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Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases IV

Springer

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Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases series

Volume 2

The Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases book series is a collection of books, each containing a set of chapters related to best practices of community quality-of-life indicators projects. Many communities (cities, towns, counties, provinces, cantons, regions, etc.), guided by their local planning community councils and local government, develop community indicator projects. These projects are designed to gauge the "social health" and well-being of targeted communities. These projects typically involve data collection from secondary sources capturing quality-of-life indicators (i.e., objective indicators capturing varied dimensions of economic, social, and environmental well-being of the targeted communities). The same projects also capture community well-being using primary data in the form of survey research. The focus is typically subjective indicators of quality of life such as community residents' satisfaction with life overall, satisfaction with various life domains (e.g., life domains related to social, leisure, work, community, family, spiritual, financial, etc.), as well as satisfaction with varied community services (government, nonprofit, and business services serving the targeted communities). The book series is intended to provide community planners and researchers involved in community indicator projects with prototypic examples of how to plan and execute community indicator projects in the best possible ways.

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Preface

Community indicators projects are plentiful. These projects capture the quality of life in towns, cities, counties, metropolitan regions, and larger geographic regions. Community quality-of-life (QOL) indicators are increasingly being integrated into overall planning and other public policy activities. The community indicators project reports are used not only in monitoring and evaluation applications but also in the context of increasing citizen participation in guiding communities towards achieving desired goals.

This is the fourth book in a series covering best practices in community QOL indicators. Each volume presents individual cases (chapters) of communities at the local or regional levels that have designed and implemented community indicators programs. In Volume IV, we present nine chapters from a variety of contexts: cities such as the City of Phoenix (Arizona, USA), Jacksonville (Florida, USA), and Bristol (UK), suburban communities areas such as Long Island (New York, USA) and Sydney (Australia), larger regions such as Vancouver (Canada), and townships such as Sobantu (South Africa).

The focus could be on general QOL indicators (e.g., City of Phoenix or the Long Island Index) or specific set of indicators focusing on topics such as race relations (e.g., Jacksonville), mental health (Dallas, USA), and gender equality (European cities). Each chapter in this volume presents a history or context, followed by a description of how the indicator systems were selected and applied, and then discussion of policy implications and outcomes. What is clear in this volume is the continuing evolution of QOL indicator systems and their applications so that decision making in communities and regions is enhanced.

Chapter 1 (Improving the Quality of Life in a City of Phoenix, Arizona Neighborhood through Collaborative Investment) is co-authored by John Burk and Richard C. Knopf. The chapter describes the community indicators project of the City of Phoenix. The indicators project involves a set of 18 indicator variables reflecting neighborhood stability. Through interviews and focus groups, the project documented the neighborhood's assets and the citizens' collective vision for improving the QOL in their community along each of the 18 indicators. Needed action was identified and prioritized guided by the literature on community health.

Chapter 2 (The Long Island Index: New Approaches to Telling a Region's Story) is authored by Ann Golob. The chapter describes the Long Island Index. The authors

describe the characteristics Long Island shares with similar suburban communities as well as its distinctive features. Long Island has 14% of New York State's population and 25% of the state's political entities. The authors describe the *Index's* multi-factor analysis using a combination of research tools. For example, the indicators show wide gaps between richer and poorer school districts in relation to education. The data are also compared to a similar suburban region in Northern Virginia. Further, survey data are used to add to the overall research picture. The authors also discuss means to promote the Index to a variety of stakeholder groups such as elected officials, schools, other non-profits, libraries and civic organizations, as well as the general public.

Chapter 3 (Lessons from a Community-Based Process in Regional Sustainability Indicator Selection: The Case of Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory) is co-authored by Meg Holden, Cameron Owens, and Clare Mochrie. The authors describe how the Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory conducted a comprehensive public engagement process to derive key indicators of sustainable development. This process is described in great detail. The case demonstrates how citizen volunteers can be engaged to help in the development of a community indicators project.

Chapter 4 (Mental Health Indicator Parity: Integrating National, State, and Local Data) is co-authored by Deepak Prabhakar, Raquel Y. Qualls Hampton, and Kathryn M. Cardarelli. The focus of this chapter is on mental health indicators in Dallas County. The authors describe how they compiled available mental health data to describe the prevalence of mental illness in Dallas County and in Texas, with comparisons to national rates. Mental health indicators are further broken down by age, race/ethnicity, education, and poverty level.

Chapter 5 (The Importance of Local Information: Quality of Life Indicators in Bristol) is co-authored by Samantha Shepherd and Sarah McMahon. The chapter describes one of the longest standing community indicator projects in the UK. The authors describe how the Bristol City Council has used QOL indicators to become highly effective tools for improving local quality of life.

Chapter 6 (Understanding the Political Significance of Community Sustainable Development Indicators in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study from Sobantu Township, Pietmaritzburg) is authored by Alan Terry. This chapter describes an indicators project funded by the Department of International Development in India and South Africa. The goal of the project was test the notion whether the process of developing community-led indicators would enhance effective participatory development. The results show some positive outcomes.

Chapter 7 (Jacksonville's Race Relations Progress Report: Creating Change through Community Indicators) is authored by J. Benjamin Warner. The author describes how the Jacksonville Community Council Inc. created an annual "report card" capturing the community's progress in eliminating racial disparities in the quality of life in Jacksonville, Florida. The report provides lessons into how community indicators projects can add meaning through disaggregating key populations.

Chapter 8 (Gender Equality and the Quality of Life: Examples of Best Practices from Nine European Cities – The EQUALABEL Project) is authored by Almudena Moreno Minguez. The chapter addresses gender equality indicators captured

at the community level. The author describes the European framework project, EQUALABEL that was conducted in nine cities across the European Union.

The final chapter (Quality of Life through Innovation Indicators: The Case of Peripheral Suburbs of Sydney) was co-authored by Cristina Martinez-Fernandez and Tavis Potts. This chapter discusses the concept of innovation ecosystems for assessing innovation intensity in peripheral areas of metropolitan regions. This concept is important because it is considered to be a significant driver of economic prosperity and sustainability of suburbs.

The chapters in this volume illustrate the complex, integrated, and multifaceted issues that QOL indicators represent. It is our desire that this information will spur leaders, citizens and policy makers to explore and apply indicators to strengthen QOL in their communities and regions.

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Author Biographies

John Burk, Ph.D. (Southern Illinois University, 1996) is Associate Director for the Partnership for Community Development (PCD) at Arizona State University. He leads the planning, research, facilitation, and documentation of community development projects that focus on improving the quality of life of residents in the communities in which they live, work, and play. Such projects focus on adding capacity to community assets through the cultivation of partnerships among public, private, nonprofit and government organizations that use their collective resources to make strategic and tactical investments in neighborhoods and communities. Through the PCD, Dr. Burk also facilitates and delivers workshops and regional summits on key issues that affect the delivery of human services to Arizona residents. Previously, John served as a lecturer in the Department of Communication Studies at ASU and he continues to serve as an officer in the Arizona National Guard.

Kathryn Cardarelli, Ph.D. is Director of the Center for Community Health, an assistant professor in the Department of Epidemiology, and a clinical assistant professor in the Department of Family and Community Medicine at UNT Health Science Center. She completed her Ph.D. in epidemiology from the University of Texas-Houston School of Public Health, with an emphasis in social epidemiology and health disparities research, and completed a 2-year health policy fellowship with the US Department of Health and Human Services, focusing on access to health care issues for vulnerable populations with both the Health Resources and Services Administration and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Her research focuses on community-based approaches to

reducing health disparities and translating epidemiologic evidence into health policy. Current projects include improving perinatal outcomes in African American women, enhancing HIV and STD risk awareness among youth, and reducing cancer disparities in South Dallas.

Dr. **Ann Golob**, Director of the *Long Island Index*, holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from City University of New York Graduate Center and has 20 years of management experience at several Fortune 200 companies including Chase Manhattan Bank, AXA Client Solutions (formerly Equitable Insurance), and Guardian Life Insurance Company. Drawing on her research and analytical background, Dr. Golob developed business expertise in strategic planning, knowledge management, relationship management, and process-improvement initiatives. For 6 years, she oversaw an indicators project that monitored and measured overall service delivery at Chase's 1,000-employee customer service center located in Jericho, New York. She currently resides with her husband and their son in Port Washington.

Dr. **Meg Holden**(http://www.sfu.ca/∼mholden) has been Assistant Professor of Urban Studies and Geography at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada since 2003. Her research examines and promotes the hope of cities around the world for sustainable development and has taken her to studies of policy and action, civic engagement and social learning, urban philosophy and ethics, and community-based information systems approaches. One of Meg's major projects, established in 2004, the Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory, is the first member of the UN-Habitat Global Urban Observatory network to be located in the developed world. RVu (pronounced "Our View") brings together citizens, community leaders, experts and the best available systems and assessment tools to develop a value-rich indicator set for the future-sustainable Vancouver region. Her writing appears in *Progress in Planning*, *Social Indicators Research, Applied Research in Quality of Life*, *Cities Journal*, the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *Environmental Ethics*, the *Journal of Urban Technology, Ecological Economics, Habitat International, Urbanistica*, *Terrain*, the *International Journal of Sustainability, Technology and Humanism*, and the edited volume *Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases II* (Springer-Verlag).

Rachael Jackson, MPH is the Associate Director of the Center for Community Health at the University of North Texas Health Science Center-Fort Worth. She completed her MPH from the University of North Texas Health Science Center, School of Public Health.

Richard Knopf serves as Director, Partnership for Community Development and Professor, Recreation and Tourism Management at Arizona State University. Recently, he has worked closely with the Arizona Department of Economic Security, Maricopa Association of Governments, Valley of the Sun United Way, and many Arizona communities (Anthem, Buckeye, El Mirage, Glendale, Goodyear, Litchfield Park, Phoenix, Surprise, and Wickenburg) to create results-oriented solutions to community challenges. Dr. Knopf has been acclaimed by community leaders for his capacity to synergize relationships among government agencies, non-profit organizations, faith communities, schools, and businesses to better serve the health and human service needs of Arizona residents. Much of Dr. Knopf's teaching and research has focused on the role of human services in community development, life quality enhancement and economic growth. He has Ph.D. in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Michigan and has served on the faculty of Colorado State University, Pennsylvania State University, and the University of Minnesota.

Dr Cristina Martinez-Fernandez is an associate professor at the University of Western Sydney, where she leads the research program on Urban and Regional Dynamics of the Urban Research Centre, which include the study of processes of growth and shrinkage, and policies and strategies that influence these processes and outcomes. The analysis of industry change, urban performance and socio-economic development in urban areas is strongly anchored within the innovation imperative and the impact of global factors in cities and regions.

Cristina is an invited professor at the Institute of Geography, University Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne (Paris), the

Institute of Urban and Regional Development at the University of California (Berkeley) and the CSIC-IESA research centre in Cordoba. She has published more than 80 journal papers, research reports and book chapters. She can be contacted at c.martinez@uws.edu.au

Sarah McMahon is currently Project Manager for the Joint Strategic Needs Assessment for health and well-being in Bristol. Sarah has previously been Programme Co-ordinator for Indicators of Quality of Life at Bristol City Council, Environment and Sustainability Unit and also worked for the national Audit Commission as Quality of Life Indicators Project Co-ordinator. She has been responsible for ten annual publications on Quality of Life Indicators in Bristol and has presented and published a number of articles on the use of quality of life indicators in community development, in the UK and Europe.

Clare Mochrie is planning and research consultant, based out of Vancouver, Canada. Clare specializes is strategic planning, stakeholder engagement, project management and performance assessment. Her focus is on helping organization, individuals and communities to define their priorities and identify opportunities to maximize their reach and positive impact. Towards this end, she facilitates strategic planning processes, analyzes and develops policy, undertakes risk and impact assessments and conducts research and consultations. She has also been involved with numerous community and sustainability indicator initiatives and has extensive experience developing and implementing processes aimed at eliciting measures and metrics that match with people's values and track progress on citizen priorities. Since 2005, Clare has been Project Manager of the Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory (RVu), based out of Simon Fraser University. In this role, she helped to design and carry out RVu's six month study group process to derive locally specific indicators for sustainability. She has also helped to lead RVu's work in the area of social sustainability indicators.

Almudena Moreno took a Ph.D. in Sociology and is a professor in Sociology at the University of Valladolid. She is specialised in family issues, welfare state, public policies, youth and comparative research on gender.

She has published many articles and some books on a wide range of subjects, from the sociology of education to the sociology of family and gender. Her most recent book is "*Familia y Empleo de la mujer en los regímenes de bienestar del sur de Europa*", published by the CIS (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas) in 2007. Shortly it will be published her article titled "Family and gender roles in Spain from a compared perspective" in the journal *European Societies*.

She has been a visiting researcher at the universities of Oxford (United Kingdom), McGill (Canada), Gothenburg (Sweden), Stirling (United Kingdom), Turin (Italy) and Chicago (USA). She is currently taking part in two European projects on equality policies on gender and youth. Her research work has been officially recognized with the International Award for Young Sociologists, presented by the ISA (International Sociological Association) in 1998; a research award presented by the Fundación Acción Familiar in 2004 and the Extraordinary Award for her Doctoral Thesis.

Cameron Owens is currently a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Geography at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, BC. Cam's research explores the political and cultural context of sustainability efforts in North America and Europe. Major projects include evaluating British Columbia's environmental assessment process through the case of the Jumbo Glacier Resort controversy; exploring the challenges of evaluating livability in Metro Vancouver and revealing the barriers to sustainable consumption and waste reduction of concerned families in Calgary, Alberta. Cam has taught as a sessional instructor since 2002 at four institutions and develops and leads geography overseas field schools to Europe.

Dr Tavis Potts is a social scientist with an interest in environmental public policy, political science and environmental management. His research interests fall into categories of marine and coastal governance, application of environmental policy instruments, and 'green' innovation and urban environmental geography. He is currently researching the governance of the high seas resources particularly the Arctic region and the application of market-based instruments such as ecolabelling and certification in fisheries and aquaculture. He has a strong research interest in developing green industries and ecological modernisation in society and exploring the links between innovation and sustainable development.

He is also interested in developing and applying social science and qualitative methods to policy problems and the improving the links between the natural and social sciences and science-policy integration in government.

Deepak Prabhakar, MD, MPH is pursuing residency in Psychiatry in the prestigious Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Neurosciences at the Wayne State University Detroit. He completed his medical schooling from India and went on to complete his MPH from the University of North Texas Health Science Center-Fort Worth with an emphasis on epidemiology. He was awarded with the Bob J. Crow outstanding MPH graduate award for his efforts at the University of North Texas Health Science Center. Before joining the Wayne State University, Dr. Prabhakar headed the needs assessment efforts for the PROJECT TRANSFORM (A North Texas Mental Health Transformation Initiative). His research interest includes mental health indicators, disparities in the mental health coverage, mental health needs of the undocumented population and mental health co-morbidity in people suffering from chronic disorders.

Raquel Qualls-Hampton, MS, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of Epidemiology at the University of North Texas Health Science Center in Fort Worth. She received her Bachelors degree in Mathematics from Oral Roberts University, her Masters degree in Statistics from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and her Ph.D. in Epidemiology from University of Illinois at Chicago. Dr. Qualls-Hampton is originally from Chicago and participated in several community based research projects on the south side of Chicago. Her current research interests include analytical epidemiology, specifically structural equation modeling and survey methodology, the effect of religiosity and spirituality on adolescent health behaviors, mental health epidemiology and the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS and the health disparities that exist within each area.

Samantha Shepherd After completing my first degree in Geography and Environmental Management and then an International Relations Masters, I graduated from the University of the West of England in 2006 with a PhD in 'Quality of Life Indicators: Factors that Affect their Utility to Decision Makers in the Public Sector'. I have been working in local government ever since, currently working as a Local Strategic Partnership Manager in Berkshire.

Alan Terry is a senior lecturer in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management at the University of the West of England, Bristol. His research interests include rural development, community led development and the use of sustainability indicators. He has undertaken most of his research in southern Africa, with funders including the UK Government's Department for International Development (*DFID*), The Commonwealth Development Corporation, The Dutch Government and the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives in Swaziland. He has also undertaken research in the UK where his work has been funded by the Welsh Assembly Government and the UK Government. For the past 5 years he has worked closely with the Swaziland Water and Agricultural Development Enterprise, a parastatal charged with the development of Swaziland's water resources. He has published numerous articles in journals such as *The Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, The South African Geographical Journal, Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Geography* and *Development in Practice*. In addition he has co-edited a collection of essays with his colleagues, Dr. Jenny Hill and Dr. Wendy Woodland, entitled *Sustainable Development: National Aspirations, Local Implementation,* Ashgate (2006). He has also organised sessions at the Royal Geographical Society Annual Conference and presented numerous papers in the UK, Europe and southern Africa.

He is keen to transfer knowledge and experience from his work in "The South" to the 'North' and was able to do so after working on a large *DFID* funded project in South Africa and India which evaluated the use of Community Sustainable Development Indicators. In collaboration with colleagues from the New Economics Foundation, the lessons learned from this project were incorporated into a Toolkit for users of Quality of Life Indicators in the UK. This project, funded by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister enabled local authority officers to develop their skills and knowledge of these new tools through using the toolkit.

Alan was one of the earliest of the Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers professional geographers, qualifying as a Chartered Geographer in 2006. He is a member of a number of RGS/IBG research groups, including the Development Areas Research Group, of which he has edited the newsletter, The Rural Studies Research Group and the Participatory Studies Research Group. Alan has a long interest in Geographical and Environmental Education and has held the post of Director of the Welsh Centre for Environmental Education, Secretary of the Prince of Wales Environmental Education Trust and has been a member of the UK's Environmental Education Committee.

Ben Warner is Deputy Director for Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (JCCI), a citizen-based public policy think tank in Jacksonville, Florida. The core work of JCCI is to engage citizens to improve the quality of life in Northeast Florida, and the organization accomplishes this through a community change model involving community-selected quality-of-life indicators, open discussions and community studies around issues identified by the indicators, citizen-led advocacy efforts to create positive change based on study recommendations, and continued progress monitoring through the indicators efforts.

Before joining JCCI in 1998, Warner worked in the mental health field, where he directed day treatment programs for dually-diagnosed (mental illness/developmentally disabled) individuals in Northeast and Central Florida. He also worked with homelessness issues, developing a highly successful pilot transitional housing program. For his work with homelessness, Warner was awarded the Michael R. Wilson Social Justice Award in 1997.

At JCCI, Warner has staffed community-based public policy studies and implementation efforts on topics ranging from arts and culture to growth management and regional cooperation. In addition, Warner works to pioneer, develop, maintain and enhance JCCI's *Quality of Life Progress Report*(now preparing for its 23nd annual edition) and its annual *Race Relations Progress Report* (entering its fourth year of publication).

He serves as president of the National Association of Planning Councils and was inaugural president of the international Community Indicators Consortium, a network of individuals and institutions which seeks to advance the art and science of community indicators and encourage development and facilitate effective use of community indicators across the globe.

He also serves as a consultant and conference presenter, assisting multiple communities in the creation of community-based public policy organizations and the development of community indicator projects.

Ben completed his undergraduate studies in Sociology at Brigham Young University. He received his Masters in Social Work from Florida State University.

Improving the Quality of Life in a City of Phoenix, Arizona Neighborhood Through Collaborative Investment

John Burk and Richard C. Knopf

Abstract In 2005, the FireStar Fund was established as a collaborative venture between the Valley of the Sun United Way, Stardust Foundation, United Phoenix Fire Fighters Association, City of Phoenix Fire Department, City of Phoenix Mayor's Office and other community partners. This fund committed $150,000 over the course of a two-year period to "improve the lives of people and communities in the Phoenix-metro region, who are in social and economic distress." This fresh approach to community building utilized the volunteer resources of the United Phoenix Fire Fighters Association and their connections with other organizations and resources within the Phoenix metropolitan area to conduct revitalization efforts in a specific community. Destined to be a model for future FireStar Fund projects, the first year was dedicated to community building efforts within the City of Phoenix's Maryvale Village. Utilizing past studies done in the neighborhood by other agencies and developing a set of "community health indicators," Arizona State University's Partnership for Community Development (PCD) worked collaboratively with neighborhood citizens and FireStar Fund partners to develop an investment action plan based on the citizens' vision. First, the FireStar Fund partners developed a set of 18 indicator variables for defining neighborhood stability. Through interviews and focus groups, the PCD was able to document the neighborhood's assets and the citizens' collective vision for improving the quality of life in their community along each of these 18 indicators. Next, the FireStar Fund partners prioritized needed action not only in the context of this "organic" approach, but also in the context of insights available from the literature on community health. In this way, the residents and the FireStar Fund partners became the primary drivers of investment in their neighborhood but insights from the literature provided a structure for interpreting and organizing action. This process demonstrates the uniqueness of an approach to improve the quality of life in a neighborhood long-term that could well serve as a model for other communities.

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Introduction

Many community development efforts involve assessment of quality of life indicators and the development of action plans to improve neighborhoods for the individuals and families that reside within them. An ongoing challenge of community development initiatives is sustaining implementation of improvements when human and financial resources are constrained and/or expended quickly. A novel approach to extending human and financial resource capacity through a long-term investment by community partners was developed for City of Phoenix, Arizona neighborhoods. Through a dynamic collaboration between a nonprofit foundation, United Way, City of Phoenix Firefighters, and a neighborhood revitalization corporation, both human and financial resources were committed to improving the quality of life in Maryvale Village, a "distressed" neighborhood in western Phoenix. The investment became known as the "FireStar Fund" through which financial resources were funneled to pay for quality-of-life improvements marshaled by City of Phoenix Firefighters in concert with neighborhood partners.

Assessment of Maryvale Village's quality of life indicators was done by Arizona State University's Partnership for Community Development (PCD), which is an extension of the College of Public Programs. Utilizing past studies done in the neighborhood by other agencies, and developing a set of "community health indicators," the PCD worked collaboratively with neighborhood citizens and FireStar Fund partners to develop an investment action plan based on the residents' vision. Through interviews and focus groups, the PCD was able to document the neighborhood's assets and the residents' collective vision for improving the quality of life in their community. The residents became the primary drivers of investment in their neighborhood which also gave focus to the FireStar Fund.

The novelty in this approach came in the utilization of an organic approach to framing community action, coupled with the utilization of insights from a best practice model of framing community action. There was recognition that firefighters have firehouses in the community around and in which community development activities take place. Firefighters also see the communities' needs 24/7 and often volunteer their time, when not on a shift, to engage in neighborhood improvement activities (e.g., painting over graffiti, installing smoke detectors, etc.). And, the FireStar Fund partners felt compelled to anchor FireStar action in the expressed vision, assets, and perceptions of the community. At the same time, the PCD wanted to frame any community action that was identified in the context of a national best practice model. The process of how the FireStar partners interpreted community-expressed need in the context of scientifically defined structure can be a useful model for other communities engaged in a prioritization process.

History of FireStar and the Maryvale Village Project

The FireStar Fund was established in 2005 as a collaboration between the Stardust Foundation, the United Phoenix Fire Fighters Association, the Valley of the Sun United Way, the Phoenix Fire Department, the City of Phoenix Mayor's Office and

other community partners. The mission of the Fund was to "improve the lives of people and communities in the Phoenix-metro region, who are in social and economic distress." To carry out this mission, the Fund established three goals:

1. To assist community members encountered by firefighters with unanticipated emergency situations through an *Emergency Assistance Program.*
2. To provide opportunities to assist community issues in selected fire station service areas through a *Community Building Program.*
3. To provide support for *Existing Program Enhancements* to existing Firefighters Charities programs through the Fire Fighters Association focus on community building activities.

A prime focus for the FireStar Fund partners was on the *Community Building Program.* As specified in the FireStar Fund prospectus, Community Building funds were to be used to identify, target and improve a local neighborhood by focusing and utilizing services from a wide variety of providers including community members, schools, faith-based, social service, government and business organizations. The first neighborhood was identified as Maryvale Village – a designated City of Phoenix "Neighborhood Fight Back" area. A "Fight Back" neighborhood is provided resources by the Neighborhood Services Division of the City of Phoenix to implement programs that reduce crime utilizing "Blockwatch" groups to do so.

As with all future FireStar communities, the program in Maryvale Village was to assemble new and existing partnerships, programs, volunteers and local neighborhood representation to develop a collaborative approach to community development. A Planning Committee was created to provide oversight for a four-point process of: (1) conducting an assessment and developing outcome measurements; (2) developing an implementation plan; (3) gathering collaborative partners; and (4) implementing the program strategies. Arizona State University's Partnership for Community Development was commissioned to conduct the assessment, develop outcome measurements, and create an implementation plan in conjunction with the FireStar Fund partners to accomplish the steps of the four-point process.

Project Paradigm

There has been an abundance of research on neighborhoods that have been revitalized through community building efforts. A recent assessment by the Amherst Wilder Foundation identified 525 studies in the written neighborhood-building evaluation research literature (Mattessich, Monsey, & Roy, 2004). The Foundation's analysis of the research identified 28 specific factors that separated successful community building efforts from non-successful ones. These 28 factors can be summarized into six core themes. Generally, success happens in neighborhood building efforts when these six conditions are present:

- The neighborhood has motivation from within the community, with identifiable leadership and broad scale awareness of issues.
- There is widespread participation in the neighborhood building activities.

- There is a good record of fact-finding, including systematic gathering of information and analysis of issues.
- Neighborhood building activities are built with an eye on both process and product. There is a focus on building self-generating problem-solving activities within the neighborhood.
- People who wish to help the neighborhood must be perceived by residents as sincerely committed to the neighborhood's well being over the long haul, and must be willing to develop trusting relationships with neighborhood residents.
- People who wish to help the neighborhood must be listeners, with an open mind and heart to the neighborhood, and possess the capacity to be flexible and adaptable to constantly changing situations.

This basic premise – of building communities by working *within* by growing its assets – is the cornerstone of a movement called *Asset-Based Community Development* by Kretzmann and McKnight, (1993). Under this movement, the work of an outside organization desiring to be of help to a community is encouraged to view the community as being full of "assets." The role of the outside organization is to find ways to "invest" in these assets to help them grow, and to ultimately "empower" a community to manage the growth of these assets on their own. If community residents and organizations are so empowered, the impacts of a community development program are sustainable. If reliance on an outside organization is produced, the impacts disappear when their programs disappear. It was the paradigm that the FireStar Fund team used throughout the assessment, action planning, and implementation process.

Assessment of Maryvale Village

The assessment methodologies employed in Maryvale Village utilized the asset-based community development model. Data for the assessment emerged from eight basic methodologies commonly associated with "best practices" in asset-based planning:

1. *Statistical Vital Signs Assessment*. At the core of the neighborhood assessment was an analysis of available data on socio-demographic and economic indicators that defined the neighborhood, its residents and its organizations. The methodology called for summarizing what was known about general demographic and social trends in a neighborhood.
2. *Review of Past Maryvale Village Planning Efforts*. Maryvale Village was the focus of past assessment and planning efforts and was analyzed as a part of larger regional assessment. Each of these past assessments provided a partial glimpse of the goals, hopes and challenges of the study area. This methodology provided for an assessment of significant insights gleaned from those studies.
3. *Key Informant Research*. Strategically selected community members were asked to participate in interviews to determine their perceptions of the neighborhood

based on how well government, non-profit, business, schools, and faith communities were serving the community. Seven key informants were selected for their capacity to have detailed insight about the neighborhood. They were also selected to represent the various sectors of the community: business, government, nonprofit, faith-based, and community members. These individuals were asked, through 90-minute interviews, specific questions about neighborhood challenges, visions, points of pride, assets, social networks, and prospects for the future from an asset-based planning perspective.

4. *Neighborhood Focus Groups.* Six neighborhood focus groups were conducted to gain insights from the neighborhood residents about their visions, neighborhood points of pride, perception of neighborhood assets, challenges, and possible action plans for FireStar initiatives. The groups represented a diversity of residents comprising the neighborhood (family structures, cultures, age, employment), and were held at various locations – including schools and community centers.

5. *Community Organizational Structure.* An assets-based development model calls for building investments upon successful, existing neighborhood structures. Accordingly, the purpose of this assessment was to identify strong platforms upon which future FireStar investments could be successfully constructed. First, an inventory of existing non-profit organizations, faith communities, government agencies, educational organizations and businesses serving the community was completed. Second, insights from key informant interviews and focus groups were extracted to identify information on what community organizations were working particularly well in responding to community needs. Third, informal interviews with residents and community leaders were conducted to identify existing leadership networks within the community. This information was assembled to create a visual picture of the "Community's Organizational Structure," which provided insight as to where to strategically invest FireStar Fund resources.

6. *Assessment of FireStar Planning Committee Neighborhood Stability Factors.* The FireStar Planning Committee generated 17 specific Neighborhood Stability Factors and requested that the ASU assessment team evaluate existing neighborhood conditions in light of each factor. Thus, these factors provided a framework for interpreting key informant and focus group results. Data were collected with the intent of describing primary findings in the context of the Neighborhood Stability Factor Framework.

7. *Review of National Literature and Best Practices.* This assessment is anchored in nationally recognized "best practices" for community development. One of the key methodologies was to ensure that (a) core insights of asset-based community planning methodology was reflected in the preparation of this report, (b) nationally accepted approaches to assessment were followed, and (c) core insights about effective action plan development and asset-based intervention strategies were considered. This methodology called for incorporation of national "best practices" in neighborhood development into the FireStar investment strategy.

8. *Interface with the FireStar Planning Committee.* This methodology called for the engagement of the FireStar Planning Committee as the final action plan for the FireStar initiative in Maryvale Village was developed. After primary insights from methodologies one through seven were presented to the Committee, an externally facilitated visioning process was employed to guide the Committee through a priority-setting action planning process. The results of that process framed the conclusion of the assessment and set the stage for a two-year investment/action plan for the FireStar project.

Primary Insights

Assessment Component 1: Statistical Vital Signs Assessment

Most of the residences within the Village were constructed in the early to mid-1970s. The original houses were constructed at selling prices within the $9,000–$11,000 range, and the earliest neighbors were predominately Caucasian. While several of the original homeowners and children of original homeowners still called the Village their "home," a wave of new residents purchasing homes on a resale basis kept the overall composition of the Village comprised of relatively young families. In fact, the highest household unit proportionately was "couples with children." Over 40 percent (42%) of the household units fell within this category. Over half (51%) of the population was between 18 and 54 years of age. There was a significant ethnic shift over the past 10 years, with the latest census reports (2000), showing nearly two-thirds (62%) of the residents having a Hispanic heritage. Household income levels were relatively low – the annual household income was below $35,000. Among adults, well over two-thirds (69.3%) did not possess a high school diploma (or equivalent).

Assessment Component 2: Review of Past Maryvale Village Planning Efforts

A search of recent planning and assessment activities pertaining to Maryvale Village revealed five specific documents. All of the relevant data was extracted and utilized as needed during the action planning and implementation process.

- City Council District 5 Fight Back Assessment Pre-Survey and Full Report
- Choices on the Edge: Maryvale Community Assessment (Arizona Building Blocks Initiative)
- Attitudes toward Programs, Identification of Barriers, and Suggestions to Improve Parent Involvement (Cartwright Elementary School District)
- Concept Paper for the Organization and Structure of the Maryvale Alliance for Community Initiatives (Maryvale Alliance for Community Initiatives)
- West Phoenix Revitalization Discussion Findings

Assessment Component 3: Key Informant Research

Seven community leaders were selected as Key Informants and articulated the following about their neighborhood.

Neighborhood Assets: Maryvale Village had a number of facilities, organizations, services and people contributing to the vitality of the community. "Points of Pride" were listed as the Maryvale Baseball Complex and the dedication of current City of Phoenix programs to improving the neighborhood. Interviewees had accolades for the City of Phoenix's Neighborhood Services Department, the Neighborhood Fight Back Program, and the local police department for their role in enhancing their community. They also listed organizations and programs that "worked well" in serving the Maryvale area including the YMCA, Boys and Girls Club, New Beginnings Church, the Block Watch Program, and the Maryvale Multi-generational Center. Residents were generally seen by the key informants as among the Village's greatest assets. There was a sense that many were willing to contribute and would do so if asked.

Neighborhood Challenges: Most of the expressed concerns focused upon the Village's language and cultural barriers, the insufficient amount of activities and programming for youth, and crime. Crime was often seen as a manifestation of the cultural barriers and inadequate youth programming. There was concern about not only the number of positive activities for youth, but the accessibility of these programs in culturally relevant ways. The concerns revealed a need to bridge language and cultural barriers, to increase parental involvement and support, and to empower youth to create goals for themselves with a future-oriented mindset.

Concerns were expressed that families and single adults need additional social and recreational outlets. A common theme was the need for additional ESL education to assist in bridging the divide between English and Spanish speaking populations. Transportation and educational programming (especially ESL education) seemed to be chief concerns for seniors in Maryvale Village. In addition to developing programs to engage youth, seniors and families, the key informants pointed to the need to gain community involvement of local businesses. In general, there was an expressed need to gather all elements of the community under a cohesive identity to foster a sense of interconnectivity and community pride.

Opportunities for the Future: Through a grounded understanding of the community's existing assets and heartfelt concerns for the challenges facing the neighborhood, interviewees voiced opportunities for collaboration among residents of all ages to build a stronger, healthier Maryvale. Their vision included empowering residents to become leaders in the community by extending more invitations to community meetings, providing "new" leaders with small tasks, and building their confidence by celebrating their successes. These invitations were inclusive of the Hispanic population by welcoming their participation and translating meetings into Spanish.

Many opportunities mentioned involved the community's large population of youth. They felt that youth assets were being underutilized causing teens to feel like outcasts in their own community. Opportunities for youth included providing

positive activities to build their leadership skills and bind them to the other members of their community. Teens needed to feel a sense of ownership and pride to assist in decreasing negative behaviors and redirecting their activities to those that build their community. This increased sense of empowerment and confidence also needed to be harnessed and directed toward creating their own personal future goals.

Collaboration and resource sharing among the various segments of the community was vital to growing the strength of a neighborhood. Typically, local businesses were not being invited to participate in community meetings and the various sectors were not communicating with each other. Opportunities to develop lines of communication across government, faith-based, non-profit, business, schools, and local community organizations would help with the leveraging of resources and build stronger connections throughout the community as a whole.

Other opportunities mentioned included sharing information with residents regarding the many services and programs currently available to them and their families, framing community meetings around a more social setting to encourage public participation, and developing personal relationships among neighbors so that these ties bound individuals to the community.

Assessment Component 4: Neighborhood Focus Groups

Six focus groups were conducted and included families utilizing the services of the local branch of the Boys and Girls Club, the Fight Back Neighborhood Group, the Maryvale Block Watch Alliance, the Cartwright School District, and two groups at Maryvale High School (youth and parents). On average, 15 people were in each group. A total of 93 Village residents were involved in the process. The focus group methodology followed normal protocol in the community building literature, sequentially following four fundamental conversation themes:

- What is your vision for the Maryvale neighborhood in 2020?
- What are the neighborhood's greatest assets (what's working well)?
- What are the neighborhood's greatest challenges?
- How could firefighters help the community continue to develop?

The facilitators guided the focus groups into several sub-conversations around these four major themes. Confidentiality of response was ensured and the facilitators guided the conversations to ensure the diversity of expression, and to maximize the contributions of all individuals present. The conversations, on average, lasted 90 minutes. Core themes are summarized below.

The Vision for Maryvale: Responses to the question "What would you like your neighborhood to look like in the year 2020?" yielded an array of answers. A dominant and pervasive theme emerged across all focus groups that was distilled into a single vision statement:

> Our vision is to have a safe and secure neighborhood where <u>all</u> individuals and families can flourish economically, culturally, and educationally to improve their quality of life.

Community safety was a common conversation point – effective police presence, safe streets, and safe homes. In many ways residents were speaking to the need for programs and opportunities to build community cohesion, and to deal with issues of cultural and ethnic diversity. In many different ways they were speaking to the need to build programs and opportunities to empower youth. They envisioned expanded community facilities and recreation programs, and extended hours and programs for current community facilities and programs. They envisioned displaying Maryvale's community pride through neighborhood beautification and positive publicity.

Neighborhood Assets: According to residents, there were many things that "worked well" in the Maryvale Village neighborhood (people, programs, services, and organizations). Focus group participants provided a lengthy list of facilities, businesses, and community services that they felt were enhancing their quality of life. Chief among them: the City Services Center, the community pool, the senior center, Elementary School District (K-8), Family Resource Center, parks, and the golf course. They also pointed to many retail businesses that were serving as assets to their neighborhood – including Wal-Mart, Ranch Market, CVS, Walgreen's, fast food restaurants, dollar stores, and other small businesses. They also noted a myriad of community partners and services that had helped develop the neighborhood. These included ASU, neighborhood Blockwatch programs, City of Phoenix neighborhood patrols, the involvement of the Phoenix Suns and Arizona Cardinals, the John F. Long Foundation and its programs, the food bank, and the support of Sizzler's restaurant. While abundant with perceived assets, it is important to note that the residents rarely mentioned safety, community activities, local leadership, and beautification as areas of community strength.

Neighborhood Challenges: While the residents noted the range of facilities, local business services, and human services available to them, they were quick to identify challenges faced as residents of the neighborhood. Most frequently expressed themes were public safety, developing a strong education base, building a sense of cohesion among diverse populations residing within the neighborhood (age, race, culture), and the need for community beautification. Safety concerns related to issues involving crime (car theft, speeding, drug dealing, guns), water safety (pool fences, distribution of information), domestic violence, and bullying behavior. Education concerns related to crowded schools, quality of education being provided to their children, truancy, the need for dedicated teachers and coaches, the need for a lower school tax base, and the need for sex and drug education. Community cohesion concerns were linked directly to challenges in finding volunteer, parent, and resident involvement in community activities. Youth shared their frustration with clique conflicts in school, racism, disrespect for youth, and the apathy of adults in their community. Beautification concerns related to the lack of "curb appeal" in the neighborhood. Much concern was expressed about the presence of graffiti, unsanitary restrooms in public facilities, littering, animal control enforcement, and vacant homes in the neighborhood.

The Potential of FireStar Involvement: As part of the focus group conversations, community members were asked to reflect on the question: *What can firefighters do to help this neighborhood?* As one might expect, many of the responses focused

on roles that would be expected for professionals with expertise in public safety. Themes ranged from providing pool safety assistance, CPR training, providing background checks for youth services, car seat safety, equipment displays, fire truck "ride-alongs," and general assistance with fire prevention. Importantly, however, community members also expressed their interest in having firefighters play a vital role in more basic forms of community development that transcended their specific skill sets in the management of public safety. Community members envisioned that firefighters could play a role in communication education, the instillation of positive values in youth, helping neighbors organize events, and helping build better community networking and communication. Overall, these kinds of responses were categorized as falling into one of three broad categories: *Prevention Education, Community Involvement and Communication*, and *Facilitating Community Projects.*

Assessment Component 5: Community Organizational Structure

As part of the community assessment process, an inventory of existing educational organizations, faith communities, governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, and businesses serving the community was completed. The assessment identified several schools, City and State agencies, six faith communities, 11 nonprofit organizations and over 50 businesses that exist in and around the neighborhood.

During the key informant and focus group processes, neighborhood residents were asked to report on what organizations, agencies, programs and services "worked well" for the neighborhood. The purpose was to identify strong platforms upon which future FireStar investments could be successfully constructed. In addition, a "network analysis" methodology was utilized to identify successful organizations and programs currently existing within the community. "Network analysis" involves the use of informal interviews with residents and community leaders to identify existing leadership networks within the community.

The results of this process are presented visually in Figure 1. Eight "spheres" of influence appreciated by community members were identified through the assessments. These eight spheres represented core community assets upon which successful FireStar investments could focus and were identified as having particularly strong operational platforms within the community.

Figure 1 offered a road map of what was working well within the Maryvale neighborhood. It presented a structure for channeling FireStar investments into processes, systems and organizations that were already working well in the neighborhood. By partnering with these processes, systems and organizations, FireStar activities could maximize the potential for creating the changes that the community desired.

Assessment Methodology 6: FireStar Planning Committee Neighborhood Stability Factors

The FireStar Planning Committee's Neighborhood Stability Framework identified 17 factors that need to be considered in "any plan for the rejuvenation of a distressed neighborhood." The Framework was developed based on the planning committees
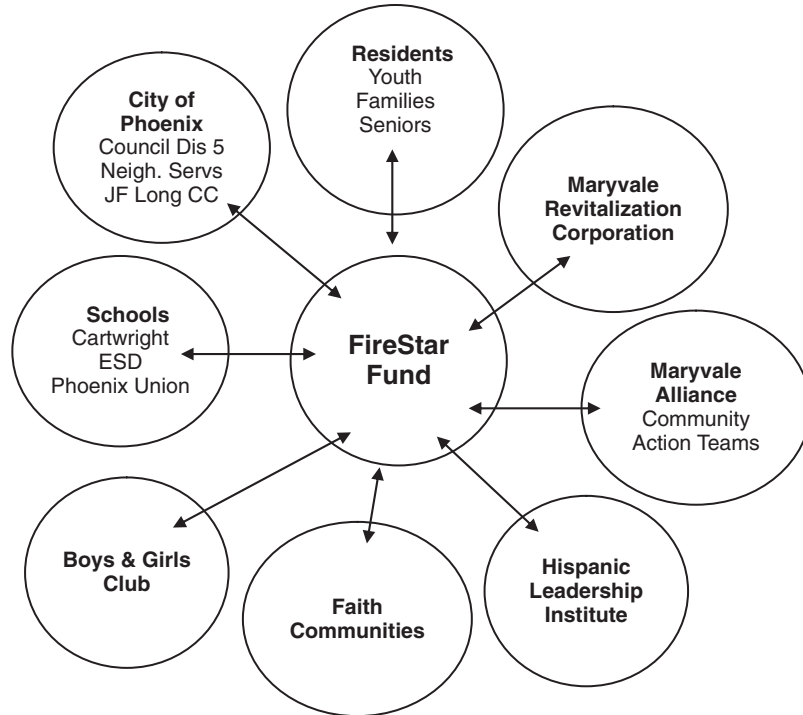
Fig. 1 Human and organizational assets in Maryvale village

experience and the need to determine where FireStar Funds should be invested and measure a return on the investment.

Table 1 provides a summary of the conditions surrounding each factor using the asset-based planning model framework. The conditions are described by highlighting: (1) core assets of strengths in the neighborhood pertaining to the factor, (2) core challenges that undermine the strength of the factor, and (3) what opportunities exist to address the challenges. During the analysis, it was determined that the need to consider the vitality of "Senior Programs" was a recurring theme in the key informant surveys and focus groups. Given the saliency of the issue, it was framed as an additional factor for consideration, and incorporated into Table 1 as Factor 18.

Of the 18 stability factors, ten were identified as the *most salient* based upon where conversation points rested during the key informant and focus group experiences. *Public Safety* was a dominant theme from many perspectives – crime, guns, drugs, traffic, personal safety, inadequate police presence, and appreciation for firefighters and public education efforts, such as Blockwatch programs. In regard to *Housing Conditions,* residents were concerned about emerging blight and code non-compliance, but were optimistic about the capacity of the neighborhood to self-organize clean-up programs and encourage their neighbors to maintain homes.

Table 1 Core assets, challenges, and opportunities utilizing the FireStar Neighborhood Stability Framework

Stability factor	Core assets	Core challenges	Core opportunities
1. Public Safety	• Police supportive of Block Watch • Police do their best • Firefighters viewed positively	• Not enough police presence in neighborhood • Police are many calls behind the demand.	• Reduce crime: gangs, guns, drugs, traffic violations • Increase water/fire safety education
2. Housing Conditions	• Pride of ownership reflected in many homes.	• Some homes not in compliance with city ordinances • Blight in some areas • Residents' apathy to change	• Bring all homes in neighborhood in compliance • Continue affordable housing initiatives to reduce occupancy of single-family dwellings
3. Education	• Cartwright Elementary School District programs for youth and parents (ESL) • Phoenix Union School District • Maryvale High School • Family Resource Center	• Many students and parents speak Spanish only • Lack of parental involvement • Lack of after-school programs	• Add more after-school programs for the youth aimed at reducing juvenile delinquency • Teach more ESL classes for parents
4. Infrastructure/ appearance	• City services for power and water • Maryvale Revitalization Corporation • Maryvale Alliance • City Council District #5 leadership • Neighborhood improvement programs: sidewalks, graffiti reduction, landscaping	• Multi-family dwellings push city services to capacity (sewer) • Lack of funds to repair streets	• Request additional funds for street repairs • Neighborhood clean-up • Pride of ownership

Table 1 (continued)

Stability factor	Core assets	Core challenges	Core opportunities
5. Transportation	• Current bus routes • School district drop-off at Boys & Girls Club	• Lack of transportation to after-school programs • Lack of neighborhood bus	• Add circulator bus • Work with school district to provide transportation to after-school programs
6. Employment	• New businesses have moved into the neighborhood (e.g., Wal-Mart and Walgreen's) • Increased job opportunities • Maryvale Revitalization Corporation	• Most jobs in the neighborhood are minimum wage; do not provide a living wage to support a family	• Attract business that can provide residents with living wage/middle-class income
7. Faith communities	• Most faith communities in the neighborhood have active programs for youth and families	• Some faith communities only serve their congregation • More community outreach is needed	• Faith communities need to provide broader outreach by working together to meet community needs
8. Youth services	• After-school programs provided by many agencies (Boys & Girls Club, schools, and faith communities)	• Many after-school programs at capacity • Many students still left with nothing to do after school contributing to juvenile delinquency	• More after-school programs are needed at more facilities • Provide programming that captures and maintains youth's interest
9. Land use	• A balanced mixture of residential, parks, open space, and businesses	• Lack of rehabilitation of unmanaged open spaces	• Incentives for bringing new businesses to strip malls • Rehabilitation of strip malls
10. Shopping and services	• New retail stores moving into community (e.g. Wal-Mart, Walgreen's, Dollar Store)	• Not enough shopping options; mostly lower scale	• Attract shopping and services that diversify available options.

Table 1 (continued)

Stability factor	Core assets	Core challenges	Core opportunities
11. Entertainment venues	• Some older venues in neighborhood for youth, families, and seniors	• Venues are run-down • Transportation is needed to access venues outside the neighborhood	• Renovation of current venues (especially theatres) • Transportation to venues outside the neighborhood
12. Public amenities	• Parks • Pools • Recreation areas	• Parks considered unsafe • Additional gathering areas needed for youth and families	• Better public safety measures for public amenities • More areas to accommodate neighborhood density
13. Civic infrastructure	• Block Watch groups • Churches • Schools • City organizations • Maryvale Alliance • Maryvale Revitalization Corporation	• Few (if any) civic organizations like Rotary at which neighborhood organizations can meet to address neighborhood issues	• Develop additional civic organizations targeting business leaders • Provide outlet for development of leadership skills
14. Social services	• Provided at J. F. Long Center (City) • City of Phoenix Neighborhood Services Department • Faith communities provide many human services to the neighborhood	• Effectively communicating availability of services • Prop 200 scares away many neighbors in need for fear of turn in to INS	• Continuous notification of available services to residents • Educate undocumented residents of services available to them without fear of INS
15. Tax structure	• Taxes are low	• Little/no bonding capacity given property types and values	• Seek joint bonding opportunities like West-MEC School District to increase capacity

Table 1 (continued)

Stability factor	Core assets	Core challenges	Core opportunities
16. Local neighborhood leadership	• Few community leaders, mostly agency heads, are committed to making a difference in the Maryvale neighborhood • Hispanic Leadership Institute	• Very few Hispanic leaders (Martha Garcia, Mike Martinez, & Eli Menez notably) from the neighborhood lead community improvement efforts	• Cultivate diversified leadership • Increase number of Hispanic leaders in community
17. Healthcare	• Maryvale Hospital	• Long wait times in Emergency Room	• Integrating health education programs into community
18. Senior services	• Services provided at senior centers in the neighborhood	• Many seniors are homebound and isolated • Many seniors live on fixed incomes and have trouble paying bills • Many struggle with language barrier	• Transportation to senior centers • Additional ESL education programs

Residents and key informants were generally positive about the capacity of local school districts to provide *Education*, but were very concerned about the lack of parental involvement, cross-cultural communication issues, and dearth of after-school programs. They generally appreciated the quality of existing city services for *Basic Infrastructure/ Appearance* and appreciated the work of the Maryvale Revitalization Corporation and Maryvale Alliance. At the same time, they saw the need to build even more aggressive neighborhood-specific initiatives (including the pursuit of grants) in this area.

Transportation emerged as a core concern, particularly in the context of providing access for youth and seniors to recreation programs, community center programs, and after-school activities. Transportation also emerged as a central factor in providing access for residents to health care. The need for expanded *Youth Service* programs was a common theme among all age groups. While several programs were offered by many organizations, they were perceived to be dramatically underdeveloped in relationship to need. Investments in youth services were perceived not only to provide powerful alternatives to depreciative behavior, but were seen as the most important way to form the leadership base necessary to move Maryvale forward to its vision.

Public Amenities such as parks, community pools, and recreation programs were appreciated by residents, but concerns about safety while using them abounded.

There was a desire for more public spaces and gathering areas, and programs for building a sense of community within the neighborhood.

While many opportunities for building *Civic Infrastructure* already existed within Maryvale Village, civic organizations such as the Rotary or Kiwanis Club were not directly active within the community. Residents and key informants alike saw the need for more community-based organizations or networks to build self-generating mechanisms for community problem-solving, leadership development, and resource development to tackle community issues. In a similar vein, *Local Leadership* was seen as a priority need. There were a few effective neighborhood leaders, but the number was relatively small. In particular, there was a sense that a greater number of Hispanic leaders should be cultivated within the neighborhood to provide leadership for community improvement efforts. Finally, the need for increased capacity in *Senior Services* was a dominant theme in focus group and key informant conversations. There were concerns about the potential for loneliness, isolation and depression, language barriers, and constraints due to fixed incomes. Increased recreation and socialization activities and better access to transportation were seen as viable solutions to these challenges.

Assessment Component 7: Review of National Literature and Best Practices

In the national literature, much has been written about what constitutes key components of a healthy and vital neighborhood – and what can be done from an intervention perspective to help a neighborhood achieve maximum health and vitality (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; Green & Haines, 2002; Anderson, Scrimshaw, Fullilove, & Fielding, 2003; Mattessich et al. 2004).

Key insights from the national perspective are most succinctly captured by the work of Anderson et al. (2003). Their work describes the results of a national Task Force on Community Preventive Services organized under the auspices of the US Department of Health and Human Services to summarize what is known about the effectiveness of community-based interventions to improve the health of communities. Their comprehensive review revealed six primary characteristics of a healthy community. The characteristics that define *Quality Neighborhood Living Conditions* include housing quality and safety, safe neighborhoods, affordable housing, strong social support systems, and strong business and community organizations. *Opportunities for Learning and Developing Personal Capacity* includes early childhood learning opportunities, strong K-12 systems, good recreation and socialization activities, and life-long learning opportunities. Q*uality Employment Opportunities* include economic viability for local businesses and workforce training and support for residents. *Strong Civic Engagement* is essential to promote community identity and individual action for the common good. Similarly, *Strong Community Norms, Customs, and Processes* are important for building community cohesion, and, for individuals, a sense of effectiveness in contributing to a larger whole. Finally, *Adequate Health and Human Service Programs* are necessary to provide basic life quality support systems for community residents.

Importantly, Anderson et al. (2003) addressed the question of *how* to work with each of these six characteristics to build stronger communities. For each of the six characteristics, they identified key indicator variables that would define "success" if the characteristic was fully present. Then, drawing on the work of the National Task Force on Community Preventive Services, they identified over 200 community-based intervention strategies that could be employed to move a community toward such "success." Their framework provided a structure for identifying specific *action strategies* that the FireStar Fund could use in light of the visions, assets, needs and opportunities in the Maryvale Village neighborhood.

