosestrife survey to monitor the location of this invasive species. (Bartsch 2008, p. 77)

Despite the negative or restricted role young people play in today's society as a result of flawed assumptions, in general, youth possess certain inherent characteristics that assist them to contribute to community well-being as volunteers. Among these characteristics are plasticity and adaptability. Lerner et al. (2005) highlight these characteristics in their presentation of Positive Youth Development (PYD), a theoretical model of the development of young people that emphasizes seeing them as resources with the potential for positive development, as opposed to bundles of psychological problems that require fixing. PYD highlights the strengths of young people and seeks to foster their well-being and civic engagement. Youth also possess a great deal of physical and mental energy that, if properly channelled, could reinforce efforts to improve community well-being.

Besides the particular strengths of young people, their stage in life also often affords them the opportunity to volunteer a great deal of their time. For instance, Larson and Verma (1999) have found that, across North America and Europe, adolescents have between 5.5 and 8 h of "free time" per day (averaged across a 7-day week). Further, although many students seek employment during school holidays, not all youth are able or wish to obtain jobs, thus leaving them with a few weeks per year of discretionary time.

In sum, if we critically analyze the various negative perceptions of adolescents and focus our attention on their strengths, particular characteristics, and discretionary time, young people emerge as ideally suited to the work of promoting community well-being as volunteers.

## A Mutually Reinforcing Relationship Between Youth and Community Development

Creating opportunities for youth to become competent volunteers in the process of community well-being enhances both the process of youth development, as well as community development and well-being. It does so by imbuing youth with a sense of mission and purpose and by providing the process of community development with a steady flow of human resources. In other words, there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between both processes.

Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have described this relationship in different ways. For example, Christens and Dolan (2011) have argued that groups of young people can contribute to the betterment of their communities by coming together, identifying issues of concern, and carrying out action-research efforts to effect local change. By studying such initiatives, they have found that both the community and the youth themselves were able to develop and advance in different ways. Thus, by contributing to the well-being of their communities, young people themselves have been able to develop. Finn and Checkoway (1998) describe a similar relationship, emphasizing the leadership qualities that young people develop as they contribute to the improvement of their communities.

Nitzberg (2005) goes one step further and questions the effectiveness of youth programs that are isolated from broader efforts aimed at community building. He argues that these two efforts need to be meshed together, benefitting both youth development and community well-being. Brennan et al. (2008), on the other hand, argue that community development efforts themselves would become much more effective if they made deliberate efforts to enhance the participation of youth. In another article, Barnett and Brennan (2006) argue that the contributions of youth are a central component of the process of community development.

A fairly consistent conceptualization of youth and community development therefore emerges

from the literature. When youth are involved in efforts to improve their localities, a twofold process is advanced: the development of youth and the well-being of their communities. Further, by combining these two aims, they are both advanced more effectively than if they were pursued in isolation from one another.

Many scholars have proposed more general theories that similarly link individual and social progress, suggesting the possibility for a much broader kind of participation in promoting community well-being. Authors who promote ecological theories of human development, such as Bronfenbrenner (1979), have long argued that the nature of our relationship with the environment around us is such that we influence it and it in turn influences us. Developmental systems theory (Ford and Lerner 1992), makes a similar claim—that these two dimensions of our social life are complementary and that the changes that each undergo are the main forces driving human development. Stetsenko (2008) argues along the same lines. She describes a mutual relationship between human development and social change, and links it tightly with a few other concepts, such as human nature and learning, convincingly arguing that “collaborative purposeful transformation of the world is the core of human nature and the principled grounding for learning and development” (p. 474).

Stetsenko’s statement helps pull together a number of important ideas, some of which have important implications for youth as volunteers in the process of community development and its related programmes. Connecting purposeful collective action to the core of human nature relates to one of the fundamental principles of community well-being, explored above: that individual and collective well-being is not pursued in isolation. Pursuing community well-being has a clear element of “togetherness”. Stetsenko brings this idea to the core of human nature, opening the possibility for universal participation in the process of community development. In other words, promoting community well-being becomes a natural expression of being human, rather than the specialized work of trained professionals. While discussions about human nature and pur-

pose are generally only alluded to in the literature on community well-being, introducing them meaningfully and appropriately into the discourse could significantly broaden possibilities for participation, particularly on the part of youth, who so often seem to struggle with the questions of identity and purpose (Damon 2008). That collaborative and purposeful social action is “the principled grounding for learning and development” also implies that an important dimension of nurturing the development and education (in a broad sense) of young people is to engage them meaningfully in promoting collective well-being as true collaborators.

To summarize, the processes of youth and community development can and should be pursued in an integrated fashion. Assisting youth to contribute to the well-being of their communities is an effective way to meet many of the goals of youth development; simultaneously, communities can benefit greatly from the volunteer efforts of their younger members. Further, it is suggested that contributing to community well-being is intimately associated with our purpose as human beings, and an effective means to advance the education and development of an individual.

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### **Building Capacity in Youth to Contribute to Community Development**

Community programs have been central in many of the cases that evidence youth’s capacity to contribute meaningfully to community development; in their absence, this capacity runs the risk of remaining only potential, particularly given the increasing constraints faced by schools (Heath and McLaughlin 1991). Programs are required to help young people develop the qualities, attitudes, and skills, as well as understand the relevant concepts that will assist them to become effective volunteers in their communities. This section will explore some of the characteristics of programs that aim to raise the capacity of youth to contribute to the well-being of their communities.

It is worth articulating from the outset more clearly the expected purpose of such programs. At a basic level, the kinds of programs explored in this chapter are deliberately aimed at advancing the twofold process of youth and community development as already described. For example, while programs that assist young people to potentially obtain higher-income jobs are laudable in their own right, it is arguable whether such programs on their own necessarily contribute directly to the process of community development. As described earlier in this chapter, literature on community well-being and development advocates for a broader and more holistic conception of economic development that “would include not only wealth and job creation but increasing the quality of life and standard of living for all citizens” (Phillips and Pittman 2009, p. 11). Many youth programs, while ostensibly created to contribute to community development, may in fact simply be facilitating youth employment for a small handful, an objective that would only fall within the narrowest definitions of community development. The call for more holistic definitions of community and economic development would seem to imply that, should youth programs wish to contribute to community well-being, they should strive beyond assisting youth who participate in their activities to obtain employment. While programs that help young people realize their professional aspirations are of value in and of themselves, this assistance alone is not likely to lead to the kind of community well-being defined earlier in this chapter. Rather than exposing youth solely to the workforce, the programs in question would seek to help young people engage more purposely with the community and, in a spirit of service, volunteer their time freely to processes that promote community well-being. In fact, if youth are encouraged to spend their free time participating in activities that only seek to better their own personal standing in society, the value in volunteering their time and energy for the betterment of their communities decreases. “What’s in it for me?” is a phrase heard all too often by frontline community workers who seek volunteers among young people. This is yet another reason why the kinds of programs in

which we are interested in this chapter are those that are explicitly oriented towards contributing to youth and community development, in a broad and holistic sense.

There are three distinct elements of youth programs that enhance their effectiveness in raising capacity in young people: (1) the content, (2) who delivers this content and how, and (3) the youth themselves. Content refers to the actual materials and activities of a program, which is usually organized around the idea of a youth group that meets on a regular basis and is facilitated by an older individual (Denault and Poulin 2008). Each of these three elements is shaped by the purpose of a given program, whether implicit or explicit. In our case, of course, the purpose of the programs in which we are interested is to contribute to youth and community development. The below paragraphs will explore the implications of this purpose for each element.

## Content

The content of youth programs is a complex theme, somewhat beyond the scope of this chapter; this section will therefore only touch upon a few basic ideas. Generally speaking, the program content needs to be designed in the context of a robust theory of youth and community development (Lakin and Mahoney 2006). With regard to educational materials, they need to be designed in such a way as to assist the youth to reflect upon certain relevant concepts and develop the qualities, attitudes, skills, and abilities necessary to participate in promoting community well-being. In other words, the curriculum used in these programs should seek to enhance a range of competencies associated with community development work. In addition, the materials studied by the program participants would employ a situated learning approach (Krasny et al. 2009), which would encourage youth groups to develop a better reading of their local reality. This approach is necessary if the projects of the groups are to gradually contribute to bettering the community.

The particular activities undertaken by youth groups will necessarily vary from one context to

another, according to the interests of the youth and local circumstances. Further, if the youth are to feel empowered to contribute meaningfully to the well-being of their communities, they will need to play an important role in designing these activities (Anderson-Butcher 2005). It would therefore be counterproductive to prescribe a precise list of activities that should be carried out by all youth groups. However, regardless of the particular inclinations of any given group of youth, it would seem important for them to undertake some form of “community service” or “social action projects” as part of their activities. This, not only because social action projects would contribute towards the goal of improving community well-being, but also due to the way such activities motivate young people and allow programs to meet many of the objectives of youth development, broadly-speaking (Lauver and Little 2005; Roth 2004). Of course, the expected positive outcomes, including empowerment and a sense of community, depend on how the youth program is actually carried out (Lakin and Mahoney 2006). Examples of typical community service projects include cleaning up a park or street; raising awareness about certain community issues among neighbours, family members, and peers; assisting senior citizens; and working with younger children in the community (Wilson et al. 2008).

Social action projects, even if they are fairly simple, tend to have three phases. First, the group discusses—and may even carry out research—in order to identify an issue or problem they wish to address collectively. Second, a concrete plan is made to meet the need that has been identified. Third, the project itself is carried out. Some projects may last a few hours, while others might last a few days or weeks, or may even take place on a regular basis over a year or more. While the process of creating and carrying out a project is relatively straightforward, numerous obstacles can and do present themselves along the way. A competent facilitator can assist the group to navigate some of these by helping the youth to agree on a project that is appropriate to their circumstances (Wilson et al. 2008). An important element that needs to be woven into every stage of the project

is effective and critical reflection (Eyler 2002). Properly guided reflection ensures that the sequence of projects carried out by a given group can build on one another, especially in terms of gradually raising the capacity of the program participants to understand their local context and exercise their growing abilities. In this regard, the role of the “animator” comes to the fore.

## Program Delivery

There are a variety of terms that are employed to describe the individuals who deliver the content of the programmes with which we are concerned, such as front-line youth workers, program staff, youth leaders, non-parental adults, animators, facilitators, and mentors. Historically, their role has evolved considerably over the past few decades, particularly as expectations surrounding youth programs gradually expanded beyond afterschool child care to include promoting youth development and contributing to the betterment of communities (Borden et al. 2011). At a very basic level, in order to deliver the content described in the previous section, these individuals—we will call them animators in this chapter—need to be intimately familiar with this content and, more importantly, its philosophy of individual and social change. They also require certain qualities and attitudes that assist them in carrying out their work, particularly in developing the right kinds of relationships with the youth participating in the program. Finally, animators also need a set of skills and abilities that help them to raise the capacity of the youth to contribute to community change.

First, the kind of animators that will be effective in promoting the processes of youth and community development will be those that have a keen vision and profound understanding of these two processes. In this connection, several authors articulate a need for animators to adopt a critical stance towards society (Erbstein 2013; Stanton-Salazar 2011). Stanton-Salazar (2011) underscores the importance of animators not only questioning conventional perceptions of young people, but also existing community structures,

as some of them, intentionally or not, may be causing injustices. The kind of understanding that emerges from this process of questioning will assist the animator to help the youth formulate projects to improve the well-being of their communities. A note of caution in this regard: it is all too easy for a critical stance to slide into pessimism, cynicism, and even apathy or fear (Seider 2008) if equal attention is not placed on ideas such as capacity-building and constructive change.

One of the most important themes that is often discussed in the literature in relation to the role and function of animators is the nature of the relationships they strive to build with program participants. Beyond seeing in youth the potential to act as competent community builders, it is important for animators to see the youth as collaborators and partners in the process of improving community well-being. While capable animators can be found among all ages and strata of society, it has been noted that older youth from a similar background as the program participants may be particularly well suited to this work (Erbstein 2013). If animators and program participants come from the same community—or, at least, if the animators feel a sense of belonging to the community of which the youth are a part—the collaboration between the two to achieve community well-being takes on a new significance. The relationship between such collaborators, striving towards a common goal, can accurately be described as friendship (of a certain kind), which is indeed one of the ways in which the work of animators is discussed in the literature (see Walker 2011). What, then, is the nature of the friendship that needs to be established between animators and youth?

There are, of course, many different notions of friendship. Several authors use the word “authentic” when describing this relationship, which should be characterized by respect, care, and high expectations (Erbstein 2013). Communication skills have been highlighted as important in this regard. Jones and Deutsch (2011) describe how animators use certain relational strategies to develop this relationship with program participants, including minimizing rela-

tional distance and active inclusion. They describe how these strategies can cultivate the emergence of a supportive culture among the participants in a youth program. Drawing on the concept of a “mentor”, other authors add empathy, collaboration, and companionship to the notion of authenticity (Spencer 2006). As this relationship develops between animators and program participants, the youth begin to trust the animators and often turn to them for advice and help in several different areas of their lives (Erbstein 2013). All of these ideas help clarify the nature of the kind of friendship we envision between youth and animators.

A certain tension has been described in relation to the nature of the support animators should provide to program participants. Larson (2006) has called it the intentionality paradox: that the animator is intentionally trying to empower the youth, but that this empowerment depends on the youth themselves experiencing intentionality in relation to their own development. Underlying this are certain assumptions about power that we would call into question, namely, that there is only “so much” ownership of the processes of youth and community development and that the animators need to gradually “hand it over” to the youth themselves if they are to be truly empowered. While it is true that, as Larson (2006) explains, animators need to reflect carefully on the way in which they act and speak so as not to inadvertently disempower program participants, it is also possible for them to act together with the program participants in such a way that both exercise ownership and experience empowerment in a mutual way (Karlberg 2005b). Ownership, we would contend, does not necessarily become thin or diluted when shared among many individuals; implicit in the very notion of universal participation in community development is the idea that a whole community can feel ownership for its own development. Placing the relationship between animator and program participant in the context of a common mission to improve community well-being helps resolve many of these tensions. In the context of this common mission, animators provide support to program participants in whatever way they need,

depending on the particular circumstances and the level of capacity of both the youth and the animator him or herself (Sutton 2007); there is no formula or pre-determined set of interactions that leads to the empowerment of youth.

An interesting area of research with regard to program delivery is the way experienced animators are able to respond to the complexity of their work in ways that meet the various objectives of both youth and community development successfully, leading to a quality program. No matter how good the content of a given program, much of its quality will depend on the capacity of the animator. Larson et al. (2009) as well as Larson and Walker (2010) provide insightful analyses of various complex situations faced by animators that reveal some of the qualities, attitudes, and skills that distinguish experienced animators who are able to deliver high quality programs. These authors describe how animators need to understand—in some cases quite swiftly—complex and dynamic systems of feelings, personalities, social forces, interests, and relationships, and, in this context, devise creative means of meeting the twin goals of individual and community well-being. Their ability to place situations in context is critical.

For example, let us consider a typical situation faced by animators: Program participants are carrying out a project to improve the well-being of their community which involves interacting with a large number of their neighbours by, for example, going door to door to raise awareness on a certain issue. While the majority of residents in their locality appreciate the project, one or two neighbours, due to past experiences perhaps, feel somewhat nervous about the presence of a large group of youth. Moreover, while the energy that the youth possess is naturally channeled into enthusiasm about the project, some of them may only just be beginning to learn how to express this enthusiasm appropriately. The energy of a group of youth, then, can sometimes trigger negative responses from such residents. Some of the youth, in turn, can become defensive in the face of such negative responses, particularly since they feel they do not deserve them because they are in fact helping the community. A capable ani-

imator needs to be able to address all of the complexities inherent in this situation in a way that fosters the individual development of the youth, while at the same time not alienating certain residents, which would be contrary to the objective of promoting community well-being. Working through tensions that naturally arise in the course of youth and community development is itself a means of further strengthening ties of solidarity and understanding in a community.

While there are other dimensions of the work of those who facilitate youth programs, the above paragraphs should demonstrate the importance of investing in this element of programs that promotes both individual and community well-being. Animators need adequate training and ongoing support if they are to develop the requisite qualities, attitudes, knowledge, and skills described above. In this connection, the question of professional development for youth workers has become increasingly important in recent decades, and there is an ongoing debate about how “professionalized” the field should become, if at all (Astroth et al. 2004; Borden et al. 2011; Quinn 2004). In any case, it is clear that, if we hope to advance the two processes of youth and community development, a share of the available resources would need to be allocated to the training and support of youth workers (Erbstein 2013).

## **A Youth Group**

The final element of youth programs that empower young people to become competent contributors to community well-being is the youth group itself. In addition to allowing program participants to advance individually on numerous fronts, the kind of youth program we are envisioning would have a pronounced collective dimension. In this context, it would be meaningful to speak of the progress and development of the youth group as a whole—greater than the sum of the progress and development of its individual members.

Much has been written about the kind of environment that should prevail in youth programs

and the nature of the relationships that should distinguish the members of a youth group. Shirley Brice Heath, a well-known scholar in this field, compares community organizations to close-knit families (Heath and McLaughlin 1991). She explains that the most successful organizations “envelop teens firmly in a socializing community that holds them responsible for their own actions” (p. 625). Membership is tied to expectations, and there is a mutual responsibility to monitor one another’s behaviour. Pearce and Larson (2006) explain that the existing members of a youth group can contribute to creating a welcoming and warm environment for new members. The group’s animator also plays an important role in this respect.

With regard to the relationships between the members of a youth group, Anderson-Butcher (2005) argues that all young people seek to relate to their peers, as well as to caring adults. In this connection, opportunities to socialize meaningfully with one’s peers have been highlighted as an important element of a positive environment for young people (Weiss et al. 2005). Such an environment is also conducive to the engagement of youth in program activities (Shernoff and Vandell 2007). While there is not a great deal of literature that describes the dynamics of the evolving relationships between program participants, it is clear that young people within a youth group need to learn to trust to one another and become increasingly united as a group if programs such as the ones in which we are interested are to achieve their objectives (Shodjaee-Zrudlo 2014).

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## Examples of Canadian Youth Programs

In Canada, youth development is both a provincial and national concern. At the provincial level, both government and nonprofit entities have made considerable investments in youth services and the youth-led sector. There are innumerable organizations whose mandate focuses on young people and who offer programs to youth both within school and community settings. Generally

speaking, the priorities set by these organizations fall into a number of categories, including recreation and sport, employment, civic engagement, volunteering, and religious activity, some of which may overlap significantly.

For the purposes of this chapter, we are interested in programs offered by Canadian organizations that exhibit several of the characteristics described in the previous section; most importantly, these programs should engage youth as volunteers in the promotion of community well-being. Two examples of such programs are described below. The first is an initiative that operates at the provincial level, a program called C-Vert, and the second is a well-known national organization, called Katimavik, that offers a number of programs.

C-Vert, a youth program with an environmental focus carried out in three major cities in Quebec, incorporates several of the elements explored in the previous section. The program, which was initiated in 2005, offers young people both an educational experience, including nature expeditions, and an opportunity for them to be involved in concrete action aimed at benefitting the wider community. In the context of this program, groups of young people between the ages of 14 and 16 are assisted by their animators to plan and carry out environmental projects in their own neighbourhoods. The planning process involves consulting relevant experts and discussing ideas with community members. Projects carried out by C-Vert groups have included planting trees, taking samples of local river water to test its level of pollution, organizing a local conference on the theme of the environment, and community clean-ups. The organization offering the program talks about itself explicitly as contributing to the process of sustainable community development ([c-vert.org](http://c-vert.org)). An evaluation of C-Vert carried out by a research group at the University of Montreal states that youth who have participated in the program reported that their desire to become involved in community action and environmental projects increased (Bordeleau et al. 2013). Some even shared that their involvement with the program influenced their career decisions, and that they would like to



work in the area of the defence of the environment. At the level of community change, the evaluation mentions that the program influenced the perception of young people on the part of many community members, including municipal authorities. Of course, the projects the youth carried out, particularly the ones involving concrete changes to the physical environment, were the most visible outcome (Bordeleau et al. 2013).

Katimavik is another example of an initiative that embodies a mutually reinforcing relationship between community and youth development. It is a national youth volunteer program that promotes youth development through residential volunteerism. The organization strives to create a positive impact in the lives of young people through volunteering in the community. Katimavik has offered a range of programs over their 35-year history, engaging more than 35,000 young Canadians in educational programs aimed at promoting community development (Katimavik 2015a, b, c). In each program, small groups of youth from across Canada travel to different regions, live together in a Katimavik house, and volunteer full-time. Partnerships are created with other organizations to offer a variety of work projects in a number of areas, such as social services, the environment, poverty reduction, arts, and culture.

With regard to content, programs offered by Katimavik have a training component which include formal workshops on subjects such as interpersonal communication and problem solving as a way of helping the volunteers learn to interact with others, especially in preparation for their interactions in the workplace, the community, and their host families with whom they stay. During their time together, volunteers explore and gain insight into concepts such as solidarity, democracy, active citizenship, and pacifism (Katimavik 2015a, b, c).

One of the programs currently being offered by Katimavik is the “Eco-Internship” program. Youth are given a 3-month internship in an environmental program in Quebec in the context of which they develop community projects that meet the environmental needs of the community. These projects are developed with the help of

various community members, therefore increasing local participation in promoting community well-being. In addition to the implementation of a collective community project, the program fosters environmental stewardship. Another program similar in structure is the “Canadian Youth Leadership Program”, a 5-month program where youth live in a Katimavik home and carry out various projects in collaboration with community organizations and municipal governments (Katimavik 2015c).

C-Vert and the two programs offered by Katimavik that have been described above demonstrate in practice how youth and community development can be linked and strengthen one another. In terms of content, they ensure the youth are exposed to relevant knowledge and assisted to develop skills that increase their competence as community builders. In the case of these three programs, this seems to largely take place through specially designed workshops and experiential learning opportunities. The youth are also supported directly by animators, who usually facilitate the workshops and accompany the program participants in their volunteering activities. Finally, the idea of a youth group is also central to each program. The structure of the programs ensures that groups of youth are given the opportunity to develop the kinds of relationships that will allow them to advance as a group and work together to promote community well-being. While C-Vert and Katimavik clearly still have much to learn about how their programs can contribute effectively to the twofold process of youth and community development, their explicit dedication to this aim seems to have already generated certain positive results.

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## Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the role of youth in promoting community well-being. To do so, we articulated a broad vision of community well-being which emphasized the need to achieve higher levels of participation on the part of the community in its own development. In this context, it was clear that an increasing number of volunteers

would be needed. Viewing youth as potential volunteers, as opposed to consumers or bundles of problems, significantly broadens the number of human resources a community can rely on to increase its level of well-being. Of course, young people need to be supported in order to develop the capacity to contribute to community well-being. Programs that explicitly aim to advance this two-fold process of youth and community development do exist—such as C-Vert and some of the programs offered by Katimavik—and provide a channel for youth to play a decisive role in promoting community well-being.

At least two recommendations emerge from our chapter. First, additional resources should be made available to programs that promote youth and community development. By advancing these two mutually reinforcing aims, these programs achieve multiple social objectives. They also are preventative in approach, and therefore complement funding that is provided to programs that focus on intervention. Policy-makers can also assist in unifying priorities around the twin areas of youth and community development.

Our second recommendation is addressed to the organizations that implement the kinds of programs we have been discussing. We propose that these agencies initiate processes of learning around the three main program elements that were mentioned in section “[Building capacity in youth to contribute to community development](#)”: content, program delivery, and the youth group. With regard to content, while a variety of workshops are currently being carried out with youth, developing curriculum with the explicit purpose of raising the capacity of young people to contribute to community development would no doubt reinforce the effectiveness of these programs. Among the themes the curriculum could address could be, for example, human nature and identity—and they could be explored in such a way as to assist youth to reflect upon and begin to assume the identity of a competent community volunteer.

In relation to program delivery, much needs to be learned about the kind of support animators require in order to accompany the youth groups. One aspect of this process of learning could be

strengthening spaces of reflection among groups of animators and developing and refining the content of professional development courses. Learning about the dynamics of the youth groups themselves will also require a great deal of attention. Relevant questions in this regard include, for example, how to help the members of a youth group to develop the kinds of relationships that further the aims of youth and community development, and how to ensure that the group as a whole is able to take ownership of their projects aimed at promoting community well-being.

In many cases, partnerships could be formed with academic institutions or research groups to learn about some of these questions, which would lend rigour and continuity to the learning processes and ensure that best practices can be disseminated. Networks of organizations are also a natural space within which the latter could take place. Insights that are gained along the way could then gradually help organizations refine and modify program design, content, and professional development courses for animators.

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# Community Well-Being and National Well-Being: The Opinion of Young People

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Graciela Tonon

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## Community Well-Being and National Well-Being

Quality of life is a multi-dimensional concept comprising a number of dimensions which are variously appraised according to their individual importance in people's lives. Agreements have nowadays been made with the scientific community considering quality of life as both an objective and a subjective outlook on people's lives – and thus at variance with the notions of living conditions, social welfare, happiness, and subjective welfare, since the study of quality of life includes all those other concepts while differentiating itself from them.

