

Understanding the Meaning of Community Engagement for Aging in Place within a
Social Capital Framework

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(ABSTRACT)

This study explored the meaning of community engagement of older adults, within a social capital framework, in a community noted for its relatively high concentration of active, older adults. The multiple meanings of community engagement within the creation of a *place of age* were investigated using concepts derived from a social capital framework. A place of age is where older adults are integral to family life, participate in community life, and bring collective life experiences and wisdom to civic life.

This research addresses gaps in the current literature about suburban places and the meanings of community engagement for an aging population within these places. The importance of this research lies with expanding the understanding of the multiple meanings of community engagement and the potential for reinforcing, through public policy, these meanings through the development and support of the social capital created by older adults in places of age.

The research methodology was an in-depth case study analysis of West Saint Paul, Minnesota. In-person, semistructured interviews were conducted with 21 individuals, aged 65 years and older, who had been residents of West Saint Paul for at least 25 years.

Findings of this study revealed multiple meanings of community and community engagement for study participants, but all had a strong sense of community relative to

their neighborhoods and the city of West Saint Paul. All had well-developed social networks that involved family members, friends, and neighbors. Nearly all engaged in neighboring behaviors of helping out when needed and generally looking out for one another. All participants expressed a feeling of trust of others within their own neighborhoods, and most did not feel trusting of others beyond their neighborhoods. All participants had consistently voted, and all engaged in formal civic activities at some point in their lives. All participants, lifelong volunteers, were members of a Christian church, and much of their volunteer time was given to church activities. The key finding from this study was the important role of neighboring behaviors, faith-based affiliation, and family in the meaning of community engagement within each participant's life.

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CHAPTER ONE

AGING PERSONS AND AGING SUBURBS

Along with expansion of metropolitan areas beyond inner-ring suburbs came the aging of the longtime residents of those suburbs. Over time, many inner-ring suburbs have become places where older residents who have aged in place reside, where newer migrants to the city find housing close to urban core employment, and where the nation's new immigrants develop communities. It is within this diverse and aging environment where many older residents of the metropolitan environment are located.

The heterogeneous mix of residents can create tension as conflicting needs related to different age groups and different languages and cultures emerge. If inner-ring suburbs become places where an increasingly diverse group of residents and the changing needs and preferences of its long-time residents cannot be met over the life course, then it is possible that older residents may choose to relocate. They may relocate to areas that are often homogeneous in terms of age, race, and ethnicity, where there are services that can most appropriately meet their needs and preferences, and opportunities exist for participating in community life. If, however, the needs and preferences of older residents can be met where they have spent most of their life, then older residents may choose to age in place rather than migrate upon retirement or a change in health needs (Bradsher, Longino, Jackson, & Zimmerman, 1992; Galster, 1987; Litwak & Longino, 1987; Longino, Jackson, Zimmerman, & Bradsher, 1991; Longino, Wiseman, Biggar, & Flynn, 1984; Miller, Longino, Anderson, James, & Worley, 1999; Speare, Avery, & Lawton, 1991; Wiseman, 1980; Zimmerman, Jackson, Longino, & Bradsher, 1993).

Long-term residents have played a role in the development of their neighborhoods and neighborhood change over the life cycle of their community. Age composition is one descriptive variable of neighborhood change, but age composition alone does not address questions of neighborhood change and the roles older adults may have played in residential transformation (Hugo, Rudd, & Downie, 1984; Johnson, 1980). Furthermore, researchers need to go beyond demographic analysis to understand what creates an environment where people want to continue to live in their later years. Until more recently, the needs and preferences of older adults have not been considered in economic development or place-based community building strategies. As neighborhoods have changed and older adults migrated elsewhere or become ghettoized in their neighborhoods, local politicians and administrators have asked how they might develop “senior-friendly” communities that appeal to older adults by examining pedestrian and neighborhood design and social, health care, and transportation services within their communities (Billig, 2004; Cullinane, 1992; Michael, Green, & Farquhar, 2006; Subramanian, Kubansky, Fay, & Kawachi, 2006).

As inner-ring suburbs age, and with the prospect of second and third ring suburbs facing dispersed social and service delivery networks created by urban sprawl, the notion of environmental fit for an aging population needs to become more than a conversation about physical design elements. The environmental fit of the aging, middle-class population in increasingly diverse inner-ring suburbs needs to become a conversation about social networks and commitment to place that engender informal community support. The community engagement of long-time residents, such as neighboring behaviors, involvement in schools and places of worship, and family caregiving, has built social capital that will continue to provide support for residents in their older years.

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this study is to further understanding of the meaning of community engagement for these older adults who have remained in their neighborhood over time. The interpretation of the multiple meanings of community engagement brought forward by study participants takes place against the backdrop of neighborhood change and expanding urbanization to increase understanding of how individuals who have chosen to age in place remain an integral part of the neighborhood community fabric. Remaining in the neighborhood and continuing to have an active role in neighborhood life may result from long-term informal and formal community participation established through social networks and connections to community and faith-based organizations. The research uses a social capital framework with an emphasis on networks and organizational connections to analyze the engagement of older adults in a community noted for its relatively high concentration of active, older adults.

Rethinking Aging in Place

Researchers have used the term *aging in place* to describe communities where, over time, above-average concentrations of persons aged 65 years and older developed (Morrison, 1992). Primarily, the term has been used to describe the demographics of locales. However, many of locales where older adults have lived for many years require more than a study of demographics. Researchers need to understand the role older adults play in shaping the present and future form of their communities. To broaden the meaning of the phrase, aging in place, I posit a new concept, called *places of age*, to describe neighborhoods that have a notable concentration of persons aged 65 years and older and where older persons live in age-integrated communities and are a meaningful part of the community's social fabric.

Places of age are communities where persons may live and thrive over the life course. It is important to note that all places of age have residents who have experienced aging-in-place, but not all aging-in-place locations become places of age.

Research Problem

Much of the research on locational choice of the older adult population concludes that the principal explanation for high concentrations of older people in some neighborhoods is the process of aging in place rather than migration (Fitzpatrick & Logan, 1985; Okraku, 1987). These studies confirm that suburban older adults exhibit high levels of locational stability, which when combined with the younger residents (the children of those aging in place) moving out to new suburbs in the metropolitan area, has resulted in suburban populations that have aged in place, particularly in inner-ring suburban neighborhoods. These studies contribute to knowledge about the demographic processes leading to concentrations of older residents characteristically found in inner-ring suburban neighborhoods. They do not, however, examine how older residents are and have been engaged in the community and how that engagement leads to attachment to place and establishment of networks that contribute to decisions to remain in place.

There is a need to expand knowledge about the forms of community engagement in which social capital generated by older adults is manifested after having lived in the same location for many years to further knowledge about using social capital as a tool to sustain neighborhoods or redevelop deteriorating neighborhoods (Middleton, Murie, & Groves, 2005; Saegert, 2006). What lessons can planners learn about developing a sense of community within neighborhoods from these long-time residents of place-based communities where they continue to find a sense of belonging and continue to be active within and

contribute to the community? What about their place-based community has made it a place of age?

In this study, the main research question is: What are the meanings of community engagement in places of age for the long-time, older adult residents in the context of neighborhood change and how do social networks and organizational connections shape those meanings of engagement?¹ I investigated the multiple meanings of community engagement within the creation of a place of age using concepts derived from a social capital framework. This research addresses gaps in the current literature about suburban places and the meanings of community engagement for an aging population within these places. The importance of this research lies with expanding understanding of the multiple meanings of community engagement and the potential for reinforcing, through public policy, these meanings through the development and support of the social capital created by older adults in places of age.

¹ An equally important question not addressed in this research is how younger residents in places of age understand and behave with respect to community engagement.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Three bodies of research literature are referenced in the conceptual framework used in this study: 1) social capital, 2) suburban environments, and 3) community engagement (which include meaning of community and attachment to place). The role of social capital in interpreting community engagement is reviewed insofar as it provides explanation for the establishment of social and professional networks, reciprocity, trust, and social norms. The social capital literature provides a basis for understanding the informal elements of community engagement, such as caregiving and neighboring behaviors. Second, theory and frameworks that help us to interpret places of age within the changing suburban environment are reviewed and followed by a review of literature related to neighborhood change. Lastly, research on community engagement, attachment to place, and the meaning and definition of community is reviewed. Based on the review of the literature, a conceptual framework that guided the interviews of study participants and provided for interpretation of the findings is presented. Community engagement and aging in place occur within an urban context that must be considered in the interpretation of findings. For this reason, literature on neighborhood change is reviewed to provide background on the environmental context in which the meaning of community engagement is interpreted for aging in place.

Social Capital as a Framework for Interpreting Community Engagement in Places of Age

Social capital was coined by Bourdieu when he extended the notion of capital to sociological and cultural theory. For Bourdieu, an individual's position in society is determined by the relative amounts of social, economic, and cultural wealth they accrue.

Bourdieu's (as cited in Portes, 2000) conceptual framework of social capital addresses the interaction between money capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Social capital of any significance can seldom be acquired, for example, without the investment of some material resources and the possession of some cultural capital (e.g., academic credentials), enabling the individual to establish relations with others. Within Bourdieu's framework, social capital is associated with an individual's networks, including those that he or she explicitly constructs for that purpose, while the effects of acquiring social capital are linked to an array of material and informational benefits (2000).

Social capital has been used in a wide array of literature to explain the power and control individuals may have to improve their position within social space. Recently developed, and somewhat contested, is the practice of using the notion of social capital to explain the influence organizations may wield on the social and economic development of geographical communities such as towns and cities. Underlying this latest notion of social capital is the idea that organizations or communities possess social capital (Putnam, 1995; Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). This idea of organizational social capital is a shift from Bourdieu's ideas that social capital is reproduced by individuals, primarily through social conditioning and behavior attributed to class structure, and often facilitated by education (Portes, 2000). This research draws guidance from concepts that construct social capital. Social capital concepts used in this research are described below.

Networks

All perspectives on social capital refer to the dense interlocking networks of relationships between individuals and groups (Portes, 2000; Putnam, 1995; Putnam & Feldstein, 2003; Woolcock, 1998). Individuals engage with others through lateral

associations. These associations must be both voluntary and equal, because they represent an expression of “freely formed mutuality” (Latham, as cited in Onyx & Bullen, 2000), meaning that individuals acting on their own in isolation cannot generate social capital. Social capital depends on a capacity to form new associations and to cooperate within the terms of reference established by the members of the association (Fukuyama, 1995). Portes (2000), on the basis of Bourdieu’s work (as cited in Portes, 2000), argued that social capital is most firmly associated with an individual’s networks, and effects of social capital are linked to an array of material and informational benefits derived from the individual’s networks and affiliated institutional frameworks.

Contrary to the nature of relationships between individuals, the nature of relationships between individuals and groups is a bit problematic. Putnam (1993) argued, and Coleman (1988) concurred, that social capital may be an asset of an organization that benefits the individual members, and that individuals may engage groups through vertical relationships with organizations (Putnam, 1995). Some researchers (Lin, 2001; Portes, 2000) disagree with the application of the concepts to organizations and contend that this form of vertical relationship requires a circular logic, whereby for organizations to possess social capital, individuals must first bring that capital to the organization. Yet, it is the organization that facilitates the achievement of collective goals. Regardless, Latham (as cited in Onyx & Bullen, 2000) observed that when vertical relationships dominate, citizens forfeit some of their “rights of participation and choice” to “authority and control” of the dominant group (p. 3).

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a second common theme in the social capital literature. Reciprocity may be defined as a “combination of short-term altruism and long-term self-interest” (Onyx & Bullen, 2000, p. 3). Individuals may provide a service to others or perform acts of kindness with the expectation that this kindness will be returned in the future when the need for assistance arises.

Trust

Trust entails a willingness to take risks in a social context based on a sense of confidence that others will respond as expected and will act in mutually supportive ways. Fukuyama (1995) explained trust in terms of *commonly shared norms*, that is, codes of behavior embedded in personal values about questions such as the nature of God or justice.

Social Norms

Onyx and Bullen (2000) defined social norms as a form of informal social control that eliminates the necessity for more formal, institutionalized legal sanctions. Onyx and Bullen (2000) argued that neighborhoods with high levels of trust and common expectations for neighboring (helping) behavior may have relatively little crime, may require relatively low levels of policing, and may not require written codification of what constitutes socially acceptable behavior. On the other hand, neighborhoods with low trust levels and disparate expectations for neighboring behavior may require negotiated codified rules for behavior that must be formally enforced and litigated (2000). For example, managers of rental housing where residents are transient typically employ restrictive rules that limit resident activity and behavior, whereas residents of middle-class neighborhoods with predominantly owner-

occupied housing may expect that caring for property and helping one another will be reciprocated.

Frameworks for Interpreting Age Dynamics within a Changing Suburban Environment

Suburban Aging in Place

Suburbanization that occurred following World War II (WW II) was a product of both U.S. policy and economic institutions. U.S. housing policy following WW II reflected the economic and political necessity of providing affordable housing to returning servicemen and servicewomen and their families. The economics of the expansion of production housing and the technology to produce housing on a massive scale both played a role in igniting the post-WW II suburbs that became home to newly formed families in the 1940s.

Yeates (1990) defined post-World War II inner-ring suburbs as being adjacent to the inner city and characterized by lower-middle and middle income groups. Typically, the fringe of the inner suburban ring hosted the development of industrial parks and regional shopping centers, which may now serve as the commercial centers for the middle and outer suburban rings.

In addition to Yeates's definition of inner suburban rings, the typology of postwar suburbs explained by Jackson (1985) lays out five characteristics generally found among postwar suburbs. First, postwar suburbs tend to be in locations that are peripheral to the inner city. Likewise, housing stock would have been built between 1945 and 1960, representing the so-called inner-ring suburb (Bourne, 1978; Jackson, 1985).

Second, most postwar suburbs were settled at a density of approximately 10,500 persons per square mile, which is relatively low when compared with the inner city (Jackson, 1985). Third, postwar suburbs are architecturally similar. Following the WW II, with the rise

in automobile ownership and federal homeownership support, housing developments were mass-produced, resulting in homogeneity across the country. Lastly, post World War II suburbs were economically and racially homogeneous, which may or may not be the case today.

Investment and reinvestment decisions reflect the interest of the agents of development, that is, bankers, developers, landowners, and government officials. Because the spatial landscape reflects the preferences of consumers and producers with economic and political power, Laws (1993) noted that investment interests and public policy interests in the 1940s were aimed at housing new families. However, the family market dominating large-scale suburban developments of the past 50 years has made room for a housing market that caters to older adults, particularly those with comfortable retirement incomes. New housing developments for seniors have increased in number nationwide. This redirection in real estate market targeting is evidence of the shift in power from new families with young children to older adults, suggested Laws (1993).

Although new environments have been built for older adults, many older adults choose to remain in their homes in the older suburban environment (Golant, 1984; Golant, 1990). These older suburban neighborhoods typically are not age segregated as are so-called adult communities, for which residency is limited to persons age 55 years and older as required by federal law. As suburban environments evolve, the age of the suburban population is restructured, creating the possibility of intergenerational communities.

To better understand the location of older age cohorts and their relationship with the urban development stage of a region, Johnson (1980) analyzed the *age waves* of the mean population age relative to the stage of urbanization over time. Plotting isolines diagonally in a

box graph creates age waves. Each line representing the mean age of an area, or zone, is plotted for each zone over time. Johnson found that as the zone urbanizes over time, the population ages. Following a straight trend line, older, densely populated neighborhoods would be occupied by persons with a higher mean age. However, investment and reinvestment decisions affect the out-migration and in-migration patterns of young and old age groups, creating a second neighborhood development cycle. For example, gentrification often produces an aged neighborhood with a typically young population (Johnson, 1980). Also, as the globalization of local neighborhoods occurs, corporate retail outlets, upscale boutiques, and banks serving the younger, new residents, take over corner grocery markets and other longtime neighborhood-serving stores. An additional impetus to initiating a new cycle of development and population aging is immigration of new families to the area which may bring new types of retail and other commercial development to a neighborhood.

Complementary to Johnson's work, Hugo, Rudd, and Downie (1984) posited a system of suburbanization. Hugo attempted to locate and classify age with density and character of suburban development in Adelaide, Australia. Hugo found that the actual large numbers of older adults resided in the inner suburban ring (Zone 2 of 4) or the outer coastal recreation areas (Zone 4). The importance of Hugo's work was the case he made for focusing service delivery research in the suburban environment. He pointed out that older adults represent a greater proportion of the population of the inner city, but the greatest numbers of older adults reside in the inner suburban zone. Similarly, over a decade ago Golant (1990) examined aging trends of residents in inner-ring suburbs, residents who had settled when they were younger in the decentralized suburban locations of metropolitan areas, and residents who would possibly need supportive service delivery as they aged in place. The area in which this study occurs, the Twin Cities

metropolitan area, is reflective of the work of Hugo, Rudd, and Downie (1984) insofar as the older population tends to be concentrated in the inner ring suburbs and the outer most areas which are categorically recreational areas outside of the urban areas.

As suburban environments have aged, they have become characteristically urban (Lang, 2000) with the attending challenges of urban places. Inner ring suburbs are now home to an increasing proportion of older adults (Frey, 2003) as older adults choose to remain in place and younger adults having grown up in the inner-ring suburb, choose to relocate to the second or third ring suburban communities. Older adults and their children may be replaced with new families who are often immigrant families with children, largely reflecting the neighborhood lifecycle model of development. New models of metropolitan form have been developed to categorize the boomburbs resulting from urban policies that allow urban sprawl to develop (Lang & LeFurgy, 2006). The area in which this study occurs has been influenced by the sprawling development of the metropolitan area as younger residents commute to places of employment located across the metropolitan area in contrast to the older residents who primarily worked within West Saint Paul, downtown Saint Paul, or neighboring South Saint Paul.

Suburbia as Contested Places

The current literature on urban and human geography and the role of capital and the state in the social reproduction of space informs understanding of aging in place in suburban communities. The spatial environment reflects the interests of profit making, political negotiators, and the users of the space, which includes long-time resident households and new immigrant households. It is the users of the space that remain in the environment and must compete to recreate meaning and a sense of place within the ever-changing environment (Gottdiener, 1994). The postmodern deconstruction and reconstruction of the urban region

affects the relationship between older suburban residents and the aging and changing environment. The influence of regional economic, political, and social structures on the form of the local built environment, class, income, race, and ethnicity is well established in the literature (Davis, 1991; Gottdiener, 1994; Johnston, 1984).

Suburbia as Places of Age

Understanding the link between an aging population and demographic change, the built environment, and political and economic conditions requires synthesizing the demographic trends and the political and economic events as they influence alterations in the built environment. Scholars have called for the elaboration of the relationship between population age and the urbanization process (Hugo, Rudd, & Downie, 1984; Johnson, 1980, Laws, 1993). Of interest is the link between the role of human agency of older adults, as it is manifested in formal and informal networks over time, in affecting change that alters the neighborhood life cycle and the formation of territory (Gregory, 1988). It is critical to examine these interactions at the neighborhood level in the context of the metropolitan region because, as Cuff (1989) argued, it is in the neighborhood where “the interaction between space and society goes public” (p. 331). Likewise, Gregory (1988) concludes that the “influence and actions of structures, institutions, and agents are experienced and implemented through the locale” (p. 11).

Frameworks for Interpreting Community Engagement in Places of Age

Civic Engagement, Urban Change, and Places of Age

Communities may be place-based, issue-based, or both. Issue-based communities often form around public issues or conflict. Kling and Posner (1990) suggested that the term *community* includes those who “agree to undertake collective action to achieve some public

goal...” (p. 33). Civic engagement of neighborhood residents may be viewed as the glue that binds together a community over a long period of time. Civic involvement can influence the development and redevelopment of the urban form. As Davis (1991) asserted, community political action can move political outcomes affecting land use decisions. Davis developed a theory of locality-based action derived from the Marxist theory of collective action and Weberian perspectives of locally based conflict that serves to provide a “better understanding of group formation and inter-group conflict within the place of residence” (p. 257). Davis posited that individuals mediate between what he refers to as the “structure of domestic property” (i.e., class based on housing tenure) and the “formation, development, and behavior of locality-based groups” (p. 324). Thus, Davis provided a foundation for exploring the individual’s role in creating places of age through individual community engagement, which usually occurs through existing personal networks.

The extent, type, and density of personal networks may depend on the status of urban development of an area. Small towns with dense and traditional interpersonal relationships may provide an environment that fosters local action. Fischer (1982) compared interpersonal relationships of small town residents with interpersonal relationships of city dwellers. He found that small town residents tended to have “traditional” networks that were constructed of relationships tied to kin, neighborhood, and church. These small town networks also tended to be denser than are those of their city-dwelling counterparts (Fischer, 1982). The density and traditional nature of the small town networks may provide an environment that could advance community action given the groups already formed within the community. As residents of small towns age, their dense, traditional networks may promote their continued involvement in community life and they may continue to be advocates for their town.