The framework also underscores the need to focus on building intervention strategies targeted on long-term structural change in the community – as opposed to short-term activities that focus on short-term gains. Short-term activities include those that produce a very real and tangible benefit to the community – but do not strike at the heart of the conditions which precipitated the need for the activity. Examples might be neighborhood clean-ups, fire code enforcement, and housing hazard elimination. Long-term investment strategies seek ways for outside resources (such as FireStar) to work with existing community assets (organizations, businesses, education systems, and residents) to create enduring change in the way community assets are organized to serve the community well. Primarily, the framework points FireStar investments away from short-term "in and out of the community action" and more toward long-term investments in *community change* that result in:

- Improved Neighborhood Living Conditions
- Improved Opportunities for Learning and Developing Personal Capacity
- Better Employment
- Improved Civic Engagement
- Coalesced Community Norms, Customs, and Processes
- Better Access to Health and Human Service Programs

Assessment Component 8: Interface with the FireStar Planning Committee

The FireStar Planning Committee was presented with an overview of the primary insights from the Community Scan, and then participated in an externally facilitated process to: (a) set a vision for its investments in Maryvale Village and (b) establish priorities for action. The results of that process set the stage for articulation of a two-year action plan for FireStar investments.

The action planning prioritization process began by first presenting the Committee with a conceptual framework for organizing their thinking about the range of possible intervention strategies. The conceptual framework was extracted from the national best practices literature on predictors of and actions to increase community health (Anderson et al. 2003). This framework, constructed by the national Task Force on Community Preventive Services (convened by the US Department of Health and Human Services) posits 18 core dimensions of a healthy community

and the specific forms of community action that are needed to produce forward movement along each dimension. Utilizing this framework, the FireStar Fund partners considered the expressions of need and action that were generated organically, discussed each of the 18 Community health dimensions, and selected the three specific dimensions around which FireStar investments would be organized to create the most transformative impact. The purpose of this exercise was to ensure that all possible dimensions of a healthy neighborhood from a scientific perspective were considered before choices were made about needed action in Maryvale. The three dimensions selected were: *Housing quality and safety, Safe neighborhoods, and Enhancing neighborhood cohesion and strong social support systems.* Next, the FireStar Fund partners were asked to consider the many forms of intervention strategies identified in the Anderson et al. (2003) report that could serve each of the three identified dimensions, and then create their own intervention strategies that (a) reflected the spirit of these strategies and (b) reflected the intent of the organically defined statements of assets, needs and actions that were generated under their own Neighborhood Stability Framework. Table 2 presents the results of this fused perspective. Under each of the three identified dimensions, the specific intervention strategies chosen to implement in Maryvale under the auspices of the FireStar Fund are listed. The Committee then organized the list of strategies developed for each dimension into general themes. The strategies for each dimension are organized in Table 2 by these themes.

Importantly, reflecting the tenants of the Asset Based Community Development model (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993), the FireStar Fund Committee imagined that the purpose of FireStar Fund investments was to catalyze community mobilization around each indicator. This is in sharp contrast to the original conception that the purpose of FireStar activity was to do things *for* the neighborhood. Now, it was understood that the purpose of the investments were to do things *with* the neighborhood – serving more as facilitators rather than "doers." Having completed the intervention planning process, the external facilitator guided the Committee through an action planning process. The primary focus of the action planning process was to have the Committee – for each neighborhood indicator priority area identified in Table 2 – provide answers to three questions:

- What additional community partners need to be brought to the table to assist the FireStar Committee in implementing the identified intervention strategies?
- Who specifically should take the lead for ensuring action is accomplished for each identified intervention strategy?
- What should be the timeline for completing a full action plan for each of these strategies?

The committee then participated in another facilitated session that determined the specific roles, responsibilities, and timelines for action.

Table 2 Priority areas for FireStar investments in Maryvale Village, with specific recommended intervention strategies based upon Community Scan results

Neighborhood health indicator 1: Housing quality and safety

Theme 1: Beautification

- Streetscaping
- Graffiti abatement
- Beautification of homes
- Curb appeal enhancement
- Anti-blight interagency program
- Quarterly curb appeal and neighborhood rehabilitation programs
- Neighborhood building awards

Theme 2: Safety improvements

- Pool fence program
- Child-proof locks program
- Vehicle safety
- Smoke alarm program

Theme 3: Education

- Resident education about existing programs
- CPR education
- Educate 10–20 community leaders in fire and life safety
- Bilingual PSA campaigns
- Public and private sector mentoring programs
- Develop "train-the-trainer" programs
- Develop additional resources through professional athletes, merchant associations, and civic organizations

Neighborhood health indicator 2: Safe neighborhoods

Theme 1: Capital improvements

- Motion lights
- Automatic gates (TOMAR)
- Make-a-Difference Day
- Mid-block lighting – SRP
- Dusk to Dawn alley lights
- More sidewalks
- Activate resources of streets department
- Paint curb numbers – Fire Station #25

Table 2 (continued)

Theme 2: Education

- Enhance animal care & control educational services
- Utilize Kids-at-Hope organization
- Chase Bank – financial resources and investment
- Boys & Girls Club (seek long-term commitment)
- Good Neighbor program – C.O.P. / N.S.D.
- Engage police
- Neighborhood education process – school, street meetings & others
- Develop Speaker Bureau for block watch meeting

Theme 3: Recognition and outreach

- Neighborhood Improvement awards
- Incentives and recognition for residents and businesses
- Engage major businesses – e.g., Home Depot, Lowe's
- Develop direct connections to Neighborhood Watch Programs
- Increase already active involvement of Phoenix Council District 5 office
- Home safety inspections
- "V" program for medications
- Institute block parties
- Have on-duty fire companies attend community meetings

Neighborhood health indicator 3: Enhancing neighborhood cohesion and strong social support systems

Theme 1: Community leader development

- Cultivate Maryvale community leadership
- Support Hispanic Leadership
- Volunteer recognition
- Greater involvement of St. Vincent de Paul church
- Increased cultural activities
- Maryvale Association of Churches
- Enhance involvement of faith-based communities in general
- Resident education and awareness of current programs

Theme 2: Youth programs

- Expand programs and hours at Maryvale and Maryvale pools
- Expand hours and programs at Maryvale Community Center
- Support programs at New Beginnings Church – Desert Reach program
- Expand Big Brothers and Big Sisters school-based programs
- Future YMCA
- Support Stewart Branch of Boys & Girls Club

Table 2 (continued)

- Develop more after-school programs
- Expand mentoring programs
- Expand Palo Verde Library programs
- Expand programs at Desert West Multi-generational Center
- Workforce Development

Theme 3: Human services department

- Expand programs at J.F. Long Family Services Center
- URRP Education
- New Commercial Impact Fee to leverage ACM grant

Theme 4: Senior programs

- Increase senior adult health screenings
- Increase senior health checks in community room or senior center
- New senior center
- Expand senior outreach – living assistance and care giving

Lessons Learned

Empowering Residents and Organizations

It was clear from the community scan that neighborhood residents had many hopes and aspirations, and that they were seeking ways to build even better lives for themselves, their families and their neighbors. It is also clear from the literature on community building that true community development happens only when assets within the community are mobilized to create change. While external resources are important, these resources – in order to be effective – need to be invested in ways that produce leadership within the community to create enduring solutions to the challenges the community faces.

A recurring theme was the need to mentor and encourage the development of leadership skills within the Hispanic community, and to engage more civic and service organizations (e.g., Rotary, Kiwanis, etc.) in the neighborhood. At the same time, the potential of expanding the existing organizational assets in the neighborhood (e.g., schools, faith communities; Boys and Girls Club, City of Phoenix Neighborhood Services) needed to be a priority of any program of external investment, such as FireStar.

Short-Term Versus Long-Term Investments

There were many ways in which to invest in the development of a neighborhood. Some investments were immediate, highly visible activities conducted over a relatively short time-frame that produce a specific outcome – such as a neighborhood

clean-up activity. While these investments were important, they may not result in the necessary structural change the community desired to achieve. Other investments were needed to create fundamental changes within a community to bring about long-term solutions to community challenges and long-term opportunities to assist residents in achieving their vision of the ideal. The FireStar Fund's focus on long-term investment was a guiding principle throughout the process that proved helpful.

Multi-sector Partnerships

The community scan revealed many facilities, programs and services were being provided from many organizational sectors serving the Maryvale community. Although these organizations worked well independently, it is clear that there were many opportunities for the various entities to join forces to create a synergy to provide a more effective, holistic approach to meeting neighborhood needs. From this perspective, the greatest power from FireStar investments would accrue from helping to consolidate existing assets that currently do not work together – as opposed to creating new programs that were not anchored in existing organizational assets within the community.

Summary

This collaborative investment model that endeavored to improve the quality of life in a depressed urban neighborhood highlights the challenges and opportunities of engaging in effective community development. As with most community development efforts, the process was as important as the outcome. Utilizing eight assessment methods demonstrates the breadth and depth of analysis required to truly learn what has occurred historically and presently within a neighborhood. The assessment process incorporated many diverse voices from the community in addition to researching and using past studies that had documented similar neighborhood conditions and concerns. The project's steering committee (i.e., FireStar Fund partners) desired to achieve great impact with the investment and brought their set of ideas about what needed to be done (Table 1). However, the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) model proved useful in highlighting the need to use an organic approach that privileged voices from the neighborhood's grass roots in lieu of ideas from outside agencies that did not reflect the community's true priorities. The ABCD model served as a guide to all of the stakeholders in the process and gave focus to the assessment efforts, report documentation, and investment decisions. The application of a national best practice framework furthermore helped the steering committee expand its perspective. Importantly, it provided a mechanism for ensuring all dimensions of the neighborhood voices were incorporated into the decision-making process – and ultimately that the voices profoundly shaped the outcome.

In particular, the Community Health indicators served an important categorical function. They allowed the project's steering committee to think critically about what they were actually trying to accomplish in the neighborhood. For example, instead of investing in "Youth Services" (Table 1, item 8), the indicators provided a context for interpreting precisely what kind of programs would best support a specific Community Health Indicator identified as important by the steering committee. For example, Community Health Indicator 3: Enhancing Neighborhood Cohesion and Strong Social Support Systems, was identified by the committee as an important desired outcome (Table 2). Consequently, "Youth Programs" would be organized to accomplish that particular outcome. While many forms of "Youth Programs" could achieve that outcome, programs that emphasized the development of interconnectivity and strong support networks (such as mentoring programs or leadership development programs) were favored in the investment process. Thus, the indicators communicated what the community (and the investment) was working to achieve strategically, in combination with operational goals (more youth programs) and tactical objectives (building a mentoring program). The indicators provided an important organizational, analytic, and results-oriented framework to the process that guided the investment decision-makers. The notion of working toward improving "Community Health" also resonated well with all involved in the process.

Improving the quality of life in a neighborhood requires engaging a diverse group of constituents in a meaningful and thoughtful process that co-mingles the voices of the neighborhood with insights from national best practices and community development literature. The FireStar Fund community investment process provides an exemplar of how it worked in a distressed neighborhood. The process provided a structure for determining priorities for action by individuals, groups, and organizations that had the capacity to make a difference in a community in which they lived, worked, and played. At the same time, infusing national best practices into the process broadened the vision for action and provided the necessary mechanism for establishing desired outcomes and performance measures. The assets-based community development approach proved beneficial by capitalizing on the people and organizations trying to improve the quality of life in their neighborhood. Such a multi-method assessment and action planning process can be replicated by others seeking to improve the quality of life in communities.

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The Long Island Index

New Approaches to Telling a Region's Story

Ann Golob

Abstract Using a multi-faceted approach that combines analysis of existing statistical data, original research, survey data, and comparative case studies, the *Long Island Index* has helped to clarify the complex dynamics of the region and succeeded in reaching a wide audience including leaders who shape regional policy. This chapter explores the nature of the target area, Long Island, defining the characteristics it shares with similar suburban communities as well as its distinctive features. While Long Island is commonly and accurately viewed as having a large percentage of affluent residents, more detailed statistics reflect a more diverse socioeconomic population with real incomes declining for the lowest 10% of its population. Long Island, one of the least centralized of large suburban areas with 14% of New York State's population, has 25% of the state's political entities due to multiple overlapping political jurisdictions including county, town, village and special districts (water, sewer, garbage, police, fire, school library, etc.).

This chapter explores how the *Index*' multi-factor analysis using a combination of research tools create a clearer picture of critical issues. For example, an analysis of educational stratification breaks down Long Island's overall excellent academic performance scores to demonstrate the wide gap that exists between richer and poorer school districts. A second illustration of the Index' approach shows how a case study comparison of Long Island to a similar suburban region in Northern Virginia, but one that has a minimal number of governmental entities, makes the link between high property taxes and multiple layers of government. A third example demonstrates the power of survey data to add to the overall research picture, revealing the fact that the need to provide more vital downtown areas with higher concentrations of housing for the workforce is both considered more pressing and more generally acceptable by Long Islanders than is generally known.

Since the avowed aim of the *Index* is to effect policy, this chapter explores the variety of means the *Index* uses to reach its intended audience, from elected officials, schools, other non-profits, libraries and civic organizations to the general public. By

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focusing on publicizing unexpected results, such as the numbers of people considering moving off Long Island, through multiple media channels, the *Index*, while retaining its standing as a non-partisan, unbiased source of carefully researched information, has become a key component of political discourse and analysis within the region.

Introduction

In 2004, the first *Long Island Index* was published and immediately garnered the attention of elected officials, news media and the public. Structured as a "status report" on the region, the aim was to "engage the larger Long Island community in thinking about the region's future and to be a catalyst for corrective action" (*Long Island Index* 2008, p. ii). Given the amount of political fragmentation in the region, the *Index* sought to create a body of data that would be a reliable source of information that public and elected officials could agree upon and utilize in designing solutions to regional problems. The project was spearheaded by the Rauch Foundation, a Long Island based family foundation, in order to focus attention on the need for a long-term and sustained response to economic, social and environmental issues. Learning from the successes in Silicon Valley in particular, the foundation was drawn to a model that brought together grassroots leaders "building communities for a new economy" (Henton, John, & Kimberly 1997, p. xv).

Reasoning that it was by creating new alliances "at the intersection of business, government, education and community" (Henton et al. 1997, p. xv) that change could come about, the foundation invited a wide range of prominent Long Islanders to join an Advisory Committee. Individuals from business, academia, scientific research, labor, planning councils, former elected officials, community and civic organizations sat down together and collaboratively defined 11 broad goals that would ensure the long-term growth and vitality of the region. A Technical Committee was formed to measure these goals and paint a picture of the region in ways that had not been done previously. A set of research tools were selected including a series of over 30 indicators, regional comparisons, in-depth research studies, and telephone-based surveys. Using these tools in combination, the *Index* has been able to focus attention on the key problems facing the region and point out opportunities for solutions.

Given the degree of political fracture in the region – over 900 political entities for a population of 2.8 million people – the goal of the *Index* report was to create a stronger understanding of the issues. Specifically the *Index* sought to develop a deeper appreciation for those issues where there is high degree of stratification (for example, education), issues where there is commonality across Long Island but significant difference from other regions of the country (for example, governmental structures), and finally the use of opinion surveys to gauge Long Islanders concerns and openness to change. Through this multi-pronged approach the *Index* has helped to unravel the complex dynamics driving the region and enabled a wider audience to grapple with potential policy approaches to address these underlying issues.

Defining Long Island

Geographically Long Island, the largest island adjoining the United States, begins at the Hudson River and stretches 118 miles east to west and 20 miles north to south and is composed of four counties: Queens, Brooklyn, Nassau and Suffolk. Since New York City includes Queens and Brooklyn as two of its five boroughs, the term "Long Island" is typically used to refer to Nassau and Suffolk counties only. Similarly the *Long Island Index* includes only these two suburban counties in its research because there are marked political, social and historical differences with the urban counties to the west. As one of the *Index* reports described it,

> The 2.8 million inhabitants of Nassau and Suffolk counties share much more than a unique piece of geography. We all benefit from a rich history, a diverse society and a dynamic economy. We also face a number of common challenges – congested highways, high housing costs, increasing demands of our schools and threats to water quality and the environment (Long Island Profile 2003, p. 2).

Long Island is often described as "America's First Suburb" and has a reputation of a wealthy enclave with large homes and excellent schools, but the reality is more complex.

> We are a geographically diverse region with rural, suburban and urban communities that often seen little in common with each other. We have a complex governance structure that includes two counties, two cities, 13 towns and 94 villages. There are also 127 school districts, each with the power to tax and spend, plus dozens of "special districts" which tax and spend for localized needs such as street lights, fire protection and libraries. Increasingly, we are becoming more racially and ethnically diverse, with economic and cultural differences that defy easy classification. And while we are an affluent region, there is a large and growing gap between rich and poor (Long Island Profile 2003, p. 2).

A quarter of a million Long Islanders commute to jobs in New York City, but the remaining 77% live and work on the Island. Although the region's economy had grown rapidly for many years, the early 1990s saw a steep downturn. The old economy based on the defense and aerospace industry "was dealt a double blow with the ending of the Cold War and a national recession in the early 1990s" (Long Island Profile 2003, p. 7). Department of Defense contracts to Long Island firms declined from $3.9 billion in 1990 to $1.0 billion in 2001. The economy reinvented itself around finance, business and technology services, but within 10 years many of these jobs were moving off the Island to less expensive areas. Since the loss of higher paying jobs, Long Island's growth has been in the lower paying sectors. In 2007, the largest and fastest growing sector was Health Services, where average wages are substantially lower than those in manufacturing, finance, business and technology services.

Long Island's Changing Demographics

A major population explosion began on Long Island after World War II. Returning GI's and their families needed housing; newly developed pre-fabrication techniques made it possible to quickly construct homes in great numbers. Soon, America's first suburb was born. From 1950 to 1960, the population doubled from under one

million people to almost 2 million people. Over the next four decades, the population growth continued to the present size of 2.8 million people, making the region more populous than 19 other states. Since 2000, as the cost of living has risen steadily, the growth trend has reversed. Today, the migration of people leaving Long Island has been greater than those choosing to move in.

While the region is predominantly White, the share of population that is Black, Hispanic, Asian or other (using the classifications of the US Census bureau), has increased from 16% in 1990 to 28% in 2006. This change is driven by the rapid expansion of the Hispanic and Asian populations on Long Island. Although this is a change that is occurring throughout the tri-state region (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut), Long Island has a smaller share of the non-White population than either suburbs to the north or west of New York City and a smaller share than the United States as a whole.

Long Island's population is aging along with the rest of the United States. The median age rose from 28 years old in 1970 to 37 years old in 2000. But on Long Island there are two trends operating simultaneously – an aging population as well as a greater than average loss in the number of young people. From 1990 to 2006, the United States saw an 8% decline in the number of 25 to 34 year olds but Long Island's decline was almost 35%. By comparison, the rest of the tri-state region average about 24%.

The growth of the region in the 1950s and 1960s was based on the rapid development and expansion of middle-class communities. But 40 years later, the gap has widened. "We are far more affluent than the average American and have the highest incomes in the New York region" (Long Island Profile 2003, p. 7). With greater affluence for some – real incomes for households in the top 10% rose 17% from 1996 to 2006 – real incomes for those households in the bottom 10% actually dropped 6% for the same time period.

Developing a Regional Perspective

As developers converted potato fields to housing developments in the 1940s and 1950s, such as Levittown, one of the most famous of all the suburban communities from this era, communities created their own "special districts" to provide services including police, fire, schools, water, sanitation and others. Home rule, a cornerstone of the political structure of most of the northeast United States, enabled individual communities to collect taxes from homeowners to pay for the services and to administer the delivery of the services. With county, town, village, school districts, fire districts, police districts and other special districts (such as library, water, waste, sanitation), Long Island has over 900 governmental entities providing different, and at times overlapping, services to the region. Unlike a city with a centralized government and the ability to create and implement coherent overall strategic plans to address such issues as insufficient affordable housing or a changing economic base or the loss of young people, it is more difficult when control is divided among so many political entities. Zoning, a critical first step in many economic development

or revitalization plans, is made more difficult since control is often held by one of the 95 incorporated villages interspersed across the Island. In these situations town and county officials have limited or no jurisdictional powers.

Yet with so many small political entities, there is no larger political structure that incorporates the entire region. Although many problems being faced by the two counties are similar either because of their shared history, similar environmental features or because of the nature of a suburban community, there have been few efforts to define a shared vision.[1] Therefore, the first goal of the *Long Island Index* was to recognize "our shared traits" as the initial step in "forming a consensus on goals and actions for the Island" (Long Island Profile 2003, p. 2). Given the degree of political fragmentation, the *Index* recognized that its success would be dependent on the ability of the region to find new ways of working together for Long Island's future.[2]

How did Long Island's political landscape, and all of New York State's, become so complex?

> New York's forms of general purpose government – counties, cities, towns and villages – were devised in the eighteenth century and developed in the nineteenth. But they have not been modified in the twentieth century, despite enormous changes in population size and diversity, economic activity, transportation systems, settlement patterns and communications technology. Instead, the state has added frequently but streamlined rarely. Localities kept their forms, but their functions converged. Where necessary, single-function, special districts and authorities were created to augment existing entities, increasing layering and complexity. The result is not a system, but a maze of overlapping and often competing jurisdictions (Office of New York State Comptroller 2006, p. 20).

Robert Wood described the New York – New Jersey – Connecticut metropolitan area's system of governance as "one of the great unnatural wonders of the world. . .more complicated than any other that mankind has yet contrived or allowed to happen" (Wood 1961, p. 10). In explaining this phenomena, Gerald Benjamin and Richard Nathan noted, "Because localism has significant political value, changes typically are made by adding on, not replacing, existing local governments. . . attempts to eliminate local units are just too costly politically. Adding on is easier and politically safer" (Benjamin & Nathan 2001, p. 20).

While many areas of the Northeastern and Midwestern United States share a similar political structure with home rule, small districts and multiple political entities, Long Island stands out for two reasons. Unlike other regions, Long Island has only two cities, one on the north shore and the other on the south shore (Glen Cove and Long Beach, respectively). The major transportation and commercial hubs for the region are not cities and have had a harder time coordinating their vision for the region's growth in order to create a stronger economic engine. Neighboring suburban regions have been able to rally resources and political will in their cities to

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[1] One effort was the creation of the Long Island Regional Planning Board in 1965. Their key role has been the creation of a series of regional plans. Unfortunately, many of the proposals were not adopted due to the fractured political structure of the region.

[2] The tagline of the *Long Island Index* reports is, "Working together in new ways for Long Island's future."

more effectively create and sustain growth. Second, while political fragmentation is widely found throughout parts of the country, Long Island stands out as having significantly more jurisdictions than other regions. Within New York State, Long Island has 14% of the state's population but over 25% of the total number of political entities including counties, towns, villages, special districts.

Telling Long Island's Story

Using other regional studies as a model, the Foundation and the Advisory Committee understood that "the important part is how communities leverage their community assets, processes, and relationships to support the changing needs of their economy" (Henton et al. 1997, p. xvi). The importance of identifying assets and evaluating whether they are being used to their fullest capacity to develop the region economically and in turn, the surrounding communities dependent on these economies, is at the heart of the *Index* approach. Drawing on similar indicators studies, such as the one developed for Silicon Valley,[3] the goal for the *Index* was to clarify how the various moving parts intersected with each other and how they needed to work more collaboratively in order to forge a stronger regional economy.

> Communities across America are figuring out that world-class economies need world-class communities. They are experimenting with new types of public-private relationships and organizations to keep moving forward in a time of change. They are building a new type of community – an economic community. Economic communities are places with strong, responsive relationships between the economy and community that provide companies and communities with sustained advantage and resiliency. Economic communities integrate the economy (the world of work) and the community (the world of living). These communities have learned that the secret of successful regions is effective collaboration among business, government, education and community leaders in addressing new challenges and opportunities (Henton et al. 1997, p. 5).

In discussing the issues facing the region, the *Index* focused on the overall status and trends for six distinct areas – the economy, community, health, education, the environment, and governance – as well as the interrelationship between each of these areas. The aim was to make the connections to show how a change in one part of the system would impact others, such as the rising cost of homes and the shortage of rental options making it difficult for young people to find affordable housing leading to the demographic result of Long Island experiencing a greater decline in this age group than other neighboring suburbs with a wider range of housing options. Contrasts with other suburban regions helped to clarify how different governance models created dramatically different outcomes particularly in the area of taxation and education.

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[3] The Joint Venture's Silicon Valley Index has been produced since 1995 and measures the economy and the health of the region including current challenges and is used as an analytical foundation for leadership and decision making. Their reports are available on their website: http://www.jointventure. org/publicatons/siliconvalleyindex.html

Selecting Goals and Measuring Indicators

Selection of the six areas of inquiry and the associated 11 goals by the Advisory Committee was completed for the first *Index* report and has remained unchanged since then (see Fig. 1).

The indicators, however, are selected each year to focus on specific areas of concern or to drill down into particular topics. On average, 30 indicators are selected of which about a third are reused each year (see Table 1).

In order to tell Long Island's story, attract the interest of the media to report the results and gain the trust of elected officials and the public, the *Index* had to ensure that the story rang true to its readers. In a region as fractionalized politically as Long Island, this wasn't an easy task. Three key decisions were made that have had a tremendous impact on the success of the *Index* reports. First, although Long Island is often thought of as a wealthy community, there are tremendous disparities that exist within and between communities. The *Index* had to find a way to reflect both those communities that are struggling and those who are succeeding and explain the underlying drivers determining the outcome. Second, it was felt that Long Islanders are often unaware of changes that are being made in other similar suburban regions and are more inclined to emphasize why Long Island is different than to see the similarities that might lead to new options to be considered or alternative development opportunities. If the *Index* was going to bring new options to the table for consideration, it needed to clarify how well Long Island was succeeding as well as how that compared to other similar suburban regions. Third, it was recognized that indicators would give numerical measurements to track performance over time. But tracking people's openness to new ideas and reactions to new types of development would be just as helpful in gauging how Long Islanders felt about the changes going on around them and what alternatives they were willing to consider. Hence, the Index has included telephone-based survey data from the beginning.

Fig. 1 Long Island Index Goals

Table 1 *Long Island Index* list of indicators, 2004–2008

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
ECONOMY			
Goal #1: Growth and Prosperity Our economy grows at a rate that results in an improved quality of life for all.	Gross Metropolitan Product	www.economy.com	The figures reflect financial transactions in a given sector less the value of intermediate goods and services purchased to facilitate the production.
	Employment Trends	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Employment figures are total non-farm private employment and government and military employment.
	Value Added per Employee	www.economy.com	Value added is the sum of compensation within a sector and profits accrued by firms within that sector. Estimates are constructed by using productivity estimates at higher geographic levels (state and national) and applying them to employment and wage/income data at the metropolitan level.
	Growth in Wages over the Past 10 Years	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Average pay per employee was calculated by dividing total annual payroll by total private non-farm employment. Total annual payroll includes wages, salaries, bonuses and stock options.
	Rate of Unemployment	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Data reflects the average annual unemployment rate and is not seasonally adjusted. The unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the number of unemployed persons by the civilian labor force.
	Unionization Rates Over Time	www.unionstats.com	This figure includes rates of employment coverage by collective bargaining agreements and includes public and private sector union membership.
	Household Income Distribution	US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March Supplements)	Household income includes earned and unearned income for all persons living in the same household. Household income was standardized to a four-person unit by doubling household income and dividing it by the square root of the number of household residents.
	Industry Clusters	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Clusters are sub-sectors of the regional economy made up of interdependent firms in related industries that transact business outside of the local area.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
Goal #2: Supportive Business Environment LI provides a business friendly environment for companies to grow.	Nonemployer Businesses	US Census Bureau; Internal Revenue Service	A nonemployer business has no payroll and reports annual receipts of at least $1,000. Data is derived from the Census Bureau and is based on tax return data from the IRS. Analysis included number of businesses, business sectors, annual receipts, comparison to industry cluster employment.
	Business Vitality	Dun & Bradstreet	Business vitality was measured in terms of the number of firms starting and ending during key periods as well as the longevity of a firm and average number of employees. Looking at these data in combination allowed us to see the dynamics of firm starts and closes and their impact on the economy in terms of growth.
	Growth Rates for Long Island Fast 50 Companies	www.public.deloitte.com /fast500	Data were compiled from Deloitte-Long Island Technology FAST 50 list.
Goal #3: Innovative Economy Our economy incubates, supports and retains companies.	Venture Capital Financing	Pricewaterhouse Annual Survey	Data were compiled from the PricewaterhouseCoopers/ Thomson Venture Economics/National Venture Capital Association/MoneyTree^{TM} Survey annual survey.
	Number of Patents Generated	US Patent and Trademark Office	All patents generated on Long Island based on the geographic original of the first investor listed on the patent form. This methodology avoids double-counting patents, but most likely undercounts the number of inventors participating in patent-creation in the region.
	Federal Research and Development Investment	RAND Corporation	Figures represent the total amount of Federal R&D dollars that went to Long island research universities, labs and corporations on an annual basis.
	NYS Research and Development Funds	NYS Office of Science, Technology and Academic Research (NYSTAR)	Figures represent the total amount of New York State dollars that went to Long island research universities, labs and corporations on an annual basis.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
OUR COMMUNITIES **Goal #4: Vibrant Communities** We create exciting communities and downtown centers that offer people a wide choice of places to live, work and play.	Changing population: population size, race and ethnicity, age distribution	US Census Bureau	Data are compiled from the Census of Population and the American Community Surveys.
	Migration Numbers	Internal Revenue Service	Migration data are from the Internal Revenue Service and specifically track the number of exemptions on tax returns by county of residence. By tracking year-to-year changes in the residence where returns were filed for specific individuals, the IRS calculates how many people moved to and from individual counties.
	Persons Becoming Legal Permanent Residents	US Citizens and Immigration Services	Data are counted from the US Citizens and Immigration Services.
	Number of Arts Organizations	Urban Institute's National Center for Charitable Statistics; Rauch Foundation	Data on the number of arts organizations are from the Urban Institute's National Center for Charitable Statistics, http://nccsdataweb.urban.org. Data on the variety of cultural offerings and level of participation are from a mail survey conducted by the Rauch Foundation.
	Funding for the Arts	Foundation Center's Grants Sample	Data includes grants of $10,000 or more awarded to organizations by a sample of larger foundations. For community foundations, only discretionary grants are included. Grants to individuals are not included in the file.
	Juvenile Arrests	FBI Arrest Statistics	Countywide juvenile arrest rates are from the FBI Arrest Statistics (http:// llijdp/ncjrs.org) and include any person under the age of 18.
	Downtown Business Centers	Rauch Foundation; Suffolk County Planning Department	The downtown business center was defined for each community based on the concentration of stores and services. Researchers counted each store and tracked if it was a retail store (including grocery stores, restaurants, drug stores, clothes stores, etc.), service-oriented store (such as doctor's offices, banks, car repair shops, insurance offices, nail salons, etc.), or vacant.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	Trends in Property and Violent Crimes	NY Criminal Justice Services	Data was compiled from the State's Division of Criminal Justice Services.
Goal #5: Affordable Homes	**High Housing Cost Burden**	US Census Bureau	High housing cost burden is defined as the share of households that spend 35% or more of their income on housing. Both renters and home owners are included in this figure.
We generate housing options that are affordable to people of all ages and income levels.	Ratio of Median House Value to Median Household Income	US Census Bureau	Ratio = median housing value / median income for owner-occupied housing units.
	Home Sale Prices compared to Affordability	Long Island Profiles of Brightwaters, NY; US Census Bureau	Data was presented by individual town and showed the change in home prices in different price categories over a six-year period. Comparisons between income and sales prices were used to define an "affordability gap" based on the assumption that a house should cost approximately 2.5 times a household's income.
	Gross Monthly Rents and Share of Renter-Occupied Units	US Census Bureau	Data on gross monthly rents and number of rental units collected from Census Bureau.
	Share of all New Residential Permits Issued for Multi-Family Units	US Census Bureau Buildings Permits Survey	Number of permits for multi-family units counted from Census Bureau survey.
Goal #6: Safety Net	Food Stamp Recipients	US Census Bureau	Number of food stamp recipients collected from Census report.
We assure that people are provided with basic necessities such as food and shelter.	Homeless on Long Island	Nassau-Suffolk Coalition for the Homeless	Point in time counts of homeless were completed by the Nassau-Suffolk Coalition for the Homeless on January 24th and 25th, 2005 between 1PM and 8PM.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	Cost of Self-Sufficiency Standard	Wider Opportunities for Women	The Standard is calculated using actual costs of goods and services purchased in the regular marketplace and reflects actual expenses consumers face. It represents a bare-bones budget; it does not allow for entertainment, carry-out or fast food, credit-card debt, or emergency expenses such as car repairs. The Standard uses official government data sources and a consistent, national methodology, providing an objective and comparable measure of the true cost of living on a minimally adequate budget, across states.
Goal #7: Transportation We increase mobility by investing in an integrated, regional transportation system and by encouraging creative problem solving to find transportation alternatives.	Transit Ridership	National Transit Database; Suffolk County Transit	Numbers were gathered from the National Transit Database – Annual Unlinked Passenger Trips, plus county-wide bus information.
	Change in Transit Ridership	American Public Transportation Association's Commuter Rail Transit Ridership Report	Numbers were gathered to measure change in ridership on several regional commuter rail lines.
	Change in Number of Vehicles per Household	US Census Bureau	Numbers were counted from Census Bureau data.
	Motor Vehicle Registrations	US Census Bureau; NYS Department of Motor Vehicles	Data compiled from Census and State sources.
	Intermodal Transportation	Long Island Rail Road; MTA LI Bus; Suffolk County Transit	Train and bus schedule information were compiled for eastbound and westbound trains during the weekday hours of 7-9am and 5-7pm only. Only bus lines that stop at the train stations in Nassau and Suffolk were considered in terms of the transfer times.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	Time to Commute	US Census Bureau; NYS Department of Motor Vehicles	Data compiled from Census and State sources.
HEALTH			
Goal #8: Healthy People All people have access to quality affordable health care that focuses on disease and illness prevention.	Ambulatory Care Sensitive (ACS) Condition Hospital Discharges	North Shore-LIJ Health System Planning Office of Strategic Planning and Program Development	Count of discharges for ACS conditions. Count of payment options provided by report.
	Paying for Hospital Care		
	Percent of Adolescent Births		The measure includes the percentage of births to mothers under the age 18.
	Child Well-Being Rankings	NYS Department of Health	Data provided by state report.
	Percent of Children with Low Birth Weights	NYS Department of Health	Data provided by state report.
	Mortality Rates due to Heart Disease	NYS Department of Health	Data provided by state report.
EDUCATION			
Goal #9: Educational Readiness All students are prepared to learn at each stage of the educational pipeline.	Poverty Index	US Census Bureau	The number of children 5 – 17 years of age in families living below the poverty level, divided by the total number of children within the district boundaries who are that age.
	Free and Reduced Lunch	NYS Education Department	Number of students participating in the Free and Reduced Lunch program.
	Percent of Students with Limited English Proficiency	NYS Education Department	Limited English Proficiency rate is defined as the number of limited English proficient students (English language learners) as defined by Section 154.2(a) of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education divided by the total district enrollment in grades PreK-12, expressed as a percentage.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	Performance Tests		
	Graduates Receiving New York State's Regent's Diploma	NYS Education Department	Data provided by NYS Education Department.
		NYS Education Department	Data provided by NYS Education Department.
	College Readiness	NYS Education Department	The measure includes the percentage of high school students scoring 85% and above in five Regents Examinations: English, History, Chemistry, Physics and the two highest-level Mathematics courses.
	Graduation Rates	NYS Education Department	Data provided by NYS Education Department.
OUR ENVIRONMENT			
Goal #10: Natural Resource Conservation We promote the conservation and efficient use of the region's natural resources.	Land Protection	Nassau and Suffolk County Town Clerk offices and Planning Departments; Long island Pine Barrens Society; The Nature Conservancy – Long Island Chapter	For the purposes of the Long Island Index, preserved land is defined as "open space or farmland that has been preserved by a municipality either through outright acquisition, easement or transfer of development rights."
	Air Quality	US Environmental Protection Agency's Air Quality Index	Data provided by US Environmental Protection Agendy.
	Water Quality	New York State Department of Environmental Conservation 2006 Water Quality Report	Data compiled from NYS Department of Environmental Conservation data.
	Trends in Water Consumption	Suffolk County Water Authority	Data compiled from Suffolk County report.
	Trends in Energy Consumption	Long Island Power Authority; US Department of Energy	Electricity consumption provided by the local electric company: Long Island Power Authority – Long Island Residential and Commercial/Industrial Report. CO_2 emissions data provided by the US Department of Energy – Energy Information Administration.
	Garbage and Recycling Rates	Waste Reduction and Management Institute, Stony Brook University	Data compiled from Stony Brook University report.

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	Trends in Pesticide Use	NYS Pesticide Sales and Use Reports Database	Data for pesticide use is recorded under the NYS Pesticide Reporting Law of 1996, which mandates reporting of pesticide used by the state's commercial pesticide applicators and information on sales to farmers.
GOVERNANCE **Goal #11:** **Managing for Results** Long Island's counties, towns, villages, and other jurisdictions manage their costs and provide quality local and regional services.	Trends in LI expenses and revenues over 10 years	NYS Office of State Comptroller	Expenses and revenues extracted from State Comptroller's reports.
	Balance of Payment	US Bureau of the Census: Consolidated Federal Funds Report; Tax Foundation; NYS Department of Taxation and Finance; NYS Office of State Comptroller	Federal and state taxes and fees paid by Long Island residents and business and expenditures received by Long Island from the federal and state government were computer. Federal expenditures were calculated using the US Bureau of the Census and were reported in the Consolidated Federal Funds Report. This source accounts for 85% of federal expenditures. The remainder was assumed to be distributed on the same proportion as reported expenditures. Long Island's share of federal tax revenues were estimates from state-level estimates calculated by the Tax Foundation. Long Island's share of federal income taxes paid by NYS was assumed to be the same as their share of NYS income taxes. Corporate income and payroll taxes were assumed to be the same as Long Island's share of state payrolls. Excise taxes, the largest portion of which are gasoline taxes, were assumed to be the proportion of state gasoline

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
			purchases. Federal estate taxes were assumed to be the same proportion as Long Island's portion of NYS estate taxes. For NYS revenues, personal income, sales, estate and real estate taxes paid by Long Island residents are actual amounts reported by the NYS Department of Taxation and Finance. Business taxes were assumed to be proportionate to Long Island's share of state payrolls. Motor vehicle and highway taxes were assumed to be proportionate to the share of gasoline purchases. Other revenues, such as lottery proceeds, state fines, bond proceeds, etc., represent 21% of the total, and were assumed to be proportionate to Long Island's share of the state population. For expenditures that flowed back to Long Island, about 41% of the total represents state aid to counties, municipalities and school districts as reported by the Office of the NYS Comptroller. For other expenditures, those related to higher education were assumed to be proportionate to enrollment in Long Island-based state campuses, those related to business to Long Island's share of payrolls, Medicaid expenditures to Medicaid enrollment, and state government operations to Long Island's share of state government employees. All other expenditures, about 18% of the total, were assumed to be proportionate to Long Island's share of the state's population.
	Bond Rating	Standard & Poor's; Moody's Investor's Service	Data is extracted from the two major bond rating institutions.
	Per Capita Property Taxes	NYS Office of the State Comptroller	Per capita property taxes = aggregate real property taxes / population Property taxes as share of personal income = aggregate real property taxes / aggregate personal income Per household property taxes = aggregate real property taxes / households

Table 1 (continued)

Goals	Indicators	Data source	Definition
	School Budget Votes	NYS Education Department	Number of votes for/against school budget proposal.
	Fragmented Government	US Census Bureau; Nassau County Planning Commission; Long Island Regional Planning Board; NYS Office of Real Property Services	Data compiled from multiple sources.
	The Cost of Fire Protection	Newsday	Data on Long Island fire departments taken from *Fire Alarm*, a special reported conducted by Newsday in November, 2005.
	Governing Performance Measures	Government Performance Project	Data are from the Government Performance Project, a collaboration between *Governing* magazine and the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. For more information about the methodology and criteria used to determine study results, see the Government Performance Project web site at www.maxwell.syr.edu/gpp/.
	Voter Turnout for Presidential, Gubernatorial, County Elections	New York State Statistical Yearbook; Dave Leips Atlas of US Presidential Elections; New York State Board of Elections; Suffolk County Board of Elections; Nassau County Board of Elections	Data compiled from multiple sources.

Note: Indicators listed in bold and italics have been used in every Long Island Index report.

Going Beyond Averages: Understanding Long Island's Differences

While averages are a useful measure when results are closely grouped within a range, using an average to measure outcomes can be misleading when there are tremendous variations between the highs and lows. This is the case on Long Island particularly when analyzing educational results.[4] For example, using percent of students receiving free lunch as a proxy for a measure of poverty in a school district, Long Island has 44% fewer students in this category than New York State overall (see Table 2).

Since housing separates communities by race and wealth, school districts mirror the racial and economic patterns found in the surrounding residential communities. Therefore, the region is known for both excellent school districts producing high results and top scholars as well as struggling districts with a disproportionate number of students who do not meet the state defined performance goals. Dividing schools by poverty level (defined as the percent of students receiving free lunch), a striking separation becomes apparent with the highest-poverty schools having almost 60% of their students receiving free lunch and the lowest-poverty schools having none (see Table 3). Further the number of students receiving free lunch has been on a steady decline in the low-poverty schools and has been rising in the high-poverty schools thus further widening the gap between "rich" and "poor."

The history of Long Island's development patterns has led to a marked degree of segregation by both socio-economic status (SES) and race. The overall composition of the student body is 69% White and 31% from ethnic and racial minority groups.

However, Long Island schools tend to be segregated, rather than integrated. Both White and Asian students tend to go to schools that are more homogenously White. Of the 69% of students who are White, half of them attend schools that have a mean White enrollment of 92%. Half of the Asian student population attends schools that have a mean White enrollment of 88%. In contrast, Black students comprise about 11% of all students on Long

Table 2 Percent of students receiving free lunch

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
NYS Schools (excluding NYC)	22	22	22	22	23	23
Long Island schools	13	12	12	13	13	13

Table 3 Percent of Long Island students receiving free lunch

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Low-poverty schools (10%)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Mid-poverty schools (80%)	8.8	8.3	8.2	8.8	9.0	8.9
High-poverty schools (10%)	54.8	54.7	56.2	54.7	56.8	59.0

[4] All data for this section is from the New York State Education Department; data compiled by Drs. Marc Silver and William Mangino from Hofstra University.

Table 4 Racial composition by level of poverty in Long Island schools (in %)

	White	Asian	Black	Latino
Low-poverty schools (10%)	76	7	7	9
Mid-poverty schools (80%)	75	6	8	11
High-poverty schools (10%)	9	2	40	49

Table 5 Percent of students with limited English proficiency

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
New York State	6.38	5.47	5.25	4.96	5.87	6.47
Long Island	4.61	4.65	4.8	5.38	5.66	6.08

Island. Yet, half of them attend schools in which the mean White enrollment is only 5%. Similarly, Hispanics make up 15% of the overall Long Island student body, but half of the Hispanic student body attends schools that have a mean White enrollment of 12% (*Long Island Index* 2008, p. 60).

Using the same lens of low-, mid-, and high-poverty schools, the separation by race and ethnic background is striking (see Table 4).

When schools are divided into these three groupings other issues became apparent. For example, New York State as a whole and Long Island as well have been experiencing increases in the number of students with limited English proficiency (LEP) due to the rise in immigration (see Table 5).

But when the number of LEP students is divided by level of poverty in the school a different pattern emerges. The impact on the low-poverty schools has been negligible while the impact on mid-poverty schools has been somewhat higher. But the overwhelming impact has been felt on the high-poverty schools where there has been a 54% increase in the number of LEP students in just 6 years (see Table 6).

A similar pattern is seen with the New York State standardized test results. On average, Long Island students outperform New York State students (see Table 7).

But when the results are separated by level of poverty in the schools, the pattern re-emerges where the high-poverty schools are the ones who struggle the most (see Table 8).

Whether looking at the graduation rates, college readiness, 8th grade performance tests or any other performance indicator, the *Long Island Index* has found

Table 6 Percent of Long Island students with limited English proficiency

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Low-Poverty Schools (10%)	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.5
Mid-Poverty Schools (80%)	3.5	3.6	3.7	4.1	4.4	4.3
High-Poverty Schools (10%)	15.3	15.3	16.5	18.6	18.9	23.6

Table 7 Fourth grade English language arts (ELA): Percent of students meeting NYS standard in NYS and LI schools

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
New York State	61.5	61.7	64.2	61.6	69.5	67.8
Long Island	77.7	78.1	79.2	78.0	83.7	80.9

Table 8 School poverty on Long Island: Percent of students meeting NYS ELA 4 standard

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Low-poverty schools (10%)	89.3	87.7	87.2	87.9	91.4	91.7
Mid-poverty schools (80%)	79.0	79.7	79.9	78.9	84.4	81.8
High-poverty schools (10%)	54.7	57.4	66.0	61.4	70.5	59.6

the same pattern. Addressing the problem and correcting it is made more difficult by the fact that Long Island has over 120 school districts of varying sizes. Repeatedly, the *Index* has sought to find ways to clarify the scope of this issue. In 2007, the report looked at the performance data and analyzed results by all low-poverty schools versus all high-poverty schools. The high-poverty schools were then further divided by the type of district they were located in – an "average-need" district or a "high-need" district. These two distinctions are made by the New York State Education Department to assess the economic situation of a district in terms of the discrepancy between "need" and "resource capacity."

> School districts are thus classified as "low need," "average-need," and "high-need." Low-need districts are rich in resources and can provide their students with state-of-the art learning facilities, technology, and faculty. High-need districts are resource-starved and students do not have the same opportunities available to them (*Long Island Index* 2007, p. 38).

Dissecting the data into these groupings clarified a key issue that had not been discussed previously on Long Island. Not surprisingly, students in low poverty schools performed better than those in high-poverty schools demonstrating that poverty is a key risk factor for poor academic performance. But the analysis went further to show that students in high poverty schools in high-need districts did not perform as well as those students in *equally* high poverty schools but located in average-need districts (see Table 9).

This was explained in terms of the "layering of disadvantage." In addition to the degree of poverty (based on percentage of students receiving free lunch) within a specific school, the type of school district that the school is a part of also impacts individual student performance. Poor schools in high-need districts have an additional hurdle to climb compared to students in poor schools located in average-need districts.

Table 9 School poverty and district need on Long Island: Percent of students meeting NYS English language Arts Grade 4 standard exam, 2001–2005

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All low poverty schools	86.8	86.3	86.0	85.3	90.5
All high poverty schools	62.7	65.0	69.6	68.4	74.8
High poverty schools in average need districts	67.0	72.1	74.3	74.9	78.3
High poverty schools in high need districts	57.1	56.5	64.8	60.6	70.6

Comparative Analysis: A Case Study of Long Island and Northern Virginia (NVA)

Each year the *Long Island Index* has included comparative data in order to benchmark how Long Island compared either to the nation as a whole, to all of New York State or to other suburban regions. Initially this data highlighted where Long Island was doing better or worse than other regions. But the 2006 *Index* report included a more extensive set of comparative data from other similar suburban communities that looked at population size, number of households, number of municipalities, income and taxes. It was immediately striking to note that the county of Fairfax, Virginia had significantly lower taxes and fewer numbers of municipalities. Fairfax, a well-to-do community outside Washington D.C., had the lowest per capita property taxes among the regions selected for the study – $1,547 in 2002 compared to Long Island's $2,450 for the same year. They also had the lowest number of governmental municipalities – 9 in contrast to Long Island's 439 (see Table 10).[5]

Survey data has shown repeatedly that Long Islanders rate their high taxes as the number one regional problem (to be discussed later in this chapter). Saddled with some of the highest property taxes in the country, the issue is a key factor leading people to leave the region and the continually increasing housing cost burden. The question that needed to be answered was whether or not there was a causal relationship between Long Island's structure of government with the plethora of governmental entities and the high taxes.[6] The analysis looked at Fairfax County and the neighboring Loudoun County as well as the two independently run cities embedded in Fairfax County: Fairfax City and Falls Church. By enlarging the region, the study was able to compare two similarly sized areas – the two Virginia counties plus two cities encompass 924 square miles and have a population of almost 1.3 million people compared to Long Island's 1,199 square miles and 2.8 million people.

Economically, there are several significant differences between the regions. Most importantly, Northern Virginia has been experiencing rapid economic and population growth, akin to the changes that Long Island underwent in the 1950s and 1960s. While Long Island's Gross Metropolitan Product is almost twice the size of NVA ($131 billion compared to $77 billion), NVA's economy is expanding and spawning high paying jobs, unlike Long Island's.

As a result of a growing economy, NVA has seen a dramatic influx of population. From 1990 to 2000, Long Island's population grew by 5.5% while NVA grew by 25.4%. From 2000 to 2005, Long Island's population remained stagnant while NVA grew by another 10%. Further, as more people move to NVA, the region has become more racially and ethnically diversified than Long Island.

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[5] The count of municipalities does not include all of the Special Districts present on Long Island. If those were included the number would rise to approximately 900.

[6] The case study comparing governance structure and taxes was conducted by Charles Zettek at the Center for Governmental Research in Rochester, New York.

Table 10 Comparisons between similar suburban counties

	Nassau	Suffolk	Long Island	Bergen	Fairfax	Westchester	Silicon Valley	Fairfield
Total population, 2004	1,317,054	1,445,497	2,762,551	891,649	996,176	917,956	2,440,000	884,639
Total area in sq. miles	287	912	1,199	234	395	450	1,500	626
Population density per sq. mile	4,589	1,585	2,304	3,810	2,522	2,040	1,627	1,413
Total # households, 2004	437,274	486,552	923,826	331,503	368,475	332,865	811,624	328,304
Total # municipalities, 2002	202	237	439	149	9	120	28	124
Median household income, 2004	$78,762	$71,956	$75,177	$70,957	$88,133	$70,095	$88,500	$73,110
Property taxes per capita, 2002	$2,815	$2,115	$2,450	$2,315	$1,547	$2,584	N/A	$2,213
Educational attainment, Bachelor's, age 25 +, 2004	39%	30%	N/A	43%	57%	44%	40%	44%
Median home value, 2004	$420,903	$368,460	$394,682	$408,697	$415,418	$476,462	N/A	$422,495

Sources: US Census 2004 County Estimates; 2002 Census of Governments; 2004 American Community Survey Data Profiles; March 2004 Supplement of the Current Population Survey

The study found that while there were many variables contributing to higher taxes on Long Island, an absolute "apples-to-apples" comparison between the two regions was not possible due to differing state requirements, different reporting structures, and different costs of living. Therefore, the study could not conclusively confirm a cause and effect relationship between the number of governmental entities and the resultant cost of services. But key observations were possible that were instructive to understanding the overall relationship and more in-depth comparisons were possible in the area of education and fire services. The overall findings are summarized below.

1. Long Island has almost 26 times more governmental entities than Northern Virginia.[7]
2. On average Long Island has nine times more governmental units involved in budgeting for a single type of service than Northern Virginia. Included in this number are all governmental entities that provide a particular service or budget the necessary funds for the service. Looking at the units in this way illustrates local government fragmentation – the more government units involved in funding decisions in a region, the greater the complexity of the government decision-making process. For example, Long Island has 110 governmental entities budgeting for highways and Departments of Public Works while Northern Virginia has nine.
3. Almost 50% of the per capita spending difference is related to schools, 28% to differing state requirements, 20% to police spending.
4. Salaries comprise the single largest difference between the regions. Although Long Island has 13% more government employees than NVA, Long Island spends 82.5% more on total salaries costs. A likely explanation for this is the difference in labor/management relationships in the two states. In New York, the Taylor Law requires that if an employee union exists in a local government, that local government must bargain in good faith with that union as the representative of all employees covered by the bargaining unit. Virginia, on the other hand, is one of 22 states that are characterized as "right-to-work" states and are not subject to the same collective bargaining requirements. In Virginia, employee unions are effectively associations and the governing boards of each government can and do set their own terms and conditions of employment.

Education is the largest portion of property tax for both regions. Long Island has 127 school districts ranging in size from a small of 9 students to a large of over 16,000 students. Northern Virginia has three – two county-wide districts (Fairfax and Loudoun) and one city-wide district (Falls Church).[8] On average, Long Islanders spend $2,650 of their per capita tax dollars on education while people living in Northern Virginia spend 48% less, only $1,816.

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[7] Included in this number are the counties, cities, towns, villages and school districts only, not the additional "Special Districts" found throughout Nassau and Suffolk.
[8] Fairfax City students attend Fairfax County schools.