Over two decades ago, Veenhoven (1994, p. 2) stated that the most elementary use of the existing data on life satisfaction consists in calculating the “actual” quality of life of a country, a procedure carried out in order to detect the existence of a social problem which might require political intervention.

Concerning the community, Völker et al. (2007, p. 100) claim that “community is when individuals realize multiple well-being goals within the same group of others” which implies

that a community is not necessarily a local entity. Lo Biondo (1999, quoted by Tonon 2009, p. 17) further asserts:

Community implies a situation of inter-subjectivity in which there is a sharing of: fields of experience, a shared understanding of such experience, a judgement of fact common to everyone (which reaffirms the veracity of the shared comprehension), and a value judgement common to all. (p. 296)

If we further consider a community as a scenario for encounters/dis-encounters among people, while regarding neighbourhoods as sense communities (Cortina 2005, p. 129), i.e. those which allow us to recreate our lives in order to make them liveable, it is likely that we shall recognize the close relationship between community well-being and national well-being. At this point, it is worth mentioning that neighbourhood is not a synonym of community. In this respect Völker et al. (2007, p. 101–102) mention the existence of four conditions that stimulate the creation of a community which simultaneously strengthen each other:

- (a) Meeting opportunities: based on the neighbourhoods' availability of places of encounter for neighbours, with the existence of shops, schools, parks, squares, and churches, as well as the consideration of the quality time of daily residence of each neighbour in his own quarter.

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- (b) Investment considerations: related to the concept of social capital, defined as a group of cooperative relationships among social actors, which facilitate collective solutions to problems (Requena 2003, p. 331). Völker et al. (2007, p. 102) believe that “the expected value of future help explains why people start a relationship and invest in each other”. Furthermore, at this point, it is vital to remember the words of Axelrod (1984, quoted by Völker et al. 2007, p. 102) “the idea that people invest in relation with others while taking future benefits into account, leads to the expectation that more community will be created in cases where the shadow of the future is large”.
- (c) Alternatives: the neighbours’ actual possibilities to develop in spaces other than their own quarters.
- (d) Interdependencies: reminds us that people who depend on each other will invest in each other. According to Lindenberg (1986, quoted by Völker et al. 2007, p. 102) “The sharing group idea is a major way of looking at interdependencies among people”.

Now then, in order to refer to life satisfaction in a country, it is firstly necessary to define the concepts of satisfaction and life satisfaction. In that respect, Veenhoven (1994, p. 4) defined satisfaction as a mental state, an appraisal of value – considering the latter, not only as the context but also the “enjoyment” thus covering both cognitive and affective viewpoints. From this outlook, the author defined life satisfaction as “the degree at which people assess their global quality of life as a whole and in a positive way; in other words, when people are pleased with the lives they lead” (Veenhoven 1994, p. 4).

Yet definitions are not so clear regarding satisfaction with life in the country, requiring us to point out that this concept is not a synonym of satisfaction with democracy (Tonon 2014a). Satisfaction with democracy is a term that emerges (Wagner et al. 2006) from the consideration of a discrepancy between the way democracy should function (theoretical level) and the way it actually functions (practical level), i.e. that

it does not simply refer to the citizens’ opinion on whether they do or do not adhere to democratic principles, but to the way in which they experience the functioning of democracy in their everyday lives. Thus, satisfaction with life in the country refers to the way people feel and their opinion of the lives they lead in their countries. In this respect Veenhoven (1994, p. 2) points out that if, in the context of national quality of life we claim that quality of life in a certain country is “bad”, we are thus inferring that the country in question lacks the vital requirements of food, health-care, habitation, etc.

Theoretical clarifications having been made, this paper approaches the analysis of the opinions of male and female young people who dwell in different quarters of the southern suburban area of Greater Buenos Aires,<sup>1</sup> relating their own life experiences in their communities to the quality of life in the country they live in.

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### **The Research with Young People in the Southern Suburban Zone of Greater Buenos Aires**

In 2013 a research project<sup>2</sup> was initiated to gather perspectives from 443 young people between 18 and 28 years of age, males and females, living in different quarters of the southern suburban zone of Greater Buenos Aires. The project was devoted to the study of the quality of life and the inequalities among these young people, developed on the basis of a questionnaire set in everyday life scenarios, especially designed to that effect.

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<sup>1</sup>Greater Buenos Aires is a densely populated zone surrounding the country’s capital, which is characterized by the existence of quarters with clearly differentiated features. There are neighbourhoods inhabited by population living in poverty, others considered middle-class, and even residential quarters inhabited by people who enjoy a high economic status.

<sup>2</sup>*CALIDAD DE VIDA Y DESIGUALDADES: una propuesta alternativa para su estudio y medición/QUALITY OF LIFE AND INEQUALITIES: an alternative proposition for its study and measurement.* Director Dr. Graciela Tonon. LOMASCyT Program. Universidad Nacional de Lomas de Zamora, Argentina (2013–2014).

The aforementioned questionnaire was organized into 18 dimensions: Education, Health-care, Working conditions, Personal Security, Habitation, Spiritual/Religious Beliefs, Cultural Diversity, Cultural Participation, Gender, Discrimination, Environment, Socio-community Relations, Social Relations, Subjective Well-being, Values, Life Satisfaction, Economic Well-being, Politics and Institutions, including the *Scale Satisfaction with life the Country* (ESCVP, Tonon 2009, 2011).

In this chapter I will reflect upon the so-called socio-community relationships and satisfaction with life. The socio-community relationships dimension makes reference to community well-being and is composed of six variables:

- Satisfaction with life in the community
- Satisfaction with neighbours
- Participation in community organizations
- Mutual help among neighbours in the face of problems
- The organization of the neighbours for the solving of community problems
- Existence of public spaces for encounters among the members of the community

The national well-being dimension is centred in the results obtained through the *Scale Satisfaction with Life the Country* (ESCVP, Tonon 2009, 2011), an instrument containing phrases which measure a range that goes from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 5 (completely satisfied). The scale was originally written in Spanish, though its first edition was in English in 2011 (Tonon 2011) and its theoretical explanation being edited in Tonon (2012). Its theoretical support mainly hinges on the theoretical proposition of quality of life and in the theoretical proposition of human capabilities sustained by Amartya Sen (2000) particularly on the instrumental freedoms which the author defines as: political freedoms, economic services, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective securities.

Regarding social opportunities, the author refers to educational and health systems in each society. Political freedoms involve human rights,

the right to political expression, the right to vote, and to take part in the legislative and executive powers. He conceives economic services as the opportunities people have of making use of economic resources in order to consume, produce, or interchange. As to transparency guarantees, he points out the necessary frankness people might expect, and the freedom to interrelate, with the certainty that the information will be divulged and made clear; such guarantees shall fulfil a fundamental role in the prevention of corruption. To conclude, he defines protective security as a stable social protection network, i.e. fixed institutional mechanisms (such as unemployment benefit), and the extraordinary assistance provided to citizens by the government (Tonon 2008, pp. 41–42).

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### Young People's Opinion on Community and National Well-Being

Quality of life in a community is a specificity of quality of life in general and, according to Sirgy et al. (2008), community well-being is also a predictor of general well-being. The young people in our study show a medium level of satisfaction (7.24) with their lives – based on a 0/10 scale in which 0 stands for completely dissatisfied and 10 stands for completely satisfied – thus indicating a medium to high level of satisfaction with their lives. It should be noted that the question posed regarding their lives in general terms leads people to connect with a feeling of what is going on, rather than with a cognitive assessment.

Furthermore, 44.9 % claimed to have been feeling better at the time when they were given the questionnaire than they were the year before, and 86 % added that they looked forward to an improvement of their personal situations, in the next 5 years, which indicates a positive outlook on the future. In this respect, it ought to be pointed out that people's model of the future sets the basis for new objectives, to draw action plans, to explore options, and establish commitments (Bandura 2001; Nurmi 1991).

Regarding satisfaction with life in the community, the average response in male and female young people showed a level of 6.41/10, though their level of life satisfaction had been (as aforementioned) of 7.24/10; which shows that, in this case, their life satisfaction is superior to their level of satisfaction with life in the community. This idea is rounded off by the responses related to their satisfaction with the neighbours which obtained an average of 5.39/10 (on a 0/10 scale in which 0 stands for completely dissatisfied, and 10 for completely satisfied), thus showing a medium to low level of satisfaction. Hence, this response might be interpreted according to the conception of change in social cohabitation described by Lechner (2002, p. 110) who characterized it, at the birth of the twenty-first century, as being based on more flexible social relations which generate a fainter and more fragile social interaction and show a change in people's representations of society, so that the latter ceases to be a coherent and cohesive body to become a place where everything is possible and nothing is certain, and where it is not easy to feel part of a subjective well-being.

The male and female young people's participation in community organizations was analyzed according to Gottlieb (1981, p. 32) who states that the macro level of social support is centred in social participation and integration and is related to the way in which people become involved in voluntary associations, and in informal social life in their communities. The concepts expressed by Lin (1986, p. 19) have likewise been taken into account when the author points out that participation in voluntary organizations indicates people's average of participation in a broader context. In this case, the responses show that only 8.2 % of the subjects consulted form part of a group within a community organization and that, 70 % of that amount, belong to socio-political organizations and 30 % to religious organizations. The low level of participation in community organizations we have observed might be confirming the expressions of Völker et al. (2007, p. 100) regarding the fact that "community creation is not only conditioned by the benefits of being a member

but also on the opportunity and case of goal realization, that is the cost of interaction".

In this respect, participation is related to another question we have posed to young people regarding whether their neighbours had ever organized themselves in order to solve a community problem, to which only 44.4 % replied affirmatively. This question has allowed us to refer to the concept of collective efficacy sustained by Sampson (2004, p. 239) in which the author points out that "emphasis is placed on shared beliefs in the neighbourhood's capacity to take action in order to achieve a certain goal, together with a sense of citizen participation on the part of the residents". Further, the author explains that collective efficacy essentially requires social networks that may generate social trust, and that the fact that efficacy depends on interaction and social confidence, does not mean that the neighbours should necessarily be friends. Likewise Bramston et al. (2002) pointed out that there are two vital elements for community well-being which are community cohesion and a feeling of belonging to the community. Thus, community support may be attended to in the light of the peculiarities of a certain community (Abello y Madariaga 1997; Reimel de Carrasquel and Jimenez 1997).

Regarding inter-personal help relationships in the community scenario, the male and female young people's responses show that, in 57.9 % of the cases, community members help each other at a personal level when faced with a problem – a higher percentage than the one obtained in the previous question, as far as neighbour organization is concerned in relation to the solving of community problems. Laireter and Bauman (1992) have already pointed out the importance of being in contact with neighbours, as well as having friends or acquaintances in the neighbourhood. Moreover, these situations make reference to the concept of social support defined by Lin (1986) as expressive or instrumental provisions provided by the community, together with the social networks and intimate family relations.

I have also enquired about the existence of communal meeting places in the neighbourhood,



and obtained a positive response from 43.1 % of the young people under study. In this respect, it is interesting to define the concepts of public space, third places (Oldenburg 1989) and collective space (Martinez Pineda 2006).

According to Borja and Muxi (2000, p. 13) public space “is a space which defines the quality of life in a city, for it indicates personal well-being as well as the quality of life of a city and its inhabitants”. In addition, the authors sustain that it is a place of exchange where both crises and positive experiences come to light; it implies a collective social use and it is multifunctional, besides the fact that its quality is assessed according to the intensity and quality of the social relations it facilitates; it is the space of representation in which society becomes visible and, therefore, constitutes a physical, symbolic, and political space (Borja and Muxi 2000, p. 7,8,17 y 28). Public spaces have, traditionally, had a socializing function in Latin America and are important to the cohesion of cultural groups. Jacobs (1961) quoted by Páramo and Burbano (2012, p. 14) admitted that side-walks and street corners were important places for social transaction in a city, for informal adult encounters, and as a play ground for children of both sexes, thus contributing to define individuality and urban social identity.

Public space fundamentally aims at a social outlook, its use has become primal to citizen rights, thus public space should guarantee, in terms of equality, the appropriation of neighbourhood space by different social and cultural collectives, genders and age groups. (Borja and Muxi 2000, p. 11)

Third places are defined by Oldenburg (1989), as the spaces which allow communication among people, outside the first two traditionally known spheres of communication: the family (in the first place), and (secondly) the work-place. They are spaces where people enjoy meeting one another, thus forming a public scenario of social interaction which provides the subjects with a context of sociability, spontaneity, community bonding and emotional expression, as well as the possibility of being in contact with reality (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, p. 280 quoted by Jeffres et al. 2009 p. 335). In this way, third places strengthen social

interaction among the community members thus offering a secure space for informal reunions (Tonon 2014b, p. 237).

The collective scenario has been defined by Martinez Pineda (2006, p. 138) as an active space for imagination, deliberation, and construction; it is a place which allows expression without fear of making mistakes, a place of simultaneous consensus and dissensus where it is possible to create, criticize, deconstruct, reconstruct, and risk points of view.

Regarding the application of the ESCVP (Tonon 2009, 2011) its use shows 0,931 by Cronbach’s Alpha, indicating a high level of reliability. Moreover, the results show that male and female young people selected the option of medium for all the variables (ranging from a minimum of 2.14/5 to a maximum of 3.34/5). It may be pointed out that the five variables graded higher than 3/5 are the following:

- Satisfaction with their access to the public educational system (3.35),
- Satisfaction with political freedoms (3.33),
- Satisfaction with the respect for cultural diversities (3.12),
- Satisfaction with the public educational system (3.07),
- Satisfaction with government assistance (3.01)

Although public policies have traditionally been designed to cater with the satisfaction of social or collective rights as an external activity provided by the State, nowadays this traditional focus is undergoing a change towards a focus on human rights, characterized by an endeavour to construct a reflective capacity with a tendency to develop a citizenry concerned with both political-state and socio-cultural recognition (INDES 2006, quoted by Tonon 2010 p. 5).

Respect for religious and cultural diversity goes beyond the discussion as far as the State is concerned, incorporating the civil society, acknowledged as an active subject in the process of construction of inclusive societies. In this sense we coincide with Max Neef et al. (1986, p. 49) who points out that diversity is the best

way to stimulate the creative and synergic potentialities that exist in every society, bearing in mind that unity can become firmer if participation is encouraged in a context of diversity.

Like Sen (2000) we believe that political freedoms include human rights and the opportunities people have to decide upon who they will be governed by, the capacity to express their political ideas, as well as their right to vote and be voted, to have an active participation in the legislative and executive powers, to criticize authorities, and demand that the latter account for their actions.

Concerning the social protection system, Sen (2000) defines it as a stable social protective network, i.e. the fixed institutional mechanisms and extraordinary assistance offered by the government in cases of emergency. Yet, Sen (2000, p. 197) believes that democratic institutions ought not to be regarded as mechanical resources to achieve development; it should be remembered that these institutions depend on the use given to the opportunities of participation that they themselves offer, as well as on the formation of values in a society. In today's democracies, citizens expect to enjoy both political and social rights, thus giving way to the concept of social citizenry which requires that security and opportunities should be shared by everyone (Przeworski 1998).

Regarding education, we shall refer to Meza Rueda (1999, p. 95) who considers it, not as mere individual property but as something that owns a community essence, for it is through education that the community impresses a social character on its members. Concerning the access to the public education system, we agree with Veenhoven (1994, p. 13) who points out that "life is more satisfactory in the countries that offer the best access to knowledge, measured by literacy and schooling rates". In that respect, in our particular case, it is important to point out that access to education at all levels (pre-school, primary, secondary, university) is free in Argentina in educational institutions known as public/state, although there are also private educational institutions (mostly confessional Catholic) of all levels, which receive economic help from the state.

## Conclusions

In the course of this research young people have expressed a sense of medium level of satisfaction with life in the community and a medium to low level sense of satisfaction with their neighbours. The fact that only 8.2 % of the persons under study claim to participate in community organizations is an important indicator to be considered, for it shows a negative result.

43.1 % of the young people under study acknowledge the existence of public spaces for encounters among members of the community. In this respect and, in accordance with Jefres et al. (2009) we consider third places to be part of the constructed environment that contributes to objective living conditions – this percentage is another source of concern regarding satisfaction with life in the community.

Just over 44 % of the answers identify the existence of neighbour organization addressing community problems, and 57.9 % of the young people claim to have news of situations in which the neighbours have helped each other interpersonally, when faced with a problem. These results bring to mind the concepts expressed by Joseph (2002, pp. 33–34) "urban villages are not vestiges but effects of the environment, of the products of a fragmentary society in which the neighbourhood spirit is constantly being redefined". It may then be necessary to recover public spaces as scenarios of relationships and identification, in the words of Borja and Muxi (2000, p. 27) of contact among people, of urban animation, and community expression.

Regarding satisfaction with life in the country, the results show that, although young people have chosen the medium option for all the variables, the highest grading applies to the following variables: satisfaction with political freedoms (3.33/5); satisfaction with access to the public educational system (3.35/5); satisfaction with respect for cultural diversity (3.12/5); satisfaction with the public educational system (3.07/5), and satisfaction with government assistance (3/5). It is worth mentioning that, in the latest years Argentina has introduced a number of public policies, aimed at the young population, which

seem to have given way to a positive impact, both short-term and long-term – provided that these policies are sustained in time.

In considering that the national society will continue to be our habitual universe (Lechner 2002, p. 104), we coincide with Sen (2000, p. 197) by claiming that the strengthening of the democratic system constitutes an essential component to the development process, residing in three virtues: its intrinsic importance, its instrumental contribution, and its constructive role in the creation of values and norms. In this sense, community well-being and national well-being are interacting concepts which aim for the consideration of a society as being truly democratic.

Finally young people that agree about the existence of communal meeting places in the neighbourhood, shows the existence of third places which allow communication among people, enable enjoy meeting one another, and provides young people with a context of sociability, spontaneity, community bonding and emotional expression.

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# Understanding the Impact of Alberta's Early Child Development Community Coalitions on Community Well-Being

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## Introduction

The importance of supporting children in the early years cannot be overstated. From the age of 0 to 5, children develop extremely rapidly and build the basis for their life trajectories. Not only does this period shape the individual, but it also has profound implications for society more generally.

This chapter explores the Early Childhood Development Mapping Project that collected and shared population level data about the well-being of children upon entry to Kindergarten, across the province of Alberta. The data that was collected and analyzed, between 2009 and 2014, was not only shared back with community but there was a concrete effort to mobilize community around the findings in order to find local, meaningful responses to the challenges and strengths of each community.

This mobilization was done primarily through 100 Early Childhood Development community

coalitions that were created and supported across Alberta. These coalitions provide a unique opportunity to gain insights into how communities can be engaged in a way that empowers community members and positively impacts community well-being. This case study has implications for approaches to engaging and empowering communities of place and measuring impact at the grassroots level.

## ECD and Community Well-Being

The early years, between the ages of 0 and 5, are key developmental periods for an individual (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a). During the first few years of life, approximately 700–1000 new neural connections are formed in the brain each second (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010b). These connections are the foundation from which all future development is built upon (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010b). Not only does this period have a large impact on a child's future trajectory, but it also has implications for community well-being (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a). In order to become a productive and contributing member of a community, children have to develop a range of competencies,

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whose foundation begins in the early years (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a). In addition, children's developmental trajectory in the years before they reach the age of five predicts many outcomes as adults. In particular, children's development at the age of five can predict their mental and physical health, school completion, juvenile delinquency, and drug use, which can deeply impact their financial and social burden on a community (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a). Focusing on young children does not only reduce medical costs for both the individual and society later in life but also addresses the social burden and human capital challenges in a community (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a). In fact, for every dollar spent on children's physical and cognitive development before the age of five, there is a predicted \$7 return (Centre on the Developing Child at Harvard University 2010a).

Supporting children and their caregivers with quality supports does not only have positive effects on the child, which in turn positively affects the larger community, but also has a positive impact on the adults in that child's life. In fact, quality supports for families can contribute to a community's well-being more generally. Investing in Early Childhood Development programming has been found to contribute to economic growth, by enabling parents and other caregivers to participate in the labor force (Unicef 2002). Quality ECD programs can also help to address societal problems such as cycles of intergenerational poverty by targeting the most vulnerable children (Unicef 2002). Quality supports can also be expected to support families, more generally, increasing the strength of the networks of support in a given community, thus increasing a community's social capital (Unicef 2002).

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## Background of the Early Child Development Mapping Project

In 2009, the Government of Alberta launched the Early Child Development Mapping Project (ECMap) housed at the University of Alberta, under the Community-University Partnership for

the Study of Children, Youth and Families. This was the first population-level study of children between the ages of 0 and 5, implemented across the province of Alberta, Canada. Given the importance of the first 5 years of a child's life in terms of their rapidly developing brain and nervous system, understanding how children are developing across the province was understood to be especially important. In particular, there was interest in understanding how the environments that children grow up in impact their development over the first 5 years.

One of ECMap's roles was to analyze the data collected through the Early Development Instrument (EDI) over this time period. The EDI is a population level survey that was created by the Offord Centre for Child Studies at McMaster University. The survey is concerned with children's developmental progress when they enter Kindergarten. The EDI measures five main areas of children's development: physical health and well-being, social competence, emotional maturity, language and cognitive skills, and communication and general knowledge. The EDI data for each individual child is then aggregated to a population level and mapped geographically by postal code because the information is meant to reflect the impact of environment on children's early development. The EDI has been used across Canada and internationally for a number of years.

There was wide variation within the province, with communities' EDI scores ranging from 53% of children experiencing difficulty in one or more areas of development to 12% in another community (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). At the provincial level, only 46.4% of children were reported as developing appropriately in all five areas of development (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). This means that over half of the children in the province of Alberta are experiencing difficulty in at least one area of development measured by the EDI.

In addition to the analysis and mapping of the EDI data, two other pieces of data were collected and analyzed by the ECMap team. First, a socio-economic index was created, which measured 26 variables that were meant to capture the socio-

economic status of a community, broadly. This information was drawn from a data set collected through the national census conducted by Statistics Canada. The socioeconomic index was created to investigate the correlations between socioeconomic factors of each community and their EDI scores (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). Second, community coalitions collected information about the supports and services that impact children's lives in their communities. This included assets as varied as playgrounds, to schools, to daycares. In addition to the socioeconomic data, this information provided a preliminary picture of how supports and services may relate to EDI scores in a given community.

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## Background of the Development of Coalitions

The mechanism through which all of this data was shared back to community was through 100 community coalitions created to be stewards of this data. These coalitions did not exist prior to EMap. However, these coalitions were not built to be pipelines for information, exclusively. These community-based groups were built with a community-development approach in mind. In addition to the research arm of the EMap project, EMap's community development team was dedicated to developing and sustaining these community coalitions. The community development team spanned the province and took a grassroots, community development approach to their work. This was critical to get buy in and to promote a sense of ownership from community members, which would make the groups more sustainable but also promote the possibility of impacting community well-being more broadly. The organic approach to building the coalitions included two overarching strategies that would facilitate this. The first was to develop coalitions that had representative diversity, used democratic decision making processes and where anyone with a passion for early childhood could participate. The second was to create the geographic boundaries that would define community in col-

laboration with community members. While many coalitions were excited by the prospect of receiving their data, creating, engaging, mobilizing and sustaining 100 community coalitions across the province of Alberta was a challenging task, with many implications for future community development initiatives.

Using information collected throughout EMap, this chapter will detail the approach that has supported the development, sustainability, and impact that these coalitions have had in their communities. Looking at the varying degrees of success of coalitions provides important insights into the ways in which communities can be successfully empowered and engaged, with implications that can be generalized to other contexts.

## What Are Coalitions?

Coalitions are groups of individuals that come together around a particular issue, in this case Early Childhood Development. Coalitions typically have long-term goals, employ bottom-up decision making structures, take a broad approach to an issue, value broad representation, open participation, and community mobilization (Berger 2013). While coalition is a broad term that can describe different types of groups, there were a number of key assumptions that the EMap team made about the type of coalitions they were aiming to develop.

First, there was an assumption that one of the key characteristics of a successful coalition is the diversity of its membership. This included diversity in terms of the sectors that were represented as well as the demographic diversity. Importantly, the ideal coalition would have both community members and professionals and would include individuals that were termed "unusual suspects": people who would not traditionally work in the ECD space but whose perspective could bring a different point of view and challenge the status quo. Having unusual suspects participate on coalitions also reflected the philosophical belief of the Community Development team that everyone in a community has a responsibility for chil-

dren's development. That, in addition to the complexity of factors that impact children's early development; coalitions were encouraged to engage a whole spectrum of individuals and sectors to have a positive impact on children's developmental trajectories.

Second, coalitions were a democratic space.

There was an attempt by the provincial team to create a space where a parent had the same power and voice as a representative of the municipal council. Ideally the relationships that were to be build among coalition members would create a deeper rapport and trust between community members, than had existing previously. Coalitions were also a space where there was not a traditional hierarchy of decision-making. In fact, in many cases, parents and community members became leaders on their own coalitions. In other cases, it was very difficult for service providers to see the value that parents or "unusual suspects" could bring to the table, making this broader engagement more challenging.