However, as small towns become integrated within a larger metropolitan area and the older population is replaced with younger residents that have ties to the larger urban area, these dense traditional networks may be replaced by looser, more modern networks of interpersonal relationships. These modern networks may possibly result in an increase in multiple nodes of social capital that is not based on place of residence, but place of employment or within other places or forms of modern organization.

The Importance of “Neighborhood” in Community Engagement among Older Adults

Little has been written on the subject of community engagement of older adults at the local level. Most research addresses the political involvement of older adults at the national level of government. The central issues for lobbying groups for older persons (such as the AARP or the Gray Panthers) tend to be national health policy (Medicare) and economic security (Social Security benefits), both federally administered programs (Binstock & Day, 1996). Yet, as AARP reported in 1997 in a report on American civic involvement entitled, *America’s Social Fabric: A Status Report*, Americans are more likely to be interested in neighborhood activities and local politics than in national politics. Furthermore, the political outcomes of local politics and policy can affect the daily lives of elders. For example, neighborhood land use decisions can affect the availability of retail and professional services, or a decision to change bus service schedules can alter the accessibility of services to older adults.

The neighborhood is where daily life transpires and where “civil society begins” (Cuff, 2005, p. 4); it is the place where everyday life. Ball-Rokeach, Kim, and Matei (2001), in their examination of the role of storytelling in creating attachment to place, found that place matters to the development of community and a sense of belonging. They used the

neighborhood as their unit of measurement, because it is where everyday life transpires for most people, recognizing that the residential place is part of the fabric of the larger metropolitan area.

While part of the larger metropolitan area, neighborhoods provide opportunities for repeated interaction among residents that provide opportunity to develop and reinforce social ties and engage in neighboring behavior. Perren, Arber, and Davidson (2004) found that neighborliness is largely based on reciprocity, which means that neighbors help each other with the expectation that this help will be returned when they need help. Musso, Oztas, and Loges (2005) found that repeated interaction and reciprocity in relationships foster cooperation, which may lead to trust. Locally integrated social networks (Wenger, 1991) can lead to neighboring behavior that results from socially supportive relationships that can be a community resource in providing care and support for older adults (Schwirian & Schwirian as cited in Young, Russell & Powers, 2004).

Staying in Place, Studies of Community Engagement, and Defining Community

Researchers have focused on the mobility of older adults and neighborhood change that leads older people to move or become disenfranchised within their own neighborhoods, when in fact, only 5% of older households (head of household aged 65 years or older) migrate after retirement (Longino, Perzynski & Stoller, 2002). For older adults who have chosen to move, Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002) found that often the “pull” factors of the neighborhood of longtime residency, such as the geographic proximity to family members, established friendship networks, or valued roles in community organizations, are stronger than the “push” factors, such as harsh winter weather.²

²For some older adults, the decision to not relocate may be a factor of limited income, limited housing options, or both, which prevents them from responding to these “push” and “pull” factors.

As residents age in place, most remain active members of their community. Older adults choosing to age in place may make the decision to remain in the neighborhood in which through much of their adult lives they have worked to create meaningful lives. As Rowles and Ravdal (2002) pointed out, “most individuals play an active role in creating the places of their lives” (p.87). Older, longtime residents may have developed personal identities that have become linked to these neighborhoods, and as these longtime residents retire, they have sought out meaningful activities to continue to be productive contributors to their neighborhood. Norms of family and peer support, trust and reciprocity of caring, and meaningful activity that created a sense of belonging (Rowles & Ravdal, 2002) bear on continued residency and participation of older residents that transforms communities in which residents are aging in place into places of age. In these places, the “pull” factors identified by Longino and his colleagues (2002) are already present. A place of age is a community where older adults are integral to family life, participate in community life, and bring collective life experiences and wisdom to civic life.

Explanations for staying in place appear to be largely dependent on the existence of social capital and some form of community engagement. The operationalization of community engagement in this study was informed by the conventional definitions of community engagement, such as political participation, voting behavior, formal membership, and so forth, as exemplified in the three studies reviewed. One study, conducted from the perspective of creating so-called hometowns, was a national study of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties to determine what anchors people to place (Irwin, Tolbert, & Lyson, 1997). The authors concluded that to foster ties to place, cities and towns should encourage the development of social institutions that enhance non-migration such as small

manufacturing establishments, associations, churches, and small retail gathering places. Irwin and his colleagues (1997) hypothesized that small manufacturing establishments may be correlated to non-migration rates because the owners are invested in the community. Likewise, Lions Club, Kiwanis, Rotary Club, and other civic associations foster political participation and tend to reinforce a “public sense of integration and cohesion in an otherwise fragmented urban world” (1997, p. 44).

AARP researchers conducted a random telephone survey of persons 18 years of age and older to measure levels of social involvement and attachment to community, participation through organization memberships and volunteer work, involvement in local politics, and levels of trust of one another and government (American Association of Retired Persons, 1997). The AARP researchers created three indices to measure community involvement. First, the social involvement index (SII) measured the degree to which an individual is involved in visiting friends, volunteer work, activities with children, sports, religion, and other activities that take place outside a person’s home. Second, the community attachment index (CAI) measured the extent to which people are involved in their communities by way of neighborhood-oriented volunteerism and group membership. Third, the political involvement index (PII) measured involvement in political campaigns, working on local, state, or national issues, interest in politics at various levels, and voting in elections. For persons over 31 years of age, the term *community* had geographical implications. Otherwise, persons interviewed tended to associate community with affiliation with formal organizations or informal groups (AARP, 1997).

Onyx and Bullen (2000) conducted a survey to discover empirical evidence to support many of the concepts of social issues, interest in politics at various levels, and voting in

elections. Their findings confirmed the validity of certain concepts of social capital discussed in the literature: participation in networks, trust, and social agency (Fukuyama, 1995; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 1995; Woolcock, 1998). Reciprocity was also important in the sense of short-term altruism for long-term self-interest. Onyx and Bullen's (2000) study comprised a sample of 1,211 individuals between the ages of 18 and 65 living in rural and urban areas of New South Wales, Australia. The sample comprised a broad cross section of adults living and working in New South Wales. The one finding related to demographics relevant to this study is that the "longer one has lived in a community, the more likely there will be stronger Neighborhood Connections" (2000, p. 17).

The factors resulting from the Onyx and Bullen (2000) factor analysis suggested that people may find their social networks in a variety of contexts, that is, different people are connected in different ways. The pattern of correlations suggested that "social capital is about more immediate and personal connections between people and events rather than more distant and formal relationships with government institutions and policy" (p. 21). They wrote, "Although participation in formal community organization marks the first and largest specific factor in the present study, perhaps equally important is the informal networking among friends and neighbors in the local community" (p. 21). A related later study conducted by Leonard and Onyx (2003) confirmed that interpersonal relationships are connected to group memberships. Thus, informal community engagement, often generated at the neighborhood level, generates the social capital manifested in formal community engagement and efforts to affect neighborhood change.

Conceptual Framework for Exploring Community Engagement in a Place of Age

This study explores the meaning of community engagement in a place of age. The literature reviewed offers a point of departure for exploring the meaning of community engagement in places of places of age. The following research incorporates local knowledge and attributes of social capital among older adults in a suburban community to gain insight into their notions of community, their sense of self- and collective efficacy, and the extent of their social networks in transforming West Saint Paul into a place of age.

Relying on empirically tested concepts of social capital (Onyx & Bullen, 2000) and previously referenced measures of community engagement (AARP, 1997), a framework was formed to guide the field inquiry of community engagement in one place of age. The framework, presented in Figure 1, is composed of two community engagement segments: formal engagement (i.e., political organizations, civic groups, national advocacy groups, faith-based organizations, and voluntary organizations) and informal engagement (i.e., neighboring behaviors, relationships with neighbors, friends, and family, and intergenerational activities). Formal engagement was augmented by questions about self- and group efficacy to affect change through the political process. Informal engagement included questions about attitudes toward interdependency, relationships with neighbors, family, and friends, and intergenerational activities. Although trust was treated separately, the conversation about social involvement intertwined social capital concepts of social networks, reciprocity, trust, and social norms.³

The treatment of community engagement as being something that is done through structured or formal organization and activities and through formal volunteerism, however, limited the interpretation and meaning of community engagement as described by study

³ The diagram in Figure 1 also displays findings of this research. Multiple meanings of community engagement and mediating contexts were added to the framework as a result of the analytical process.

participants. Through questions about social and family ties, I was able to expand the meaning of community engagement to include helping neighbors, caregiving, and having social connections within the community from which participants may find support. Expanding the definition of community engagement allowed study participants whose community participation would have been otherwise minimized to be fully included in the conversation about community engagement. These participants had not engaged in many formal community activities but had been the central thread in the community fabric, central to family life and support for other families and neighbors in younger years, and presently continue to care for family – young and old – and for neighbors.

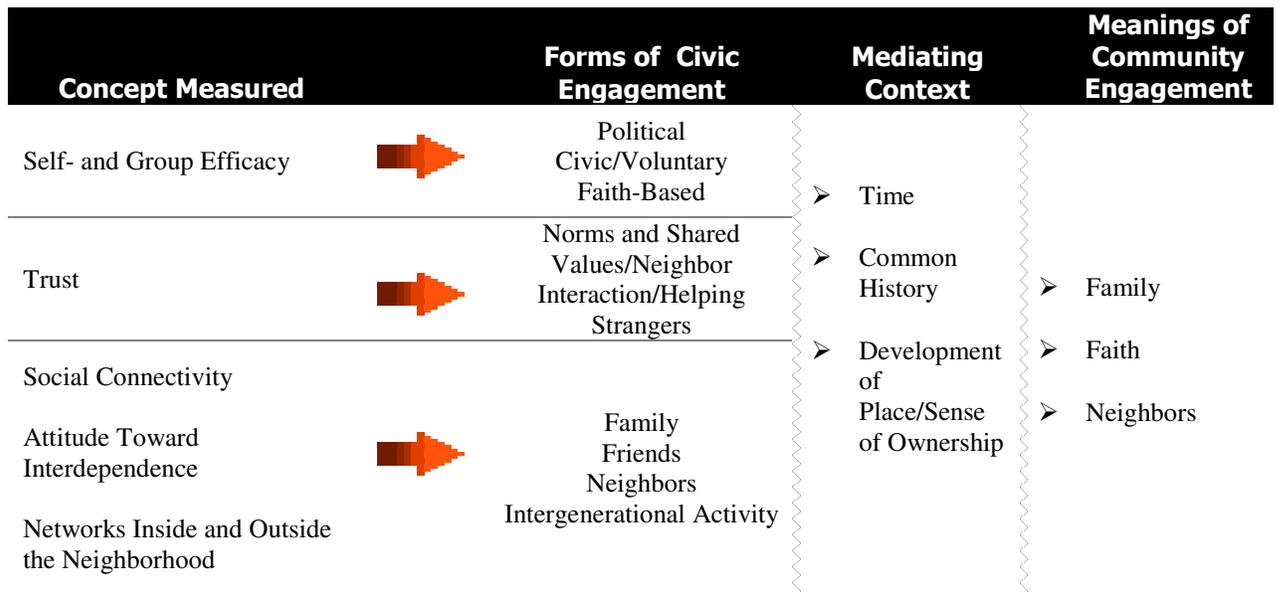


Figure 1. Conceptual framework illustrating the multiple meanings of community engagement within a social capital framework in a place of age.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Overview of Research Design

The research design of this study was an in-depth case study analysis of one locale in which I looked for patterns of community and social involvement underlying the phenomenon of places of age. I selected the case study method because I was interested in the contextual conditions that foster aging in place. According to Yin (1994), “[a] case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). As a case study, this research resulted in rich documentation and analysis of the meaning that community and social involvement brings to aging in place in a specific locale that makes it a place of age.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this case study was older resident of West Saint Paul, Minnesota. Individual residents were the key informants regarding experiences with various aspects of community engagement. Within the study site, individual participants have functioned within a hierarchy of geographical contexts. For example, the geographical place (i.e., neighborhood) is embedded within a metropolitan area. Information on geographical location provided contextual information that informed interpretation of participants’ descriptions of their neighborhoods. As the residents negotiate their daily routines within the neighborhood, they also interact with influences of the metropolitan region.

Sampling Method

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested that sampling for a case study be “guided by the research questions and conceptual framework—either pre-specified or emergent” (pp. 29–30). For this case study, purposive sampling of residents was conducted to obtain a sample that would be information rich and theoretically appropriate for the study. Sampling was completed in two stages. The first stage was the selection of West Saint Paul as the study site. The second stage was identifying and selecting who should be interviewed.

Sampling: Stage One

The city of West Saint Paul was selected as the study site for three reasons. First, West Saint Paul met the criteria for an inner-ring suburb. Second, the city of West Saint Paul had the highest concentration of older adults aged 65 years and older in 1990 of all Twin Cities inner-ring suburbs. Third, a number of key professionals suggested West Saint Paul as a study site because the older adults residing there are very active in the community.

Inner-Ring Suburb Criteria

West Saint Paul meets all but one of the criteria for an inner-ring suburb as defined by Jackson (1985) and by Yeates (1990). It is adjacent and peripheral to the inner city, home to primarily lower-middle and middle income households, of relatively low density (fewer than 10,500 persons per square mile), is economically and architecturally homogeneous, and historically, was racially homogeneous. The one criterion not met is percent of housing structures built between 1945 and 1960. In West Saint Paul, 14% of the housing structures were built in 1939 or earlier, 25% were built between 1940 and 1959, and 23% were built between 1960 and 1969 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Thus, while 1940 to 1959 were the

active homebuilding years, as reported by the U.S. Census, the majority of the housing stock was not built during these years.

Using Jackson's (1985) and Yeates's (1990) characteristics of post World War II suburbs, suburban communities surrounding the city centers of Minneapolis and Saint Paul were located as the first step in selecting the study site. The next step was to narrow the field by filtering for population age.

Age Composition Criteria

The second site selection criterion was the concentration of persons aged 65 years and over. A concentration was considered to exist if the percentage of the area population aged 65 years and over was greater than that of the national average (Kausler & Kausler, 1996). Census data from 1990 and 2000 were compared for the study site.

The age of the city and the age distribution of the city's population were important to my selection of the city West Saint Paul as the study site. A preliminary analysis of population age characteristics revealed potential candidates for research sites that included the cities of Columbia Heights, Edina, Falcon Heights, Golden Valley, Richfield, Robbinsdale, Roseville, Saint Louis Park, South Saint Paul, and West Saint Paul. Geographically, these 10 cities nearly complete an entire ring around the cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul. Table 1 shows the proportion of older persons as a percentage of each city's total population in 1990 and 2000.

**Table 1. Inner-Ring Suburbs in the Minneapolis–Saint Paul Metropolitan Area
Population 65 Years and Older: 1990 and 2000**

Place	Total Population		Total 65+		Percent of Population		Percent Change in 65+ Population, 1990 to 2000
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	
Columbia Heights	18,910	18,520	2,908	3,455	15	19	19%
Edina	46,070	47,425	9,384	10,765	20	23	15%
Falcon Heights	5,380	5,572	719	677	13	12	-6%
Golden Valley	20,971	20,281	3,444	3,978	16	20	16%
Richfield	35,710	34,439	6,019	5,633	17	16	-6%
Robbinsdale	14,396	14,123	2,942	2,477	20	18	-16%
Roseville	33,485	33,690	5,623	6,828	17	20	21%
Saint Louis Park	43,787	44,126	7,057	6,478	16	15	-8%
South Saint Paul	20,197	20,167	2,878	2,574	14	13	-11%
West Saint Paul	19,248	19,405	3,984	3,722	21	19	-7%
Minneapolis–Saint Paul, MN MSA	2,413,873	2,642,056	237,743	255,245	10	10	7%
Minnesota	4,375,099	4,919,479	546,562	594,266	13	12	9%
United States	248,709,873	281,421,906	31,195,275	34,991,753	13	12	12%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

In 2000, the median age of West Saint Paul’s 19,405 residents was 39.3 years compared with the U.S. median age of 35.3 years, and 19% of the city’s residents were aged 65 years and over (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). A review of the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau population numbers revealed a relatively large proportion of older adults to younger adults residing in West Saint Paul, with 21% of the total population aged 65 years and over (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Although the percentage of persons aged 65 years and over declined

from 21% to 19% from 1990 to 2000, the city retained one of the highest proportion of persons aged 65 years and over, as shown in Table 1.

Attributes of Social Capital within the Older Resident Population

Other communities qualified as potential study sites based solely on age demographics, as shown in Table 1, and their status as inner-ring suburbs. However, subsequent investigation showed that the city of West Saint Paul better met the important criteria of community engagement. A number of professional acquaintances working in aging services suggested West Saint Paul as a potential study site. These sources viewed the older adults of the city of West Saint Paul as active and engaged in their community (N. Just, personal communication, August 30, 2000; L. Wilcox, personal communication, October 30, 1999).

Older adults in the city of West Saint Paul have a variety of opportunities to be involved in the community. Most important, this city encompasses a culture of inclusion of older adults in community life. For example, the city's Park and Recreation Department sponsors Seniors Club, which is primarily a social and special interest organization. The leaders of the club organize bus trips and weekly bingo and card games. Also, the West Saint Paul Senior Center provides activities and volunteer opportunities for older residents. Moreover, the Seniors Club and the West Saint Paul Senior Center provide organizations through which older adults can be mobilized to appear before city council meetings or school board meetings. In addition, older residents have opportunities to participate in a number of civic and faith-based organizations and have opportunities to volunteer their time to local schools, neighborhood associations, and other civic activities. These are just a few examples

of the extent of formal civic engagement and integration into civic life of West Saint Paul's older citizens.

Sampling: Stage Two

To complete the second stage of sampling, in 2001, I first gained entry to the study site and access to study participants through the support of the director of the West Saint Paul Senior Center. Employing a method known as critical case sampling (Henry, 1990), I selected participants on the basis of age and length of residency in West Saint Paul and their ability to inform the research based on the judgment of the West Saint Paul Senior Center director.

Recruitment of Study Participants

To participate in this study, older residents must have lived in the city for at least 25 years and be at least 65 years old. The goal of the study was to interview at least 20 older adults residing in the city of West Saint Paul. Enlisting the aid of the West Saint Paul Senior Center director, I contacted with 21 senior center members, of which 10 agreed to participate in an interview. One of these participants was the volunteer coordinator for the senior center. She offered her current list of, which amounted to 30 additional names. However, I did not use this list, because concurrently one of the study participants from the first group, a neighborhood association president who was well connected to older residents who were not active in the senior center, invited his acquaintances from across the city to participate in the study. His invitation to his neighbors and acquaintances broadened the pool of study participants beyond those persons who typically participate in senior center programs. This man, a very enthusiastic informant, supplied 12 names of people he knew through his various activities in the city. Of his 12 referrals, 11 people accepted the request for an interview.

Interviews with a total of 21 older residents of West Saint Paul were completed. Table 2 summarizes the number of completed interviews from each source.

Table 2. Number of Completed Interviews by Referral Source

Referral Source	Referrals	Completed Interviews
West Saint Paul Senior Center director	21	10
Neighborhood association president	12	11
Total	33	21

Length of Time in Neighborhood as Eligibility Criterion

It was a struggle to apply the neighborhood residence eligibility requirement defined for this study: participants must have resided 25 years in the same neighborhood. The requirement of a minimum of 25 years was decided on by agreement of research advisors that 25 years would be a reasonable amount of time to observe social capital development and its relationship to neighborhood change. The difficulty in applying the eligibility requirement was not in length of time but in how to frame the notion of neighborhood.

Participants were asked to outline on paper maps the boundaries of the area they considered to be their neighborhood. Definitions tended to vary based on daily routines and a sense of familiarity with different areas, often leading to incongruent social, physical, and political neighborhood boundaries. Many participants’ immediate response when asked to identify their neighborhood was to say it includes all of West Saint Paul. For some, that sense of familiarity and routine encompassed the entire city and sometimes part of the West Side neighborhood of the city of Saint Paul. Participants would, however, narrow their definition to a handful of city blocks as they continued to think aloud and develop their own neighborhood boundaries. When they finally arrived at an outline of their neighborhood as they were drawing on a map, most participants’ neighborhoods were limited to 2 to 10

blocks, as summarized in Table 3. However, they would tend to qualify the drawn boundaries to clarify that they had many social and civic connections beyond those neighborhood boundaries.

Table 3. Neighborhood Size as Reported by Participants

Neighborhood Size (No. Blocks)	Number of Participants Reporting	Percentage of Total Participants
2	4	19
3	2	10
4	8	38
5	2	10
6	1	5
7	2	10
8	1	5
9	0	0
10	1	5
Total	21	100 ^a

^a Total percent does not add to 100 percent due to rounding error.

Not surprisingly, having difficulty limiting their neighborhood and not including the entire city and just beyond may be explained by the understanding that neighborhoods are nested within a hierarchy of localities and that residents participate in many localities at one time (Chaskin, 1995). In a working paper on collaborative neighborhood planning, Chaskin described neighborhoods as social units and networks of relationships that are connected with and influenced by other locales within the metropolitan system (1995). The close personal ties many participants have with institutions or individuals in the West Side neighborhood of the city of Saint Paul and the small area (square mileage) of West Saint Paul combine to foster networks of relationships that extend beyond individual neighborhoods.