Table 11 Comparison of expenditure per student by school district, Long Island and Northern Virginia

School districts	Expenditure per student ($)	Average students per district
Long Island school districts		
1st Quartile (smallest districts)	21,183	662
2nd Quartile	18,209	2,278
3rd Quartile	17,467	4,082
4th Quartile (largest districts)	16,793	7,802
Northern Virginia school districts		
Falls Church	14,735	1,874
Loudoun	14,033	40,750
Fairfax	11,494	164,235

A part of the cost differential is explained by size; the larger the district, the lower the expenditure per student. Analyzing the data on school size and average expenditure per student, the report divided all Long Island districts into quartiles by average number of students and then compared the spending in each quartile (see Table 11). The 31 largest districts (4th Quartile) on Long Island had a 21% lower cost structure, on average, than the 32 smallest districts (1st Quartile) on Long Island.[9]

Northern Virginia school districts are significantly larger – Loudoun has 40,750 students and Fairfax has 164,235 students. When it comes to school districts and cost, the findings showed conclusively that size matters: the larger the district, the lower the cost structure.

With such a great amount of variability in the expenditure per student, one might expect to find greater differences in a key component of a district's commitment to high quality education, the ratio of students to teachers. In fact, regardless how much is spent by the district in these regions the student-teacher ratio is roughly equivalent, averaging out at 12.7 – below the average US ratio of 14.[10] Similarly, no large gap was found in the ratio of non-teaching staff to number of students than in Northern Virginia; the ratio is roughly equivalent between the two regions.

The key element in explaining the cost differences between Long Island and Northern Virginia are salaries, in particular the instructional staff – 64% of the difference is the instructional staff salary and benefits. Since NVA's staffing is roughly proportional to Long Island's, on a per student basis, it suggests that the expenditure difference is not due to significantly higher staffs but rather to lower salaries.[11] As

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[9] In part we know that the smaller districts on Long Island are often located in high-income areas or locales with high numbers of vacation homes and low number of year-round residents. In these instances, there is a large financial base that enables the expenses to remain high.

[10] The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) last reported this data in May 2002 for the school year 2000–2001. The ratios include all public schools (elementary, middle school, high school, and other programs including Special Education).

[11] Data on statewide salary comparisons are available from the American Federation of Teachers, www.aft.org. They conducted a survey in 2003–2004 comparing teacher salary trends across the county. They found that New York State teachers received the third highest pay in the country; Virginia teachers rank 20th. New York State teacher's average pay was $55,181; beginning pay was

mentioned earlier, a likely explanation for this is the difference in labor/management relationships in the two states.

In analyzing the data between the two regions, a number of questions were raised that would benefit from further exploration. Each point to a possible relationship between more districts resulting in greater expense but only further analysis can conclusively prove it.

1. Long Islanders spend $230 more per student than NVA for capital outlays. This was surprising since Northern Virginia is going through a period of rapid growth and new schools are going up every year. In contrast, Long Island has been experiencing population decline in this age bracket (although there was growth from 1990 to 2000) and new schools are not being constructed at the same rate as NVA. Other causes for high capital outlays need to be researched.
2. Long Islanders also pay more for General Administration, $262 more per student than NVA. The General Administration category includes expenditures for Board of Education and Executive Administration services and other local education agencies (note: this is a separate category from school administration expenses). Since these types of expenses are related to school districts, the greater the number of districts, as on Long Island, the greater likelihood that these expenses will increase.
3. Operations and Maintenance: Long Islanders spend $386 more per student than NVA. Operations and Maintenance includes expenditures for building services, care and upkeep of grounds and equipment, non-student transportation, and security services. A closer examination may clarify potential options for savings either through a redistribution of resources that makes it possible to eliminate some facilities, create bulk purchasing agreements, or other rationalizing of resources shared among a larger pool rather than on an individual district level.
4. Student Transportation: Long Islanders spend $366 more per student than NVA. Each school district in Northern Virginia owns and maintains their own bus fleet and hires the drivers. On Long Island, most districts have outsourced these services. Typically one would anticipate that the expense for outsourced services would be lower but this doesn't appear to be the case in this instance. The explanation may lie in the fact that multiple separate agreements with bus companies may be less efficient than running or contracting for bus services on a county-wide basis.

While costs for education point to a key area where Long Islanders seem to pay more to support the multitude of small school districts, costs for fire services is a dramatic example where increasing the number of fire districts has a direct impact on the costs associated for that service. In 2005, a *Newsday* series on Long Island fire districts demonstrated that Long Islanders have far more fire equipment than other regions including densely populated cities like New York. There are similar

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$36,400. Virginia teacher's average pay was $43,936; beginning pay was $32,437. By comparison, the US average pay was $46,597; beginning pay was $31,704.

Table 12 Comparison of fire district statistics, Long Island and Northern Virginia

	Square miles	Population	Number of fire stations	Number of fire engines	Number of ladder trucks	Number of ambulances
Long Island	1,199	2,754,718	381	693	189	266
Northern VA	924	1,286,046	58	90	23	88
Ratio of Long Island to Northern VA	1.3:1.0	2.2:1.0	6.6:1.0	7.7:1.0	8.2:1.0	3.0:1.0

Table 13 Comparison of fire district expenses, Long Island and Northern Virginia

							Excluding Personnel	
Per Capita	**Personnel Costs**		**Equipment/ Capital Costs**		**Operating Costs**		**Total Costs**		**Total Costs**	**Difference**

Per Capita	**Personnel Costs**	**Equipment/ Capital Costs**	**Operating Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Difference**
Long Island	$ 22.90	$ 30.76	$ 51.73	$ 105.39	$ 82.50	LI = 2.07 × more than NVA
Northern Virginia	$ 125.18	$ 18.85	$ 20.92	$ 164.94	$ 39.77	

Per Housing Unit	**Personnel Costs**	**Equipment/ Capital Costs**	**Operating Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Difference**
Long Island	$ 64.50	$ 86.66	$ 145.73	$ 296.89	$ 232.39	LI = 2.23 × more than NVA
Northern Virginia	$ 328.43	$ 49.45	$ 54.89	$ 432.76	$ 104.33	

Per Square Mile	**Personnel Costs**	**Equipment/ Capital Costs**	**Operating Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Total Costs**	**Difference**
Long Island	$ 53,626	$ 72,046	$ 121,161	$ 246,833	$ 193,207	LI = 3.47 × more than NVA
Northern Virginia	$ 175,411	$ 26,410	$ 29,314	$ 231,134	$ 55,724	

statistics in the comparison of Long Island to NVA. Long Island serves a region that is 1.3 times larger in square miles and 2.2 times the population of Northern Virginia. Yet, Long Island has a total of 1,148 Fire/EMS vehicles compared to their 201; i.e. 5.7 times more vehicles on Long Island (see Table 12).

Long Island has been able to rely largely on a volunteer fire fighting force while NVA has been unable to meet their growing region's needs with an all volunteer force and as a consequence has had to hire more and more paid employees. Their personnel costs, on a per capita basis, are 6 times Long Island's. But, when personnel costs are removed from the equation and focus on only equipment/capital costs and operating costs, Long Island's expenses are dramatically higher than NVA. Although there are comparable response times, similar number of calls for services and similar insurance ratings (ISO) in both regions, when the costs are evaluated on a per capita basis or per housing unit, Long Island spends more than twice the amount of money on non-personnel costs than NVA (see Table 13).

Clearly when comparing fire costs between the two regions, greater cost efficiencies are present with the Northern Virginia model. A single county, centralized model for managing fire service is more cost efficient in terms of equipment, capital and operating costs. If the time comes when Long Island is not able to maintain a volunteer force and needs to attract and pay a large proportion of career firefighters, the region could face a double blow: paying significantly more in capital and operating costs, plus having to pay more for personnel costs.

Table 14 Per capita differences between Long Island and Northern Virginia (exclusive of state requirements or salary)

	Per capita difference	Salary/benefits portion	Balance
Per capita difference			$1,722
Costs due to different state requirements	$477		$1,245
All other functions	$1,245	−$873	$372
% Difference not based on state requirements or salary			22%

Summing up the analysis, the researchers demonstrated that when comparing local taxes exclusive of differences based on state requirements and salaries, there is a per capita difference of $372 (see Table 14).

What explains the difference?[12] With overall comparability in the quality of the services delivered, lower costs did not translate into poorer quality. In fact, survey results demonstrated that NVA residents are more satisfied than Long Islanders with the return on their taxes. The most likely explanation is that the majority of the $372 per capita is based on fundamental structural differences associated with the governmental models in the two regions. Northern Virginia makes budgeting and expense decisions on a county-wide basis. Certainly the complex form of governance that has evolved on Long Island as well as other older regions makes it difficult to achieve economies of scale or other efficiencies.

With so many governmental units responsible for budgeting decisions of the same services, discussions of efficiencies or change are, at best, made more complicated and at worse, stymied. These comparisons demonstrate that operating local services at a larger unit of government can mean better service not worse, lower cost not higher, more access to service providers not less. In the best case scenario, if all $372 per capita savings could be driven from local property taxes, a family of four could see their total tax burden decrease by almost $1,500 a year. At the regional level, Long Island governmental spending could decrease by $1.024 billion.

Use of Telephone-Based Survey Data

Each *Long Island Index* report has summarized the strengths and weaknesses of the overall health of the region and in addition, has included results from an island-wide telephone-based survey questionnaire.[13] In this way, the statistical data could

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[12] Part of the difference may be explained by variations in the cost of living. Although several sources were checked for a reliable cost of living index to compare Long Island and NVA, contradictory data was found – some showed NVA as more expensive, others showed Long Island. The decision was made not to adjust for cost of living but to note that this may be one component of the difference between the two regions.

[13] The telephone-based surveys are designed by Dr. Leonie Huddy of Stony Brook University and conducted by the Stony Brook Survey Research Center at Stony Brook University.

Table 15 Long Island Index survey "tracking" questions

Tracking questions	Options	Responses by year (in %)			
		2004	2005	2006	2007
Generally speaking, do you think things in your county are headed in the right direction or in the wrong direction?	Right	53	53%	48%	48%
	Wrong	39	38%	39%	42%
	Don't Know	9	10%	13%	10%
Overall, what do you think is the MOST important problem facing residents of your county today?	Economy/Finances/ Jobs/Poverty	4	8%	10%	8%
	Taxes/Property Taxes	41	41%	45%	44%
	Lack of adequate and affordable housing	19	13%	7%	8%
	Environmental issues	10	7	3	2
	Traffic	6	6	3	5
	Other	11	19	25	26
	Don't know/refused	9	7	7	8
In your view, how serious a problem are high property taxes in your county?	Extremely serious	40	39	44	45
	Very serious	37	42	40	36
	Somewhat serious	16	14	14	14
	Not very serious	3	2	2	1
	Not at all serious	1	1	1	2
	Don't Know/refused	3	2	1	2
How serious is the problem of young people moving away from your county because of the high cost of living?	Extremely serious	40	38	39	41
	Very serious	35	38	40	38
	Somewhat serious	14	17	14	14
	Not very serious	5	4	4	1
	Not at all serious	4	1	2	2
	Don't know	3	2	2	3
In an average month, how difficult is it for you and your family living with you to pay the rent or mortgage?	Very difficult	14	15	21	13
	Somewhat difficult	33	39	37	36
	Not very difficult	23	21	18	20
	Not at all difficult	27	21	21	27
	Don't know/refused	4	3	3	4
How concerned are you that the high cost of housing will force members of your family to move out of your county?	Very concerned	43	55	50	52
	Somewhat concerned	27	26	26	21
	Not very concerned	9	9	10	12
	Not at all concerned	19	8	13	14
	Don't know	1	1	1	1
How likely is that you will move out of your county to an area with lower housing costs and property taxes in the next 5 years?	Very likely	27	30	28	29
	Somewhat likely	18	24	27	21
	Not very likely	19	20	18	16
	Not at all likely	35	24	30	33
	Don't know	1	1	1	2

be compared with how people were experiencing the economic situation and their openness to new ideas for the region. Three groupings of questions are asked: a series of "tracking questions" that are asked every year in order to measure changes in attitudes on a few key topics; questions developed to probe a particular subject related to the topic of the Special Analysis; a series of demographic questions so responses can be analyzed by specific segments of the population.

Table 15 lists seven questions asked each year to measure public reaction and provide an important benchmark to gauge the general mood toward the overall economic health of the region. The initial list was drawn up by analyzing the results of the indicator studies showing marked increases in housing costs and high taxes. A series of focus groups were held with different groups of residents to analyze which topics were of the most vital concern. The final list of tracking questions selected the following key topics: taxes, affordability, and plans to stay or leave the region. Fluctuations in people's concerns over these topics would be a key barometer to measure the overall health of the region as experienced day-to-day by Long Islanders.

Two findings from the tracking questions have been emblematic of the region's problems (see Table 15). First, while roughly half the population felt things were going in the right direction, the percent slipped over the four-year period. Second, concern about high taxes consistently loomed large and peoples fears that if it was not addressed, they would be forced to move themselves or members of their family would be forced to move.

In addition to gauging overall public opinion on taxes and the overall status of the region, the survey data has provided an opportunity to measure public support for new alternatives to address existing problems. Each year the Special Analysis focuses on one topic in depth. In the *Long Island Index* 2008 report, an in-depth analysis of Long Island's lack of affordable housing was presented. Demonstrating that the housing cost burden (defined as spending 35% or more of their income on housing) was higher on Long Island than other neighboring suburban regions, it was also shown that it was young people on Long Island who were experiencing the problem more acutely than their neighbors (see Table 16) and thus, have left the Island in greater numbers.

Building single-family homes has dominated the Long Island landscape. While neighboring regions have increasingly emphasized building multi-family housing, Long Island with its multiple zoning authorities, has tended not to update their

Table 16 Share of households aged 25–34 that spend more than 35% of their income on housing costs, 2000 and 2006 (in %)

Year	Long Island, NY		Connecticut Fairfield	New Jersey		New York Westchester
	Nassau	Suffolk		Bergen	Monmouth	
2000	28.6	29.0	24.4	23.1	23.8	28.7
2006	48.2	49.4	36.7	33.9	38.9	37.2
Change	19.6	20.3	12.3	10.8	15.1	8.5

Data source: Census Bureau 2000 and American Community Survey 2006.

zoning ordinances to include more housing types. Complicating the issue also is the shortage of sewers on the eastern half of the region (Suffolk County) that are necessary to support multi-family housing. But in locations where sewers are available, particularly in many of Long Island's downtowns, the *Index* calculated that over half of the region's affordable housing needs could be met if there was greater acceptance for denser building. The question was, was there support for these ideas? The survey included a number of questions to probe people's attitudes about these options. Recognizing that it was young people (aged 18–34) who were being forced off the Island in higher numbers than other regions, it was of particular interest to see if young people would support these ideas that could directly benefit them.

All surveys are conducted by telephone using a list-assisted method of random-digit-dialing. Within each household, individual's 18 years and over were chosen to participate in the survey. Seven attempts were made to contact each household and if an individual was initially unwilling to participate in the survey, an attempt was made to persuade them in order to maintain the random selection process. A total of approximately 800 interviews are conducted in the general population, roughly evenly split between the two counties. In addition, each year an oversample is conducted to ensure that key segments of the population are adequately represented. In 2008, the emphasis was on young people so an oversample of 320 individuals was collected both through a targeted telephone sample as well as a web-based targeted sample. Results are measured separately for each county and broken down by age, sex, homeowner status, racial and ethic background, educational background, and political persuasion. In 2008, the margin of error was ±3.4%.

The results demonstrated that younger people were the most supportive of these ideas for change in the downtowns (see Table 17). They supported greater density in general but their dreams for the future were the suburban ideal, a large home in the suburbs, although it was unclear if the rising costs of homes would make this an option for them. Strong support was also found among empty-nesters and senior citizens. In these situations the respondents indicated wanting to have more options to remain in the region while giving up their single-family homes. Not surprisingly, the greatest degree of opposition came from those people aged 35–49, the age group most likely to be heavily invested in raising a family. When the results were cross-tabulated by homeowner versus non-homeowner, the results were a striking contrast. Responses for non-homeowners were roughly equivalent to those in the 18–34 year old age group (and certainly there is overlap between the two groups) and homeowner responses were on average about 20 percentage points lower in their support. Since homeowners account for over 80% of the residents on Long Island, the disparity in support between the two groups points to an uphill battle in order to change the present construction design to accommodate the needs of more people.

In summarizing the findings, the survey director wrote,

> Young residents share the goals of their parents' generation; they hope to own a large single-family home in a suburban setting where homes are spaced apart and offer privacy. They also acknowledge that this goal will be hard to attain and may be willing to entertain some alternative routes to attain this goals, including life in an apartment or condo in a local downtown area...Much will depend on their financial ability to meet housing costs.

Table 17 Survey questions on housing and downtown preferences, 2007

Questions	Options	All responses	Responses by age (in %)			
			18–34	35–49	50–64	65+
Imagine for a moment that you were planning to move in the next 5 years. Would you most likely choose to live in a...	Single family home	64	70	85	57	41
	Multi-unit option	32	28	12	37	48
How likely is it that you will move out of your county to an area with lower housing costs and property taxes in the next 5 years? Very likely or somewhat likely	"Very likely" or "somewhat likely"	50	65	41	50	41
Support for change in the downtowns:						
Greater number of homes or apartments closer together	Support strongly or Support somewhat	61	78	56	67	56
Increase height limits	Support strongly or Support somewhat	49	62	40	56	56
Increased number of rental apartments	Support strongly or Support somewhat	63	72	56	66	66
Multi-level parking facilities	Support strongly or Support somewhat	62	71%	56	65	67
Can you imagine yourself or a family member ever living in an apartment, Condo, or townhouse in a local downtown area on Long Island	Themselves	38	46	32	39	32
	Family member	50	53	51	59	37
Prefer to live in neighborhood where homes are close together and you can walk to local stores or in a neighborhood where homes are spread out and you drive	Homes close together	42	42	32	51	55
	Homes spread out	56	58	67	47	42

Unfortunately, they are also especially pessimistic about Long Island's future, a bad sign for the area's future vibrancy (Huddy 2007, p. 21).

The emphasis on the next generation and clarifying their goals has been a powerful tool to enable Long Islanders to think about how the region must adapt if it is going to meet the needs of a new generation.

Out-Reach Programs

When the *Long Island Index* was first being developed in 2003, one of the pieces of advice from the Advisory Committee was to hire a professional public relations firm to work with the media. This approach proved to be invaluable. With their knowledge of how to develop relationships with the press, the *Index* garnered the attention of the news media with its first report. Additionally the Advisory Committee and foundation staff reached out to the local elected officials especially the two County Executives. A press release, arranged for January of every year, when the new report is released and presentations are made summarizing the key findings includes the two County Executives who both make speeches along with a keynote speaker. The support of these key local officials plus the media coverage was instrumental in getting out word of the new research.

In part the immediate success of the report was closely related to the startling findings from the *Index*'s first survey which captured media attention instantly – half of all Long Islanders were thinking of leaving due to the high cost of living and over 75% of residents were worried about young people leaving the region. No

Table 18 *Long Island Index* outreach program
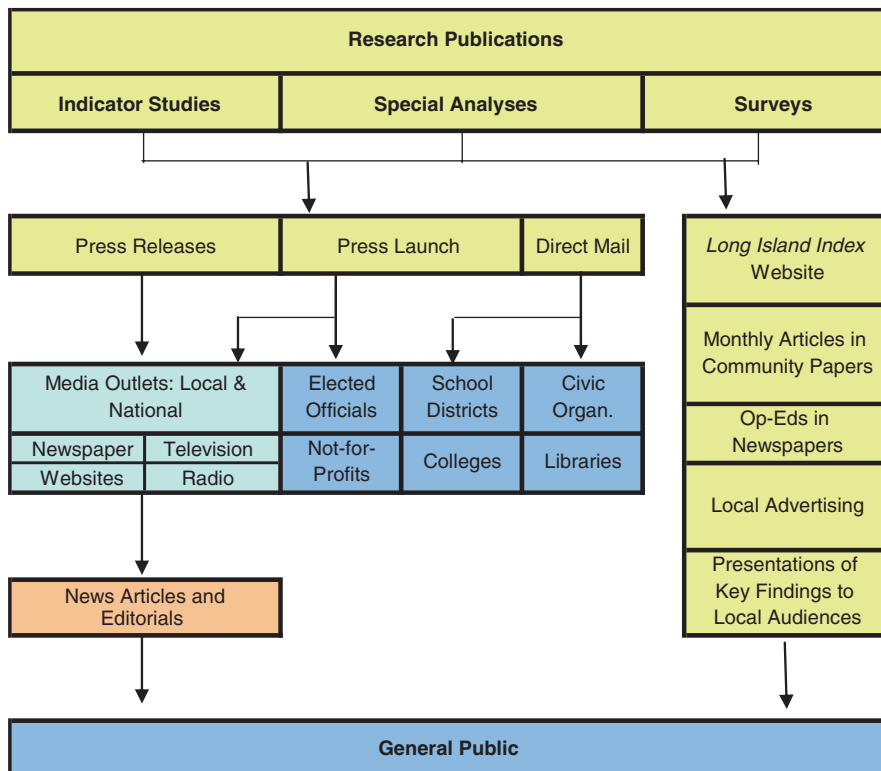
one had ever asked these questions of Long Islanders and people were shocked at the results. The story received wide coverage across the region from TV, radio and newspaper reporters. The power of this finding was twofold. First, it synthesized many problems into one result that galvanized people to consider what could be done. Second, it gave elected officials a platform to propose ideas that may not have received as much coverage or acceptance beforehand but in light of how many people were thinking of leaving, it was clear that new approaches were needed. Today, it is unusual to hear a local political speech or presentation that does not begin with a finding from the *Index* and the most often quoted item is about the percent of people considering leaving.

Since the initial report, many new avenues have been explored to ensure that the general public is aware of the issues and cognizant of the findings (see Table 18). Long Island, like many regions, has a series of local community newspapers published for readers of specific villages. Coverage of village issues, politics, sports and community leaders, these newspapers are widely read by local residents. The newspapers are always looking for new stories and were open to the idea of a monthly article from the foundation's president, Nancy Rauch Douzinas, who would opine on findings from the *Index* report. While the *Index* itself avoids taking a stand on the issues and maintains a strictly non-partisan approach, it was felt that these articles, written by the foundation's president and not the *Index*'s director, could venture further than the *Index* itself.

Each year the *Index* looks for some new avenues to publicize the findings. These have included: frequent presentations to local organizations, legislative bodies and others on the key findings of the report; collaboration with the local public television station on a three-part special covering the Special Analysis on the need for more housing and the opportunity to build in the downtowns; an ad campaign at the commuter rail station to advertise the report and the upcoming TV special; mailing the report to an extensive list of contacts including every elected official from the region (village, town, county, state, federal), schools, civil organizations, libraries, and not-for-profits.

Most recently the *Index* launched a new website that makes all its findings easily accessible including graphs, analyses, maps and the raw data. The goal is to enable readers to work with the data themselves to build further analyses of the findings. Two plans currently under development include launching an effort to engage local educators to include the data from the Index reports in their social studies curriculum, and to build an interactive mapping capability that allows the user to select different data layers to be viewed jointly.

Conclusion

Similar to other regions in the Northeast and Midwest United States, Long Island is characterized by a high degree of political fragmentation and a plethora of political entities. But with all the fragmentation, there are no entities that encompass the region as a whole and despite the great number of similarities between the two

regions; few analyses have brought a clear picture of the region into focus. The *Long Island Index* entered this arena and has sought to address the complex regional issues by producing a clearly articulated analysis of the trends facing the region along with more in-depth studies to clarify the major fault lines segmenting the population (for example, education) and where our shared history creates shared problems (for example, the relationship between the high number of political entities and high taxes). Lastly, through the use of telephone-based public opinion surveys, the *Index* has succeeded in letting the voice of Long Islanders be heard – where people are succeeding and struggling, what changes they will or will not support – both for the region as a whole and for different segments of the population. It has been through the process of understanding Long Island as a whole as well as its parts that a more dynamic understanding of the forces shaping the region has been successfully developed. Since its first publication 5 years ago, the *Index* reports and surveys have become a critical component of political discourse and analysis within the region.

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Lessons from a Community-Based Process in Regional Sustainability Indicator Selection: The Case of the Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory

Meg Holden, Cameron Owens and Clare Mochrie

Abstract From October 2005 to April 2006, the Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory (RVu) conducted the most comprehensive public engagement process that the Vancouver region has had to date for the purpose of deriving key indicators of sustainable development. The RVu study group process was an original design to draw out new and unique ideas about best measures of sustainability from Vancouver residents. A diversity of residents from all walks of life participated in the process. This chapter describes the process undertaken and offers a critical assessment of the experience of participants in the process. The RVu case offers proof that citizen volunteers are willing and able to take on a complex and lengthy engagement process that requires integrated thinking, leadership, commitment, dedication, and lacks a very clear political channel or immediate means for policy uptake. This kind of process could be further refined and supported in order to improve and make more predictable and rewarding the policy outcomes and reinforce the characteristics and citizenship values of participants.

If . . . you asked me to cooperate in this exercise . . . I would advise myself to say no, don't go near it. They have raised the bar so high and put the frame in such a way that this is an absolute no-win for me. No matter what comes out, I'm going to be the problem. So why would I participate?
–Former elected politician, invited respondent to the outcomes of the RVu sustainability indicator process, April 3, 2006

Different indicators have purposes other than convincing elected officials. Because we all know that there are all kinds of things that go into decision making besides facts. So I think that's not a reason to be dismissive of indicators. . .because I do think that they play a greater role, in terms of supporting accountability, supporting a broad notion of public

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engagement and allowing people different modes of access
into considering the future of their region.
–Executive director of a non-governmental organization,
invited respondent to the outcomes of the RVu sustainability
indicator process, April 3, 2006

Introduction: The Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory (RVu) Study Group Process

Metropolitan Vancouver, a region of over 2 million on Canada's Pacific Coast, has developed an international reputation for valuing high quality of life and sustainable development. West coast, left-leaning politics have produced an active interplay between citizens and elected officials, but this has not translated into a strong tradition of accountability. As a result, Metro Vancouver has bold goals, from zero waste to eliminating homelessness to exceeding Kyoto Protocol targets for reducing emissions of greenhouse gases; but does not assess or report on progress towards most of these goals. The Regional Vancouver Urban Observatory (RVu) was created in 2004 to address this failing.

RVu is a long-term action research project, based at the downtown campus of Simon Fraser University within the Urban Studies Program, and connected to the regional policy and civic community through its non-academic, multi-sectoral advisory committee. RVu is the first urban observatory to be established in Canada, as a member of the Global Urban Observatory network based at UN-Habitat.[1] Membership in this network provides RVu with opportunities to interact with and learn from the experiences of other cities attempting to measure and monitor their progress around the world. The network also serves as a motivational and inspirational touchstone for bolder, more innovative programs and practices locally in Vancouver related to indicators development and sustainability.

This chapter presents and evaluates the public participation process that RVu undertook in order to select a set of 24 key indicators of sustainable development for the Metro Vancouver region. The intent is to detail this aspect of community indicator projects that often remains hidden, especially for projects that attempt to engage and represent a broad range of the public. We will draw from the products of the process, from evaluations completed by process participants at the beginning, middle and end of the process and from the responses of community leaders invited to comment on the process outcomes. The review thus places an emphasis on the quality and nature of the experience had by the most important constituents of the RVu indicators project to date, the members of the public engaged in indicator selection, under the premise that their experiences and lessons learned are pivotal to the value of the project as a whole. Beyond this internal perspective, we also examine

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[1] The Global Urban Observatory network is a program of UN-Habitat established in 1997, in the wake of the attention received by an indicators-based approach to urban development at the 1996 Habitat II Conference in Istanbul, Turkey. The network currently has over 100 members. The second urban observatory in Canada, the Greater Toronto Urban Observatory (www.gtuo.ca) was established in 2006.

the outside perspective of the other critical group that this indicator project engages, regional leaders and decision makers. We will show that the perspectives of these two groups do not match up perfectly, posing a challenge to indicator projects that seek to achieve meaningful civic engagement and political impact and uptake at the same time.

From October 2005 to April 2006, approximately 150 people of diverse positions and backgrounds participated in the development of a new set of indicators for measuring the sustainability of the Metro Vancouver region. The vision and purpose of the process is encapsulated in the RVu motto "measures to match our values." The engagement process was an original study group process designed by RVu,[2] drawing and integrating ideas from systems thinking, based on the work of Donella Meadows (1998) and others (Phillips 2005), the study circle method, existing UN Habitat (2006) work on process for urban observatory establishment, and the initial public indicator process design by Sustainable Seattle in 1992 (Holden 2006). The process was thus supported by the contributions of project staff in different capacities and aided by the guidance of the RVu advisory committee, which met five times during the process period (Sept. 16, Nov. 23, Feb. 13, Mar. 24, May 1). A guide and workbook were prepared and distributed to all study group participants and an additional, more technical guide was prepared for study group facilitators. These and other resource materials were made available for download on the project website, where an electronic bulletin board was also launched to help manage process logistics as well as facilitate the exchange of information and ideas between study group members. The cash budget for the process was approximately $80,000 Cdn, funded by the Canadian federal government, Simon Fraser University, BC Hydro, and numerous in-kind contributors.

The major work of the process was carried out by eight study groups, each of which had the ultimate task of recommending three key indicators of sustainable development apiece. The three principles for study group formation were:

1. To cluster around a tangible focus that can be expressed as a challenge and a goal with (at least) social, economic and environmental dimensions;
2. To include a diversity of members and build common ground from divergent perspectives;
3. To include members from the broad mix of communities around the Metro Vancouver region (RVu 2005).

The basic structure of the study group meeting process was as follows, loosely using the metaphor of planning a voyage to Mars:

1. *Pulling together the crew*: Study groups first assessed their initial membership and considered whether and to whom additional invitations to join should be sent. Groups began their work with four probing questions:

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[2] The process was designed by Meg Holden and Clare Mochrie with the expert facilitation assistance of Paula Beltgens, Lynda Taylor and Diana Smith, and additional facilitation and support provided by: Ruby Socorro Arico, Tracy Vaughan, Scott Graham, Anka Raskin, Christiana Miewald, Lianne Carley, Terri Evans, Jon Eben Field, Jason Lyth, and Vince Verlaan.

a. If you could enhance or preserve one thing about the region, what would it be?
b. What do you feel is the greatest challenge facing the region in the next decade?
c. What goals are most important for us to pursue as a region?
d. What reality in our region demands new or better information most urgently?

They additionally discussed group rules, procedures and the study group process as a whole.

2. *Visualizing the destination*: Groups brainstormed an overarching group goal and challenge; they refined these into concise statements of "our common goal" and "our common challenge."
3. *Building the rocket*: Groups considered the driving and restraining forces affecting progress toward their goal, whether direct or indirect, strong or weak, and the different types of "capital" contributing to their goal.
4. *Charting the course*: Concept mapping, including concepts and interconnections/relationships, finding leverage points and forks in the road, as inputs to larger systems modeling work undertaken for the eight groups as a whole by the project team.
5. *Test run*: Groups tested their focus by reviewing concept maps created by the other groups, considering potential overlap, opportunities for bridging, and raising questions for other groups. Some groups also included a guest speaker to bring additional perspective to their focus. Groups revised their goal statements.
6. *Measuring the potential for success*: Brainstorming key indicators to fit criteria for sustainability indicators, to meet the group goal, and to sit at leverage points for system-wide change.
7. *Blast off*: Groups prioritized indicators into the top three and secondary three, using a matrix or coding system and a checklist to help ensure all criteria were given adequate attention. Where they could, groups also assigned intermediate 2015 targets. Groups assigned and rehearsed roles for the formal reporting out of their results.

In addition to the study group meetings, the following preparatory, summary, and large group events were components of the process:

Date	Event	Purpose
October 17, 2005	Study Group Facilitator Training	• To bring together study group facilitators as a team, with RVu project team and expert facilitator trainers • To train amateur study group facilitators in RVu process specifics and prepare them for their role

(continued)

October 24, 2005	"Focusing ouR View" Public Workshop	• To build public awareness of the RVu project and catalyze participation in the public process via open invitation • To present work-in-progress by researchers into indicators of sustainability of potential interest • To challenge participants to form initial RVu study groups • The event was structured with presentations from leaders and researchers, dialogue with participants, and small group activities to draw out participants' priorities and perspectives in the realm of regional sustainability
January 28, 2006	RVu Data Chew Workshop	• To provide RVu study group participants and others with a mid-process view to relevant data available from official sources (Statistics Canada, BC Statistics, and local data rich organizations) • To provide a forum for discussion of data related questions and issues prior to the study groups' final indicator recommendations
February 27, 2006	RVu Study Group Mixer	• To give study group participants the chance to meet with members of other study groups in an informal setting, to share ideas and experiences
April 3, 2006	"Expanding ouR View" Workshop	• To host a celebratory public event giving study group participants the opportunity to present the results of their work to decision makers throughout the region • To further discuss the results of the indicator selection process with a wide audience, next steps and implications for policy practice • The event was structured with an early morning decision-makers breakfast, followed by panel presentations and small group discussions, and finally an evening reception for study group participants
April 10, 2006	Study Group Facilitator Debrief	• To bring the study group facilitators together with the project team for a summary focus group to draw out process-oriented lessons from their unique perspectives

(continued)

Date	Event	Purpose
May 1, 2006	RVu Data Crunch	• To re-engage with interested study group participants in further refining and prioritizing recommended indicators for initial report publication, based on the project team's research into data availability issues and the results of a web-based poll of indicator preferences region-wide • By holding this meeting immediately prior to an Advisory Committee meeting, to provide project advisors with an opportunity to meet some study group participants and actively engage with the process
June 19, 2006	Launch of *Counting on Vancouver*	• To present RVu's inaugural indicators report with international and Canadian endorsement to an international audience at the World Urban Forum 3 • The report presents the results of the indicator selection process within the process framework, in a publicly accessible format and with illustrative data

Additional process components included periodic meetings between members of the project team and expert facilitators, members of the project team and study group facilitators, and among study group facilitators themselves, to discuss the process and issues arising. Study group participants were also encouraged to participate in the web space dialogue, scan media sources, and keep notes and reflections in the workbook and its "indicator reservoir" section. Six students in the Simon Fraser University Master of Urban Studies program engaged with the study groups during February–April 2006 to assist them in the preparation of presentation materials. This work resulted in poster presentations which were displayed at the *Expanding ouR View* event and, later, at the World Urban Forum 3 in June 2006.

Products of the Study Group Process

The study group process generated a host of different depictions and of participants' progress toward defining their theme area and selecting indicators. While each of the eight groups worked through the same general process, the various groups had differential success with the exercises and activities. They also experienced their breakdowns–and breakthroughs–at different points in the process.

The "triangle" group,[3] with interests spanning from land use to economic development, found its focus by developing numerous iterations of its goal statement. Given the large size of this group and the fact that not all members were present at all meetings, this process worked because it was easily amenable to electronic contributions. Box 1 describes this group's extensive goal definition process and how it was resolved, eventually, with the general consensus of the group. The final goal statement is not elegant but does achieve a level of negotiated explicitness.

> **Box 1. Coming to Consensus on a Goal Statement, Triangle Group**
> The triangle group spent a great deal of time, both during meetings and in on-line discussion between meetings, defining the group's goal. They began with the following statement:
>
>> Regional growth, development and consumption as proportionally appropriate to our global share of natural and economic resources; to be achieved through leadership and participatory democracy, creating effective and efficient regional planning and implementation in land use and growth patterns, supported by the pursuit of the 'triple bottom line' in all enterprises and activities.
>
> The group struggled in particular over the meaning and appropriateness of language including growth versus development; sustainability ("I know this issue is always raised, but what exactly is meant by sustainability? I think trying to agree to define this may be futile and I don't have a recommended solution, but I think we all have an idea of the sentiment of the phrase, and can work with it and move on from there"); the region versus its political title, the Greater Vancouver Regional District; the triple bottom line versus consumption ("I think we are trying to say that if humans were to consume in a way that is fair and equitable both to all other people in the world, and to all other "things" that we share this world with, including other species, ecosystem components and relationships, non-living things and elements – this is what we would like to strive for."); and decision-making processes. ("We all live on planet earth, and everyone needs to be involved and aware of making changes. Only by involving people can we actually realize action.") Their discussions were considered but often circular, testing the skills of the group's facilitator:

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[3] The eight study groups were each initially assigned a name based on a geometric shape. These shapes were chosen at the October 24, 2005 *Focusing ouR View* workshop as headings under which the participants' themes and ideas were clustered. Shapes were used to define groups rather than topical names in order to avoid prejudice regarding terminology, to encourage flexibility in defining the groups' focus, and to prevent a kind of exclusionary founder syndrome of particular terms or categories.

> Participant1: One word that I would like to strike out is growth - when you talk about development and growth . . . I guess my thinking is that you can't have sustainable growth, whereas you can have sustainable development...meaning development differently...I mean you can develop in many different ways, you are not just growing forever. . .
>
> Participant2: My view is that if you don't include the term growth it is taken as a no growth attitude and my view is that we have to say, yes we are accepting growth but we are going to manage it properly. . .
>
> Participant3: The problem is if you restrict growth in some areas inevitably it is going to spread [in others], and you give everyone else that growth...you have to find a way to counteract that... and I don't see how you can do that. . .
>
> Participant4: . . .but when we are looking at a mission statement, I feel that we should aspire to developing differently, we should not aspire to growth, so that's why I guess I am promoting the term development. So that is why I think we should get rid of the sustainability then and just talk about growing efficiently.

The final goal statement arrived at was:

Citizens and their elected representatives direct the GVRD's development and growth in order to enhance long-term regional wellbeing, within the context of the general principles of sustainability (conserving today's resources for future generations) and the following additional tenets: Decisions will be fully assessed on the basis of social, cultural, environmental and economic benefits and costs; Decisions will endeavor to maintain regional consumption of natural and socio-economic resources within levels and rates that do not compromise the ability of natural elements or species to flourish, and promote globally equitable human consumption patterns; Decisions will be made through more transparent, inclusive and accountable processes for issues affecting communities (citizens should be heavily involved in forming the questions, examining the options, deliberating, deciding and implementing decisions related to sustainability).

The "square" group, whose focus was broadly defined around the topic of food and agriculture, engaged particularly well in a force field analysis exercise. The results of this exercise are shown in Fig. 1. In this exercise, the group began with a goal statement, shown in the middle of the figure – "To be a world leader in policies and practices for understanding and protecting local food resources . . .". From this point, group members identified both driving forces toward the goal and restraining forces inhibiting goal achievement. After compiling these forces into a tabular format, at the next meeting, members provided an individual score for each force, basing their rating from 1 (weak) to 4 (strong) on both the strength of the force and the ability of local or regional actors to influence it. Ratings were summed up for all group members during the meeting such that they could engage in dialogue over cases in which there were wide discrepancies between ratings given by different members, and ratings were sometimes changed before the final tabulation.
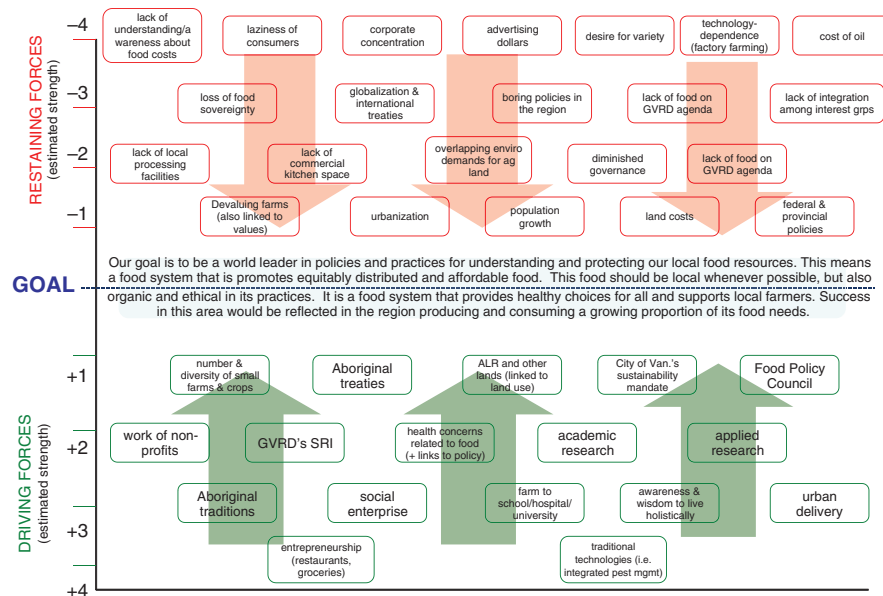
Fig. 1 Sample force field analysis, square group (ALR: Agricultural Land Reserve; SRI: Sustainable Region Initiative; GVRD: Greater Vancouver Regional District)

This final tabulation set the group's priorities and themes for indicator selection. For easy visual consideration, Fig. 1 shows how the group displayed both driving and restraining forces at different points along the vertical axis depending on their rating of its strength and their ability to influence it. This illustrates that group members considered the use of traditional farming technologies such as integrated pest management as among the strongest driving forces toward a sustainable regional food system while they considered population levels a relatively weak restraining force. This was not to say that the group considered population levels to have an insignificant impact on the sustainability of the food system, but that they did not consider it within their power, or the power of regional planning and policy more generally, to change.

A number of groups found the expression of their ideas in the form of concept maps to be rewarding and useful. An example partial result of this process is shown in Fig. 2. This involved beginning with the group's core goal. In the case depicted of the "infinity" group, the goal is shown in the center bubble, that "Our mobility system optimizes equitable access while developing positive social, cultural and economic systems and healthy populations and mitigating negative environmental impacts." From here, the group brainstormed trends related to their goal, distinguishing between those working in favour of the goal and those not in favour. In this case, the group identified two levels of both positive and negative factors, with first level factors often having aspects that worked in favour of the goal and those that did not. The first level factors identified were business, political will,

Fig. 2 Sample concept map, infinity group

increasing traffic congestion, intensification of land use, population changes, citizen groups/involvement, public awareness, concern for human health, people's need to economize, historical development patterns and negative factors of institutional inertia. The second level factors flowing from each of these are distinguished visually with positive factors in green and negative factors in red. The group additionally attached notes to many of the trends that specified the primary locus or means by which the trend affected the goal, whether in public or private space or via the imposition of financial costs. Many of the conditions noted in the sub-trends linked explicitly to other trends, serving as a good test of the level of importance and centrality of proposed indicators.

One group, the "donut" group, centered on the theme of the natural environment, took up the challenge of translating their ideas into a qualitative systems model. The model, shown in Fig. 3, identified the direction of impact of processes and desired trends on one another without attempting to quantify the material scale of impact. The model suggests the major influences on environmental sustainability in the Vancouver region; with the major goal expressed at the centre: "A regenerative and adaptable natural environment." Through iterations of dialogue, the group determined that there were six sub-systems in which they could identify sub-goals that would lead to this larger goal. These six sub-systems constitute the six boxes in the model, a heading for each identified along the top and bottom borders. Within each sub-system, a central objective is identified, surrounded by other boxes containing methods and means that would lead to attaining this objective. Directions of connection between the objectives and methods for action are depicted, with different colours used to show linkages within the sub-system and across sub-systems. This modeling exercise also allowed the group to consider its specific areas of connection to other study groups, which are identified in boxes lying just outside the model. For example, the sub-goal of the lower right box (Developing an Eco-Friendly Planning Culture) was identified as "Develop a planning system that is both responsive and forward-looking." The group suggested a number of ways to achieve this planning goal, such as "Planning for higher densities in compact regional centres." The group then recognized that this particular initiative was connected to the work of one of the other study groups, the "triangle" group, noted with the title "Growth as Development." The initiative is also connected to the upper right box, "Reducing Habitat Loss," where they recognize the importance of the work to "Reign in sprawling development that consumes limited green space in a spatially constrained region."

The study group was able to use this systems model as a thinking and dialogue tool for the identification and prioritization of its key indicators, ensuring that they were placing indicators at points in the system that would be appropriately connected so as to lead to the achievement of their ultimate identified goal. While the model was locally-grounded in the members' understanding of trends and conditions in the Vancouver region, group members were satisfied as well that the model allowed them to express their understanding of the inter-relations between regional and global trends in the realm of environmental sustainability. The one failing that the group found with this approach was that it did not allow them to illustrate the
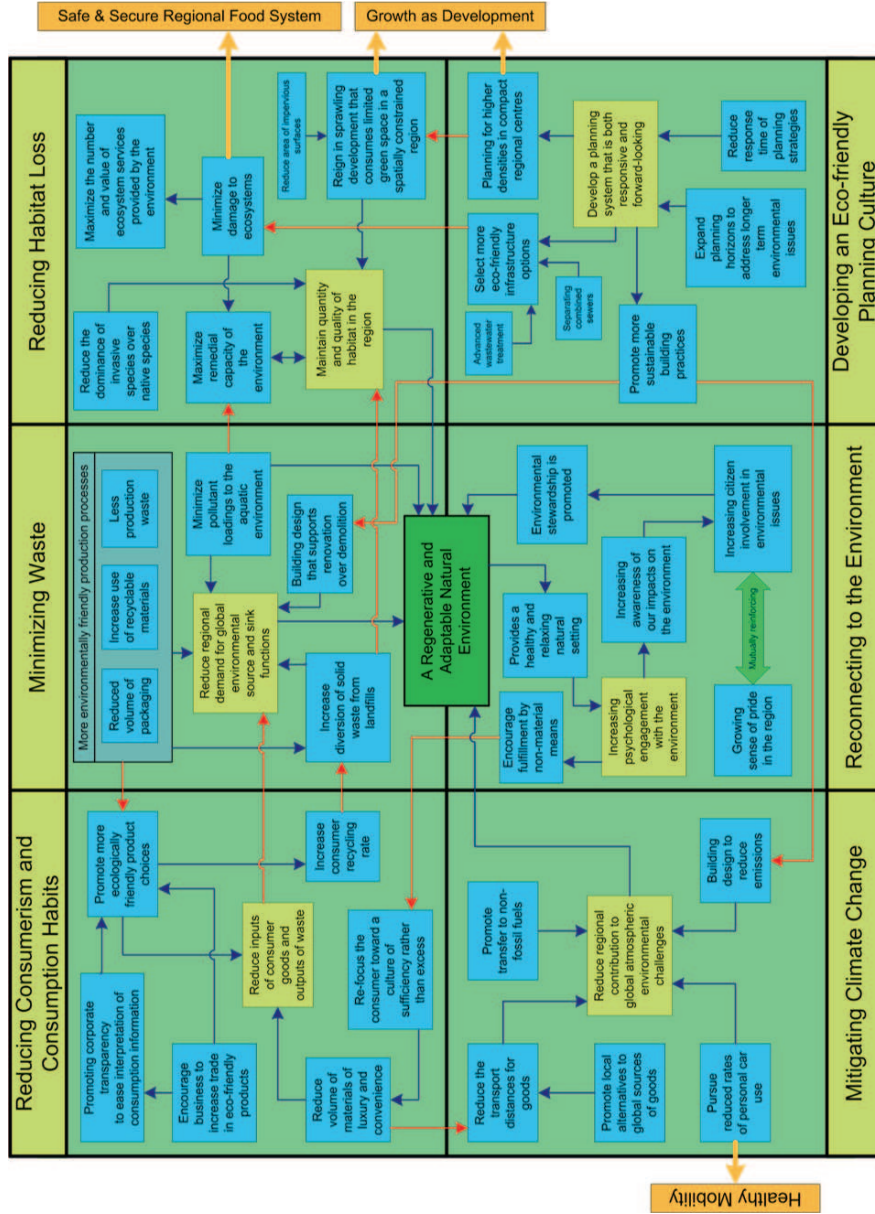
Fig. 3 Sample systems model, donut group

ways in which they saw different groups (citizens, business, or government) being involved in the various means and steps identified in the move toward environmental sustainability.

Results at the Beginning, Middle and End of the Process

As a means to understand how this participatory indicator selection process worked, we examined the results of the process at three points in time: its beginning, the October 24th *Focusing ouR View* event, in the middle, via half-way feedback on the study group process from participants, and at its completion, based on evaluations from the April 3rd *Expanding ouR View* event. Results will be assessed primarily in terms of the level of participation, the quality of experiences, and perceptions of success among those who participated in the process, as the most direct means of evaluating the participatory nature of the study group process.

While methods vary widely in practice and their contributions are rarely assessed, public participation in urban and regional indicator projects is almost always considered to be a key aspect of, in terms of legitimacy the measures selected, to facilitate learning, and/or to enhance the political traction of the project. In the RVu study group process, civic participation was considered to be of value in and of itself, for the learning and engagement opportunity it offered to participants regardless of class, status, or expertise; our hypothesis designing and carrying out the process was that these values could far outweigh the instrumental values of any indicator set in and of itself. External assessments of the results of the process will also be considered, from the perspective of elected and community leaders invited in to comment on the final indicators selected and their potential for uptake into regional political processes, as these suggest another important aspect of the value represented by a participatory process such as the RVu study group process.

Judging the Process at the Beginning

The major launch event for the RVu study group process, *Focusing ouR View*, drew over one hundred participants for the day-long workshop and was also the main recruiting event for the study group process as a whole. The day began in large group format, with brief but motivational speeches from federal leaders expressing excitement for and commitment to the observatory and its work. This was followed by an introduction to RVu and the tasks before participants in order to rise to the challenge of creating indicators of sustainable development for the Vancouver region. Before lunch, participants listened and responded to a series of presentations from local researchers who had been asked to contribute their expert knowledge on different sectoral aspects of indicator selection in the region: from governance, health, environment, Aboriginal, poverty and economic perspectives. After lunch, the day shifted to small group format, in which participants self-organized into working

tables in order to respond to a series of overarching questions about sustainability and its measurement. Responses to these questions were clustered into themes and presented back to participants, who were invited to regroup into study group tables to expand on and develop these themes. At the end of the day, participants returned to the large group setting and reported back the main discussion points from each table to the whole group. With this and some additional logistical explanation about the unrolling of the process from that point forward, as well as a celebratory exercise, the day's events concluded.

In addition to the event's success as measured by its recruitment of volunteers for the substantial time commitment of the study group process, evaluations of this workshop were submitted by 35 participants. The evaluation questions at this point focused on perceptions of the success of different aspects of the event itself, along with more general impressions and ideas about the RVu project, the public study group process, and its future directions. These participants were most enthusiastic about the way the day-long event was structured and facilitated in order to provide for interaction, including small and large group dialogue. Comments made included optimism about "knowing there will be an ongoing process," that "it felt as though real progress was or will be made through this process" and seeing "a careful civic inventory as a very important part of the process." Of course, there were critiques of the timing and facilitation of the day, as well, with a number of participants left wanting more interactive time for small group discussions in order to solidify their study group themes. The second most common aspect of praise received for the event related to the diversity of participants and opportunity to network with others. This praise was matched by a similar proportion of concern from other participants that more diversity ought to have been included in the event, be it age or ethnic diversity or the inclusion of more representatives from industry or government.

Participants noted the value of the vision encapsulated within the project as a whole, the event as a stimulating kick-off for a longer participatory process, and the efforts already taken and perceived as possible in the future for connections between RVu and other processes and organizations. The presentations by local researchers about work on different dimensions of sustainable development in the Vancouver region were also specifically cited. For some, this was a highlight of the event and for others it was a shortcoming; the latter group either hoped for more time to interact with these presenters or thought too much time was devoted to this portion of the event. A number of participants felt the day's events lacking in terms of providing enough background information about the RVu process itself, its global network and what other observatories had accomplished, or other aspects of completing an indicator-based process. The other process element of the day that received some critique was the way in which participants' ideas were clustered into study group themes, leaving some feeling "pigeon-holed into a particular issue at day's end" or as if more time were needed to ensure their theme was properly delineated.

Participants were additionally asked at the process outset for their ideas about events and activities that would most effectively engage the region in establishing a common set of sustainability indicators. The most common reply related to

sustained outreach activities to diverse groups, with ethnic communities including Aboriginal, East Indian and Chinese groups, professional groups, municipal governments, youth and the health sector all receiving specific mention. Specific emphases within the realm of selecting indicators were mentioned, as well, with several participants calling for an emphasis on human and cultural factors within sustainability indicators, and several others calling for an effort toward integrating indicators with the practical needs of government and community groups. Other ideas for future public events and media strategies also received mention.