Third, coalitions were a place for people with passion. Some coalition members were supported by their organization to participate in coalition meetings. However, many people were coming to meetings outside of work hours and ended up participating as volunteers. Whether it be a community member or agency representative, there was a recognition of the importance of finding people who were passionate about children and felt ownership over the vision and mission of the coalition.

### **Creating "Communities of Place"**

The main role of the Early Childhood Development (ECD) community coalitions in each community was to be stewards of their community's data and catalysts for action in response to this information. In order to create these coalitions, the communities that they represented had to be created. However, like many jurisdictions, the boundaries used by a number of province-wide institutions, such as school districts and health regions, are not congruous with one

another. In other words, there was not an obvious set of boundaries that the project could have taken on and used to define communities. Instead of arbitrarily assigning community boundaries to community coalitions, ECMap decided that community consultation would be the basis of the boundary-creation process.

Creating communities based on geographic location was essential for this project for two main reasons. First, the EDI data is mapped geographically. Results are aggregated at the neighborhood level, according to the postal code of where the child lives. Because the data is supposed to reflect the first 5 years of the child's life, not their experience in school, the data is mapped by home postal code. However, the way that these geographic neighborhoods are determined is less defined. Second, this data was collected as part of a research project but this project had a clear community development component. The data, in the hands of researchers, while important is not the same as putting the data into the hands of community. By giving the data back in a visual, locally relevant, easy to share way, individual community members are empowered to take the information and apply it to their local context.

One hundred "communities" were developed through a consultation process, which involved asking members of the community where they felt their community boundaries were. Sixty-three of these 100 communities were further divided into sub-communities, to reflect pockets of diversity within distinct communities across the province. Community members were asked to take into account different aspects of people's lives, which included where people lived, worked, played and accessed services. Other aspects of community life were taken into considerations through conversation with community. For example, aspects as varied as how funding is allocated to hockey rivalries were discussed during the process of creating community boundaries. It was the Community Development Coordinator's role to pay attention to the history and understand the relationships within a community before bringing a group together for a broader discussion.

In some cases community boundaries were clear from the start, and in others, negotiations



had to take place. In fact, while community recommendations were taken on board as much as possible, some communities were asked to take on pieces of the province that were left in limbo, unclaimed by any coalition. Interestingly, often these areas or communities that weren't envisioned as such from the start posed problems for the coalitions. In some cases, the area that was originally excluded was geographically distant or demographically distinct, which made them more difficult to engage. In other cases, these areas were not included because of historically negative relationships. The impact of these relationships continued to be felt moving forward and one of the jobs of the provincial community development team was to try and encourage the negotiation and reparation of these relationships so that there was representation from all pockets in the community. There were a couple of instances where the push for communities to work together created a storming and norming process resulting in stronger community ties and relationships.

On top of the logistical necessity of creating community boundaries, the process of creating them was a way to begin to create a sense of ownership over the project and to ensure that the way in which community was defined for the next 5 years made sense to the people representing the communities on the ground. As a project that wanted to create grassroots movement around Early Childhood Development, but was being initiated from the "top", taking steps like this to actively working against a "top-down" mentality was imperative to the success of the project. This participatory approach was essential in creating the pre-conditions for community members' feelings of ownership and empowerment in relation to the project. Allowing community members to define their own communities and needs was the basis to approaching community well-being, more generally.

This process, and the challenges involved, highlights the importance for community consultation in creating communities of place. As a community development initiative, it was key to create ownership over the project in communities, and building these communities was an important first step. It also highlights that communities are constantly shifting, over time, and

depending on the context. Depending on the lens that was being used to consider a community, the group shifted, expanded and contracted. These shifts in how people imagine their own and others' belonging is something to be aware of as communities continuously need to feel part of a whole and engaged.

Developing these community boundaries, based within a specific geographic location also had implications for the types of local responses that were made possible down the road. By handing over local data to the people who are interested stakeholders in the issue, you are giving them the opportunity to interpret it and apply it to their own context in a way that someone who is outside of the community could not do. By handing over the data there is also an implied expectation of participation and engagement that encourages data to flow top-down as well as bottom-up. Many of the people receiving the data and sitting on coalitions were both professionally and personally involved in creating communities that supported the well-being of children. While many coalition members worked with families and children, others also had children in the cohort represented by the data, which made their involvement more personal to them.

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### **ECMap's Provincial Structure**

When the project started, the community development and mobilization manager was responsible for hiring a team of 11 community development coordinators that would cover the geography of the province. Once the team had been hired, the province was then divided into 11 zones based on the knowledge and expertise that each individual brought to the table with a "Community Development Coordinator" (CDC) responsible for each resulting area. This individual was expected to understand the local dynamics in their area and provide support in developing and maintaining community coalitions over the 5-year period of the project. The CDCs were tasked with providing one-on-one, face-to-face support across the province and focused on developing and maintaining personal relationships between the

project and the individuals in communities. This approach was built around the understanding that the support provided to community had to be built off of strong, trusting relationships, which would take time to nurture and sustain. This is why each coalition had a clearly designated CDC that would meet with them and often attend meetings in person. There was also an acknowledgement that coalitions needed help getting started. The idea of working through a coalition model to create a movement around Early Childhood Development was a different way of working for many people. For example, many agencies had never worked together to address an issue without a specific outcome outlined by a funder.

A Community Development and Mobilization Manager served to coordinate the CDCs. This Manager had a broader view of what was happening in each of the zones across the province, as well as with the research and data teams. This ensured that there was communication and learning happening between the different zones and that there was a flow of communication between what was happening on the ground and how the data was being received and implemented.

Having a provincial team also ensured that coalitions had access to a person with a certain skill set. Many of the skills of the Community Development Coordinator, whether they were knowledgeable about community development or early childhood development, helped build capacity at the local level. In addition to explicit and implicit training around leadership, mentorship and some aspects of Early Childhood Development (such as play or brain development), they also provided mentorship and support around basic aspects of coalitions, such as applying for funding or developing good governance.

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### **What Pieces About the Approach Worked?**

This case study can provide insight to two main questions. The first, is what characteristics of a coalition are necessary for it to be successful and sustainable in their communities? The second, is what part of the structure and approach of the

larger project helped to create and maintain these conditions?

### **Coalition Characteristics**

There are a number of key features that can be clearly identified as being essential for coalition success and sustainability. Key elements of a coalition that were repeatedly found to be essential include: the coalition's vision and mission, the quality of coalition leadership, and the diversity of and relationships between coalition members.

### **Vision and Mission**

It is clear that it was extremely important that a sense of ownership was created over a coalition's vision and mission. Because the original impetus for the coalitions did not come from the community level, it was especially important that coalition members developed a sense of ownership over the issue and approach that they were taking. The approach of transferring control to communities to guide their own group helped to empower local leadership that was often unexpected. While the project often acted as the catalyst for mobilization, it was imperative that communities felt they were in control and that they were setting the direction. There was a natural tension that would arise as community development coordinators initially took the lead by offering up the goals and vision of the project as the impetus for bringing people together, and that moment where the community took over the agenda and worked to create its own vision and mission. This sometimes happened very quickly, or took several months depending on how ready the coalition was to take the lead. However, no matter the amount of time this step took it remained the focus of the community development coordinator. There was a recognition that community involvement was necessary to achieve a broader impact on community well-being.

### **Leadership**

Explicitly encouraging local leadership to take on a role on the coalition was also an important

part of the project's success. The coalition's leader played a key role in facilitating other important aspects of coalition development including: developing peoples' sense of ownership over the coalition, articulating a clear vision and mission for the coalition, and recruiting diverse members to the table. Strong coalition leaders consistently had to have the ability to inspire, be nurturing, able to lead from behind, work for the group, innovative and bold, have vision, commitment and mediation skills.

### **Membership**

Encouraging diverse membership, both demographically and professionally, on the coalition had an enormous impact on the way the coalition functioned but also on the ability for the coalition to have a broader impact. As previously mentioned, some of the main impacts of a coalition on community included the ability to share resources, to speak as a collective, and to develop new relationships that support collaboration beyond the coalition. Implicit in all of this is the importance of having diverse members. If all of a coalition's members were part of the same sector, this sharing of resources and increased awareness about the different supports and services in a community would not be possible. Overall, there were some trends in who was sitting around the table. The five groups more commonly represented on coalitions included health (85% of coalition had representation from the health sector), schools (78%), parents and community members (73%), libraries (70%), and Parent Link centers (69%) (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). While these may be groups one would expect to be connected to ECD, for many it was the first time that all of these groups actually worked together in a sustained way. In addition, more unusual partners such representatives of faith-based groups, grandparents, the business community, and politicians meant that coalition members would interface with new potential partners and different perspectives.

Positive, trusting relationships between coalition members was also a key component to supporting this type of approach, which takes a lot of

time. In rare cases, such as in the Bowness Montgomery coalitions, a group had been working together with this approach for a very long time. This included working with a diverse group of stakeholders and engaging them in discussing the needs of their community. As a result of having done this over many years, that coalition was particularly successful. For others, the Community Development Coordinator played a key role in developing these relationships. This took a lot of time, so having a consistent person who was there throughout periods of transition and change was very beneficial. It was not conceivable that coalitions could be 'created' and then left to sustain themselves without any concrete, consistent, relationship-based support.

### **Project Characteristics**

#### **Data**

Providing provincially comparable data should also not be overlooked as a key piece to the success of community coalitions. Providing coalitions with a shared measure gave them a place from which they could speak a common language. It also helped to identify communities with comparable results, which encouraged learning between communities. For example, some neighboring communities had very different results from one another, which started conversations about different community strengths and challenges. Having provincially comparable data also emphasized the reality that coalitions were part of something bigger, which was reported as being a key piece for motivating coalitions to do their work.

The provincial scope of the project also gave the coalitions a sense of legitimacy. This was especially important at the beginning of the coalitions' existence and when they were trying to engage various types of stakeholders, some of whom worked at the local political level. Many coalitions reported that the fact that the project was housed out of the University of Alberta not only gave the project in its entirety more legitimacy, but also made the data and information that they were sharing more valid in the eyes of cer-

tain stakeholders. The fact that the EDI was being used nationally and internationally, was useful in engaging outside stakeholders as well as recruiting coalition members. This was despite the fact that many coalitions had professionals around the table, who through their own experience, could estimate the number of children that were not developing appropriately in their communities. Having population-level data collected by a post-secondary institution, using a tool that has been implemented internationally, gave rigor and scope to their professional and personal experience.

Ensuring that the data was shared in a way that facilitated sense-making at the community level was also a key component. Not only was the data shared using friendly graphics that provided context to the information but the Community Development Coordinators personally went to every community to discuss and interpret their data with them. This process was key in order to ensure that the data was interpreted correctly and to build capacity at the community level for these key stewards of the data to share it more broadly. Sometimes, the data was transformed at the local level to ensure it fit the needs of their community. For example, a coalition in the North East of Calgary, an area with many new immigrants, chose to translate their community results in partnership with the Calgary immigrant services language bank. The coalition created a booklet that had their results as well as parenting tips. These were distributed at local grocery stores, restaurants and libraries and openly shared on the First 2000 Days network website for other coalitions to use in their own communities.

In addition, a lot of work went into building capacity around understanding the data and being able to communicate it to others. While the material released by the provincial project was appealing and friendly for most people to read, many Community Development Coordinators worked with individuals whose reading level was lower than the materials released by ECMap, which was often written at around a grade 9 level. To add, communities received a lot of data and it was beneficial to have someone walk them through it so that people could absorb all of the information

and interpret it correctly. Having someone who could explain the information further and could spend one on one time with communities that needed the extra bit of explanation ensured that the data could be shared across boundaries such as low literacy levels or within immigrant populations that have English as a Second Language, who are often excluded from receiving this type of information. Additional explanation and support was also helpful in situations where going beyond the data provided was required. For example, convincing oil companies in rural communities that ECD was their business, required framing the material in a very specific way. In addition, presenting the data to different audiences, such as City Council, may require articulating the data differently.

Making sure that everyone across the province had the same message helped to reinforce it for the coalition members themselves as well as the other community stakeholders that were being engaged. This is especially important with an issue as complex as Early Childhood Development. Even conceptualizing the five developmental domains is a particular way to think about children's development. While there are so many other ways to think about it, there is power in having one, consistent message, which the data provided.

Maintaining a symbiotic relationship between the team that was engaging with community and the team, located in Edmonton (Alberta), who were dealing with the research was also a key component. It was important that the needs of community around the presentation and content of data was taken into account as material was being developed. In addition, being able to translate the data to community and different stakeholders was a key skill that the Community Development team needed to have and was provided by the close connection between themselves and the researchers.

### **Time for Relationships**

The focus that the project put on building strong, trusting relationships was also a key part to its success. The importance of taking the time to have personal, one on one conversations was

repeatedly cited as the central piece to the Community Development Coordinator's engagement strategy. Given the size of the geographic zones that coordinators were responsible for, often there was an attempt to identify the 'champions' or 'movers and shakers' in a given community. However, getting to know the community through meeting people in it was the beginning of a long process of finding this right person. While it was sometimes the most obvious person who already holds a position of leadership within the field of ECD, it was sometimes someone unexpected.

The amount of time that it takes to build trust and relationships cannot be understated. An enormous amount of time was spent engaging with community members on a personal level. The phrase "five hundred cups of coffee" was used over and over throughout the project as a description of the main recruitment strategy for both the provincial team as well as for coalitions, once that responsibility was handed off to them. It refers to the number of one on one, face to face conversations that are required in order to build trusting relationships from scratch. In some cases, people were even working from a place of distrust was an enormous challenge and hurdle that had to be addressed in order to move forward.

It was also important to be patient when trying to get 'unusual suspects': people who wouldn't normally be engaged in issues around Early Childhood Development around the table. Engaging a wide range of stakeholders was especially important to the provincial team because of a desire to break away from the typical groups that haven't worked in the past. Having diverse people around the table was presumed to promote creativity, innovation and a fresh perspective on this long-standing problem. However, convincing someone who is not working directly with children or families with young children that it is their business can be a long journey. In addition to convincing individuals about the relevance of the issue to them or their work, convincing the *usual* suspects of the benefits of having *unusual* suspects around the table could also take time. For example, convincing professionals of the

benefits of having lay-people was sometimes a challenge.

It was also explicitly recognized that the process would take time. Providing funding that was not tied to specific and time-consuming outcomes or documentation processes so that the provincial team had time to build trust with oncoming coalitions members and that coalitions member in turn, had time to build trusting relationships with key stakeholders in their community. In many ways, the structure at the provincial level was constantly replicated at the local level with invited leaders providing local level support and regional meetings helping to support sharing and learning from one another and disseminating this down to the local level.

### **Celebrating Successes**

Celebrating successes (no matter how small) and encouraging "easy wins" to highlight the progress a coalition was making was also an effective strategy for the provincial team and coalition leadership. It became clear as the project advanced that while it was good to allow things to take time, people had to feel like there was progress being achieved. Celebrating small wins was a way to keep people excited and engaged and is especially important when dealing with a problem that is extremely complex and will take a long time to achieve ultimate outcomes of improve the lives of children.

### **Provincial Scope and Allowing for Local**

One of the key elements of ECD's success was being able to maintain a balance between the project having a provincial scope and maintaining flexibility at the local level. The provincial scope was an important aspect of the project for a number of reasons. It made participants at the local level feel like they were a part of something bigger, which inspired them to continue their work, which was often difficult. Having a provincial team coordinating the efforts at a higher level also provided local coalitions with a consistent message, and materials (in addition to the research, information sheets, etc.) that they would not have the capacity to produce themselves. For example, the provincial team developed a num-

ber of fact sheets and research briefs that were shared with coalitions.

At the same time that communities across the province were being given consistent messages and support, the flexibility of the community development approach allowed for communities to grow at their own pace and respond to local needs and opportunities. Coalitions all looked very different from one another. While the provincial team generally strove to build coalitions that were diverse in their membership, felt ownership over the issue and had a deep and broad understanding of their own communities, each individual coalition was encouraged to be unique and respond to their data and community needs as appropriate. In fact, allowing for this individuality at the local level was a crucial way that ownership, which the success of the project hinged upon, was successfully created over time.

Ownership was actively created in a number of ways. First, the process of creating community boundaries (as previously discussed) was a crucial step. Second, all coalitions were encouraged to create their own names and logos, vision and mission, which was often an extensive process. They were not to simply call themselves "ECMap" coalitions; they were their own entity, responding to the data provided to them by ECMap. This differentiation was a difficult one to make. In fact, other than a few groups who had already been meeting prior to the ECMap project (often through quarterly inter-agency meetings), ECMap created the coalitions. In fact, ECMap provided all the impetus for the coalition, the people who were brought together, and the data that they organized around. However, the importance of creating a meaningful sense of being responsive to local issues was central to the approach, at the same time. Therefore, even though the provincial coordinators were necessary to start the coalitions, they actively handed over responsibility for creating the coalition's own identity to local community members. While it may seem like a small detail, the creation of the name and logo of the coalition, often took weeks to pin down and was a crucial piece for coalition members to discuss and agree on what they stood

for and how they would present themselves to outside stakeholders. More formally, a coalition's terms of reference and formal vision and mission were a similarly critical piece in the development of this identity.

To support the development of this identity and feeling of local responsiveness within the project, the requirements within the coalition's applications for funding was very loose, by design. Each community coalition was able to apply for \$50,000 of seed grant funding (available to them over a 2 year period). The application for the funding provided a loose structure around what the coalition could use the money for, namely they were not able to use it to fund programming but rather, to build awareness, create capacity and develop resources. However, coalitions were allowed to create their own plans and were encouraged to work from a place of creativity and innovation. This level of flexibility reflected two realities. First, there was recognition from the provincial team that it was impossible to know what to ask coalitions for before the process had time to develop naturally. The team knew that they couldn't decide what coalitions or their communities 'needed' from afar. Second, allowing the space for this flexibility, allowed for the space to create an identity and feeling of ownership over the initiative. This was not only important philosophically, but is an essential piece of the sustainability of the coalitions throughout the project and beyond.

One of the most important strategies in retrospect in terms of creating ownership over the project was allowing the coalition members to have an explicit conversation about the history of local ECD efforts. This included discussing past challenges and successes, what they could build off of and learn from, and to honor the work that had already taken place. This was a building block that was essential before moving forward with new strategies and information. Going over the community history also helped to air out old grievances or conflicts that could impede the group's ability to work together. There is also an enormous amount of frustration around projects that act in isolation from one another, not build-

ing on or respecting the massive amount of effort that has taken place in the past. Facilitating this conversation helped to situate the current project with the community's past and current reality. Situating it in this unique circumstance helped to make it their own.

As the provincial team put the trust in local community coalitions to determine their own path for success, it gave many people permission to become leaders in this new field. The empowering approach that the provincial team took not only impacted appointed leaders on the coalitions but a lot of informal leadership as well.

### **Levels of Support**

Not only did the Community Engagement Coordinators play an essential part in building face-to-face relationships with community members that contributed to the strength of the coalitions but they also provided practical support in a number of areas. Community Development Coordinators helped to provide presentations to various key stakeholders, especially with groups who were not yet familiar with their community data. Not only did the provincial coordinator become a stable person who could transmit the history of the group and community to oncoming members (if needed), but they were also able to hold together groups during difficult periods of change and transition. They were also essential in terms of taking coalitions to the next level as they grew in terms of maturity. Successful Community Development Coordinators were passionate, knowledgeable, flexible, adaptable, confident, listeners, skilled communicators, empathetic, sensitive and respectful. Other valued characteristics were that they were organized, a proficient public speaker, could convey authenticity, had strong relationship building skills, were quick connectors, had cultural awareness, able to deal with challenging personalities, willingness to ask for help, were curious, could work with technology, were persistent, able to work alone, and could challenge the process and ask critical questions.

### **Impact of This Approach**

There are a number of different ways that success or impact can be defined in the context of community coalitions. Many coalitions envisioned the ability to determine their success based on improvements in EDI scores, in the long term. However, this is a very long-term measure and also has many problems given the scope of the factors that impact a child's early development. It is not necessarily reasonable to expect that a community coalition, on its own, can impact EDI scores. However, other ways of assessing impact have been suggested and include: coalitions becoming a strong voice for ECD in their community, becoming the go-to group for ECD in the community, and achieving broader changes in how community understand their role in ECD.

In terms of the development of community coalitions, a strong, larger network of people invested in Early Childhood Development was created within the province of Alberta over the course of 5 years. A conservative estimate of the number of people involved in the coalitions is 4345 people including 1130 who participate in meetings regularly and 3215 affiliates kept in the loop (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). It is estimated that these individuals have given more than 40,000 hours of their time, each year (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2014). This estimate only takes into account coalition meetings, not involvement at community events or in sub-committee meetings.

### **Increased Awareness**

Coalitions worked to increase the awareness of the importance of the Early Years through initiatives like community fairs or large-scale marketing campaigns. A lot of focus went into sharing the EDI data and explaining to caregivers and professionals the importance of taking into account the whole child when planning a program or intervention. As a result, programs like

ones held at libraries began to look not only at literacy in their programming, but how they could support social competence and emotional maturity at the same time.

Working together also had an impact on the awareness of coalition members themselves of the other resources in their community. Some coalition members were not aware of all of the services and resources in the community and as a result of working on the coalition were able to better refer caregivers to a service that they could benefit from. This understanding also helped to bring up the issue of duplication of services in community. In many cases, there was a clear realization that resources could be used in a more effective way if coalition members aligned their work more effectively.

### **Understanding Community Needs**

Working on the coalitions also helped to identify community needs more directly. Many coalitions conducted environmental scans or surveys with parents asking them what they needed. As a result, many community coalitions were able to develop resource booklets that summarized the resources in their community for families. Being able to respond directly to families' needs was one of the clear benefits of having a group working in such a small area.

### **Sharing Information and Resources**

Making sure that coalitions were formally connected also meant that they were able to share resources and ideas with one another. For example, resources that were especially successful and created within certain coalitions were also shared through the Community Development Coordinators so that coalitions could leverage one another's success. For example, a resource book designed and created in Canmore, which included resources for Early Childhood Development and information divided by each developmental domains along with pictures of

local families was well-received. That coalition was happy to share the template for the resource at no cost to other coalitions. This helped other coalitions conserve scarce resources: namely, time and money. Having the provincial team that was able to communicate with one another, share and learn from successes and challenges allowed coalitions to learn at an accelerated pace.

This sharing and learning was amplified during regional and provincial meetings where representatives from each coalition were brought together for networking and sharing. Not only did this allow coalitions members to meet and share ideas with many coalitions, it cut out the 'middleman' of the provincial project coordinator and empowered the coalitions to share and recognize their own success. In fact, one of the most challenging aspects of the project was coalition members' lack of awareness of the originality and impact of their ideas. Bringing them together with other groups that would get excited by their ideas and accomplishments helped to put what they had done in perspective. It built coalition members' capacity to be self-reflective and to put what they were doing in perspective. These meetings not only increased the confidence of coalition members but also energized them to continue working toward their goal. Having events, like regional and provincial meetings were crucial to be able to develop ownership and confidence among coalition members rather than having that held within the hired, provincial team.

Working together with new people on a coalition also helped facilitate the sharing of information as well as a certain amount of reduced duplication and alignment between services. Some coalitions worked explicitly to leverage what was already happening given the frustration around the table about the common reaction of wanting to make a new program rather than addressing issues of access with existing ones.

Moreover, working with new people on a coalition gave coalition members a wider network that they could access. As one coalition member put it: "The more collaboration, the more impact, and the more people involved.



You're more likely to reach the right person, at the right time, to do the right thing" (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2015).

Coalition members also shared financial and non-financial resources, increasing the capacity of any individual to make an ask or change in their community. For example, one coalition reported how the local elementary school, recreation centre, Christian school and the parks and recreation department all worked together to apply for a grant to build a new playground in their community. They attributed the success of their application to working together on completing it (Early Child Development Mapping Project 2015).

### **New Relationships**

Working together also helped to create new relationships between community members and service providers, where knowing where to go for a specific service or being able to collaborate more easily became possible. Collaboration across various sectors resulted in a number of different responses, including: clean up of local parks, translation of parenting tips into multiple languages, and coordinated correspondence with government officials.

The opportunity to work with different sectors and across disciplines in the community also fundamentally changed how the community worked together. Many coalitions reported that they would not go back to working in silos or without consulting each other. They saw the value of leveraging the different perspectives and ideas that non-typical members had around early childhood.

### **Collaborating Beyond Coalitions**

In working together as a coalition, the benefits of collaboration or working together at some level were made more obvious for people. When coalition members began to see the benefits of sharing information and resources with one another, it happened more readily in their everyday work.

For example, even though coalitions had input in their own community boundaries, as coalitions tried to think beyond their more local context to communities that neighbored them, that they often interacted with, they could get an understanding of how that population was doing as well.