Findings from the interviews revealed a pattern of migration from the adjacent West Side neighborhood of the city of Saint Paul. Many participants revealed long-standing relationships with institutions located in the adjacent West Side neighborhood of Saint Paul

because of previous personal relationships that tie them to people and places on the West Side of Saint Paul.⁴ Furthermore, the city of West Saint Paul encompasses a relatively small area of 5 square miles, so moving to West Saint Paul did not cause the West Side migrants to sever relationships stemming from the West Side neighborhood of Saint Paul.

Some participants expressed a sense of “small territory,” by which is meant that the area they traversed in their daily routine was not large: participants had not commuted far for work, generally working within the city of West Saint Paul, neighboring suburban towns or downtown Saint Paul (not more than 5 miles away), they shopped nearby and were now dismayed about the distance they must travel to shop at a department store, they attended church nearby, and many mentioned an ability to walk to everything they needed. Another factor relating to the definition of neighborhood and the smallness of West Saint Paul is that some participants had moved within the city of West Saint Paul but now lived in a different neighborhood (as defined by the neighborhood association boundaries), although they had merely moved across the street. Moving across the street may have officially changed their neighborhood, but their patterns of daily life and personal and civic relationships remained unchanged.

Thus, if they had resided in the city of West Saint Paul for a minimum of 25 years, they were eligible to participate in this study. On average, study participants had lived in their self-defined neighborhoods for 46 years and all participants had lived in West Saint Paul for 25 years or more.

⁴ The West Side is one of seven neighborhoods in the city of Saint Paul. The West Side is adjacent to the northern boundary of the city of West Saint Paul and is more closely aligned with West Saint Paul than other neighborhoods in the city of Saint Paul, because they are on the same side of the Mississippi River opposite the city of Saint Paul.

Informed Consent

Participation of all study participants was voluntary, and each participant provided informed consent before completing an interview. This study was approved, as required, by the Institutional Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects, at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and by the College of Architecture and Urban Studies. After consenting to participate in the study, participants were asked to sign an informed consent form. Each participant received a copy of the informed consent form they signed. The approved Informed Consent for Participants of Investigative Projects is included in appendix A.

Characteristics of Study Participants

Twenty-one West Saint Paul residents participated in this study. All participants were over the age of 65. The mean age of the study group was 76 years old, with ages ranging from 65 to 85 years. Five out of the 21 participants were born and raised in West Saint Paul or neighboring communities such as the West Side neighborhood of the city of Saint Paul and the city of Mendota Heights. Just slightly more women than men were in the group. The group, which comprised 9 men (43%) and 12 women (57%), contained a combination of former managers, teachers, clerical workers, and homemakers. All participants were white and of European descent. The occupation of participants and other characteristics of the study participants are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Characteristics of Study Participants

Characteristic	Number of Participants Reporting	Percentage of Total Participants (<i>n</i> = 21)
Marital status		
Married	9	43
Widowed	11	52
Divorced	1	5
Living arrangements of participants not married		
Not married, living alone	9	43
Not married, living with adult children	3	14
Education		
Less than high school	3	14
High school	4	19
Some college or trade school	6	29
College	3	14
Graduate or professional school	5	24
Retirement status and former occupation		
Retired	21	100
Teacher	6	29
City manager	1	5
Business, personnel, sales, service manager	4	19
Clerk, secretary, administrative assistant	4	19
Waitress	1	5
Kitchen supervisor in nursing home	1	5
Homemaker	3	14
Small business owner	1	5
Housing tenure		
Own	19	90
Rent	2	10

The income of study participants was evenly distributed across six categories, as shown in Table 5. Household income reported by participants supported their spouse and themselves if they were married, and only themselves if they were not married. Even if they had adult children living with them and were not married, their household income supported only themselves. Participants with low incomes, below \$25,000, for example, reported that income supports only one person. Between \$25,000 and \$75,000, those income levels support a mix of one and two persons. The three participants reporting household incomes greater than \$75,000 per year reported that income supports two people, their spouse and themselves.

Table 5. Household Income of Study Participants

Household Income Category	Number of Participants Reporting	Percentage of Total Participants
Less than \$15,000	4	19
\$15,000 to \$24,999	4	19
\$25,000 to \$34,999	3	14
\$35,000 to \$49,999	4	19
\$50,000 to \$74,999	3	14
More than \$75,000	3	14
Total	21	100 ^a

^a Actual total percentage does not add to 100 percent due to rounding error.

Individual characteristics of study participants by pseudonym may be found in appendix B.

Development of Data Collection Instrument

For this study, I developed a semistructured interview instrument in accordance with guidelines stipulated by Fontana and Frey (1994) and conducted in-person interviews in an

effort to secure high quality data from the participants (New England States Consortium, 2001). As the sole interviewer, I allowed participants to digress from the original question for a short time and then redirected them back to the topic of the original question. I taped each interview and transcribed the tapes verbatim.

The development of the data collection instrument was based on concepts derived from the literature on social capital and civic participation, including the 10 indicators of civic engagement found in the AARP (1997) study and concepts of social capital examined in the Onyx and Bullen (2000). Additionally, I gathered general demographic data such as the age, marital status, occupational status, education level, housing tenure (own versus rent), income level, and years lived in the neighborhood.

Much of the interview protocol was based on the 1997 survey entitled *America's Social Fabric*, conducted by AARP. Specific variables used from this study included the following:

1. the individual's definition of community
2. the individual's attitude toward interdependence of oneself to others
3. the extent of the individual's participation in formal civic and social organizations
4. the extent of the individual's involvement in informal groups
5. the extent of the individual's volunteerism
6. the extent of the individual's engagement in local politics
7. the extent of the individual's political efficacy
8. the extent of the individual's involvement with neighborhood residents
9. the extent of the individual's interaction with other age groups

10. the extent of the individual's feeling of belonging to, or identifying with, the community

Additionally, specific interview questions were derived from the survey conducted by Onyx and Bullen (2000) in which they attempted to find an empirical basis for the concepts of social capital. The questions I used from Onyx and Bullen's survey are listed below.

Participation in the Local Community

1. Do you help out a local group as a volunteer?
2. Have you attended a local community event in the past six months (e.g., church event, school concert, craft exhibition)?
3. Are you an active member of a local organization or club?
4. Are you on a management committee or organizing committee for any local group or organization?
5. In the past three years, have you ever taken part in a local community project or working bee?
6. Have you ever been part of a project to organize a new service in your area (e.g., youth club, Scout hall, child care, recreation for disabled)?

Social Agency or Pro-activity in a Social Context

1. If you need information to make a life decision, do you know where to find that information?
2. If you have a dispute with your neighbors, are you willing to seek out mediation?

Feelings of Trust and Safety

1. Do you agree that most people can be trusted?

2. If someone's car breaks down outside your house, do you invite him or her into your home to use the phone?

Neighborhood Connections

1. If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you ask a neighbor for help?
2. Have you visited a neighbor in the past week?
3. In the past six months, have you done a favor for a sick neighbor?

Family and Friend Connections

1. In the past week, how many phone conversations have you had with friends?
2. How many people did you talk to yesterday?
3. Over the weekend, do you have lunch or dinner with people outside your household?

Tolerance of Diversity

1. Do you think multiculturalism makes life in your area better? (This question was asked if multiculturalism was identified by the participant as a factor of neighborhood change).

Interview protocol

A basic interview protocol elicited information from study participants on the meaning of community and neighborhood for them, self-efficacy and group efficacy (sense of being able to influence change individually or as a member of a group), levels of trust among neighbors and strangers, past and present community involvement activities, social involvement and informal ties with neighbors, family activities and relationships, demographic characteristics, and economic status. The questions guided the conversation between study participants and me, the interviewer. All questions were open-ended, which

allowed participants to vary in their responses. Some participants elaborated on childhood experiences and family histories. Nonetheless, I asked all questions in an identical fashion. Interviews took place in participants' homes or at the West Saint Paul Senior Center and averaged one hour in length. A copy of the semistructured interview appears in appendix C.

Specifically, the interview protocol included the following sections: (a) establish long-term residency, (b) establish meaning of community as it relates to neighborhood, (c) self-efficacy and group efficacy to affect change, (d) issues of trust, (e) social involvement, and (f) personal information about study participant. First, I asked one question to establish that study participants had lived in the neighborhood for at least 25 years, and if not, from where he or she moved. In only two cases had the study participant moved, and the move was across the street from what was defined as the old neighborhood or less than 1 mile from the old neighborhood. Second, I asked the study participants to describe their neighborhoods and asked them why the areas described made up their neighborhoods. I also asked them what the term *community* means to them and if they felt a sense of community about their neighborhoods.

After establishing long-term residency and neighborhood identity, I asked study participants about their personal and collective sense of being able to affect change, which was measured through (a) political behavior and voting, (b) through attendance and extent of participation in civic groups, (c) national advocacy groups, (d) faith organizations, and (e) participation in voluntary organizations. To determine their sense of collective efficacy, I asked study participants if they believed the groups they were involved in had any effect on the surrounding neighborhoods. Then, to determine their sense of personal efficacy to affect change, I asked study participants whether and how their neighborhoods had changed since they moved there and whether and how they had been involved in efforts to address challenges or threats to

their neighborhoods or the city at large. Last in this section, study participants were asked if they felt their involvement in addressing neighborhood or city problems had an effect on the outcome.

To determine the existence of trust of persons inside and outside the neighborhood and the expectation of shared norms, study participants were asked if they felt that most people could be trusted, if they would stop to help a stranger, and if they felt comfortable lending tools to their neighbors. Finally, to understand study participants' social involvement, I inquired about their attitudes toward interdependence and involvement in informal groups and intergenerational activities. Questions concerning interdependence addressed whether and how frequently they visited with neighbors and what they talked about with them, and whether and how neighbors helped each other out. Questions regarding interaction with informal groups addressed getting together with a regular group of friends and visiting family members. Questions regarding intergenerational activities addressed whether participants had opportunities to interact with people of different age groups, and if so, questions were asked about the ages of the people with whom they interacted, what they did together, and whether the interaction was the study participants' choice.

Trustworthiness of Data

Integrating theoretical perspectives provided me with multiple views through which I could interpret the meanings of community for older adults in a place of age. The trustworthiness of the data depended upon numerous readings of the interview transcripts and the post-interview notes reflecting my thoughts and observations about the study participants and my role in the interview process. Furthermore, I used a coding process that was initially framed by the concepts validated in the social capital and community engagement literature.

Within these larger categories, I used an open coding process that enabled me to create a list of themes and patterns found in the data. The coding process is discussed at greater length under “Analysis and Coding” later in this chapter.

Replicability

To improve the replicability of the interview tool used in this study, I followed several principles outlined by Yin (1994). First, I defined concepts clearly so participants would interpret the questions as similarly as possible. Given that the interview was semi-structured, it contained broad terms and concepts. For example, participation in civic events and organizations was clearly delineated from participation in voluntary organizations. Also, I often had to define intergenerational activity for study participants. I did not define, however, the meaning of community for study participants. Instead, I asked them to provide their own definition of community, which allowed the conversation with each participant to stem from their understanding of community. Multiple but common meanings of community emerged that parallel other sections of the interview, such as the role of proximity to neighbors and neighboring behavior, role of family, and the role of faith-based organization participation in forming their meanings of community.

Second, I used in the form of asking several questions, multiple indicators for most of the concepts. Third, I pretested the interview instrument with two older adults who are active in their communities, which allowed me to verify the type of response the questions would elicit from study participants. Finally, to further ensure the trustworthiness of the data, I developed a data collection protocol with adequate documentation to allow for replication of the interview process in the future.

Analysis and Coding

Analytic Procedure

I audiotaped, transcribed, labeled, and coded all interviews. I disassembled interview transcriptions and coded them using qualitative data management software (ATLAS.ti). I disassembled interviews according to each of the five concepts outlined in the interview protocol: a) meaning of community, b) social connections, c) trust, and d) personal and group efficacy. Within each of these primary categories, also referred to as code families, open coding enabled me to identify themes across responses. I combined these themes into more discrete categories from which I identified interrelated patterns. For example, some participants defined the meaning of community as a group of people with common interests and related community to past friendships, and others defined it as a geographical territory and related it to the ability to engage in neighboring behavior. I analyzed findings from participants' responses and discussed aggregately. A table of code families may be found in appendix D.

Additionally, I tallied participants' responses whenever they were quantifiable and reproducible in the form of frequency tables and selected cross tabulations. For certain categorizations, such as group membership, I coded responses numerically so they could be quantified using statistical software (SPSS) to produce frequency tables.

Coding Process

I developed a primary coding scheme to reflect the conceptual framework guiding my research. Within each primary category, I had asked a series of open-ended questions from which I organized participants' responses according to identified themes and linked to similar responses in other primary coding categories. Under the umbrella of the primary categories,

or code families, I assigned numeric codes to capture those responses that could be counted. For example, I assigned codes to the following: (a) types of organizations with which participants were affiliated through membership or meeting attendance, (b) types of volunteer and paid work engaged in by participants, (c) frequency of visits with neighbors and corresponding subjects of conversation with neighbors, (d) type and frequency of help provided to and by neighbors, (f) frequency of getting together with friends, (g) types of intergenerational activities, and (h) frequency of visits with family members. The codebook may be found in appendix E.

I coded organizational affiliations and volunteer and paid work into organizational types that were captured by the following categories: (a) civic, (b) faith-based, (c) special interest, and (d) entertainment/hobby/social support. These organizational types were ones with which participants affiliated either through membership or meeting attendance without formal membership. Civic organizations included organizations that were open to all people and had a mission to improve the community life of all people. Faith-based organizations included Christian churches and church-affiliated groups. Special interest organizations included identified as those organizations that required membership on the basis of meeting specific criteria for membership eligibility. Entertainment, hobby, and social support organizations represented groups with which participants affiliated with for peer support or recreation. Table 6 presents the specific organizations included in each category of organizational.

Table 6. Coding Categories for Organizational Affiliations

Category	Organization Affiliation	
Civic	Kiwanis Club	
	Lions Club	
	Moose Lodge	
	Neighborhood association	
	League of Women Voters	
Faith-based	Council of Catholic Women	
	Knights of Columbus	
Special interest	Senior Federation	
	Labor unions	
	Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)	
	West Saint Paul Seniors Club	
	Chamber of Commerce	
	Jaycees/ Junior Chamber of Commerce	
	American Legion	
	PEO (promoting education of young women)	
	Entertainment, hobby, social support	Silver Tones (chorale)
		500 card club
Square dance club		
Car club		
Bowling		
Solo Parents		
Member of a three-piece band (Bavarian Music Meisters)		

Categories of organizational types for which participants volunteered time above and beyond attending meetings or social events emerged through an open coding process and included: (a) youth, (b) adult, (c) charitable and civic, (d) professional, (e) faith-based, (f)

education, and (g) paid work. Table 7 identifies the specific organizations included in each category.

Paid work was included under the discussion of volunteer time, because the point of asking about volunteer time was to ascertain engagement in meaningful activity, which may or may not be paid. In this case, one participant continued to contribute as a high school substitute teacher and would be willing to do so without compensation, but the school pays him for his time.

Table 7. Coding Categories for Organizations Affiliated With Volunteer and Paid Work

Category	Organizations
Youth	Girl Scouts
	Boy Scouts
	PTA
	School helper (room mother, playground supervisor, lunch program)
	Somerset Pals and Fun and Friendship (intergenerational activity that pairs an older adult with a fourth grade student)
	Camp Fire Girls
	Organized sports/school band
	Girls' State (a mock state legislature for high school girls)
	High school mentor/class speaker
	Adult

(continued)

**Table 7. Coding Categories for Organizations Affiliated With Volunteer and Paid Work
(continued)**

Category	Organizations
Charitable, civic	March of Dimes
	Election judge
	Meals on Wheels
	Historical Society (Minnesota and Dakota County societies)
	Local and state planning committees and boards (Northern Dakota County Service Center)
	Justice of the Peace
	Neighborhood association committees/leadership
	Nonprofit board of directors
	Habitat for Humanity
	Human service (nursing homes, hospital)
Professional	State teachers' organization
Faith-based	Church council
	Church music
	Food shelf
	General church activities (e.g., usher, Sunday School, bake sales)
Education	Elder hostel instructor
Paid work	High school substitute teacher

After coding community engagement activities related to organization affiliation, intergenerational activities reported by the participants were assigned codes presented in Table 8. The categories included (a) attending church, (b) family, (c) neighbors, (d) friends and coworkers, and (e) volunteer work. The other categories contained in the codebook organize frequency of events, such as time periods reflecting how often participants visit family members.

Table 8. Coding Categories for Intergenerational Activities

Category	Types of Activity
Church	Attend weekly service
Family	Cross-stitch with grandchildren Play with young grandchildren (play make-believe) Go to the theater with grandchildren Go to the movie theater, zoo, or mall with grandchildren Play cards or games with grandchildren Attend family celebrations (birthdays, graduations, memorials) Eat together and visit, or visit only
Neighbors	Stop and talk, visit Play golf Eat out Go to movie theater Cycle Attend family celebrations (birthdays, graduations, memorials)
Friends and coworkers	Play golf Eat out Go to movie theater Cycle Dance
Volunteer work	Mentor or buddy to child Church activities Habitat for Humanity

The final step in the coding process was to take a deeper look at the participants' responses, looking for the meaning of community engagement for study participants who were aging in place. To do so, I identified themes and the links that these themes provided

between elements of the conceptual framework were extracted through an analysis of the quotes by code using ATLAS.ti. From this process, I identified three central themes reflecting three central forms of community engagement across the primary categories: 1) neighboring behavior, 2) participation in faith-based organizations, and 3) family relationships.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PLACE

The Character of the Place

West Saint Paul is a place of little houses and little yards that office and manufacturing workers call home. The community, peripheral to the city of Saint Paul and located within the Twin Cities region, is of relatively low density and is historically racially and economically homogeneous. Change has been slow to come to West Saint Paul, but it has arrived.

Established in 1889 as a farming community known as the West Saint Paul Township, businesses in the township served the truck farming needs of the residents. Commercial development began to flourish just prior to World War II and continued into the 1950s (Glewwe, 1989). The commercial development tended to serve the bedroom community of workers from cattle yards, slaughterhouses, and construction and cement companies in neighboring South Saint Paul. Today, West Saint Paul continues to serve as a bedroom community for workers from offices in Saint Paul and office parks in the southern suburbs to the west, and may be characterized as an “urban envelope” in Lang’s typology of metropolitan forms (Lang, Sanchez, & LeFurgy, 2006) where neighborhoods are the dominant unit of urban organization. Figure 2 shows the location of West Saint Paul within the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Comparing the 1990 and 2000 population figures for West Saint Paul, a picture of a demographically stagnant community is portrayed. Overall city population increased by 1% for 1990 to 2000, making West Saint Paul a “stagnant” suburb, according to Lucy and Phillips (2003). Lucy and Phillips (2003) define a *stagnant suburb* as a suburb

with population growth or decline less than 2.5% between 1990 and 2000 (Lucy & Phillips, 2003). One of West Saint Paul's most boisterous boosters used the word "stagnant" when describing the city to me. He also described, however, why the location of West Saint Paul is an asset:

West Saint Paul is okay. Young people right now, I don't think young people really want to settle in West Saint Paul. I feel for them too, they don't want to move into a stagnant community, they want to go to a community where life, action is going on, and West Saint Paul really isn't, really doesn't [*sic*]. That's how we're portrayed right now, [but we are] good people here, comfortable. West Saint Paul has a good location, all the highways go through, you know...The location of the city [is an asset]. People that work downtown Saint Paul can ride the bus.