Judging the Process in the Middle

Evaluations distributed mid-way through the process sought to examine participants' motivation for getting involved and whether this had changed. Questions also, probed for the nature of the study group experience and assessments of progress. Experiences of the process, based on the 17 evaluations submitted, varied widely. The motivations these respondents provided for their interest in getting involved and staying involved with the process fell into three main categories. One group joined in order to learn about sustainability generally or some specific aspect such as food or mobility, sustainability in Vancouver, about RVu, about other people or how they perceive and/or contribute to sustainability solutions. A second group was drawn in particular to the opportunity to devise indicators, which for some was related to a professional aspiration, to contribute to a "civic inventory," and to the agenda for the upcoming World Urban Forum 3. A third group was drawn in by the networking opportunities in a topic area of interest to them personally. A small number (less than ten percent) was there at the request of their employer. Respondents mentioned the draw of being "an active citizen," to activate a personal "commitment to the development of the region," "community engagement" or generally "to affect change."

Participants compared the process to past experiences with community meetings, stakeholder consultations and public advisory groups hosted by government, group work in academic or corporate settings, and a few to other specific indicator-related processes they had engaged in elsewhere. A number of participants considered the experience incomparable to anything they had previously been involved in and one thought it compared best to "heated dinner table conversations."

A number of common frustrations were noted at the half-way point in the process. Many groups and participants found it challenging to keep their dialogue within the group's specific theme area and to generate indicators in that area. One participant referred to this as the frustration of "big goals leashed in by small particulars." Some struggled with the ambiguity and complexity of key concepts, surprised by "how challenging it is to put into words a concept that we all felt relatively familiar with." Others experienced frustration with the pace of the process, with some facing difficulties feeling "up to speed" in time for each study group meeting and others wanting to speed up the process to get to the next stage – "let me get out there and measure something." Still others were most frustrated

by inter-personal relationships within the group, particularly related to those participants who seemed to speak too much and listen too little, to those who seemed not to make an effort to understand and accept the ideas of others, and more generally to the "WIDE variety of perspectives and backgrounds" (emphasis in original).

These frustrations, however, were matched by rewards and curiosity that kept participants hanging in. Participants noted in particular their gratitude and surprise at the amount of information available to be shared and by how much they had to learn in an area that usually was already a personal interest. Many found value in learning from their fellow study group participants, gaining insight into the diverse perspectives of others and more clearly recognizing their own distinct ability to contribute to a valuable outcome. This value of the process was encapsulated by one participant as "developing ideas collectively and beyond what we could do individually." Participants also maintained their momentum via their curiosity about whether their group, and the process as a whole, would be able to meet its goal within the time frame provided, how the linkages among the groups would manifest, and where this all would put the RVu process in relation to other activities in the region and to other observatories around the world. Questions at this point included: "How will it all come together?" and, "Will it all make sense soon?"

Judging the Process at Its Completion

The April 3rd *Expanding ouR View* event offered study group participants an opportunity to present the results of their work to local decision makers throughout the region, to other study group participants, and to interested members of the public (see appendix for the list of 24 indicators). They did this through five minute presentations at a special breakfast session, through visual presentations on display posters, and presentations of their condensed results in the workshop proceedings. A special invitation was sent for the breakfast session to local elected decision makers region-wide, in attempt to make the "coming out party" for the indicators also a bridge to finding receptive channels for injecting the indicators into existing local political processes. Study group participants were congratulated and introduced by regional leaders. Following the presentations from the study groups, many decision makers left, but additional members of the public arrived for the next phase of the day, which involved a panel discussion of invited respondents addressing each of the eight study groups, time for discussion, followed by a second panel of commentators suggesting how to propel the indicators work forward in the regional and the Canadian context. The day's final activities included round table discussion and reporting back to the large group.

A minority of participants submitted evaluations of the study group process as a whole after this event ($n = 17$). Their responses provide a sense of the participant experience including how much time and energy they had invested, how effective they found the group process and what they had learned. The average number of

hours that respondents dedicated to the process was 31, with a wide range from 10 to 70 over the entire October–April period. Nearly half of respondents (47%) considered the process "very effective" and an equal number found it "somewhat effective"; 62% were "extremely" or "very" satisfied with their group's outcomes. There was a predictable range of responses regarding the balance of time commitment and outcomes, with some calling for a longer or more intensive process and others claiming the process had been utterly too demanding. With more time, participants would have liked "to 'test' indicators with the media and municipalities," to interact more effectively with other study groups, or to better explore new ideas: "the challenge was that many of the interesting thoughts and ideas came close to the end and we couldn't discuss these fully."

All respondents stated that they had learned something new from their experience. Key lessons learned ranged from those related to group dynamics ("self-selecting groups can lead to difficulties," "great to connect with people who are committed to this type of discussion," "frustrated with myself: social skills lacking"), related to the different perceptions of sustainability evident in the region, and related to the roles of indicators in management, decision making and action.

A large majority agreed that their group had reached consensus on their key indicators (93%), secondary indicators (83%), group focus (79%) and system model (77%). Some reflected that to achieve a tighter group focus, their group might have meaningfully been split into two (energy and environment rather than "natural environment" as a whole, for example, or education and governance rather than "governance") – and that the failure to make this split prevented some from full engagement. Others mentioned variable group member participation from meeting to meeting as a challenge to reaching consensus on different aspects of the process, since "the conversation dynamics changed for each session, depending on which participants attended."

In the RVu process, the series of small group meetings among participants interested in setting indicators for particular domains of sustainability (mobility, for example, or environment or arts and culture) was successful in creating a sense of community amongst participants. The eight groups were able to agree to a vision for sustainability in their domain as a means to determine key indicators.

When the groups presented their visions and indicators to outsiders for the first time at the April 3rd event, the political possibilities and constraints of the indicators became immediately apparent to participants. Invited responses provided by community leaders to the indicator recommendations of each group had a powerful impact on the study group participants. As noted in the epigraph for this chapter, one former local politician invited to comment on the indicator set took a particularly dismissive view of the vision of a sustainable region that underlay the 24 final indicators, considering them too dangerous for formal political uptake:

> If . . . you asked me to cooperate in this exercise [as an elected politician]. . . I would advise myself to say no, don't go near it. They have raised the bar so high and put the frame in such a way that this is an absolute no-win for me. No matter what comes out, I'm going to be the problem. So why would I participate?

This criticism was considered devastating by some participants, given their lack of standing to take the project forward toward implementation beyond what they had achieved in their small group. The same respondent continued:

> That ability to frame an issue is often more important than whatever is inside the frame. And there are a set of frames that I saw throughout all of the various groups that are "disputable." I found myself politically writhing, particularly in the poverty one. Where I want to engage in the premises that you have. There's lots of important things we can talk about but it won't be the data. It'll be the assumptions and the frame you describe.

In other words, to this stakeholder, formally recognizing these indicators would seem to dangerously lift the veil of ignorance so long held in place between the workers in data and the workers in the public eye, blurring the boundaries between those who have the facts and those who engage in public debate around priorities and decisions. Considering his past role as a local politician, these kinds of risks involved in engagement with politicized indicators appeared prohibitive. It is important to note that this perspective was not the dominant one expressed by respondents at the workshop. Other invited respondents defended the value of the indicators regardless of their ability to win the favour of elected politicians. Consider, for example, this comment from the executive director of a nongovernmental research organization:

> Different indicators have purposes other than convincing elected officials. Because we all know that there are all kinds of things that go into decision making besides facts. So I think that's not a reason to be dismissive of indicators . . . because I do think that they play a greater role, in terms of supporting accountability, supporting a broad notion of public engagement and allowing people different modes of access into considering the future of their region.

A sitting local official saw the use of indicators for obviously political purposes as a valuable addition to the process of hearing and responding to the wide range of concerns in which he is already regularly engaged:

> Putting forward an indicator is a political act in itself, drawing attention to them is an act in itself, so I'm not afraid of groups that come up with indicators to argue their point but I think that is a good way to go. Because as a politician I hear everything. And so if you've got an indicator even if it's got your spin on it, the world is wide. I believe in listening to the local community but right now, I'm in charge of listening to Vancouver, so to me it's very difficult to get one-on-one dialogue. So indicators . . . might be a way to go.

Another local official expressed a different but also positive view of the need to politicize indicators by speaking directly to those in positions to take action on deteriorating trends:

> If you don't get their attention and you don't get them activated, what's the point of having the indicator? Things are just going to keep drifting around in the wrong direction. So if you want to keep things from drifting around, you've got to engage the people who have some say in what direction we're moving. And they're not always politicians, but that's part of it.

Regarding the issue of how directly the project should be framed as an input to specific decision making, as opposed to being framed as general inputs to civic understanding of trends, a manager with the regional government, then called the

Greater Vancouver Regional District (now called Metro Vancouver), expressed frustration with the absence of overtly political indicators in the formal political process this way:

> This question around whether or not we want to politicize the indicators that we're tracking as a community I think is a fundamental one. We have experience with annual reporting at the GVRD. How many people know the GVRD does annual reporting on the LRSP? [4] We had an experience last year where even our own Board was not familiar with that report and that it was done annually and delivered annually. So, the non-politicized indicators for what we would say are some of our most pressing issues seem not to have traction.

The indicators that proved most popular amongst readers of the report were provocative but not overtly tied to policy. [5] These indicators were put forward by the group, working on indicators of the natural environment, named "waste watchers" and "fossil fools." The most contentious indicator, about which there was the greatest variation in level of support, included one from the triangle group, the only indicator that was specifically policy-directed – "number of local land use bylaws that deviate from the LRSP."

Conclusion

The RVu study group process resulted in a new set of 24 key indicators of sustainable development particular to the Metro Vancouver region, that have subsequently been refined and published in the inaugural RVu (2006) indicator report, *Counting on Vancouver: Our view of the region*, and released to a global audience at the World Urban Forum 3. The recommended RVu indicators remain unadopted in local political processes in Vancouver, although they have been used as inputs in two regional indicator processes that have subsequently come about, in what amounts to somewhat of a local revival of an indicator-based approach to governance. [6] Neither of the indicator processes that have drawn on the RVu results have had the budget or capacity to engage citizens as broadly or deeply as did the RVu process and the ability to draw on an existing engagement process has been seen as a valuable input.

The question of whether the political impact of the RVu process has been or will be equal to the efforts invested in the process by citizens and the resources spent in designing and completing it remains open. Evidence presented in this chapter has proven, however, that citizens are capable of and interested in engaging in a

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[4] The LRSP, or Livable Region Strategic Plan, is the Vancouver region's growth strategy, established in 1996. Its authority rests in its standing as a "compact for development" agreed to unanimously by municipalities when it was passed, rather than in any specific incentives, disincentives, or other policy "teeth" able to enforce compliance.

[5] This information is based on 28 completed ratings of preferences among the indicators completed by members of the Vancouver public between April and June 2006.

[6] These two indicator projects are the Sustainable Region Initiative Social Action Team indicators of social sustainability (Edmonds & Abrams 2006) and the Vancouver Foundation Vital Signs (2006, 2007).

deep and intensive volunteer process, even when the goals are as cerebral and vague as devising indicators of sustainability and when the political commitment to the results falters. The rewards of this participation stretch beyond the formal political process to those of broad-based civic engagement and learning across communities of interest, practice in pursuing sometimes difficult dialogue and debate with fellow citizens, social skills and political strategic thinking.

The detailed understanding of the study group process provided by this chapter provides lessons for the design and operationalization of public participatory processes for community indicator selection and beyond. The internal judgments of the process are not a perfect match for the external judgments of the outcomes; this discrepancy does, however, demonstrate how the RVu study group process served to enliven the regional civic dialogue and debate about the qualities of a sustainable region, the role, utility, and political risks of an indicators-based approach, exposing some shocking perspectives in a region considered to strongly espouse values of sustainability, quality of life, and public participation.

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Appendix: Key Indicators of Sustainability, Results of the RVu Study Group Process

	Indicator	Trend
Sustainable Mobility	Percent of children who walk or cycle to school	Negative
	Percent of household income spent on transportation within the region	No Change
	Level of agreement with the statement: "I live in a neighbourhood in which I can walk to work and to meet my personal needs."	?
Overcoming Poverty	Availability of emergency services (food, beds, detox) as a proportion of demonstrated need for these services.	Negative
	Percent of households in the region consistently able to meet their basic needs.	Negative
	Quality of media coverage of poverty as a regional sustainability issue.	?
Economic Development	Local Index for a Vital Economy (LIVE).	?
	Number of land use bylaws passed by municipalities that contravene the vision and principles outlined in the Livable Region Strategic Plan (LRSP).	?
Governance	Efficient resource use in local municipalities (oil equivalent per capita).	Positive
	Percent of Vancouver region residents who feel they have opportunity to voice thoughts on major community decisions.	?
	The success of a sample of attempts by municipalities to reach diverse groups of the public in strategic work toward sustainability.	?
	Percent of Vancouver residents who are aware of the Ecological Footprint and understand their contribution to it.	?
Building Community	The number and location of "third spaces" around the region.	?
	The number of institutions, organizations and businesses which engage with the public on a regular basis.	?
	The number of public consultations which achieved "true dialogue."	?

Appendix (continued)

	Indicator	Trend
Natural Environment	Total regional waste produced per capita.	Positive
	Percent of citizens who participate in environmental stewardship activities.	?
	Percent of development on greenfield vs. brownfield land.	?
Food Systems	The gap between the percent of income spent by each of 4 income groups needed to purchase a "healthy" food basket.	Negative
	Ratio of all land available for growing food to the potentially productive land in both urban and rural areas.	?
	Ratio of food items produced and consumed within the region those imported and consumed within the region for selected foods.	?
Arts and Culture	Quantity and quality of opportunities for cultural activity, as represented by an annually updated cultural events matrix.	?
	Percent of individuals who feel that they have adequate access, freedom and time for cultural and artistic activity.	?
	Ratio of dollars spent promoting multicultural awareness and artistic work to the dollars these activities contribute to the region.	?

Mental Health Indicator Parity: Integrating National, State, and Local Data

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Abstract To successfully move into the new millennium, President George W. Bush commissioned healthcare providers and advocates as well as policy makers to transform the current delivery of mental health services in the United States. This chapter addresses the need to assess the demographic characteristics of individuals who experience mental illness. We compiled available mental health data to describe the prevalence of mental illness in Dallas County and in Texas, with comparisons to national rates. This report presents mental health indicators for the United States, Texas, and Dallas County by age, race/ethnicity, education, and poverty level, where available. Because the methods for collecting the data were different, comparisons of state and local data with the national level data should be made with caution. This chapter is intended to assist researchers, policymakers, and service providers in employing consistent measure of mental health disorders that will allow comparisons at the local, state, and national levels. These efforts represent the beginning of a process of responding to mental health and illness in our community to better serve affected individuals and their families.

Introduction: Defining Mental Health

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" ("Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization," 1948, p. 100). This definition was developed to indicate the importance of not only good physical health, but also good mental and social health. In the United States, this importance can be seen as mental health disorders accounted for more than 15% of the disease burden in 1999, highlighting the need for mental, as well as physical, health promotion (US Department of Health and Human Services [DHHS] 1999). Unfortunately, ambiguities in the definition of mental health and mental illness make it difficult to adequately address mental health issues.

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Though mental health is sometimes defined as the "absence of a mental disorder" (DHHS 1999), most scientists, researchers, and public health professionals recognize there is more to mental health. In 2001, WHO's *World Health Report* devoted a full chapter to mental health and illness. As stated in the report, mental health is virtually impossible to comprehensively define due to cultural diversities and differing professional theories. Nevertheless, WHO offered the following as a general definition:

> mental health include[s] subjective well-being, perceived self-efficacy, autonomy, competence, intergenerational dependence, and self-actualization of one's intellectual and emotional potential (WHO, 2001, p. 5).

The psychiatry literature focuses more on defining mental illness, rather than mental health, and it uses two prominent classification systems to define mental illness: the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) and the International Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD) (Cooper 1995). The DSM system stresses the severity and duration of the symptom complex of various disorders in order to differentiate psychopathology from normalcy. The ICD system conceptualizes mental illnesses as disruptions in brain function.

Since the early 1990s, when many states began enacting state-level mental health parity laws, ultimately resulting in the national-level Mental Health Parity Act of 1996, the US government has also been engaged in defining mental illness (Peck & Scheffler 2002). The federal definition of mental illness is usually interpreted to include all disorders in the DSM, but for the most part, federal laws leave the definition of mental illness to individual insurers for a particular state. As a consequence of this, multiple definitions of mental illness were developed by states in order to reimburse consumers. There has been an effort on the part of policymakers to categorize a high priority group of seriously mentally ill in order to make better use of limited resources for maximal benefit. This effort, although necessary, has added to already existing confusion over the definitions of mental illness since different states use different criteria for these indicators in order to better serve consumers in a particular state (Cooper 1995; Schinnar, Rothbard, Kanter, & Jung, 1990). States usually make use of economic criteria in order to reimburse consumers diagnosed with various DSM diagnoses. However, DSM is based on self-reported symptom complex and is not designed to prioritize the needs of consumers (Kendler & Gardner 1998). DSM does not place as much stress on the level of "functional impairment," which is an essential criterion used to define serious mental illness and other mental health indicators.

As governments, nongovernmental agencies, and scientists have all created different definitions of mental health and mental illness, multiple mental health indicators have been developed. This chapter, originally created as part of a mental health needs assessment for Dallas County, Texas, will review these indicators; provide a brief overview of recent developments in mental health services in America; present estimated prevalence rates, numbers, and proportions of mental health disorders in Dallas County; and compare the local statistics to those of the United States and Texas, using the most current data available. Statistics are presented in graphical and

tabular form and are broken down by age, race/ethnicity, gender, and other relevant characteristics when appropriate data are available.

Mental Health in America

In 1999, the US Surgeon General released a report dedicated to the issue of mental health in America (DHHS 1999). The report reviewed the improvements America has seen in the understanding of mental disorders and their associated pathologic mechanisms over the last 50 years and identified some of the remaining gaps in the mental health care system:

- Despite the identification of barriers that limit the availability and accessibility of mental health services for some Americans, disparities in mental health persist;
- The lack of knowledge concerning the etiology, management, and prevention of some mental health disorders hinders efforts to promote mental health within the community;
- Development of effective procedures for the treatment and prevention of mental health disorders, and continuous mental health evaluation is critical to the creation and maintenance of effective mental health interventions (DHHS 1999).

Since the report was published, further steps have been taken to increase awareness about mental health issues. On April 29, 2002, President George W. Bush announced the creation of the New Freedom Commission on Mental Health. The Commission's primary objectives are to carefully examine the current delivery processes of mental health services and to advise the President of possible improvements. This includes evaluating the quality and efficiency of the current delivery system, private as well as public, and identifying unmet needs and barriers to treatment for those individuals with serious mental illnesses and children and adolescents with serious emotional disturbances.

The New Freedom Commission's report, "Achieving the Promise: Transforming Mental Health Care in America" (2003) describes the national prevalence of mental illness, details the unmet needs of the mentally ill, and provides recommendations to achieve the transformation of mental health services in the United States. In this report, a broad concept of mental health service needs is suggested, which includes substance abuse treatment and attention to housing, employment, and social support issues. The report also outlines six goals for the mental health transformation plan:

- Understand that mental health is a crucial component to overall health;
- Create a mental health care system that is consumer and family-driven;
- Eliminate disparities in mental health services;
- Make mental health screening, assessment, and referral to services common practice;
- Deliver excellent mental health care and accelerate research; and
- Harness new technology to access mental health care and information (New Freedom Commission on Mental Health 2003).

Mental Health Transformation

Texas Mental Health Transformation Project

In response to the goals of the New Freedom Commission, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration (SAMSHA) awarded seven states, including Texas, federal funding to implement the mental health transformation commissioned by the President. In 2006, the Texas Department of State Health Services (DSHS) contracted with the Texas Health Institute (THI) to implement transformation strategies at the local level. THI established the Mental Health Transformation Community Collaborative Project and funded community collaboration in eight areas of Texas, with the objective of developing prototypes for statewide mental health transformation. The Dallas County Unified Public Mental Health Initiative has been awarded one of these competitive grants. The Mental Health Transformation Workgroup, comprised of consumers and representatives from a broad range of state agencies, was also created to provide leadership for more broad-based mental health transformation in Texas. The Workgroup has published three documents: (1) an analysis of the current state of mental health service delivery in Texas (DSHS, 2006c), (2) the *Comprehensive Mental Health Plan for the State of Texas* (DSHS, 2006a), and (3) implementation recommendations to the Texas Senate Committee on Health and Human Services (DSHS, 2006b). These documents clarify, for those in the state of Texas, the challenges of the current mental health service delivery system, the vision for the future of mental health service delivery, and the immediate implementation approach.

The Comprehensive Mental Health Plan for Texas is a bold, radical, supposedly long-term action plan. It seeks to initiate an evolving process that will achieve a major shift in the organizational culture across agencies at local, state, and federal levels. An essential aspect of this initiative is the development of a transformation partnership culture, which builds on new technologies, collaboration among agencies, and a strong and vibrant consumer and family-member voice. It is to be an evidence-based transformation, drawing on the latest evidence-based research. The goals include reducing fragmentation, building a solid foundation for delivering and sustaining mental health and related services, addressing stigma and the role of consumers and family members, reducing disparities, and focusing on the quality and efficiency of care. The ultimate objective is "to build a mental health system that promotes wellness, resilience, and recovery."

North Texas Mental Health Transformation Initiative: Project Transform

Project Transform is focused on the seven-county area of North Texas served by NorthSTAR, but is not limited to persons receiving services funded by NorthSTAR. The project seeks to move the system of mental health service delivery toward a unified public health model serving the needs of all persons in North Texas. All

adults who have or are at risk for having mental illness and all children and ado-lescents who have or are at risk for having emotional or behavioral disturbances are included in the scope of this project. This is consistent with the definition of "priority populations" in the Texas Comprehensive Mental Health Plan. The corol-lary definition of "mental health services" is broad, encompassing not only mental health and substance abuse services, but also other services essential to meeting the needs of persons with mental illness, including medical care, housing, employment, social support, and other issues that must be addressed to respond adequately to mental health problems. Within the broad-focus population is the entire range of socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, and age groups, as well as all levels of vulnerability and severity of illness. The project will strive to transform the delivery of mental health services in North Texas, using a model that is evidence-based, consumer-driven, culturally congruent, and recovery-focused, and that achieves integration and coordination of services across the current system, which is currently characterized by funding and service-delivery silos.

NorthSTAR Program

NorthSTAR is a behavioral health managed care program, created by the Texas Health and Human Services Commission (HHSC) in response to a Texas State Legislature directive to comprehensively restructure Medicaid in Texas (Ferrara M., personal communication, 2007). The program's service area includes Collin, Dallas, Ellis, Hunt, Kaufman, Navarro, and Rockwall Counties. The NorthSTAR program aims to resolve several problems with public behavioral health care, such as access to services, lack of provider choice and accountability. NorthSTAR has changed the behavioral health services in its service area in order to create a system that is completely consumer-oriented.

NorthSTAR's target population includes consumers who meet specific DSM IV clinical diagnostic criteria, who demonstrate eligibility in the included Medicaid groups, whose income is below or equal to 200% of the federal poverty level, and who lack any other insurance (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2005b). For example, recipients of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the Supplemental Security Income program, and some other income-eligible programs are also eligible for NorthSTAR. However, Medicaid-eligible persons who reside in nursing homes or community facilities for the mentally retarded, who are in child protective foster care, or whose Medicaid eligibility is for an emergency situation only, are not covered by NorthSTAR. They receive services under other state Medicaid programs.

NorthSTAR also serves the large group of indigent consumers identified as the priority populations, including children and adolescents who have a diagnosis of mental illness, and who exhibit severe emotional or social disabilities that require crisis intervention or prolonged treatment. The adult priority population includes individuals with serious mental illness. Generally this population consists of adults with the diagnoses of schizophrenia, major depression, manic-depressive disorder,

or other severely disabling mental disorders which require crisis resolution or ongoing and long-term support and treatment.

NorthSTAR covers an array of mental health and substance abuse services, including assessment and treatment planning; crisis services; inpatient hospitalization; pharmacological management and maintenance therapy; medication training and support; counseling; skills training and development; case management; rehabilitative services; parent and family education; assertive community treatment; specialty wraparound services for children; 24-hour residential detoxification and/or rehabilitation; partial hospital rehabilitation; intensive outpatient rehabilitation; outpatient programs, services, and detoxification; dual diagnosis services; and specialized health care services for women.

Data Sources

Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, 1993–2006

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) established the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) in 1984. The BRFSS annually collects information on health and screening behaviors, quality of life, and demographics. In this chapter, we analyzed responses to the following BRFSS question:

> Now, thinking about your mental health, which includes stress, depression, and problems with emotions, for how many days during the past 30 days was your mental health not good? (CDC 2007).

National Comorbidity Survey: Replication (NCS-R), 2001–2003

NCS-R is a nationally-representative, community-based household survey that was conducted to ascertain the prevalence and correlates of mental health disorders in the United States. Based on the national prevalence estimates provided by the NCS-R, the University of Texas Medical Branch (UTMB) at Galveston used data from the US Census Bureau to calculate state- and county-level estimates by age, race/ethnicity, gender, marital status, and poverty level (Holzer 2007).

NorthSTAR Dallas County: Mental Health Estimates, 2000–2007

NorthSTAR Is a behavioral health managed care program that provides public behavioral health care to consumers with specified mental illness/substance abuse problems and who meet certain income-eligibility criteria. The NorthSTAR and

Special Initiatives Unit, Department of State Health Services, at Austin, Texas provided data on the prevalence of mental illness among NorthSTAR clients for this chapter.

Mental Health Indicators

The 1999 Surgeon General's report identified three prevalence indicators to measure adult mental health disorders: (a) mental illness (MI), (b) serious mental illness (SMI), and (c) severe and persistent mental illness (SPMI) (DHHS 1999). These indicators were developed to address differences in samples, methodology, and differing criteria used to define mental illnesses. Additional indicators include frequent mental distress (FMD), serious emotional distress (SED), and mental illnesses defined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV of Mental Disorders (DSM IV). Table 1 presents all the mental health indicators used in this chapter and shows the geographic units of analysis for which the data are available. All the indicators are described in the ensuing text.

Mental Illness (MI)

Most Americans have been touched by mental illness, either their own or that of a family member, friend, or coworker. Mental illness prevalence estimates in the United States range from 19 to 23%. (See Fig. 1). This translates to approximately 44 million Americans, including 2.3 million Texans. On average, in a single year, 19% of the adult US population has a mental disorder, while 3% of that same population has both mental and addictive disorders. According to two national mental health surveys, the Epidemiologic Catchment Area Study (ECA) and the National Comorbidity Study (NCS), between 28 and 30% of the US population has either a mental or addictive disorder (DHHS 1999).

Frequent Mental Distress (FMD)

The CDC's Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) measures the number of "bad mental days" a respondent has had in the past 30 days in the Quality of Life Module. Those respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are

Table 1 Mental health indicators reported across geographic locations

Mental health indicators	Geographic units of analysis		
	USA	Texas	Dallas county
Mental illness	*		
Frequent mental distress	*	*	
Serious mental illness		*	*
Severe and persistent mental illness		*	*
Serious emotional distress		*	*
DSM IV among NorthSTAR clients			*
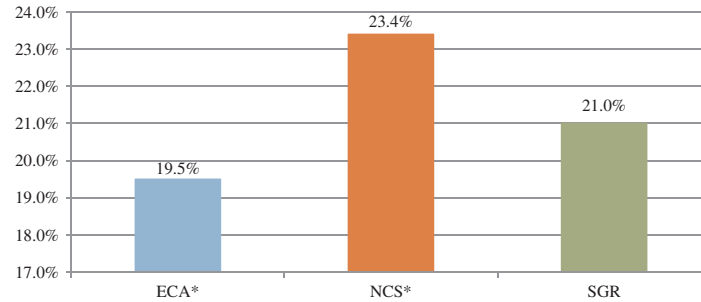
Fig. 1 Comparison of mental illness prevalence estimates epidemiologic catchment area study (ECA), national comorbidity study (NCS), and surgeon general's report (SGR)
Source: US Department of Health and Human Services. Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General-Executive Summary. Rockville, MD: US Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Center for Mental Health Services, National Institutes of Health, National Institute of Mental Health (1999) http://www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/mentalhealth/home.html.
*For a review of the methodologies used in these surveys, see Andrews (1995).

defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD) (CDC 2005a). Figure 2 displays the trend of FMD for Texas and the United States from 1993 to 2006. Since 1993, the prevalence of FMD in the United States has increased. Texas has experienced an increase in the prevalence of FMD, though these estimates do not appear stable. When considering FMD for subpopulations within Texas and the United States, we observe the following:

- *Gender*. In Texas, regardless of year, females experience higher prevalence rates of FMD compared to men (CDC 2005a) (See Fig. 3).
- *Race/ethnicity*. In the United States, Hispanics, Black non-Hispanics, Native Americans/Alaska Natives, and Other non-Hispanics report a higher prevalence
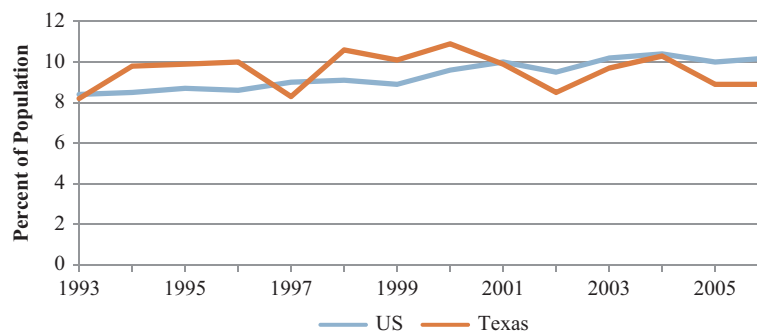
Fig. 2 Percentage of population with frequent mental distress*, US and Texas, 1993–2006
Source: Data are from the 1993-2006 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS).
*Respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD)
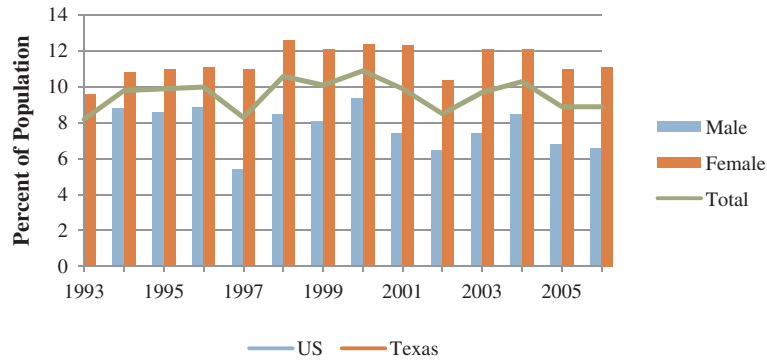
Fig. 3 Percentage of population with frequent mental distress$^{\pm}$ by Gender, Texas, 1993–2006
Source: Data are from the 1993–2006 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS).
$\pm$ Respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD)

of FMD compared to Asians/Pacific Islanders and White non-Hispanics. Native Americans/Alaska Natives reported the highest prevalence of FMD nearly every year, while Asians/Pacific Islanders reported the lowest prevalence estimates (See Fig. 4). In Texas, Black non-Hispanics reported higher prevalence of FMD compared to Hispanics and White non-Hispanics (See Fig. 5). The estimates
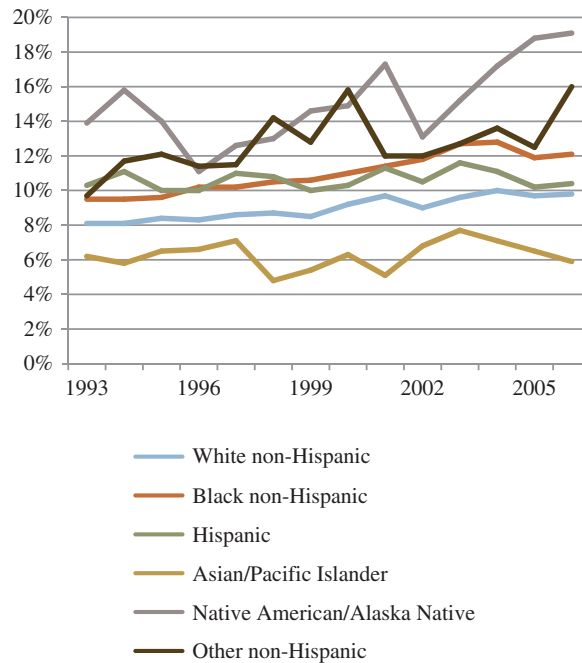
Fig. 4 Percentage of Individuals with Frequent Mental Distress (FMD)$^{\pm}$ by Race/Ethnicity, United States, 1993–2006
Source: Data are from the 1993–2006 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS).
$\pm$ Respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD)

Fig. 5 Percentage of
Individuals with frequent
mental distress (FMD)$^{\pm}$ by
race/ethnicity, Texas,
1993-2006
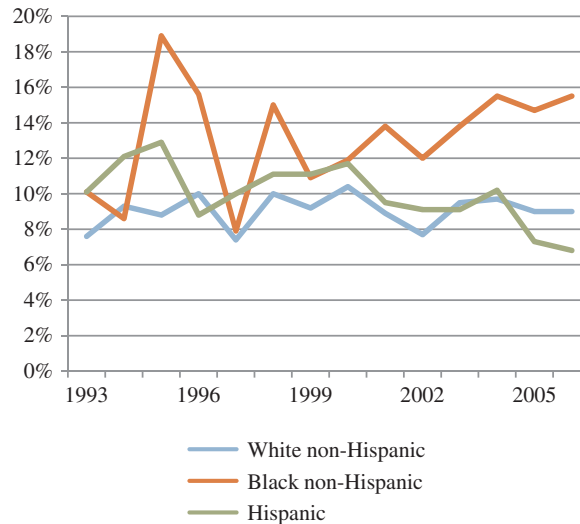
for Asians/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans/Alaska Natives, and Other non-Hispanics are either not reported or are considered unstable due to low numbers of FMD; therefore these data should not be relied upon for the purpose of comparison (CDC 2005a).

- *Age*. In both the United States and Texas, the 18- to 24-year-old age group reported the highest prevalence of FMD, while the 65- to 74-year-old and 75$\pm$ year-old age reported the lowest overall prevalence of FMD (CDC, 2005a). (See Tables 2 and 3)

Serious Mental Illness (SMI)

SMI is defined as "[having] at least one 12-month disorder, other than a substance use disorder, that [meets] DSM-IV criteria and [having] a serious impairment. . . defined as impairment equivalent to a Global Assessment of Functioning (GAF) score of less than 60" (Epstein, Barker, Vorburger, & Murtha 2004). The National Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA) was the first to measure this event (SAMSHA 2006a). The 2001 US prevalence estimate of SMI was approximately 8.3% for all persons 18 years and older (SAMSHA 2006b). In this OAS study, it was discovered that SMI is statistically associated with certain characteristics, namely education and employment status (Epstein et al. 2004).

Prevalence of SMI varies by state within the United States as well (See Fig. 6). In 2001, Texas had the 17th lowest SMI prevalence rate in the nation (SAMSHA 2006a). As with measures of FMD, estimates of state specific SMI prevalence vary greatly when explored by age. Individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 experienced the highest prevalence of SMI, regardless of state, with prevalence estimates ranging from 9.7% in California to 14.6% in Maine. Texas ranks 13th in the United States

Table 2 Percentage of individuals with frequent mental distress (FMD)[+] by Age, United States, 1993–2006

Year		18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	75+
1993	n (%)	9,858 (9.4)	21,912 (8.5)	22,395 (9.5)	15,073 (8.9)	10,966 (7.7)	11,300 (6.1)	7,115 (5.8)
	CI	(8.3–10.4)	(7.9–9.1)	(8.8–10.1)	(8.2–9.7)	(6.9–8.5)	(5.3–6.8)	(5.1–6.6)
1994	n (%)	10,122 (10.4)	21,472 (8.4)	23,508 (9.0)	16,033 (8.7)	11,367 (8.3)	12,399 (5.7)	7,795 (7.2)
	CI	(9.3–11.5)	(7.8–9.0)	(8.4–9.6)	(8.0–9.4)	(7.4–9.1)	(5.0–6.4)	(6.2–8.1)
1995	n (%)	10,125 (10.3)	22,948 (8.8)	25,443 (9.8)	17,941 (9.1)	12,242 (7.2)	12,991 (6.8)	8,665 (6.3)
	CI	(9.1–11.4)	(8.2–9.5)	(9.1–10.5)	(8.3–9.8)	(6.5–8.0)	(6.0–7.5)	(5.5–7.1)
1996	n (%)	10,725 (9.6)	23,713 (9.2)	27,678 (9.4)	20,152 (9.5)	13,281 (7.7)	13,487 (5.7)	9,273 (6.4)
	CI	(8.7–10.5)	(8.6–9.9)	(8.8–10.0)	(8.9–10.2)	(7.0–8.5)	(5.1–6.4)	(5.6–7.2)
1997	n (%)	11,351 (10.4)	24,989 (9.2)	29,838 (10.1)	22,461 (9.8)	14,994 (8.3)	14,473 (5.7)	10,434 (6.5)
	CI	(9.5–11.4)	(8.6–9.9)	(9.5–10.7)	(9.2–10.5)	(7.5–9.0)	(5.1–6.3)	(5.8–7.3)
1998	n (%)	12,682 (11.1)	27,029 (9.2)	32,547 (9.9)	25,662 (9.6)	16,990 (8.1)	15,298 (6.2)	11,536 (6.8)
	CI	(10.2–12.1)	(8.6–9.8)	(9.3–10.5)	(9.0–10.2)	(7.4–8.8)	(5.6–6.9)	(6.0–7.5)
1999	n (%)	13,922 (9.4)	28,138 (9.3)	34,210 (10.3)	27,914 (10.1)	18,675 (8)	16,116 (5.4)	11,982 (6.2)
	CI	(8.5–10.2)	(8.7–9.9)	(9.7–10.9)	(9.4–10.7)	(7.3–8.6)	(4.9–6.0)	(5.5–7.0)
2000	n (%)	15,653 (11.8)	31,731 (9.8)	39,088 (10.5)	33,283 (10.6)	22,224 (8.4)	17,953 (6.2)	13,028 (6.4)
	CI	(10.9–12.8)	(9.2–10.3)	(9.9–11.1)	(10.0–11.3)	(7.8–9.1)	(5.5–6.9)	(5.6–7.1)
2001	n (%)	17,240 (12)	34,892 (10.3)	42,459 (10.5)	38,817 (11.6)	25,377 (9.7)	20,186 (6.6)	15,500 (5.9)
	CI	(10.9–13.0)	(9.8–10.9)	(10.0–11.1)	(11.0–12.2)	(9.0–10.4)	(6.0–7.3)	(5.2–6.5)
2002	n (%)	17,925 (11.6)	38,173 (9.7)	48,197 (9.8)	47,473 (10.9)	34,173 (8.4)	27,156 (6)	21,639 (5.9)
	CI	(10.2–13.1)	(8.8–10.5)	(9.0–10.7)	(9.9–11.9)	(7.3–9.5)	(4.9–7.0)	(4.4–7.4)
2003	n (%)	17,394 (12)	38,149 (10.8)	49,324 (10.7)	51,262 (11.4)	38,981 (9.7)	28,768 (7.2)	21,986 (6.3)
	CI	(11.1–13.0)	(10.2–11.4)	(10.2–11.3)	(10.8–12.0)	(9.1–10.3)	(6.5–7.8)	(5.6–7.0)
2004	n (%)	17,770 (12.6)	42,223 (10.8)	54,225 (10.9)	58,708 (11.6)	47,549 (10)	34,811 (6.6)	27,093 (6.7)
	CI	(11.6–13.5)	(10.2–11.4)	(10.4–11.4)	(11.1–12.2)	(9.5–10.6)	(6.0–7.2)	(6.0–7.3)
2005	n (%)	17,162 (12.2)	44,505 (9.8)	60,474 (10.7)	69,590 (11.4)	60,476 (10.1)	43,925 (6.3)	35,384 (6)
	CI	(11.2–13.1)	(9.3–10.4)	(10.2–11.2)	(10.8–11.9)	(9.6–10.7)	(5.8–6.8)	(5.5–6.4)
2006	n (%)	14,559 (12.3)	39,437 (10.8)	57,580 (9.8)	69,824 (11.4)	65,032 (10.7)	46,450 (6.6)	38,662 (6.3)
	CI	(11.2–13.3)	(10.2–11.5)	(9.3–10.3)	(10.9–11.9)	(10.2–11.3)	(6.1–7.2)	(5.7–6.9)

± Respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD).

* A confidence interval (CI) includes zero when either: (1) the product of the mean's standard error and its corresponding t-statistic exceeds the value of the mean (resulting in the lower bound 95% CI being below zero), so that the lower CI is truncated at zero; (2) the lower bound 95% CI is < 0.05, so that the lower CI is rounded to 0.0.
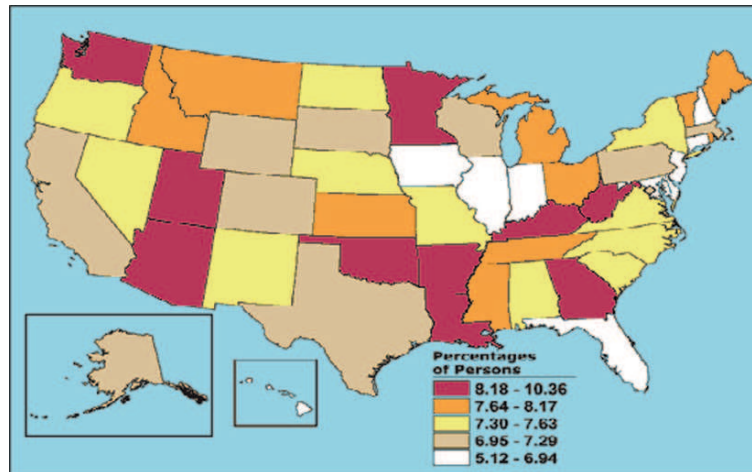
Table 3 Percentage of individuals with frequent mental distress (FMD)[+] by age Texas, 1993–2006

Year		18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	75+
1993	n (%)	321 (6.7)	588 (9.6)	530 (9)	339 (7.2)	216 (8.4)	209 (6.7)	117 (6.9)
	CI	(3.4–10.0)	(6.9–12.3)	(6.1–11.9)	(4.1–10.3)	(4.4–12.3)	(2.3–11.1)	(2.0–11.8)
1994	n (%)	189 (21)	347 (7.7)	338 (9)	215 (9.8)	156 (8.7)	107 (4.1)	75 (I2.9)
	CI	(12.6–29.4)	(4.4–11.1)	(5.4–12.5)	(5.4–14.2)	(3.9–13.5)	(0.2–8.0)	(0.0–6.0)*
1995	n (%)	188 (13.4)	396 (7.6)	376 (11.3)	246 (8.8)	174 (10.6)	142 (9.8)	95 (5.6)
	CI	(7.8–19.1)	(4.7–10.5)	(7.5–15.1)	(5.1–12.6)	(5.8–15.4)	(4.2–15.4)	(0.3–10.9)
1996	n (%)	162 (6.5)	358 (13)	379 (10.7)	317 (9.3)	156 (11.3)	155 (7.8)	85 (6.8)
	CI	(2.1–10.9)	(9.1–16.8)	(7.3–14.1)	(6.0–12.6)	(5.4–17.3)	(2.5–13.1)	(0.0–14.1)*
1997	n (%)	274 (8.7)	540 (10.4)	580 (8.3)	394 (7.7)	269 (6.7)	203 (5.3)	130 (8.4)
	CI	(4.8–12.6)	(7.5–13.2)	(5.7–10.9)	(4.8–10.7)	(3.5–10.0)	(2.3–8.4)	(3.6–13.1)
1998	n (%)	608 (13.8)	1,195 (9.2)	1,463 (11.6)	1,073 (11.1)	671 (9.2)	533 (8.6)	297 (9.5)
	CI	(10.3–17.3)	(6.7–11.8)	(8.9–14.2)	(9.0–13.2)	(5.8–12.6)	(4.9–12.4)	(5.7–13.4)
1999	n (%)	523 (10.7)	1,012 (10.5)	1,164 (11.5)	894 (12.5)	569 (9.4)	382 (4.6)	268 (6)
	CI	(7.7–13.7)	(7.8–13.1)	(9.0–14.0)	(10.0–14.9)	(6.7–12.2)	(2.4–6.8)	(2.5–9.5)
2000	n (%)	543 (13.7)	1,038 (12.1)	1,089 (11.9)	905 (10.5)	545 (8.8)	402 (8.6)	253 (5.5)
	CI	(10.3–17.1)	(9.8–14.4)	(9.7–14.1)	(8.2–12.8)	(6.2–11.4)	(5.5–11.6)	(2.5–8.5)
2001	n (%)	551 (13.3)	1,147 (9.7)	1,304 (9.8)	1,022 (11)	700 (8.8)	545 (7)	377 (5.2)
	CI	(9.9–16.8)	(7.7–11.8)	(8.1–11.6)	(8.6–13.5)	(6.4–11.1)	(4.6–9.4)	(2.7–7.7)
2002	n (%)	577 (10.1)	1,209 (8.8)	1,290 (8.8)	1,108 (9.2)	752 (7.5)	589 (6.2)	413 (5.2)
	CI	(7.3–12.9)	(7.0–10.5)	(6.9–10.6)	(6.4–12.0)	(4.8–10.3)	(3.0–9.3)	(2.5–7.8)
2003	n (%)	497 (12)	1,129 (8.5)	1,182 (10.3)	1,095 (11.1)	830 (9.3)	593 (6.8)	378 (7.3)
	CI	(8.9–15.2)	(6.7–10.2)	(8.2–12.4)	(9.0–13.2)	(6.9–11.7)	(4.5–9.0)	(4.3–10.3)
2004	n (%)	515 (12.6)	1,131 (10)	1,184 (11.8)	1,142 (10.6)	943 (9.5)	628 (6.6)	410 (6.1)
	CI	(9.2–16.0)	(7.8–12.1)	(9.5–14.1)	(8.6–12.7)	(7.3–11.6)	(4.1–9.1)	(3.5–8.8)
2005	n (%)	402 (6.8)	979 (8)	1,173 (9.6)	1,185 (11.1)	1,052 (10.3)	772 (9.3)	604 (5.3)
	CI	(4.2–9.4)	(5.9–10.0)	(7.2–12.1)	(8.9–13.2)	(8.2–12.4)	(6.6–12.0)	(3.5–7.2)
2006	n (%)	308 (9.7)	928 (6.2)	1,122 (8.8)	1,296 (11.7)	1,245 (12)	871 (5.8)	766 (5.9)
	CI	(5.4–14.0)	(4.3–8.1)	(6.0–11.6)	(9.1–14.4)	(8.8–15.2)	(3.7–7.8)	(3.4–8.4)

[+] Respondents who report more than 14 "bad mental days" are defined as having Frequent Mental Distress (FMD).

*A confidence interval (CI) includes zero when either: (1) the product of the mean's standard error and its corresponding t-statistic exceeds the value of the mean (resulting in the lower bound 95% CI being below zero), so that the lower CI is truncated at zero; (2) the lower bound 95% CI is < 0.05, so that the lower CI is rounded to 0.0.

Fig. 6 Twelve-Month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious Mental Illness in Population 18 Years and Older, United States, 2001
Source: SAMHSA, Office of Applied Studies, National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, 2001.
[1] Estimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

in terms of prevalence of SMI in individuals 18 to 25 years old. Individuals 26 years and older experience a lower prevalence of SMI, with estimates ranging from 4.2 (Hawaii) to 9.6% (Oklahoma). The distribution of prevalence rates for Texas adults over age 25 is similar to that of the national population (SAMSHA, 2006a).