In fact, both Calgary and area (First 2000 Days Network) and Edmonton (Edmonton Citywide Coalitions) created more formal, broad networks of the coalitions in their areas. This was in part in recognition of the overlap in the populations in these denser, more urban areas. It was also a recognition of the strength of a common identity and the benefits of sharing resources and leveraging opportunities, which is facilitated when you are in a more concentrated geographic area. For example, both the Edmonton Citywide Coalition and the First 2000 Days network recognized the importance of having a common identity when going forward with an 'ask', whether it be financial or around advocacy. In fact, the First 2000 Days Network broadened the scope of their group to include any stakeholders in the ECD space, recognizing the power of collaboration and aligned activities to address this complex problems. Other coalitions came together around certain initiatives. For example, the Northern Alberta Children's Charter was developed and supported by nine coalitions in North West Alberta. It also provided them with a common place to start from and provided a sense of tangible unity that went beyond the provincial level of support that they were all receiving.

### **Collective Voice**

Collaborating on the coalition was also a way for individuals to have a bigger impact on their community by working through the collective voice of their individual coalition or as a network of coalitions. For example, the Northern Alberta Children's Charter was supported by all of the coalitions in Northern Alberta. Having a united front was perceived as making their message more powerful when they approached political leaders to support the charter.

At the provincial level, coalitions created a network of people who could access the input and opinions of people on the ground. This was accessed on a number of occasions, not only through the coalitions themselves. For example, in trying to collect information through their Together We Raise Tomorrow conversations, the Government of Alberta was able to access the voices of local communities through the reach of the coalitions. In fact, a conservative estimate put the number of people that could be reached rapidly via the community development team at approximately 30,000. This created a powerful network of individuals that could be accessed in a short timeframe, be it to disseminate information or to cultivate ideas and perspectives from.

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### Challenges of Measuring Impact

Despite this reported success, there were many difficulties around measuring success in a systemic way for community coalitions. First, many coalitions did not have the expertise to be able to conduct a sophisticated evaluation of their work. While many coalitions collected feedback in terms of people's satisfaction with their events or even how well their coalitions was functioning internally, they were not able to systematically collect information about changes at the community level. There were however a collection of anecdotes of the impact that either the availability of EDI data or community coalitions had on different sectors of the population and there were many changes attributed to both. For example, the city of Lethbridge adopted the EDI results for their community as the basis for making decisions that affect children and families in that community. As a result of the coalition's parent survey and the city's commitment to respond to the EDI, a \$5 million commitment was made to put working washrooms at all of the parks within the city to support young families' usage of the outdoor spaces.

However, measuring outcomes when working in the sphere of Early Childhood Development is especially challenging because of the long-term impact that people are ultimately trying to have.

There simply isn't the time to see whether the interventions put in place that are affecting children before they are five will have an impact on their school success later in life. However, another question is worth posing: Should the existence of a coalition in a community be responsible or expected to be capable of changing the outcomes of children, at a population level, within their communities? Is that the role of the coalition? Is this a realistic expectation? The struggle with measuring the long term effect on children's overall development may be a moot point if this is not the role that the coalition should be expected to play.

The number of factors that influence the healthy development of children, not only make it difficult to parse out the impact of the work of a community coalition but it also makes it nearly impossible for a community coalition to make effective change on their own. While coalitions certainly have the capacity to make meaningful change, as evidenced by individuals' experience as a result of participating or being connected to the coalition, there are many considerations to take into account when trying to find a suitable way to measure coalition success and impact on their communities directly. This highlights the need for new or adapted measurement systems that can be used to assess their work or a shift in our expectations and understanding of what coalitions can be expected to achieve.

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### Conclusion

The experiences of these coalitions are particularly well-suited to inform how communities can build relationships, capacity and connections that help to support positive social change at the local level. This project provides evidence from the way that project staff and structure successfully created and engaged with coalitions and how coalitions in turn engaged their communities. The coalitions were developed and supported in a way that intentionally empowered local, grassroots leadership, and mobilized communities to engage with the importance of Early Childhood Development through both unique and context-

specific approaches. Not only have these coalitions worked to address issues around ECD but they have also had an impact on community well-being and connections more broadly.

The importance of employing, clear, explicit strategies to build ownership over an issue when trying to develop a grassroots response to an issue is a tricky balance to achieve. The ability to provide support while still making sure that the specifics of the project are driven by local needs and understandings of their community need to be maintained in order for sustainability as well as any sense of locally appropriate responsiveness in these sorts of initiatives. The provincial structure was key to the success of the project.

In fact, it was shown over and over again that the ability to provide a framework for understanding (EDI data, various material etc), in this case through a shared measure, and a mechanism to share and learn from one another (whether this is within a coalition and between different sectors or between different coalitions across the prov-

ince) is extremely helpful. However, the importance of providing the space within this structure for flexibility and time cannot be overstated.

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# The Green Machine Mobile Market: An Innovative Response to Food Insecurity in the Bluff City

# 30

Antonio Raciti and Kenneth M. Reardon

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## Origins

In the fall of 2011, the Memphis Housing Authority (MHA) and the City of Memphis Division of Housing and Community Development (HCD) submitted a Choice Neighborhood (CN) Planning Grant Application to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. The purpose of this application was to secure federal matching funds to support the preparation of an urban transformation plan for Foote Homes, the city's last remaining public housing complex, and the surrounding Vance Avenue (VA) neighborhood (Fig. 30.1). In keeping with the CN Program's emphasis on resident-led planning, the city invited the Foote Homes Residents Association and the Vance Avenue Collaborative (VAC), a coalition of neighborhood-based churches, human service organizations and the Department of City and Regional Planning (CRP) at the University of Memphis, to partner with them in the preparation of the application and, in the event the city's submission was successful, to actively collaborate in the production

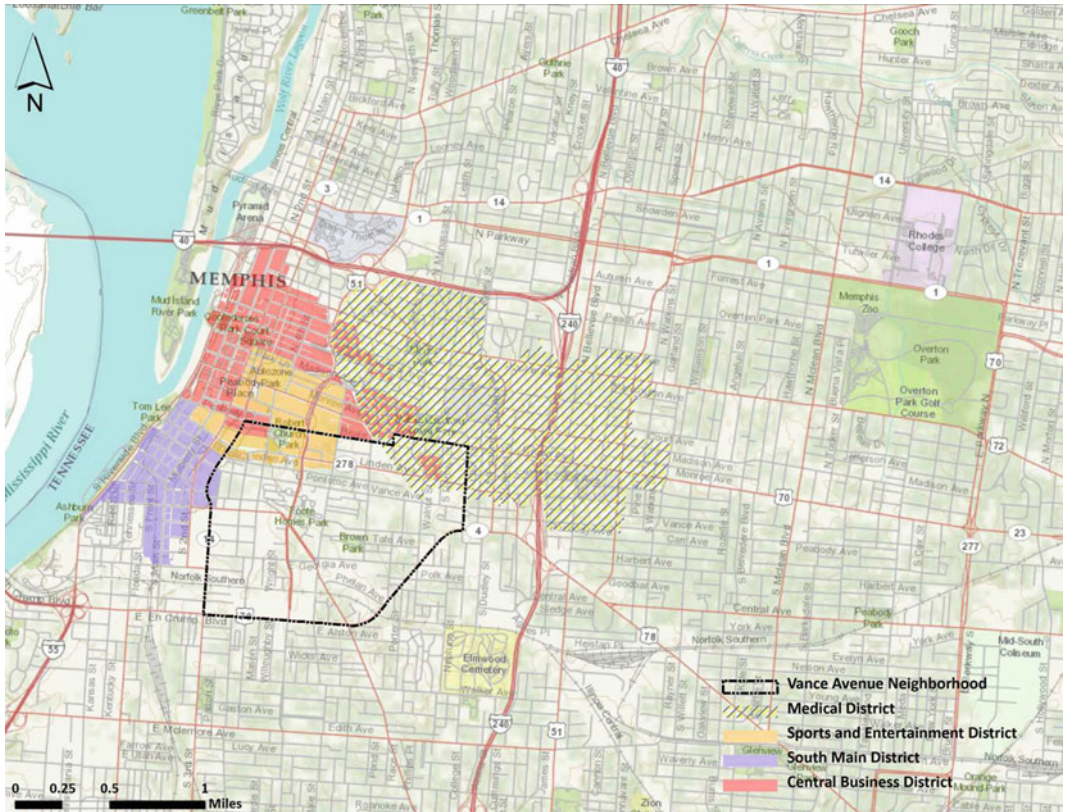
of the actual plan. In a city where top-down planning and elite decision-making dominate (Reardon 2013a, b) local policy-making, the city's decision to pursue a more participatory and collaborative approach to the development of a VA CN Plan was viewed by many residents and observers as historic.

In the spring of 2012, US Representative Steve Cohen announced that Memphis had been selected 1 of 17 the CN Planning Grants from an applicant pool of 116 cities. Following this announcement, the MHA and HCD awarded a contract to the University of Memphis CRP and Department of Anthropology to assist local stakeholders from this historic African American community in collecting and analyzing the extensive amount of data needed to prepare a high quality revitalization plan for this severely distressed neighborhood located just south of Memphis' world famous Beale Street entertainment district. The city's decision to invite University planners to participate in this effort was based, in large part, on the success of their just completed South Memphis Revitalization Action Project that had engaged more than 1000 local stakeholders and had resulted in the completion of several highly visible neighborhood improvement projects, including: the establishment of the South Memphis Farmers Market as well as the restoration of a significant segment of George Kessler's historic South Parkway (Lambert-Pennington and Reardon 2011).

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**Fig. 30.1** A current map of the city of Memphis with the Vance Avenue neighborhood and its vicinity

Following a month-long media and door-knocking campaign organized by VA residents and their University planners designed to encourage stakeholders to participate in the VA CN planning process, more than 150 people attended the project’s “kick-off” event. Aware of the neighborhood’s low educational attainment levels, high unemployment and poverty rates, and increasing incidence of violent street crime, University planners expected those attending this meeting to focus their attention on issues related to living wage employment, quality public education, and community-based crime prevention. Therefore, they were surprised when local stakeholders identified food security as one of their neighborhood’s most critical needs. During the meeting, several Foote Homes residents described the time, effort, and expense of travelling to the

two nearest full-service grocery stores located 3.2 and 3.5 miles away. These speakers explained how the vast majority of Foote Homes residents who lacked access to private automobiles were compelled to either take two buses or pool their resources to hire private car services to do their weekly shopping. Local speakers described how these, and other barriers, forced many residents to purchase a disproportionate share of their groceries at nearby convenience stores that offered few healthy food options at considerably inflated prices (matching the definition of food desert as provided by Cummins and Macintyre (1999)). Nearly every one of those who spoke about residents’ lack of access to healthy, affordable, and culturally-appropriate foods believed this problem was a major contributor to their families’ and communities’ health problems.

## Getting Organized

Moved by the repeated and impassioned pleas for help from Foote Homes residents lacking basic access to healthy foods, Cathy Winterburn, a Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center Board Member and retired FedEx Marketing Executive, who attended the kick-off meeting volunteered to work with interested Foote Homes residents, other community residents, and University planning students and faculty to investigate a variety of short and long-term strategic responses to the neighborhood's food security crisis.<sup>1</sup> While the majority of local stakeholders participating in the CN planning process worked together to formulate a research design to generate the environmental, economic, and social data needed to produce a professional-quality urban transformation plan, a small group of Foote Homes residents, Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center Board Members, and University of Memphis planning students and faculty, under Ms. Winterburn's leadership, formed the Vance Avenue Food Security Committee (VAFSC) in the early fall of 2011 to investigate:

- (a) the nature and scope of the neighborhood's food security problem;
- (b) possible short-term strategies for addressing this issue; and,
- (c) non-profit organizations and public agencies involved in community-based nutrition programs that might be willing to partner with the Vance Avenue community in seeking a workable solution to this serious public health project.

<sup>1</sup>According with a serving learning approach (Kendall 1990; Reardon 1997) widely used in the CRP Department at the University of Memphis, three Graduate Assistants have been funded to work on this project throughout its development.

## Defining the Problem

Those attending the first meeting of the VAFSC Meeting in September of 2011 were eager to know how pervasive Memphis' food security crisis was. Aury Kangelos, a second-year Master of CRP student and Graduate Assistant, worked with University of Memphis faculty to answer this question before the Committee's next meeting. Using data from the 2010 US Census of Population and basic GIS techniques, Aury identified Census Tracts within the City of Memphis that met the following criteria:

- (a) Medium to high density
- (b) Concentrated poverty (More than 25 % of households living in poverty)
- (c) Mass-transit dependent (More than 50 % transit dependent)

Using a combination of data provided by the Shelby County Tax Assessor's Office and University of Memphis field surveys to determine the location of full service groceries, specialty food stores, and convenience stores Aury's preliminary research shocked the Committee. He found 77 medium to high density Census Tracts within the City of Memphis where 50 % or more of the households were transit dependent and 25 % or more of the households lived in poverty. Of these Census Tracts, only seven appeared to be served by grocery stores offering a wide range of healthy, fresh, affordable, and culturally appropriate fruits and vegetables essential to good nutrition and health. This preliminary analysis showed food insecurity to be a pervasive problem in The Bluff City. These findings were subsequently verified by USDA research that identified 35 Memphis neighborhoods as "food deserts".

## Shifting Scales

Those attending the second meeting of the VAFSC in October of 2011 were stunned by Aury's research highlighting the widespread nature of the city's food security problem. They

quickly concluded that the place-based strategies they had been exploring to address this problem, including: community gardens, food-buying clubs, community-supported agriculture programs, neighborhood-based farmers markets, consumer food cooperatives, small footprint (5–7000 ft<sup>2</sup>) neighborhood groceries, and a pop-up food stores, might represent appropriate responses to a highly localized food access problem but not to a city-wide food security crisis such as the one confronting Memphis residents. Those attending the meeting subsequently committed themselves to conducting additional library and internet research and using their personal networks to identify more suitable city-wide responses to this problem. They also took time to generate a preliminary list of community-based nutrition programs whose staff they hoped to involve in the development and implementation of any future food security program. The Committee identified more than a dozen human services and faith-based organizations operating nutrition education, food pantry, commodities distribution, and health and wellness programs throughout the city whose leadership they planned to contact regarding their initiative.

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### **Developing a Mobile Approach**

A few days after the Committee's October meeting, Ms. Winterburn sent the VAFSC information about an exciting new Chicago-based food security initiative called Fresh Moves. Facing a city-wide food security problem similar to Memphis, a small group of University of Chicago Master of Business Administration students, had established a new non-profit organization that had transformed a retired Chicago Transit Authority bus, into an attractive mobile market. Operating 4 days a week, the Fresh Moves bus sold high-quality, competitively-priced fruits, vegetables, dairy products, and dried goods at 16 regularly scheduled stops in Chicago neighborhoods lacking full-service grocery stores. Intrigued by the potential of a mobile market that reminded many of the VAFSC Members of the "vegetable men" who once brought fresh produce to city neighbor-

hoods using horse-drawn carts and small panel trucks, the Committee encouraged Ms. Winterburn to gather additional information regarding this newly-launched, community-based nutrition program.

With the Committee's encouragement, Ms. Winterburn assisted by University students and faculty studied the Fresh Moves' website, Facebook page, and related newspaper articles to craft a set of more than 30 specific questions regarding the project's origins, goals/objectives, business philosophy, organizational structure, staffing pattern, pre-development costs, operating income and costs, product selection, mark-ups, advertising/promotion activities, equipment, management practices, funding sources, technical assistance sources, major accomplishments, and ongoing business challenges. After eliciting additional questions from Committee Members, Ms. Winterburn and Ken Reardon arranged a 90-min conference call with Steve Casey, the CEO of Fresh Moves, who provided an initial response to each of the Committee's questions as well as copies of their organization's initial business plan, fundraising proposal, vehicle retrofit plans/designs and budget, and operating budget. Steve also put our Committee in touch with the Chicago Chapter of Architects for Humanity whose members had prepared the physical plans/designs needed to transform a used city bus into a highly attractive and functional retail shopping space. Finally, he invited members of the VAFSC to Chicago to see the Fresh Moves bus in operation; an invitation that they gladly accepted. Following this preliminary conversation with Fresh Moves leadership, Ms. Winterburn prepared a 20-page "baseline report" summarizing Steve Casey's responses to the Committee's initial set of business questions.

The VAFSC Members' interest in a mobile response to the Memphis' food security problem was galvanized by Ms. Winterburn's baseline report. When she subsequently offered to travel to Chicago to observe the Fresh Moves bus in operation, the Committee strongly encouraged her to do so! While Ms. Winterburn, equipped with a video camera and a long list of legal, financial and operations questions generated by the Committee,

headed north to Chicago, other members of the VAFSC, under the leadership of Deacon Eugene Champion, Executive Director of Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center Inc. arranged a preliminary meeting with leaders of the following community-based health, wellness and nutrition programs to share the initial results of our food security research and to elicit their initial reaction to a possible mobile response to this problem. Shortly before Christmas of 2012, the Committee held a preliminary meeting with the following organizations to seek their feedback on our research findings and mobile market concept.

- Food Bank of the Mid-South
- Catholic Charities of Western Tennessee
- Center for Independent Living
- NAACP
- Area Association on Aging and Disabilities
- Metropolitan Inter Faith Alliance
- Advance Memphis
- Memphis Housing Authority
- Baptist Health and Hospital Corporation
- Church Health Center
- Christ Health Center
- Regional One Medical Center
- Methodist Hospital Corporation
- GrowMemphis
- The Works Community Development Corporation
- The Community Development Council of Greater Memphis
- City of Memphis Division of Parks and Recreation

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## Building Partnerships

Those attending the community-based health, wellness and nutrition organizations meeting were not surprised by the widespread nature of Memphis' food security problem as revealed by the Committee's research and verified by the USDA's recently-completed food desert study. They were delighted to learn of the Committee's decision to pursue a citywide strategy that might, in part, address this problem. They were also fascinated by Fresh Moves mobile response to this

issue and strongly encouraged the Committee to explore Memphis' local transit agency's openness to make a recently "retired" municipal bus available for this purpose. Furthermore, they encouraged the Committee to incorporate a health, wellness, and nutrition education element into its evolving mobile market concept. Several experienced health educators pointed out the long period of time that residents of Memphis' older residential neighborhoods had been without healthy food options causing many of them to embrace diets featuring few fruits and vegetables. They argued that it may not be enough to deliver high-quality, competitively-priced fruits and vegetables to food scarce neighborhoods; it may also be necessary to teach residents living in food deserts about the value of these items and how they might be most effectively incorporated into their family diets. When asked to provide ongoing guidance to the VAFSC's ongoing research, planning, and development efforts, as a Community Advisory Board, all of the participating non-profits agreed to do so. As the meeting came to a close the Executive Directors of the Metropolitan Inter Faith Alliance and the Food Bank of the Mid-South agreed to serve as the hosts, on an alternating basis, of the Memphis Mobile Market Community Advisory Board.

At the third meeting of the VAFSC held in January of 2012, Ms. Winterburn shared her Chicago-based research results that included a detailed presentation of Fresh Moves' business model, pre-development costs, marketing, advertising, and promotional activities and costs, operating income and expenditures, ongoing business challenges and initial lessons learned. Ms. Winterburn supplemented her oral report with an edited video containing the highlights of her day-long "observation" of the Fresh Moves bus in operation. Her report underscored a number of critical "lessons learned" from the Chicago mobile market experience, among these were the:

- importance of ongoing advertising, marketing, and promotion of the market in light of its ever-changing location;
- value of creating an aesthetically pleasing and easy to maintain shopping environment that



lets the bus's low-income patrons know they are respected and appreciated;

- need to raise both start-up and operations funds that will allow the mobile market to operate for a minimum of 2 years while it finds and builds its market;
- necessity of accepting all forms of payment – cash, debit and credit cards, as well as Supplementation Nutrition Assistance Program (i.e. Food stamps) benefits;
- challenge of selecting stops and designing routes that enables each mobile bus to efficiently and effectively serve the maximum number of food insecure households;
- obligation to retrofit the bus in a manner that meets the accessibility requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act; and,
- necessity of partnering with a well-established wholesaler committed to local sourcing of high quality fruits and vegetables at competitive prices.

While Ms. Winterburn's report highlighted the complex and challenging nature of managing a successful produce business operating on small margins in an ever-changing market, Committee Members remained committed to pursuing a mobile response to food insecurity in the Vance neighborhood and the city. Reflecting on the business challenges identified during her Chicago field research, in light of her corporate management experience, Ms. Winterburn suggested contacting two nearby corporations with a strong public service record to assist the Committee with the advertising/marketing and physical transformation of the bus. She proposed we ask the internationally-acclaimed Archer-Malmo Advertising to assist us in branding, advertising, and marketing our soon-to-be-launched mobile market and the highly-regarded Looney Ricks Kiss Architects to help us in developing a design to transform a standard city bus into an appealing retailing space. With the unanimous support of the Committee, Ms. Winterburn agreed to speak with the senior management of these two Memphis-based firms to encourage their involvement in the project.

Following Ms. Winterburn's report, Aury Kangelos and Rachel McCook, two of the three Graduate Students who helped staff the VAFSC, shared the results of the recently convened health, wellness, and nutrition service providers meeting. They reported on the high level of support and interest this network voiced for the Committee's mobile market concept. They also highlighted this group's recommendation to incorporate a serious health, wellness, and nutrition education component into the Committee's rapidly emerging mobile market concept. Quoting one of the professionals who had attended this meeting, Rachel stated, "While you may be able to bring a horse to water can you make her drink?"<sup>2</sup> After decades of fast food marketing and a near total absence of healthy food options from many inner city neighborhoods bringing a bus stocked with nutritious food choices may not be enough to get people to purchase items they may not be that familiar with – even if they believe these foods may be better for their family's health.

The students' report generated an extended conversation regarding how to incorporate an effective nutrition education element into the Committee's emerging mobile market concept. Committee members noted the commonly held beliefs that fresh fruits and vegetables were more expensive, difficult to prepare, and unlikely to be embraced by young people weaned on fast foods and soft drinks. After considerable discussion, the Committee agreed that a significant amount of space on the bus needed to be allocated to health, wellness, and nutrition education. Committee Members believed this space should accommodate the latest in print materials on the relationship between good nutrition and good health, multi-media presentations highlighting the value of a balanced and healthy lifestyle, and, in possible, facilities to support food preparation

<sup>2</sup>Quotes from people participating in this process (hereby and later in the text) are excerpts from field notes taken every meeting of this process by Graduate Assistants involved in this service-learning experience. Field notes are kept in the VAC Archive at the CRP Department at the University of Memphis.

demonstrations to debunk the myth that healthy eating requires exotic ingredients, expensive equipment, considerable time, and a high level of culinary knowledge and skills. This discussion prompted several Committee Members to begin referring to the project as a mobile “food market and nutrition education” initiative. Over time, Committee Members came to view their newly embraced emphasis on nutrition education as their proposal’s “unique-selling point” distinguishing it from other mobile market proposals and projects.

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### Securing a Vehicle

While Ms. Winterburn reached out to potential corporate partners to secure assistance for the project’s program marketing and vehicle redesign, University planning faculty contacted one of their former students, a preservation architect, who had recently been appointed to serve on the Memphis Area Transit Agency’s Board of Governors (MATA) to discuss how the VAFSC might determine the agency’s openness to make one of their recently retired buses available to the community for use as a mobile market. As a preservation architect, Charles (better known as Chooch) Pickard, was naturally supportive of the adaptive re-use of a retired MATA bus, which the agency was unlikely to receive more than \$1500 for at auction, to address a critical community need. Following a brief conversation with his former professors, Chooch agreed to arrange a meeting with several senior MATA Executives and VAFSC Members to discuss the community’s mobile bus idea. Several weeks later, Chooch accompanied several VAFSC Members to the MATA headquarters where they met with Tom Fox, Chief Operating Officer; Alvin Pearson, Assistant Director of Bus Operations; and Allison Burton, Vice-President of Public Relations for MATA to discuss the mobile market.

Following a short present by representatives of the VA community, Mr. Fox and his colleagues voiced their strong support for the project. He described how the donation of a bus to the community for use as a mobile market would be a

natural extension of the agency’s long-standing commitment to food security. Mr. Fox explained how MATA executives, staff, and customers had been collecting canned foods and dry goods for local food banks during the holiday season for several years. This form of charity made perfect sense for MATA given the extremely low-incomes of the vast majority of their customers. Mr. Pearson who was responsible for maintaining the agency’s bus fleet reported that they currently had nearly a dozen buses that has recently been replaced by newer vehicles several of which were in “excellent” operating order. He explained how the agency was forced to “retire” buses paid for by the US Department of Transportation once they exceeded 500,000 miles on the road. Once these vehicles hit the half million mile mark they could no longer be used to carry passengers regardless of their condition. He said he thought they might have two or three late 1990s Volvo Buses that were in excellent condition. Ms. Burton stated that the good will that the bus would generate among the public would be worth far more to MATA than the \$1500 the bus might fetch at auction.