Figure 2 shows the location of West Saint Paul within the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

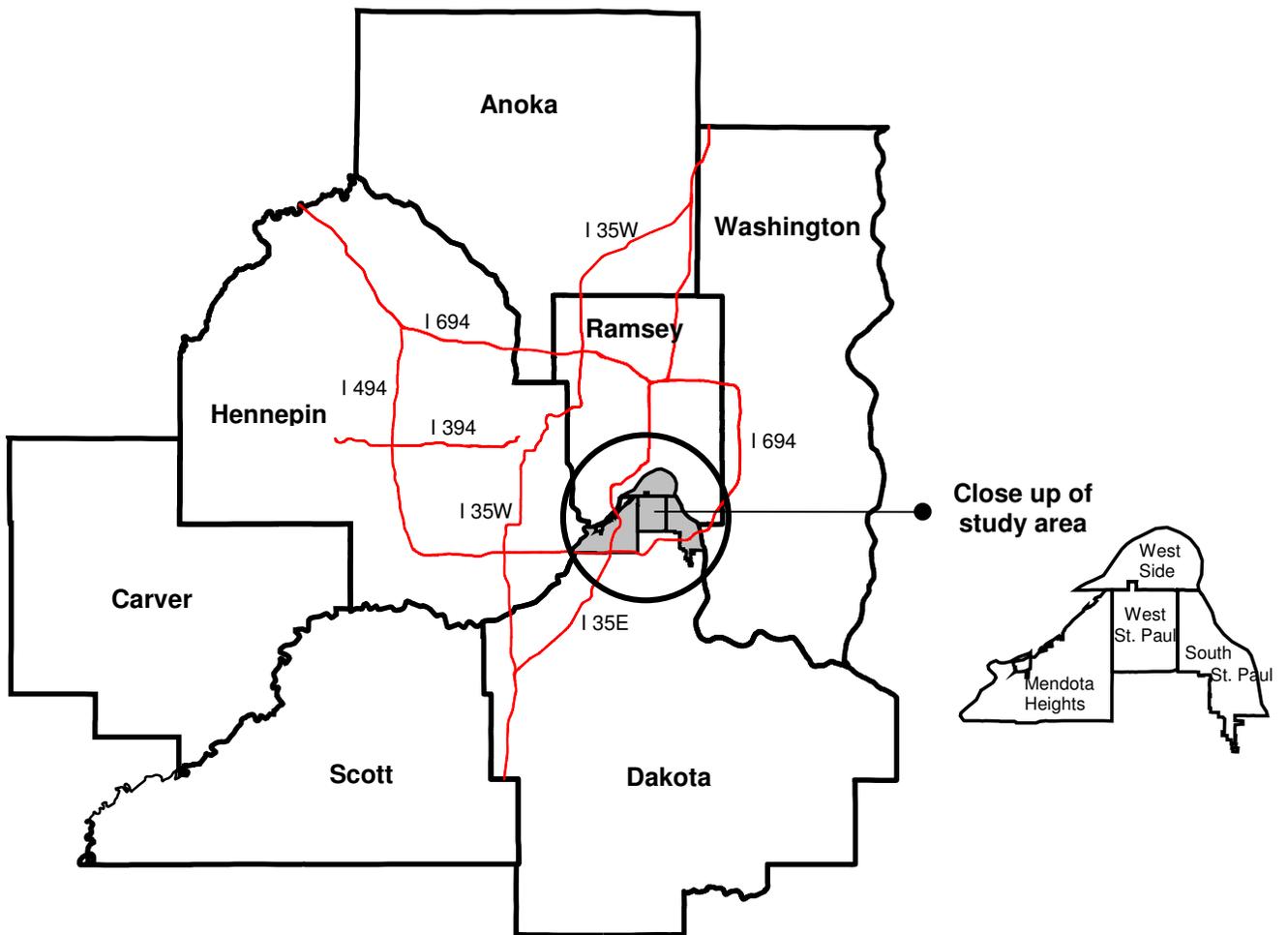


Figure 2. West Saint Paul and adjacent cities of Saint Paul (The West Side), Mendota Heights, and South Saint Paul within the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Race and Ethnicity

Many older residents of the city of West Saint Paul grew up on the West Side, which is an adjacent neighborhood of the city of Saint Paul. Historically, the West Side was home to mostly immigrant families, and moving south to the adjacent city of West Saint Paul was considered a step up on the social ladder. In the past, the West Side became home to Northern and Central European immigrants. Today, the West Side is home to many Latinos⁵, of which many have moved south to the city of West Saint Paul and are beginning to change the composition of the community. As reported in the 2000 U.S Census, approximately 7% of the city's population speaks Spanish, and of those persons speaking a language other than English, more than 50% speak Spanish (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Located in Minnesota, West Saint Paul is in the "Largely White-North" region of the United States, as defined by Frey (2003). According to Frey, the region is characterized as having a predominately white population and experienced modest overall population growth and suburban development between 1990 and 2000. The city of West Saint Paul reflects this regional characterization as the residents are 87% white, 3% are black or African American, and 2% are Asian. Ten percent of West Saint Paul residents reported themselves as Hispanic or Latino of any race. This profile largely mirrors that of the Twin Cities seven-county region, which is 85% white, 6% black or African American, and 5% Asian, with the exception of the proportion of West Saint Paul residents reporting themselves as Hispanic or Latino of any race. Just over 3.5% of Twin Cities residents reported themselves as Hispanic or Latino of any race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) making the Latino community proportionately larger in West Saint Paul than that of the Twin Cities overall.

⁵Nearly 67% of Latino people in Minnesota were of Mexican origin in 2000 (State of Minnesota, 2003).

Young and Old, but Mostly Old

Of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States, the Minneapolis–Saint Paul Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) ranked 21st in the proportion of older residents with 10% of the area’s population aged 65 and older (range = 8% to 19%), according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Conversely, the Minneapolis–Saint Paul MSA ranked 7th in the proportion of younger residents with 27% of the area’s population under 18 years of age (range = 22% to 29%). Within the MSA, however, West Saint Paul boasts one of the largest proportion of persons aged 65 years old and older with 19% of the population in this age category, compared with 6% of the population being under 5 years old (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Educational Achievement, Occupations, and Household Income

The educational level of West Saint Paul population is slightly below that of the Twin Cities MSA population, as shown in Table 9. Older West Saint Paul residents are much more likely to have completed their education with a high school diploma than did the average resident in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Consequently, as shown in Table 9, a larger proportion of Twin Cities MSA residents tend to be employed in management, professional, and related occupations followed by sales and office occupations. Proportionately, more Twin Cities MSA residents hold management, professional, and related occupations than do residents of the city of West Saint Paul. The median Twin Cities MSA household income is \$54,263, and the median West Saint Paul household income is \$41,103.

Table 9. Education and Occupation of West Saint Paul Residents Compared With Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Residents

	Percent of Population	
	West Saint Paul	Twin Cities Metropolitan Area
Education		
At least high school degree	88	91
Bachelor’s degree or more	24	35
Occupation		
Management, professional, or related	34	40
Sales or office	33	28

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Occupations

West Saint Paul residents are primarily employed in education, health, social services; manufacturing; and retail trade. This occupational profile also reflects the employment patterns in the Minneapolis–Saint Paul MSA.

In summary, the city of West Saint Paul is a slow growing, middle-class community that is transitioning from a predominantly older population back to a predominantly younger population as new families move into the community. Many of these new families are immigrant, non-white and non-English-speaking families who bring new cultural preferences to the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

Overall, this research identified the elements and their interactions that create the fabric of what is involved in community life: territory or place, gathering of people, relationships with neighbors, friends and family, trust of fellow community members, volunteering or “helping out,” participating in one’s family, practicing one’s faith, sometimes engaging in local politics or advocacy, and sometimes participating in local organizations. Over time as many of the residents aged in place, a common history among the study’s participants created a sense of ownership of their community. Their interpretation of what it means to be engaged in the community reveals that their meaning of community engagement for places is founded upon relationships with family members, faith-based participation, and relationships with neighbors.

In this section, I relate my perspective, probes, and questions of clarification from the first person, because I was an integral part of the data collection process. At times it is important to understand the placement of my participation in the interview to understand responses.

Meanings of Community Engagement as the Organizing Principle

Through the analysis of responses, I identified three primary themes across the participants’ voices: family, faith-based affiliation, and neighboring. These themes transcend all concepts and forms of community engagement identified in Figure 1. Family relationships, faith-based affiliation, and neighboring behavior appear to underlie all meanings of community and activities of community engagement for study participants.

Defining Community in a Place of Age

Central to answering the research question posed is defining “community” before addressing the role of community engagement in the phenomenon of aging in place in the context of neighborhood change. The literature from the field of community research suggests that understanding how communities emerged and have been sustained over time is important to developing community typologies (Crow & Allan, 1995). Moreover, defining community is important if it is to guide the analysis (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005). Hence, understanding why community engagement has been sustained and its meaning in places of age, requires identifying how multiple communities emerged. To this end, I first asked study participants to define the meaning of community for themselves and asked if they felt sense of community about their neighborhood. I found many communities within one place-based community. The participants' perspectives provided insight into types of communities and the etiologies of multiple communities within a place-based community.

This information was central to interpreting the findings of the participant interviews. The perspectives of community underlie what it has meant to age in place and bring different meanings to community engagement within a place of age. In participants' definitions of community, I found “communities without propinquity” (Willmott as cited in Crow & Allan, 1995, 153) where a community was defined by a common history rather than by space. These communities were formed through affiliations with churches and other community organizations over time. The passage of time is a key factor in the development of a place of age. Crow and Allan (1995) discussed the notion of “community time” and the importance of the passage of time to understanding the intersection of multiple community processes. The shared residence in West Saint Paul over time appears to have led to kinship networks,

common traditions, sentiments, and common values (1995) that provide the platform for informal and formal community engagement as found in the conceptual framework guiding this research.

From interviews with study participants themes were identified that illuminate the communities that were formed and sustained through children, schools, faith-based organization, places of employment, and daily interaction with neighbors. At the intersection of neighborhood and community engagement these communities revealed the role of family, neighboring, participation in faith-based organizations, creating multiple meanings of community engagement, that have created an attachment to place over time.

Using the conceptual framework shown in Figure 1, the findings of my conversations with older West Saint Paul residents can be synthesized into three meanings of community engagement: (a) familial, (b) connection to faith-based organizations, and (c) neighboring. Each of these forms of community engagement are grounded in the context of time, a common history, and the sense of ownership or belonging that is brought about by living in one place for most of one's life. Within the mediating contexts, these three meanings of community intersect to form interdependent communities that comprise social capital in West Saint Paul. The diagram in Figure 1 displays the multiple meanings of community engagement within a social capital framework to illustrate the relationship of the three main themes emerging from my interviews to elements of the social capital model. The framework illustrates engagement in community activities mediated through time, common history, and development of place, which intersect to create a sense of ownership of the place-based community that is grounded in family, faith-based connections, and neighboring behavior.

I organized the principal findings according to these themes. Within this discussion, I show how the themes intersect with the development of community institutions through time and forge a common history among study participants and create a sense of belonging and ownership that in turn fostered continued community engagement. In this section, the voices of older West Saint Paul residents illustrate how multiple meanings of community engagement have come to bear on residents' way of thinking about community and their own community engagement. Through their voices it becomes evident that multiple meanings of community engagement in terms of family, faith-based affiliation, and neighboring emerge from those who age in place over an extended period of time. These findings suggest the importance of considering these multiple meanings of community engagement and informal activities of neighboring and family participation should be considered in the investigation and development of approaches to community building and sustaining community life in place-based communities that persists over the life course of many generations.

A Sense of Belonging Developed through Time

The underlying theme of community ownership and belonging was often interwoven among discussion of community engagement activities. For example, a widow in the neighborhood who lived in her house for 35 years told me “We built it, I’m the only one left now, but we were the only dwellers in this house.” I asked her, “It’s very special to you?” She replied, “Yes, I know I’m going to have to move pretty soon because I’m getting...but every time I think about it I just dread that I will have to move away from here.” I asked her, “Do you think you will stay in West Saint Paul?” Without any hesitation, she replied, “Oh, definitely.”

Another resident also reflected on West Saint Paul as home and wove in the importance of family members, participation in community institutions, knowing neighbors, and affiliation with a faith-based organization as what makes the place home to her:

I've lived here all my life. I know so many people and I've gone to the same church all my life. I've worked in this city all my life. My daughter played ball in this area, my kids all went to school here, were all confirmed at the same church, were all married, not all at the same church, I mean. This has been my whole life, I guess you would say, has been this city. I don't know many of the other communities as well as I know this one, this is my home... West Saint Paul is my home.

Others talked about family roots and their close ties with many people within the city of West Saint Paul.

A lot of us have been here a long time. We have always been here in this community and several of us still are. A lot of families have relatives in the area; I mean we all stayed as a close little group. People come here and they don't leave. You know the West Saint Paul area is really our community... we kind of stick close to home.

The phrase that West Saint Paul "belongs" to them was common. In one case, one woman said that despite changes in her neighborhood, the place is hers:

It's just because this is where I have always been, it always was my neighborhood and always will be my neighborhood no matter who lives in it. It will be my neighborhood. It just is. I have no intention of going anywhere.

When I probed as to why she felt this way, she continued:

I just think it's because I've been here all my life and I have no reason to go anywhere else. We had a little two-bedroom house and my mom and dad were always looking for a new house, bigger and better, but we never did move. When we got too old to sleep in the same bedroom, that little sunroom was my bedroom. There is no reason for us to leave here; it's a nice size that we can take care of in our older years unless something terrible would happen to us.

Each of these stories typifies the sense of home and belonging expressed during my interviews with residents. The combination of long-term residency and involvement in the community during its early development is the foundation for understanding the meaning of

community engagement. For the older residents who have stayed, community is grounded in their family relationships, their faith-based affiliation which is a church for all involved in this study, and their relationships with neighbors.

The negative side of the residential longevity of residents, however, is exclusivity, the notion of “them versus us.” Being an insider and that West Saint Paul is “our town” was common.

When we moved here, this was a very large German Catholic community, lots of homesteaders and old-timers. I told you that their children and grandchildren are still here, and they have a “good ol’ boy” network, so that I think, that breaks the community up so the newcomers don’t come and try to do enough for the community, because they can’t. It’s very hard to change. I think a lot of small towns probably are like that. This was like a very small town here.

Others noted that residents are simply dedicated to West Saint Paul, because they have strong family ties and strong social networks there, resulting from having “staked their claim” early in the development of the city:

I think it’s that the people are so dedicated to staying here, and it’s kind of like we staked our claim to the area.

A lot of us have been here a long time. We have always been here in this community, and several of us still are. A lot of the families have relatives in the area. I mean, we all have stayed as a close little group.

Some mentioned West Saint Paul was similar to a company town in the past because many of the residents worked for the meat-packing plants. The old work bonds were noted in the description of a common scene now at the local McDonald’s when on any given day at about 2:00 in the afternoon, old-timers sit around talking about the days at the plant and the neighborhood.

Yes, they did Concord Street here, maybe. Now, there’s no more packinghouse, there’s a couple of small ones down there. But today if you were to go to McDonald’s, say about 3:00 this afternoon, a group of seniors would probably sit over there and very seldom does the meeting end up with

someone not referring that they worked at Armour's. It comes up constantly that they worked at Swift or Armour, at the packinghouse. They're just reminiscing. The packinghouse had a lot influence. They were very important to the community; more so than to the East Side. In the first place, it was easier for these people to go down to South Saint Paul, but now since then, the Lafayette Bridge was built, but at the time the bridge was built, the packinghouses had already been sold. So, the East Side doesn't have the same connection with the packinghouses as the West Side.⁶

The implications of this company town memory are two-fold. First, the common employer appears to reinforce a common history that tightened the bonds between the residents of West Saint Paul over the years. Common employers provided a venue for the residents to become familiar with one another, enabling them to interact beyond their time at home. This seems to have created a sense of exclusive camaraderie that persists to the present day. On the other hand, once the common employer ceased to exist and residents began commuting across the metropolitan region to places of employment, there is less time at home. Some participants referenced the fact that their neighbors are now not at home much because they commute longer distances to work and have more daily territory to cover than did the earlier neighbors who worked in nearby packing plants or at the local schools (another major employer of the residents in the area). Having less time in the community appears to translate into less time to engage in neighboring activities, according to study participants.

According to residents, West Saint Paul had been challenged to redevelop economically in recent years. At the time of the interviews in 2001, West Saint Paul seemed to be at a turning point in the life cycle of the community and of its residents. West Saint

⁶ The city of Saint Paul has two neighborhoods that are adjacent to the Mississippi River: The West Side and the East Side. "East" and "West" refer to the side of the river where each neighborhood is located. The West Side is actually south of downtown Saint Paul and is adjacent to West Saint Paul, and the East Side is northeast of downtown Saint Paul.

Paul was on the brink of becoming a community without a clear future as older residents died or relocated to a warmer climate, and younger, often non-white, families replaced them. The neighborhood's struggle to survive was manifested in the dilapidation of the central business section of West Saint Paul, which stood nearly vacant at that time. Given the community's reputation as one that excludes newcomers, it was not clear whether the older residents of West Saint Paul would embrace the economic and ethnic transformation needed to redevelop and thrive. Homogeneity and tendency toward conflict avoidance may have implications for West Saint Paul neighborhoods in the long-term. A community that avoids confrontation and avoids inviting new residents into community life may eventually lead to an exclusive community that cannot sustain itself (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002).

The comments of residents illustrated a very strong sense of attachment to the community that has emerged from common histories. Over time residents developed a sense of belonging and a sense of ownership of their community. Further analysis of resident comments led me to ascertain that this strong attachment was linked to three dominant themes: family, church, and neighboring.

Family and Community

Family relationships were important contributors to the development of social capital in West Saint Paul. Families contributed to the development of social capital by providing: 1) the motivation for community involvement through pursuit of family interests, 2) the channel for passing on the values leading to community engagement, 3) a strong social network and source of intergenerational activity, and 4) a type of informal community engagement. Family interests influenced the community engagement of individual residents and were the reason for becoming involved in the community in the first place. Values of community and

civic engagement were instilled through the values of the family as the parents' community engagement set examples for their children. Also, family relationships were a significant part of residents' social network and primary source of intergenerational activity. Frequent family visits were sometimes the sole opportunity to interact with young adults and children.

Despite family relationships being the source of motivation for formal involvement in the community and a significant contributor to the social support of residents, family responsibilities, especially pertaining to care giving and work, often prevented some residents from engaging in formal participation, such as volunteering for community organizations or participating in local civic activities. Conversations with residents who felt they had not been involved or had been involved in formal community organizations only minimally, elicited a type of informal community participation not identified as community engagement prior to the beginning of this study, however. This type of informal community participation was one of taking care of the family and providing a constant presence and support of the neighborhood.

Family as the Source of Community Engagement and Civic-Mindedness

The motivation behind much of the engagement in the community was family. Family interests largely dictated the type of formal community engagement, such as volunteering at school, and as well as the informal social networking that occurred. For example, some selected the house and neighborhood because it was kid-friendly:

I consider the neighborhood where the kids used to go and walk to school and their friends, I consider that all neighborhood...I think that's another reason we built our house here. I thought our children could walk to school and be a part of the neighborhood.

Family was often cited as the reason for participating in formal community activities and organizations. Before retirement during their working years, residents' volunteer work tended to be related to children, church, and professional life. In describing their volunteer work, some participants talked about church (pre- and postretirement) and school-related activities when their children were young. For example, one man told me:

Started [volunteering] as a young man, 30, and we are all having children. We all have everything in common...Church and home and school is where we started community involvement work. The volunteering consisted of Babe Ruth baseball and volunteering for the hockey arena and getting a bond issue passed, which took a year or two or four, and other volunteering in the community.

Residents often described instilling civic values in their children. Some also described having learned their civic values from their parents and passing those values onto their children. For example, one resident told me the following:

It would be easy to say, "Oh look at the millions, it doesn't make a difference," but it does. You try to instill that into your kids.

Family as the Primary Social Network

Not surprisingly family was the primary social network for those staying in the community. Attending family functions and engaging in regular and frequent family visits was common among the participants (Table 10). Not including the three participants who have one or more family members living with them, four participants (19%) said they see a family member every day and five participants (24%) said they see a family member once per week. A plurality (38%) of participants had last visited a family member either the day of, or the day before, the interview. All but two participants said they had seen a family member within the last week. The frequency of family visits suggests that family

relationships are integral to the social networks of residents and that these visits are an important source of socialization for residents.

Table 10
Frequency of Family Visits

Frequency of Family Visits	Participants	Percent ^a
One or more family members live with participant	3	14
Daily	4	19
2 to 4 times per week	2	10
Once per week	5	24
Once every two weeks	2	10
Once per month	2	10
Every 2 to 3 months	3	14
Total participants	21	100

^aTotal percent does not add to 100 percent due to rounding error.

Family and Intergenerational Activity

Intergenerational activity was a regular part of participants' social networking (Table 11). The importance of family to intergenerational networking was voiced by many.

It would be mostly with my grandchildren. Now that they're getting out of high school, I'm not with them that much. But in the past we maybe would go out to the mall or we would go to the zoo, different things like that, regular family outings.

My grandchild, I suppose, more than anything else. Some cousins. When I go to my family reunions, and my cousins and their children are there, I try to interact with the younger generation, too, because I want them to keep coming and I want them to feel welcome. So I feel that as the oldest cousin now, I try to make them feel that they're welcome and want them back. My son married a lady who has grandchildren and I take care of them every once in a while. So they're kind of like my great-grandchildren: two little boys, 23 months and 7 months. Other than that, I wouldn't say that I interact with younger people otherwise.

Table 11
Types of Intergenerational Activity

Type of Intergenerational Activity	Number of Responses	Percent
Family	25	42
Neighbors	19	32
Volunteer work	8	13
Church	5	8
Friends and former coworkers	3	5
Total responses	60	100

^aParticipants could give more than one response.