Using data from the National Comorbidity Study and the U.S. Census Bureau, UTMB Galveston calculated state- and county-level prevalence estimates of SMI. Based on these estimates, SMI prevalence comparisons were made between Dallas County and Texas. The following observations were made:

- *Geography*. The 12-month SMI prevalence estimate for Dallas County (6.6%) was very similar to that of Texas (6.8%) in 2001 (Holzer 2007).
- *Age group*. The 18- to 20-year-old population had the highest prevalence of SMI in both Dallas County and Texas, while the 45- to 64-year-old population had the lowest prevalence of SMI (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 7).
- *Gender*. The 12-month SMI prevalence estimate for adult females was more than 1.5 times higher than that for adult males in both Dallas County and Texas (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 8).
- *Race*. Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and multiracial individuals had higher 12-month SMI prevalence than Native Americans, Whites, Blacks, and Asians. Native Americans reported the lowest prevalence of SMI for both Dallas County and Texas (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 9).
- *Residence*. The majority of Dallas County residents with SMI live in a household (93.2%), while 6.1% live in institutions and 0.7% live in group quarters (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 10).
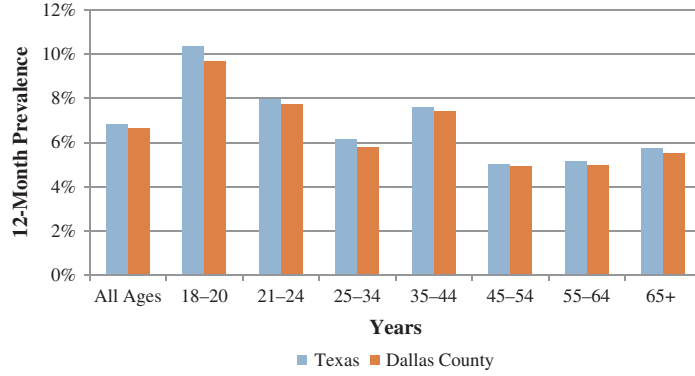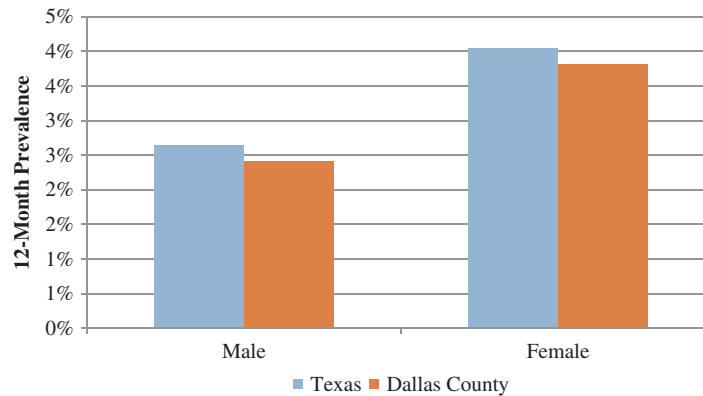
Fig. 7 Twelve-month Prevalence Estimates[1]; Serious mental illness by age group, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Estimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach
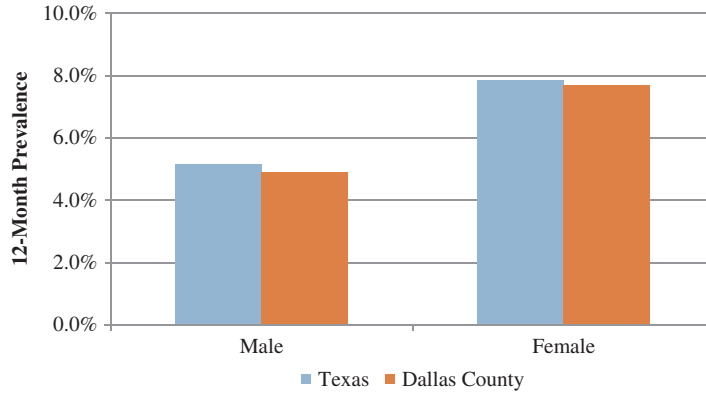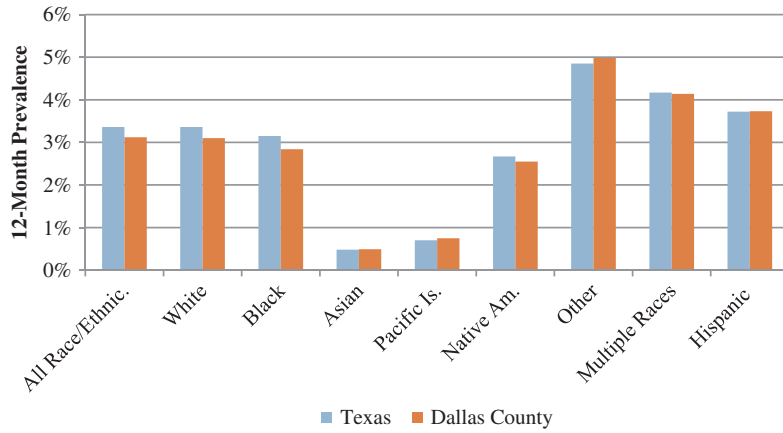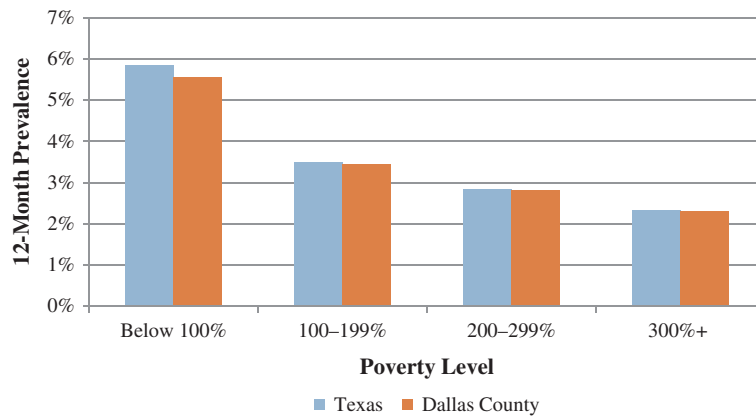

Fig. 8 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious mental illness (SMI) by gender, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Estimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach
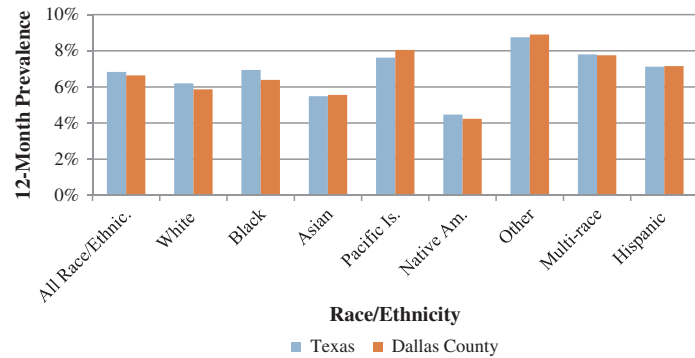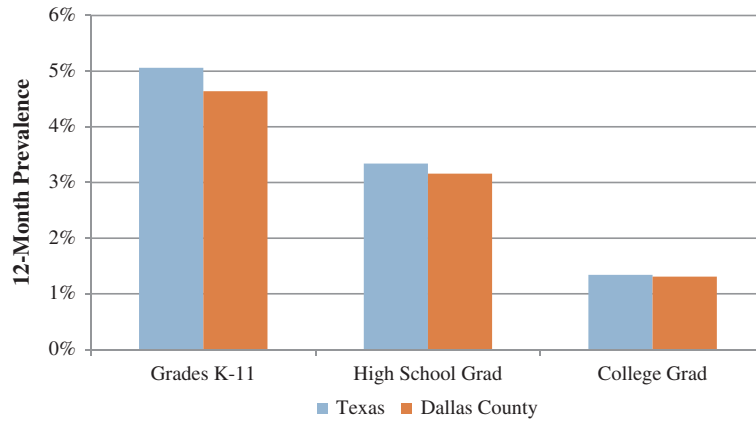

Fig. 9 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious mental illness (SMI) by race/ethnicity, 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas County, 2001
[1] Estimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Fig. 10 Proportion of individuals with serious mental illness residing in households, institutions, or group quarters, population 18 years and older, Dallas county, 2001
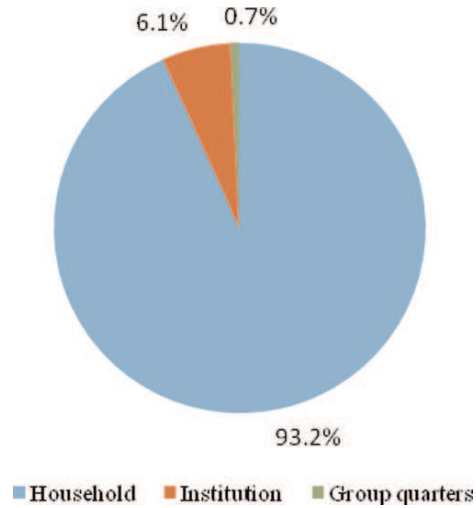
- *Income*. There is a significantly higher prevalence of SMI among those living below the poverty level compared to those living 200% or more above the poverty level, in both Dallas County and Texas (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 11).
- *Education*. The 12-month prevalence of SMI is 3 times higher among those without a high school diploma compared to those with a college education, in both Dallas County and Texas (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 12).
- *Marital Status*. Individuals who are separated, widowed, or divorced have a higher likelihood of having an SMI compared to those who are married, in both Dallas County and Texas (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 13).
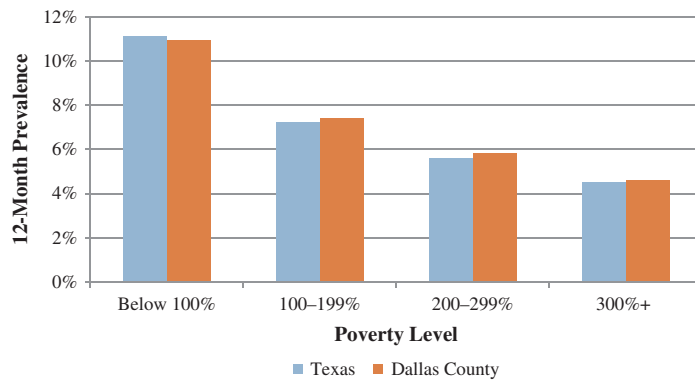
Fig. 11 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious mental illness by income, Population 18 Years and Older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001

[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach
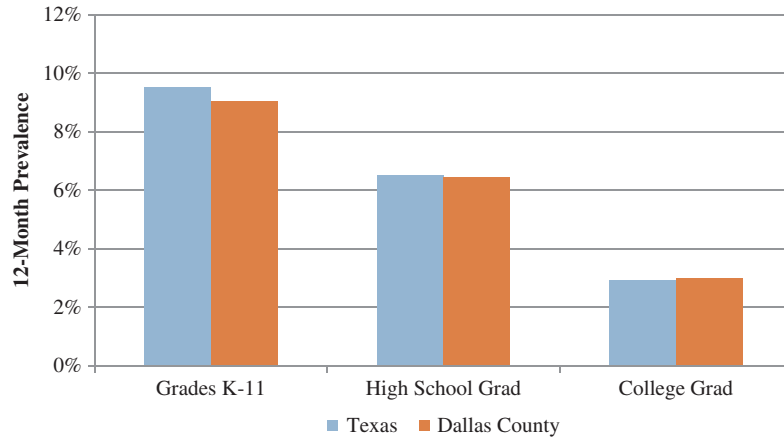
Fig. 12 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious mental illness by education level, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach
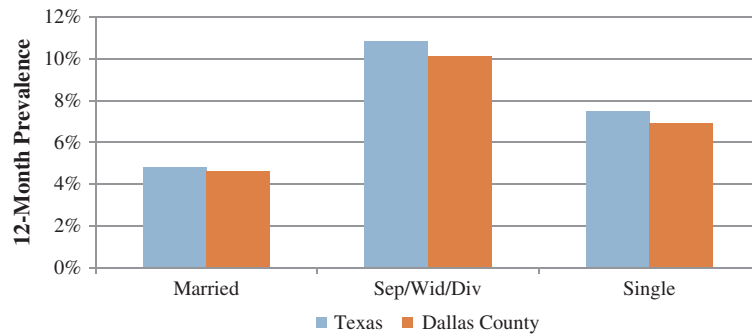
Fig. 13 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; Serious mental illness by marital status, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Severe and Persistent Mental Illness (SPMI)

Severe and persistent mental illness (SPMI) includes a subset of the SMI diagnoses, including bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, and other nonaffective disorders. About half of the adults who suffer from SMI are estimated to have diagnoses that qualify as SPMIs. Using UTMB Galveston estimates, we identified the following trends in SPMI in Dallas County and Texas:

- *Geography*. The 12-month prevalence estimates for SPMI among adults are similar when comparing Dallas County (5.1%) to Texas (5.4%) (Holzer 2007).
- *Age group*. The 21- to 24-year-old population had the highest prevalence of SPMI in both Dallas County and Texas, while the 45- to 54-year-old population had the
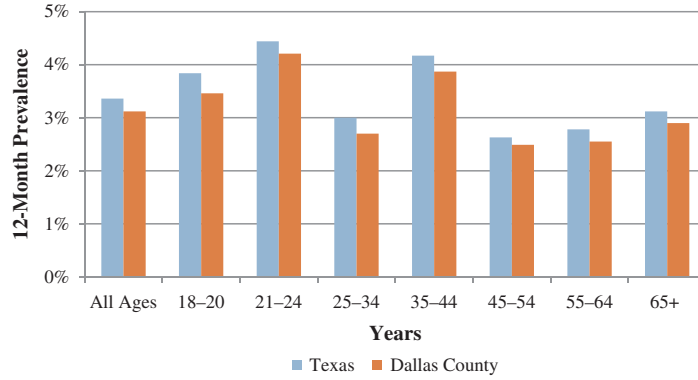
Fig. 14 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by age group, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

lowest prevalence of SPMI (See Fig. 14). The difference between the highest and lowest SPMI prevalence populations was less distinct, though, than the difference between the highest and lowest SMI prevalence populations. This may be due to the persistent nature of SPMI (Holzer 2007).

- *Gender*. As also seen in the SMI prevalence rates, female adults had a higher prevalence of SPMI than did male adults (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 15).
- *Race*. Whites, Hispanics, multiracial individuals, and individuals of "other" races reported higher 12-month SPMI prevalence rates compared to Native Americans, Blacks, Pacific Islanders, and Asians (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 16).
- *Income*. There is a step-wise pattern in SPMI prevalence, such that those living below the federal poverty line have the highest prevalence of SPMI and

Fig. 15 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by gender, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Fig. 16 Twelve-month prevalence estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by race/ethnicity, population 18 years and older Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

those living 300% above the poverty line have the lowest SPMI prevalence (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 17).

- *Education*. As seen with SMI prevalence rates, the SPMI prevalence was 3 times higher among those without a high school diploma compared to those with a college education (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 18).
- *Marital Status*. Also similar to the SMI statistics, the SPMI prevalence was considerably higher among those who were separated, widowed, or divorced compared to those who were married (Holzer 2007) (See Fig. 19).

Fig. 17 Twelve-Month Prevalence Estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by income, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001
[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Fig. 18 Twelve-month prevalence Estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by education level, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001

[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Serious Emotional Disturbance (SED)

Serious Emotional Disturbance (SED) is defined as a mental, behavioral, or emotional disorder, of sufficient duration to meet diagnostic criteria specified in the DSM-IV, which results in functional impairment that substantially interferes with or limits one or more major life activities in an individual up to 18 years of age.

The prevalence estimates for SED were provided by the UTMB estimation project. The prevalence of SED is higher among children and adolescents than is the prevalence of SMI among adults for both Dallas County and Texas. The prevalence

Fig. 19 Twelve-month prevalence Estimates[1]; severe and persistent mental illness by marital status, population 18 years and older, Texas and Dallas county, 2001

[1] Eststimates are weighted using a survey-weighted hierarchical Bayes estimate approach

Table 4 Number and proportion of cases of serious emotional disturbance children and adolescents, Texas and Dallas county, 2000

Youth	Texas			Dallas County		
	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
Youth total	446,427	5,886,759	7.6	46,462	619,031	7.5
Age	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
00-05	149,284	1,948,297	7.7	16,555	217,162	7.6
6 to 11	150,203	1,990,311	7.5	15,550	208,378	7.5
12 to 17	146,940	1,948,151	7.5	14,357	193,491	7.4
Gender	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
Male	229,044	3,014,733	7.6	23,780	316,491	7.5
Female	217,384	2,872,026	7.6	22,682	302,540	7.5
Ethnicity	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
White	173,115	2,507,147	6.9	13,357	199,648	6.7
Black	58,962	732,807	8.0	11,204	142,749	7.8
Asian	9,750	139,226	7.0	1,572	21,887	7.2
Pacific Islander	265	3,182	8.3	22	246	8.9
Native	1,357	17,319	7.8	153	1,987	7.7
Other	660	8,461	7.8	74	992	7.5
Multi	6,931	91,852	7.5	811	10,693	7.6
Hispanic	195,387	2,386,765	8.2	19,269	240,829	8.0
Poverty level	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
Below 100%	119,324	1,193,255	10.0	11,244	112,441	10.0
100%–199%	118,284	1,478,546	8.0	12,433	155,410	8.0
200%–299%	75,321	1,076,016	7.0	8,706	124,376	7.0
300%+	123,662	2,061,029	6.0	13,076	217,932	6.0
Undefined	9,836	77,914	12.6	1,003	8,873	11.3
Residence	Cases	Pop	Percentage	Cases	Pop	Percentage
Household	441,917	5,862,085	7.5	46,145	617,013	7.5
Institution	3,773	17,130	22.0	227	1,111	20.4
Group	737	7,544	9.8	90	908	9.9

estimates across gender and all age groups are similar. Children and adolescents of Hispanics, Pacific Islander and African American descent report higher prevalence of SED compared to other race categories. The prevalence of SED is noticeably higher for children and adolescents living below the poverty line compared to those living 300% above the poverty line. Children and adolescents living in institutions report a higher SED prevalence compared to those living in a household, although this largely reflects the juvenile detention and mental hospitalization populations (Holzer 2007) (See Table 4).

NorthSTAR-Specific Mental Illnesses

Among NorthSTAR clients, we observe the following prevalence of specific mental illnesses (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007). It should be noted that NorthSTAR clients do not represent the entire Dallas County population.
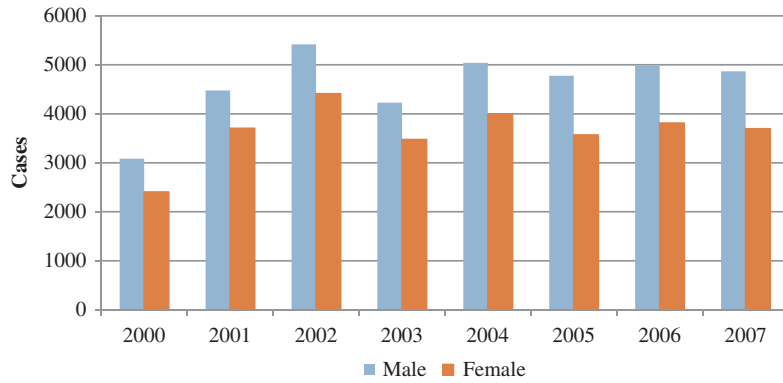
Fig. 20 Cases of Schizophrenia and related disorders by gender, Dallas county NorthSTAR Clients, 2000–2007

- *Schizophrenia*. Schizophrenia and related disorders have accounted for a major proportion (26–40%) of Dallas County NorthSTAR clients over the past 7 years. Among these NorthSTAR clients, males consistently account for more than half of all cases (See Fig. 20). When cases are considered by race/ethnicity, we find that African Americans account for the majority of cases of Schizophrenia and related disorders among NorthSTAR clients, followed by Whites (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007) (See Fig. 21). *Anxiety*. Anxiety/ Somatoform/Dissociative Disorders account for 1.2–3.3% of NorthSTAR clients over the past 7 years. The distribution of these disorders among NorthSTAR clients is quite different from that for Schizophrenia. Whites make up the majority of NorthSTAR clients with Anxiety/Somatoform/Dissociative Disorders. From 2000 to 2003, female clients outnumbered male clients, while from 2004 to 2007, the majority of the clients were male (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007) (See Figs. 22 and 23). *Adjustment disorders*. Adjustment and
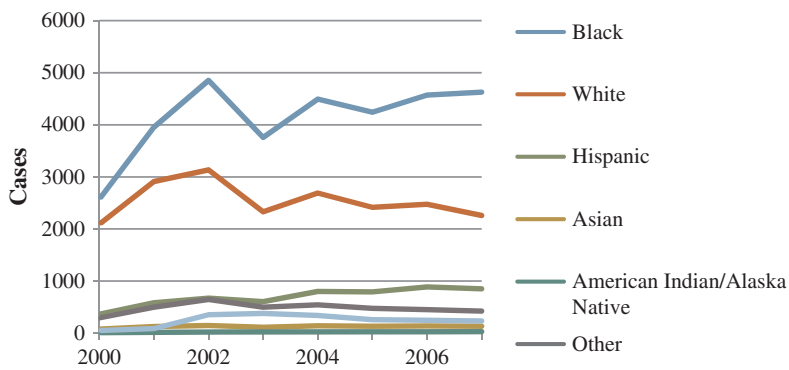
Fig. 21 Cases of Schizophrenia and related disorders by race/ethnicity, Dallas county NorthSTAR Clients, 2000–2007
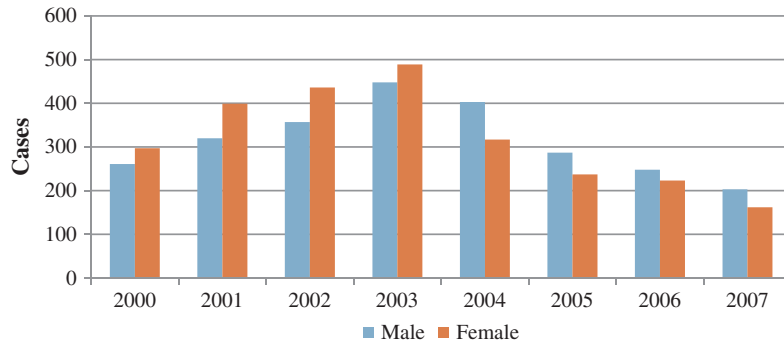
Fig. 22 Cases of anxiety/somatofrom/dissociative disorders by gender, Dallas county NorthSTAR Clients, 2000–2007

other non-psychotic disorders accounted for 6.0–10.2% of all the NorthSTAR clients. Although females accounted for the majority of these clients in 2000, the difference between the number of cases among men and women has steadily decreased since 2003 and reversed in 2007 (See Fig. 24). There have also been major changes in the distribution of adjustment disorders by race/ethnicity. While Whites and Blacks accounted for most of the cases in 2000, today Hispanics and Blacks account for the majority of cases (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007) (See Fig. 25).

- *Bipolar disorder*. Bipolar Disorder accounted for 23.7–38.4% of NorthSTAR clients over the past 7 years. Females, Whites, and Blacks consistently accounted for the majority of these cases (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007) (See Figs. 26 and 27).
- *Major depression*. Major Depression Disorder accounted for 36.4–52.7% of all NorthSTAR clients over the past 7 years. Again, Females, Whites, and Blacks made up the majority of NorthSTAR clients suffering from the disorder (M. Ferrara, personal communication, 2007) (See Figs. 28 and 29).
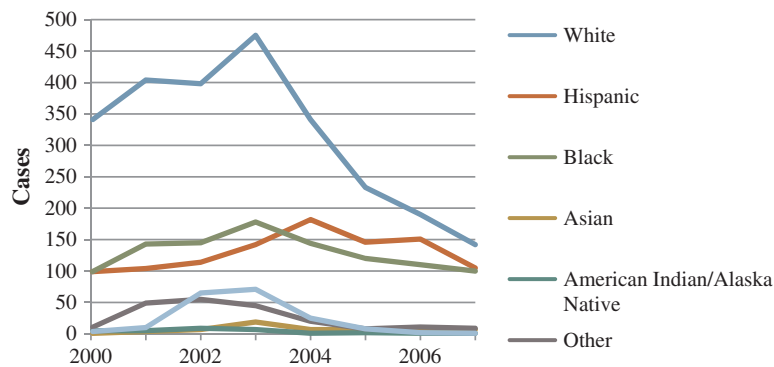
Fig. 23 Cases of anxiety/somatoform/dissociative disorder by race/ethnicity, Dallas county North-STAR Clients, 2000–2007
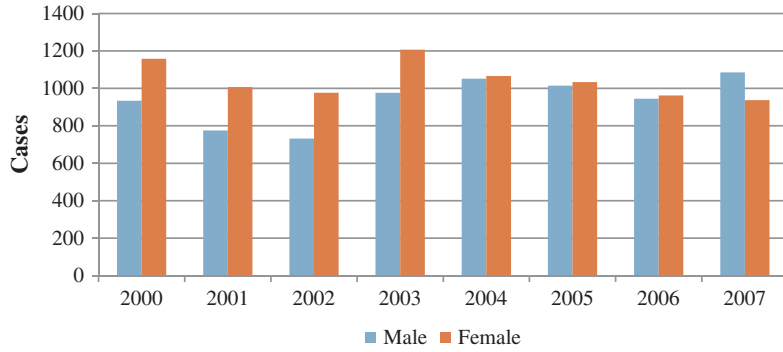
Fig. 24 Cases of adjustment and other non-psychotic disorders by gender, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007
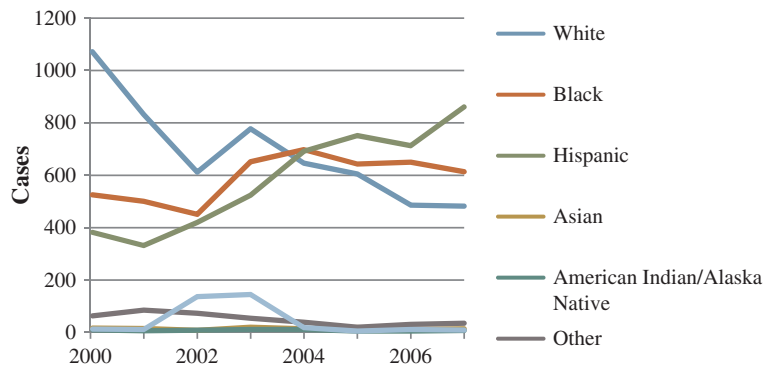
Fig. 25 Cases of adjustment and other non-psychotic disorders by race/ethnicity, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007
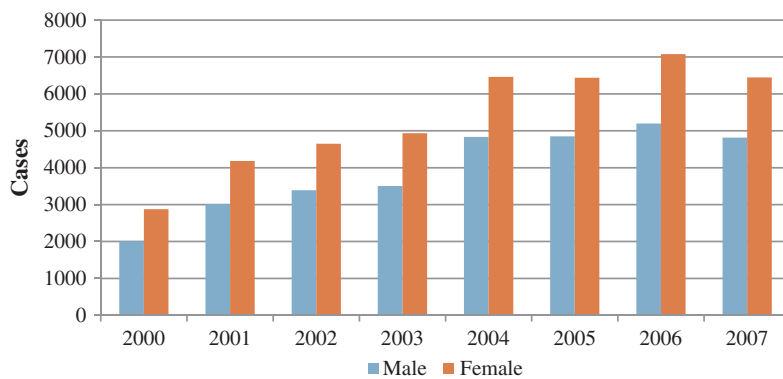
Fig. 26 Cases of bipolar disorder by gender, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007
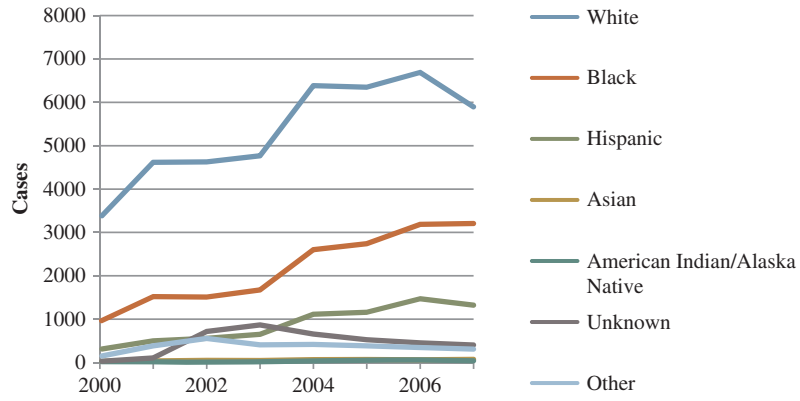
Fig. 27 Cases of bipolar affective disorder by race/ethnicty, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007
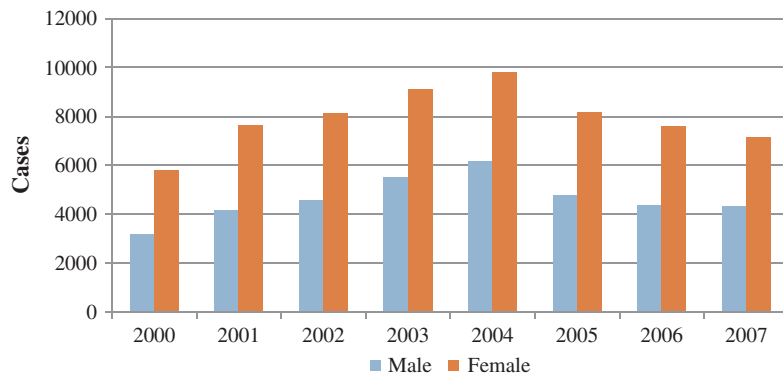
Fig. 28 Cases of major depression by gender, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007
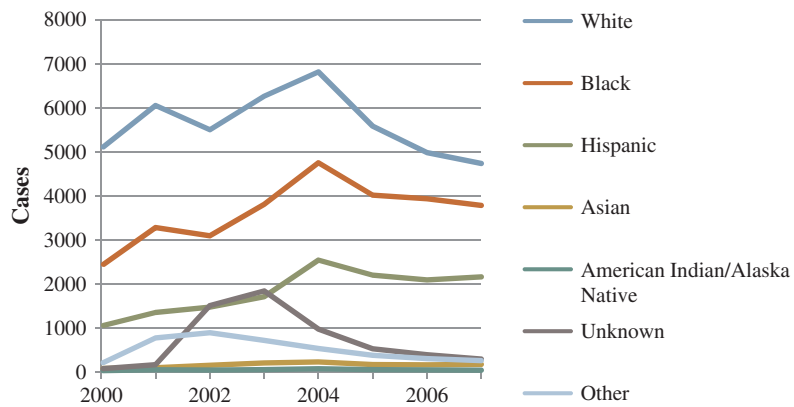
Fig. 29 Cases of major depression by race/ethnicity, Dallas County NorthSTAR clients, 2000–2007

Lessons for Other Communities

It is widely believed in public health community that mental health is an essential element of overall health. However, there is a significant lack of consistency in the measurement of mental health and mental illness: the Surgeon General's report on Mental Health and the President's New Freedom Commission make use of SMI, SPMI, and SED as the favored indicators of mental health (DHHS 1999; New Freedom Commission on Mental Health 2003); the BRFSS employs FMD and mean mentally unhealthy days as the means to measure mental health status for an individual (CDC 2005b); and at the Dallas County level, the NorthSTAR health care delivery system makes use of DSM-IV diagnoses as the favored way of measuring mental health and mental illnesses.

As shown in Table 1, various national, state, and local agencies make use of different mental health indicators, using different geographic units of analysis and thus making population comparisons practically impossible. For the purpose of making valid comparisons across different geographical units, a uniform set of mental health indicators should be adopted. There is a need to develop a mechanism to consistently measure mental health and functional status of individuals. SMI, SPMI, and SED utilize the DSM-IV criteria in conjunction with the level of functional impairment. Therefore it is vital that all survey instruments that are implemented in the future also utilize both of these variable categories in order to make valid comparisons with the national and the state level data.

Gaps in service delivery cannot be accurately measured until uniform indicators are used by both the public health departments and the provider agencies of the specific communities. For example, the Dallas County population prevalence data on mental illnesses are based on the mental health indicators that were made available by the UTMB estimation project while the mental health services for Dallas County are determined by NorthSTAR Dallas County estimates, as provided by the Department of State Health Services of Texas. These estimates are not representative of the entire Dallas County population, as NorthSTAR's target population includes individuals from specific income and Medicaid categories. Despite the fact that the two variables are available, they cannot be compared because these two variables measure different constructs.

There is also a need to collect data at the community level for people who are in need but were unable to access the mental health services for various reasons. Usually provider agencies depend upon clinical diagnostic criteria for individuals who have access to health care services; therefore it potentially overlooks a large section of the population that needs services but does not qualify. A constant population-level monitoring of mental health disorders can help in measuring the burden of mental health disorders in this segment of the population.

Furthermore, a well-developed surveillance system has the potential to guide emergency response at the time of disaster (The White House 1994). In order to have a high-quality surveillance system working at maximal capacity, specific outcomes need to be acknowledged for both nondisaster times as well as times of disaster. Current literature acknowledges the rise in various mental health disorders such as

depression, anxiety, adjustment, and many others during times of disaster (Rhoads, Pearman, & Rick 2007). There is no existing mental health surveillance system for the North Texas region, which makes it very difficult to monitor mental health trends across the region. In the case of a natural disaster or another tragic event, an existing system would be of great utility by directing public health policy in taking appropriate measures to address the most pertinent issues at the time of need. A need for such a system was experienced during Hurricane Katrina recovery efforts. A huge influx of evacuees from New Orleans arrived in Dallas and no existing mechanism was in place to address their mental health and substance abuse recovery needs. We recommend that each and every community develop a plan to institutionalize a central authority to which all providers in the community report trends in mental illnesses, at times of disaster as well as in non-disaster times. This has the potential of launching a more concerted and synchronized effort on the part of local public health authorities in times of greatest need.

In order to ensure uniformity, a set of predetermined, specific mental health indicators should be used for diagnosis, and they should be adequately defined to account for relaxing case definitions in times of disaster. Community hospitals and clinicians should be actively involved in the case definition process as they address the needs of the population in times of disaster. Mental health care delivery is highly fragmented, with multiple types of provider agencies at the local level. To be successful, the surveillance effort should be comprehensive and involve all providers who deal with mentally ill patients in the community. The incidence of mental health disorders is expected to rise following a disaster due to the expected collapse of existing public health programs, mass migration of the population, and the psychological impact of the disaster on individuals (The White House 1994). Some communities are particularly vulnerable to natural disasters such as floods, tornadoes, and hurricanes, and in this age of continued threat from terrorism, a mental health surveillance system would be of great assistance to communities if there is a public health emergency.

The incarcerated population presents a unique challenge in terms of measuring the burden of mental health disorders. At present, the data on the mental health disorders among those who are incarcerated are sparse, and a uniform system of diagnosis and treatment needs to be implemented in the jail population. There is also a need to connect the databases of provider agencies in the community to the jail and juvenile detention database, which should lead to easier referrals for mentally ill individuals apprehended by local law enforcement agencies. We recommend a uniform computerized data entry system for communities that are still using paper-based data entry, in order to make database linkups much easier and more comprehensive.

Conclusion

This chapter recognizes the multitude of factors that shape the mental health status of individuals and the community. Identifying the demographic characteristics of individuals with mental illness assists the public health system in devising more

age, gender, race, cultural, and socioeconomic status-specific strategies. In order to be viable, the treatment strategies should be specific to the needs of an individual. A service delivery system that is sensitive to the cultural factors affecting an individual's health is more likely to assure a sustainable recovery process.

Females share a disproportionate burden of mental health disorders across all geographic dimensions analyzed in this chapter. BRFSS reports a higher prevalence of FMD among females at the national and state level. Females also account for a higher prevalence of SMI and SPMI, according to the NCS estimates. Female NorthSTAR clients in Dallas County have a higher prevalence of depression, bipolar, adjustment, anxiety, somatoform, and dissociative disorders compared to their male counterparts. Racial/ethnic minorities are rapidly comprising a greater proportion of individuals living in Dallas County, with individuals of Hispanic ethnicity accounting for the greatest increase in numbers. As evidenced from the data presented in this chapter, mental health disorders are as prevalent in minority groups as in their White counterparts. Schizophrenia and related disorders and adjustment disorders disproportionately affect African Americans and Hispanics among Dallas County NorthSTAR clients. Children and adolescents as a group share a greater burden of mental health disorders, with individuals of Hispanic, Pacific Islander, and African American descent reporting a disproportionately higher prevalence of SED. Institutionalized individuals and those who live below the federal poverty level also share a disproportionate burden of mental health disorders.

The findings discussed in this chapter are based on different mental health indicators, and each measures a different construct of the mental health disorder spectrum. More consistent mental health indicators are needed in order to make valid comparisons and draw scientifically robust, valid conclusions.

The Surgeon General's report identified stigma as one the most significant factors that dissuades people from seeking treatment for mental health disorders (DHHS 1999). In order to reduce the burden of mental health disorders in Dallas County, there needs to be a sustained effort at the community level to dispel myths about mental health disorders and to educate the public about the true nature of mental health disorders. Informed consumers and their families should play an important role in alleviating the stigma that surrounds mental health disorders.

This chapter is intended to assist researchers, policymakers, and service providers in employing a consistent measure of mental health disorders that will allow comparisons at the local, state, and national levels. The primary purpose of this chapter is to inform the mental health community in order to develop a robust needs assessment instrument that can be employed in the communities among consumers, family members of consumers, providers, and the general population. A well-designed mental health surveillance system has the potential to provide the necessary data to inform public health programmers, health system leaders, and community providers to respond not only to emergency events, but also to design a responsive, high-quality mental health service delivery system.

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The Importance of Local Information: Quality of Life Indicators in Bristol

Samantha Shepherd and Sarah McMahon

Abstract In the south west of England, Bristol has one of the longest standing Quality of Life (QoL) indicator initiatives in the country. This chapter presents a case study of Bristol City Council and demonstrates how important local-level information has been in enabling QoL indicators to become highly effective tools for improving local quality of life. The chapter begins by illustrating Bristol's journey from early exploration of livability indicators in the early 1990s, to a nationally recognised authority on QoL indicators. In doing so it shows how local information has been instrumental in facilitating the use of QoL indicators for improving decision making, collaboration and quality of life for local communities.

Introduction

Bristol City Council serves a 410,000 strong population living within the city boundaries. The Council provides all local government services to a city with a diverse profile. Some of its 35 wards are very wealthy, while in other areas of the city there are examples of extreme deprivation which create a number and variety of issues to address. In terms of the demographic profile Bristol has a relatively low ethnic minority population, with 8.2% of residents coming from Black or Minority Ethnic groups. According to the local government auditor; the Audit Commission, Bristol is a local authority that has improved over the last few years and is held up as a good practice way to make use of Quality of Life (QoL) indicators. So when looking at Bristol City Council it is vital to put its long-standing relationship with QoL indicators in context.

Historical Overview

The story began in the early 1990s following the United Nations Conference on the Environment Development in 1992, the product of which was Agenda 21 – an action plan for achieving sustainable development at a global level. In response to

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this in 1995, Bristol City Council produced its first "State of the Local Environment Report" which included Bristol's own QoL indicators – then known to Bristol as "Sustainability Indicators".

The sustainability indicators were updated annually and were included, on government advice in 1997, in Bristol's Local Agenda 21 strategy. These liveability indicators were based on the top eight issues in Bristol, including street litter, graffiti, dog fouling, air quality and traffic pollution, environmental noise, state of local rivers and streams, appearance of streets and public spaces and quality of parks and green spaces. Responsibility for addressing these liveability issues spread across the authority's internal departments and included parks, pest control, waste services and street team, pollution control, environmental quality and area planners. The need to improve the measurement of liveability at the neighbourhood level continued over time, not least when in 1998 the UK government published 15 headline sustainability indicators. After that in 2000 Bristol City Council worked on European wide QoL indicators and was one of ten cities that piloted ten common European indicators for local sustainability. This helped raise the profile of what was going on in Bristol.

In 2000/2001 a new duty was placed on Local Authorities to develop a Community Strategy, the aim of which was to promote social, economic and environmental wellbeing. This meant Bristol was in a strong position to build its Community Strategy on the existing LA21 strategy, with QoL indicators as its monitoring framework. The local government auditor and innovator, the Audit Commission then began a pilot in 2001 to develop a national set of QoL indicators and because of the history and strength of it's work, Bristol became a good-practice example of how to use QoL indicators. A member of staff was seconded to the Audit Commission to assist with their development as at that stage the indicators were being used not only by the council to help them identify issues at a very local level but by communities to lobby for action.

The pilot process encouraged the use of new indicators and saw Bristol expand its QoL work into in-depth survey work, where in 2001 the first "Quality of Life in your Neighbourhood Survey" took place, randomly selecting 4,000 residents to survey on QoL issues. The results of this survey formed the basis of an annual "Quality of Life Report", which contains ward based data on a range of QoL indicators- both survey and traditional sustainability indicator data. The combination of the resident survey and the Audit Commission pilot raised the profile and status of QoL indicators in Bristol to give it the renowned reputation for excellence in this area.

Improvements in the ability of QoL indicators to gather very local information and achieve improved outcomes has continued since the introduction of Local Area Agreement (LAA) targets and funding. LAA's are now the only place where targets delivered either by local government on its own or with partners are agreed. They are informed by an area's Sustainable Community Strategy (the document superseding Community Strategies) analysis of need and its longer term priorities. The excellent work in Bristol has meant that the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP) has been able to use information from QoL indicators to be proactive in targeting improvements to quality of life in the city as evidence from the Quality of Life survey helps partners

and managers take a broader view of what's happening in the neighbourhoods and direct work according to need.

The main features of the work in Bristol that make it a success are firstly that it has been such a long standing piece of work, illuminating trends over time and adapting to the needs placed upon data. But perhaps more importantly, the data is broken down to local levels and mapped which powerfully represents inequalities and has lead to targeted work to address those inequalities. Localised data has led to QoL indicators becoming the building blocs not only of policy but of action to improve local sustainability in Bristol.

Benefits of this work have been wide-ranging, from helping elected members represent their communities interests in funding allocation to helping improve the local environment by giving officers evidence to defend their planning decisions. In one example, detailed monitoring through the Quality of Life survey improved the targeting of investment in graffiti removal to prioritise Neighbourhood Renewal Areas which then quickly saw positive impacts on public perception. The ultimate measure of how effective this work has been is the rapid improvements in the views of the local community to their city. The key liveability indicator, the number of residents satisfied with the quality of their environment, has risen 4% between 2005 and 2006.

The Journey to Success

The outline thus far demonstrates that the journey has been a long and dynamic one for Bristol, but "how" with no core funding did they get to this point? The turning point was when resident survey data began to be collected on an annual basis that showed a picture of quality of life at a neighbourhood level. This voluntary postal survey of randomly selected residents (from the electoral register) has been joint-funded and has evolved year on year.

The first survey was in 2001 meaning seven annual surveys have now taken place with some neighbourhood renewal funding coming in 2004, 2005 and 2007. The programme of surveying and putting together the annual report that includes non-survey data is co-ordinated by the Environmental Quality Team and is done by officers who have established posts. The survey analysis has been undertaken by the same team who have employed a senior statistical analyst.

The first postal survey was relatively small scale with a budget of just $20,000 used to send out 12,000 questionnaires to residents. The budget was used to cover outsourced printing, postage, fulfilment and data entry for 3,500 responses while analysis of the results was completed in-house. A number of internal departments and organisations contributed to the budget in the absence of core funding. In effect, each funder was paying for a selection of questions to be included in the survey similar to the approach for an omnibus survey. Core funding was only secured in 2006 and this was driven by the requirements of the LAA. The Quality of Life survey has now been used for monitoring 23 LAA indicators since 2006.

In 2007 the Quality of Life survey was larger than usual and the survey was sent to 33,800 residents. With a population of 410,000 the scale of the survey is unusually large. The increasing survey size has improved the accuracy of the information as confidence limits narrow with an increasing sample size. For example with the confidence limit of ±1% for some city-wide indicators in the 2007 survey Bristol City Council can be more certain that any annual change of indicator above or below this level is not due to the research approach. As a result Bristol City Council can be clearer about changes due to their activities rather than due to statistical variations. Each survey takes about 10 months from questionnaire design through fieldwork to top line results which are designed to be ready for March of each year. Reminders in the form of questionnaires are sent out to all recipients. The 2007 budget of £55,000 came from about a dozen internal departments and external organisations. Neighbourhood Renewal funding provided about 50% of the costs with significant contributions from the Primary Care Trust.

Analysis of the data is the most important stage because it reveals the picture of quality of life across the city. The large scale of the survey has allowed for in-depth demographic analysis, particularly of BME groups it has also allowed detailed spatial analysis in neighbourhood renewal areas and results available down to Lower Level Super Output Areas (SOAs), revealing very local level data. Survey data also allows comparisons to be made across the city and with many of the indicators coming from a national set, national and regional comparisons with Bristol can be made. All of this provides a rich picture which allows the results to be seen in context both within the city and in national terms.

Overcoming Challenges

Doing a large scale survey every year such as this is not without its problems and risks. These include ensuring representative-ness, the correct interpretation of results and funding risks.

Ensuring that a voluntary survey is representative is challenging. Some internal departments were initially concerned that survey did not effectively represent city views. This was addressed through boosted samples for Black and Minority Ethnic groups and Neighbourhood Renewal Areas to increase the overall response and ensure the results were more statistical robust. Sophisticated statistical analysis using software called STATA applied weightings to the results to adjust for differences in ward response, sex and age where the respondent profile to a question does not reflect the city profile. STATA also allows easy comparisons to be made with previous years' data to give very useful trend data but with increased data and statistical analysis there has been a need to improve interpretation of the results. This has led to a need for help and training for managers so they understand statistical concepts such as representative samples and confidence limits.

Finally there have been some risks to manage with the way in which the annual survey is funded. By their very nature consortium funded projects can be derailed if some funders withdraw. Until core funding was approved with the arrival of the LAA the Quality of Life survey could have ceased if any major funder withdrew.

Communication

One of the key parts to the success story in Bristol has been the way in which local information in the form of QoL indicators has been presented and disseminated. Every year the Council publishes the Quality of Life Report, which presents the QoL data, mapped to local ward boundaries and uses this information to focus its efforts and address particular problem areas. Research among staff at the Council demonstrated that awareness of QoL indicators and the associated report is very high. Staff at all levels- the strategic level, elected members and officers dealing with particular policy areas are not only aware of QoL indicators in the annual report, but they also use them to help form policy, make decisions and support decisions.

Awareness and use of the QoL report goes beyond the Council, results support the Bristol Partnership Delivery groups in the Local Strategic Partnership while neighbourhood-based community groups use the local data to present arguments for additional funding where the mapped data identifies particularly inequalities. Beyond this, the Council maintains that the wide publication of the city's indicators is not only the right of the population to know but will serve as a tool to engage the public and promote debate. Changing public behaviour is the ultimate aim of communicating this information.

Each section in the QoL report states what is being done to address areas of inequality, this helps the Council in gaining trust of the population through its transparency. The survey and its results are widely promoted through press releases, website spotlights and posters placed in public information points and libraries. The profile of the report has also been raised with the help of the local media that pick up the press releases and publish the headline information. Access to the report is assisted through specific Neighbourhood Renewal facilitators that provide practical help where necessary, for example those with a disability or those needing translation support. Members of the wider public also access the information in libraries, through the website but also through specific requests for information. Research showed that QoL indicators had quite an impact on raising awareness of sustainable development in general, reflecting peoples views and experiences about sustainability issues;

> They communicate to the people of Bristol the sustainable development agenda (LSP Officer, Bristol).

> They have raised the profile of sustainable development... I think it has become more mainstreamed (Head of Department, Bristol).

What a Difference Quality of Life Indicators can Make

QoL indicators have been a well advanced, well publicised set of indicators within Bristol City Council. Despite starting out as an environmental monitoring exercise in the 1990s, the longevity of the work combined with the high quality, ward level data has enabled QoL indicators to fulfil a wide range of roles. So, what are these roles and what difference do they make?

There are three main categories of noticeable improvements that have been witnessed in Bristol because of QoL indicator information. The first is an improvement within the Council- in its communication, its focus and its decisions. Secondly, there has been an improvement in local situations- in terms of reducing inequality and protection of the environment. Finally, QoL indicators have also provided a tool to help with community capacity-building.

On the first category of improvement, research within the Council demonstrated that QoL indicators have a variety of impacts. Staff in all positions stated that the following impacts are a reality because of the locally mapped data:

Position	Impact of QoL indicators
Elected member	• QoL indicators help inform about own ward, make judgements, build cases for arguments and informed debates • Helps communication
Head of department	• Informs about data provided across service areas within department • Helps prioritise policy areas for work • Helps communication
Officers working with local strategic partnership	• Reporting to and assisting LSP in defining aims • Helps communication- internal/external
Service managers and performance coordinator	• Integrated QoL indicators into performance management framework • Review situation constantly- as it feeds into performance management • Promotes ownership as answerable for direction of indicator • Construct argument for financial allocation increase in certain areas • Use to look at linkages with other policy areas • Provides a common language tool, so therefore helps communication

The case study interviews within the Council highlighted that the following are overall outcomes from a locally-relevant set of QoL indicators:

a) Increased awareness of sustainable development
b) Representation of interests by elected members
c) Attention focused on particular issues (such as transport)
d) Attention focused on specific geographical areas (and associated funding)
e) Enabled comparisons to be made over space and time

Beyond this in the second category of improvements, QoL indicators have been instrumental in stimulating improvements in the local situation. Several examples of this were found- both in terms of the bigger picture in closing inequality gaps

across the city but also in specific environmental improvements. On the macro-scale the QoL survey analysis allows an assessment to be made on whether Bristol is "closing the gap", between more deprived areas that receive additional funding – known as Neighbourhood Renewal areas and non-Neighbourhood Renewal areas. Year on year the survey collects data on the extent to which improvements are being made in these areas, which helps in assessing if the funding is being spent wisely and having an impact. In more specific areas such as transport planning, QoL indicators demonstrated that not sufficient progress was being made in some areas of the city on air quality so officers took the decision to allocate more resources to tackling it. Similarly with the protection of areas from development, QoL indicators have highlighted where areas of the city have Greenfield land that needs protecting, this has enabled officers to present strong arguments to potential developers and have successfully prevented them from getting planning permission. This situation was replicated with another QoL indicator on recycling, where it was felt local information had helped target recycling campaigns, raise recycling and therefore contributing to an improved environment. The following quote outlines how important local information is in facilitating this process:

> "Although (the recycling scheme) has been successful it has been problematic. We have found that the more affluent areas recycle fairly well and the less affluent areas are not bothered" (Waste manager).

QoL indicators have become effective tools in facilitating an improvement in the local situation. Data availability at ward level is an important factor in improvement, it feeds a virtuous circle of measurement, communication, raising of profile, targeted local work and improvement. The survey work in particular provides evidence of outcome indicators included in Local Area Agreements which therefore improves the Council's performance management.

In the final category of improvements and perhaps one of the most important outcomes for QoL indicators is more of an unintended consequence. QoL indicators began as an environmental monitoring exercise and became key tools for performance monitoring and policy making, now they have helped with community capacity building. Results from the QoL survey are used to construct ward and neighbourhood profiles that provide information on QoL for community groups. The profiles provide evidence for communities when putting together funding bids so a neighbourhood can illustrate it is disadvantaged on any QoL issue.

Local Factors: Essential for Success

This chapter has highlighted that QoL indicators have seen particular success in Bristol, due to several main factors including:

– Up-to date information
– Locally based data
– Data presentation

– Tracking
– Consistent collection of data
– Joined-up approach/ partnership working
– Adapting the indicators to monitor mandatory outcomes for national priorities

However, it is not only these factors that have successfully linked QoL indicators to the outcomes we have come across. The influence of individuals and the organisational location of QoL indicators have both important in getting the indicators used in a wide variety of ways.

Bristol is in a unique position of having an individual within the Council who had been working for over ten years on the development of QoL indicators. The then, Environmental Health Officer, operating in the Sustainable Development Department was seconded to the Audit Commission to assist in developing their national set. In doing so, there were mutual benefits to both organisations; the Audit Commission gained an expert and Bristol found the involvement of the Commission raised the profile and status of QoL indicators.

The diagram below shows where QoL indicators were developed within Bristol City Council, which has been important in achieving outcomes related to sustainable development.

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                        │ Chief Executive  │
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                │ Leisure                                      │
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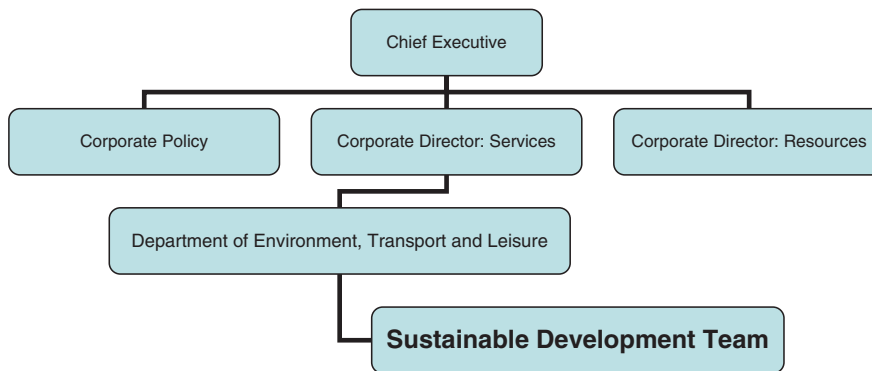
Roles played by both individuals and the organisational location of QoL indicators in Bristol have had vital roles to play in how the indicators have been used. This is in part due to the resources made available for the collection of local level data and has been instrumental in enabling effective use of QoL indicators and revealing the potential of indicators for initiating local improvements.

Summary and Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has presented a case study of Bristol City Council, in doing so it has outlined the importance of local-level information in enabling QoL indicators to become highly effective tools for improving local quality of life. Bristol's journey to a nationally recognised authority on QoL indicators has been highlighted, with a look at the operational processes necessary for such an achievement. The outcomes of this work have been shown to be wide ranging and influenced also by organisational factors at the local level.

In summary, QoL have achieved the following in Bristol:

1. Increased evidenced based decision making. In the past, responses by Bristol City Council to air, water and noise issues tended to be reactive with service managers drawing on their experience to plan and implement initiatives. The QoL survey has allowed priority setting on the basis of evidence that is tracked over time.
2. Improved targeted investment. Detailed monitoring through the QoL survey has improved targeting of investment e.g. the graffiti removal which had a positive impact on public perception.
3. Area planning managers now use the QoL indicators in their service delivery planning.
4. Improved member engagement. Bristol City Council Members receive ward profiles and are generally very supportive of the QoL survey. The high level of engagement resulted in Council Members becoming the driving force behind the development of an additional children's Quality of Life survey in 2004 which is completed using a different research approach.
5. Improved collaboration and partnership working. The QoL indicators provide a useful offer to potential partners and more partners are now coming forward as they tend to see major benefits in the work.
6. The QoL survey allows Bristol City Council and partners to be ready for the next initiative with a comprehensive and recent evidence base.

The case study on Bristol reveals examples of where environmental improvements have been made through the use of QoL indicators. To ensure QoL indicators are used effectively for positive decisions, the following are important factors:

- Consistent, good quality data. When local level data is collected opportunities open for political representation and focused action- on issues and on a geographical basis.
- QoL indicators can be used for a variety of purposes but individuals and the organisational location of QoL indicators can influence their use.
- Legislation, such as the LAA has encouraged the use of QoL indicators and where budgets are attached to targets the status of QoL indictors can be increased.

These factors found in the case study of Bristol are driving it toward being a national good-practice example of how to make effective use of QoL indicators.

Understanding the Political Significance of Community Sustainable Development Indicators in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study from Sobantu Township, Pietermaritzburg

Alan Terry

Abstract This chapter is concerned with a critical re-evaluation of a Department of International Development (DFID) funded project that ran between 1998 and 2001 in India and South Africa. The aim of the project was test whether the process of developing community-led indicators would encourage more effective participatory development. The case study addresses some of the criticisms that have recently been aimed at participatory methods, especially the view that they are apolitical and adopt a technocratic approach. Sobantu has been chosen as the subject of this chapter because the locally based non-governmental organization (NGO) was a politically astute, well connected institution which understood the political nature of the process of developing the indicators. However, although the project achieved some positive outcomes, the long-term commitment to the indicators has been compromised. Despite the sophistication of the approach, the inability of community members to engage meaningfully with key municipal service providers has diluted the long-term benefits associated with the development of the indicators. However, recent changes to the South African planning regime might provide opportunities for the indicators to become more widely adopted.