Reviewing the agency’s calendar, Mr. Fox agreed to place the Committee on the agenda for the upcoming MATA Board of Governors meeting that was scheduled to take place 2 weeks later. He asked the Committee to prepare a 5-min presentation outlining the severity of the city’s food security crisis and its proposal for a mobile food market featuring the use of a retired city bus similar to those in MATA’s “out of service” inventory. Two weeks later, Father Tim Sullivan, President of Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center accompanied by Professor Ken Reardon, and Aury Kangelos, appeared before the MATA Board of Governors to ask them to either donate or sell their best “retired” transit bus to the community so it could be transformed into an attractive retail food store and nutrition education center. Three minutes into our PowerPoint Presentation, the Chair of the MATA Board of Directors looked at his watch, interrupted the community’s well-rehearsed presentation, and stated, “I think the Board understands your proposal”. At which point, another MATA Board

Member offered a resolution congratulating the Community on its food security efforts and directing their staff to complete the necessary work to transfer MATA Bus Number 802 to the community. Before the community representatives could fully understand what was going on, this motion was seconded, a call for discussion produced no additional comments or questions, and the Board unanimously voted to support this resolution.

A few days after this meeting, representatives of the VAFSC returned to MATA's Board Room for a meeting with Mr. Fox, Mr. Pearson, Ms. Burton and the agency's attorney to establish the terms under which the community would take possession of MATA Bus Number 802. Since MATA had originally purchased the bus with funds provided by the US Department of Transportation the federal government had a remaining "interest" in the bus that complicated the agency's plans to turn the bus over to the community. Therefore, MATA decided that the best arrangement would be for them to provide the Vance Avenue community with exclusive use of the bus for an annual rent of \$1. Since the bus would remain on the agency's inventory, albeit in a not-in-service status, the community would be responsible for maintaining the bus in accordance with federal regulations and documenting its use. The community's concerns regarding these new administrative obligations were offset when they learned that MATA would continue to provide routine maintenance of the bus. The one stumbling block complicating the physical movement of the bus to a location where it could be retrofitted was the extensive insurance coverage the federal government required of all "in-service" vehicles – even those that were no longer carrying passengers. After writing a stipulation into the MATA/Community rental agreement preventing more than three worker/volunteers from riding in the bus, the agency felt comfortable lowering the required insurance coverages. When Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, which had been asked by the Food Security Committee to operate the bus on the community's behalf consulted the Diocese of West Tennessee regarding the possibility of operating and insuring the

vehicle they were delighted to learn that the required coverage could be secured for less than \$2000 a year as part of the Diocese' bus "fleet" insurance policy.

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## Branding Our Effort

While members of the VAFSC worked with MATA and the Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center to finalize the contract transferring control of the bus to the community, Ms. Winterburn focused on providing the staff of the Archer-Malmo Advertising Company with the information they required to prepare a branding report for the project. After interviewing key community leaders involved in the project and surveying the "best practices" literature on mobile food-related businesses, the agency prepared eight different names, branding slogans, and graphic looks aimed at communicating the project's overall "mission" and "unique selling points". With the help of the VAFSC, the list of possible names was reduced from eight to three. Eighty residents attending a subsequent meeting of the VA CN planning process discussed the pros and cons of each of these branding efforts ultimately choosing to call the bus – The Green Machine Mobile Food Market.

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## Funding the Green Machine

Using data documenting the citywide nature of Memphis' food security crisis featured in Aury Kangelos' Master of Regional Planning Capstone Report and best practices findings from Ms. Winterburn's Fresh Moves' Baseline and Chicago Field Trip Reports, the CRP faculty prepared a preliminary draft of a 15-page funding proposal for the establishment of The Green Machine Mobile Food Market. This proposal was subsequently presented to the project's newly organized Community Advisory Board whose members encouraged University planners to give equal attention to the food delivery and nutrition education functions of the mobile market. They also suggested highlighting the bus's virtually

unlimited future program development possibilities as well as its flexibility. Finally, they recommended incorporating a more extensive budget, financial self-sufficiency plan, and program evaluation framework into the revised proposal that was subsequently done. The University planning faculty then approached Ms. Melissa Wolowicz, former Vice-President of the Memphis Community Foundation, who had played a pivotal role in creating the Foundation's Food Policy Funders Roundtable to support innovative nutrition education, service, and policy-change projects, for assistance in devising and implementing a development strategy aimed at raising the \$250,000 needed to retrofit, launch, and operate the Green Machine for 2 years.

After quizzing the University planning faculty regarding issues related to the project's food supplier, staffing pattern, daily operations, and self-sufficiency plans, Ms. Wolowicz invited the VAFSC to present their proposal at the next meeting of the Foundation's Food Policy Funders Roundtable that included representation from more than a dozen government, foundation, and corporate funders. Several weeks later Fr. Tim Sullivan, Pastor of St. Patrick Church and the Convener of the Vance Avenue Collaborative; Professor Ken Reardon, and Deacon Eugene Champion made a joint presentation to the Foundation's Food Policy Funders Roundtable emphasizing: the critical nature of the city's food security crisis; the long-term health effects of this problem; the value and feasibility of a mobile response to this dilemma; the organizational capacity of Saint Patrick's Community Outreach Center; and the scalable and flexible nature of a mobile food market such as The Green Machine. When asked by a Roundtable Member how much of the Green Machine's \$250,000 start-up budget the Food Security Committee was hoping to raise from their group, Fr. Sullivan responded without hesitation, "the entire amount".

The day after the Committee's presentation before the Roundtable, Ms. Wolowicz called Professor Reardon to compliment the VAFSC on the quality of their proposal and presentation. Based on the unbridled enthusiasm the funders displayed in response to the Committee's presen-

tation, she was "absolutely sure" Saint Patrick's would be in a position to quickly raise the funds needed to launch and sustain the project. She said the funders were especially impressed by the detailed nature of the project's needs assessment; Saint Patrick's long history of successfully operating innovative human service programs; the number of community partners involved in the project; and the extensive financial plan accompanying the proposal. Wanting to make the lead gift to the project, she said the Community Foundation would be sending an immediate contribution to help get the bus project moving. The excitement generated by this conversation soon evaporated when Saint Patrick's received a check for \$8750 from the Community Foundation which the VAFSC feared would establish a low level of giving for other well-resourced philanthropies making it extremely difficult for the project to raise the \$250,000 needed to launch the Green Machine. Sharing our concerns regarding the modest size of the Community Foundation's "lead" gift and its potentially damaging effects on the Green Machine's near-term fundraising activities with Ms. Wolowicz, she immediately agreed to commit an additional \$35,000 and offer to telephone each member of the Roundtable to inform them of the Community Foundation's combined donation of \$43,000.

The Committee's Roundtable presentation and Ms. Wolowicz's phone calls soon generated meetings with: the Assisi, Pyramid Peak, and Hyde Family Foundations as well as Baptist Memorial Hospital and Health Corporation, Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Tennessee, Shelby County, and the City of Memphis. During each of these meetings, the Committee asked representatives of these foundations, health corporations, and local governments to consider making a minimum 3-year commitment to the mobile food project in amounts ranging between \$10,000 and \$50,000 depending upon their understanding of their assets and historic giving. These face-to-face funding requests generated 3-year commitments of: \$50,000 a year from the Assisi Foundation, \$15,000 a year from the Baptist Memorial Health and Hospital Corporation, and \$10,000 a year from the Bank of America

Charitable Fund. In addition, when Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center representatives visited with senior executives from FedEx regarding their annual contribution to the church's food programs; they agreed to provide an additional \$10,000 to help launch the mobile market. The Memphis Grizzlies' Basketball Operations Group had a similar response to this new program, pledging \$3000 to support the effort. Within 2 months of the Committee's Roundtable presentation, the Center had received approximately \$130,000 in first-year funding from these foundations and corporations.

These donations, along with two very positive newspaper article (Hoover 2012; Saanders 2012) discussing the soon-to-be-launched mobile market prompted a \$10,000 donation from a family owned travel business, an \$8000 gift from a Jewish philanthropist, a \$5000 check from a long-time Saint Patrick parishioner, a \$2700 donation from a Memphis-based rockabilly band, a \$2500 check from Whole Foods, and a \$5000 gift from 365 Give – a newly established network of young philanthropists. Notwithstanding this very successful inaugural fundraising effort, the Committee was still more than \$25,000 short of meeting the costs of the bus's retrofitting and first-year operations.

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## Developing a Workable Design

While discussing our fundraising shortfall with Professor Antonio Raciti, he suggested the Committee could significantly reduce its retrofitting expenses by serving as its own "general contractor" and recruiting volunteers to complete the unskilled labor required to convert the bus. He estimated the Committee could potentially reduce its bus conversion expenses by as much as 75 % by doing the majority of this work "in house". When asked if a small non-profit organization such as the Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center could, with the assistance of University faculty and students, successfully manage this process on time and budget Antonio responded, "Absolutely". The Committee subsequently began exploring possible locations where they

could, over a 4–8 week period, complete the construction work needed to physically transform the bus. Finding a secure facility to accommodate a 65 ft long bus as well as the equipment, tools, and supplies needed to carry out the conversion process proved to be quite challenging! After exhausting the Committee's considerable list of contacts in the commercial real estate business, they contacted Phil Woodard, a philanthropic-minded Downtown developer who was often referred to as "St. Patrick's Guardian Angel". After hearing the Committee's long list of space requirements – a large indoor space, centrally located, accessible to a 65 ft bus, air-conditioned with a ventilation system capable of handling paint fumes, limited potential for paint-related property damage, excellent security, 24-h access, and rent free – Phil laughed and offered to take Committee Members to the headquarters of the General Plumbing Company which he owned.

After seeing the General Plumbing facilities that included an airplane hangar-sized warehouse, a kitchen, and bathrooms the Committee quickly accepted Phil's offer to make this site the temporary home of The Green Machine. While the Committee worked on moving the bus from the reserve parking lot of the Memphis Area Transit Agency to the General Plumbing Company's warehouse, Antonio Raciti worked with CRP faculty and students on developing the conceptual designs, construction drawings, detailed scope of services, timetable, and budget for the bus's transformation. Before preparing conceptual plans and detailed construction drawings to guide the physical transformation of our recently-acquired bus, Antonio consulted the drawings and blueprints provided to us by Chicago's Fresh Moves and Architects for Humanity Chapter as well as the conceptual drawings generated by the Looney Ricks Kiss Architect staff that Ms. Winterburn had enlisted early in the process. The work produced by these architects offered the Committee a wide range of interior and exterior designs and looks to consider. While captivated by the "Airstream" inspired stainless steel designs of LRK's team this aesthetic was ultimately rejected on the basis of projected costs and construction time. In the

end, the Committee decided to pursue a somewhat more traditional “Farmers Market/Whole Foods” inspired design that could be constructed primarily of wood with less skilled labor at a much lower cost.

Following agreement on the basic design approach, Antonio Raciti secured detailed blueprints and specifications covering every aspect of The Green Machine’s construction from the Engineering Division of the Volvo Bus Company. Using these materials, Antonio and his students developed an initial set of conceptual drawings and construction details to guide the bus’s physical transformation. These preliminary architectural drawings were subsequently reviewed by several local architects with experience designing public market spaces and food trucks, an ADA consultant recommended by MATA, community policing officers from the Memphis Police Department, the City of Memphis’ Planning Director, as well as a fourth generation wholesale/retail produce supplier. Each of these individuals made helpful suggestions that were incorporated into the final design in order to enhance the appearance, functionality, safety, and comfort of the Green Machine. Among the unique features of the Green Machine’s revised design were:

- A striking lime green colored exterior
- An eye catching exterior mural featuring life-sized musicians and “bigger than life” fruits and vegetables
- A single aisle interior lined on each side with attractive galvanized steel and wood fabricated display cabinets
- A rear check-out area with sufficient electricity service to power the bus’s flat-screen TV, DVD/VCR player, credit card machine and cash register
- A multi-media educational center occupying the back third of the bus highlighting materials that explored the relationship between healthy eating and healthy living

In order to execute this design, Antonio prepared a detailed work plan/scope of services featuring the following activities that he believed

could be completed within 2 months by a combination of Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center staff and volunteers; University of Memphis planning students and faculty; service-learning students from Hollis-Price School of Excellence (a charter school on the campus of LeMoyné-Owens College) and several skilled craftsmen. Among the major items included in the newly-developed scope of services were:

- Removal of the vehicle’s fare box, seats, and straphangers’ rails
- Extreme cleaning of the interior and exterior of the bus
- Reprogramming of the electronic exterior sign at the front of the bus
- Removal of all exterior hardware that could impede the sanding, priming, and painting of the bus
- Complete removal (using electric sanding) of the bus’s existing exterior paint
- Taping all of the exterior surfaces that are not to be primed and painted
- Priming and “base” painting of the exterior of the bus
- Design and execution of a “fresh foods” themed exterior mural that effectively communicated the mission and function of the Memphis Green Machine
- Design and production of exterior decals to be used in highlighting the bus’s name (above the windows on either side of the bus) and the primary organizational sponsors at the back of the bus (i.e. Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, Vance Avenue Collaborative, and The University of Memphis Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning)
- Sanding, priming, and painting of all of the window and door frames on the exterior of the bus
- Removal, sanding, priming, and repainting of select exterior elements such as the bus’s windshield wipers as well as front and rear headlight covers
- Design, construction, and installation of movable produce display cabinets
- Design, construction, and installation of a rear check-out counter

- Location of spaces where specially designed literature racks containing nutrition, health, and wellness information could be displayed
- Design and installation of an supplementary power system to run the vehicle's credit card, cash register and weighing machines as well as its Wi-Fi system
- Purchase and installation of equipment needed to support the bus's Wi-Fi system
- Purchase and installation of a wireless credit card, cash register, and weighing machines
- Design, purchase, and installation of a multi-media system designed to show nutrition, health, and wellness videos on a large format flat screen at the back of the bus
- Design, purchase, and installation of a public address system that can be operated from either the front or back of the bus
- Repair of the bus's built-in accessibility ramp system or purchase of collapsible ramps that can be installed and removed at the beginning and end of each scheduled stop
- Placement of a non-slip runner in the main aisle of the bus to enhance safety during inclement weather
- Installation of a single bench seat, modified to include a seatbelt, to accommodate the paid cashier and a maximum of two volunteers (as stipulated in the MATA rental agreement)
- Purchase and storage of essential safety equipment, specifically, a fire extinguisher and a first aid kit for the interior of the bus and traffic cones and an a-frame sign to be used to alert drivers and pedestrians that the mobile market is open for business for the exterior of the bus
- Purchase and placement of exterior decals to communicate the specific forms of payment accepted on the bus
- National panels telling the story of the origins, evolution, and launch of The Green Machine highlighting the many community partnerships that made the project possible
- Identification of a skilled finish carpenter, audio specialist, bus electrician and auto body professional who could undertake those tasks requiring craft knowledge and highly-skilled labor
- Identification of local vendors who could supply us with a: flat screen TV, wireless credit card machine, cash register, weighing machine, PA system, VCR/DVD player, wire shopping baskets (for use on the bus) and plastic shopping bags

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### **Transforming Bus #802 into the Green Machine**

By early May of 2013, Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center had successfully: negotiated the contract transferring MATA Bus #802 from the regional transit agency to the community, raised the funds needed to cover the less-costly approach to retrofitting the bus and its first 2 years of operation, and secured the insurance coverage required by the US Department of Transportation enabling Saint Patrick to physically move the bus from the MATA surplus vehicle parking lot to the General Plumbing Company's Main Warehouse. Over the next 8 weeks, a small army of church, community, campus and corporate volunteers donned work clothes, gloves, and masks to physically transform the bus. Guided by the designs and general scope of service summarized above, as well as a 15-page "Green Machine Transformation Manual" Professors Raciti and Reardon managed more than 80 volunteers who worked on the physical transformation of the bus.

Shortly after the bus arrived at the General Plumbing Company, UM planning students and faculty systematically remove all of the interior structures and hardware that could impede staff, volunteers, and customers from entering and exiting the bus. Once all of the passenger seats, straphanger rails, and fare box had been removed, a cadre of Saint Patrick Church volunteers, led by Ann Walsh and Anne Stubblefield, armed with wash buckets, sponges, mops, squeegees, detergent, and paper towels spent a day cleaning the interior and exterior of the bus. With this work completed, a small team of UM Anthropology students, under the supervision of an off-duty MATA mechanic/electrician removed every piece of exterior equipment and hardware that might complicate the process of removing



**Fig. 30.2** Initial phase of the bus transformation in the General Plumbing Company’s Main Warehouse

the bus’s exterior paint with high powered electric sanders. Having removed the bus’s windshield wipers, front and back light covers, and side running lights, a group of architecture and city planning students and community volunteers donning higher quality masks, goggles, work gloves, and overalls devoted parts of 2 days removing multiple layers of the bus’s original exterior paint and primer using high powered electric sanders. These individuals stayed on this task until all of the bus’s exterior paint had been completely removed. When this had been accomplished, Saint Patrick’s cleaning crew returned to remove all of the paint and primer dust produced by the sanders (Fig. 30.2).

Following several days of intensive consultation, representatives of our local Sherwin-Williams Paint Store, and chemists from their Corporate Automotive and Marine Paint Division the Committee were prepared to apply two coats of a high quality “battleship” grey primer and sealant to the bus’ exterior. Before doing so, volunteers had to “tape” every surface of the bus that we did not wish to paint – a necessary preparatory step that took several volunteers half a day to complete. In addition, we had to build a temporary paint “tent” to protect the General Plumbing

Company’s inventory, which occupied space throughout the warehouse we were using from being damaged. Under Antonio’s direction, volunteers were able to build a simple plaster enclosure 70 ft long, 20 ft wide, and 15 ft high to capture the majority of the primer and paint spray generated by the painting process. Once this structure was complete, volunteers placed two 4 ft high industrial fans at front and back of the bus to keep the level of fumes within the warehouse tolerable. With this work completed, Donaven Bowen, a young anthropology student, volunteered to provide the compressors, hoses, paint guns, goggles, and masks to enable two people to simultaneously apply either primer or paint to the bus. On the first day of painting, Donaven worked with James Smith, a long-time resident and leader of the VA neighborhood to apply two coats of grey primer to the bus. Leaving the primer to dry over a long weekend, Donaven and James returned 3 days later to apply two coats of lime green “base” paint to the bus. Volunteers and staff who dropped by the General Plumbing Company Warehouse to check on the progress being made retrofitting the bus were stunned when they saw the freshly-painted, lime-green bus. Upon seeing the newly-painted bus for the





**Fig 30.3** After having placed the stickers on the bus window, students and faculty coordinated by Yancy Villa-Calvo traced the mural layout on both sides of the bus

first time, Deacon Champion stated, “I had no idea that it was going to look this good!”.

Following the completion of the exterior painting, Antonio and his students digitalized the bus mural creating individual images that could be reproduced on the side of the bus in order to recreate the entire mural. Then, students and faculty carefully measured the portion of the long mural that needed to be presented on the windows of the bus. Antonio then supervised students in preparing a series of carefully-scaled drawings displaying the portion of the mural that needed to be displayed on each of bus’s 12 windows. They then took these drawings to FAST SIGNS, a local sign shop that transferred the images to large piece of vinyl with adhesive backing. Removing the adhesive backing from each mural section, they then carefully placed each of these pieces on the bus’s windows. These 3 ft by 3 ft panels were fabricated using a thick vinyl that was not only be durable but dramatically reduced the UVA rays passing through the bus’s formerly unprotected side passenger win-

dows minimizing the heat gain on the vehicle thereby reducing the demands on the vehicle’s air conditioning system.

When this work was finished, Antonio, with the assistance of a, Yancy Villa-Calvo, a local artist who was a member of St. Patrick, used two data projectors to project digital images of the complete mural on each side of the bus (Fig. 30.3). With the help of several artistically-inclined community and campus volunteers, they spent 2 days carefully outlining every image featured in the mural design to enable students from the Hollis Price School of Excellence, Christian Brothers University, the University of Tennessee, and the University of Memphis to join in a 3-day “paint in” during which they hand painted each of the human figures and fruit/vegetable images featured in the design (Fig. 30.4). One of the incentives offered to the Hollis Price students who were eager to help paint the bus were slightly used warm-ups provided by Memphis Grizzlies NBA Team, whose Community Affairs Manager, spent considerable time working with the youth.

**Fig. 30.4** Volunteers, students and faculty painting the Green Machine



When the painting was nearly completed, they were asked to turn in their warm-ups and were thrilled when the Grizzlies' Daniel Peterson gave each of them a brand-new Grizzlies Game Jersey signed by the team's NBA All-Star Power Forward – Zach (Z-Bo) Randolph.

As the students completed the exterior painting (Fig. 30.5), two finish carpenters from the community who had been working on the bus's interior shelving system appeared driving a large panel truck containing five shelving units that

they had recently completed. Each unit was mounted on industrial wheels making them extremely easy to move and featured a lower storage area for restocking food items and three waist-to-height shelves for food display. While the units' exteriors were made of light colored 1-in. pine, the shelves were constructed of hand sculpted galvanized steel that made them durable, easy-to-clean, and lightweight. The later feature of the shelving systems was especially important given the limited carrying capacity of



**Fig. 30.5** The Green Machine completed after a 3-day-long painting community workshop

the bus's chassis. While the shelving system appeared, on the surface, to be quite simple, it was actually a highly engineered item that was the result of trial and error as well as several failed proto-types. Due to a baseboard heating element that ran on the lower part of each side of the bus, the bottom of the shelving system had to have a significant cut-out (indentation) to enable it to be securely anchored to the side walls during transit. This cut-out dramatically reduced the depth of each shelving unit's lower portion making them highly unstable when they were removed from the bus during weekly cleaning. This issue presented a potentially serious safety threat to the staff and volunteers who would be moving these units during cleaning. Therefore, an elaborate system of supplemental supports had to be designed to stabilize the units when they were being moved. The carpenters working on the project designed two additional supporting arms and wheels, similar to a plane's landing gear, that extended from the back of each unit when it was moved away from the side walls of

the bus during cleaning. The carpenters also created an ingenious latching device that solidly connected the units to a solid metal railing that they installed along each of the bus's interior sidewalls.

With the help of several University of Memphis students and faculty, these units were lifted on to the bus and placed where the designs indicated they should be where they fit perfectly and solidly attached to the interior walls. With the installation of these units, the carpenters turned to the construction of the bus's rear educational and check-out area. This work required the fabrication of a small wall unit covering the bus's rear window where a flat-screen television would be installed to show nutrition, health, and wellness videos. Below this unit a cabinet would be built to safely house the bus's VCD and public address systems. In addition to this work, a side counter was constructed and installed to provide staff and volunteers with space for the bus's credit card machine, cash register, food scale and shopping bags. Finally, a new counter, with a flip-

up feature, separating staff and customer areas was constructed on site as well as several literature racks to display nutrition, health, and wellness literature connected to the educational videos that would be shown on the bus. This work was carried out, at minimal expense, by two Catholic craftsmen who helped transform the bus's interior from that of a city bus into an attractive and highly functional retail store.

When the carpenters had completed their work, a team of a dozen volunteers from Saint Patrick Church and the University of Memphis returned to the warehouse to thoroughly clean the bus's interior and exterior surfaces. Following this cleaning, a small team worked with Antonio to install 20 "educational" panels explaining the origins, evolution, and mission of the Green Machine to future shoppers and visitors. These laminated panels were installed just above the windows in the spaces normally reserved for product advertising. While this work proceeded, a small group of volunteers removed all of the tape that had been used to protect select areas of the bus's exterior from being painted. Following the completion of this task, the same volunteers carefully cleaned the exterior of the bus before re-installing the hardware and equipment, such as exterior light covers and windshield wipers, that had been removed prior to the sanding, priming, and painting of the bus. With this task completed, the volunteers donned masks, goggles, and gloves to scrape and repaint the bus's exterior window and door frames before applying several coats of clear sealant to protect the newly installed mural from the elements. Following the completion of this work, the bus was moved to the premises of a nearly automotive audio store that had been contracted to add additional electric service to the bus's interior and to install the newly purchased public address, VCR/DVD, and flat screen television equipment. This firm was also kind enough to reprogram the bus' exterior front sign enabling it to alternatively display "Green Machine" and "Welcome Aboard"! While the bus was at Sound Moves having its electrical system upgraded to accommodate its new audio/visual equipment, University of Memphis students and faculty purchased the wireless credit card machine, cash

register and weighing machine required to accept all forms of customer payment.

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## Finding a Partner with Produce Experience

At the beginning of the planning process, Aury Kangelos, inventoried the major wholesale produce firms serving the Greater Memphis region. After writing the four largest regional wholesalers, he visited with representatives of the largest firm, Palazola Produce Company, a family-owned business with historic ties to Saint Patrick Church. Palazola's current President appeared very interested in our mobile market concept but not particularly interested in establishing a relationship with retail "start up". While the firm's wholesale prices were attractive, they did not appear ready to assist the project with the technical assistance needed to get the bus off the ground.