A few respondents had adult children and their children living with them, as one participant described:

I have a son who is quadriplegic, so he lives with me. He's in his forties. Then I've got one who lives with me who helps me take care of him. I've got another son, who is divorced, and I've got an apartment in the house, and he's got a son and he lives with us. So, we got a grandfather, sons, and grandson...It's like a fraternity house. We all kind of go on our own, but it gives me an opportunity [to be with them], of course. I've got nine grandchildren; three of them live within a couple of blocks of me. That is my primary association with young people. There is a little boy across the street who comes over and plays with the great-grandkids, but other than that those are the only children we have here. Otherwise, I get to the birthdays of the grandkids. And Christmas you are invited out and I usually bring the pies, and Thanksgiving, too.

Grandchildren were central to the lives of many residents but the importance of children transcended family connections, particularly as it related to schools. As two participants noted:

I have a passion about the schools and wanting them to be better and to do the best that you can for the kids and sometimes you have to fight awfully hard.

Many people think that seniors don't want to do things for kids. It's not true, because it's their grandchildren.

Community Engagement Redefined as Family Activity

Family seemed to underlie a great part of participants' daily lives, past and present. Participation in community life reflected participants' family lives. To some extent, the ability to engage formally in the community depended on family obligations, including work outside of the home. Paradoxically, family was the reason for community engagement for some and the reason, for others, for not being involved in formal organizations or civic activities. For example, some of the women did not feel they had contributed much outside of the home in terms of volunteer or political activity. Yet, they had been involved in PTA, election campaigning, and had attended city council meetings. For them, family had been their primary activity. For example, a woman who had been somewhat limited by the expectations of her role as homemaker, described her role in very positive terms.

I was happy to just be at home and raise the family and cook and can...Everything was set up so there were no complaints. He would take me wherever I had to go. So, I didn't get out that much.

Other participants, men and women, talked about the lack of time due to family and professional obligations:

I've done a lot of volunteer work, but not as much as most people do. If someone called me and said come on I would go, but I stayed with my children most of the time...I thought I had to give my time to them instead of the city, but I did volunteer when I was asked.

Children required participants' time, limiting the amount of time they had available for formal community activities, but so did the older family members who required end-of-life care:

I don't do too much volunteer work now, [my wife's] mother was in a nursing home for 3 years. She had a heart transplant in 1987 and I didn't have time to volunteer or anything. My hands were pretty full, with the family at the time.

Another participant said:

I didn't have time for [volunteering] then. I had four children and I was pretty busy. I tried to sell Avon on the side for a few years, and I walked all over the neighborhood selling it, because as I said I didn't drive. I had to walk. I had my hands full. With my mother so many years in the nursing home, she broke a hip. Then she was three months in the nursing home, and then came home to her own house, and for a year I took care of her house and my house and had DARTS take me back and forth. Then she ended up breaking the second hip, and she never walked after that, and I faithfully went out to that nursing home every other day almost. I didn't have time for anything else.

Family and Caregiving

I found that family activities and caretaking responsibilities were a significant part of the engagement of study participants. One participant in particular exemplifies the importance of family in community engagement. When I first phoned her, she said she did not think she had much to contribute (as did a few of the other women I interviewed) by professing:

Everything was set up so there were no complaints; he would take me wherever I had to go. So, I didn't get out that much. He said I would become too involved. At one time when you're young, you want to take all the world's problems upon your shoulders.

But, she quickly acknowledged considerable effort in caring for family.

My daughter lives with me, and so she's lived with me all her life except 2-1/2 years that she was married. She was married to a friend of our governor; the governor's wife gave her a baby shower while they lived in Oregon and I helped raise that baby from the time she was 4 months old until the time she got married. Now she has two little babies of her own, and they come daily. So, I helped also raise a grandson besides my four own children, because I guess I've always been a family gal.

Family responsibilities were a priority for nearly all study participants and the types of volunteering that were considered by those who felt that their family obligations left them little free time to be involved in civic matters were involved in the fundamental organizations

of neighborhoods, that is, they were involved in schools, youth organizations, and churches for the benefit of their children. Viewing family as the central organizational unit of community life means engagement in family activities, or volunteering for organizations that support others in the family, reflects community engagement for the purposes of this study. As one woman told me, “No, I was too involved in raising my family to even think about politics or even be interested in it.” Yet, she voted and instilled a sense of civic responsibility in her children. She also volunteered at school and church and now as a retiree with adult children, she volunteers many hours of her time each week. Although she felt she had not been significantly involved in the community, she exemplified how family served as the foundation of her community engagement and how that type of engagement serves as the cornerstone to the sustainability of the community over time.

Family relationships were a major source of intergenerational activity, but the social networks for the residents were quite robust and included neighbors and people met in volunteer settings and in church. To a large extent, relationships within these three contexts of community overlap and support one another. The next section explores the contexts of faith-based affiliation through local churches.

Church and Community

Churches help define residents’ community or communities. Faith-based networks, or faith communities, contributed to the development and maintenance of social capital in a number of ways. Churches enhance community identity, provide space for community gatherings, and are a conveyance for community outreach and engagement. All residents interviewed were Christian, with the majority being either Catholic or Lutheran. In the early years of West Saint Paul, like the rest of Minnesota, religious affiliation was very important

in determining one's social network. So, the churches in West Saint Paul had played a positive role in the sustaining the community by creating tight bonds among parishioners and congregates. Those bonds that held the community together, however, also divided the community in its earlier years. One man related the important role a common religious experience played within neighborhood.

... we have a lot of Catholics in this community here, mostly religion [ties the neighborhood together].

While church membership per capita in Minnesota is still among the highest in the nation, discrimination between religious-based social networks appears to have abated. Thus, while church participation is still important to residents, discrimination has lessened as one resident reflected on how early neighbors would point out neighborhood residents who were not Catholic:

At that time everybody right up and down the street was Catholic and I found that a little bit hard to swallow. So big deal, what if you weren't Catholic? But that has changed.

Church membership and associated volunteer activities figured prominently in the daily lives of residents. Faith-based activities were the most common community engagement activity identified during my conversations with residents. As with family, church-related activities and attendance emerged within the conversation about other facets of community, such as having a sense of belonging, family, and volunteer activities. All residents, for example, attend a place of worship, 67% go to a church located in the neighborhood, and all have remained in the same church since their young adult years. (Table 12). Churches in the community have served as centers of community over the lifetime of residents and were an integral part of their lives.

Table 12
Participant Views of Their Places of Worship

Participants said...	Number of Participants	Percent
They have attended a place of worship	21	100
Their place of worship is in their neighborhood	14	67
Their place of worship is active in the surrounding area	17	81
They still attend the same place of worship they attended in their young adult years in West Saint Paul	21	100

Churches as Centers of Community in the Face of Neighborhood Change

Affiliations with churches in the community were clearly a long enduring connection and provided continuity of community identity (Table 12). Churches in the community had been able to maintain their relationships with residents and community organizations throughout the lifetime of these residents. Through the lifecycle of the residents, participation in their church remained strong, and residents emphasized the importance of this longevity, as evident from the comments they made:

They had a bus that used to take the children to Sunday school, and [my children] went on that. And I'm still at the same church. That's many years since, well, about 1955 when they started the church, I go there now. I was always a member and the children went there.

Certainly, [attended church] all my life...three miles away maybe. I've sung in the choir since I was in the ninth grade. Earlier years I taught Sunday school. I've been on a lot of different committees.

One resident who told me she had not had much time for volunteering told me she had time for her church, though.

Time, like I say, when I was working and raising four children and a husband to try and spend some time with, like I say, working and especially nights and stuff like that, I worked a lot of nights, too, for meetings and what have you,

and there just wasn't enough time to do that. But I did belong to my church and there was a church group that I belonged to that met in the evenings and I served as every officer in that group throughout the years so that was my main activity, I guess.

The church remains the tie to the neighborhood and a central part of the lives of those who grew up in West Saint and then moved away. Although no longer living in West Saint Paul, one resident said:

Our church is a family church and the people—a lot of them that have grown up here and [now] live in other areas, they still come to church. We've got several couples that come from Woodbury and from other places in Saint Paul. We're just a good family church. And we have everybody from little bitty young up to older people than us, and everybody gets along and mingles. I mean nobody is an outsider. It's just a good place to be.

The persistence of membership and those persistent religious-based social networks glue together the fibers of social cohesion that contribute to trust and strong neighborhood identity. The church often was cited as the constant in a changing environment. Several people whose churches are located on Saint Paul's West Side noted that the church was the conduit that connected them to the people in an adjacent neighborhood. The church was not only an organization that mediated a changing racial and ethnic neighborhood environment, but it also provided opportunities for members to engage other age groups as they themselves aged and new families took their place as the younger households in the community:

It's on the west side, Holy Trinity Lutheran down on Stevens and Bigelow. [My husband] and I were raised in that church. We were both baptized there, but it's a struggling urban church in Saint Paul. I have been very active in the church and we are now—we realize that we are in a Hispanic community. And years ago we had an intern that came that was Hispanic, and we walked the neighborhood with him and we were talking Spanish but we just didn't reach the people, because we were an English-speaking church. We look at this as one of the things that may make our church grow and another thing is being able to reach out into the community in a [different] language.

Churches provided ample opportunity for community outreach and engagement. Church affiliation was a central outlet for formal community engagement for residents. Much of the volunteering, or “helping out,” activities were centered on church activities, for when asked about their volunteer work or affiliation with civic organizations many started talking about their church-related activities. A substantial portion of the volunteer time spent by residents was dedicated to their church. One resident describes her church activities as her primary volunteer work. She said:

Very involved, very involved [in church activities]. In fact, I served as an officer in our Priscilla organization. In fact, when I was treasurer, it was when my daughter was born, so I mean I was still having my family and still participating in the church activities [while working full time].

Churches are integral to the neighborhood and surrounding areas not simply for worship, but also as places for public gatherings. Churches serve parallel roles acting as a religious organization and a public community center at the same time. Residents told me that church facilities provide a community meeting place as well as a place to worship. For example:

When the local neighborhoods are having their meetings, the church is always open to have their meetings there. They had their neighborhood meetings there many, many times.

Furthermore, the church appeared to have an active advisory and community advocacy role.

One man told me the following:

When you talk about the church, all the people, the pastors, and assistants are always advising or I think they’ve had some visits with the mayor, too, and city council members. I think with their teachings in the church, any church, has made an improvement in the neighborhood and the community.

Church affiliation was found to be an important contributor to the social capital of West Saint Paul’s older residents through development of community identity and residents’

strong ties to the community. Neighborhood churches offered multiple opportunities for residents to become engaged and develop a sense of community among themselves. Church facilities also presented themselves as central convening places for neighborhood meetings.

Neighbors and Community

Neighbors and relationships with neighbors were important to older residents of West Saint Paul. Evidence of the importance of neighboring evolved from responses to questions about meaning of community, neighborhood change, reciprocity and trust, and intergenerational activity.

When defining their community, residents highlighted the importance of relationships with neighbors and reciprocating behaviors, commonly defined as key elements in neighboring (Cuff, 2005). To them knowing and interacting with their neighbors created a sense of community in their neighborhood.

I would consider maybe the neighbors here on my block really my community, because I do know for a fact that if I needed help or was in trouble, there's three or four of them that I could go to and say to them "Give me a hand," and they would.

A community is like a little area like West Saint Paul, I feel like we are a community here... There are so many people that know each other here, I can't go anywhere up and down the street that without bumping into someone I know, it seems like.

Well, [community] means nice neighbors, and helping each other.

Participants identified neighbors as people who were both friends as well as casual acquaintances. When discussing friendships, the significance of the past and current neighborhoods in social connectivity became evident. Participants had known their regular group of friends on average 38 years (range = 15 to 65). A plurality had known the people in their regular "get-together" group for 45 years. Sixty percent with a core group of long-term

friends said these friends were involved in their neighborhoods. The other 40% with a core group of friends said their friends came from beyond their immediate neighborhood. They knew these friends through social clubs that have a larger geographic base, for example a countywide basis, or they have known these friends since early adulthood, that is, high school. The friends known from the “old” neighborhood since early adulthood have remained close as they went to war, returned to attend college or trade school, married and raised families. Others have known this close group of friends as coworkers from “younger days”, at the meatpacking plants for example.

Discussions around neighboring highlighted themes related to changes in household composition and changing neighborhood dynamics. Most notable, however, were the frequent, informal visits with neighbors. All but two participants visit with their neighbors. On average, residents visit with a core set of five neighbors, and they visit with these neighbors about twice a week (Table 13).

Table 13
Characteristics of Participants’ Social Activity with Neighbors

Average number of neighbors visited regularly	5 neighbors
Median number of neighbors visited regularly	4 neighbors
Average (and median) number of times participants visit with neighbors per week	2 times per week
Average number of years participants have known the people in their group of friends that gets together regularly	38.6 years
Median number of years participants have known the people in their group of friends that gets together regularly	40.0 years

The vast majority of visits with neighbors (79%) were informal. Informal visits were defined as just stopping by when out walking; or spontaneous visits, often in the front yard or

over the fence in the backyard. Formal visits were defined as specific, planned visits with an intentional activity, such as dinner or playing cards.

The informal nature of visits with neighbors and the typical topics of conversations are evident from many comments. When they visit with their neighbors, they discuss current events (71%), family (35%), gardening (24%), weather (18%), and health (12%).

Sure we have conversations with them constantly, and I'll take a cucumber over to them and one of these little things, nothing serious, you know, just a kind of "get togetherness."

How the grass is doing, work; we had one that just lost a job in the area. We talked a lot about that, their families, their children, their in-laws, their fathers and mothers, cattle farm, pole barns, one thing and another.

It's hard to say, the weather right now. Some of them have kids at Sibley, and they want to know what I think about what's going on there or we talk about the kids, not a planned discussion. We just talk friendly.

We talk about different things coming up—operation on her ears, we talk about that, we talk about the old days and stuff like that.

Our flower gardens, families.

Some residents lamented that formal visits rarely occurred with the new neighbors. One reason cited by was dual household income arrangements. Thus, the new neighbors tended not to have as much time to socialize as the younger adult did in previous generations. Another reason seems to be because newer residents have social networks that extend beyond West Saint Paul, because work now is located further from West Saint Paul than was the case for older inhabitants of the neighborhood.

The phenomenon of dual income households and the impact of longer commutes on neighborhood social dynamics appeared in other parts of my conversations with older West Saint Paul residents. Older women often mentioned that they used to get together during the

day with their children and other women and their children in the neighborhood, which resulted in a sense of camaraderie. This no longer happens, or if so, infrequently, because of the need for dual income families.

... at first the mothers used to ice skate together, work in the churches and the schools and stuff, active together and then get together for coffee and so on. Now we don't.

Two other women echoed her comments and reflected on the trend toward increasing commuting times to places of employment that are much farther away than they were for the older residents, (see Lang 2006, 2000).

I think when the kids played, there used to be so many children in the block, and you could put your kids out in the morning and they would play outside and you know they would be in the block. That type of thing people don't do anymore. They rely on day care. There just aren't children around.

They are working, so you don't see them all day. It's only—like there's one across the street—they got two children now, they just bought the house. There's another one up the street and so those are kinds of—they have little ones across the street. They're working so you don't get to know them, because by the time they come home from work and they're with their kids and you don't see the neighbors that much.

One man mentioned that there is no time to visit in the evening because everyone works during the day and does household chores in the evening. He reflected on the impact of working farther away from home and the need for both persons in the household to work on visiting with neighbors:

No, we don't visit with neighbors. Many, many years ago we did, but we don't visit neighbors much anymore [participant is referring to formal visits]. Times have changed I guess, because the women are working today. We used to play cards in the evening and now you don't because Joe is washing the dishes and they both have to do chores. We used to call people. You don't call people anymore in the evening. Years ago we would just drop in on the Joneses, we didn't even call. You just don't drop in on people anymore.

Times have changed I guess, because the women are working today. You don't have time at 7:30...come on over and we'll play cards tonight and visit; maybe the man is doing dishes, maybe he's doing the washing.

Despite changes in household composition and household responsibilities, residents do frequently visit with neighbors and valued those relationships, but the visits are more likely to be informal and spontaneous in nature, something that is lamented by many of the older residents.

Neighboring and Neighborhood Change

Knowing neighbors was often grounded in the past as residents often talked about what the neighbors used to do together.

I had good neighbors right next door to me. I went to school with both of them. He just died last winter and his wife just sold the house this spring, and she is living in those new apartments on Emerson. So I miss her. But otherwise I still have an old, old neighbor right across the street. They are in a nursing home now, and they were older than me. It's not the way it used to be. Things change. They don't stay the same. But it was a very nice neighborhood and it still is, I think.

But I remember almost immediately after my wife died there was a couple. They were close to us before. They were over to my house immediately, and I've been back and forth to their house maybe 50 times for meals. They're really nice to me, there are a lot of people that are concerned about me, but he got sick. He went in for a triple bypass on June 2 and he didn't make it. That affected my life, too. We were very close.

Some residents discussed decreased visits with neighbors in the context of personal or neighborhood change, reflecting the changing age distribution of the neighborhood, leaving them with a sense of loss or feeling that things are not the way they used to be. At the time of these interviews, West Saint Paul was typified by the parallel of neighborhoods with very old residents and neighborhoods that were reaching the end of the neighborhood lifecycle. Residents mentioned younger families, sometimes of nonwhite ethnic groups, moving in.

Others described their neighborhoods as just reaching the “peak age of residents,” meaning that their neighbors were reaching the end of their lives and that their neighbors are mostly older people. Some residents expressed this sense of loss:

We do have little parties now and again, [but] not as much as we used to when the kids were little.

Not as much as I used to. I know some of them that I visit with. In fact, I was out with one of them yesterday for breakfast... Well, it was the first time [in a while] because [the neighbors] are changing more [often].

I had new next-door neighbors, and I don't know even today their last names, because they're so new. I miss the old neighbors that went down, little further down in West Saint Paul—they bought a home there and a new home went up across the street, and I don't know their names.

Despite the changes, most residents still felt good about their neighborhood and visit with longer-term neighbors.

I think there were about 12 of us in this block on both sides of the street and we used to go out together as a group and we still get together with the ones that are left. We get together for lunch once a month and even though... Well, there are three of us left here that—no there are four of us left here from the original, just four. The others have moved on to different places, but we still get together. But that's just the kind of neighborhood it is and it was.

One resident appeared to be the catalyst for continued community engagement among the new neighbors. Her story also exemplifies the role informal neighbored social activity can play in fostering intergenerational activity.

Been here all my life; when I was little I had older ladies in the neighborhood who were my friends, and I would go and sit on their front steps and talk with them. Well, as I have lived here, people have moved away, and it's gotten to be an older community now. All the houses are being sold and young families are coming in. We got a new baby next door last week, and we're going to have a new baby across the street this week; tons of little kids running all over the place and a few older ladies. We're going to be the ladies that the little kids are going to come and sit on the stoop and talk to. We have got a good rapport with all the little kids in the neighborhood and it's kind of fun. The

other day I had one of the neighbors in for lunch to meet the two new moms and got them to meet the older ladies. As I say, it's just gotten to be a whole different neighborhood now, and we are basically friendly with most all of us. The lady across the street—the other day she picked all her raspberries in the backyard so she invited about 10 of us in for strawberries and raspberries. We sat out in the backyard and chitchatted. It's just, we're kind of neighborly.

We were very close with the people that started here, you know, but it has all changed, and this is probably about the third set of families living here, you know. And I guess I have been living here the longest. It's still a nice, quiet neighborhood. People are friendly, but we don't get together like we used to. Maybe the younger ones do. I have my activities outside the neighborhood right now.

An example of how personal change affected visits with neighbors also addresses the issues of decreased mobility combined with increased isolation as the neighbors change:

I used to go around and now when you don't know them, now I kind of stay by myself now. I don't know. I'm just not, I don't have that much pep anymore.

As residents reach their oldest years, it appears that the changing neighborhood has a slight dampening effect on their attitudes toward the neighborhood. It seems that most talked about neighboring behavior from the past and with a sense of nostalgia. Some who continue to be well engaged in neighboring behaviors have neighbors from years past or those who are younger.

Neighboring as Reciprocal Behavior

Two key concepts of social capital (Figure 1) frequently mentioned were neighbor relationships and helping behavior. Nearly all had informal relationships with neighbors that involved some degree of helping. Some were more actively engaged with neighbors than others, but overall a sense of courtesy and an expectation of looking out for one another were common. Most were engaged in neighboring behavior and said that such behavior helped to

pull the neighborhood together. Helping is expected to be reciprocated, however, as one suggested:

They're friendly, neighbors who are willing to help each other, doing things for each other.

I'm sure if something went wrong, they would be there for you. Like one time on an icy day, I was coming up the driveway and I slipped and slid right back to the sidewalk, and there was somebody right there to help me. So, I'm sure if you need [help] they would be there for you.

The notion of reciprocity extended to expectations about care of individual property and the neighborhood.

We just all take pride in our areas, we keep our yard up and homes up and everything is nice looking. I mean everybody, they don't want to try to outdo each other, but they want to keep up, basically. We keep our flowers growing and have pretty yards.