Introduction

During the 1990s the participatory approach became part of the mainstream weaponry of the development professional (Mitlin & Thompson 1994; Srinivasan 1990). Its origins can be viewed in the theoretical impasse that affected development studies in the 1980s (Booth 1985) and an increasing concern that traditional development practice and models had been unable to engage with the priorities of those most in need of social and economic enhancement (Chambers 1983; 1997). The

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degree to which this move from the periphery to the centre of development practice has occurred is exemplified by the World Bank's "World Development Report 2000/1: Attacking Poverty", the aim of which was to represent the perspectives of the poor in a survey of over 100 countries. The Bank's interest in participation and social capital arose out of a growing realisation in the 1990s of its poor understanding of the social consequences of the liberal economic agenda which it had perpetuated in the south (Fine 1999; Francis 2001; Harriss 2001).

In 1996 The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), Habitat Agenda stated that if the quality of life for the urban population in the global South were to improve, then there had to be a change in urban governance. This was defined as "...an efficient and effective response to urban problems by democratically elected and accountable governments working in partnership with civil society" (Toepfer 1999, 9). The essential elements of this type governance included multi-stakeholder strategic planning, participatory urban management and the promotion of civil society (Carley & Bautista 2001; Carley et al. 2001; Carley & Smith (2001)).

With the passing of the United Kingdom's Local Government 2000 Act, participatory methods also became the heart of New Labour's "New Governance Agenda" which was designed partly to address the democratic deficit and broaden the democratic process in local government by emphasizing and enabling more participatory democracy compared to what was perceived as reduced engagement by the electorate with representative democracy. With respect to the developing world, The Overseas Development Administration in conjuncture with Action-Aid had begun to fund research into participatory techniques in the mid-1990s (Goyder, Davies, & Williamson 1998). Since 1997, The Department for International Development (DFID) has focused its activities on poverty reduction and one of the six new development research centres that it has established is the *Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability* at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. This follows on from a series of research projects that it supported, including the Community Learning Information and Communication (CLIC) research project, based upon the premise that better information is an asset that would improve urban governance to the benefit of government departments with responsibilities to deliver services, other civil partners and the community members themselves (Riley & Wakely 2000). These initiatives suggest that by the end of the twentieth century, participation had become an accepted, if not to say essential, element in development projects.

This chapter is concerned with a critical re-evaluation of a related DFID funded project that ran between 1998 and 2001 in India and South Africa. This was known as the "Community Sustainable Development Indicators Project" (CSDI). Initially, the project appeared to be successful, with positive outcomes recorded in all participating communities in terms of improvements to personal skills and confidence, the ability of the communities to place their agenda in the public arena and a generally positive attitude to the process by service providers (Terry 2001). However, since 2001, the use of the indicators by the communities has lapsed and positive reactions have not translated into a long-term use of the indicators by the communities in the way that the project managers had originally envisaged, although recent developments are more positive.

Sobantu is located on the edge of Pietermaritzburg the capital of KwaZulu-Natal. In 1996 The Human Sciences Research Council estimated the population at 7,803 while the estimated population for 2001 was 9,315.[1] It was established in 1928 as a Black township, one of 234 that were constructed throughout South Africa's urban areas as a result of the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act (Lester, Nel, & Binns 2000). It was the first South Africa township to boycott "Bantu" Education, and the first in Pietermaritzburg to initiate anti-apartheid political rallies. During the 1980s, The United Democratic Front (UDF), the internal voice of The African National Congress (ANC), gained a large membership and became prominent in Pietermaritzburg politics. The declaration of the 1986 state of emergency had a huge impact on UDF membership. Over 950 people were detained in the Pietermaritzburg region within eighteen months. In 1987 and early 1988 over 600 people were killed for political reasons, the majority of them supporters of the UDF. At the same time The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)[2] was attracting a mass following in Kwa Zulu Natal. Tensions between these organisations developed and a civil war erupted in the greater Pietermaritzburg region that claimed more lives lost in a few months than had occurred in Northern Ireland in the 20 years between 1970 and 1990 (Kentridge 1990). Therefore the CSDI project was being initiated in a location where recent history had revealed major internal tensions within the wider regional community, although during the previous 4 years, these had lessened in the aftermath of the progressive political changes that had occurred since the advent of majority rule. However, in spite of this political advance, by the time that the CSDI project had started, frustration with the slow pace of converting political advances into social and economic improvements were becoming apparent. It should be stressed that prior to the selection of Sobantu by the project managers, little if any discussion had taken place about its complex political history and the likely impact that this legacy would have on the development of CSDI's. This stage of the project certainly highlights the political naivety of the project managers, a point which will be discussed later.

Critiques of the Participatory Process

In the period since the project was initiated, a series of papers critical of the participatory approach have been published (Cooke & Kothari 2001; Mosse 2001; Stirrat 1997) and new ideas have been raised to try to overcome what are seen to be critical theoretical, practical and philosophical weaknesses in the approach. These critiques have major implications for any process or initiative such as the CSDI that

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[1] The figures are taken from the 1996 and 2001 Census. Sobantu lies within a larger enumeration area that includes a white suburb, an adjustment is made to exclude this smaller community.

[2] THE IFP was founded in 1975 in the then black homeland of KwaZulu by *Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi*, chief of the Zulu people. Its main support is in KwaZulu Natal, especially the more traditional rural areas. Between February 1990 when the ANC was banned and December 2003, 12, 000 people died nationally.

has as a central theme, the idea that community participation is the key to better development outcomes.

Hickey and Mohan identify the main criticisms of the participatory approach as being:

1. An obsession with the local
2. A poor understanding of how power operates and how empowerment should occur
3. A bias towards the civic and social rather than the political
4. A tendency for many to treat participation as a technical method of project work rather than a political methodology of empowerment
5. An inadequate understanding of structure and agency
6. A related lack of clarity of how imminent participatory interventions relate to underlying immanent patterns of exclusion and inclusion as framed by historical processes of citizenship formation.

                                                                                          (Mohan & Hickey, 2004)

They are particularly critical of the political naivety of development agents that advocate a participatory approach who, they believe, underestimate the practical problems faced by popular movements of politically, economically and socially marginalised people when attempting to obtain a fairer share of scarce resources from the politically powerful.

> The assertion that development can be willfully managed through the right mixture of institutional responses has effectively depoliticized the notion and practice of development in poor countries rendering it a technocratic process to be administered and planned by agents of development rather than negotiated with and contested by its subjects (Hickey & Mohan 2003, 4–5).

Similarly, Williams (2003, 1) asserts that the approach "…stands accused of three inter-related crimes," namely:

1. Stressing personal reform over political struggle
2. Obscuring local power differences by uncritically celebrating community
3. Emphasizing that the goal of participatory development is modernization.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to review the project in the light of some of these key critiques.

Community Indicators and Social Capital

CSDI is among a number of initiatives that emerged in the last decade as a means of attempting to convert the ideals of community-led sustainable development into practice. They have been advocated as a method of making sustainable development a collective experience by encouraging participation by all sections of civil society and have been promoted as a vehicle by which communities can participate more fully in their own development. MacGillivray, Weston, & Unsworth (1998) argued

that the creation of local indicators enables communities to make their agendas more visible to decision-makers. Indicators are a means of identifying issues which can then be prioritized. These processes are inherently political as it could be argued that the political process in democratic societies is largely about identifying issues and agreeing on priorities in the absence of insufficient resources to meet all of them simultaneously. Community generated indicators are supposed to contribute to this process because the collection of information for the indicators generates new knowledge that emanates from the community which can be used to justify improved resource allocation, whilst the process of developing the indicators develops a range of social capital. This is claimed to be an empowering process, as the voice of the marginalized become more audible to decision makers, whether bureaucrats or politicians. However, it would be true to say that the implications of empowerment of the politically marginalized had not been considered in-depth prior to the project. Given the fact that empowering one group requires at the very least a willingness to share if not give up some political power by another (Moore 2001), this does point to a naivety on the part of the project managers which was to have an impact later in the project. In the belief in the efficacy of the indicators as a tool of empowerment, this also suggests that development was seen partly at least as a problem that could be partly addressed by technical means.

Radcliffe (2004) argues that DfID's understanding of the function of social capital in development is based upon that of Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti (1993) where the impact of civil associations such as NGOs and the development of personal networks "...are inevitably win-win ties" (Radcliffe 2004, 519). DFID's view has also been articulated by Walker, Lewis, Lingayah, & Sommer (2000) of the New Economics Foundation, although they were aware of the potential negative impacts that strong internal social networks might have for developing wider links to external agencies. Both these key organizations in the project along with the project manager emphasized the importance of engaging with and developing pre-existing local networks as a first stage in the process of strengthening social capital. This meant that there was a contradiction in the project. To engage with the community, it was necessary to work within the local political system, but the fundamental aim of the project was to provide an opportunity for the community to challenge it.

The consideration of politically powerful stakeholders external to Sobantu was not given a great deal of consideration early in the project as another aim was to gauge their reaction as the indicators appeared from within the community, rather than being sponsored by a potential large external donor such as DFID. It was believed that any priming of them by DFID or the project managers beforehand would artificially influence the way in which they were accepted.

The Case Study: Sobantu Township, Pietermartzburg

Compared to many black townships in the province, Sobantu was relatively well off, another factor pointing to a lack of detailed planning prior to the project, as the most politically and economically marginalized groups were not common there and the

level of service provision was relatively good compared to the poorest townships. However, as a political stronghold of the ANC within an IFP dominated region, it had witnessed high levels of violence between 1987 and 1989. The establishment of the first majority rule South African Government in 1994 had therefore been a political triumph at national and community level, although within KwaZulu Natal, the state was controlled by the IFP. However, Sobantu's political representative on the city council was ANC, which was also ANC controlled. Therefore, the key service providers were under the direct control of Sobantu's favoured political party.

The project was initiated in a location where recent history had revealed major internal tensions within the wider regional community although, during the previous 4 years, these had lessened in the aftermath of the progressive political changes that had occurred since the advent of majority rule. However, in spite of this political advance, by the time that the project had started, frustration with the slow pace of converting political improvements into social and economic improvements were becoming apparent. Thus the original unelected Sobantu Development Committee, the link between Sobantu and the Pietermaritzburg Council, had recently been replaced because of dissatisfaction with the slow pace of change. This, in turn, had led to increasing apathy within the township.

> one of the key ingredients which is currently missing from the system is a lively and functioning civic movement that can hold local officials to account. South Africa had a lively civic movement during the struggle against apartheid. Unfortunately the leadership of this movement was absorbed into government or went elsewhere. The assumption seems to have been that with the achievement of democracy many of the local issues would automatically be addressed. Unfortunately a vigilant community is as necessary to keep a democratic state under control as it was to seat an undemocratic one (Wittenberg 2003, 50).

This demonstrates the importance of immanent political processes in late-Apartheid South Africa that continued to have a strong legacy, in both a positive and negative sense in the period after majority rule had been achieved. However, despite a very high degree of politicization by a majority of Sobantu's citizens, once democracy had been installed, it was difficult to sustain the momentum amongst the majority and to convert a huge political achievement into the more mundane goal of improving their quality of life. As Gaventa (2003, 11) points out, ". . . it is no wonder that the dynamics of participation in newly emerging democratic spaces are subject to all sorts of imperfections, manipulations and abuse". These factors had not been taken into account by the project managers prior to the selection of Sobantu in the project. However, given the prior political history of the area, both before and since the ending of the apartheid era in 1994, there is no doubt that the political context was both challenging and unavoidable for them once it had commenced. Fortunately, in the Development Resources Centre, the project had a South African manager that both understood the political context and was able to work pro-actively within it. Unfortunately, it was not a Zulu based organization and this cultural factor did impact adversely in the early stages. However, having underestimated this issue, the Development Resources Centre was wise enough to recruit a Zulu speaking team that was more acceptable to Sobantu's citizens.

Assessing the Stakeholders

The analysis will firstly concentrate on how the project actors, mainly British and local NGO officers interacted with community representatives and the representatives of other agencies, whether state controlled, community based or in the private sector. To direct attention to the specific criticisms of participation as outlined above the following questions will frame the analysis:

Did the Community Sustainable Development Indicators project:

1. Take account of immanent development processes in Sobantu prior to and during the process?
2. Was it concerned solely with improving methodologies of participation in an imminent (interventionist) technocratic sense?
3. Did the external agents take enough account of how participatory development engages with local and historically constructed expressions of popular agency? e.g. did they take apartheid-era politics into account in Sobantu and their possible legacy?

In order to answer these specific questions, the analysis will concentrate on the British NGOs; the local NGO; the political context in which the project was introduced; the nature of pre-existing community initiatives and their relationship to outside political and administrative structures; the outcome at the final stages of the project as perceived by community members and external agents; and the outcome 4 years later.

An important point to make at this stage is that once the concept of community-led indicators had been introduced by the British NGO, the local NGO developed its own strategy for moving the process forward within the community. A further salient point, as Mosse (2001) argues is that in any participatory approach, a tension exists between the operational concerns of the project that involves efficient programme implementation and validation of the activity in terms of the project's participatory objectives. In other words, the ideals of participatory development and empowerment are more than likely to be undermined by the practical imperatives of delivering the project objectives on time. This had some impact towards the end of the project where the initial intention of carrying out a participatory evaluation of the impacts of the project were compromised by a shortage of time due to the longer than expected time taken to engage the community with the process at the beginning.

The particular issues that Mosse identifies include the following: local knowledge that is generated often reflects local power structures; outside actors shape and direct knowledge; local collusion in the planning consensus and manipulation of people's planning priorities. The outcome of these pressures is that the knowledge of the most marginalised groups in the community will not be heard and that "People's knowledge is used to advance and legitimize the project's, own development agenda" (Mosse 2001, 22). In addition "...artful and risk averse villagers ask for what they can get" so that "local knowledge is articulated and structured by the project" (Mosse 2001, 24).

These arguments are undoubtedly powerful and persuasive where the participation is geared to the production of a specific material outcome. However, the CSDI project had no obvious incentive that would enable well-connected members of the community to benefit by delivering a predetermined output to less well-placed members of the community. The output was the production of the indicators. These were not linked to some ideal project outcome and the impact of the indicators was not meant to be on the facilitating NGO's, but the municipal service providers and other external actors who were not directly involved in the project. Thus there was little if any tension between the operational concerns of the project and its participatory objectives, because the development of indicators was not a stage in the delivery of the project, but an end in itself. Therefore the project actors were passive because the outcome of articulating indicators was not linked to a project goal beyond that outcome. Whether or not the process of developing indicators then resulted in the benefits that had been highlighted by the New Economics Foundation was of interest to DFID, but the results, whether positive or negative would not in themselves mark the project as a success or failure. In other words, the communities who participated were engaged in an experiment and they were made aware of this at its outset.

With respect to the British NGO's, neither had an in-depth understanding of the pre-existing political situation within Sobantu, and neither they nor DFID had considered whether, on the basis of need, this was a township that should have been a priority for external support. In this sense, the project manager can be criticized for failing to take into account the immanent political processes into which the project would be introduced. In addition, although local politicians within Sobantu were included at an early stage, the wider political system within the city, state and nationally was not. This seems to suggest that there was too much emphasis placed on local scale processes.

In contrast, the "local" NGO was a more politically aware and well connected organization which did have a good cognizance of the pre-existing political situation. It had been set up in 1992 "working to strengthen civil society for South Africa's transition" (Development Resources Centre 1997, 1). From its founding it had assumed the role of an advocacy organization "...committed to bridging the gap between ordinary people...and the. . .policy discourse undertaken by professionals and politicians" (Development Resources Centre 1997, 1). Therefore, it was a radical political organization that was committed to the democratic transition that South Africa had recently undertaken and viewed CSDI's as a potentially important resource in the process of redistributing resources towards the previously politically marginalized majority. As a leading South African NGO that was attempting to encourage capacity building within the sector, it had developed training courses on a large number of community topics. Most importantly, in the light of the criticisms leveled at those who adopt participatory approaches were courses on *Power in Organizations, Gender and Development and Assertiveness and Anti-Oppressive Ways of Working*. This demonstrates that from an early stage in its evolution, the Development Resources Centre was aware that its participatory approaches needed to be placed in the context of the immanent processes that had created the political and social structures into which participatory projects were being introduced. In

particular, it was aware of the need to take cognizance of power within communities and the related political structures into which they were embedded and believed that the project, by encouraging participatory democracy, would help to improve governance and thereby development. Thus the project exhibited some of the weaknesses identified by critics of participatory methods, but simultaneously, had a key stakeholder within its management that was politically mature and which seems to refute some of those criticisms.

The community had already demonstrated its dissatisfaction with the slow rate of improvement by removing the original unelected Sobantu Development Committee. This had been due to its inability to facilitate real improvements within the township and also due to claims of corruption against individual committee members. However, the newly elected committee had failed to create any sense of direction or dynamism which partly explains the sense of frustration and apathy that existed within Sobantu at the time that the project was introduced. Given the Development Resources Centre's radical analysis of the problem, they certainly hoped and expected that once engaged with the CSDI process, the experience would trigger a more profound challenge to the existing local political structure from within the community. This has been defined as "claimed or created spaces" where "spaces for participation" are claimed by less powerful actors challenging the more powerful and which "...may come about as a result of popular mobilization such as around identity or issue based concerns." (Gaventa, 2003: 9). It was expected that this newly claimed space would develop as a consequence of the increase in social capital that would arise as a consequence of involvement in the CSDI process and that indicators would provide opportunities for "community visioning" (Shipley 2002) and later a more significant redistribution of power from political to social actors (d'Albergo & Moini 2007).

The CSDI Process: Engaging the Community

The project was divided into four phases. The first phase entailed meetings with politicians and representatives of community based institutions within Sobantu. This was followed by identification and training of the volunteers who assisted in conducting a baseline study in the form of an attitudinal survey. At this stage, the numbers involved were very small, rarely exceeding twenty people, and were dominated by pre-existing members of community based organizations such as the Sobantu Environmental Desk and undergraduates of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. They were unrepresentative of the whole community, with a higher percentage of well-educated individuals, or people who had already been motivated to try to make a difference within their community. The group fluctuated in size over time, but was made up predominantly of younger people in their twenties; the gender mix was initially even between males and females. A report on the survey findings was given to local community based organizations and the new Sobantu Development Committee. Thus this conduit between the community and main service providers on Pietermaritzburg council was involved closely with the process

at an early stage because the indicators were envisaged as an important resource in representing the needs of the community to the council and other outside agencies. In this stage of the process it was necessary to work with the existing political structures because without their co-operation, it would have been impossible to gain entry to the township. The Sobantu Development Committee had no vision, mission or action plan and it merely reacted to problems that members of the community brought to its attention. Most of these concerned basic services although it also officiated in family problems and community disputes. Given this role, the committee was quick to spot the potential value of CSDI's in enabling them to better represent the needs and aspiration of Sobantu's citizens to the city authorities. A further anticipated benefit was to help them to identify, through the participation of the community, how they should prioritize their efforts.

This reveals a number of key issues about the role of the Sobantu Development Committee and the perceived role of CSDI's. Firstly, both the recently disbanded Sobantu Development Committee and its replacement had failed to outline a set of political aspirations and goals that could be articulated into a coherent structure that was meaningful to people within Sobantu. Secondly, the project managers envisaged CSDI's as a tool that would enable improved political participation and governance through the articulation of community needs via the indicators to those who had the power to influence the level and direction of services. In the early stages of the project, they were therefore envisaged as a means by which "users and choosers" (Cornwall & Gaventa 2001a) could more effectively engage with service providers, both bureaucrats and political decision-makers. However, in the long run, the Development Resources Centre believed that engagement in the process would enable community members to have a more influential role in policy making within the township itself and have a positive influence on the city council. That is, they would move from being "users and choosers" to "makers and shapers" (Cornwall & Gaventa 2001a).

In phase two a workshop was held where the findings of the baseline survey were presented. This had been initiated after the initial meeting with the Sobantu Development Committee. Flyers, newspaper articles and posters were distributed to raise awareness about CSDI's and to broaden public participation. This phase was time consuming, with two public meetings being very poorly attended and it was not until participation with the local secondary school took place that a significant response occurred.

Phase three entailed the prioritizing of issues and indicators. A workshop was held where the participants selected three priority issues and indicators and those with the most votes were then selected. Ten people volunteered to gather raw data or official information for the indicators. A plan of action was developed for each issue and associated indicators. This involved a core group of 20–50 people who were more representative of the township than the Sobantu Development Committee which was dominated by older men. The information gathered was incorporated into the first draft of the CSDI project report. The report was then presented to the Sobantu Development Committee and the broader community in a community meeting.

The Indicators

The indicators were chosen by the community members who participated in the project at that stage, after extensive consultation with a wide range of individuals, members of sub-groups including pensioners, school children, women's groups, agricultural co-operatives, members of political parties and members of community based organizations such as the Sobantu Environment Desk (Table 1). No pressure was placed by the Development Resources Centre staff on the participants to choose or reject particular indicators. Therefore, they represent an insight into issues that people believed might be tackled either by:

1. Changing people's attitudes or behaviour within the community (the first two environmental indicators)
2. What were perceived to be realistically achievable changes in the allocation of resources (the health indicators and the fourth environmental indicator)
3. Changing the behaviour and attitude of outside agents towards the citizens of Sobantu (unemployment issue 3)
4. Clear descriptors that summarized the state of the local economy (The first two unemployment indicators).

It is noticeable that the two most important issues to be identified in the public meetings and workshops, namely crime and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, were not included as indicators. This omission reflected the sophistication of the community participants in choosing the indicators. Firstly, with respect to crime, people argued that given the high incidence of unemployment, then the two were likely to be linked and there was a fairly ambiguous attitude to crime by many because it

Table 1 Sobantu's community sustainable development indicators

Issue	Indicator
Unemployment	• Number of people unemployed
	• Number of households sustained by pensions
	• Number of local contractors given preferences
Environment	• Percentage of households recycling waste
	• Number and percentage of people participating in clean-up campaigns and competitions
	• Quantity of litter dropped on the streets compared to quantity of litter in the bins
	• Number of complaints of sewerage smells to the department of health
Health	• Number of days per week doctors present at the clinic
	• The times that the clinic is accessible
	• Number of house visits to bed-ridden patients

was perceived as a legitimate option given the lack of local income earning possibilities. Thus, although complaints were made about the lack of police in Sobantu, they also realized that the causes of crime were often economic, and therefore outside their immediate control. "Being tough on the causes of crime" was perceived as the way forward and the unemployment indicators were partly chosen for that reason.

Secondly, HIV/AIDS was perceived as outside the control of individuals. Because of the rapid spread and high rates of the disease, together with an unwillingness to alter individual behavior, especially by the young, a fatalistic attitude was apparent which meant that providing more information would be meaningless and possibly even counter-productive. This attitude was summed up by one group of young men who stated that "They were born because of sex and would die because of sex". Another factor was that people realized that given the nature of the illness and the attitudes towards those who admitted they were infected, it would prove very difficult to obtain either up-to-date local information from the health department, and more importantly, accurate information from household surveys within the township.

The indicators were therefore well focused on local issues where the community felt it could obtain data, but also on achievable goals where it felt there was some possibility that a more structured approach might lead to positive results. Two of the three issues coincided with two of the seven portfolios (Health, Education, Housing, Sports and Recreation, Arts and Culture, Religion and the Environment) that were the responsibility of the new Sobantu Development Committee. The economic aspect of the CSDI's reflected in the unemployment indicators was not a responsibility of the new Sobantu Development Committee and demonstrates the frustration within the township that insufficient progress had been made in converting the political gains of 1994 into real economic development. Unlike the other two issues that were linked to identifiable new Sobantu Development Committee members who were responsible for these areas, the unemployment issue was partly a reflection of political failure, but also of anger that so few local employers hired Sobantu's unemployed. These included both public employers and private employers in the many factories that were located on the opposite side of the valley from the township. Therefore, at times of political lobbying, the indicators could easily be perceived as providing political ammunition by one side or the other. This was obvious to the project management team and the local volunteers, as well as all the other actors who were interacting with the process. The problem was that those involved in the CSDI process might be viewed as partisan by members of the community and the Sobantu Development Committee. There was an obvious need to make it clear that the CSDI's were not themselves a tool of one political party or another, or that the project team favoured one political party over another. In that sense, they were trying to remain politically neutral in what, at times, was a highly politicized arena.

The last phase entailed internal and external communication of issues and indicators involving flyers, posters, local newspapers and radio. The community organized itself and was beginning to engage relevant stakeholders within and outside the township on issues and indicators for Sobantu. At the end of the project, in

March–April 2001, participants carried out a follow-up survey. This was to evaluate the extent to which attitudes towards community-led development initiatives had been changed by participation in the CSDI process. Approximately 200 households took part (13 per cent of the township), considerably higher than the preliminary survey to which only 50 households had responded. The whole CSDI process was difficult to undertake and took approximately 2 years, because of hostility, indifference and apathy from local politicians, some community based organizations and the wider community. However, by the end of the process, community based organizations and those individuals who had participated in the process were able to articulate benefits that they had experienced from engaging with it.

A weakness of the process was the failure to engage meaningfully with any official agencies at any of the developmental stages. Thus the participants were faced with a seemingly disinterested and unresponsive set of bureaucrats in the major city departments. Working through pre-existing community structures such as the local councilor or community based organizations such as the Sobantu Environment Desk proved to be a frustrating experience. Not until the Development Resources Centre had organized an advocacy workshop was the core team able to successfully begin to advance into newly "claimed spaces". However, progress was slow, and in retrospect, the failure to work both sides of the equation (Cornwall & Gaventa 2001b) probably reduced the impact of the CSDI's as an information tool for those agencies. However, the rate and direction at which progress was made was linked closely to the stages in the political cycle. Therefore, at the first meeting, where the project had been explained to members of the Sobantu Development Committee, which included the ward councilor, it had been received with some enthusiasm. Towards the end of the process, when community volunteers were attempting to obtain information from within the community via surveys, and also from official sources, this coincided with local government elections and the political nature of the process suddenly became more apparent. From the perspective of the councilor and elected Sobantu Development Committee members, the fact that the indicators were based upon issues and highlighted failures to deliver services or address long standing problems meant that cooperation with them became more difficult to achieve. These actors perceived poor indicators as a sign of their political failure and at this stage, the project volunteers were viewed as agents of the opposition by elected members of the city council, the Sobantu Development Committee and officials within public departments. At this point, many ordinary citizens did not want to co-operate with project volunteers. In spite of their realization that local development had not matched their expectations, because of their overwhelming support for the ANC, they did not want to undermine their preferred political party. Therefore, although participatory methods have been criticized as being apolitical, this does not appear to have been the experience of the project. The Development Resources Centre were aware of the political nature of the indicators, but underestimated the willingness of the majority to forego the opportunity of challenging the existing structure if it meant undermining their preferred political party. Given the relatively recent violent history where many community members had died or suffered other tribulations because of their political allegiance, this is perfectly understandable in retrospect.

This might demonstrate a certain political naivety by the Development Resources Centre and may also indicate the lack of empathy even a politically aware NGO had of the political problems facing KwaZulu Natal compared to Johannesburg.

The Impact of the Project on Social Capital

A number of positive impacts were recorded between the baseline survey in 1998 and the final survey in 2002. The first involved a rise in personal social capital (Fig. 1).

Respondents reported a significant increase in personal esteem as a consequence of participating in the project with a rise from seven to 70 per cent in those stating that they felt that their views were of importance. This was probably due to the processes in the workshops rather than the ability to influence outside agencies, as the inclusive nature and positive attitudes engendered by the process, such as improved self-confidence to articulate views and express opinions were generally well regarded by participants. The second aspect was related to the degree to which participants felt that they were able to tackle development issues. This was not a reflection of achievements, but of their ability to identify and prioritize issues. Figure 2 shows that some improvements had taken place over the course of the project. Positive responses rose from 20 to 50 per cent and negative responses fell from 50 to 10 per cent. However, the not sure response actually increased which reflects the skepticism felt by many because of the failure to engage meaningfully with outside agencies.

This was linked to the problems faced by individuals in obtaining information for the indicators, for example on health and environmental data. The group who carried out most of this was mainly female university students from the township and therefore not typical of the majority. However, through persistence, they uncovered new knowledge that related to key entitlements of which the majority was unaware. This included small business grants and misdirected health resources. Because of their increased effectiveness and confidence, community members have become involved
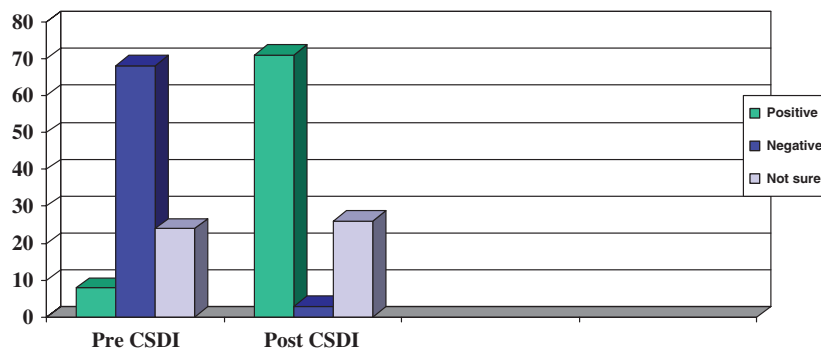
Fig. 1 Raising personal self esteem between the pre-CSDI and post-CSDI periods

Fig. 2 Improving the effectiveness of the community to address local development issues between the pre-CSDI and post-CSDI periods
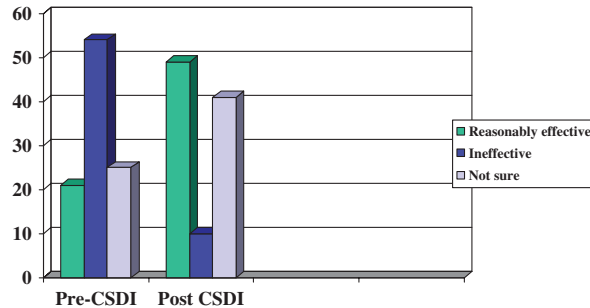
in the Msunduzi Catchment Management Forum which has, through its ability to install monitors at effluent outflows, identified persistent industrial polluters who have been flouting The Industrial Effluent By-laws (Quinn 2005). This suggests that involvement in the process has enabled the community to begin to manipulate the levers of power so that decisions that adversely affect their immediate environment may be challenged using pre-existing legal entitlements of which they had been previously unaware. These types of ability to influence decisions that affect one's livelihood are seen as the mark of meaningful participation (Desai 2002).

Future Prospects

As the CSDI process closed there was a great deal of optimism amongst those in the community who had engaged with the process, that the use of the indicators would lead to improvements in the level of basic services to the community. Over 90 per cent of the respondents expected there would be further improvements over time as local representatives and service providers began to recognize and respond to the indicators, even though, as Fig. 3 reveals, many were still skeptical about the immediate impacts. However, by 2003 the use of the indicators had lapsed and although the Sobantu Environmental Desk continued to advocate for improvements, there was little sign that CSDI's had become embedded in the toolkit of local elected representatives or municipal service providers.
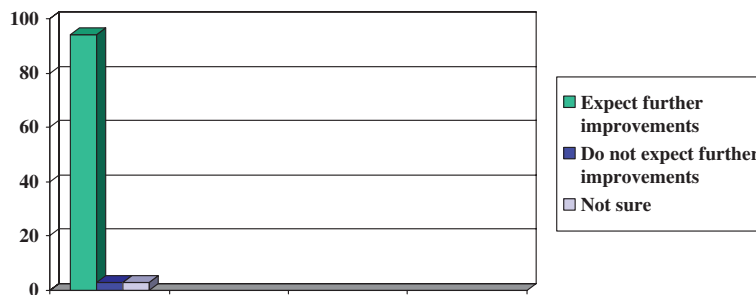
Fig. 3 The expectation that CSDIs will help to improve the quality of life in future

Therefore in spite of the limited achievements outlined above, over a longer time scale the use of CSDI's appears to have failed. This is not because the process has been perceived as apolitical. On the contrary, both the Development Resources Centre and the community perceived its political potential. However, it appears that whilst the former hoped that it would become a vehicle for empowerment, the majority of the township did not want to engage in a process that would challenge its political champions, albeit that they were aware of serious shortcomings in the delivery of services. In retrospect, this is understandable. Black South Africans had only recently achieved full representative democracy and in challenging this system, albeit for perfectly sound political reasons, the subtle advantages of participatory democracy were not easy to sell to the majority. A more serious weakness of the process has been the inability to engage the officials of key government agencies in Labour, Health and Environment to sign up to the process. They have tended to see the process as a threat to their political influence, rather than an opportunity to improve governance. This can be blamed on the CSDI project managers who from the outset, had not wanted to compromise the community-led nature of the indicators by engaging directly with official government bodies as this would have prejudiced the community-led nature that was supposed to lie at the heart of the project.

The CSDI requires information that in some cases, only official agencies can provide. Some information has been forthcoming, but only after a great deal of pressure being applied by highly committed individuals. Officials and political representatives have tended to perceive CSDI's as a threat and therefore failed to commit to long-term co-operation to supply data, or respond to the indicators. This reveals possibly the greatest weakness of the project; that before engaging with the communities, it failed to co-opt those key service providers into the process. Thus a failure to take into account the underlying structure and agency seems to have been a key factor in stalling the use of CSDI's in the long-term. The skepticism exhibited in Sobantu during the post-survey evaluation reflects the astuteness of the respondents in recognizing that fact, although those who did engage with the project maintained what can in retrospect be seen as an optimistic belief in their long-term value. Therefore, even where interventions are politically sensitive and aware of power relationships within communities, powerful external bureaucracies must agree to respond positively before participatory projects are likely to succeed. This reveals the challenge facing participatory methods in challenging pre-existing systems of resource allocation and strongly endorses the criticisms of any that fail to take into account the political nature of the process.

Conclusions

Although the previous section provides a rather gloomy prognosis, since the adoption of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000), there is some hope that CSDI's will find a more central role in local governance. The 2000 Act requires that all Municipalities produce an Integrated Development Plan which

puts into practice at a local level the 1994 Constitution. Key elements of the Constitution include Section 152 (e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in the matters of local government and under Section 153 (a) structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote social and economic development of the community. Such a process requires information and insights in to the priorities and perspectives of marginalized communities and appears to provide an important market for CSDI's. The Msunduzi Catchment Management Forum shows how the input of local community groups has begun to impact upon decision makers and such small-scale successes may yet see CSDI's becoming more widely used as Integrated Development Plans become adopted nationally.

On a wider scale, a key factor to emerge from the CSDI project is that in circumstances where people have struggled over a long period to gain basic representative democratic rights, that even if their elected representatives are incompetent or corrupt, there may be little appetite for participatory democracy if it is perceived to undermine the political party in which a great deal of collective energy has been extended to place it in power. If, after a period of time, this unsatisfactory state of affairs persists, then attitudes may change and a greater proportion of the community may become more motivated to engage in participatory processes in an attempt to create more radical changes. However, there is no simple formula to estimate how long this may take and the lessons to be learned in other emerging democracies cannot be translated directly from the South African experience and it is even likely that considerable differences would emerge between KwaZulu Natal and other South African states, mainly because of the intensity of the civil war between ANC and IFP which occurred there. Given Sobantu's recent history of extreme political violence, then the fact that its citizens still see representative democracy as a viable model in which to place their trust and perceive little need to challenge it through more participative methods, suggests that slower than expected economic and social progress is not followed by a slide into authoritarianism (Diamond 2008). In that sense, a lack of engagement with participatory processes that challenge the system may paradoxically be a sign of democratic strength rather than weakness. It is also noticeable from the Sobantu case study that the young and better educated are likely to be in the vanguard of any such movement, but if they are over-represented, this may well result in marginalization for those groups who are already likely to be disadvantaged. In the case of CSDI's, the incentives to participate in the process were not selfish and the overwhelming motivation for engagement appeared to be a genuine concern to make some progress in overcoming long standing local issues. However, despite this apparent lack of personal benefit to be derived from involvement in the process, it should be remembered that what gets measured may begin to drive policies. Therefore, even in an apparently selfless process, individuals or groups can use the CSDI's to try to re-orientate resources to address issues that they perceive as being of greatest importance. However, this process is likely to be successful only if outside facilitators have primed service providers, especially those delivered by the public sector, to be aware of and receptive to such signals long before they first appear from within the community itself.

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Jacksonville's Race Relations Progress Report: Creating Change through Community Indicators

J. Benjamin Warner

Abstract In 2002, a group of concerned citizens tasked the Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (JCCI) with creating an annual "report card" on the community's progress in eliminating racial disparities in the quality of life in Jacksonville, Florida. The Race Relations Progress Report, modeled after JCCI's Quality of Life Progress Report, has reframed the conversation about race in Jacksonville and has served as a critical tool in decision-making in the community. Its lessons provide insight into how community indicators projects can add meaning through disaggregating key populations, provided that the sponsoring organization shares the trust of the community being measured.

Background and History

Jacksonville, Florida and Race Relations

Jacksonville, Florida, is a consolidated city-county government with a 2007 estimated population of 900,000, anchoring a five-county Northeast Florida region of 1.35 million.[1] Sixty percent of the population self-identifies as white, 31 percent black/African American, six percent as Hispanic, and 3 percent as Asian or Pacific Islander. The population has been growing by an estimated 1.7 percent annually for the past 20 years.[2]

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[1] Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Estimates of Population 2007.* University of Florida: Gainesville, Florida, 2008.

[2] Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida. (2004). *Florida population studies, population projections by age, sex, race, and hispanic origin for Florida and its counties, 2003–2030*, *37*(3).

Jacksonville is located deep in the American South. Its history includes institutionalized slavery and being part of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. Its history with race relations in many ways mirrors that of the United States as a whole; racial disparities across the country have been referred to recently as a "national embarrassment" and "an affront to the US promise of equal opportunity for all."[3] A brief history of race relations in Jacksonville, however, will serve as context for the development of the *Race Relations Progress Report* by the Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (JCCI), clarifying the challenges and importance of applying community indicators to this longstanding problem.

After the US Civil War came a period of Reconstruction with greater opportunities for Jacksonville's African American citizenry. In 1887, five African Americans were elected to Jacksonville's City Council, and one African American lawyer, Joseph. E. Lee, was elected city magistrate.[4] These gains were short-lived.

The State of Florida instituted a poll tax in 1885, disenfranchising poor voters (black and white); Jacksonville's city government was suspended by the state in 1887 to draw new district boundaries; by 1900 blacks were locked out of Democratic primaries; and in 1907 the Jacksonville city council created new district boundaries that eliminated black representation. That same city council instituted "Jim Crow" laws, segregating public accommodations and forced African Americans out of most city employment, including police and firefighter service. The courts upheld the institution of these laws.[5]

In 1954, the US Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* against school segregation policies, stating that "separate but equal" facilities were unconstitutional. Jacksonville's civil rights movement crystallized on August 27, 1960, when the NAACP Youth Council picketed Woolworth's and other downtown establishments to get them to desegregate their lunch counters. The local Ku Klux Klan led a violent reaction, passing out axe handles and bats which were used to beat the protestors. The day is remembered locally as "Axe Handle Saturday."[6]

In 1964, the US Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, and Jacksonville struggled to implement the changes. The school system did not begin serious desegregation efforts until 1971, and was under federal court jurisdiction from a 1990 consent decree until 2001, when the school system achieved "unitary" status. In

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[3] The quotes are from Senator Bill Frist and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, respectively, commenting in as part of a special edition of *Health Affairs*. See also (from the same issue) Smith, D.B., Racial and ethnic health disparities and the unfinished civil rights agenda. *Health Affairs*, *24*(2), March/April 2005, pp. 317–324.

[4] Crooks, J.B. (2001). An introduction to the history of Jacksonville race relations. Presented to the Improving Race Relations study committee, October 30, 2001. Available at http://www.jcci.org/projects/reports/HistoryofRaceRelations.aspx (accessed June 9, 2008)

[5] Crooks, J.B. (2001). An introduction to the history of Jacksonville race relations. Presented to the Improving Race Relations study committee, October 30, 2001. Available at http://www.jcci.org/projects/reports/HistoryofRaceRelations.aspx (accessed June 9, 2008)

[6] Crooks, J.B. (2004). *Jacksonville: The consolidation story, from civil rights to the jaguars* (pp. 22–23). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

1974, the US Civil Rights Commission recommended cutting off federal funding for Jacksonville law enforcement due to racially discriminatory policies and practices.[7]

In 1968, after a citizen referendum, the governments of the City of Jacksonville and Duval County were consolidated into one governmental unit. The factors involved in consolidation were many, including corruption in pre-consolidation city and county governments, disaccreditation of the Duval County Public Schools, and the prospect of greater efficiencies and lower costs in providing government services.[8] Some, however, noted that the African American population within city limits had reached 40 percent of the total population, and with white families moving to the suburbs, soon Jacksonville's black citizens would have a voting majority. Some white voters were attracted to consolidation because of their fear that Jacksonville would soon have a black mayor.[9] (In 1995, Jacksonville elected a black sheriff, the first statewide since Reconstruction.[10] Term-limited out in 2003, Nat Glover ran for mayor, but did not win.)

The local context in which the Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (JCCI) was created was one of a community still largely divided by race. JCCI was created in 1975 to serve as an independent citizens' voice in examining and finding solutions to pressing community issues. The nonprofit, nonpartisan citizens group adapted a consensus-based study model to create recommendations for change, and soon added an implementation process using citizen advocates to ensure that the recommendations received the proper audience and, with optimistic advocacy, action.

JCCI's mission is to engage diverse citizens in open dialogue, research, consensus building, advocacy and leadership development to improve the quality of life and build a better community in Northeast Florida and beyond.[11] JCCI, from its inception, was charged with identifying community needs and developing solutions across a broad range of issues. The Community Planning Council, which became JCCI (together with the Commission on Goals and Priorities for Human Services and the Amelia Island Community Planning Conference), issued a report in December 1974 identifying goals for the community, expanding on the earlier list of priority areas. These included economic opportunity, education, public safety, the natural environment, health care, racial harmony, and sufficient resources to address these issues.[12]

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[7] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (2002). *Beyond the talk: Improving race relations*. pp. 6–7.

[8] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (2002). *Beyond the talk: Improving race relations*, p. 9.

[9] Martin, R. (1993). *A quiet revolution: The consolidation of Jacksonville-Duval county and the dynamics of urban political reform* (p. 156). Jacksonville, FL: White Publishing Company.

[10] See www.coj.net for a biography of Nat Glover and his accomplishments.

[11] For more information, see www.jcci.org.

[12] The Commission on Goals and Priorities of the Community Planning Council (1974, December 15). Goals and priorities for Jacksonville. *Times-Union and Journal*.

Developing the Race Relations Progress Report

JCCI began its work with community quality-of-life indicators in 1985.[13] Among its initial set of indicators was a survey question: *In your opinion during the last year, do you feel that racism is a problem in Jacksonville?* Subsequent citizen review committees added other race-specific indicators to the community indicator set, including:

- Students attending racially-balanced schools;
- Have you personally experienced racism? (survey question);
- Racial disparity in infant death rates;
- Racial disparity in newly-diagnosed cases of HIV; and
- Racial diversity of elected officials.

In 1993, after completing a study on *Young Black Males* in Jacksonville, JCCI recognized the need for the community to better understand the quality of life of its African-American residents and proposed creating a specialized community indicators report.[14] In a memo to the Jacksonville Urban League, JCCI suggested that the two organizations partner in creating either a one-time snapshot of life in the African American community in Jacksonville or an annual report that tracked trends and conditions over time. The benefits were described as twofold:

1. The written document would be "useful for informing local citizens and decision makers" and "illuminate conditions in the African American community and highlight needs for change."
2. The document would also be "a useful advocacy tool for the [Jacksonville Urban League] and other groups working to improve conditions and opportunity in the African American community."[15]

This effort did not happen. JCCI had operated under the assumption that its experience with measuring and presenting data objectively was sufficient to tackle this new initiative. Instead, JCCI had to develop the community trust and cultural competency necessary to create a community indicators report specifically focused on the experience of a specific racial or ethnic group.[16] The vision for the report had to come through a different, open community process and be shaped from within the target community in order to combat "skepticism about the benevolent intentions of

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[13] For a discussion of the development of the *Quality of Life Progress Report*, see Warner, J.B. (2006). The Jacksonville experience. In M. J. Sirgy, D. Rahtz, & D. Swain, D. (Eds.), *Community quality-of-life indicators: Best cases II* (pp. 1–22). Springer: The Netherlands.
[14] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (1992, Summer). *Young Black Males*. Jacksonville, FL: Jacksonville Community Council Inc.
[15] Swain, D. (1993, July 28). Memorandum to Richard Danford, President, Jacksonville Urban League.
[16] See Swain, D. (2008, May 9). "Thoughts on making connections for community improvement," handout as part of a panel discussion to the annual conference of the National Association of Planning Councils, Clearwater Beach, Florida.

the larger (white) Jacksonville community in relation to African-Americans' quality of life" and "distrust of information generated outside the African-American community."[17] Measuring the African-American experience against the broader community vision would have meant evaluating what it meant to be black in Jacksonville against an external standard; before JCCI could re-address the issue of race-based community indicators, the organization had to revisit its core assumptions about community indicators.

In 1994, JCCI conducted a study entitled *Jacksonville Public Services: Meeting Neighborhood Needs*. The study committee was charged with examining whether the consolidated city/county government of Jacksonville/Duval County had achieved equitable distribution of public services, and whether the distribution of public services could be described as fair to the neighborhoods and areas of the city. The study scrupulously avoided any mention of the racial demographics of the neighborhoods under discussion, even though then (as now) residential segregation patterns were easily identifiable. The study called for the publication of annual "report cards," by neighborhood, to track equity in the distribution of public services. JCCI volunteers worked with the city for a year to convince them to create such a report, and negotiated within each department for the indicators of service delivery that would be reported. JCCI published what came to be called the Equity Index in 1995 and 1997, tracking service delivery by city department in each of six Planning Districts in Jacksonville, covering together the 840 square miles of the county. The effort was discontinued due to lack of City support after the 1997 report.

In 2001, JCCI was asked to convene the community in a discussion of race relations. This conversation proved to be unique in Jacksonville for a number of reasons. First, the conversation was not triggered by an incident or crisis. The impetus for the work came from a desire for overall community improvement, not in reaction to escalating tensions. This allowed the discussion to begin without much of the defensiveness sometimes encountered in previous community "reconciliation" efforts.

Secondly, the charge to the 200-plus people who gathered for the weekly meetings was different. The volunteer co-chairs of the initiative were explicit at the outset in identifying the purpose as something other than learning how to get along together. "We're not here to learn to like each other," one explained to the group. "We're here to address a problem that's larger than any of us individually." After some discussion and revision, the group agreed on the charge: to explore the institutional practices and processes that intentionally or unintentionally created or perpetuated racial disparities in Jacksonville. The charge challenged the committee to get beyond blame and examine where the community needed to change. It also supported an effort to research and document race-based disparities in the quality of life in Jacksonville.

The third unique aspect of the discussions was in the breadth of people participating. The conversation was open to the community, and was identified as an opportunity to hear from all residents. JCCI's reputation and experience as a neutral

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[17] Ibid.

convener was put to the test. Participants included representatives from organizations traditionally charged with addressing race relations (such as the Urban League and the NAACP), as well as individuals and organizations locally associated with white supremacy and bigotry (such as the National Association for the Advancement of White People.) Some participants shared their beliefs that no solutions were possible, as the deep-seated anger at being victimized by racism was too strong to be overcome. Others said that "nature itself" suggests that more than one race could not live in the same community, and that the state of Florida should be reserved for white people and black people should move to the state of Mississippi. The conversations were frank, honest, and open. No point of view was left unexpressed.

The committee met weekly for 9 months. They looked at data and trends. They brought in resource speakers from across Jacksonville and in many different subject areas. They asked questions of the speakers and of each other. At the end of the process, the group reached consensus on the facts of racial disparities in Jacksonville, and agreed on a set of recommendations for action.

From the 2002 *Beyond the Talk* report:

> The study committee found that Jacksonville residents, depending on theirrace, perceive race relations differently. Beyond those perceptions, the study committee discovered and documented race-based disparities in education, employment and income, neighborhoods and housing, criminal justice, health, and the political process. The persistence of these disparities in Jacksonville has inhibited efforts to improve race relations.[18]

Based on the findings of the report, the study committee reached the following conclusion:

To move beyond the talk and improve race relations for all its citizens, Jacksonville needs:

- *leadership*, including leaders from government, business, education, and the faith community, to work together to make Jacksonville a place in which all residents, regardless of race, participate fully in public life;
- a *vision*, shared by the community, of a Jacksonville without race-based disparities or discrimination;
- *action* by community institutions, by government, and by individual citizens, to realize that vision; and
- *accountability*, through independent monitoring, community celebrations, and annual report cards, to ensure results.[19]

Other community initiatives had called for leadership, vision, and action. The central component that the study committee felt would make this effort different was that of accountability. The community needed to be held accountable for progress or lack thereof. They charged JCCI with developing an annual report card on the community's progress in eliminating racial disparities.

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[18] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. (2002). *Beyond the talk: Improving race relations*, p. 2.
[19] Ibid.

In 2004, JCCI began work on developing the first of what was planned to be annual report cards on race relations in Jacksonville. Using the categories identified in the 2002 *Beyond the Talk* study, JCCI convened a citizen's group to identify indicators of disparity that should be measured. To develop qualitative data and improve contextual reliability or the indicators, JCCI partnered with Jacksonville University and Edward Waters College (a local Historic Black College) to conduct surveys and focus groups. The telephone surveys race-matched the questioner to the respondent, and survey respondents were invited to take part in focus groups to follow up on their survey answers. Five focus groups, which were each homogeneous in terms of race, were conducted. In both the surveys and focus groups, every attempt was made to create an atmosphere in which honesty and openness prevailed.

The results of the surveys and focus groups proved interesting. Wide differences appeared in perceptions of racial disparities and the extent of racial discrimination locally. These differences in perception tended to correspond with the race of the respondent, as in similar national surveys. For a few of the questions, either the age of the respondent or level of education affected answers to the questions. In both surveys and focus groups, a minority of white respondents argued that they saw African Americans in Jacksonville as better off than white people, with greater advantages and opportunities that had come at the expense of the majority population.

In addition to the survey questions, JCCI compiled a series of indicators of racial disparities. These efforts in developing indicators for the *Race Relations Progress Report* were informed both by JCCI's previous experience with community indicators specific to race and by past national efforts to quantify racial disparities.

In 1998, the US Council of Economic Advisers prepared a report for the President's Initiative on Race. Called *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, the stated intent of the report was to:

- "educate Americans about the facts surrounding the issue of race in America";
- provide "much needed information about racial disparities . . . for an informed discussion about the problems faced by people of different races and backgrounds in America"; and
- encourage action to "provide equal opportunities for every American to participate fully in our society."[20]

The report examined indicators in the areas of population, education, labor markets, economic status, health, crime and criminal justice, and housing and neighborhoods.

Although *Changing America* envisioned follow-up reports to revisit the data and trends identified, as of the end of 2007 no further reports have been issued. However, issue-specific efforts, most visibly in education, economic well-being, health,

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[20] *Changing America*, Presidential Foreword, p. iii. Available at http://www.access.gpo.gov/eop/ca/pdfs/ca.pdf (accessed December 7, 2005).

and criminal justice, have continued to explore racial disparities in greater detail, at national, state, and community levels.

A local community initiative that provided background for Jacksonville's effort was the *2003 Racial Disparities Report* developed by Community Research Partners for the United Way of Central Ohio.[21] The report was designed to assist the United Way and the broader central Ohio community in greater responsiveness to the issues of race, ethnicity, and diversity and to provide a tool for accountability for addressing disparities.[22] The report measured racial disparities in employment, education, housing, health, and safety.

In March 2004, the National Urban League published its annual *State of Black America* report and unveiled a new "Equality Index", measuring racial disparities in economics, housing, education, health, social justice, and civic engagement.[23] By aggregating the measures into one index, the National Urban League was able to report:

> What our Equality Index has determined is that now, 216 years after the Constitution of the United States of America was voted into being, black Americans, once defined as *three-fifths* stand at less than three quarters—0.73, to be exact—of where White America stands.[24] *(*emphasis in original*)*

The National Urban League has continued to report annually on the Equality Index through 2008.