Following a very favorable report by Channel 5 News regarding the progress being made in preparing the bus for its second life as a mobile market, Saint Patrick Church received a call from, Mr. David Carter, President of Easy-Way Stores, the Memphis region's second largest wholesaler who invited members of the VAFSC to his headquarters and warehouse for a meeting. In hopes of benefiting from Mr. Carter's knowledge of the produce business, we sent him a copy of our original funding proposal, business plan, and operating budget to review. Fr. Tim Sullivan, Deacon Eugene Champion, and Professor Ken Reardon subsequently met with Mr. Carter and his primary business consultant who voiced their strong support for the project offering to serve as the Green Machine's primary business partner. Mr. Carter described how his third-generation, Memphis-based business could: supply the bus at very competitive price points; train staff and volunteers in the finer points of produce marketing, merchandising, sales, and customer relations; enhance sales based upon the strengths of Easy-Ways brand; and store the bus in their secured lot. Within a short period of time, he felt the Green Machine could be earning a 15–20 % margin on

its sales by purchasing its produce from him at wholesale prices while charging Easy-Way's typical retail prices. In addition, he explained how convenient it would be for the bus to pick up additional supplies, in the event it had a strong sales day, from anyone of his seven retail stores located throughout the city.

While the wholesale prices being offered by both firms were comparable, the business assistance Mr. Carter offered to provide prompted the VAFSC to choose his firm as the Green Machine's initial supplier. When Fr. Tim and Ken scheduled a second meeting with Mr. Carter to confirm the basic outline of the Green Machine's new business relationship with Easy-Way and discuss putting this in writing, Mr. Carter responded by saying, "If we have to put the details of our business arrangement in writing, this is never going to work. We view ourselves as your partners in this venture; we are prepared to do what ever we can to enable you to be successful. How do we put that in writing?". Following a handshake between Mr. Carter and Fr. Sullivan confirming the Committee's decision to use Easy-Way Stores as its primary supplier, Fr. Tim invited Mr. Carter to visit The Green Machine at the General Plumbing Company's where it had been parked following the successful upgrading of its electrical system and installation of its audio/visual equipment. Mr. Carter's face lit up when he saw the vehicle. "This is fantastic! Better than I imagined." Walking through the bus, he showed us where we needed to have bags and baskets for people to do their shopping and where the prices should be posted. He also pointed to a space where we might consider offering slighted damaged or dated items at deep discount to reduce our "loss" factor. After touring the bus, he offered to give us the additional equipment and supplies we needed to get started, such as shopping bags, shopping bag dispensers, and wire shopping baskets. Finally, he suggested bringing our key staff and volunteers to one of his stores where his "green grocers" could instruct them in some of the finer aspects of point of sales marketing, merchandising and customer relations which we quickly agreed to do.

## Staffing the Green Machine

With progress being made in physically transforming the bus, Saint Patrick posted a notice in the Commercial Appeal and the Tennessee Catholic advertising the Green Machine's bus driver and cashier positions. They also posted these job announcements on the Saint Patrick Church, Vance Avenue Collaborative, and Green Machine Facebook pages. Finally, they circulated these job announcements to the 20 or more non-profit organizations participating in the Green Machine's Community Advisory Board. These efforts generated more than a dozen applications for these two positions that paid a living wage and included benefits from the Diocese of West Tennessee. With the assistance of Deacon Eugene Champion, the late Ann Walsh, and Professor Ken Reardon, three individuals were invited to interview for each of these positions. The Committee's review of the candidates' cover letters, applications, references, and interviews resulted in the unanimous selection of two African American residents of Memphis for these positions. Once their applications, credit history, criminal background reports had been reviewed and references checked by the Human Resources Department of the Diocese of West Tennessee, the preferred candidates received and accepted positions to become the first full-time employees of the Green Machine.

Several days after their hiring, these individuals were invited to participate in 2 days of new employee training that featured a combination of classroom instruction and field-based learning organized by the University of Memphis students and faculty. This training program, which featured instructional contributions from the University of Memphis, Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, Merchant Source (Our wireless credit card vendor), Easy-Way Stores Inc. and Shelby County Health Department staff, covered the following topics:

- Origins, evolution, and mission of the Green Machine;
- Standard Green Machine operating procedures;

- Handling of cash, debit, credit, and food voucher payments;
- Purchase, pricing, and display of fruits and vegetables;
- Food safety and handling;
- Accepting Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits;
- Building positive relationships with the property managers at the facilities where the Green Machine will make regular stops;
- Financial accounting procedures;
- Assisting individuals with physical limitations visit and shop on the Green Machine; and
- Emergency procedures for mechanical breakdowns, vehicular accidents, customer, staff member or community volunteer illness; and an attempted or actual robbery.

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### **Addressing Regulatory and other Legal Requirements**

Sensitive to the health and safety issues connected to the operation of a food-related business, the Food Safety Committee and Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, were and are committed to operating the Green Machine in a manner consistent with local, state, and federal health and safety rules and regulations. During the first phase of the planning process, University of Memphis students and faculty contacted Mr. Josh Whitehead, Director of Planning for the City of Memphis/Shelby County Office of Planning and Development to identify the local health and safety rules, regulations, permits and inspections affecting mobile markets. After reviewing the Green Machine's preliminary business plan and physical designs Mr. Whitehead said his office would treat our bus the same way it treats ice cream trucks. Since the bus would sell fresh fruits, vegetables, and dried goods and not meats, dairy, poultry, and prepared foods, the only thing local government would require would be a basic health and safety inspection to be carried out by the Shelby County Health Department and a food truck permit costing \$25.

The University of Memphis students and faculty also contacted the State of Tennessee

Departments of Health and Agriculture whose representatives said such matters were handled by County Health Departments. The very-low incomes of the families the Green Machine was designed to serve made it absolutely essential that Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, its operator, be certified as a Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) vendor by the USDA. While the University of Memphis students and faculty assisting Saint Patrick's with this certification began their work in January of 2013 it had achieved little or no progress toward successfully completing this process. After completing the on-line application form on three occasions receiving separate confirmation numbers supposedly verifying the agency's receipt of its multiple applications, USDA informed Saint Patrick's that there was "no record" of them ever applying to become a certified Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) vendor. With less than 2 months remaining before the scheduled "launch date" of July 22nd, Saint Patrick enlisted US Representative Stephen Cohen's help in trying to break the proverbial SNAP Benefit logjam. When this proved to be ineffective, Saint Patrick asked US Senator Lamar Alexander to investigate USDA's delay in processing our SNAP vendor application. While neither of these offices were able to accelerate USDA's review of the application, they did discover the factors causing the delay.

First of all, the USDA is responsible for inspecting the production fields of farmers seeking to be SNAP vendors at local farmers/public markets whose spring/summer seasons were about to begin. Second, the USDA had been forced due to federal budget cuts to reduce the number of their administrative and inspection staff at their district offices. Third, the federal government had been forced to close all non-essential offices due to the Republican Party-led federal "sequestration" related to the Balanced Budget Act. Desperate to find someone who could "liberate" Saint Patrick's SNAP Vendor Application from administrative hell, Professor Reardon mentioned the problem to a young planner working for the Mayor's Innovation Team who happened to have a graduate school col-

league who worked in the Secretary of Agriculture's Office. This young planner called her former colleague and a SNAP Vender Certificate, suitable for framing, appeared like "manna from heaven" at Saint Patrick within a week clearing the way for the Green Machine to be reimbursed by USDA for the value of SNAP Benefits accepted on the bus.

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## Launching the Green Machine

On Sunday July 21st, 2013, the leadership of Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, the Vance Avenue Collaborative, and the University of Memphis organized a formal dedication and launch of the Green Machine Mobile Food Market that was scheduled to begin making 15 stops a week at senior citizen centers, affordable housing complexes, parks and recreation facilities, public health clinics, and local community/cultural centers throughout the city. While more than 200 supporters of the Green Machine, many of who had participated in the physical transformation of the bus, listened to Professor Ken Reardon describe the origins, evolution, and proposed operations of the mobile market, a small team of University of Memphis students gift-wrapped the fully stocked Green Machine that was parked in front of the church. Following Dr. Reardon's PowerPoint presentation, Father Sullivan led those attending the dedication out the front door of the church where they were confronted with a fully gift-wrapped bus. While the majority of the crowd stood in anticipation on the front steps of this Civil War-era church, Father Sullivan led the group in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer as he sprinkled holy water on the bus calling on God to look kindly on its healing mission. Following this prayer, Ms. Winterburn christened the bus "Mattie" by cracking a bottle of inexpensive champagne on the vehicle's front bumper. Following this activity, Professor Reardon asked the church's elders, many of whom have been staffing Saint Patrick's well-known "Soup Kitchen" and "More Than a Meal" feeding programs for decades to come forward to help Father Sullivan "unveil" the Green Machine

Mobile Market. Counting down from ten, the elders slowly unveiled the fully transformed city bus to a loud and sustained round of applause from an appreciative crowd (Fig. 30.6). With the formal program concluded, Father Tim invited all those in attendance to walk through the bus that was carrying more than 30 different kinds of fresh fruits and vegetables. Among those most impressed by the physical transformation of bus #802 were the officials from the Memphis Area Transit Agency whose original generosity and vision enabled the project to go forward.

When all of the attendees and press participating in the dedication had finished exploring the bus, Deacon Eugene, assisted by a small group of Saint Patrick and University of Memphis volunteers drove the vehicle to the center of the Foote Homes public housing complex where they invited families to board the bus for a day of "free shopping". The volunteers explained how elders from their complex had originally suggested a mobile food market that was now a reality thanks to the efforts of dozens and dozens of local churches, schools, universities, hospitals, businesses, corporations, and foundations. The screams of laughter coming from the children when they saw the lime colored bus with its oversized mural could be heard throughout the complex. Nearly all the Foote Homes residents boarding the bus for the first time commented on how beautiful it was and how fresh and attractive all of the fruits and vegetables appeared to be.

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## Our First Twenty-Two Months of Operation

While large numbers of community, campus, and corporate volunteers worked on the physical transformation of the bus, two U of M Graduate Planning students, Rachel McCook and Bridget McCall, were busy contacting each of the non-profit and public agencies that the Community Advisory Board had recommended as "ideal" stops for the Green Machine. Each of these agencies was subsequently sent detailed information regarding the origins and evolution of the Green Machine and a request to meet with a representa-



**Fig. 30.6** The unveiling of the Green Machine coordinated by Fr. Tim and Ken Reardon

tive of the VAFSC. Armed with large sized photos of the interior and exterior of The Green Machine, these students secured written permission for the bus to stop at the top 15 stops recommended by the Community Advisory Committee. Working with MATA planners, they then incorporated these stops into daily schedules featuring three (2-h) stops. With the stops and routes confirmed, the students, accompanied by Ken Reardon and Ann Walsh met with representatives of the Memphis Police Department's Community Affairs Unit, to seek their advice on how to promote safety in and around the bus. Two senior officers from this unit made a series of extremely helpful suggestions aimed at reducing the likelihood of traffic accidents involving the bus and robberies on the vehicle. They suggested we attempt, whenever possible, to pull the bus onto the parking lots of our host organizations rather than ask our shoppers to walk to the street thereby reducing the opportunities for unpleasant pedestrian/auto interactions. In those situations where we had to park the bus on the street; they recom-

mended the placement of bright orange traffic cones in front and behind the vehicle encouraging drivers to slow down to accommodate our customers, many of whom we expected to be senior citizens and individuals with disabilities. To reduce the likelihood of possible robberies, they suggested adding exterior decals that states, "Driver does not carry cash" and "Security cameras on board".

The day after the Green Machine's official dedication and launch, the bus was scheduled to begin making its first regularly scheduled stops in what was one of the summer's most intense and prolonged thunderstorms. Unable to use Easy-Way's forklift truck to load the bus due to flooding in the firm's parking lot, the staff was forced to hand carry the bus's entire inventory of fruits, vegetables, and dry goods from the Easy-Way warehouse to the bus. Concerned that this delay would cause shoppers to "give up" on the bus, Professor Ken Reardon and Ann Walsh of the Food Policy Council drove to the first stop to let people know that the Green Machine would be a



little late due to the inclement weather. Turning into the circular driveway of University Place's Senior Center, Professor Reardon and Ann Walsh were thrilled to see more than 30 individuals waiting for the bus. After explaining the flood-related delay to those waiting to board the bus, Ken Reardon and Ann Walsh encouraged those waiting to relax in the Center's beautifully appointed lobby until the Green Machine arrived. Thirty minutes later, the Green Machine, stocked with more than 35 different fresh fruits, vegetables, and dried goods pulled up in front the facility generating loud cheers and sustained applause. In the subsequent 90 min more than 50 low-income residents of this newly constructed HOPE VI housing complex took time to shop on the bus.

In the weeks and months to come, shoppers' positive comments regarding the high quality and competitive prices of the fruits and vegetables sold on the bus along with its convenience and attractiveness generated requests for additional stops from other community-based organizations and, in some cases, their elected representatives. In response to these requests, Saint Patrick increased the number of weekly stops being made by the Green Machine from 15 to 20. Currently, there are eight community-based organizations whose requests for Green Machine service have been placed on a "waiting list" by Saint Patrick's.

During the Green Machine's first 18 months of operation, it has made more than 1600 regularly scheduled stops, attracted more than 24,000 shoppers, sold approximately \$125,000 worth of fresh fruits and vegetables, offered more than 32,000 "showings" of Baptist Memorial Health and Hospital Corporation's "nutrition, health, and wellness" videos, and distributed more than 20,000 informational brochures/recipes highlighting the critical relationship that exists between good nutrition and good health. The solid base of loyal customers, most of them senior citizens and single-women with children, that the Green Machine has attracted confirmed the critical nature of the food security crisis confronting so many low-income Memphians. Recent requests for service from community-

based organizations and elected officials from outside of Memphis but within Shelby County suggests that food security may also be a serious issue in the region's first and second ring suburban communities.

Shortly after launching the Green Machine, Saint Patrick began receiving requests from community-based organizations, health and hospital corporations, insurance companies, and municipal and county agencies involved in health and wellness activities to bring the Green Machine to their events. These organization's wanted their customers, clients, volunteers, and staff to have the opportunity to benefit from the health and wellness information offered by the bus's "education corner" while enjoying fresh fruits which these organizations typically enabled the Green Machine to make available free of charge. During the Green Machine's first 22 month of operation, more than 30,000 Memphians had the opportunity to visit the bus, pick up basic nutrition, health, and wellness information, and enjoy one or more pieces of fresh fruit. Among the events where the Green Machine has appeared:

- **Southern Heritage Football Classic Parade** – Last year we distributed more than 4000 pieces of fresh fruit to children, adults, and seniors who lined the streets for this annual fundraising event for the nation's Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).
- **The Memphis Grizzlies' NBA Cares Day** – Last spring more than 500 Grizzlies fans boarded the bus, contributing more than \$2000 to support the Green Machine's ongoing outreach efforts.
- **Gibson Guitar 5 K Race** – More than 2000 walkers and runners and their families boarded the Green Machine for cold water and fresh fruit following their participation in this annual fundraiser to support Saint Patrick Church's food ministry programs.
- **Common Table Health Alliance Million-Calorie Burn** – The 500 walkers and runners participating in the annual health promotion day enjoyed pre and post-race water, electro-

lytes, muffins and fruit aboard the Green Machine.

- **Senior Citizen Affordable Care Act Jamboree** – More than 300 seniors enjoyed a day of free shopping on the Green Machine as part of this county-sponsored event to provide seniors and their families with basic information regarding the benefits and requirements of President Obama’s Affordable Care Act.
- **University of Memphis Earth Day/International Bike Day Celebration** – The Green Machine brought more than \$1000 worth of fresh fruits to this exciting environmental education day held in the UM Tiger Teaching Garden at which young people used bicycle-powered blenders to make hundreds of fresh fruit “smoothies” for attendees.

The Green Machine’s early success produced a great deal of positive media attention, including a 12-min segment, as part of a Thanksgiving Special on Hunger in the American South, produced by an award winning team of reporters from Al Jazeera International News Network. During the past year, this coverage prompted ten American cities and a Nigeria-based NGO to request Green Machine “Start-Up Kits”. Among the communities requesting this information were: Nashville, Baltimore, Washington, DC, Prince George’s County (MD), Marin County (CA), and Lagos (republic of Nigeria). The impact of the project led the Mid-South Food Bank, Common Table Health Alliance, and the Tennessee Medical Association to recognize the project for its contribution to promoting health equity within the region and state. The media attention and service awards generated by the Green Machine’s successful first year resulted in numerous speaking requests and engagements including:

- Midtown Rotary (Memphis)
- Temple Bethel Hunger Banquet
- University of Tennessee School of Medicine Preventive Health Seminar
- University of Tennessee School of Nursing
- University of Colorado at Denver
- University of North Carolina – Charlotte

- Virginia Polytechnic University
- Tennessee Chapter of the American Medical Association
- University of Toronto (Skype)
- Greater Cincinnati Service-Learning Symposium
- Pratt Institute’s Participatory Planning and Design Symposium
- University of Memphis 4th Annual Social Work Symposium
- University of Memphis Engaged Scholars
- University of Massachusetts at Boston
- University of Georgia (Skype)
- Wentworth Institute of Technology
- Wayne State University
- Texas Southern University

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## Bumps in the Road

While the Green Machine has, in many ways, succeeded beyond the most optimistic projections of its original organizers in terms of the number of residents and communities it has served, it has faced many operational, organizational, and financial challenges. Among the most important of these have been the following:

1. **Recurring maintenance problems connected to the use of a 15 year old bus.** During its first 22 months on the road the Green Machine was forced to cancel approximately 20 % of its scheduled runs due to mechanical problems. While MATA almost always made the needed repairs, charging the project only for the cost of needed parts, they often could not get to these repairs in a timely manner. These disruptions in service cost the Green Machine both customers and income; requiring the project to undertake time-intensive outreach efforts to reassure the customers of the bus’s eminent return.
2. **Unexpected human resources challenges.** Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center Inc. has encountered ongoing challenges keeping the bus staffed. Soon after the launch of the bus, the driver suffered a mild stroke following a long-day at work and had to be

replaced when he could not produce a “fitness for duty” letter from his doctor. A second employee had to be terminated when she violated basic workplace rules. Following her termination by Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center’s Board of Directors, this employee filed harassment and mismanagement charges against the project’s senior staff prompting the Director of Human Resources for the Diocese of West Tennessee to place two key employees on paid leave while freezing all project assets during an independent investigation of these charges. During this month-long period, Center Board Members had to: secure independent counsel for their staff and the Center; notify and reassure major funders regarding these developments; oversee the daily operations of the bus’s staff; and secure gap funding to keep the operation rolling. The forensic accountant and independent investigator hired to review these allegations determined that all charges were, upon careful examination, without merit resulting in the return of our senior staff and an apology from the Diocesan lawyer responsible for managing this process. Three positive outcomes emerged from this unfortunate situation. Among these were: the development of a much more engaged board, several improvements in the project’s cash flow, and a deeper understanding, on the part of the board, of the limited autonomy it enjoyed as a technically separate 501c3 with multiple institutional connections to Saint Patrick Roman Catholic Church and the Diocese of West Tennessee.

3. **The unexpected death of several key project contributors.** Seven months after the launch of the Green Machine, the project’s good friend and business partner, David Carter was found dead in his office – yards from the Green Machine. With his passing, the project lost one of its most loyal and trusted advisors! An individual who had helped St. Patrick refine its business plan for the mobile market, train its staff, and supply the bus. Following this event, the project had to establish a new business relationship with David’s brother, Barry Carter, who managed the financial and

legal side of Easy-Way’s business. Responsible for managing the entire Easy-Way operation, without his brother’s assistance, Barry has not had the time to provide the kinds of “hands on” trouble-shooting and business consulting that David consistently offered the Green Machine as a start-up in a low-margin business. Within a year of David’s death, Ann Walsh who had been a long-time volunteer and Board Member of the Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center Inc. died unexpectedly. Her untimely death in February of 2014 robbed the project of a highly skilled grant writer and volunteer coordinator who played a central role in developing the original Green Machine funding proposal, represented the Center at many funders and community meetings, and helped recruit and supervise scores of youthful volunteers who worked on the physical transformation of the bus. As a small non-profit, the unexpected loss of these two talented and dedicated individuals presented a significant challenge to Saint Patrick and its allies during the early days of the Green Machine’s operation.

4. **Failure to generate a “margin” on the fruits and vegetables sold on the bus.** The project’s original business plan was based upon achieving a 15–20 % profit margin on the fruits, vegetables, and dry goods sold on the bus. Unfortunately, the project’s profit margin has rarely exceeded 5 % due to higher than anticipated wholesale prices and spoilage – some related to cancellation and/or shortening of routes caused by mechanical problems that plagued the bus during its first 6 months of operation.
5. **The reorganization of Saint Patrick Church.** Shortly after the launch of the Green Machine, members of the Saint Patrick community were informed that the religious order that had been staffing the parish since 1959 would be leaving. This change meant the departure of Father Tim Sullivan. During his 8 years of service in the Memphis Community, Father Tim had been a tireless advocate for the poor. In addition, he had consistently supported Deacon Eugene in expanding the

Center's food ministry program. He was also responsible for creating the VAC that had emerged as the community's most effective voice on issues related to economic and community development. Finally, he had, along with Ken Reardon and Ann Walsh, played a central role in raising the funds required to launch and operate the Green Machine. While the newly appointed pastor of Saint Patrick Church continues to serve as the President of the Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, he has been able to devote little time to supporting the Center's program, including the Green Machine.

6. **City-sponsored displacement.** The issue of food security within the Vance Avenue neighborhood was first identified at the inaugural meeting of the VA CN Planning Initiative. The VAFSC charged with exploring the feasibility of launching a mobile food market in Memphis was, in fact, staffed by students and faculty funded by this effort. As plans were being finalized to launch the Green Machine, the city cancelled the University of Memphis' contract for data collection and analysis assistance when their surveys and focus groups surfaced significant opposition to the city's HOPE VI-like redevelopment plans that involved the displacement of more than 1400 Vance Avenue residents (for a review of the entire CN planning process see Raciti et al. [forthcoming](#)). The loss of this funding, forced the University of Memphis students and faculty involved in the development of the Green Machine to continue their work on a pro-bono basis. The efforts of these University of Memphis students and faculty, St. Patrick Community Outreach Center's Board Members, and Vance Avenue Collaborative leaders to encourage the city to explore a preservation-oriented approach to revitalization that would not displace so many families, played a key role in preventing city support for the Green Machine. While Mayor Wharton had established a taskforce charged with ending hunger in Memphis within 10 years and organized an office to support neighborhood-based development that had funded several

food trucks (rolling restaurants) his administration choose not to invest in the Green Machine. The absence of municipal government support for the project made it significantly more difficult to raise project funds from other sectors of the community that view even symbolic levels of local government support for a project as the local version of the Good Housekeeping "Seal of Approval".

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## The Future of the Green Machine

In the coming year, Saint Patrick hopes to encourage one of the region's major logistics firms to provide two panel trucks to enable the project to: continue to serve customers at their existing 20 stops within the City of Memphis and additional stops in "food deserts" located in the first and second ring suburban communities within Shelby County. Saint Patrick hopes these firms will allow them the exclusive use of these vehicles while they continue to cover the maintenance, fuel, and insurance costs of these vehicles. In consideration of their contribution to the future success of the Green Machine Mobile Food Market, these firms would be offered significant branding rights (i.e. exclusive advertising on the side of the vehicles). Saint Patrick also plans to invite produce wholesalers and regional/national grocery stores the opportunity to bid on the Green Machine Mobile Food Market's business. The Board believes the power of the market will enable to project to secure much better wholesale prices than it has been able to secure in recent months. The original Green Machine will not be retired! Instead, Saint Patrick plans to expand the bus's educational function and use it for special events. Two new tools Saint Patrick plans to use to enhance the Green Machine's educational impact are "NBA Players Recipe Cards". Similar to the baseball cards children, and some adults, once collected and traded, these cards would feature terrific images of the Memphis Grizzlies most popular players on the front. The back of the card would feature that player's favorite "healthy meal" and recipe. A second tool that the project has nearly completed is an exciting new chil-

dren's book, "Mattie's Greatest Ride" which is the story of Bus #802's Canadian youth, move to Memphis, city bus career, and reinvention as the Green Machine. Inspired by Charles Wacker's development of an 8th grade civics text focused on city planning that introduced generations of Chicago children and their families to the principles of sustainable place-making related to the implementation of the Plan for Chicago (1909); *Mattie's Greatest Ride* is designed to spark the imagination of children encouraging them and their families to visit "Mattie" where they can be introduced to best practices in community nutrition, health, and wellness. To enable children to make the connection between the "Mattie" they read about and the actual Green Machine, the project plans to anthropomorphize elements of the bus's physical design by adding eyelashes over its headlights, eyebrows over its front windows, and hoop earrings to its side mirrors. The project is also using its connection with a well-known Hollywood director to explore using the Green Machine's onboard AV system to project a short film in which an "animated" Mattie would introduce children to the wonders of healthy eating through the fresh foods regularly available on the Green Machine.