The types of neighboring behavior (Cuff, 2005) that occurs between neighbors were documented, coded and tabulated (Table 14). The responses demonstrate a substantial amount of instrumental help occurring by neighbors for neighbors. The top three mentioned were: (a) home maintenance and repair (43%); (b) helping when neighbors are away (21%); and (c) generally looking out for each other (17%). Home maintenance and repair included activities such as shoveling snow, mowing lawns, and assisting with home maintenance and repairs, or at least lending and borrowing tools for home improvement projects. Helping when away includes collecting mail, watching the house when the neighbor is out of town, driving a neighbor to the airport, watering a garden or mowing a lawn when a neighbor is away. Generally looking out for each other meant that residents of the neighborhood constantly keep watch on the neighborhood and pay attention to whether neighbors need assistance. Descriptions of personal experience with neighboring behavior were common:

I was changing a light out here a year ago and my neighbor, I wanted to use his ladder, and he came over and brought it over, and I was going up there to check. Pretty soon he came over and he went up.

There's an elderly man across that street from us that stayed in his house after his wife died. He had a lot of health problems and we've taken him to the doctor, gone to visit him in the hospital, he doesn't want to ask for help. So, we go over then and just say casually, "Why don't I just pull your garbage can out?" He needs that, and I see other people have done the same thing. There's another man across the street that is very ill right now with a brain tumor, so we go over there and check on his house and stuff. When we're on vacation somebody is always checking on our house.

Table 14
Types of Neighbor Help

Type of Help	Number of Responses ^a	Percent ^b
Home maintenance and repair	20	43
Helping when away	10	21
Generally looking out for each other	8	17
Transportation	4	8
Emergencies	3	6
Car maintenance and repair	1	2
Prepare food	1	2
Total responses	47	100

^aParticipants could give more than one response.

^bTotal percent does not add to 100 percent due to rounding error.

Most residents (18) felt that such neighborly help was important to maintaining neighborhood ties.

It does, it's part of the glue that keeps us together. It can be just corny things.

I think so, because there's that trust factor that you have within your community, and we kind of look out for one another. This is the type of neighborhood to have, they're not nosey. It's not that kind of thing, but it's that watchful eye for something like that.

I think it makes you feel friendlier towards your neighbors. It's important to that acts of kindness or politeness, kind of extending one's help kind of keeps everybody together and keeps a friendly environment.

The instrumental help coupled with the watchful eyes of neighbors appeared to underlie the sense of community and sense of safety and trust residents feel toward one another. Neighboring, particularly the help and they "looking out for one another" is grounded the concepts of reciprocity and trust as evident from comments by the older West Saint Paul residents.

Trust as an Element of Neighboring

The neighboring behavior described by study participants is closely tied to a sense of the trust they have in one another. The residents say they trust people, but they definitely trust their neighbors and are hesitant to trust strangers. Many who said they would trust strangers were more likely to do so within their own neighborhood than in other locations. Participants tended to express a zone or context in which they felt comfortable trusting others.

Residents expressed high levels of trust within the familiar territory of their neighborhood. All said that most people within their neighborhood can be trusted.

I think most people can be [trusted]. You'll find some not, but the majority are good people.

I think basically I do [trust others], but I'm living in an area where they're pretty much church-going folks, and I think on that basis, I have more trust [of people].

One outward sign of this trust was that most (95%) were comfortable lending household items to a neighbor.

Yes, we lend back and forth. Our neighbors are good.

No problem at all, because I'm borrowing from them, too.

Yes, I do that with books a lot and I should write to whom I send the books because I forget and they forget, but yes we've done that a lot. The neighborhood people are pretty good about when you need that, and I've got it.

Sure, if not [returned in good condition], so be it.

Anything, I would give them my key.

You know that's kind of funny, because when I do that [lend to neighbors], I forget that I loaned it out and so I don't miss it.

In contrast to their trust of neighbors, the majority (52%) would not help a stranger on the side of the road, especially if they were not in their own neighborhood. The added context of "outside their own neighborhood" suggests that trust for many has both a person and a spatial dimension. To be in one's neighborhood space helps establish some initial level of trust that is not accorded someone who is outside that space.

Those who said they would not stop said they were concerned about their own safety or doubted their ability to be helpful. Some felt that they would not be able to do anything for the person anyway. (I used an example of a stalled car on the side of the road.) Instead, they said they would call the police to alert them to someone needing help, which may also be considered to be a neighborly act.

Neighboring and Intergenerational Activity

Much of the intergenerational activity outside of the contexts of the family and church stemmed from interaction with current neighbors and from neighbors in the past. A particularly good example of the latter is one participant's story describing an enduring relationship with a young man and his family. As the child grew, the family moved to another town, but the family invited this person to the young man's graduation.

Yes, kids move in and I know their dads and mothers from years ago. I have met these children when they were going to school with my children, either the public school or the private school, their involvement over the years. Now they are raising their families. I go down to Harmon Field and now I see children that I coached, their children are playing there. I talk to them. I was invited to a graduation party out at Apple Valley sometime the first or middle of June [for] a boy I used to play catch with here. And now he's moved away and is a senior in high school, and his folks remember me playing catch with him. I went to the graduation party.

Linking past personal experience to the contemporary neighborhood context was also a reoccurring theme. One woman expressed it best when she said she wanted to create positive memories for the young children similar to her memories of visiting the older neighbors when she was a child.

Sure, we've got all the little kids around and hopefully they're going to feel free to come here and be our good friends like I had when I was a little girl. I have good memories of that, and I just want these little kids to come here and feel comfortable here and visit.

Only one resident indicated she did not regularly engage people in other age groups, but the lack of interaction was not her preference, but was a function of location. She lived in a rental apartment building largely occupied by adults without children and the social circles (primarily derived from square dancing activities) limited her exposure to middle-aged and younger adults. Residents were able to minimally engage in intergenerational activity within their neighborhoods. For the most part, the family and church were the primary sources of intergenerational activity.

Family, Church, and Neighbors

Relationships and activities associated with family, church, and neighbors were the basis for community engagement for older residents of West Saint Paul. The intersection of these three sources of engagement offers a new way to examine and understand community

engagement that reinforces the interpersonal nature of social capital that sustains communities over time. It is the interdependence of family, church, and neighbors that defines community engagement for residents over time and bonds residents to their neighborhoods for a lifetime. This research showed that relationships between family, church, and neighbors interact to reinforce the concept of a “place” community for residents, creating a synergy that forms multiple meanings of community for residents. The familiarity with neighbors and their families that was established first through sharing a common heritage and then through sharing common interests of church and neighborhood created a sense of belonging and trust within the community of West Saint Paul upon which residents’ community engagement was founded. An examination of the key findings as related to the framework and literature guiding this study are discussed in the next chapter. Also discussed in the next chapter are implications of these findings for theory and future research and practice.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Study and Key Findings

This research explored the attributes of community involvement that underlie places of age within a social capital framework. Using the voices of older adults, the processes in communities that create and sustain places of age were examined. Specifically, this study sought to answer the following question:

What is the meaning of community engagement, in terms of social networks (family, friends, and neighbors) and formal participation in community organizations for older residents and how did these help the development of places of age?

The conceptual framework for this study was social capital as experienced within the urban geographical context of the Minneapolis-Saint Paul metropolitan area. Twenty-one residents provided information about their participation in the community and their networking behavior. These longtime residents of West Saint Paul had engaged their community through formal participation within organizations as well as informal participation through family and neighboring activities. Three types of interaction were important to interpreting the community engagement of these residents and how the interrelatedness of these activities helped create a place of age.

Approaches to Defining Engagement

When interviewing it was important to begin the conversation with the broad concept of how elders define community, identify their community engagement activities, and discuss social connections and trust using the conceptual framework established for the study. The sequence of questions unfolded naturally, for when residents described their community engagement activities and social connections, trust was embedded in many of

their comments. The exploration of social connections and trust informed the interpretation of findings related to community engagement.

Community

Understanding what *community* meant to residents was central to establish the situational context of the rest of the interview. West Saint Paul developed as a tight-knit community. Historically, West Saint Paul residents did not travel long distances to work or shop. Many worked in West Saint Paul or nearby South Saint Paul, Maplewood, and Saint Paul. Shopping needs could be met in West Saint Paul. I use the term *small territory* to highlight the fact that residents did not need to cross much distance to work or have other needs met.

The concept of small territory is important when it comes to extent, or depth, of involvement. Similar to AARP's study of civic involvement (1997), residents in this study were not as highly engaged in state or national politics as they were in local politics and civic activities. In fact, in this study involvement increased as the issue or activity grew closer to home, such as volunteering in schools and neighboring behavior. Political engagement was not as critical to residents' definition of community involvement as was having active family, church, and neighbor relationships. The closeness of these relationships was undergirded by a sense of trust which stemmed from the small territory of West Saint Paul Relationships fostered among family, voluntary organizations (principally churches), and neighbors were largely defined by the boundaries of West Saint Paul.

West Saint Paul has been characteristically a small town. The city can be socially exclusive, as evident from comments that entering civic life is difficult if one is not from West Saint Paul, but "once you're in, you're in." Participants suggested it is difficult for new

residents to integrate into the community, because many new residents work elsewhere and do not have much presence during the day. Further evidence of the small territory of residents' daily lives is that locations of past employment, church, volunteer activities, and a strong sense of trust are in close proximity to residents' homes. What appears to have transpired in the early development of West Saint Paul is the accumulation of social status (Bourdieu as cited in Portes, 2000). Some residents, particularly the men, presented a history of civic leadership, stating that they got their feet wet early at a time when West Saint Paul was looking for leadership, a time of growth and development. A handful of the men with a history of civic leadership expressed what one said: that they prefer to be a "big fish in small pond."

In summary, the three meanings of community emerging for residents were abilities to sustain relationships with family, church, and neighbors. These findings suggest that these meanings of community, mediated over time, through a common history, and a sense of belonging or ownership of place, appears to have led to the development of West Saint Paul as a place of age. These meanings of community are translated into community engagement through informal and formal community activities such as family activities and caregiving, neighboring behavior, participation church related activities, volunteering at schools and libraries, and membership in civic organizations.

These meanings and forms of community and civic engagement relate to concepts of social capital as presented in Figure 1. The key findings of this study are interpreted within the social capital framework presented at the beginning of this study to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Through this framework, general concepts of social capital may be translated into meanings of community engagement for older adults aging in place.

Interpretation of Findings

Social Connectivity, Trust, and Interdependence

In concept, social connectivity indicates residents' attitudes toward interdependence⁷, an element important to the development of social capital. Interdependence may be thought of as the presence of mutuality where no individual acting alone can form social capital, according to Latham (as cited in Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Similarly, Portes (2000) wrote that social capital is associated with a person's interpersonal networks. Interdependence may be measured by the extent of the residents' social network, especially as related to neighbors, friends, and family members. Social connectedness relates the level of support received and the level of support given. Most residents visit with neighbors informally at least a few times per week. Nearly all said neighbors help each other out, and they said this type of help is important to neighborhood ties. The findings reveal the centrality of relationships and interpersonal connections to fostering social capital. As the original settlers of West Saint Paul age and welcome new immigrants and new residents from other parts of Minnesota, however, West Saint Paul residents will need to strengthen and redirect existing networks (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003) to adapt to change within the community.

Social capital is prominent in small settings and is a local phenomenon (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). Listening and trusting are easy to do in smaller settings, and small settings such as small towns tend to be homogeneous. However, small settings with strong *bonding* social capital run the risk of exclusivity, as was found with West Saint Paul. West Saint Paul residents portrayed strong networks of family members and close friends. This finding of exclusiveness leads to the identification of the need for inclusiveness in order to sustain the

⁷ Interdependence, a term defined earlier in the literature review by Onyx and Bullen (2000) to refer to social networking, is an element of the conceptual framework used in this research.

community using what Woolcock and Narayan (2000) called *bridging* social capital. Bridging social capital refers to links between diverse individuals and may be characterized by formal and informal relationships (Leonard & Onyx, 2003; Woolcock & Harayan, 2000). Alliances between diverse communities are referred to as *linking* social capital (2000) and are necessary to enable individuals and communities to harness resources and influence decision-makers.

Based on the findings, one may surmise that informal networks are important dimensions of community engagement. A sense of the strength of a community, and the likelihood of finding high levels of community engagement, appear to be related to interpersonal relationships and neighboring behavior. The social connectivity of individuals quickly becomes intertwined with the measures of community engagement. Cuff (2005) found that in planned unit developments, the neighbor is often *scripted*, meaning that the housing is designed to attract a certain type of resident, a resident who will fit into the predisposed neighboring behavior encouraged or discouraged by the housing and neighborhood design, and is accompanied by codified rules of conduct such as deed restrictions and homeowner or tenant association covenants. In West Saint Paul, a single developer did not design neighborhoods, but rather multiple developers, and in many cases, the residents themselves. Their neighboring behavior is unscripted, but is directed by trust developed through interpersonal relationships and strong norms of reciprocity.

Furthermore, Lund (2003) found that people who walk more, compared to those who drive, usually are more likely to engage in unplanned interactions with their neighbors and to form social ties with nearby neighbors. Many residents mentioned that their neighbor visits were informal and often occurred while out walking in the neighborhood. Before simply

making recommendations to provide pedestrian access, however, attitudes about walking and neighboring need to be examined (Lund, 2003). Is it the attitude or the access to safe walking that comes first? However, if access is discouraged through design, the answer remains illusive. In West Saint Paul, not all streets have sidewalks, but traffic is slow enough that a pedestrian feels safe walking on residential streets.

Self- and Collective Efficacy

Self- and collective efficacy represent the individual's and group's sense of being able to affect the process of change, a sense of being able to make a difference. Questions related to levels of involvement in community activities such as membership in civic organizations, attendance at government or public meetings, volunteering, and participation in faith-based organizations addressed the concept of efficacy.

Community engagement for residents was organized around education, church, and matters relating to families. The motivation for community involvement was a strong sense of duty and obligation to community and to others—a social norm of reciprocity—that emerged from the examples set by participants' parents. The expectation of reciprocity of neighborliness and doing for others appears to go hand in hand with findings of high trust among neighbors and of people unknown to residents within their neighborhoods. However, once residents leave their neighborhoods, they are less likely to trust others, although many expressed the sentiment that they should be willing to trust and help others they do not know.

Residents were likely to engage in one-on-one acts of neighborliness, such as helping out when needed and watching out for one another. In light of residents' examples of community engagement, existing definitions of community involvement were limiting insofar as they defined community involvement in terms of formal participation in

community organizations as evidenced by membership, meeting attendance, and volunteer work with organizations. Instead, study findings support definitions of community involvement that account for informal acts of involvement, such as the acts of kindness and care shown for neighbors and the care of and involvement with family members.

Findings from this study suggesting the importance of informal community involvement of residents support the findings of Williams (2003), who found undue emphasis in the literature on involvement in community through community-based organizations. This research supports the proposition that interpersonal relationships foster feelings of trust and reciprocity (Portes, 2000), the cornerstones of social capital production. Relationships and interactions of individuals within a community create the threads of the social network and community engagement.

Individuals may come together through existing organizations or create an organization as a result of their congregating (Leonard & Onyx, 2003), but it is their interpersonal relationships that bind the community together. No doubt societal structure and community-based voluntary organizations are important for channeling social capital generated by interpersonal relationships. At times, whether the interpersonal relationship or the community organization came first may be hard to discern, but nonetheless, interpersonal relationships are the basis of local community (Hofferth & Iceland, 1998). Moreover, as argued by Portes (2000), interpersonal relationships are the building blocks of social capital. Perkins, Hughey, and Speer (2002) also found that interpersonal relationships are the connections that create institutional links to political and financial capital.

This research contributes to the body of research documenting the importance of interpersonal relationships in creating sustainable communities over the life course. Many of

the relationships of West Saint Paul residents began when they were children, and others began when they were young adults. Some residents migrated from farms as young adults and brought with them the rural traditions of their childhood. Participants reflected rural roots and traditions, especially relative to norms of charitable giving and civic participation. Hofferth and Iceland (1998) found that parents in rural areas passed on charitable giving traditions and that giving was strongest among young people who grew up in rural areas but are not currently living there (Hofferth & Iceland, 1998). Parallels may be drawn with West Saint Paul. From residents' descriptions, West Saint Paul seemed to be emerging from a sense of being a small town; some residents noted that West Saint Paul used to be like rural Minnesota towns, and others mentioned the rural roots of the city. Many West Saint Paul residents mentioned that their charitable giving and voting behavior was learned from their parents' behavior.

The small-town nature of West Saint Paul lends itself well to developing and maintaining a sense of community within the group, also known as strong bonding social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). High expectations of reciprocity and trust may inhibit residents from confronting conflict and inviting outsiders into community forums and may separate them from the rest of the community rather than engaging them in it (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002). In this study, some of the residents displayed a willingness to engage newcomers, such as young families from outside West Saint Paul and vicinity, recent immigrants, and other people of color. For example, one resident talked about the changes her church was undertaking to welcome and serve a Spanish-speaking population, whereas others talked about ethnic changes with tones of tolerance but not acceptance. Other residents clearly stated that the social and political structure of the city is not penetrable by outsiders or

newcomers, especially for new residents who are not white. For example, a common response to the question about race, or when residents mentioned race in the context of neighborhood change, they mentioned that the race or ethnicity of some new neighbors is changing and would add that this change is a “good thing.”

Until recently in West Saint Paul, residents had no need for bridging and linking forms of social capital, for need of collective action was rare. When bridging occurs, linking forms of social capital may result (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), producing collective action (Larsen et al., 2004). Examples of the failure to employ bridging and linking social capital were the attempts at collective action against the closure of primary department store and the decline of a major shopping center. These efforts were weak and ultimately failed, from the perspective of residents. As the city gains new families—mostly white families, but many more who are nonwhite than in the past—the need to go beyond tolerance to acceptance and engagement of newcomers in the community will emerge if the existing social capital in the community is to be retained.

Conclusions

My goal was to examine the meaning of community engagement for aging in place, within a social capital framework, through the voice of older adults. Results of my conversations with older adults in the city of West Saint Paul have implications for theory, practice and policy, and research: the role of informal community engagement, volunteerism among older adults, harnessing the power of existing networks, and community planning for the life course.

Implications for Theory

The literature revealed consensus on which components of social capital are most important to interpreting community engagement. This group of common theoretical components included shared norms of trust and reciprocity (neighboring behaviors), extent of interpersonal networks, and participation in informal and formal community activities. Clearly, this research shows that interpersonal networks are critical to informal and formal community activities. The findings also suggest a clear role for neighboring behaviors and the development of norms of reciprocity that facilitate trust over time that should not be underestimated in the development and retention of social capital. Underlying and facilitating these interpersonal relationships, the environmental and social contexts, associated with the historical development of the city as an inner-ring suburb, seem to have been key factors in the bonding among early West Saint Paul residents. The sense of living in a small town, the common immigrant history, having grown up in rural or semirural environments, and having worked in nearby and common places of employment are shared by many of the residents.

Understanding the meaning of community engagement for residents of a community that has endured over time, adapted to change, and led individuals to spend their adult life, and sometimes their whole life, in one place contributes to the fields of community planning and social gerontology in three ways. First, it reveals sources of social capital and a theoretical framework related to community-building and highlights attributes of traditional networks (which includes family, faith, and neighbors) that make a community a place in which people want to raise their families and live their later lives. Second, these findings exemplify the impact of the larger metropolitan environment on the social and economic structures of small suburban development. With the emergence of dual career families, the

influx of nonwhite immigrant families, and the consolidation of employment nodes within the metropolitan region that brings about longer commute times and greater travel distance to retail locations, social connections between old neighbors and new neighbors are uneasy. Residents expressed many times that relationships with neighbors are not what they used to be. This result supports Putnam and Feldstein's (2003) findings that a regional economic structure encompassing dual income families and urban sprawl requiring more driving time dampens the production of social capital in a community. The possible reduction of social capital in the future may weaken the community's ability to confront conflict or adapt to change.

Third, the results raise a question about whether the culture of community participation—the shared norms of reciprocity and trust among neighbors and the attitude of civic duty and obligation—will continue with the next generation. A generation that has become more mobile, more interested in trading up their home, and less connected to their neighborhood may not find itself in the same place in 25 years.

Theoretical underpinnings of the role of social capital in community planning and the role of engagement on individual well-being in social gerontology (e.g., activity theory and perspectives of successful aging) are well established in the literature and supported by this research. The changing role of traditional networks, however, with the erosion of small, tight-knit communities as they coalesce with the metropolitan region result in more extensive distances traveled and multiple nodes of potential social capital development within modern interpersonal networks. The decentralization of interpersonal networks has implications for the continued well-being of older adults as engaged community participants in their neighborhoods and as the recipient of care that may be provided by neighbors. As the social

and environmental contexts of interpersonal relationships change so to may the principles upon which these theories are built.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This research suggests that local community planners should harness existing social capital of older adults residing in the community and redirect it beyond maintaining the internal cohesiveness of the existing community to address critical community needs such as welcoming and including new residents, particularly new residents that are not white or Christian, and capture the willingness of retired residents to engage in meaningful activity (that is, paid or unpaid) for the public good (i.e., delivering Meals on Wheels or visiting homes and caring for persons in need of home care and support). What is less known and requires some speculation is what to do about the working-age families, most with children, who have fewer neighboring opportunities and function within a different model of interpersonal networks, that is, much more dispersed geographically? How will neighboring activities be transitioned to new and younger households? Activities that fostered the development of social norms of reciprocity and trust, which undergird the solid foundation of social capital found today among West Saint Paul's older generation, must be passed on to the next generation of neighbors. To this end, findings from this study and from other research related to social capital and community building (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003; Leonard & Onyx, 2003) suggest a two part strategy for community planners and national and state leaders interested in understanding and developing communities that will be attractive to adults across the life course.