JCCI also looked beyond national boundaries for models of measuring racial disparities. In 2000, the Canadian Council on Social Development prepared a report for the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. *Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment, and Income* paired quantitative analysis of indicators of racial disparity in education and the labor market with a series of focus groups to understand the social implications behind the data. They noted that "Even though Canada was the first country to adopt multiculturalism as its official policy, we have had a history of social, cultural, and economic discrimination against visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples."[25]

In 2003, The Social Planning Council of Peel published an information brief on immigrants and visible minorities in Peel, Ontario.[26] They followed this report up with *Portraits of Peel: Facing the Facts*, published in 2004 and updated and revised

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[21] Available at http://communityresearchpartners.org/uploads/publications//Disparities%20Report%20Web.pdf (accessed December 7, 2005).

[22] *2003 Racial Disparities Report*, pp. 1–1.

[23] National Urban League, *The State of Black America*, 2004. Excerpts and description available at http://www.nul.org/stateofblackamerica.html (accessed December 7, 2005).

[24] Ibid., p. 12.

[25] *Unequal Access*, p. 5.

[26] The Social Planning Council of Peel, *Infoshare*, Volume 11, Number 1, May 2003. The report provides the following definition of "visible minority": "According to Employment Equity legislation at the federal level of government in Canada, the term 'visible minority' refers to people who are non-Caucasian or non-White and non-Aboriginal. In Canada, the following groups are regarded as visible minorities: South Asians, Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Arabs, West Asians, Latin Americans, Southeast Asians, Koreans, and Japanese" (p. 4).

in September 2005. Srimanta Mahonty's research examined correlations between race/ethnicity and a series of quality-of-life indicators at the neighborhood level in Peel. The results were new proposed approaches to reducing regional disparities and a greater understanding of the service implications of widespread diversity and associated disparities.

Each of these initiatives provided context for JCCI's efforts to measure racial disparities locally. To determine which indicators were of most value to the local conversation around race, JCCI convened a volunteer committee of about 40 members to identify aspects to measure, develop possible indicators to measure, then select the final indicators for publication based on JCCI's Indicator Selection Criteria.[27]

The resulting JCCI document had 31 indicators based on survey questions and 66 indicators based on objective local data, in addition to local demographic information. (See Appendix A.) After the first year of publication in 2005, other national resources provided opportunities for examining how to best measure racial disparities. In July 2005, the United Way of Greater Los Angeles, in partnership with the Los Angeles Urban League, issued *The State of Black Los Angeles*, the first community-level application of the National Urban League's Equality Index.[28] The United Way of Greater Los Angeles also publishes the *Latino Scorecard: Grading the American Dream*[29] and the *Asian and Pacific Islander Demographic Profile*.[30]

The 2006 report did not include a dedicated telephone survey (though it retained the indicators based on surveys from the *Quality of Life Progress Report* related to race relations and racial disparities). The committee also streamlined the report, with a target of four indicators for each of the six areas of racial disparities in the report, in addition to indicators of race relations and experiences of discrimination. This resulted in seven indicators based on survey and 22 indicators from local data sources appearing in the 2006 report. (See Appendix B.) The 2007 report included five survey-based indicators and 23 other indicators. (See Appendix C.) In 2008, JCCI plans on repeating the 2004 survey. That survey was conducted just after the 2004 presidential election, and was useful in measuring community satisfaction with the local election process (an issue of significant concern after the 2000 election in Florida.) The opportunity to compare results after the 2008 election should add an interesting dimension to the 2008 *Race Relations Progress Report*.

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[27] Warner, J.B. (2006). The Jacksonville experience. In M. J. Sirgy, D. Rahtz, & D. Swain, D. (Eds.), *Community quality-of-life indicators: Best cases II* (pp. 8–9). Springer: The Netherlands. Also available online at www.jcci.org.

[28] United Way of Greater Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Urban League, *The State of Black Los Angeles*, July 2005. Available at http://www.unitedwayla.org/pages/ rpts_resource/stateofblackla.html (accessed December 7, 2005).

[29] United Way of Greater Los Angeles, *Latino Scorecard: Grading the American Dream*, 2003. Available at http://www.unitedwayla.org/pages/news/events/lat_scorecard03/LSCFullReport.pdf (accessed December 7, 2005).

[30] AsianPacific American Legal Center of Southern California and the United Way of Greater Los Angeles. (2004). *Asian & Pacific islander demographic profile: The diverse face of Asians and pacific islanders in Los Angeles county*. Available at http://www.unitedwayla.org/pages/ rpts_resource/ethnic_profiles/ASP_Report.pdf (accessed December 7, 2005).

Project Learnings[31]

From March 8 to April 22, 2001, the Washington Post, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University researchers conducted a telephone survey to ask white, black, Asian, and Hispanic respondents about their perceptions of racial disparities in America.[32] The surveyors then compared the poll results with 2000 US Census data to measure perceptions of disparities against actual disparities. When they did so, they found widespread misperceptions among whites about the actual quality of life experienced by African Americans. The level of misperception about real disparities in income, employment, education, and access to health care made significant differences in the opinions respondents held about public policy solutions.[33]

The 2004 survey conducted for the *Race Relations Progress Report* found similar results in Jacksonville. Perceptions of actual disparities differed widely among blacks and whites in Jacksonville. In addition, the survey found that "Black and white respondents held disparate perceptions of the extent of discrimination in Jacksonville, who experiences discrimination, and the influence of racial discrimination on the quality of life of Jacksonville's residents. These differences in perceptions about the problems were reflected in disparate views about government's role in addressing racial problems."[34] Follow-up discussions in Jacksonville suggest that the differences in perceptions about racial disparities impact efforts to improve race relations in at least two ways:

- hindering the ability to achieve a common understanding of the problems in a community that need addressing; and
- influencing opinions about the proper public policies to address these concerns.

For Jacksonville, then, the first important learning of the indicators report was that its white residents often were unaware of the depth and the breadth of racial disparities in the community. Their perceptions of the existence or extent of the problems did not generally match the data. At the same time, people of color generally knew the disparities existed, and continued to look for someone in a position of power to take action to address them. With the majority of positions of power held in the community disproportionately by the majority population, who often failed to understand the problem, racial disparities created an undercurrent of racial tension generally ignored or resented by the white community. One result was a cycle of "flare-up[s] of tensions", followed by a well-meaning community attempt to address the precipitating incident, but little progress on the underlying disparities.[35]

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[31] Some of the material in this section is adapted from a presentation given at the Community Indicators Consortium conference on December 1, 2005, in Burlington, Vermont.

[32] Morin, R. (2001, July 11). Misperceptions cloud whites' view of Blacks. *Washington Post*, p. A1.

[33] See discussion in *Beyond the talk: Improving race relations*, pp. 6–10.

[34] *Race relations progress report*, Jacksonville Community Council Inc., 2004, p. 12.

[35] *Beyond the talk: Improving race relations*, p. 2.

Generalizing Jacksonville's experience suggests this: because racial disparities are widespread and significant, understanding them is a necessary first step for any effort in community improvement. Communities that bypass these important measures generally fail to understand, plan for, or address underlying fractures in the foundation of their community, and the efforts are usually not successful because of this. On the other hand, the implications of developing a shared understanding of actual racial disparities in the community are staggering; if lack of progress and arguments about public policy are rooted in misperceptions, reaching a shared, reality-based perception of the problem moves the community much closer to finding solutions.

This was the experience in Jacksonville: tangible progress and shifts in public policy became not just possible, but inevitable, with a shared understanding of the problem. (See section on Project Impacts).

A second important learning is that racial disparities and misperceptions are not solely a black/white issue. While people of color generally know that their particular group faces disparities, discovering that people of other races and ethnicities also share similar problems can often help build alliances, draw attention to shared concerns, and reinvigorate efforts to create greater community impacts. Jacksonville found racial tension among several minority groups based in misperceptions about the relative struggles of other groups.

Third, moving the trend lines on indicators of racial disparities is hard work, and often takes time. Communities should not expect progress in one year's time, and an annual report card will not necessarily reflect much movement. However, if information is not updated annually, it likely will not be institutionalized in the accountability systems or decision-making processes in the community. For Jacksonville, the annual presentation of the *Race Relations Progress Report* has allowed its influence to grow and encouraged organizations to plan their programs, accountability systems, and decision processes around the report. The first report was a headline-grabbing shock to the community's traditional systems. The subsequent reports have allowed the community to reframe its conversations, institutions, and structures around shared knowledge, so that the results inform and update rather than surprise.

Part of the work in developing indicators of racial disparities is to advocate for better, more timely, disaggregated data. In many cases, important information is not yet available disaggregated by race at the level needed for community understanding and strategic planning. Many processes and efforts around racial equity depend on timely indicators of racial disparity, and partnerships can be developed to help promote data development.[36]

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[36] For example, The Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change calls for individuals and organizations to "use racially disaggregated data to uncover outcomes gaps between whites and people of color in key opportunity arenas" when combating structural racism. *Structural racism and community building*, The Aspen Institute, Washington, D.C, June 2004, p. 49.

In 2006, JCCI spoke with representatives from the Aspen Roundtable about the impacts of the *Race Relations Progress Report* on the Jacksonville community's approaches to address racial inequities. Their subsequent publication on best practices for community change initiatives to address racial inequities stated that an essential component for action was the "capacity to implement a community assessment process to (a) identify the barriers to racial equity and improved race relations, (b) understand community members' awareness of racial and ethnic issues, (c) establish baseline data in different disparity areas, (d) understand the state of race relations and historical trends in disparities, and (e) understand past and current community change processes."[37]

Traditional racial justice organizations following traditional methods of speaking out against disparities generally attain traditional results. Indicators of racial disparity not only allow the conversation to change in more productive directions, they can also attract new people, organizations, and ideas to address the issues identified. In addition, community quality-of-life indicator reports gain community credibility by occurring outside of government and outside of organizations with perceived agendas. This allows the community room to accept the information and change their perceptions, in ways in which presentations from advocacy organizations do not always succeed.

Publication of the initial report was a first step. Indicators in and of themselves generally do not create the desired change; they identify the need for change. Community actors (individuals, organizations, governments) must move the conversation and decision-making processes forward. The report creates the framework for solutions to happen.

Project Impacts

On April 16, 1963, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote the following in his *Letter from Birmingham Jail*: "In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action."[38] For Jacksonville, the "collection of the facts" was the missing piece that allowed a resurgence of community action in addressing racial inequities.

The result of JCCI's efforts in highlighting indicators of racial disparities reframed the conversation about race in Jacksonville. As one local columnist put it, the report "shined too much light on Jacksonville's race problems for perpetrators to hide behind past sideshow efforts of goodwill."[39] The publication of the indicators,

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[37] Potapchuk, M. (2007). *Community change processes and progress in addressing racial inequities (*p. 76). New York: The Aspen Institute Roundtable for Community Change.

[38] King, M. L., Jr. Letter from Birmingham Jail. April 16, 1963, p. 1. Available online at http://www.thekingcenter.org/prog/non/Letter.pdf (accessed June 10, 2008)

[39] Griggs, C. (2005, Jume 2–8). Actions speak louder than words. *Jacksonville Free Press*, p. 4.

the local newspaper put it, helped move the discussion of race relations from one of the "subjects society views as too sensitive for open discussion" to a "'proceed with caution' category" and then "integrate[d] . . . into public discourse."[40] The topic of race relations moved to the front of the public agenda; Mayor John Peyton said, ". . .I think race relations in Duval County is one of our barriers to success."[41] Local television news led with the following: "Jacksonville . . . we have a problem. Mayor John Peyton has admitted there is a racial divide on the First Coast. . . ."[42] The local public school system moved from a position that there was no race-based achievement gap to performance benchmarks based on eliminating racial disparities in student learning.[43]

Opening up the conversation about racial disparities has moved Jacksonville from public disagreements about whether a problem exists to public conversations on how to solve the problem, and those conversations keep widening. The *2007 Race Relations Progress Report* was released at Jacksonville's annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Breakfast to an audience of 1,800 people. The Jacksonville Human Rights Commission uses the Race Relations Progress Report as part of their Study Circles initiative,[44] not only providing copies of the report to each participant but explicitly using the report to frame the discussion in their written Study Circle Discussion Guides.[45] They also ask questions such as, "What did you find interesting or disturbing about the *2007 Race Relations Progress Report*?" as part of the group discussion.[46] The local public television station, WJCT, hosted online community forums around the topics of race and racial disparities highlighted in the report. Leadership Jacksonville uses the report to inform leaders of the community about the challenges that must be faced by those who wish to be community trustees.

Publication of the report has allowed JCCI to lead community initiatives to directly address some of the racial disparities addressed in the report. In 2008, JCCI conducted a community-based study on infant mortality, resulting in significant new understanding, partnerships and energy around this critical issue.[47] Task forces are

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[40] Race relations: Public dialogue needed. *The Florida Times-Union*, December 21, 2006, editorial page.

[41] Ibid.

[42] FOX30 News, Race Relations Report Released Today, December 14, 2006. Retrieved online from www.fox30online.com.

[43] Wise, J. (2006, September 3). Creating a culture of learning. *The Florida Times-Union.* Joseph Wise was Superintendent of the Duval County Public Schools at the time of the article.

[44] The Human Rights Commission was able to expand its Study Circles initiative as a result of the report release. See Brumley, J. (2005, July 20) Faithful asked for help on race: City wants to expand its study circle program. *The Florida Times-Union*, p. B-3.

[45] Jacksonville Human Rights Commission, *Study Circles Discussion Guide On Race Relations*. Jacksonville, Florida: 2008.

[46] Ibid., p. 19.

[47] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. *Infant mortality*. Jacksonville, FL: Spring 2008. Available online at www.jcci.org.

in process of implementing the study recommendations. JCCI is also conducting a series of community briefings around the television series *Unnatural Causes*, in conjunction with the Duval County Health Department.[48]

The report has also meant that community initiatives explicitly must address racial disparities in their civic improvement efforts. The joint City-Chamber initiative, *Blueprint for Prosperity*, set as one of six foundation areas specific programs to address racial opportunity and harmony.[49] The Mayoral initiative called *Jacksonville Journey: Take a Step* explicitly addressed racial disparities in education, employment, and public safety.[50] The Jacksonville Regional Chamber of Commerce created an "Economic Inclusion department in March 2005 to find real solutions to some of the problems facing minority groups in the Jacksonville business community."[51] The Community Foundation in Jacksonville launched an education initiative to address the achievement gap, and a community-wide initiative around structural racism.[52]

Perhaps most significant, the *Race Relations Progress Report* itself shows where Jacksonville in making progress in addressing these disparities. In response to the survey question, *In your opinion during the last year, do you feel that racism is a problem in Jacksonville?*, in 2005 a 30-percentage-point gap separated white and black perceptions of racism as a problem in Jacksonville. By 2007, the gap had been decreased to 12 points.[53] Measurable improvements are beginning to be seen in many of the indicators.

Project Future

This was not the first time Jacksonville, Florida had taken a direct look at racial disparities in the community. In 1946, the Council of Social Agencies in Jacksonville, a precursor organization to JCCI, examined social conditions and racial disparities in the community through a volunteer task force representing both white and African American leaders. This report, *Jacksonville Looks At Its Negro Community* (available on JCCI's website), provides a detailed examination of race relations and

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[48] California Newsreel with Vital Pictures, Inc. *Unnatural Causes*. 2008. More information about the series, which aired on public television nationally, is available online at www.unnaturalcauses.org (accessed June 11, 2008).

[49] City of Jacksonville, *Blueprint for prosperity*. Available online at http://www.coj.net/Mayor/Blueprint+for+Prosperity/default.htm (accessed June 11, 2008).

[50] City of Jacksonville, *The Jacksonville journey: Take a step*. Available online at http://www.coj.net/ Mayor/Jacksonville+Journey/default.htm (accessed June 11, 2008).

[51] Jacksonville Regional Chamber of Commerce, http://www.myjaxchamber.com/general.asp?id=469 (accessed June 11, 2008).

[52] The Community Foundation in Jacksonville, *News*, Winter 2008, p. 6. Available online at http://www.jaxcf.org/news/pdf/winter_2008.pdf (accessed June 11, 2008).

[53] Jacksonville Community Council Inc. *Race relations progress report*. 2007, p. 4.

quality-of-life disparities in post-WWII Jacksonville.[54] JCCI's 2006 *Race Relations Progress Report* highlighted the areas of progress (and lack of progress, in many cases) in reducing racial disparities over that 60-year period.

Publishing a report of indicators of racial disparities can galvanize action. It did in 1946 in Jacksonville, leading to the creation (among other initiatives) the Jacksonville Urban League. However, the underlying assumptions and civic biases can emerge even under the best of attentions. One section of the 1946 report is illustrative:

The study committee required data "to ascertain the adequacy of transportation facilities and services for Negroes in Jacksonville". To measure "Local Bus Transportation," "every bus line serving Jacksonville and environs was ridden by observers during the 23 days of observation."[55] In all, 85 trips were made, and the observers recorded the numbers of instances of overcrowding, people required to stand on the buses, and people left waiting at the bus stop due to overcrowding. The data collected was presented in tabular format, by hour of the day, observed age of the persons affected, and number of people affected.

Under the title, "Laxity in Enforcement of Seating Regulations," the report discusses why so many were left underserved and outlines a primary "factor which contributes to the inadequacy of transportation in Jacksonville."[56] It seems that while white passengers were expected to sit in the front of the bus, and black passengers in the back, some white passengers would sit in the back of the bus as well, leaving empty seats in the front but displacing opportunities for black passengers to sit. The recommended solution presented? Better signage in the bus to educate passengers on where to sit.[57]

For JCCI, this 1946 anecdote gives pause. Organizational efforts to document and address racial disparities must be undertaken with open acknowledgement of civic blinders that may lead the effort towards a "better signage" solution, rather than directly addressing the injustice of forcing people of color to the back of the bus. The future for the project is continued efforts to report progress in eliminating racial disparities and shining a bright light on problems the community must face to reach the vision identified in the 2002 study. Every year, the act of publishing the report forces JCCI into further self-examination, which in turn affects the research and community engagement activities of the organization. And every year, better data become available, and more individuals and institutions use the report in their programs, initiatives, and decision-making processes to reshape Jacksonville.

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[54] The Council of Social Agencies, *Jacksonville looks at its negro community*. Jacksonville, Florida, May 1946. Available online at http://www.jcci.org/projects/reports/documents/1946%20report.pdf (accessed June 11, 2008).

[55] Ibid., p. 31.

[56] Ibid., p. 34.

[57] Ibid., p. 34.

Appendix A: Indicators in the 2004 Race Relations Progress Report

Perceptions of Race Relations

- Survey: Is racism a problem in Jacksonville?
- Survey: How would you rate race relations in Jacksonville?
- Survey: How would you rate race relations in Jacksonville compared to the rest of the United States?

Perceptions of Racism and Discrimination:

- Survey: Are blacks treated less fairly than whites in: stores and shopping malls; restaurants/bars/theatres or other entertainment places; public transportation?
- Survey: Have you experienced racism while shopping?
- Survey: Have you personally been treated unfairly because of your race in the last month?
- Survey: Do you think racial disparities exist because of discrimination or something else?
- Survey: (whites) Do you feel like you have ever been the victim of "reverse discrimination"?
- Survey: (whites) Do you feel like you have ever been the victim of "reverse discrimination"? broken out by age group
- Survey: How much of a role should government have in addressing racial disparities?

Education:

- Duval County Public School population demographics: students
- Duval County Public School population demographics: teachers
- Percentage of students attending racially-balanced schools
- Public school student performance on standardized tests, by race:

  - Elementary school reading scores
  - Middle school reading scores
  - High school reading scores
  - Elementary school math scores
  - Middle school math scores
  - High school math scores

- Survey: Do all have a fair chance for a good education, based on race?
- High school graduation rate
- High school dropout rate
- College continuation rate
- Survey: Do all have a fair chance to get into college, based on race?
- College readiness (Reading)
- College readiness (Math)

- Educational attainment in Jacksonville (Adults over 25 with high school diplomas)
- Educational attainment in Jacksonville (Adults over 25 with Bachelor's degrees or higher)
- College teachers, by race
- Higher education student population

Employment and Income:

- Income classes, by race (Poor)
- Income classes, by race (Middle income)
- Income Classes, by race (Affluent)
- Recipients of public assistance
- Survey: Do all have a fair chance for employment, based on race?
- Leadership of 50 fast-growing private companies, in Jacksonville, by race
- Chief Executive Officers in Jacksonville, by race
- Minority business ownership, by race
- Revenue of top racial-minority owned businesses, by race of owner
- Jacksonville city contracts, by race of business ownership

Neighborhoods and Housing

- Residential segregation: Percent of white families who would have to move to make each neighborhood reflect the diversity of the community as a whole
- Residential segregation: Dissimilarity index
- Residential segregation: Census tract demographics
- Survey: Do all have a fair chance to obtain housing, based on race?
- Homeownership rates
- Conventional mortgage denial rates
- Subprime loan rates
- Real estate brokers and agents, by race
- Loan counselors and officers, by race
- Survey: Perceptions of neighborhood safety
- Median neighborhood household income
- Percent of vacant housing
- Percent below poverty line
- Percent of neighborhood homeownership

Health Access and Outcomes:

- Survey: Do all have a fair chance to obtain health care, based on race?
- Survey: Perceptions of health care quality
- Survey: Perceptions of fairness in health care treatment
- Survey: People who lack health Insurance
- Survey: Types of health insurance coverage
- Survey: During the past year, have you had sufficient money to pay for health care?
- Infant mortality rates

- Education level of mother at birth of child
- Low birthweight infants
- Percent of births to mothers under 15
- Percent of births to mothers ages 15-17
- Hospital pregnancies not covered by insurance
- Physicians and surgeons, by race
- Registered nurses, by race
- Physician assistants, by race
- Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides, by race
- Deaths due to heart disease
- Deaths due to stroke
- Deaths due to diabetes
- Deaths due to breast cancer
- Deaths due to prostate cancer

Justice and the Legal System:

- Survey: Satisfaction with public-safety services
- Survey: Are all treated fairly by the police, based on race?
- Lawyers, by race
- Survey: Are all treated fairly by the courts, based on race?
- Jacksonville Sheriff's Office sworn officers, by race
- Correction officers, by race
- Judges, by race
- Survey: Do you believe racial profiling is widespread in Jacksonville?
- Traffic citations
- Juvenile arrests
- Adult arrests
- Incarcerations
- Drug-related incarcerations
- Juvenile justice referral outcomes

Political Process and Civic Engagement:

- Survey: Do all have a fair chance to access public officials, based on race?
- Survey: Perception of influence in local government decision-making
- Survey: Perception of electability
- Survey: Confidence in fairness in voting
- Voter registration
- Voter turnout
- Jacksonville elected officials, by race
- Survey: Willingness to vote for a black mayor
- Survey: Perception of the quality of local government leadership

Complete survey questions and results available at www.jcci.org

Appendix B: Indicators in the 2006 Race Relations Progress Report

Perceptions of Race Relations Today:

- Survey: Is racism a problem in Jacksonville?
- Survey: Have you personally experienced racism?

Education:

- Percentage of students reading at grade level
- High school graduation rates
- College continuation rates
- College readiness rates – reading

Employment and Income:

- Unemployment rates
- Children in low-income households (Free and reduced-price school lunch participation rates)
- Leadership of 50 fast-growing private companies, in Jacksonville, by race
- Jacksonville city contracts, by race of business ownership

Neighborhoods and Housing:

- Conventional mortgage denial rates
- Subprime lending rates
- New owner-occupied home purchase loans
- Survey: Perceptions of neighborhood safety

Health:

- Heart disease death rate
- Cancer death rate
- Infant mortality rate
- New HIV cases per 100,000 population

Justice and the Legal System:

- Inmate admissions
- Survey: Satisfaction with public-safety services
- Juvenile delinquency referral rates
- Youths committed as delinquents

Politics and Civic Engagement:

- Voter registration
- Voter turnout

- Jacksonville elected officials, by race
- Survey: Perception of influence in local government decision-making

The complete report is available online at www.jcci.org

Appendix C: Indicators in the 2007 Race Relations Progress Report

Perceptions of Race Relations Today:

- Survey: Is racism a problem in Jacksonville?
- Survey: Have you personally experienced racism?

Education:

- FCAT reading proficiency: Elementary school
- FCAT reading proficiency: Middle school
- FCAT reading proficiency: High school
- High school graduation rates
- College continuation rates

FCAT=Florida Comprehensive Achievement Test, the state standardized test used to measure student performance

Employment and Income:

- Unemployment rates
- Children in low-income households (Free and reduced-price school lunch participation rates)
- Leadership of 50 fast-growing private companies, in Jacksonville, by race
- Jacksonville city contracts, by race of business ownership

Neighborhoods and Housing

- Conventional mortgage denial rates
- New owner-occupied home purchase loans
- Percent of public elementary school children attending desegregated schools
- Survey: Perceptions of neighborhood safety

Health:

- Heart disease death rate
- Cancer death rate
- Infant mortality rate
- New HIV cases per 100,000 population

Justice and the Legal System:

- Inmate admissions per 1,000 population for misdemeanors
- Inmate admissions per 1,000 population for felonies

- Homicide rates
- Youths committed as delinquents

Politics and Civic Engagement:

- Voter registration
- Voter turnout
- Survey: Perception of influence in local government decision-making
- Survey: Perception of lack of influence in local government decision-making

The complete report is available online at www.jcci.org

Gender Equality and Quality of Life: Examples of Best Practices from Nine European Cities: The EQUALABEL Project

Almudena Moreno Mínguez

Abstract Gender policy has become an important aspect of governmental policy in many countries in the European Union. This chapter examines how local public policy officials can better contribute to advancement of gender citizenship. As part of the European framework project, EQUALABEL, data was collected from nine cities across the European Union. Relevant constructs for studying gender policy are covered briefly. Results are presented from this research and recommendations and conclusions are presented.

Introduction

In all European Union countries, gender policies have become a priority of governmental agendas. This interest has developed simultaneously with the growing importance of the concept of citizenship as a basic principle in democratic systems. The principle of citizenship implies rights, responsibilities and participation in a concrete organizational model. Understood this way, the concept of citizenship can't be separated from the national, regional, and local context in which it occurs. In the context of every national, regional and local area, individual experiences of citizens depend on factors such as gender, ethnicity, age, social class, sexual orientation, religion, or physical and mental disabilities.

During the last decades, municipalities have started to assume new roles related to the management of social, environmental, economic development, and employment policies. These processes imply a new design of the traditional local management models and a new direction of local intervention towards a more comprehensive promotion of local developments. In our case, we consider social policies developed on a local level with the aim of lowering gender inequalities as a fundamental contributor in order to achieving effectiveness of gender policies. These policies are defined and tested on a national level, but the local level is the institutional level that citizens usually have more contact with.

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Modern social theory mainly focused on social change processes and modernization, sometimes leaving the territorial dimension within social change processes by the side (Harvey 1998; Castells & Jordi, 1996). Therefore, this investigation tries to integrate the territorial dimension, local social policies, and the changes of gender roles. It also underlines the role of local and institutional actors, the type of interactions they develop and the characteristics of the environment where they are acting as key components of the application process of local policies.

Further, we examine how a local administration can contribute to improved gender citizenship. This is done through developing, on the one hand, tools to provide access for citizens to services provided by a local administration and, on the other hand, eliminating gender stereotypes held by experts and employees of the local administration. With this in mind, it was necessary to carry out research that allowed us to identify existent gender barriers in local administrations. Such barriers can make gender equality very difficult for local administrations to identify problems and implement solutions for their citizens. In this way, they limit the development of the concept of citizenship.

This investigation is part of the European framework project EQUALABEL (*Gender equality in local public services*) led by a Spanish researcher. This project has nine other research partners (local entities and research centers) across different European countries. It is co-sponsored by the European Commission (Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality, Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities DG (VP/2005/20)). The main objectives of this European pioneer project regarding gender is to establish, on the one hand, a guide on good practices that can be used by different local administrations and, on the other hand, to create a "quality label in terms of gender equality" by formulating open criteria and indicators that allow tracking within the local administration networks. In doing so, we will be able to monitor gains by looking at the levels of accomplishment of these criteria. In short, the main thrust of this initiative is to transform local administrations through development of gender equality programs. The specific objectives of the study are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Specific objectives of the study

1)	Analyze case studies with the aim of identifying, on the one hand, existent limitations of gender policies and, on the other hand, progresses made in terms of gender equality in those chosen municipalities.
2)	Identify socio-cultural, economic and labor factors, and processes that limit or can contribute to implementing and developing gender equality policies as well as good practices among local administrations.
3)	Facilitate learning process for all participants of the investigation and make them aware of gender issues.
4)	Create a guide of good practices and other similar documents using the results of the research and distributing them among local administrations and public services.
5)	Create a group of recommendations to improve information channels between local administrations and citizenship, and facilitate training and awareness of local public employees in their role as managers at the implementation process of gender policies.

In order to accomplish all of this, an initial investigation was needed to detect existent gender barriers in different local administrations participating in the project. The current study breaks new ground with regard to the initiative as well as to the application of the results. This investigation was executed with an eye on opening paths for future investigations to help identify limitations within local administrations regarding implementation of gender equality polices. Two areas of research that help frame the current research and also help researchers and administrators get a better understanding of issues facing implementation are the institutional context and gender mainstreaming.

Institutional Context: Welfare State and Gender from a Comparative Point of View

Due to the number of countries participating in the EQUALABEL project, we have to take a look at their different institutional contexts. It is in this institutional context where gender policies are developed. Therefore, we have used the comparative point of view of Welfare states in Europe, based on Gosta Esping Andersen's work.

One of the most useful theories to carry out comparative studies about welfare states is Andersen's (2000). It is a typology developed to study how a process of decommodification happens through social policies. The main problem of this theory is that it fundamentally refers to working males, as this theory takes the family model of the *male breadwinner* as a reference. This typology offers three welfare state models depending on the level of individualization achieved by government actions through the development of social policies.

With a comparative synthesis, Andersen's proposal is to distinguish three welfare state regimes, depending on differences regarding social stratification of welfare and relations between the state, the market, and the family. In this manner, he introduces the variable family that until that moment was nearly always left out of macro-economic studies about welfare states. The great analytical contribution of this work is that it adds an empirical and historical dimension to the analysis of structural transformations of states and families. It is essentially a materialistic analysis, where the transformation of the family institution is linked to pure economic thinking (e.g., the character of family policies and the developments of the market, leaving the cultural variable by side). Using this point of view and the analytical category of "welfare regime" he distinguished three types of welfare state: liberal, social-democratic and conservative. The first group would be the liberal welfare states, characterized by limited social support, where social welfare is oriented towards the market (Australia, Canada, United States). Another group of countries would belong to the category conservative welfare states, characterized by self-interest, favoritism and familism, where social welfare is oriented towards the family and with a passive management of employment (Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, Netherlands). The last group refers to socio-democratic welfare states, characterized by defamilisation and egalitarism, where social welfare is provided through public policies by the State (Scandinavian countries).

Interestingly Andersen (2000) gives priority to the family in his typology designed to study welfare states. He continues to use the classic typology designed in 1993, but now welfare states are classified depending on the level of familism and defamilisation in each one of them. In *liberal welfare states*, family services are considered as an activity that belongs to the market and, therefore, is seen as an individual responsibility. In these regimes, there are active employment policies that help females to enter the labour market and, as a consequence, it expands externalization of family services. With regard to the *conservative welfare state*, this kind of regimes is characterized by assistance services and privatization of family services, which has led to the so-called familism, according to Andersen. This familistic tradition is present in countries such as Austria, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy and Spain. However, the *socio-democratic welfare states* would be characterized for promoting a process of defamilisation through generous family policies directed to individuals and not only families. This approach, a heritage of a long tradition in political economics, has become a key reference to classify welfare states depending on processes of de-marketization, social stratification and employment. Nevertheless, it is not enough to completely apprehend all gender relations embedded in the de-marketization process, as well as the cultural dynamics that reproduce family strategies that escape economic interpretation. Anderson (2002) extends his traditional theory principals and suggests a "new gender contract" between the State, market and citizenship, where family and labour demands made by females are included.

This classic work has been completed by different studies that have introduced gender as a central variable to explain changes within the family model in relation to social policies developed by different welfare states in Europe. Researchers often establish new typologies of welfare states taking gender policies developed by each welfare state as a reference. They establish a difference between social-democratic welfare states that promote labor participation of females and have developed egalitarian gender policies, where the *dual-earner* family model is the reference, and the conservative welfare states, characterized by a *male-earner* model (Lewis 1997; Sainsbury 1996; Crompton 2006).

Literature regarding southern European countries during the last few years refers to a specific welfare state model, characterized by low participation of females in the labor market, the presence of a male-earner model and by limited gender, family policies (Moreno Mínguez 2006, 2007; Flaquer 2004; Saraceno 2001). One of the characteristics that define this welfare state model is familism. According to these researchers, in countries like Spain, Italy, Greece or Portugal, family is since long ago an informal solidarity network that provides security and welfare to family members, providing child-care services, services for older people and people with health problems. This has contributed to reinforce family solidarity between different generations. At the same time, however, it has forced females in these countries to accept the role of caretakers that provide a service that the state and the market do not provide or only provide to a certain limit. This welfare state and family model has contributed to create a peculiar gender regime in southern European countries, characterized by low labor participation of females and traditional family structures. For this reason, the Spanish government is trying to implement family policies to

support mothers and to re-conciliate family life and work with the aim of activating labour participation of females and increasing fertility

"Gender Mainstreaming" in Local Administration

With regard to the previously described institutional context, the concept of "mainstreaming" also varies from country to country depending on the social and gender policies developed by each welfare state. The Council of Europe defines the concept of "mainstreaming" as:

> the actions taken to improve, develop and assess policies with the aim of integrating the point of view of gender in all levels and by all people implied in the management of public policies on a regional, national and local level (Council of Europe, Strasburg 1998).

The concept of "gender mainstreaming" policy refers to policy strategies developed on different political levels (European, national and local), with the purpose of promoting and favoring gender equality through a process of empowerment of females. The most important objective of the application of "gender mainstreaming" is to neutralize marginalization of females and to favor integration into a process of decision-making and social participation in different social, economic and political contexts. In this way it favors a more equitable distribution of opportunities between females and males.

The Council of Europe definition contains a wide range of demands coming from the feminist movement regarding the achievement of equality through political acting. To abolish inequality between males and females the implementation of gender policies that are designed on a national level through local administrations is a priority. This requires the introduction of new management approaches in local administrations and a cultural change in daily practices of workers and experts of the Administration. This will only be possible by investing in training and implementing transversal measures in all levels of the Local Administrations.

The concept of "gender mainstreaming" tries to favor the promotion of females and the abolishment of inequalities from a global point of view. The reality is that this idea is already part of the public and political debate, but traditional structures and attitudes still exist, which limits change.

The promotion of females implies an implementation of specific measures and practices with the objective of achieving gender equality in the labor and family contexts. This concept is different to "gender mainstreaming", as this last one refers to a process directed to develop strategies for the long term and from a transversal and comprehensive point of view, considering both males and females as being on the same level to participate and take decisions in different institutional contexts. While the aim of promotion policies is to redistribute, the objective of "gender mainstreaming" is a new distribution and reorganization. From the point of view of "gender mainstreaming", it is reasonable to reinforce individuals and organizations to define the contents of gender equality. This concept focuses on the system, not the individual conditions of people. The basic condition implied by this strategy is to favor structural changes to facilitate the role of females in the process of achieving

equality. On the other side, the strategy based on favoring promotion of females has the objective of favorable results on the short term (Rosenbichler 2003). Therefore, and from a theoretical point of view, the concept of "gender mainstreaming" is applied to gender policies developed by local administrations.

During the last years, there has been a growing interest to apply the concept of "gender mainstreaming" in the field of local public policies. From a local point of view, the concept is understood as the implementation of actions and strategies that imply a change of traditional gender policies to achieve a higher level of equality between males and females in terms of provision and access to local services. According to Wright (2002, 190), the application of this concept in municipalities helps to satisfy a hidden demand of society and highlights limitations regarding gender policies developed by municipalities, as well as the marginalization of many equality professionals that feel marginalized by the dominant culture and practices of many experts, politicians and professional that think equality policies in different programmes developed by municipalities are a secondary issue in local agendas. In the case of the United Kingdom, the introduction of Best Value considerably contributed to improve equality programs of municipalities through assessment and development of new strategies. We can say that Best Value is a consequence of the application of "gender mainstreaming" on the local level. Best Value is one of the main tools introduced by the Blair government to improve quality, efficiency and effectiveness of local policies through seeking participation of citizens. The optimum result of the application of Best Value would be to achieve equality of opportunities in those fields that were deficient, e.g., gender equality.

What becomes apparent is that there had been a recognition regarding both the increased access of females to the labor market, and a transformation of the family and the changes in private lives that have caused new study contexts linked to gender and equality policies. In this respect, a large bibliography on the incidence of family policies, of the flexibilization of the organization of work, of labor policies, and of the new role of females in family and work has been developed. However, there are not many studies about how local public administrations are contributing to favor gender equality and to eliminate gender barriers at the access to local public services.

As noted the current investigation sought to integrate the research from the past recognizing the complexity of such things as institutional context and variability of gender mainstreaming. It was executed to carry out a comparative analysis in diverse European Municipalities concerning existent limitations with regard to gender equality policies and in relation to the access and participation of citizens in services and policies managed by their municipalities.

Methodology

Given the characteristics of the project, the need for richer data, and the type of participants, we chose to carry out an investigation using qualitative techniques such as depth interviews and case studies. The depth interview and case method

offered the best tool to carry out analysis. The aim of this research was to identify a wide range of experiences, attitudes and values related to gender inequalities; all of them embedded in a certain cultural and institutional network in every local area. Therefore, the investigation needed to apply a comprehensive and reflexive methodology that allowed the diversity of experiences, attitudes and values linked to different gender cultures to be identified. This investigation strategy consisted of deep, systematic, comprehensive reflections about an interesting process or phenomenon from a qualitative point of view (Collis & Hussey 2003). This investigation method allowed us to analyze situations and contexts of local organizations through the participation in the process of investigation of the actors that are involved in the management of local public policies. Participants exposed their expectations, values and attitudes through narration and answers to our questions. This allowed us to detect the existent gender culture in every local organization, as well as to identify good practices in terms of gender equality.

Each case study allowed us to identify a complete framework of attitudes, experiences and values that relate to different options regarding gender equality policies developed by every different municipality. With this methodology, the research actors were given a voice to define the problem, suggest solutions and theorize about the given questions. This allowed researchers to obtain relevant information about stereotypes, values and habits that configure social practices in relation to gender equality in local administrations.

While qualitative methodologies such as this are sometimes dismissed by some as having limited generalizability due to their limited number of cases, the method provided much richer data than a traditional survey. The qualitative methodology was very useful in analyzing the cultural context that explains limitations and barriers that affect gender equality practices in local administrations. The case studies were developed by researchers through depth interviews with experts and managers in different departments of the chosen municipalities, representatives of local associations and citizens of these municipalities in general. Using this qualitative methodology allowed for a systematic analysis of cultural and attitude determiners in the development process of gender equality policies. It is also useful in order to measure the level of success or failure regarding the knowledge and understanding of these policies by citizens.

A standard script with a basic questionnaire for the depth interviews was developed for the different stages of the investigation. Also, a simple questionnaire with some basic indicators was created to establish competence criteria in each municipality in terms of gender.

The qualitative methodology data was augmented with traditional survey collections at the municipalities as well. These surveys contained a group of indicators on gender equality with the objective of obtaining information to establish criteria to measure the progress made by each municipality in terms of gender equality.

Ten to fifteen depth interviews with public employees and representatives of different associations in the nine participating municipalities were conducted. The selection process for interviewees required that persons working for the municipality belonged to different organizational departments, and not only to the social

Table 2 The nine cases

Case 1. – Municipality of Segovia (Spain)
Case 2. – Municipality of Rhodas (Vocational Centre of the Dodecanse)
Case 3. – Municipality of Verona (Italy)
Case 4. – Local Administration at the United Kingdom (Women Connect)
Case 5. – Municipality of Sintra (Portugal)
Case 6. – Kea Vocational Training Centre (Greece)
Case 7. – Municipality of Tampere (Finland), OPEKO
Case 8. – Local Administrations in Sweden (West Sweden)
Case 9. – Municipality of Gharb (Malta)

services of the Equality department. For representatives of associations, an attempt was made to choose from a wide range of social groups (youth, women, neighbors, sports associations, etc.). In doing so, we were able to draw case studies in different municipalities that allowed a cross comparison regarding existent gender limitations and the identification of good practices (Table 2).

Results

The results presented in the following section are presented in the two broad topic classifications that we presented earlier in this chapter. These classifications are: (1) institutional and (2) gender mainstreaming. These two are then followed by a third area that examines what local administrations have done regarding gender equality in their localities.

In regards to the Institutional aspects, our research collected data from three of the four welfare state model types. On one side, Spain, Italy, Greece, Malta and Portugal would belong to the institutional model we called Mediterranean. On the other side, Finland and Sweden would be part of the social-democratic model, and finally the United Kingdom, that would belong to the liberal model. As stated in different reports carried out by our partners, gender policies developed on a local level, as well as barriers affecting gender in each country correspond with the previously analyzed welfare state models. In the case of Sweden and the municipality of Tampere, gender policies have a long and established trajectory, while in countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Malta and Greece gender policies have been developed only recently. As a consequence, obstacles to implement gender policies in southern European countries are greater than in northern European countries due to the lack of tradition in terms of family and gender policies. These countries possess cultural limitations we have decided to call "familism" that contribute to reproduce a traditional family model based on a male breadwinner. This makes the implementation of gender policies on a local and national level more difficult. This study has allowed us to highlight that in these countries there is a certain lack of knowledge regarding gender policies and a low participation in the implementation of equality policies. Another example of "familism" is that gender policies are confused with or overlapped by family policies.

In the case of countries such as Finland and Sweden, the main problem they have to face is different. This problem fundamentally refers to being able to maintain the services and policies they have developed up until now, as they have reached a high level of services and gender equality policies. However, researchers begin to talk about a crisis, due to a relative deterioration regarding the application of these policies and the high effort the state and the municipalities have to make in terms of funding to maintain these gender policies.

What becomes clear is the comparative institutional context of welfare states has an important role in the understanding of the development of gender policies in different local contexts appearing in this project. On the other side, the institutional context also allows us to explain differences in terms of gender equality, different awareness and understanding of the society regarding this issue in different countries, as well as different barriers regarding implementation and success of gender policies.

In regards to Gender Mainstreaming our research examined how this concept is understood and applied in each country and how it was being implemented in the local agendas. We found a diversity of definitions and actions that were related to the development of gender policies in each country. In the case of southern European countries, e.g., Spain, Italy, Greece or Portugal, there is not a clear definition of the meaning of "gender mainstreaming". There are speeches about "equality between males and females" or "reconciliation of work and family life", but there are no clear referents to refer to this concept among our interviewees.

During the interviews, we observed certain ignorance among interviewees regarding the use of the term "gender mainstreaming". In general, they confuse this concept with other terms related to gender, such as "gender violence" or "gender equality". Ignorance is even greater among citizens and representatives of organizations, as well as among civil servants. Although answers to our questions seemed to not differ depending on gender, ignorance seems to reflect the differences between the feminist discourse and the institutional discourse on this concept. An interviewee in Spain showed his ignorance regarding this term, as well as skepticism towards gender policies: "The concept of gender and equality plans and projects do not help much if they are not linked to economic measures that favor real autonomy and independence of females through work." It seems that, in southern European countries, public employees and local equality agents may believe that gender equality plans and projects are a lost opportunity while there is not a complete integration of females into the labor market. Only then autonomous decision taking and liberty from the so-called male-earner is possible. Also in these countries, the concept of "gender mainstreaming" is usually linked to aspects that affect the family, as gender issues in these countries have an important family content.

On the contrary, northern European countries have achieved high levels of gender equality in nearly all areas. The concept of "gender mainstreaming" is understood and applied on a local level, from the point of view of the individualization process. It is an issue that is related to labor conditions and salaries of females, while southern European countries regard it as something that belongs to the family. It is interesting to see how this concept is linked to immigrant females on the local level in northern

Europe, as they are the ones that need services offered by the municipality most. However, interviews have highlighted that the implementation of the concept of "gender mainstreaming" in southern European countries is difficult in local policies as it seems the real content of the term is unknown. In the municipality of Tampere, however, they have been developing policies based on this concept for more than 10 years.

We also have to mention the complexity underlying to this concept, as its implementation in local policies goes further than only the management of gender policies to favor reconciliation of work and family life, insertion of females into the labor market and participation in local public activities. The strategy linked to the implementation of this concept implies taking the diversity of cultures, practices and gender structures where gender policies are developed (employment, family, training, etc.) to favor gender equality into account (Gambles, Lewis, & Rapoport 2006; Wadsworth 2007).

Finally, we examined the cases as they relate to how the local administrations have approached the gender equality issue and how they might have developed processes or other things that might contribute toward a better gender equality. The case studies of different local administrations in Europe presented here give us some of the keys to understanding how local administrations are facing the challenge of promoting gender equality. We will highlight some fundamentals to take into account by local authorities in order to develop a transversal strategy to contribute to a better gender equality environment. Table 3 provides a summary the processes suggested by local administrations in data gathered from various interviews.

To begin with there is a need for reliable and adequate funding for gender equality policies that can be completed by participating in gender equality programs funded by the European Commission. Second, municipalities should analyze the current situation regarding developed gender policies, as well as their effectiveness. This requires the creation of a system of equality indicators that allows monitoring and assessment. To collect information related to these indicators surveys can be carried out, as well as meetings and discussion forums. Once there is a diagnostic, municipalities should define a specific strategy on gender equality, specifying specific and concrete actions, levels and application fields.

All workers of local administrations should be introduced to the concepts referred to gender equality, which would imply sessions to inform and train local employees.

Table 3 Facilitating gender equality in local administrations

- Identify Funding Sources and Budget Requirements for Gender Programs
- Establish Baselines Regarding Gender Awareness and Understanding
- Introduce Gender Definitions and Concepts to Employees
- Develop Diagnostics and Methods for Assessment and Tracking
- Involve all Employees and Citizens in Your Processes
- Develop and Maintain Good Communications to Employees and Citizens
- Conduct Community Seminars for Advancing Citizenship Through Gender Equality

In interviews carried out with a number of experts and citizens, there was a general agreement that the main limitation of local administration when they start gender equality policies is ignorance of these policies by experts and citizens. The reason for this is that gender is not a specific issue that can be managed by only one specific department or by a group of experts. It is a transversal issue that affects all departments of the local administrations. Therefore, one significant contribution of this investigation is that gender questions in local administrations have to be approached from a cultural point of view. As a consequence, gender equality and the diversity of options and practices have to be developed from a transversal point of view, which, at the same time, implies different levels of different local organizations. It is hoped this practice can contribute to improve communication channels between local administrations and citizens. In turn, this will help to make gender equality policies more effective and will contribute to the expected process of development of citizenship rights.

The participation in European equality projects requires contracting experts in gender issues, with the adequate training and abilities to develop this kind of projects. This study identified that the creation of opportunities to facilitate dialogue between experts and managers in local administrations is a powerful tool when it comes to changes regarding gender equality in local administrations. The process itself offers a way to reinforce participation and knowledge of all citizens regarding this matter.

To be fully involved in European equality project a specific department should be developed in the municipality to manage these types of initiatives and strategies with experienced people in the use of languages, management of European projects and basic training in equality and gender issues. In this sense, the pioneer equality project that is being carried out by the municipality of Segovia (EQUALABEL), with the aim of establishing a network of cities that are devoted to gender equality through the development of indicators and strategies related to gender equality is very illustrative.

Facilitate active participation of citizens in activities and strategies developed by municipalities in gender issues. The case studies examined in this investigation have shown that participation of citizens in the context of gender policies developed by municipalities is very low and fragmented. The results of this initial investigation across different local administrations suggest that it is not enough to simply develop measures to catalog gender equality from an institutional level, but these measures should be linked to programs that make citizens, civil servants and experts of local administrations aware of current and potential problems to aid in facilitating change. Only then, is it possible to neutralize gender stereotypes embedded in the cultural context of the local administrations and the citizenship. The investigation has also shown that advancing comprehensive participation of females in activities and services carried out by local administrations can be a very effective tool in achieving objectives such as social inclusion, democratization and regeneration of local communities.

Create an active and dynamic relational structure in municipalities, where citizens can express their demands and needs with regard to dilemmas of reconciliation

of work and family life, integration into the labor market, and participation in forums and training. Therefore, a link in the webpage of the town council could be activated to collect demands of citizens regarding this issue. On the other side, citizen forums could be promoted in order to create a space to debate about uncertainties and needs of citizens regarding gender equality.

Creation of a participation and communication network between different social actors of the city by the municipality (unions, businessmen/women, schools, universities, associations, etc.), and collaboration with other cities in joint projects and initiatives related to gender equality issues. This implies promotion of institutional dialogue and collaboration between employers, unions and associations to make them participants in local projects related to gender equality. This would include a conceptual framework about gender equality and a proposal of concrete measures to carry out on different action fields (employment, associations, community, education, etc.).

Last, but not less important, local administrations note the need to promote the development of seminars and courses on gender equality addressed to their employees. On the other side, the municipality has to actively collaborate in the development of courses, seminars and meetings in the field of informal education with different organizations, such as companies, unions, universities and formal education institutions, in order to promote awareness of citizens regarding gender issues and involve all local social actors in citizen projects related to gender equality.

It is a necessity to underline that it is not easy to implement these recommendations into policies of local administrations, as there are certain limitations related to the lack of economic resources, to election periods and changes of local governments. However, we think that it is essential to include methodologies and action strategies related to gender equality into the local agendas. This is necessary to make gender policies effective. By doing so these policies are seen in a context that is very near to the citizen, as the local environment is, and makes equality between males and females come true in the framework of the democratization of social citizenship rights.

Recommendations

The results obtained in this investigation have allowed us to detect certain shortfalls and limitations in the management of local policies in terms of gender equality. Summarizing and building on the data gathered in our evaluation of the cases, and with the aim of neutralizing these shortfalls and achieving a more effective management of gender equality policies on the local level, the following recommendations are made:

- Facilitate the change of values from a traditional model of gender relations to the democratic model of management and provision of local services for citizens.
- Identify existing shortfalls in gender policies with previous analysis and research.

- Develop tools and instruments to promote participation of citizens in activities and actions related to gender equality through the creation of forums with different social agents of the local environment.
- Make citizens and local workers aware of the meaning of gender equality through courses, seminars, advertising campaigns, etc.
- Facilitate reconciliation of work and family life, managing local public services related to childhood and older people.
- Municipalities have to advance dialogue and cooperation between social agents, such as employers and unions, with the objective of creating a model of labour relations (flexibilization of work schedule, home-work, etc.) that facilitates the access of females and males that have to take care of a family to public services managed by municipalities.
- Develop activities with children and young people in the field of informal education to create an early socialization in egalitarian roles between males and females.
- Promote citizen participation and reinforce associative and community networks to create a participation dynamic in order to involve citizens in programs and activities developed by the municipality.
- Develop and distribute guides of good practices regarding gender equality that contain examples of strategies to follow in employment, family, relations, etc.
- Introduce systematic assessment programs, the lack of systematic assessment programs of gender policies developed on a local level means that believes and perceptions more than facts are what determines policies.
- Increase the number and improve the training of experts that work in social policy programs related to gender issues and developed by municipalities.

Summary and Conclusions

The research carried out here has proven the existence of important shortfalls in the local administrations examined regarding effectiveness of gender policies developed by municipalities; the qualitative analysis carried out underlines the following aspects: on the one hand, there is a certain level of ignorance of citizens regarding the policies, and on the other hand, there lacks a clear meaning of the concept of "gender mainstreaming" among employers and experts. In some cases, there is lack of material and human resources, which makes the development and implementation of gender policies on the local level much more difficult.

One of the factors that make effective implementation of gender policies difficult is the permanence of traditional stereotypes regarding gender roles and distribution of family tasks. In the case of southern European countries, there still exist traditional values associated to a familistic culture that considerably limits the access of females to programs and services developed by municipalities. One of the main reasons given by interviewees refers to the dilemmas of reconciliation of work and family life and the lack of time.

In comparison to other welfare state models, this study has observed that local services offered to facilitate reconciliation of work and family are very scarce when compared, for example, with Denmark. In Denmark, 80% of child-care services and services for older people are managed and provided on the local level. In the first guide of good practices for gender and childhood issues, elaborated by the European Commission in 1996, examples of good practices in gender equality were local services for reconciliation of work and family provided by local entities in Denmark.