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## Conclusions

The success of the Green Machine Mobile Market offers compelling evidence of the existence of a large underserved market for healthy foods within inner city neighborhoods. The strength of the Green Machine's sales in and around the city's Central Business District has prompted the Food Security Committee to explore the feasibility of establishing a small footprint grocery (5000–7000 ft<sup>2</sup>) which, if successful, could be replicated in other urban neighborhoods which the nation's larger food store chains appear reluctant to serve. Preliminary plans call for this fixed-site store to be cooperatively owned by its customers, employees, and institutional sponsors so as to eliminate the possibility of a single proprietor or corporate owner moving the facility to a higher profit area. Currently, the largest pro-

vider of fresh foods in the UK is a cooperatively owned and managed food store chain (The National Cooperative Groceries, a division of UK Cooperatives, counts 3300 neighborhood food stores).

While the Green Machine is a relatively small business, it is nonetheless a complex enterprise operating on a very small profit margin in a highly dynamic and competitive grocery industry. Both Fresh Moves in Chicago and the Mobile Food Market in Nashville have been forced to cease operations despite generous support from municipal and foundation funders. The Green Machine has managed to survive, in large part, due to the combined organizational, managerial, and communications capacity of its primary organizational sponsors, Saint Patrick Community Outreach Center, the Vance Avenue Collaborative, and the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of Memphis. Those most deeply involved in the day-to-day management of the Green Machine believe the contributions of each of these organizations have and continue to be a critical factor in the bus's ongoing success.

One of the most important factors contributing to the bus's success has been its extremely low overhead made possible by the vast number of volunteers who offered their time, talent, and treasure to complete the research, planning, design, construction, marketing, merchandizing, promotion, and outreach activities required to launch this innovative food security project. The GIS analysis, branding report, and initial conceptual designs provided by the University of Memphis, Archer-Malmo Advertising and Looney Ricks Kiss Architects would have cost the project more than \$100,000. The army of community, parish, campus, and corporate volunteers who gave their time to help retrofit the bus reduced these costs by more than \$60,000.

The Food Security Committee was able to successfully mobilize local volunteers, in large part, because of the highly participatory approach they took to planning and designing the Green Machine. The bottom-up, bottom-sideways approach that the Committee used to plan and design the bus gave a large number of local stakeholders a sense

of ownership over the project. Their personal investment in the project's success led them to recruit their own civic, fraternal, professional, business, and faith-based organizations to make in-kind and financial contributions to the bus.

The Food Security Committee believed this highly participatory approach to the development of the bus would also result in the identification and development of new grassroots leaders. The Committee believed these new leaders would acquire significant new knowledge and skills related to community outreach, action research, program development, project management, organizational communications, and volunteer mobilization and management through their work on this project. These new competencies would, in turn, significantly enhance the organizational capacity of the partnership that developed the bus; putting them, for example, in a better position to conceive and implement the cooperatively owned "fixed site" market.

Finally, it is important to note that the Green Machine was the brainchild of the women living in the Foote Homes public housing complex, a group of citizens often blamed for the city's problems, and not some group of highly paid economic and community development consultants. The project moved forward based upon a groundswell of grassroots and faith-based support without the financial contributions and political support of the City of Memphis and Shelby County's elected officials. Thanks to their work, the Green Machine represents more than a food delivery system. It encompasses new forms of community stewardship over an innovative response to food security in the city. It generated access to fresh and healthy food, two new paid living jobs, and continuous education programs not only dedicated to the Vance group that started the project, but also to the broader Memphis community. These important achievements – both at the neighborhood and city-scale – encounter some of the most important elements identified as foundation of community well-being: community members, in fact, prioritized them as of greatest importance (Cox et al. 2010: 72) during the Vance Avenue planning process in a way that their main concerns emerged throughout the pro-

cess were finally fulfilled (Haworth and Hart 2007; Lee et al. 2015). Beside these main outcomes, it is also important to reflect upon the collective nature of the process that produced the Green Machine, which put into action the fundamental message of well-being: "something that we do together, not something that we each possess" (Cox et al. 2010: 128). For neighborhood activists and institutional leaders hoping to develop solutions to their city's food security challenges (Cobb 2011), this collective endeavor illustrates the ability of a broad-based, bottom-up, bottom-sideways approach to economic and community development to succeed even without local government support, proving the truth of Margaret Meade's often referenced statement, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens to change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.". This project demonstrates how a low-income community facing a fundamental challenge to their quality of life, namely access to life sustaining nutrition can leverage the substantial social capital of their local institutions to solve a critical problem.

**Acknowledgments** We wish to thank all the community members from the Vance Avenue Neighborhood and across the entire city of Memphis who took part in this project. Without their generous support the Green Machine would never have been built. We want to dedicate this article to Ann and David who are not among us anymore. Their contribution to this project was vital. We are grateful to both of them for their leadership. We also wish to thank our photographers Davide Darra (credits for images n. 30.2 to n. 30.5) and Terry Woodard (credits for image n.), who documented the entire process of the bus transformation.

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## Can Living Wage Be a Win-Win Policy? A Study of Living Wage Effects on Employer and Employee Performance in Hamilton, Canada

Zhaocheng Zeng and Benson Honig

### Introduction

During the past 20 years, living wage campaigns have emerged as one of the most important endorsements of labor justice across the world (Reynolds and Kern 2001). Different from minimum wages that only consider workers' surviving needs, Shelburne (1999) points out that living wages not only focus on workers' "basic needs", but also on their "social needs". The basic needs are usually referred to as workers' physical subsistence while Shelburne defines social needs as the necessities that would provide a household with a comfortable and decent standard of living.

Living wage campaigns seek to raise the living standards of local workers with an aim of improving their well-being (Freeman 2005). However, based on the "Easterlin paradox", which suggests that income is not associated with happiness, some scholars doubt whether a wage raise may serve this aim. For example, Easterlin (1995) states "...Happiness, or subjective well-being, varies directly with one's own income and inversely with the incomes of others. Raising the incomes of all does not increase the happiness of all, because the positive effect of higher income on subjective well-being is offset by the negative

effect of higher living level norms brought about by the growth in incomes generally." (1995, p. 36). Similarly, Lane (2001) argues that the stagnant happiness levels in Western countries over recent years are strong evidence supporting the irrelevance between economic growth and greater happiness in these countries. These arguments imply that there should be no difference in the well-being level between the minimum wage community and the living wage community because a wage raise from a minimum wage to a living wage for all workers does not lead to an increase in the happiness level of all. However, the above arguments fail to take poverty into consideration. In fact, most of the minimum wage workers live in poverty (Mincy 1990; Luce 2004). One low wage worker invited to share her story at a local venue described her situation in the following manner: "By earning a minimum wage, I can only feed myself and my kids. I don't have enough money to go to a dentist. I don't have enough money to bring my kids to the cinema and watch movies. I don't have enough money to do my laundry. And I cannot even invite my friends to have a simple dinner with me in my house. I feel that I am isolated from others because I cannot afford things besides basic food." (Living Wage Hamilton 2014). Layard and Layard (2011) point out that the absolute income is a significant predictor of happiness when income is very low. In addition, Frank (2005) suggests that people living in poverty always

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have a lower happiness level within a society, and any improvement in their lives could contribute to an increase of their well-being. Similarly, Stevenson and Wolfers (2008) analyze multiple large datasets spanning over many decades confirming that richer people are typically much happier than their poorer counterparts within countries. The goal of a living wage practice is to lift workers out of poverty and provide workers with a nutritious diet, suitable housing, transportation, health care, education and savings for long-term emergencies (Gertner 2006). This is not only important for workers to support their families, but also plays a significant role in economic development as well as the improvement for community well-being (Luce 2004).

In contrast to the minimum wage practice, living wage implementation in most countries has not yet been enforced by law, which means that it depends on employers' good will regarding whether to provide living wages to their employees or not. From a theoretical perspective, compensation theory suggests that employers should pay workers a fair amount of wages in return for their efforts (Baker et al. 1988). Bryson and Forth (2008) point out that the "fair amount of pay" provided by employers to workers are governed by social norms. That is, what is considered to be fair and appropriate pay for employees' efforts is influenced by society-held beliefs. For example, employers pay employees wages that meet with their physical subsistence needs. This may seem to be a fair transaction from an economic perspective since basic pay allows workers to support their living. However, this may not be the case. Adam Smith states in the *Wealth of Nations* that in addition to indispensable commodities, a decency of living should be provided to low-income workers. It is widely believed in society that fair pay should allow workers to support their basic necessities as well as to participate in community activities (Ryan 1996; Shelburne 1999; Luce 2004). Living wages, which reflect both workers' basic needs and social needs, are a significant standard of living improvement for many workers.

Further, living wage implementation in the workplace may be closely associated with

employees' work-related behaviors. Social exchange theory (Blau 1964) suggests that when employees perceive that the employers do good to them, they may feel obligated to reciprocate to their employers with desirable behaviors and feel motivated to exert more efforts at work (Jiang et al. 2012). The social exchange relationship between employers and employees goes beyond the pure economic exchange relationship. Shaw et al. (2009) point out that an established social exchange relationship in the organization reflects employers' intentions to have a stable and long-term employment relationship with their employees. Thus, employees are more willing to demonstrate behaviors that benefit the whole organization (Sun et al. 2007). From an employer perspective, the concept of a living wage conveys a message to employees that employers care not only about their survival needs, but also about their desires to have comfortable and decent lives. In the eyes of employees, a living wage signals that employers care about their well-being.

A number of potential outcomes may be associated with a living wage implementation, such as employee affective commitment, organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), turnover and absenteeism behaviors, and community well-being, which will be discussed in the following sections.

### **Affective Commitment**

Affective commitment refers to employees' emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization (Meyer and Allen 1991, 1997; Wasti 2005). Examples of affective commitment include feeling oneself to be part of a family in the organization, being happy to stay in the organization, feeling a strong sense of belonging to the organization, etc. Different from the minimum wage policy, a living wage practice is usually voluntary, which means that employers are not forced by laws or regulation rules to provide a living wage to their employees. Earning a living wage, employees are able to take care of both their physical needs and social needs and to lead a decent life. By adopting

the living wage practice in the workplace, employers show their care and concerns for their workers. According to social exchange theory, employees feel obligated to reciprocate to their employers with good attitudes and good behaviors if they perceive employers are helping them improve their lives. Increased affective commitment is usually one of the outcomes of a high-quality social exchange relationship. Meyer et al. (2002) suggest that people tend to develop a higher affective commitment when they have positive views toward their employers. In the eyes of employees, a living wage practice signals a message that their desire to make a better living is supported by employers. In this sense, employees are more motivated to work for the company. Gong et al. (2009) suggest that practices in the workplace that enhance employee's motivation are associated with greater employee affective commitment.

### **Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCB)**

Organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) are defined as behaviors that are not directly compensated by the formal reward system of the company, but are very important in facilitating the efficient functioning of the whole company (Smith et al. 1983; Organ 1988). Examples of OCB include going out of way to help fellow employees, or assisting a supervisor with his/her work, etc (Williams and Anderson 1991). In order to achieve the successful functioning of any organizational system, employees not only need to meet with their formal job requirement, but also need to show extra behaviors that go beyond their role specifications. OCB, as extra-role cooperative behaviors, facilitates and supports the organization's performance (Katz 1964). Based on a social exchange perspective, studies show that employees tend to develop higher OCB if there is a strong identification and a strong sense of mutual support between them and their employers (Blau 1964; Cropanzano and Rupp 2008). Signaling theory (Spence 1973, 2002; Connelly et al. 2011) suggests that different orga-

nizational practices are considered as different signals containing different messages to the audience. When a certain practice is adopted, the signal related to this practice is sent to employees from employers. Employees will first interpret the signal and then initiate actions to it. The adoption of a minimum wage practice is usually the result of compliance with law. Nishii et al. (2008) show that employees are unlikely to develop favorable view toward their employers if they feel a practice is enforced by external environment such as union or regulations. However, a living wage practice is different. Workers perceive a living wage practice as a real support to their lives and their dignity. In order to reciprocate, workers are more likely to demonstrate discretionary behaviors that are appreciated by the organization.

### **Turnover**

Turnover has deleterious effects on an organization including decreased performance and increased training costs (Gupta et al. 2005). Guthrie (2001) shows that turnover undermines the morale among employees in the workplace, which further affects the overall organizational performance. In terms of costs, Schlesinger and Heskett (1991) suggest that turnover causes both direct and indirect financial costs to the employers. According to their calculation, the cost of employee turnover is up to 150 % of an employee's remuneration package. High turnover rate can also hurt the quality of the employment relationship by damaging employees' trust toward their employers. When a company experiences a high turnover rate, employees tend to attribute it to the employer's inability to implement good practices to keep people. As a result, they are unlikely to develop enough trust toward their employers. To deal with this problem, Batt (2002) suggests that employers could implement practices in the workplace that seek to build a stable and long-term working relationship with their workers, such as practices that improve pay and employment security. A living wage is one of these potential practices that can reduce turnover

because it reflects employers' efforts to help employees improve their lives. According to social exchange theory (Blau 1964) and the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner 1960), living wage employees are unlikely to engage in negative behaviors that have negative effects on the organization. Instead, they are more willing to reciprocate to their employers by engaging in cooperative behaviors, which help organizations reduce turnover rate.

### **Absenteeism**

Wright and Boswell (2002) suggest that absenteeism is an important indicator of a firm's performance. When there is a high employee absenteeism rate, the work efficiency inside the firm will be affected. The supervisors may find it difficult to allocate, organize, manage and monitor employees' work. Wiesenfeld et al. (2007) suggest that when employees perceive that the employers are not fair to them, they are more likely to be absent from work. Mayer and Gavin (2005) suggest that when employees feel that the employers are trustworthy and treating them well, they are more willing to take responsibility for their work and focus on their duties, thereby less likely to engage in absenteeism.

Living wage practices help low-income workers get a fair pay that allows them to have a comfortable and decent standard of living. Compared to workers with minimum wages that only meet their physical subsistence needs, workers with living wages are more likely to feel that the employers are fair to them. What is more, living wage practices helps employers build a mutual reciprocal relationship with their employees, which results in employees' cooperative behaviors in the workplace. Employees with a living wage are likely to have higher commitment to the organization, thereby less likely to have absences at work.

### **Community Well-Being**

Community well-being is defined as the state in which the needs and desires of a community are

fulfilled (Lee et al. 2015). A living wage practice in a society is capable of increasing the well-being level of needier workers because it meets with their urgent needs to maintain a decent standard of living (Luce 2004). Recognizing the benefits of a living wage practice, many cities have launched living wage campaigns and even implemented living wage laws. For example, after years of living wage campaigns, the city of Seattle has established citywide living wage laws in early 2015 which seek to help low-income workers and families have a better life in their communities (Seattle Government Home 2015). Reducing pay inequality and increasing workers' satisfaction towards work, living wage laws contribute to the sustainable development of society and the economy in Seattle and influence the city's long-term well-being (AtKisson 1996; Reich et al. 2014). In fact, according to Mercer's quality of living survey which evaluates the living conditions of cities world-wide based on criteria such as safety, economic stability, and social environment, Seattle has been among the top 6 most livable cities in the USA for many years (Mercer Organization 2015). This is not a surprise given the fact that the Seattle government has invested considerable and continuous efforts in improving the living standard for the whole community. Similarly, the city of Santa Monica has implemented a living wage law since 2012 and planned to further increase the wage standard in 2016 (Rohit 2013). It is believed that an increase of the minimum wage to the living wage in Santa Monica could not only help improve the local community well-being but also spur the economy in the city. A living wage practice enables the building of a community that honors working people and respects their dignity to support their families through their labor. It is capable of improving the lives of poor workers and increasing their happiness level in the community.

Although living wage practices have a number of benefits to the employing companies as well as the community, there are also some negative influences originated from these practices that are worthy of attention.

## Disemployment Effect

The living wage practice may cause a disemployment effect in companies. Some economists believe that when businesses have to pay higher wages, employers, in turn, are likely to hire fewer employees, because they want to guarantee a certain level of profits (Gertner 2006). Adams and Neumark (2005) show that living wage practices boost wages of the lowest wage workers but at the cost of disemployment. The finding indicates that low-skilled workers may be hurt by living wage practices because employers would want them to leave the company first during downsizing operations. Luce (2004) argues that the disemployment effect originating from living wage practices may worsen the situation of the low-skilled workers. In addition, Gertner (2006) suggests that the disemployment effect may widen the gap between poor and rich. However, some scholars have different opinions on this issue. Card and Krueger (2000) argue that a modest increase in wages doesn't appear to cause any significant harm to employment. Their research data shows that in some cases, a rise in the minimum wage even results in a slight increase in employment. However, how to exactly determine whether the increase is modest and suitable remains unclear.

## Ripple Effect

Living wage practices are likely to trigger a so-called 'ripple effect'. When employers raise wages from minimum wages to living wages for the lowest paid workers in the company, they may also have to give raises to higher wage employees as well. This is because those higher wage employees will demand raises out of fairness (Luce 2004). The ripple effect may become a heavy burden for employers because the actual amount of money employers are paying to their employees may exceed their budgets. Card and Krueger (1995) found that ripple effects resulting from a minimum wage increase reach workers earning about 120–130 % of the minimum wage. A similar ripple effect has also been observed in

living wage practices. Osterman (2000) calculates that while the direct living wage recipients receive an average raise of 81 cents per hour, ripple effect wage increases by an average of 1.09 dollars per hour. For example, suppose that the minimum wage is \$10.25 and the proposed living wage is \$14.95. When the lowest-paid workers receive a \$4.7 per hour raise in their wages, higher wage employees who have already earned above living wage may also want an averaged \$6.32 raise per hour in their wages. The ripple effect will increase the financial burden to many business owners, especially for small-businesses which may operate on razor-thin profit margins (Luce 2004).

## Expectation-Enhancing Effect

Living wages can be seen as employers' investment in their employees. By providing a living wage to employees, employers expect to have a mutual beneficial relationship with workers and expect workers to reciprocate with more desirable behaviors (Batt 2002; Blau 1964). Employers want to increase their expectation towards employees out of fairness. The high level of employers' expectation on employees may lead to some negative outcomes such as employees' dissatisfaction and a higher resignation rate (Shaw et al. 2009). Adams and Neumark (2005) show that when employers raise the wages of some job positions to living wage levels, they tend to have a higher selection standard for the candidates who apply for these job positions, even though the job requirements remain exactly the same. The authors point out that the higher selection standard will have negative influences on low-skilled workers. They may be unable to meet with the expectation of the employers and not get jobs. Living wage practices are designed to help the lowest wage, lowest skilled individuals to get rid of poverty and have a decent standard of living. However, Neumark (2002) suggests that living wage practices may, in fact, generate income gains for other workers while increasing the difficulties for the least skilled workers to make a living.

## Employer Study

To better understand employers' views toward living wage implementation, we conducted two in-depth interviews with the CEOs of two companies in Hamilton, a port city located at the southeastern part of the Canadian province of Ontario. The population of the city is approximately 502,000 and the poverty rate was about 20 % (City of Hamilton 2014). Currently, Hamilton city is running a living wage campaign which aims to promote a living wage policy among organizations. The proposed living wage in Hamilton has been calculated as \$14.95 per hour based on what it costs to live in this city (Living Wage Hamilton 2011). The living wage budget was developed using three different household types: (1) a single full-time working man; (2) a female lone parent working full time with a baby boy; and (3) two parents both working full time with two children. The following items are included in this calculation: food, shelter, clothing, transportation, child care, private health insurance for extended health benefits such as prescription drugs and dental care, continuing education for adults to upgrade skills, and items that contribute to allow for fuller participation in society such as family outing to a local tourist attraction. The living wage of each family type was calculated for a family of four, a family of two, and a single person as \$15.05, \$14.85, and \$14.90, respectively. Averaging these three amounts, the overall living wage in Hamilton is established as \$14.95 per hour (Living Wage Hamilton 2011).

The background information of the two companies is described below. To protect the privacy of the employers, we use code names to refer to these companies. Alpha is a financial firm providing personal banking, investment and portfolio management services to customers. Alpha has a history of more than 70 years in the financial industry, and is currently serving about 100,000 customers in and around Hamilton region. The other company, Beta, is a real estate development and construction firm with 20-year experience in the industry. Designing and constructing apartments and condo buildings, Beta has 12 com-

pleted real estate projects and three underway in the Hamilton area (Table 31.1).

The interviews took place in September, 2013. We had a telephone interview with the CEO of Alpha, and a face-to-face interview with the CEO of Beta. Both interviews lasted about 40 min.

Both companies were paying a living wage (i.e. \$14.95/per hour) to their full-time workers, but not to their part-time or temporary workers. When we asked whether they planned to raise the wages for those part-time and temporary workers, the CEO of Alpha showed a positive answer.

I care about our employees' well-being. I think the living wage provides the employees with the opportunity to be able to afford their lifestyle with their family. We don't have many part-time or temporary employees. I think we should include them into the living wage group. We have already provided our full-time workers a living wage. We don't mind going a little bit further.

However, the CEO of Beta seemed concerned about providing a living wage to all workers.

Well, we are a group of construction companies. About half of my employees are temporary workers. People come and people go. There are also many students looking for job experience during summer time at the construction sites. I think it is important to pay a living wage to those who work to support their families. However, I don't think it is necessary to provide students with a living wage. We usually hire them when we are temporarily short of hands, and provide them with opportunities to get some experience as well as some pocket money. If we

**Table 31.1** Employer information

Employer	Industry	Business
Alpha	Finance	Provide financial services including banking, investment, and portfolio management. The company is serving 100,000 customers in and around Hamilton region
Beta	Construction: real estate development	Design and construct apartment and condo buildings. The company has completed 12 real estate projects in Hamilton

don't need to pay a living wage to them, we may be able to hire more students in summer time. I have to say that it is not easy to provide a living wage to all. You need to take it step by step.

When we asked them whether they provided a benefit package and training to their workers, both CEOs admitted that the benefits, including dental care, health care, life insurance and vacation pay, were only available to full-time workers. Both companies offered training to all workers. However, the amount of training varied between full-time and non-full-time employees in company Alpha. The CEO of Alpha described it in the following way.

We invest more time in our full-time workers. They receive regular training which helps them improve their financial knowledge and skills in the workplace. We also provide similar training to other employees, but usually just at the beginning of the job.

The difference in training between full-time and non-full-time employees was less pronounced in Company Beta. The CEO kept emphasizing the word "safety" when he talked about training.

There are many machines. There are potential hazards. We don't want to see any accidents in the construction sites. Safety is the most important aspect of the business. The part-time and temporary employees in my company receive much training, almost comparable to the full-time workers. I believe training can help reduce the accident rate and protect people from getting hurt. They need to be safe. If they get injured, the consequences could be very serious. They may be disabled, and the company also suffers.

When it came to the potential benefits of providing a living wage to workers, both CEOs mentioned words such as "increased commitment", "engaged workers", "happy workers", "employee satisfaction" and "stable workforce". The CEO of Alpha described what he expected to get from a living wage practice in the following way:

It is important to have highly engaged and committed workers. They help shape and promote a good culture in the company. They like the company, they are happy, and they are willing to stay here. This is important for the development of our business. ....I think a living wage implementation shows that we care about the workers' well-being. It enables workers to foster increased commitment

and satisfaction. They feel they belong here. They care about the company. They focus on work. They are willing to help each other out. All these things are what we look for.

The CEO of Beta had a similar opinion to the CEO of Alpha.

I think a living wage policy can help me build a more stable workforce. People come and work here and love working here. If they are happy and satisfied, they are unlikely to quit. We don't want to keep retraining different people. If we pay them fairly for the work they do, they would be more likely to stay. If we underpay people, we would lose them... I am concerned about my workers' well-being, and I want them to get a fair salary... Committed people have good behaviors and good performance. This is very important. The key to a successful business is to keep these people.

The CEO's comments inferred that they sought to build a workforce with higher affective commitment, higher OCB, higher happiness and satisfaction, and less turnover and absenteeism.

Later, we asked several questions related to the potential negative effects of the living wage implementation suggested by the literature. The first one is the enhanced expectation employers might have for their employees after they raised the pay for jobs from the minimum wage level to the living wage level. Employers were asked whether they would have a higher standard for the candidates who applied for these jobs even though the job requirement remained the same as before.

The CEO of Alpha paused a little bit, and seemed like he had a dilemma.

It is difficult to tell. I would say that everything might remain the same, but you never know. .... You raise the pay, then there are more people who want the job. We have more good people to choose from the pool. I think the selection process becomes different...It is about competition. The competition makes the requirement look different.

The CEO of Beta was very confident about his answer.

It is a tricky question (Smile). Paying a living wage means that we have more people willing to work for us and more people competing for the job. ... The requirements may still look the same, but we have better people coming in. I have to say that this is the reality.