The two parts are interrelated: the first part in this two part strategy is the local resources – the social capital of older adults – may provide a local response to community

needs. Local planners must align local programs that will capture and direct the assets – social capital – older adults bring to the community through formal volunteerism or informal neighboring that stabilizes neighborhoods and reinforces norms or reciprocity and trust that can bring new neighbors into the fold of the community. At the same time, a national dialog about income security and the impact of the necessity of having dual income families must continue. As a corollary, a national dialog about how to fill the void left by the household member who remained at home in the past; who is to care for the neighborhood and its residents at home during the day – children and adults in need. For many, the answer is to intentionally and purposefully engage older adults to do what at least one member of their household has done in the past: care for family and neighbors and participate in local organizations that sustain the livability of the community.

First, community planners should find existing networks that can be directed to new purposes. Strengthen existing networks and use their strength to reach out to newcomers. In other words, recognize the value of existing social capital and build on it rather than destroy it. For example, efforts by West Saint Paul city planners to develop neighborhood associations may have been a good idea—harnessing existing social capital—but boundaries were not aligned with the “natural neighborhoods” (Meegan & Mitchell, 2001, 2192) perceived and established by city residents. This is an example of misguided practices that can weaken or destroy existing social capital (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003).

To avoid destroying social capital present in the community, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) suggest that community leaders and planners employ asset-based community development for practical solutions to problems of deteriorating neighborhoods, whereby they look to local residents and neighborhood associations and institutions, such as schools, that

comprise the core of the community. Community planners and leaders need to find ways to expand the existing social capital of these existing networks and develop bridging social capital, which requires that the residents of West Saint Paul be able to come together and engage in dialog about solutions to new community challenges long enough to find mutual ground. Examples of the need for bridging social capital may include integrating new residents, particularly new immigrant residents, to the neighborhood, or providing home and community-based services to residents in need of such services.

Planners have been urged to turn to theories of social capital for community building efforts (Hutchinson & Vidal, 2004). Hutchinson and Vidal (2004) note city planners are in a unique position to translate theory into practice but have failed to do so. As these findings and findings of other supporting research suggest, attention to the details of how daily life unfolds can facilitate neighboring behaviors and a sense that one's community is whole and sustainable, that all needs can be addressed without traveling great distances. Furthermore, findings from this study suggest that rather than by collective action, the intense bonding was founded on a sense of trust and norms of reciprocity among a homogenous group of people who shared a common history and a sense of ownership led the city of West Saint Paul to become a place of age. Community planners understanding the building blocks and the interpersonal dynamics fueling the development of social capital have a better chance of crafting local policy and practice responses to community needs that are aligned with residents' motivation for being involved.

Older adults in this study were ready and willing to volunteer. Either organizations simply had to ask them to volunteer, for some said they would be willing to do more if asked, or organizations needed to be prepared to use the skills and experience of retired adults

brought to them. A highly anticipated wave of skilled, experienced volunteer or paid workers emerging from the retirement of the baby boomer generation will be eagerly welcomed by managers of human social service and community health care organizations. This research showed that residents are seeking meaningful engagement that serves their larger community.

The second part of this proposed two-part strategy involves continuing dialog among stakeholders at the federal and state levels of government. Transportation regional planning policies may be addressed by state and federal government. These policies could have an impact on urban sprawl and the great distances individuals travel for employment and goods and services. Putnam and Feldstein (2003) found that urban sprawl and dual income families hamper the development of social capital. Also, researchers studying the role of home economics in social reform noted that “[h]ome was the center of society...” (Apple & Coleman, 2003, p. 107). The findings of this study also support the notion that individuals are less likely to know and interact with their neighbors when all adults in the household work full time and commute greater distances than did their West Saint Paul predecessors.

Residents noted that no one is home in the neighborhood during the day anymore. In the evening, families would come together, but now they are too busy doing housework because no one was home to take care of chores during the day. This finding highlights the changing structure of interpersonal networks and interactions potentially leading to reduced social capital within the neighborhoods of West Saint Paul rather than suggesting it is a problem for community planners to solve. Certainly, retaining the assets of the community, the invaluable social capital that takes many years to develop, may require purposeful action by community planners and community advocates, particularly advocates who have lived the majority of their lives in West Saint Paul and are the city’s greatest boosters. Solutions to the caretaking dilemma

presented by dual income families, however, requires dialog among stakeholders at the state and federal level of government regarding income security, health care, and the structure of work and family, particularly as it relates to the delivery of home and community-based services, which in the past, were provided informally between family or neighbors.

Locally, communities and even state government can devise creative solutions to these caregiving challenges, such as the Elderberry Institute's Living at Home Block Nurse Program in Saint Paul, Minnesota. Eligibility for services through this program is first determined by neighborhood of residence. Nurse and social workers work together to provide support to older adults with a health care or functional need. This program uses neighborhood volunteers and paid professional staff to carry out its mission. These types of creative solutions suggest discussion among stakeholders for the formation of new state and federal policies that support community planners and leaders in their work to fill the gap in neighborhoods that now exists because of the need for two income-earning household members.

Findings of this research strongly suggests informal community participation to be as important as, if not more important than, formal participation, especially neighboring behaviors and the role of family caregivers in interpreting the meaning of community engagement for older adults in West Saint Paul. Community participation is not merely measured by the number of volunteer hours logged but also by the amount of intangible trust and a sense of shared norms and neighborly behavior exhibited. The challenge is to understand how diverse communities for the future can establish trust, common norms, and neighborliness among one another long enough to also become places of age.

Future Research

The results of this research contribute to an understanding of the multiple meanings of community engagement for older adults aging in place. The findings point to the intersection of family relationships, relationships established through participation in church activities, and relationships with neighbors as the foundation of what it means to be engaged in the community. It is this foundation that is the core strength of the community for older West Saint Paul residents.

Researchers should keep these relationships central to the definition of community engagement. With these relationships in mind, I have identified four questions emerging from this research for further investigation. First, will places of age continue to develop in the outer ring suburbs having greater spatial distance and lacking these relationships? Moreover, what will be the impact of the metropolitanization of the region on the social fabric of small towns? Will these relationships continue to be maintained or will they weaken? Second, what are the gender differences in the type of community activities and the motivation for being involved in these activities? Although I found men and women equally involved in the community and for similar reasons, I observed some differences that suggest the existence of differences in the motivation for community involvement between men and women that should be explored more intentionally. The primary difference was self-perception of their involvement in the community. A few women tended to perceive themselves as not involved, while in reality, they were very involved in their neighborhood. A few men, on the other hand, tended to perceive themselves as very involved, and self-admittedly, mainly to satisfy their need to be significant in the community. Third, what are the differences between different ethnic and cultural groups in the validity of the conceptual

framework of places of age? Fourth, informal community participation (neighboring behaviors such as helping out when needed) and involvement in social networks (family and friends) have explanatory power as to why certain localities are places of age?

Future research should examine the underlying contributing factors that make a locality a place of age to clarify why these places offer opportunities to contribute and a sense of belonging that make them a desirable place to live over the life course. Most importantly, sorting out the attitude and expectation differences between generations and understanding why those differences exist will enable researchers and practitioners to address the likelihood that the high levels of civic responsibility, family connections, and ties to community will continue with following generations.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent for Participants
of Investigative Projects

Title of Project: Aging In Place and the Civic Participation of Older Adults in Aging Suburban Spaces

Investigator: Cara L. Bailey (“researcher”)

I. The Purpose of this Research/Project

The purpose of this study is to explore the role of civic engagement in the process of “aging in place” in some suburban places. The researcher will apply concepts of civic participation to an older adult population residing in the community to provide meaning behind the demographic phenomenon of “aging in place.” The findings of this study will contribute to the existing literature and research on civic involvement and neighborhood dynamics by examining a population that has not been addressed specifically by the existing literature in this field. Moreover, this study will open a new genre for gerontological research by bringing better understanding of the social capital generated by the engagement of older adults with people and organizations in their neighborhood.

II. Procedures

Approximately 30 persons aged 65 years and over who have lived in their neighborhood for at least 25 years and are, or have been, involved in their neighborhood will be interviewed to determine the role of civic engagement in the phenomenon of aging in place. The interviews will be semi-structured and administered using an interview guide approved by the researcher’s dissertation committee. The researcher will conduct the interviews at locations selected by each study participant. One interview session will be held with each study participant with possible follow up questions with each participant. Interviews should last approximately one hour. Follow up questions may be asked over the phone and should not require more than 15 minutes of the participant's time. The following topics will be addressed in the interview:

1. The individual's definition of community;
2. attitude toward interdependency;
3. extent of participation in formal civic and social organizations;
4. involvement in informal groups;
5. extent of volunteerism;
6. extent of engagement in local politics;
7. extent of political efficacy;
8. extent of involvement with neighborhood residents;
9. extent of interaction with other age groups; and
10. level of feeling of belonging to, or identifying with, the community.

III. Risks

There are no known risks associated with participation in this study.

IV. Benefits of this Project

Although no tangible benefits accrue to the individual participant in this study, there may be larger societal benefits to be gained from participating in this study. It is the researcher's expectation that this study will inform urban planners, policy makers, and community advocates of the vital role older adults play in sustaining the livability of our communities. Moreover, it is the researcher's intention to encourage urban planners, policy makers, and community advocates to consider and actively engage the older members of their communities in the policy making process at the local level of government.

No promise or guarantee of benefits has been made to encourage participation.

Study participants may contact the researcher, Cara L. Bailey, at a later time for a summary of the research results.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

Interviews will be audio recorded. However, anonymity, but not confidentiality, of study participants will be assured through the use of pseudonyms (false names) when their stories are related in the case study. A clerical professional who is unfamiliar with my study or the participants will transcribe audio recordings of the interviews. Otherwise, only Cara L. Bailey will have access to the tapes and transcribed records.

Audio recordings will be erased after verifying the accuracy of the transcription.

VI. Compensation

There is no compensation to be earned for participation in this study.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

Participants are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. Participants are free to not answer any questions that they choose without penalty.

VIII. Approval of Research

This research project has been approved, as required, by the Institutional Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and by the College of Architecture and Urban Studies.

IX. Participant's Responsibilities

I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By doing so, I have agreed to be interviewed by Cara L. Bailey.

X. Participant's Permission

I have read and understand the Informed Consent and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent for participation in this project. If I participate, I may withdraw at any time without penalty.

Signature

Date

Should I have any questions about this research or its conduct, I may contact:

Cara L. Bailey

Investigator

(651) 771-0046

Phone

James R. Bohland

Faculty Advisor

(540) 231-5517

Phone

Kenneth L. Reifsnider

Associate Provost for Interdisciplinary Programs

Chair, IRB,

Research Division

(540) 231-9359

Phone

Participants must be given a complete copy (or duplicate original) of the signed Informed Consent.

APPENDIX B

Characteristics of Participants by Pseudonym

Characteristics of Participants by Pseudonym

Pseudonym	Years in West Saint Paul	Years in house	Marital status	Highest level of education	Former occupation	Annual income	Gender	Age
Martha	52	52	Widowed	Less than high school	Homemaker	Less than \$15,000	Female	79
Ann	35	35	Widowed	College	Teacher	\$15,000 to \$24,999	Female	85
Hilda	52	52	Widowed	High school	Waitress	\$15,000 to \$24,999	Female	84
May	40	40	Widowed	High school	Homemaker	\$15,000 to \$24,999	Female	80
Hank	39	39	Married	Graduate or professional school	Teacher	\$50,000 to \$74,999	Male	71
Jim	41	41	Married	College	Business manager	\$50,000 to \$74,999	Male	70
Sue	67	67	Married	Some college/technical or trade school	Administrative assistant	\$35,000 to \$49,999	Female	67
Henry	44	44	Widowed	Graduate or professional school	Teacher	\$35,000 to \$49,999	Male	80
Tony	71	33	Widowed	College	City manager	\$50,000 to \$74,999	Male	75
Roberta	26	26	Divorced	Some college/technical or trade school	Mail girl	Less than \$15,000	Female	78
Rick	69	23	Widowed	Some college/technical or trade school	Clerk	\$25,000 to \$34,999	Male	83
Roy	49	9	Married	Some college/technical or trade school	Sales manager	\$25,000 to \$34,999	Male	71
Sally	21	21	Widowed	High school	Staff manager	\$15,000 to \$24,999	Female	67
Roger	35	26	Married	Graduate or professional school	Teacher	More than \$75,000	Male	65
Charles	32	32	Married	Some college, technical or trade school	Small business owner	More than \$75,000	Male	70
Joy	70	46	Married	Graduate or professional school	Teacher	\$35,000 to \$49,999	Female	70
Bernice	37	37	Married	Graduate or professional school	Teacher	More than \$75,000	Female	73
Bob	45	45	Married	Less than high school	Service manager	\$25,000 to \$34,999	Male	83
Louann	42	42	Widowed	Less than high school	Homemaker	Less than \$15,000	Female	83
Sharon	27	27	Widowed	Some college/technical or trade school	Kitchen supervisor at nursing home	Less than \$15,000	Female	84
Linda	74	21	Widowed	High school	Secretary	\$35,000 to \$49,999	Female	74

APPENDIX C

Semistructured Interview Guide

Interview Protocol

Aging in Place and Civic Involvement of Older Adults in West Saint Paul, Minnesota

Cara L. Bailey

Introduction

Thank you for meeting with me today. As I mentioned on the phone, I am completing my graduate studies project.

I would like to spend about an hour discussing your involvement in your neighborhood. I am primarily interested in your participation in civic events and organizations, and what you neighborhood means to you. Our discussion will remain confidential. Your individual responses will not be reported separately, but will be analyzed and reported with all other responses from other interviewees. If I use your story as an example, I will not use your real name.

Before we begin, I am giving you a copy of my research protocol and I need to ask you to sign an "Informed Consent" form that says that you agree to do this interview and possibly a follow-up phone interview of about 15 minutes at a later date. [HAVE INTERVIEWEE SIGN TWO INFORMED CONSENT FORMS, LEAVE ONE WITH THEM].

Establish Long-Term (At Least 25 Years) Residency

1. To begin, how long have you lived in this neighborhood?
IF LESS THAN 25 YEARS, ASK: 1A. From where did move?
2. Have you lived in this house for ___years as well?
IF NOT, ASK: 2A. Where else have you lived in this neighborhood?

Establish Meaning of Community as It Relates to Neighborhood (to define community and neighborhood; to measure level of feeling of belonging to, or identifying with, the neighborhood)

Now, I would like to ask to define your neighborhood and then we will talk about the meaning of "community" as it relates to your neighborhood.

3. How do you define your "neighborhood"? [PROBE: Can you draw the boundaries of what you feel is your neighborhood? (HAVE R MARK A MAP)]
4. Why do you feel this area makes up your neighborhood?
5. How would you describe your neighborhood?
6. Do you have a sense of community about this area?
 - 6A. What does the word "community" mean to you when speaking about your neighborhood?
7. What do you feel ties this "community" together?

Self-Efficacy and Group Efficacy to Effect Change (*Extent of personal and collective efficacy as measured by: 1) political behavior; 2) voting; and 3) attendance and extent of participation in civic and voluntary organizations. Sense of control over change as measured by: 1) motivation, 2) encouragement and discouragement, and 3) perceived extent of personal and group effect*)

Political Participation

I would like to begin by asking you some questions about your involvement with local politics and with neighborhood groups, including places of worship.

8. Have you ever voted in local elections?

IF YES: 8A. What motivated you to vote? [PROBE: Were you involved with elections of just major officers, such as mayor, or did you also vote to decide major issues, such as bond issues and other referenda?]

IF INVOLVED WITH ISSUES, ASK: 8A.1. Which issues were of interest to you?

8B. To what extent do you believe your vote made a difference?

8C. Do you still vote in local elections?

IF YES: 8C.1 What motivates you to vote now? [PROBE: Are you involved with elections of just major officers, such as mayor, or do you also vote to decide major issues, such as bond issues and other referenda?]

IF INVOLVED WITH ISSUES, ASK:
8C.1a. Which issues are of interest to you now?

8C.2. To what extent do you believe your vote makes a difference now?

IF NO: 8C.3. Why not? [PROBE: Is lack of voting due to mobility issues or is it due to lost interest because of no issues of personal concern or other reasons? (PROBE FOR OTHER REASONS, IF NECESSARY)]

IF NO: 8D. What discouraged you from voting?

9. Have you ever attended any local government meetings while living in this neighborhood? [PROBE: Such as a city council meeting, planning commission, or school board meeting?]

IF YES: 9A. What motivated you to attend? [PROBE: Did you attend regularly or just when certain issues were being decided?]

IF JUST WHEN CERTAIN ISSUES WERE BEING DECIDED,
ASK: 9A.1. Which issues?

9B. Do you still attend these types of meetings?

IF YES: 9B.1. What motivates you to attend now? [PROBE: Do you attend regularly or just when certain issues are being decided?]

9B.1a. IF JUST WHEN CERTAIN ISSUES
WERE BEING DECIDED, ASK: Which
issues?

IF NO: 9B.2. Why not? [PROBE: Is lack of attendance due to mobility issues or is it due to lost interest because of no issues of personal concern or other reasons? (PROBE FOR OTHER REASONS, IF NECESSARY)]

9C. How effective do you believe the group has been in shaping your neighborhood's future?

IF NO: 9D. What has discouraged you from attending these types of meetings?

9E. Do you believe that these political boards affected the quality of your neighborhood?

IF YES: 9E.1. In what way?

IF NO: 9E.2. Why not?

Participation in Civic Groups

10. Have you ever attended any civic group meetings such as Kiwanis, Lions Club, League of Women Voters, or other civic group?

IF YES: 10A. What motivated you to attend?

10B. Were you a member of one of these types of organizations?

IF YES: 10B.1. Which ones?

10C. How actively involved were you? [PROBE: Can you tell me about some of the activities you that were involved with?]

10D. Are you currently a member of one of these groups?

IF YES: 10D.1. Which ones?

10D.2. How actively involved are you now?

[PROBE: Can you tell me about some of the activities you that are involved with?]

IF NO: 10D.3. Why not? [PROBE: Is lack of membership due to mobility issues or other reasons? (PROBE FOR OTHER REASONS, IF NECESSARY)]

10E. What impact have these groups had in your neighborhood?

10E.1: How so? [PROBE FOR EXAMPLES]

IF NO: 10F. Why would that be?

Participation in National Advocacy Groups

11. Have you ever participated in a national advocacy or political group, such as the Sierra Club, the Democratic or Republican parties, _____?

IF YES: 11A. Were you a member of one of these types of organizations?

IF YES: 11A.1. Which ones?

11B. How actively involved were you? [PROBE: Can you tell me about some of the activities you that were involved with?]

11C. Are you currently a member of one of these groups?

IF YES: 11C.1. Which ones?

11C.2. How actively involved are you now?
[PROBE: Can you tell me about some of the activities you that are involved with?]

IF NO: 11C.3. May I ask why not?

Participation in Faith Organizations

12. Have you ever attended a place of worship (church, synagogue, or temple) regularly?

IF YES: 12A. Is that place of worship in your neighborhood?

12B. Is your place of worship actively involved with your community?

12B.1. In what ways does your place of worship participate in your neighborhood?

12C. How actively involved were you with your place of worship? [PROBE: Were a formal member?]

12D. Do you continue to attend that place of worship?

IF YES: 12D.1. How actively involved do you continue to be? [PROBE: Are you still a formal member?]

IF NO: 12D.2. Why not? [PROBE: Is lack of attendance due to mobility issues or is it due to lost interest or other reasons? (PROBE FOR OTHER REASONS, IF NECESSARY)]

12D.2a. Although you do not attend regularly anymore, are you still a formal member?

IF NO: 12E. Could you tell me why not?

Participation in Voluntary Organizations

13. Have you ever volunteered in your neighborhood? [THIS QUESTION MAY BE ADDRESSED IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSION ABOUT CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS, PLACES OF WORSHIP, OR COMMUNITY. IF PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED, SUMMARIZE AND RESTATE MY UNDERSTANDING OF EARLIER COMMENTS ABOUT VOLUNTEER WORK.]

IF YES: 13A. Did you ever volunteer before retirement?

IF YES: 13A.1. For which organizations?

13A.2. Approximately how many hours per week did you volunteer?