In the cases studied here, the limited development of the welfare state regarding gender policies has promoted the reproduction of the male-earner cultural model and the permanence of a family model based on subordination of females to the male-earner model and an unbalanced distribution of home tasks. Therefore, in the analyzed countries, except for the United Kingdom, Finland and Sweden it is necessary to create a gender culture and a new model of institutional strategies on the local level to favor successful implementation of gender policies among the citizenship.

In the case of southern European countries, although gender policies have advanced considerably during the last years, there are still important factors that limit the effective consolidation of gender equality policies on a local level. These are highlighted below.

- Lack of a coherent and global vision of the future path gender equality policies have to take on a local level.
- Lack of an effective policy agenda regarding objectives of gender equality to be implemented on a local level.
- Lack of a culture of social dialogue between different social agents.
- Great fragmentation of female social movements.
- Lack of an assessment culture.
- Persistence of a traditional family model and of gender relations called "bread winner family model".
- Lack of qualified and trained workers in equality issues.

In the case of the United Kingdom, gender policies on a local level have a long tradition and can act as a referent for the southern European countries. However, important limitations have been identified regarding gender equality policies that are mainly related to budget limitations that avoid increasing resources for training and qualification of experts that work in the field of equality. Also the motivation of these experts to develop equality policies is not the best and there is a lack of citizen participation in equality programs developed on a local level. In the United Kingdom, the challenges faced by gender equality policies are related to training, qualification of experts, funding of equality policies by municipalities and activation of participation channels between citizenship and local entities.

In conclusion, interviews with experts and local employees in this study highlight that the implementation of gender policies on a local level is a process that requires enough qualified workers and economic resources to achieve an effective implementation on the local level. According to the carried out interviews, equality policies

require intensive work with all participants (citizens, experts and politicians) to adequately implement them step-by-step.

On their side, citizens and members of organizations interviewed for this study perceive that a structural change of the situation of females is desirable, although they do not think that equality policies developed by municipalities are effective. Equality policies are considered as an effective tool to enhance participation of females in all social areas (employment, politics, etc.), and to lower inequalities between males and females in the context of family (reconciliation of work and family life, unbalanced distribution of domestic tasks), employment (low participation, low salaries, etc), education and politics.

In short, the study has shown the need to develop a new model of gender policies that is valid for local implementation, which requires us to develop a concept of gender equality. It also requires municipalities to train experts, put resources into gender issues and reinforce channels of participation and communication between citizens and local institutions. Only then will it be possible to create a new paradigm of gender equality that will be valid to be successfully implemented on the local levels.

The redefinition of the role of local governments in the field of gender equality policies gives municipalities a great opportunity of political innovation, as it allows a closer relation with the population. New procedures can be tested, as well as new forms of participation regarding gender policies (ad hoc committees, municipal referendums, etc.), and new relations between local administrations and citizens (neighborhood meetings, participation councils, etc.).

Finally, this investigation has highlighted the existence of numerous and innovative gender policies developed in different local European regions. The appendices included at the end of this chapter offer a summary of program objectives and implementation programs to aid those interested in becoming active in advancing gender equality in their communities. It should be remembered, however, that although local development can be deeply innovative in theory, in practice it requires an institutional and political approach capable of reinforcing the interaction between social and institutional agents implied in the process of building a new model of local gender policies that will be able to face adverse effects of globalization (Bauman 1999; Beck 1998).

Appendices: Guide to Good Practices Regarding Gender

Appendix 1: Reconciliation of Work and Family Life

Objectives

The European Union underlines the responsibility of companies to implement reforms regarding reconciliation of work and family, as well as labor and family rights. At the same time, an improvement of the quality of life is necessary, both at work and home.

Proposals of good practices
Areas:

A. Child-care and assistance for disabled people

- Promote the creation of support services that allow females to combine child-care and labor insertion.
- Develop local services to help people at home, to make care and support compatible with labor insertion.
- Promote programs and resources for females or families that have to take care of disabled people, using Home Assistance Services in these situations.
- Multiply and modernize structures to support families and disabled people.

B. Child care facilities

- Increase economic support for child-care facilities.
- Extent opening hours of child-care facilities in order to harmonize family life and career.

C. Legislation

- Watch over the legislation in terms of gender equality (family, employment, etc.) identify limitations and regulatory gaps in relation to sexual or moral harassment.

D. Cooperation between administrations and companies, regarding the analysis of the social reality.

- Sign memorandums of cooperation between the most important social organizations to promote equality actions.
- Award achievements in the field of gender equality (tax relief, tax concessions, etc.) and/or certify the implementation of relevant programmes regarding equality in the public, as well as in the private sector.

Appendix 2: Labor Market

Objectives

A. General objectives

- Promote incorporation of females to the labour market, from a point of view of equal conditions, allowing males and females to access jobs depending on their abilities and qualifications.
- Develop training measures that favour access and promotion of females in the labour market.

European directives say:

- Improve participation of females in the labour market, qualitatively and quantitatively.
- Reduce differences in salaries between males and females.
- Promote egalitarian gender representation in different sectors and occupations.
- Promote a better reconciliation of family life and work.
- Encourage males and females to share family responsibilities.

B. Plans, guides and specific programs

Gender equality plan

- The plan has to be carried out with representatives of employees and has to include a summary on the current situation. It also has to analyze what needs to be done to promote gender equality, as well as refer to the practices carried out until now.
- Promote gender equality is something that is seen as linked to human resources programs. This program remarks the promotion of welfare in working places. The main objectives are reconciliation of work and family life and promotion of gender equality in terms of salary. This gender equality program will be assessed once every year.
- Salaries: Salaries have to be neutral in terms of gender, and these salaries have to be analyzed every year to implement a plan that achieves equality of salaries.
- Process of selection: this process can't be discriminatory and has to be used for a better distribution of working places. Females have to be encouraged to request positions of responsibility.
- Organization of work: full-time jobs should be a standard. Part-time jobs have to adjust to the activities and needs of single employees.

Objectives of the National Plan for Social Inclusion

- Stimulate female employment. While they search for a job, disadvantaged groups in education and training should be given social coverage.
- Knowledge, education and training during the whole life are important factors for equality of opportunities and a relevant tool for social cohesion.
- Help families and older people. Family is something important that affects demography, child poverty and female unemployment. Interventions in this field can mitigate negative effects.
- Favor social inclusion of disabled people, immigrants and groups/individuals with cultural/religious particularities. This is a way to fight discrimination.

Objectives of the gender equality guide: establishment of different areas to develop gender equality strategies, which includes selection, promotion, discrimination of pregnant females, salaries and flexible work.

- Improve representation of males and participation of females in decision taking processes.
- Ensure that different needs and demands of males and females are taken into account.
- Availability of experts with real knowledge about gender issues.
- Include analysis methods and tasks in the working place.
- Identify the needs of females in the local level to allow them to participate in regeneration activities.
- Use existent tools and available information on gender as part of the regeneration plan.
- More effectiveness and support for females that are waiting to start a business or are running one.
- Offer training and support for jobs that are traditionally not for females.
- Create strategies to transform abilities and experience acquired in community and voluntary work into formal qualifications.
- Provide quality child-care and assistance for disabled people that allow participation in decision taking and knowledge of new services and opportunities.
- Work with employees in areas that are not traditional, e.g. the working place or the selection processes.
- Adapt working plans to concrete gender barriers.

New Period 2007–2013. Establishment of a Code for civil servants that includes labor absenteeism of fathers, schedule flexibility for single mothers, widows or people with a disability of 67% or more. These actions are mainly directed to households with unemployed members. They will receive psychological and social support to stimulate self-esteem, respect, family solidarity and cohesion. (RO)

Proposals for good practices:

- Help-at-home in this kind of situations, as well as support for mothers without a social-family network during the 21 first days after giving birth. In collaboration with the Family-Care Service of the Regional Ministry of Health.
- Carry out a research about the labour market in order to adapt training. Creation of an Equality Agent to promote new initiatives contained in the plan and training of municipal experts.
- More places in public child-care facilities.
- More support resources for minors outside school.
- Improve assistance services for disabled and older people that are usually carried out by females.
- Changes in working hours in order to adapt to child-care responsibilities and assistance for disabled people.
- Establish agreements with the regional Ministry of Education to guarantee canteen facilities for families that need them.
- Grant child-care places for families with children between 0 and 3 years old.

- Favour the access of females with children to Employment Plans developed by the Administration.
- Carry out studies of the labor market that allow us to identify the adequate training supply and new employment niches.
- Support self-employment initiatives, this way favoring societies and cooperatives formed by females.
- Financially support the contracting of females in jobs with low female representation.
- In every administration, the director and employees will have to jointly develop a gender equality plan with measures and objectives.
- Creation of an Equality Agent to promote initiatives of the Plan and municipal training in terms of gender equality.

Appendix 3: Gender Violence

Objectives

Fight against gender violence through the cooperation between public administrations, private companies, associations and citizens.

Proposals for good practices

- Development of legislation that prevents and fights gender violence.
- Develop campaigns to make the public opinion aware of the problem.
- Reinforce activities of centres for gender violence victims (contract qualified experts, train workers to carry out therapies with victims)
- Create a database with the names of males that are potentially dangerous.
- Increase the number of day centres for females affected by gender violence and their children.
- Create centres for urgent interventions (48 hours), where females can stay in case of need.
- Ensure psychological support and employment for females that were victims of trafficking and have a residence permit. Include these females in training, employment and integration programmes.
- Improve emergency services and housing for females affected by gender violence.
- Develop, implement and monitor gender violence policies; all public employees should know them and use them adequately.
- Examine policies to be sure that the security of females is a priority when faced with violent situations. E.g., females don't have to leave their homes while aggressors stay.
- Include the issue of gender violence in schools.
- Train experts that are contact in with reality and favor employment and training.
- Development of advertising campaigns.

Appendix 4: Awareness

General objectives

Decisions in any political area have to be made taking the point of view of gender into account. The objective of gender policies is that males and females have the same power in society and their own life (gender mainstreaming). It is needed that males and females have the same rights, opportunities and obligations in all fields of life. To reach this goal, there are four objectives that have to be implemented:

- Equity in the distribution of power and influence. Males and females must have the same rights and opportunities to be active citizens and collaborate in the process of decision taking.
- Economic equity between males and females. Males and females should have the same opportunities regarding education, and salaries that allow them to live with economic independence.
- Equity in the distribution of child-care and domestic tasks. Males and females have to share domestic tasks and have the same opportunities to give and offer assistance.
- Gender violence of males has to finish. Males, females, young people must have the same rights and opportunities regarding their physical integrity.

Intervention areas

- Gender equality in the economic life, in the public and the private sectors.
- Equality in participation and representation in social, economic and political sectors (reinforce female participation in decision taking centres).
- Changes in gender roles and stereotypes (fight against stereotypes though education).

Action plan principles

- Work, employment and protection of maternity and paternity.
- Reconciliation of work and family life.
- Education, training and information.
- Cooperation with other countries that speak the same language.
- Collaboration between local, regional, national and European institutions to favour the creation of equality networks.

Proposals for good practices

- Create a specific equality service in municipalities.
- Create a mailbox for demands, proposals, suggestions or complaints related to females.
- Create an "Equality Agent", responsible for the Plan, that will control the observance of equality measures by municipal workers and companies that are in contact with municipal services.

- Create an Equal Opportunities Commission that will assess the application of the Plan.
- Promote and support associationism in general, for females in particular, favoring participation in institutions, promoting equality of opportunities in structure and internal dynamics of these organizations and associations, as well as in activities developed by them.
- Debate about the city with the participation of female associations.
- Include a course to make aware of equality of opportunities in the Annual Plan for Training of Municipal Employees.
- Promote inclusion of the dimension of equality of opportunities in prevention, training and spare-time activities carried out by all groups.
- Promote and support initiatives to favor equality of opportunities in schools, with a transversal approach to improve effectiveness. This has to be present all the time, explicitly and implicitly.
- More informal education activities, culture, sport, spare-time and promotion of egalitarian behavior in the existent activities; development of the dimension of equality of opportunities.
- Favor cooperation and collaboration between different departments to achieve and maintain the label Cities for Equality.
- Develop training courses related to equality, as stated by the Municipal Plan.
- Make experts and civil servants aware of the fact that "gender neutrality" is not always the best way to promote gender equality.
- Activate training programmes to favor a change in attitudes among businessmen during the next years.
- Develop measures to increase the proportion of businesswomen in research centers and "seed capital projects".
- Develop training strategies and exchange strategies to favor business initiatives by males and females in the international scene.
- Implement actions to break down gender limitations in education and studies.
- Spread good practices among workers.
- Develop scientific projects to centralize equality in planning, exchange and training.
- Develop curricular projects to break down stereotypes regarding jobs traditionally considered as masculine or feminine, favoring non-traditional distributions of jobs and career options.
- Involve teachers, parents and decision-makers.
- Educate in gender issues.
- Develop methods and contents in schools based on co-education.
- Introduce gender equality issues in primary education through teachers.
- Evaluate textbooks of secondary education from a gender and equality of opportunities point of view in order to improve learning and training materials, with the support and help of public libraries.
- Redefine vocational orientation in order to eliminate typical male/female jobs through curricula.
- Reinforce counselling centers for young businesswomen.

- Create a Gender Equality Register in primary and secondary education.
- Develop campaigns to promote cultural co-existence and eliminate cultural gender barriers in certain groups.
- Train immigrant females and specific disadvantaged groups to allow them to access the projects.

Appendix 5: Social Services

Objectives

- On the institutional level, a new national mechanism called National Committee for Equality between Males and Females was created. This institution makes dialogue between government and associations, NGO's, the Social and Economic Council, the Local Administration and the Regions possible, allowing for relevant training and monitoring measures.
- Facilitate access to rights and social resources and promote social insertion and participation of families.

Proposals for good practices

Although some problems do not exclusively affect females, but also males and children, it is true that females are those that need help more often, as it is them who are faced with more difficulties and suffer the consequences

- Adopt preventive measures directed to females and their social environment with the aim of favoring social integration and reinforcement of links.
- Adopt assistance measures with the aim of stopping exclusion processes among females and future generations.
- Grant the creation of female social insertion companies, create a register of these companies and support them from a technical and financial point of view.
- Favor access to housing of females in general, and of females faced with the risk of social exclusion in particular.
- Facilitate benefits for single mothers that try to rent a flat/house.
- Safe allocations for single parents in public housing.
- Favor access of females and their families to social and health resources, with special attention to female immigrants and females that take care of disabled people.
- Interventions to favor social and labor insertion of female immigrants and their families.
- Adopt measures to favor the access of females with social difficulties to employment.
- Promote social insertion and participation of females and families with specific problems, such as females facing the risk of poverty, gender violence, single mothers, immigrants and ethnic minorities.
- Facilitate the access to information about rights and social resources, and increase those that could benefit females with difficulties and their families.

- Legal and psychological counselling for females, and especially for those with social difficulties.
- Increase resources and implementation of specific intervention strategies for families and citizens facing social exclusion, as it is difficult to change these strategies (females or families that benefit from a Minimum Insertion Income, females or families facing chronic risk of social exclusion, females or families facing risk factors such as drug addiction, social isolation, economic precariousness and difficulties to access the labor market).
- Adoption of measures that allow social and education insertion and prevent absenteeism and school failure of children coming from families that suffer social exclusion.
- Adopt measures to favor access of females to sport activities and facilitate egalitarian participation in these activities.

Appendix 6: Examples of Good Practice to Implement in the Local Administration

Case studies carried out in this study that are active in promoting equal opportunities for women and men provide, above all, quantitative data on relevant costs and benefits. At the same time, equal opportunities initiatives are sometimes met with resistance that may be caused by such factors as a misleading grasp of the issue. The following table show specific measures that can be taken if a company or Administration decides to change the conditions so as to provide men and women with really equal chances to get on at work (Machovcorá 2007).

Non-discriminatory recruitment and selection	Staff training, changes in the way recruitment and selection is conducted	Larger pool of candidates, wider choice for selection
		Increased objectivity in employee recruitment and selection, higher efficiency – "the rightpeople in the right places"
		Prevention of unsuccessful recruitment and selection
		The firm becomes more attractive and receives more applications
Female career growth	Providing trainers, costs for organising training outside of the company premises	More efficient use of employee potential, time and money saved on external recruitment
	Personnel costs associated with training organisation	Higher employee satisfaction and motivation, lower staff turnover
Keeping in touch during maternity and parental leave, life-work balance	Mostly telecommuting facilities costs (computer, internet access)	Long-term projects can carry on, no need for passing them on to other persons
		In the case of the temporary "loss" of an employee (such as a stay abroad), the person can be covered for
		Communication concerning the person's return to work allows for better staffing plans
	Organisational changes, task re-assignment	The employees keep up with their skills; the possibility to hire them again results in savings, as there is no need for dismissals and severance payments
		Stress in the workplace is reduced
		Money savings, as there is no need to recruit new employees for fixed or indefi- nite period contracts; time savings, as no new employee adaptation time is needed
	Intensifying communication	Lower losses caused by inefficient information flow between the leaving and newly hired employees, lower know-how losses
		Higher employee satisfaction and motivation, lower staff turnover
Diversity programmes	Development of intranet and other communication channels	Boost for the company culture development
	Personnel costs associated with training activities and organisation of informal meetings	There is good feedback at work, motivating the parties involved and strengthening their company employee identity upport for tHE dEvElopmEnt

Appendix 7: Research Guide

Define the General Context of Local (City) Environment

1. A brief description of gender policies developed in local area, situated in national area (we understand as gender policies, the actions in local policy and national policy: educational programs destined to women, fright against gender violence, family and labour policies, etc)
2. Ratio of employment for men and women
3. Posts (male / female) by sectors (public/private)
4. Demographic indicators (fertility, types of household, etc)

Analyze and Interpret Interviews (Total 10-15)
Interview with Experts/Civil Servants City Hall (Model Available)

1) Identifying interviewed

   a. Age
   b. Academic background
   c. Occupation
   d. Sex

2) Analyze the attitudes and the values of the interviewees regarding the questions about gender in the survey
3) Analyze how the City Council (especially the technicians) are implementing the gender-specific policies
4) Analyze what is lacking in the gender polices at local levels.
5) Analyze how much technicians know about gender equality
6) Analyze degree of acceptation and success that these policies are having between the citizens

Interview Associations/NGO, Citizens (Model Available)

1) Identifying interviewed

   a. Age
   b. Educational background
   c. Occupation
   d. Sex

2) Analyze the degree of knowledge of gender policies developed in your local area
3) Analyze the degree of cooperation and participation with City Council in actions related to gender policies
4) Analyze the comprehension in gender equality
5) Analyze the perception and the value of gender policies developed in the City Council

6) Analyze family facts (such as problems in balance job and family, how house-work is shared, etc) and labour circumstances (timetables at work, kind of job) which prevent women from opting to work in Public Administration

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Quality of Life Through Innovation Indicators: The Case of Peripheral Suburbs of Sydney[1]

Cristina Martinez-Fernandez and Tavis Potts

Abstract This chapter discusses the concept of "Innovation Ecosystems" for assessing innovation intensity in peripheral areas of metropolitan regions. Innovation is a significant driver of prosperity, industry growth and job creation and is a significant influence in progress towards the sustainability of suburbs. Emergent areas of new technology applications and the development of smarter industries all have roots in innovative practices. However, innovation studies have traditionally focused on the strengths that cities, and in particular central business districts and inner-city suburbs, have in relation to the industries of the emerging "knowledge economy", notably IT, financial, property and business services. Peripheral suburbs have, most of the time, been neglected from the analysis.

The chapter presents results on a study of innovation drivers in Sydney's South West suburbs. (Results of the study are also published by Housing Policy Debate Vol 19 (3): 553–572.) The study shows that peripheral suburbs in metropolitan regions have local innovation processes that require specific planning measures for promoting innovation-intensity with a focus on quality of life outcomes. Some of these innovation processes are linked to local characteristics of suburbs that might not apply to the whole city or metropolitan region.

Introduction

Innovation is a significant driver of growth and hence, one of the main contributors to a productive and prosperous region (OECD 1999, 2001a,b). Industry growth, job creation, emergent areas of new technology and the development of smarter industries and new skills have a founding in entrepreneurial and innovative activity (OECD 2008, 2003). However, innovation studies have focused on the strengths that cities, and in particular central business districts (CBDs) and inner-city suburbs,

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[1] The chapter draws on results from the Innovation at the Edges' project (Martinez-Fernandez et al 2005)

have in relation to the industries of the emerging "knowledge economy"; notably IT, financial, property and business services. Peripheral suburbs are often regarded as "dormitory suburbs" where industry activity is linked to the CBD and transportation planning plays a major role for these suburbs to be sustainable.

This chapter provides empirical evidence to support the thesis that peripheral suburbs in metropolitan regions have particular processes that require specific planning strategies for innovation-intensity. Therefore, traditional policy approaches to innovation might not be "transportable" to different areas of the metropolitan region and more attention needs to be made to local characteristics of suburbs or Local Government Areas (LGAs) where the culture of innovation needs to grow and flourish to address a range of emerging quality of life issues.

Despite the volume of analytical work in many countries, many of the policies put in place at national and regional scales have exhibited only moderate success. This may be due to the analysis having a national or state orientation and lacking the ability to drill down to finer scales (Feser & Bergman 2000). A second problem has been that most of the investigative work on regional/local innovation and development has proceeded by case studies with minimal of comparative analysis. As Markusen (1999) has noted, analysis of articles appearing over 25 years on regional development reveals that few analysts used replicable methods while some did not reveal the methods used or the reliability of the inferences. There has been a split between those from different disciplinary backgrounds (which can be roughly characterized as more or less economic) in the use of quantitative methods (such as input-output or trade) and qualitative approaches (focused more on relationships between players and emphasised intangibles such as level of trust or collaboration). In a piece of research carried out in Canada, two observers collaborated in the analysis of innovation performance in Quebec. One, using quantitative methods, presented one picture (quite a lot of innovation) while the other using qualitative interviews with players reported a different situation (pessimism about innovation levels) (Nimijean & Landry 2000). Storper, in a wide-ranging paper, has discussed each of the major approaches, both analytical and policy, to the analysis of regional innovation. He comes to the conclusion that an approach which combines some of the quantitative input-output insights on agglomerations of activities and some of the qualitative analysis of relationships is useful (Storper 1995).

Moving towards an integrated approach to innovation analysis is a useful development. An important feature of an integrated approach, and one that is often neglected, is the interaction of different aspects of spatial activity under different systems of innovation. New approaches from the so-called "triple bottom line" (social, economic and environment) and sustainability sciences can be used to extend analysis into new domains. One such domain is termed the 'natural advantage' that links innovation, green business development and quality of life in regional communities (Potts 2007). The natural advantage articulates the often vague notion of 'sustainability' within a regional development context. It integrates innovation, conservation, environmental technology and community-business partnerships to create a holistic strategy for regional progress and doing away with the business versus the environment debates. Natural advantage strategies are

underpinned by sustainable innovation indicators. The indicators and the social processes that drive their collection, analysis and use can form the first critical step in moving towards the regional and local partnerships that create new jobs in sustainability orientated knowledge based industries whilst improving quality of life. However, the overall methodological difficulty of providing a useful study with regional data that is driven to a greater extent by economic indicators is an important limitation in the study of local/regional innovation.

Therefore, it seems time to explore different approaches. This chapter explores one such approach through using innovation indicators across a sustainability perspective. The chapter explores the innovation dynamics of industry knowledge intensity, environmental factors and social/community issues. We argue that these areas do not belong to the same innovation system but have distinctive features, governing rules, scales and dynamics to be considered as differentiated "innovation ecosystems". The scope of the chapter explores this conceptual framework and the composition of these ecosystems and their role in innovation in peripheral suburbs.

Research Questions and Method

This chapter examines innovation drivers through the use of a set of indicators applied to the Macarthur region of South West Sydney, a region at the edge of the city of Sydney. Specifically the study explores three Innovation Ecosystems. These are: (1) knowledge intensive dynamics, (2) environmental dynamics, and (3) social dynamics. The research questions investigated are:

- What innovation drivers are identified by firms/regional organizations as important for innovation and development?
- What knowledge intensive activities do these firms/organizations do?
- How important are environmental dynamics for innovation of these firms/ organizations?
- How much collaboration is there between firms and regional/community organizations?

The study investigated these questions via a set of eight broad innovation drivers or principles and a derived subset of 38 innovation indicators. The eight proposed innovation drivers[2] were: Industry Knowledge Intensity, Connectivity, Knowledge

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[2] *Knowledge Intensity*: activities and inputs requiring intelligence and high application of knowledge and skills.

Connectivity: the importance of interaction, activities and engagement to networks, other companies and research institutions etc.

Knowledge Generation, Transfer and Integration: capacity to produce knowledge inputs that can be transferred and then integrated in other organizations.

Entrepreneurship: capacity of start up organisations commercialising products or/and services.

Environmental Dynamics: Environmental factors contributing to the development of liveable spaces, growth in knowledge economy and high technology jobs, and the conservation of natural capital in the face of resource scarcity and degradation (e.g. pollution treatment technology).

Generation, Transfer and Integration, Entrepreneurship, Environmental Dynamics, Community Engagement, Liveability, Accessibility.

The study used a combined methodology: a horizontal and regionally focused analysis using indicators and an 'Innovation Dashboard^{TM,3} and a vertical analysis using 12 case studies of firms and organizations. The Innovation Dashboard^{TM} was built to visualize and summarize the quantitative data collected through the innovation indicators. The dashboard normalizes indicator information via a "min-max" comparative ranking system. An indicator is ranked amongst geographic cases (cities, regions, countries etc.) where it is allocated a score and a ranking "color". An analysis of knowledge intensity and innovation at the firm/organizational level through the use, mix and match of knowledge intensive service activities (KISA)[4] was also conducted.

The contribution of the chapter lies in two related outcomes. One is in the conceptualization of innovation drivers as dependent on local factors and actors and thus recognizing the identity of peripheral suburbs of metropolitan regions as places where innovation and sustainable development have distinctive characteristics, dynamics and therefore distinctive opportunities. Another aspect is the use of a methodology that is easy to replicate and that takes account of both quantitative and qualitative techniques. We first discuss the conceptual framework and then key findings and conclusions.

Innovation Ecosystems: A New Conceptual Framework

Our conceptual framework is based in the view that economic or industry factors alone cannot explain why some regions are innovation intensive while others stagnate. In particular, we argue that three different critical systems for sustainable urban development can coexist and interact in any certain space. These three are: (1) knowledge intensity, (2) environmental dynamics and (3) social dynamics (Fig. 1). While our understanding of the interaction of the first two (knowledge and environment) is starting to be discussed in the literature (Bellamy, Tony, Russel, &

Community Engagement: capacity to interact with the broader community (e.g. interaction with community organisations).

Liveability: capacity of a city or region to provide quality of life in the services provided, and the resources offered for human interaction.

Accessibility: accessibility and mobility within the region (e.g. transport, internet, mobile communication).

[3] The Dashboard Model is a visually engaging online tool that converts indicator data into normalised scores and indices, and presents information in the form of a dashboard. The software can be downloaded from http://esl/jrc.it/dc/

[4] KISA is defined as the production and integration of service activities (technical and non-technical) undertaken by firms in manufacturing or service sectors, in combination with manufactured outputs or as stand-alone services. KISA can be provided by private enterprises or public sector organisations. Typical examples include: Research and Development (R&D) services, management consulting, Information Technology (IT) services, human resource management services, legal services such as Intellectual Property (IP) related issues, accounting, financing, and marketing services (OECD 2003; Martinez-Fernandez & Milles 2006).
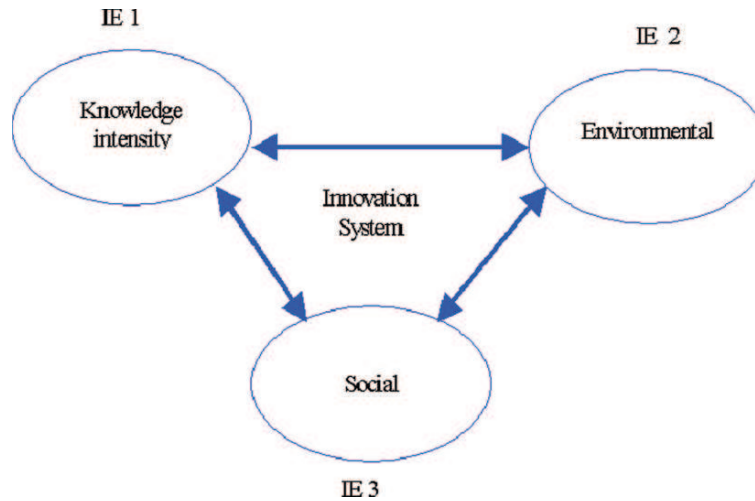
Fig. 1 Innovation ecosystems
Source: Martinez-Fernandez et al, 2005

Steve 2003; Hargraves & Smith 2005; Potts 2007), the understanding of the dynamics of the social dimension and of its effects on local development is still at an early stage. This study contributes by identifying some of the drivers of innovation that belongs to each of these systems. We refer to these systems as "innovation ecosystems" due to their complexity, internal consistency, inter-relationships, and different role in driving sustainable innovation. While the research does not address the complex relationships and feedbacks between different parts of the innovation ecosystem, it is clear that the traditional approach to urban (and peri urban) development has taken a limited, predominantly economic view, and that progress in regional innovation requires a broader brush.

The notion of innovation relies on knowledge-based approaches that rely on the willingness and ability of firms and institutions to interact and hence share and exchange knowledge (OECD 2001c, 2002; Martinez-Fernandez & Potts 2008). New approaches also consider central to innovation the role of knowledge workers and their geographical distribution (Sharpe & Martinez-Fernandez 2007) as well as training and skills development and upgrading as key drivers for local development (MartinezFernandez 2008). However, these approaches need to expand to the reality of cities, regions and communities as the unit of analysis and consider how "learning" and social partnerships are embodied in the innovation process at a local/regional level. For example, Potts et al. (2008) identify that locally based multi-stakeholder partnerships involving business, universities and community groups acted as a focal point and catalyst for developing innovation strategies and knowledge networks. The taxonomy of innovation as process (technological and organizational) and product (goods and services) (Edquist et al. 2001) is therefore limited for explaining regional innovation as the rich interaction of activities happening in a certain space is not fully considered in this two-dimensional approach. The focus on the interaction of activities provides a more precise picture of the

innovation system of a particular place. In this way the innovation system of central business districts in cities can be very different from the innovation systems linked to suburbs or systems of suburbs on the periphery of the city. Therefore, the role of local institutions in producing and promoting programs and policies is affected by their unique innovation system. A lack of understanding on local innovation dynamics might result in a mismatch of planning policies and user needs.

Drivers and Indicators

Based on the innovation ecosystem framework, we identified eight innovation drivers[5] for the knowledge intensity, environmental and social ecosystems potentially interacting in a certain space. We chose a total of 38 indicators[6] for analysis of the innovation drivers (see Table 1).

Over time, regularly reported sustainable development and innovation information should emerge at the local and regional levels in order to have any significance for planning practice. As identified in the recent research (Potts 2007; Martinez-Fernandez & Potts 2008) developing information and knowledge networks is a key requirement of developing regional action for sustainable innovation and natural advantage. The partnerships that emerge from collaborative behaviour can incubate innovative activities at a local scale and feed into knowledge intensity drivers such as transfer, connectivity and industry intensity (Potts et al. 2008; Martinez-Fernandez & Sharpe 2008). A lack of data sets and suitable information is an ongoing problem, particularly for the dimensions of connectivity, knowledge generation/transfer/integration, entrepreneurship, and community engagement. In addition, indicators within the environmental sphere (water use and greenhouse emissions), liveability (facilities and social capital) and accessibility (internet and broadband accessibility, health indicators, transport) need to be refined at regional and local scales with consistent long term monitoring. Crossing all dimensions is the need for stakeholder participation and agreement of a reported set of sustainable innovation indicators that are linked to decision making processes (and decision makers) in the region. The above set, while limited[7] by information and resource constraints, contributes to this debate.

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[5] These were identified through a combination of bibliographic review and industry workshops.

[6] Not a complete list of possible indicators.

[7] The statistical data collected has been limited by time and resources constraints. The set of innovation indicators is not a full list for metropolitan regions but a list to test the conceptual framework in the area under analysis. The number of case studies is small and does not represent all economic sectors of the area under analysis. There are limitations in relation to the use of the Innovation Dashboard as it relies on a series of geographical cases as the basis of comparison. More cases in the Dashboard result in increasingly detailed ranking results and outcomes. For example, the United Nations sustainability Dashboard used 60 indicators across 230 countries (JRC 2004). This study uses 38 indicators across three LGAs – leading to a limited analysis that could be rectified in the future with more case studies. However, the goal of the study was to examine the utility of this tool in the context of innovation ecosystem framework. The relative ranking of the indicators and LGAs by the Dashboard is a tool that allows for examination of the interaction of policy fields and systems. Rankings of the indicators provided should not be interpreted as a definitive outcome

Table 1 Innovation drivers' indicators

Innovation ecosystems	Drivers	Indicators
Knowledge intensity	1 – Industry knowledge intensity	– Percentage of employees in manufacturing; – Percentage of employees in knowledge intensive business services (KIBS); – Percentage of employees in cultural and recreational industries; – Percentage of employees in health.
	2 – Connectivity	– Number of business networks; – Number of industry clusters; – Number of development networks.
	3 – Knowledge generation, transfer and integration	– Number of Master and PhD students in the regions; – Proportion of science/engineering/IT based postgraduates; – Number of students from UWS cooperative programs working in industry; – Number of university – industry partnerships.
	4 – Entrepreneurship	– The mean number of business start-ups 1999—2004.
Environment	5 – Environmental dynamics	– Waste generation per capita; – Recycling per capita; – Commercial water use; – Residential water use; – Total water use; – Greenhouse gas emissions; – Pollution licenses and breaches; – Local government expenditure in environmental management.
Social	6 – Community engagement	– Number of council funded community organizations; – Funding attached to these organizations.
	7 – Liveability	– ABS Socio-economic index; – Mortgage stress; – Museums and libraries; – Recreational expenses per capita; – Community service expenses per capita; – 10-year population growth; – Crime index; – Unemployment; – National parks in LGA.

Table 1 (continued)

Innovation ecosystems	Drivers	Indicators
	8 – Accessibility	– Internet use at home; – Hospitals and community medical facilities; – GPs in LGA; – Share of available jobs in MACROC region; – Percentage of people who use cars to get to work; – Percentage of people who use trains to get to work; – Percentage of people who use buses to get to work.

Source: Martinez-Fernandez & Potts 2008

The Macarthur Region

The area of analysis is the Macarthur region of South-West Sydney (see Map 1) comprising the Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Campbelltown, Camden and Wollondilly with more than 50 suburbs. Although this area at the frontiers of the city shows commonalities for a macro analysis, there are considerable and observable differences at the micro level and focusing on the LGA. Campbelltown is the most industrial area, Camden is largely rural-residential and Wollondilly has semi-rural characteristics. The Macarthur region is located approximately one hour from the Sydney CBD (North), less than one hour from the city of Wollongong (South) and two hours from the Australian Capital, Canberra (West). The approximately population is 240,000 residents.[8]

Results and Key Findings

The Innovation Dashboard[TM] was a useful approach for providing a horizontal spatially focused analysis of innovation drivers while case studies of firms and organizations provided a holistic and in-depth analysis at an organisational level in the areas of policy attention indicated by the dashboard. The study is conclusive in that the use of a combined methodology (quantitative and qualitative) is needed for the analysis of regional innovation systems, as these methods alone do not provide an analysis at the level of complexity required. Many studies of a quantitative nature

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for the regions and suburbs under analysis but as a tool for influencing debate and capturing the attention of policy makers.

[8] www.macroc.nsw.gov.au (15 March 2005). See a review of the area in DOTARS (2003), Randolph & Holloway (2003), Fagan, Robyn, & John (2004).
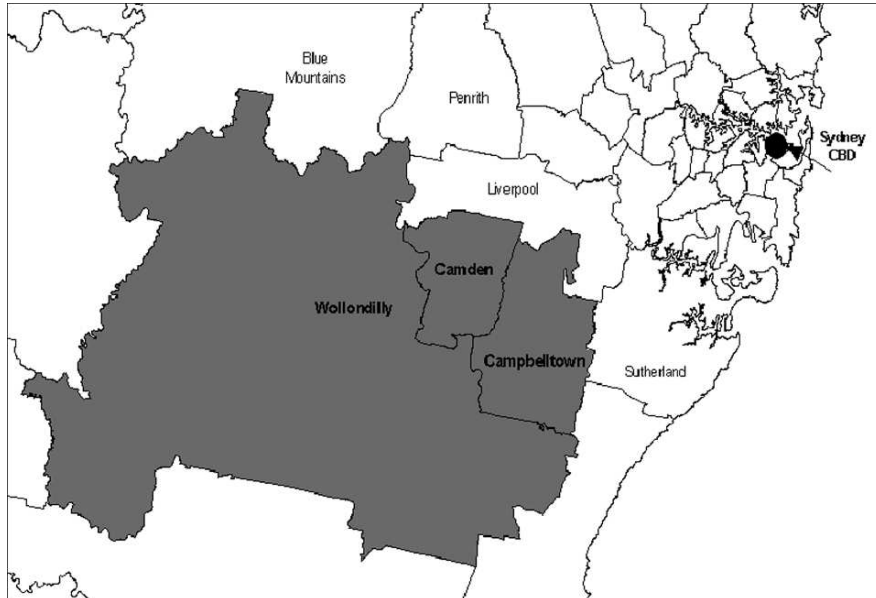
Map 1 The Macarthur region of South West Sydney
(Source: Martinez-Fernandez & Potts 2008)

fail to provide the needed "depth" and consideration of policy processes required for the design of improved processes.

The study pointed to the importance of knowledge intensity, environment, connectivity and accessibility as the key drivers of innovation for the region under analysis. While the interviewed organizations highlighted a link between environmental dynamics and knowledge intensity, social dynamics were disconnected from the discussions and not clearly linked to economic development apart from the "vision" of some firms in relation to the importance of this system for corporate social responsibility and future activities. At this phase of the research, partnerships were yet to evolve into practice for many firms.

Regional Innovation Indexes

We developed "regional innovation indexes" applying the dashboard approach to the three Local Government Areas (LGAs) under analysis. One advantage of using the Dashboard is the ability to create indices based on the indicators (such as Environmental Dynamics or Knowledge Generation and Transfer) and aggregate them into an overall performance index. The tones in the Dashboard indicate the *relative* ranking of the standardised indicators, in this case dark tones indicate a lower ranking (scores in the 100–300 range) while light tones indicate a higher relative ranking
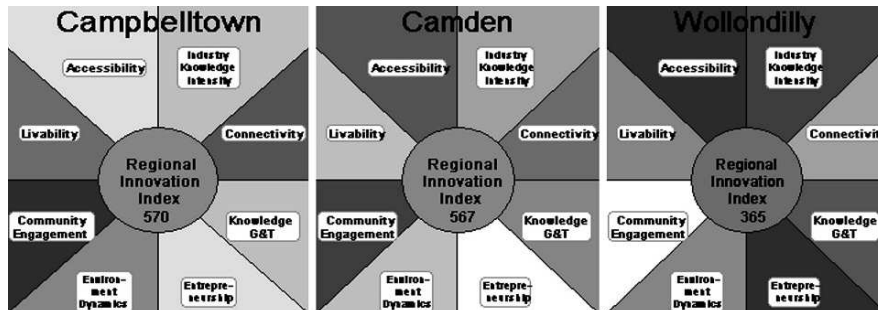
Fig. 2 Regional innovation index for Campbelltown, Camden and Wollondilly
(Source: Martinez-Fernandez & Potts 2008)

(scores in the range of 700–1000).[9] The "Regional Innovation Index" highlights
the diversity of issues that can contribute to local/regional innovation. The index is
calculated as a simple average of the component indicator ranks, but the Dashboard
has the ability to set weighting measures according to user preference. Noting the
index scores, the LGAs of "Campbelltown" and "Camden" obtain similar results
and higher ranks (570, 567) over "Wollondilly" (365).[10] It is interesting to note
that the ranks obtained by the LGAs of "Campbelltown" and "Camden" have been
obtained from a mix of different sub-index results (see Fig. 2) which indicates the
multidisciplinary and locality specific nature of innovation activity in local areas.

"Campbelltown" obtains a high ranking for the innovation drivers suggesting
that it is well placed for contributing to regional innovation. The dashboard displays
that the key advantages of the region are in knowledge generation, industry knowl-
edge intensity, entrepreneurship and accessibility – key components of innovative
regions. This highlights the role of Campbelltown as a "regional hub" of activity
for education, knowledge and accessibility to services, jobs and mobility – often
drawing upon the populations of Camden, Wollondilly and the surrounding LGAs.

"Camden" ranked high in the fields of liveability, environmental dynamics,
entrepreneurship and industry knowledge intensity. This pattern suggests that Cam-
den has significant "quality of life" features that make it an attractive place to live.
Accessibility issues were lower ranked in this region, highlighting issues for access
over transport and services. Knowledge transfer initiatives and improved business
connectivity would also benefit the regions innovation potential.

"Wollondilly" has the most to gain from developing drivers of innovation. On the
basis of the indicator-set it ranks third overall in the regional innovation index. In the
fields of connectivity and community engagement Wollondilly performed well but

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[9] In this publication the Dashboard uses black and white tones. However usual practice of the
software uses a colour scale to maximise visual uptake. The Dashboard uses a nine-point colour
scale moving from red to yellow to green indicating the relative ranks of the parameters. Red is the
lowest ranked while green is the higher ranks (see Martinez-Fernandez et al 2005).

[10] Maximum rank score is 1000, lowest is 0.

these are fields where data was limited or difficult to obtain. Issues of knowledge intensity, knowledge transmission, entrepreneurship and accessibility are areas in need of attention to boost innovation.

What Innovation Drivers are Identified by Regional Organizations as Important for the Region's Development?

The majority of the case studies mentioned three drivers of innovation with high importance: knowledge intensity, environmental dynamics and accessibility. Connectivity, entrepreneurship and community engagement were considered of medium importance and knowledge generation, transfer and integration and liveability were considered of low importance. In relation to *knowledge intensity* as a driver of innovation both manufacturing and service companies mentioned it as a critical factor to drive the business and keep up with identified innovation goals. *Environmental dynamics* was widely noted as of high importance only after knowledge intensity (see below). *Accessibility* was the third driver nominated of high importance for innovation. Some organizations mentioned "accessibility" as important to contact more people, more quickly and easier; "it is a key to retain people, as well as bringing other people in" (Martinez-Fernandez et al 2005). Accessibility was noted in relation to transport networks in the area but also in relation to broadband and IT facilities across the region. Access to the Sydney area was important but equally was the access to the nearby City of Wollongong and Port Kembla, indicating a polycentricity of the wider metropolitan region.

What Elements of Knowledge Intensity are Present in the Region?

The study found that the use of knowledge intensive service activities (KISA) by the case study companies was limited to IT consulting, marketing related and Research and Development as activities considered of high importance for innovation purposes. The provision of services for these activities was mainly in-house and in collaboration with the private sector when external expertise was sourced from outside the firm/organization. The sourcing of expertise was mainly from the local area and through the use of referrals and networks. In the Wollondilly sub-region the local area for sourcing expertise extends to the City of Wollongong[11] more than towards Sydney, including the use of the University of Wollongong instead of using the local UWS Campbelltown campus for specific industry–university collaboration. This particular "knowledge-ecosystem" indicates that the functional region for knowledge intensive activities extends south to an area within a 30 minute driving

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[11] Wollongong is part of the Sydney Metropolitan Region, 80 km south of the CBD. It is Australia's ninth largest city.

distance and hooks into the big coastal city of Wollongong and the Port Kembla harbor. Geographical proximity seems to be a more important factor than participation in international networks. This is an important consideration in the creation of knowledge networks to support regional innovation partnerships.

Connectivity to other businesses and networks was considered an important factor for business development. The studied firms refer to the use of informal arrangements with innovation partners such as other firms within the same industry group, customers, competitors, Research and Technology Organizations (RTOs)[12] and regional organizations. Formal agreements drive the collaboration when Knowledge Intensive Business Services (KIBS), public institutions and industry institutions are used while informal agreements are in place for other network relations within and outside the local area.

How Important Are Environmental Dynamics for Innovation in the Region?

Environmental dynamics, based on the notion of the natural advantage, were identified within the framework and the literature as a driver of establishing innovative and competitive firms, organizations and regions (Hall & Vredenburg 2004; Martinez-Fernandez et al 2005; Hargraves & Smith 2005; Potts 2007). As highlighted by the indicators, regional organizations and firms are increasingly concerned about water conservation, energy efficiency, climate and impacts from pollution and waste. With the Sydney metropolitan region expanding and the south-west Macarthur region particularly earmarked for residential expansion (DIPNR 2004) the role of environmental innovation and resource efficiency is particularly important in ensuring sustainable regional growth.

Case study interviews consistently indicated that environmental issues were important for the business and an emerging innovation driver. There was recognition that environmental dynamics are emerging as a driver of business success. Several organisations reported positive efficiency outcomes in resource use, reduction in waste and costs, and opportunities for creating competitive organizations and new markets. One company noted that "their strong environmental innovation base contributes to cost effectiveness and gives them an edge on market rivals." Although environmental innovation is a growth area for organizations, the interviews and indicator data highlighted an ongoing problem in developing environmental innovation – most organizations recognize that it could lead to successful outcomes but were unsure about the means of resolving these issues within the business context. The results show a clear case for inter-firm and organizational collaboration and the development of regional learning networks. Organizations and firms were in the early stages of conceptualising and implementing sustainability strategies, a part of

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[12] Public research institutions such as Universities and public sector research departments.

a "preparatory" phase that leads to more formal activities that embeds green innovation within regions (Potts 2007). As other preparatory activities such as policy support, emergent networks and market developments link up with the business case, there is a regional shift towards more "transformational" activities that embed innovation and sustainability outcomes and deliver cleaner production, regional innovation, reduced environmental impact and enhanced employment growth with local knowledge based industries.

The indicator results emphasized that research is needed on regionally significant measures that relate to innovation capacity and progress. Indicator measures need to capture investment in environmental products and services, R&D outcomes and data on resource efficiency in specific sectors. A balance between process and outcome indicators is required to tell the full story and link actions to measurable outcomes and benchmarks. Future indicators will need to inform of the links between knowledge outcomes, knowledge intensive industries and environmental dynamics as an overlap was often observed between the different innovation drivers. An example from the case study region was the issue of water conservation in firms and the role of regulation driving demand for expertise (knowledge) and operational systems. This demand for knowledge and "know how" is manifest across several sustainability issues and business sectors, with a particular focus on energy efficiency and climate change adaptation (Hargraves & Smith 2005). There is considerable opportunity for innovative new firms and strategic advantages for existing firms in growing the market for environmental goods and services (Griffiths 2004).

The indicators presented in this study illuminate the need for improved information on environmental innovation across key sectors, its role in driving competitiveness and the uptake by firms, organizations and communities.

How Much Collaboration Is There Between Industry and Regional Organizations?

The study confirms previous findings related to the limited collaboration among industry-regional organizations in the area (Martinez-Fernandez & Sharpe 2008). Out of twelve cases only four to five collaborated[13] with regional organizations. The maximum number of projects with the University of Western Sydney (UWS)[14] is only five. The organizations with high interaction with firms were UWS, technical colleges, the Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources and the various local chambers of commerce. The type of interaction is both formal and informal but with informal interactions predominating.

Nevertheless, collaboration and community engagement were considered increasingly important as drivers of innovation and can act as an "action" lever or focal

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[13] Number of collaboration links such as specific projects or participation in committees.

[14] UWS is the only university in the region, comprising nine campuses across Greater Western Sydney.

point for collaborative activities. This was despite the fact that the elements involved and their effects on firm innovation or in the regional innovation system as a whole is still poorly understood. Respondents also indicated that accessibility issues (e.g., transport and access to broadband) were considered of high importance because they impacted on their connections with broader markets of goods and knowledge sources and professionals at the regional, national and international levels.

Most firms refer to engagement with the community as a driver which has rapidly changed in the last five years; "In the past, we would not have considered it a priority to engage with the community. However nowadays, it is a compulsory activity for us and is considered strategic for the development of our businesses" (Martinez-Fernandez et al 2005).

Overall, the observed engagement with regional organizations was limited and not significant in most cases. The firms consider "community engagement" as an activity focused on charity organizations but not necessarily as engagement with regional networks of organizations to promote the development of the region.

Regional collaboration and social dynamics suggest the most challenging position and potential to contribute to the regional innovation system. The lack of understanding of the elements involved in the social dynamics ecosystem and the lack of know-how of companies in relation to community engagement highlights an area for strategic and policy attention. Local institutions such as Councils have much to offer in facilitating this process of engagement across, for example, companies and community groups. At this level, the national innovation systems framework (Lundvall 1992) has little to offer, as it is too detached from what is happening on the ground. New local analytical tools need to be developed for policy makers to drive innovation at their constituency level and harness the benefits for social capital and knowledge societies. Partnerships need to be actively managed and supported by resources, a clear terms of reference, have wide support, identify the business case, and use partners knowledge to drive the network forward (Potts et al. 2008).

Conclusion

The study discussed in this chapter reveals that the spatial dynamics of innovation can be analyzed from the perspective of innovation ecosystems consisting of knowledge, environment and social dimensions (refer back to Fig. 1). Critical differences between the three innovation ecosystems in the three areas under analysis show that even in areas of relative geographical proximity and part of the same metropolitan region, each innovation system was composed of different elements. These different "spaces of activity and influence" give rise to policy questions on the promotion of knowledge intensive industries, environmental innovation and the integration of community dynamics in peripheral suburbs.

Increasing regional connectivity at the industry and community level will assist in establishing information and knowledge networks so important in innovation processes. Pathways for increasing connectivity include the establishment of regional innovation forums, formation of business networks and targeting public–private

partnerships to promote community engagement. Local councils have an important role to play in promoting knowledge intensity in their suburbs. For example, they can intensify their activities with firms and organization in their LGA to reach a higher level of industry-community engagement and social collaboration that could result in public-private partnerships for innovation.

Environmental innovation is an area of natural competitive advantage for organizations and firms. This study recommended promoting regional networking activities where experiences and expertise in environmental innovation are discussed and encouraged. Based on the case studies, local regulatory reform, creation of environmental innovation incentives and diffusion of programs to minimize impact will have an influence on environmental innovation activities conducted locally. There exists a strong role for university and the public sector in establishing regional research partnerships for environmental innovation. Since this research was concluded, the Macarthur Regional Environmental Innovation Network (REIN) was launched, aiming to build regional links and generate dialogue on innovation between community groups, the university, local business and government. REIN provides a focal point and forum for action by facilitating information sharing on the "how to" questions that surround local environmental innovation, collaborative research with the community and business, and developing a regional knowledge network (Potts et al. 2008).

Activities to support the development of industry networking activities or the establishment of business networks would intensify the development of knowledge intensive service activities (KISA) and connectivity between users and providers of knowledge. Specific targeting of awareness activities of the role of KISA in firm innovation would influence the development of knowledge intensity in the region, therefore contributing to the competitiveness of the city and its metropolitan region from the core to the periphery and vice versa (Table 2).

The chapter suggests the need to shift the analysis of innovation into a broader conceptual framework than has been traditionally employed. The national innovation system approach seems to offer limited applicability at the regional, local or suburbia level. In the context of a large city or a metropolitan region, the results of this analysis might be different for different parts of the city as different suburbs present different industry, environmental and social characteristics. Instead we have proposed to analyze industry knowledge intensity, environmental dynamics and social dynamics as different innovation ecosystems governed by different rules and expectations by the involved stakeholders. Standard indicators do not provide a complete picture and the new indicators, often of a qualitative nature, need to be developed to advance the analysis of innovation ecosystems.

Table 2 Improved perspectives for analysis

- Innovation and analysis connected to analysis of "place" as the context to where innovation is occurring.
- Adjust regional innovation system to reflect complexity of particular suburbs.
- Methods and measurements adjust to local innovation systems.

This chapter has presented an early attempt to develop indicators and measuring techniques about what drives innovation in peripheral suburbs. The chapter has also discussed results that show the special needs of peripheral suburbs in large metropolitan regions. It is hoped that it will also act to facilitate a greater number of studies of this very important area for public policy and city/regional planners.

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