Although both CEOs didn't explicitly say that they would set up a higher standard for living wage jobs, their answers implicitly suggested that living wage jobs stimulated competition among job seekers, which might in turn lead to higher performance requirements for these job seekers because the company needed to select the best people from a better pool.

The second negative effect of the living wage implementation is the disemployment effect. We asked employers whether they would hire fewer workers after they raised the pay for jobs from the minimum wage level to the living wage level. Both CEOs had similar answers. They claimed that they would not plan to hire fewer employees on purpose, and they would hire people only based on the needs of the business.

From their answers, it seemed that the disemployment effect suggested by the literature might not be a big concern in these two cases.

The third negative effect of the living wage implementation is the ripple effect. We asked employers whether they would also raise the wage for those workers who used to earn beyond the proposed living wage in the company.

The CEO of Alpha was hesitant to answer this question. He said that this was a hard question.

It is difficult...I think we are paying them well. They should be satisfied with what they get...It is unlikely that we would increase the wage for them. The current pay is fair.

The CEO of Beta was very sure about his answer.

I probably will not raise the wage for them. The other people are already paid at the upper end of the market. For example, a lead hand has 22 per hour already. Even if the lowest pay increases from 14 to 15, a lead hand cannot find a better job elsewhere that pays him 23 with an extra buck. .... We have to be fair and will try to be on the upper end of fairness. We demand a lot of people and we pay them well. They are happy with what they get. So we will keep others the same.

These comments suggested that the CEOs had a negative view toward the ripple effect. The strategy used by both CEOs to deal with the ripple effect was not to respond to the wage-raise

requirement by those workers earning above the living wage.

In summary, the employer interviews show that non-full time workers usually don't receive a living wage or benefit packages compared to their full-time counterparts. The training provided to these non-full time employees varies among industries. In the construction industry where employees have a higher risk to get injured, the average training non-full time workers receive is comparable to full-time workers. This is because safety is the major concern in this industry. By implementing a living wage, employers expect to get a workforce with a higher affective commitment, a higher organizational citizenship behavior, a higher happiness and a higher satisfaction, and a lower absenteeism and a lower turnover. What is more, employers consider a living wage practice as a good strategy to show their concern for their workers' well-being. The interviews also reveal that employers do enhance their expectations to some extent for job seekers when they raise the wage to the living wage level. Although they claim that this enhanced-expectation is not planned, but driven by the competition for those job positions, their comments suggest that they tend to select the better skilled workers for those low-skilled positions. This may create problems for the low-skilled workers who usually target these positions. Although their skills meet with the requirement of the jobs, they may still fail to meet with the heightened expectation of employers. If this is the case, instead of helping these low-skilled workers get a decent living, a living wage practice may actually put them into a "no job" status, a nightmare for these workers. When it comes to the potential disemployment effect and ripple effect, the interviews show that employers hire people mostly based on the needs of their business. Raising pay for the low-skilled positions will increase the operational costs for the employers, but employers may not seek to cover this cost by hiring less people. In terms of the ripple effect, employers tend to think that people earning above a living wage are getting a fair pay, so they are unlikely to provide a pay raise for these people.

## Employee Study

In the following employee survey, we seek to understand the benefits of implementing a living wage policy in the workplace. Especially, we examined the difference between living wage and minimum wage workers on three performance indicators: affective commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, and turnover. We also examined the roles of training, benefits, and immigrant status in these relationships. This study is important because it empirically shows how a living wage practice might contribute to employers' organizational success. Without enough understanding of this link, we are unlikely to build effective communication with employers and encourage them to adopt the policy.

### Living Wage and Affective Commitment

In the employer interview, employers expressed that they wanted "committed people who feel emotionally belonging to the company and consider themselves part of the company". Although they didn't use the exact wording, the affective commitment construct perfectly captures the meanings.

Based on the previous discussions (refer to previous section "[Affective commitment](#)"), we propose the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 1: living wage workers are more affectively committed to their companies compared to minimum wage workers.*

### Living Wage and OCB

In the employer interviews, both CEOs believed that having a workforce with good behaviors is one of the positive outcomes of a living wage practice. Specifically, they mentioned that good behaviors are "willing to help each other", "care about the work and the co-workers". The behaviors they look for are OCB.

Based on the previous discussions (refer to previous section "[Organizational citizenship behavior](#)"), we propose the following hypothesis.

*Hypothesis 2: living wage workers have a higher OCB compared to minimum wage workers.*

### Living Wage and Turnover

In the employer interviews, both CEOs explicitly expressed that they wanted a stable workforce with less turnover.

Based on the previous discussions (refer to previous section "[Turnover](#)"), we propose the following hypothesis.

*Hypothesis 3: living wage workers have a lower turnover compared to minimum wage workers.*

### The Role of Training

Human capital is defined as skills, knowledge, and abilities workers possess (Becker 1975). Training is considered as one type of discretionary organizational development which aims to increase employees' knowledge, skills, and developmental experiences, and is suggested by human capital theory as an effective way to improve employees' work performance (Davidsson and Honig 2003; Coff 2002; Wayne et al. 1997). In the eyes of employees, training is also a kind of organizational support because it reflects employers' intention to promote their employability (Wayne et al. 1997; José Chambel and Sobral 2011). When employees perceive a strong support from their employers, they are more likely to show desirable attitudes and behaviors (Blau 1964). Among all workers, people who receive training from their employers should have a stronger affective commitment, a stronger OCB, and a lower turnover because they perceive stronger supports from their organizations. Based on the discussions above, we propose the following hypothesis.



*Hypothesis 4a: Workers receiving training from their employers have a higher affective commitment compared to their counterparts who receive no training.*

*Hypothesis 4b: Workers receiving training from their employers have a higher OCB compared to their counterparts who receive no training.*

*Hypothesis 4c: Workers receiving training from their employers have a lower turnover compared to their counterparts who receive no training.*

### **The Role of Benefits**

Employee benefits are defined as part of the total compensation package, other than pay for time worked, provided to employees in whole or in part by employer payments (Milkovich et al. 1999, p. 366). They could be packages including perquisites such as child care, dental care, medical care, health care, flextime, pension, incentive travel and life insurance. Similar to training, benefit packages are perceived by employees as a kind of support for them. This support entails a social exchange relationship in which employees are willing to reciprocate to their employers. A study shows that benefit packages available to employees reduce turnover, and increase positive attitudinal and behavioral outcomes such as organizational commitment, work efficiency, and work performance (Williams and MacDermid 1994). Among all workers, people who receive benefit packages from their employers should have a stronger affective commitment, a stronger OCB, and a lower turnover because they perceive stronger supports from their organizations. Based on the discussions above, we propose the following hypothesis.

*Hypothesis 5a: Workers receiving benefit packages from their employers have a higher affective commitment compared to their counterparts who receive no benefit packages.*

*Hypothesis 5b: Workers receiving benefit packages from their employers have a higher OCB compared to their counterparts who receive no benefit packages.*

*Hypothesis 5c: Workers receiving benefit packages from their employers have a lower turnover compared to their counterparts who receive no benefit packages.*

### **The Role of Immigrant Status**

Immigrants are people who move to a country other than their country of birth and live in the new country for long time. According to the immigrant definition adopted by OECD, immigrants are people who are foreign-born, but have the right to reside in their host country irrespective of whether they have or do not have host country citizenship (OECD 2003). Studies suggest that immigrants face a lot of unfairness and inequalities in the workplace (De Maio and Kemp 2010; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2007). The general discrimination employers have for immigrants increases immigrants' difficulties to prove that they can deliver the same level of performance as their native counterparts. Immigrants usually have to show more efforts in the workplace in order to get the recognition they deserve. For example, immigrant workers may be more likely to show organizational citizenship behavior in the workplace because OCB reflects their "extra efforts" contributed to facilitate the functioning of the organization. However, it should be noted that they may not be truly willing to engage in such behavior. They may just consider it as something they have to do to gain recognition.

Mayer and Gavin (2005) suggest that workers' trust in their managers and the organization is the base of high-quality social exchange relationship which fosters desirable attitudes and behaviors in the workplace. Immigrant employees are less likely to develop trust in their employers because they know there is a general hidden discrimination against them. Nishii and Wright

(2008) show that employees' perceptions of specific HR practices will have effect on how they respond. Even though employers may adopt some practices seeking to build a good relationship with employees, immigrant workers may still perceive it differently and hesitate to build trust in their employers. Their lack of trust will lead to a lower affective commitment level. Emotional attachment cannot be developed without enough trust between workers and employers. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2007) show that the general hidden discrimination makes immigrants difficult to control their employment opportunities. They have more difficulties in getting and keeping jobs. We predict that immigrants will have a lower level of turnover intention compared to non-immigrants, because the cost of quitting their jobs is higher than non-immigrants. Based on the discussions above, we propose the following hypotheses.

*Hypothesis 6a: Immigrant workers have a lower affective commitment compared to non-immigrant workers.*

*Hypothesis 6b: Immigrant workers have a higher OCB compared to non-immigrant workers.*

*Hypothesis 6c: Immigrant workers have a lower turnover compared to non-immigrant workers.*

## Method

Because this study targets low-income workers, we chose to collect the data in downtown Hamilton, where the poverty rate is the highest in this city. Reports show that in the downtown Hamilton area, 31.1 % residents live in poverty as opposed to 19.1 % in the city overall (White 2012). Data were collected in three consecutive weekends in April, 2014. We chose to collect data on weekends instead of weekdays because we tried to distinguish between people just working in the downtown area and those living there. We set up a kiosk and distributed the survey to

passers-by outside Jackson Square, a shopping mall located at the center of the city. Passers-by were qualified to take the survey if they: (1) worked and got paid in an organization located in Hamilton; (2) were not full-time students; and (3) were not self-employed. We approached about 500 people and collected 149 responses. The response rate is 29.8 %. Among these cases, two were invalid because the completion rate of the survey was less than 50 %.

The first step of the analytical process was to test the reliability of affective commitment, OCB and turnover intention scales. We calculated the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for each measurement scale to evaluate its reliability. The alpha value for all three scales exceeds the minimum acceptable value of 0.7 for the sample. The alpha values for affective commitment, OCB and turnover intention were 0.807, 0.776, and 0.766, respectively. These values indicated that the scales were internally consistent.

The variables are described as below.

## Variables

### Wage Category

The question related to wage was, what is your hourly rate paid by the current company? There are five wage categories: (1) Ontario minimum wage (\$10.25); (2) \$10.26–\$14.94; (3) \$14.95–\$15.94; (4) \$15.95–\$19.99; and (5) \$20 and above. Employees who responded that they earned more than \$20 per hour were asked to indicate the amount of their hourly rate. However, in this study, category 5 is not of special interest because we want to focus on the low-wage workers.

The first wage category is Ontario's minimum wage which is enacted by the Ontario Government. The proposed minimum living wage in Hamilton area is at least \$14.95 per hour. Thus, the second wage category refers to wages between minimum wage and the proposed living wage. In the third category, we designated a \$1 band from \$14.95 to \$15.94 instead of including only \$14.95. The reason for this design was to try to combine advice from employers in setting up

the wage level. Before we conducted the employee survey, we had attended several employer group meetings and conducted interviews with employers. Although the proposed living wage is \$14.95, employers claim that when they first provide living wages to their employees, the amount of the wage may not be exactly \$14.95. They may provide a little more than that (e.g., \$15), and they suggested that a one dollar range is more reasonable. In the fourth wage category, we set a four dollar range. In this way, the total range of the first and the second wage category is about \$5 (i.e., \$10.25–\$14.94), which is almost the same as the total range of the third and the fourth category (i.e., \$14.95–\$19.99).

In this study, wage category 1 and wage category 2 are combined to form a “minimum wage group”, because both categories fail to reach the minimum level of the living wage. Wage category 3 and wage category 4 are combined to form the “living wage group”. We maintain that although the wage in category 4 exceeds the proposed living wage, it still fails to reach a good level of income. According to Statistics Canada (2014), Ontario full-time workers on average spend 35 h weekly at work. Based the calculation on a 50-work week yearly pay system, a person in wage category 4 earns from \$27912.5 to \$34982.5 before tax. Even for full-time workers, this wage fails to reach the median total income in Ontario, let alone for the part-time workers or temporary workers who work less than 30 h a week. From this observation, we maintain that wage category 4 is still within the “living wage range”. Sixteen cases in Wage category 5 (\$20 and above) were excluded from the analysis because these employees’ wages are considered as “beyond living wage range”. Hence, we have 131 valid cases for this study.

### **Affective Commitment**

Employees were asked to complete the six-item affective commitment scale developed by Allen and Meyer (1990). Employees were asked to what extent they agreed with the six items in the scale. Each question is measured with a 7-point Likert Scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree (p.s. some questions are reverse

coded). A sample question is: “I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career in the organization.” The reliability (Cronbach’s Alpha) is 0.807.

### **Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB)**

Employees were asked to complete the seven-item OCB scale developed by Williams and Anderson (1991). Employees were asked to what extent they agreed with the seven items in the scale. Each question is measured with a 7-point Likert Scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. A sample question is: “I would help co-workers who have heavy workload.” The reliability (Cronbach’s Alpha) is 0.776.

### **Turnover**

Employees were asked to complete the three-item turnover intention scale developed by Hanisch and Hulin (1990, 1991). Each question is measured with a 5-point Likert Scale. A sample question is: “How often do you think of quitting the current job?” The reliability (Cronbach’s Alpha) is 0.766.

### **Training**

Employees were asked whether they received any training from the current company where they were working. “Yes” is coded as 1 and “No” is coded as 0. If they answered “Yes”, they were asked to further specify the average hours of training they had received in the past 3 months.

### **Benefits**

Employees were asked whether they received any benefit packages from the current company where they were working. “Yes” is coded as 1 and “No” is coded as 0. If they answered “Yes”, they were asked to further specify the types of those benefit packages.

### **Immigrant Status**

Employees were asked whether they were immigrants in Canada. “Yes” is coded as 1 and “No” is coded as 0. If they answered “Yes”, they were asked to further specify the names of their home countries.

### Worker Type

Employees were asked about their worker type. Three categories are identified: (1) full-time permanent worker; (2) part-time permanent worker; (3) Temporary worker.

### Gender

Employees were asked about their gender. "Female" is coded as 1 and "Male" is coded as 0.

## Data Analysis and Results

The summary of the demographic variables is presented in Table 31.2.

There are four wage categories included in analysis ranging from minimum wage (\$10.25/per hour) to \$19.99. The means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlations of affective commitment, OCB, turnover, and wage category are presented in Table 31.3. We observe that the relationships between wage category and affective

commitment ( $r = 0.387$ ) as well as turnover ( $r = -0.348$ ) are significant at the 0.01 significance level. We also find that there are significant correlations between wage category and OCB ( $r = 0.173$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), between affective commitment and OCB ( $r = 0.227$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and between affective commitment and turnover ( $r = -0.542$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Wage category is positively correlated with affective commitment and OCB, but is negatively correlated with turnover.

To test hypotheses 1, 2 and 3, we conducted several independent t-tests to compare the means of affective commitment, OCB, and turnover between the living wage group and the minimum wage group. The results are presented in Table 31.4 as below.

As far as H1 is concerned, the hypothesis is supported. That is, the living wage workers have a significant higher affective commitment compared to minimum wage workers. H2 is generally accepted. This indicates that living wage workers tend to show more cooperative behaviors in the workplace. As for H3, the prediction is also supported. Different from minimum wage workers, living wage workers have a significant lower turnover.

To test Hypothesis 4, we conducted independent t-tests to compare the means of affective commitment, OCB, and turnover between the training group and the non-training group. The results are presented in Table 31.5 as below.

The results show that workers with training have a significantly lower turnover compared to workers receiving no training. However, we cannot find significant differences between training group and non-training group on affective commitment and OCB. Thus, we accept hypothesis 4c, but reject hypotheses 4a and 4b.

To test Hypothesis 5, we conducted independent t-tests to compare the means of affective commitment, OCB, and turnover between the benefits group and the non-benefits group. The results are presented in Table 31.6 as below.

We find that there are significant differences between the benefits group and the non-benefits group on affective commitment and turnover. Workers receiving benefits have a higher affective commitment and a lower turnover compared

**Table 31.2** Summary of demographic variables

<i>Worker type</i>	
Full-time permanent worker	74
Part-time permanent worker	38
Temporary worker	19
<i>Hourly rate</i>	
Minimum wage group	
Ontario minimum wage	28
Between \$10.25 and \$14.94	47
Living wage group	
\$14.95–\$15.94	9
\$15.95–\$19.99	47
<i>Gender</i>	
Female	54
Male	77
<i>Training</i>	
Receive training	61
No training	70
<i>Benefits</i>	
Receive benefits	53
Receive no benefits	78
<i>Immigrant status</i>	
Immigrant	25
Non-immigrant	106

$N = 131$

**Table 31.3** Scale means, standard deviation, correlations among the independent and dependent variables

	Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1	Affective commitment	4.05	1.58	(0.831)			
2	OCB	5.72	1.08	0.227***	(0.769)		
3	Turnover	2.44	1.08	-0.542***	-0.145*	(0.772)	
4	Wage category	2.57	1.18	0.387***	0.173**	-0.348***	(1.00)

N = 131. SD is standard deviation. Coefficient alpha estimates of reliability are in parentheses on the diagonal

\*p < 0.1 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*p < 0.05 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*\*p < 0.01 (two-tailed tests)

**Table 31.4** Differences in affective commitment, OCB, and turnover: living wage group VS minimum wage group

	Mean		t-value
	Minimum wage group	Living wage group	
Affective commitment	3.57	4.69	-4.25***
OCB	5.58	5.91	-1.76*
Turnover	2.7	2.06	3.45***

N = 131. N (living wage group) = 56, N (minimum wage group) = 75

\*p < 0.1 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*p < 0.05 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*\*p < 0.01 (two-tailed tests)

**Table 31.5** Differences in affective commitment, OCB, and turnover: training group VS non-training group

	Mean		t-value
	Training	Non-training	
Affective commitment	4.09	4.01	0.251
OCB	5.83	5.63	1.03
Turnover	2.17	2.65	-2.561**

N = 131. N (training group) =61, N (non-training group) =70

\*p < 0.1 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*p < 0.05 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*\*p < 0.01 (two-tailed tests)

to those receiving no benefits. However, although the results show that workers with benefits have a higher OCB, the difference is not statistically significant. Thus, we accept hypotheses 5a and 5c, but reject hypothesis 5b.

To test Hypothesis 6, we conducted an independent *t*-test to compare the means of affective

commitment, OCB, and turnover between the immigrant group and the non-immigrant group. The results are presented in Table 31.7 as below.

The results show that immigrant workers have a significant lower turnover compared to non-immigrant workers, which is consistent with our prediction. However, we find no significant differences between immigrant workers and non-immigrant workers on affective commitment and OCB. Thus, we accept hypothesis 6c, but reject hypotheses 6a and 6b.

## Discussion and Conclusion

In recent years, living wage campaigns have become more and more popular. However, most of the living wage studies focus on examining the effects of living wage practices on poverty reduction, economic development, welfare policy, social fairness, community engagement, and employees' health. Scholars pay very little attention to the effects of a living wage on employers as well as their business performance.

In our research, we seek to show that the living wage practices might be a win-win policy for both employers and employees. By providing a better wage to help employees improve their lives, employers at the same time could extract many benefits from it.

To understand employers' views toward a living wage practice, we first conducted several employer interviews. The interviews show that employers usually provide a living wage to their full-time workers. However, non-full-time workers are not included in the living wage implemen-

**Table 31.6** Differences in affective commitment, OCB, and turnover: benefits group VS non-benefits group

	Mean		t-value
	Benefits	Non-benefits	
Affective commitment	4.48	3.75	2.616***
OCB	5.76	5.69	0.348
Turnover	2.16	2.61	-2.352**

N = 131. N (Benefits group) =53, N (Non-benefits group) =78

\*p < 0.1 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*p < 0.05 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*\*p < 0.01 (two-tailed tests)

**Table 31.7** Differences in affective commitment, OCB, and turnover: immigrant VS non-immigrant group

	Mean		t-value
	Immigrant	Non-immigrant	
Affective commitment	4.29	3.99	0.856
OCB	5.72	5.72	-0.014
Turnover	2.01	2.53	-2.16*

N = 131. N (Immigrant group) =25, N (Non-immigrant group) =106

\*p < 0.1 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*p < 0.05 (two-tailed tests)

\*\*\*p < 0.01 (two-tailed tests)

tation. This suggests that in terms of offering a living wage in the workplace, employers tend to treat full-time workers and non-full-time workers differently. This difference also reflects in training and benefit packages provided to the workers. Full-time workers receive more training and better benefit packages compared to their non-full-time counterparts. The comments from the CEOs suggest that the expected benefits of implementing a living wage practice are having a workforce with a higher affective commitment, a higher OCB, a higher happiness and satisfaction level, a lower turnover, and a lower absenteeism. In addition, the interviews reveal that expectation-enhancing effects brought by the adoption of the living wage policy may be a potential major concern for low-skilled workers.

In the employee survey, we focused on the potential benefits suggested by the employers in the interviews, and undertook to empirically test

the differences between living wage workers and minimum wage workers on three work-performance indicators: affective commitment, OCB, and turnover. Results showed that living wage workers have a significantly higher affective commitment, a higher OCB, and a lower turnover compared to minimum wage workers. The findings also showed that providing training and benefit packages to workers can increase their affective commitment level and OCB level, and decrease their turnover. In terms of the immigrant status, consistent with our prediction, immigrant workers have a significantly lower turnover compared to non-immigrant workers.

The overall study has important implications to employers, employees, and activists of living wage campaigns. For employers, they should probably not consider the living wage practice as a burden for their business. Instead, they should try to use it wisely as a strategy to build a workforce with better performance characteristics. For employees, besides requiring a living wage out of social fairness, they should convey a message to employers that they deserve to be paid more, and can improve their performance with higher returns to the company. For activists of living wage campaigns, they should promote the living wage practice as a win-win policy by explaining to employers how a living wage implementation might contribute to their business performance.

The study also provides important implications and insights for the development of community well-being. A living wage practice may have both direct and indirect effects on the improvement of community well-being. An increase of the minimum wage to a living wage could directly increase the happiness level of poor workers because it helps them to reduce poverty and lead a decent standard of living (Gertner 2006; Frank 2005). Workers earning a living wage have a higher satisfaction toward their lives compared to their minimum wage counterparts (Berkowitz et al. 1987). In our studies, the findings imply that there might be an indirect effect of living wage implementation on community well-being. Our results show that living wage workers have better attitudes and behaviors in the workplace. These outcomes are

important for the long-term business development of companies, which in turn influence the local economic climate (Porter 2003). Research has shown that people living in regions with poor economic performance and growth have a significantly lower level of well-being compared to those living in regions with a better economic development (Stevenson and Wolfers 2008). Hence, workers within a living wage community are more likely to develop a higher level of well-being. Further, communities live and thrive on public engagement. By providing a living wage, communities are more likely to observe increased participation and interaction in civic activities, as a wider sector of individuals will have the financial and psychological opportunity to maximize their engagement.

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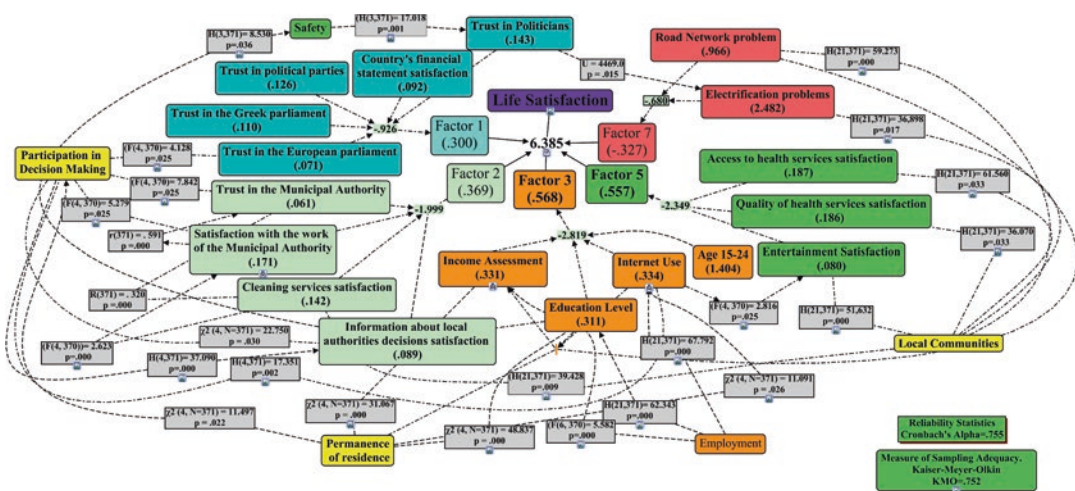
# LISADEMAS: A Life Satisfaction Decision-Making System for Integrated Community Development Planning

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Incorrect figure 19.4 was used in the previous version. However this has been replaced to the one below.



**Fig. 19.4** Conceptual framework

The updated original online version for this chapter can be found at DOI 10.1007/978-94-024-0878-2\_19