13A.3. What encouraged you to volunteer?

IF NO: 13A.4. Why not?

13B. Have you ever volunteered after retirement?

IF YES: 13B.1. For which organizations?

13B.2. Approximately how many hours per week do you volunteer?

13B.3. What encourages you to volunteer?

IF NO: 13B.4. Why not? [PROBE: Is lack of volunteer work due to mobility issues, or due to lack of interest or other reasons? (PROBE FOR OTHER REASONS, IF NECESSARY)]

IF NO: 13C. May I ask why not?

Personal and Collective Efficacy on Neighborhood Change

14. Has your neighborhood changed since you first moved here?
- IF YES:
- 14A. How has it changed? [PROBE AS APPROPRIATE: In what ways does multiculturalism make life better or worse in your neighborhood?]
- 14B. In the past, have you ever been involved with community efforts to address challenges or threats?
- 14B.1. Can you give me an example of one of those challenges or threats and how you became involved to address the problem?
- 14C: Do you feel that you have had any influence over the changes you have seen?
- 14C.1. In what ways have you had influence?
15. Today, what do you perceive to be the important issues or challenges facing your neighborhood?
- 15A. Could you draw on this map where those challenges or threats exist? [PROVIDE STUDY PARTICIPANT WITH A BASE MAP ON WHICH S/HE MAY DRAW]
- 15B. How do those challenges or threats affect you?
- 15C. Have you been involved in community efforts to address those challenges or threats?
- 15C.1. In what ways? [PROBE FOR EXAMPLES]

Issues of Trust (*Existence of trust of persons outside and inside the neighborhood; expectation of shared norms*)

16. Do you feel that most people can be trusted?
17. If a stranger needs assistance with their car on the side of the road, do you stop to help them?
18. Do you feel comfortable lending tools to your neighbor? [PROBE: Do you trust him or her to return the tools in the same condition?]

Social Involvement (*Extent of social network inside and outside of neighborhood; attitude toward interdependency, which is measured by extent of involvement with neighborhood residents*)

Attitude Toward Interdependency

19. Do you visit with your neighbors?

IF YES, ASK: 19A. How many neighbors do you see on a regular basis? [PROBE: How many neighbors with whom do you have a relationship?]

19B. Approximately how often do you visit with them?

19C. Do you usually visit informally (across the backyard fence) or formally (invitations to dinner)?

19C1. What do you usually talk about?

IF NO, ASK: 19D. Why is that?

20. How do you and your neighbors help each other out?

IF YES: 20A. Do you feel that this help is important to maintaining the ties that bind your neighborhood together?

20B. What types of things do you do for each other?

20C. How often do you/they do this for them/you?

IF NO: 20D: Why do you think that is?

Involvement in informal groups and intergenerational activity

21. Do you get together with a regular group of friends or people interested in some of the same things you are interested in?

IF YES: 21A. How long have you known these people?

21B. Are these people also involved in your neighborhood? [THIS MAY BE ANSWERED IN Q19]

IF NO: 21C. Do you talk on the phone with friends on a regular basis?

21C.1. About how often do you speak with these friends?

22. Do you have opportunities to interact regularly with people of different age groups in your neighborhood?

IF YES: 22A. What ages?

22B. What do you usually do together?

IF NO: 22C. Is this your choice?

23. Where do your family members, such as children, grandchildren, siblings, and parents (if they are still alive) live?

23A. Do you have opportunities to visit or do they visit you?

23A.1. About how often do you visit each other?

23A.2. When was the last time you saw your family members?

Personal Information about Study Participant

Before we end, I would like to remind you that your individual responses will not be identified in my report, and that your responses to my next questions, as with all your responses today, are entirely voluntary. I would now like to ask you some questions about yourself.

24. May I ask what year you were born?
25. Are you married, widowed, divorced, never married?
 - 25A. IF WIDOWED, DIVORCED, OR NEVER MARRIED, ASK: Do you live alone?
26. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
27. Are you retired? What was your occupation?
28. You [OWN/RENT] your home, correct?
29. And finally, on this card I have written some annual household income categories. [SHOW CARD] Can you tell me the letter that best represents your annual household income?
 - A. Less than \$15,000 per year
 - B. \$15,000 to \$24,999 per year
 - C. \$25,000 to \$34,999 per year
 - D. \$35,000 to \$49,999 per year
 - E. \$50,000 to \$74,999 per year
 - F. More than \$75,000 per year
30. How many persons are supported by this income?

Conclude Interview

Those are all the questions I have for you today. Do you have any questions of me?

I will call you if I have any further questions, such as clarifying comments from our discussion today.

Thank you for your time today. I very much enjoyed meeting you.

APPENDIX D

Code Families

Code Families

Concepts/Code Family	Topics/Codes
Community	Meaning of the word community: neighborhood boundaries; why the area makes up the neighborhood; neighborhood description; neighborhood equals the neighborhood association; small town; community history, sense of community about neighborhood; what ties the neighborhood community together
Social connectivity	Social involvement: attitude toward interdependence; visit with neighbors; definition of a visit; topics of conversation; neighbors helping each other out; helping neighbors is important to neighborhood ties; involvement in informal groups; regular group of friends; history of long-term friends; intergenerational activity; family members
Trust	Trust in general; trusting neighbors, trusting strangers
Self- and collective efficacy to influence change	<p>Overall individual and collective efficacy to affect change. Political participation: voting; motivation for voting; vote makes a difference; voting behavior past and present; attendance at local government meetings; effectiveness of governing boards</p> <p>Participation in civic groups: extent of involvement in civic groups; preretirement civic activities; postretirement civic activities; issues related to civic groups; motivation for attending civic groups; why no preretirement participation in civic groups; why no postretirement participation in civic groups; effectiveness of civic groups and political participation</p> <p>Participation in national advocacy groups</p> <p>Participation in faith organizations: extent of church participation; involvement of church in neighborhood.</p> <p>Participation in voluntary organizations: summary of volunteering activities; preretirement volunteer activities; postretirement volunteer activities</p> <p>Personal and collective efficacy on neighborhood change. Neighborhood change: younger; racial/ethnic diversity; older (no kids around)</p> <p>Personal experience confronting community challenges; neighborhood challenges</p>

APPENDIX E

Coding Categories

CODING CATEGORIES FOR WEST SAINT PAUL INTERVIEWS

For all Yes/No

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Q10B1. Member of which civic organizations in the past?

10 Civic organizations

- 11 Kiwanis Club
- 12 Lion's Club
- 13 Moose Lodge
- 14 Neighborhood association
- 15 PEO (promoting education of young women)

20 Faith-based organizations

- 21 Council of Catholic Women
- 22 Knights of Columbus

30 Special interest organizations

- 31 League of Women Voters
- 32 Senior Federation
- 33 Labor unions
- 34 Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)
- 35 WSP Seniors' Club
- 36 Chamber of Commerce
- 37 Jaycees
- 38 Junior Chamber of Commerce
- 39 American Legion

40 Entertainment/Hobby/Social Support organizations

- 41 Silver Tones (chorale)
- 42 500 Card Club
- 43 Square dance club
- 44 Car club
- 45 Bowling
- 46 Solo Parents
- 47 Member of a band (3-piece German Band – Bavarian Music Meisters)

Q10D1. Member of which civic organizations in the present?

10 Civic organizations

- 11 Kiwanis Club

- 12 Lion's Club
- 13 Moose Lodge
- 14 Neighborhood association
- 15 League of Women Voters

20 Faith-based organizations

- 21 Council of Catholic Women
- 22 Knights of Columbus

30 Special interest organizations

- 31 PEO (promoting education of young women)
- 32 Senior Federation
- 33 Labor unions
- 34 Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)
- 35 WSP Seniors' Club
- 36 Chamber of Commerce
- 37 Jaycees
- 38 Junior Chamber of Commerce
- 39 American Legion

40 Entertainment/Hobby/Social Support organizations

- 41 Silver Tones (chorale)
- 42 500 Card Club
- 43 Square dance club
- 44 Car club
- 45 Bowling
- 46 Solo Parents
- 47 Member of a band (3-piece German Band – Bavarian Music Meisters)

Q11A1. Member of which state or national organizations in the past?

10 Republican National Party

- 11 Volunteer/organizer
- 12 Minnesota caucus

20 Democratic National Party

- 11 Volunteer/organizer
- 12 Minnesota DFL caucus

30 Held political office

- 31 Member of State Legislature /organizer

Q11C1. Member of which state or national organizations in the present?

10 Republican National Party

- 11 Volunteer/organizer
- 12 Minnesota caucus

- 20 Democratic National Party
 - 11 Volunteer/organizer
 - 12 Minnesota DFL caucus

- 30 Held political office
 - 31 Member of State Legislature /organizer

Q13A1. Volunteered for which organizations in the past?

- 10 Youth organizations
 - 11 Girl Scouts
 - 12 Boy Scouts
 - 13 PTA
 - 14 Active helper in school (room mother, playground supervisor, lunch program)
 - 15 SPFF
 - 16 Camp Fire Girls
 - 17 Organized sports/school band
 - 18 Girls' State
 - 19 High school mentor/speaks to classes

- 20 Adult organizations
 - 21 Senior center

- 30 Charitable/civic organizations
 - 31 March of Dimes
 - 32 Election judge
 - 33 Meals on Wheels
 - 34 Historical Society (MN, Dakota County)
 - 35 Local/state political/planning committees/boards/JP (ex.: Mississippi River Water Management Organization Advisory Committee (Metropolitan Council); citizen planning committee for special purposes (Northern Dakota County Service Center)
 - 36 Neighborhood association committees/ leadership
 - 37 Nonprofit board of directors
 - 38 Habitat for Humanity
 - 39 Human service (nursing homes, hospital, etc.)

- 40 Professional organizations
 - 41 State teachers' organization

50 Faith-based organizations

51 Church Council

52 Church music

53 Food shelf

54 General church activities (ex.: usher, Sunday School, bake sales, etc.)

60 Education

61 Taught elder hostel course(s)

Q13B1. Volunteered for which organizations in the present?

10 Youth organizations

11 Girl Scouts

12 Boy Scouts

13 PTA

14 Active helper in school (room mother, playground supervisor, lunch program)

15 SPFF

16 Camp Fire Girls

17 Organized sports/school band

18 Girls' State

19 High school mentor/speaks to classes

20 Adult organizations

21 Senior center

30 Charitable/civic organizations

31 March of Dimes

32 Election judge

33 Meals on Wheels

34 Historical Society (MN, Dakota County)

35 Local/state political/planning committees/boards/JP (ex.: Mississippi River Water Management Organization Advisory Committee (Metropolitan Council); citizen planning committee for special purposes (Northern Dakota County Service Center)

36 Neighborhood association committees/ leadership

37 Nonprofit board of directors

38 Habitat for Humanity

39 Human service (nursing homes, hospital, etc.)

40 Professional organizations

41 State teachers' organization

50 Faith-based organizations

51 Church Council

52 Church music

53 Food shelf

54 General church activities (ex.: usher, Sunday School, bake sales, etc.)

60 Education

61 Taught elder hostel course(s)

Q14B. In the past, have you ever been involved with community efforts to address challenges or threats?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 No challenges or threats

Q14C. Do you feel that you have had any influence over the changes you have seen?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 No challenges or threats

Q19B. How often visit with neighbors?

- 1 Daily
- 2 A few times per week
- 3 Once per week
- 4 Once every two weeks
- 5 Once per month

Q19C. Visit with neighbors informal or formal?

- 1 Informal
- 2 Formal

Q19C.1. What do you usually talk about?

- 10 Talk about current events
- 20 Talk about family
- 30 Talk about the weather
- 40 Talk about health
- 50 Talk about the “good old days”
- 60 Talk about golf scores
- 70 Gardens

Q20B. What types of things do you do for each other?

- 10 Home Maintenance & Repair
 - 11 Shovel snow
 - 12 Mow lawn
 - 13 Borrow tools, assist with home maintenance/lift
- 20 Car Maintenance & Repair
- 30 Helping when away
 - 31 Collect mail
 - 32 Watch house when away, drive to airport
 - 33 Water garden/mow lawn when away
- 40 Emergencies
 - 41 Trees downed in storms
 - 42 First Aid/Medical assistance
- 50 Generally look out for one another
- 60 Transportation
 - 61 regularly (ex: shopping, doctor appointments)
 - 62 When needed (due to weather)
- 70 Prepare food
- 80 Visit homebound/hospital

Q20C How often do you help each other out?

- 10 Frequently – regular help
 - 11 Once a week (mow grass/shovel snow)
 - 12 Always looking out for one another

- 20 Infrequently – special case
 - 21 When away
 - 22 Emergency situations
 - 23 When needed (heavy snow, sidewalk edging)

Q21C.1. How often do you speak with these friends?

- 1 Daily
- 2 2 to 4 times per week
- 3 Once per week
- 4 Once every two weeks
- 5 Once per month
- 6 Every 2 to 3 months
- 7 Ever 4 to 6 months
- 8 Every 6 to 12 months
- 9 Once a year
- 10 Less than once a year

Q22A. What ages?

- 10 Young children (\leq 12 years old)

- 15 Teens (13-18 years old)

- 20 Young adults (19-44 years old)

- 30 Middle-aged adults (45-64 years old)

- 40 All ages

Q22B. What do you usually do together?

10 Church – attend

20 Family

- 21 Cross-stitch with grandchildren
- 22 Play with young grandchildren (play make-believe)
- 23 Go to the theater with grandchildren (Children’s Theater)
- 24 Go to the movie theater,/zoo/mall with grandchildren
- 25 Play cards/games with grandchildren
- 26 Attend family celebrations (birthdays, graduations, memorials)
- 27 Eat together/visit

30 Neighbors

- 31 Stop and talk
- 32 Play golf
- 33 Eat out
- 34 Go to movie theater
- 35 Cycling
- 36 Attend family celebrations (birthdays, graduations, memorials)

40 Friends and co-workers

- 41 Play golf
- 42 Eat out
- 43 Go to the movie theater
- 44 Cycling

50 Volunteer activities

- 51 Mentor or buddy to child (ex: SPFF)
- 52 Church activities
- 53 Habitat for Humanity

Q23A.1. About how often do you visit each other?

- 1 One or more family members live with study participant
- 2 Daily
- 3 2 to 4 times per week
- 4 Once per week
- 5 Once every two weeks
- 6 Once per month
- 7 Every 2 to 3 months
- 8 Ever 4 to 6 months
- 9 Every 6 to 12 months
- 10 Once a year
- 11 Less than once a year

Q23.A.2. When was the last time you saw your family members?

- 1 Today/Yesterday
- 2 2 days ago
- 3 3 to 6 days ago
- 4 A week ago
- 5 2 to 3 weeks ago
- 6 A month ago
- 7 2 to 3 months ago
- 8 4 to 6 months ago
- 9 6 months to one year ago
- 10 More than one year ago

Q25. Marital status

- 1 Married
- 2 Widowed
- 3 Divorced
- 4 Never married

Q26. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- 0 Less than high school
- 1 High school
- 2 Some college/Trade school
- 3 College
- 4 Some post-graduate school
- 5 Graduate or professional school

Q27 Occupation

10 Teacher

20 Management

- 21 City manager
- 22 Business manager
- 23 Staff manager

- 24 Shift manager
- 25 Sales manager
- 26 Service manager

- 30 Administrative
 - 31 Clerk
 - 32 Secretary
 - 33 Mail girl
 - 34 Administrative assistant

- 40 Food service
 - 41 Waitress
 - 42 Kitchen supervisor at a nursing home

- 50 Homemaker

- 60 Small business owner

Q28 Housing tenure

- 1 Own
- 2 Rent

Q29 Annual income

- 1 A. Less than \$15,000 per year
- 2 B. \$15,000 to \$24,999 per year
- 3 C. \$25,000 to \$34,999 per year
- 4 D. \$35,000 to \$49,999 per year
- 5 E. \$50,000 to \$74,999 per year
- 6 F. More than \$75,000 per year

Gender

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

APPENDIX F

Curriculum Vitae

CARA L. BAILEY

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SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

- Experience with quantitative and qualitative research design and implementation
- Demonstrated skill in quantitative and qualitative data analysis and health and human services program evaluation methodologies
- Project management experience in a variety of health and human services settings with specific targets and deadlines
- Understands the health care and social support needs of an aging population
- Familiarity with health care quality measurement for an older population with chronic conditions
- Knowledge of health care purchasing strategies for special needs populations, including older adults (Minnesota Senior Health Options), and persons with disabilities (Minnesota Disabilities Health Options), integrating federal and state policies and procedures
- Ability to manage collaboratively and lead others in challenging environments
- Effective verbal and written communication skills, including technical reports, policy briefs, published articles, summaries of findings for the lay audience, and grant proposals
- Experience with small and large group presentation of complex health and human service topics, particularly with stakeholder workgroups where stakeholder buy-in is critical to the success of the project
- Advanced academic training in public policy and gerontology

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, Environmental Design and Planning — Public and International Affairs
Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia August 2007

Graduate Certificate, Gerontology
Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia August 2007

Masters of Urban Affairs, Urban Affairs – Social Policy
Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia May 1992

Bachelor of Arts, International Relations — World Trade and Development
University of California, Davis, California March 1987

RESEARCH AND POLICY EXPERIENCE

Policy Coordinator (State Program Administrator – Principal)

Minnesota Department of Human Services, Health Care Purchasing and Delivery Systems,
Special Needs Purchasing, Saint Paul, Minnesota

2005 to present

- Coordinates quality assurance policy related to MSHO, MSC, MSC+, and MnDHO for Special Needs Purchasing Team
- Contributes to the collaborative development and implementation of policies and procedures needed to manage Minnesota Senior Care (MSC), Minnesota Senior Care Plus (MSC+), Minnesota Senior Health Options (MSHO), and Minnesota Disability Health Options (MnDHO) with other team members, contract managers, and across organizational boundaries to provide a comprehensive package of health care and home and community-based long-term care services to support older adults and persons with disabilities who opt to stay in the community for as long as possible
- Develops evidence-based solutions to support state health care purchasing for dual-eligible (special needs) populations

- Co-facilitates a work group comprised of managed care organization medical directors and quality improvement staff for the development and adoption of clinical guidelines appropriate for persons 65 years and older with comorbidity
- Facilitates an external work group around topics of care coordination and care plan audits as a measure quality of health care and home and community-based service delivery
- Serves as Special Needs Purchasing liaison with Minnesota Department of Human Services Aging and Adult Services Division
- Develops Requests for Proposals for the evaluation of integrated health care programs (MSHO and MSC+)
- Manages evaluation and research contracts, such as the study of care coordination practiced by the nine managed care organization

Research Associate

Wilder Research Center, Saint Paul, Minnesota

2000 to 2005

- Managed evaluation studies of the quality of social and health-related services, which included the following responsibilities:
 - Developed data collection instruments and protocols, and monitor data collection staff to ensure adherence to protocols
 - Analyzed quantitative and qualitative data for the purpose of understanding and recommending changes to improve program process or outcomes
 - Prepared written reports for presentation to clients' advisory committees
 - Prepared proposals and contracts for research, program evaluation, and consultation projects
- Coordinated continuous quality improvement for Wilder's Community Services for the Elderly Division
- Provided evaluation technical assistance to the efforts of Wilder's Community Services for the Elderly to address health disparities and health-related quality of life in the older African American population in Saint Paul through a collaboration of health services providers, which received funding from the Minneapolis Foundation
- Evaluated healthcare system- and client-related outcomes of the Senior Care Community Partnership, a collaboration of Living at Home/Block Nurse Programs, United Family Practice Center, and United Hospital
- Managed a study of the satisfaction of family members with 300 relatives in nursing homes who were enrolled in the Minnesota Senior Health Options (MSHO) program (treatment group) compared with the satisfaction of 300 family members with relatives enrolled in the Prepaid Medical Assistance Program (PMAP) (control group)
- Implemented a survey of satisfaction of 455 consumers of the Minnesota Personal Care Assistance (PCA) program using Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) technology for the purpose of providing the state of Minnesota recommendations for policy and program improvement
- Designed and implemented a survey of quality of life of 632 community-residing older adults in Ramsey County, Minnesota, of which 133 African American, Hmong, and Latino respondents were reached through the development of three targeted samples
- Developed and implemented evaluation of *Designing a Life of Wellness*, an occupational therapy program that educates and engages older adults in goal setting and learning new approaches to accomplish tasks that enable them to achieve their goals

Graduate Research Assistant (Doctoral degree)

Rural Health Policy Research Program, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia

1997 to 1998

- Researched current literature and utilized Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services data for the study of managed care Medicare in rural areas under University-sponsored research grant
- Authored policy brief on the urban-rural development trends of managed care Medicare in Virginia
- Contributed to paper presented at the 1998 annual meeting of the Rural Health Association on the subject of expanding managed care Medicare markets in the rural southern United States

Graduate Research Assistant (Doctoral degree)

Office of the Executive Vice-President and
Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia 1996 to 1997

- Reviewed and made recommendations to the Office of the Executive Vice-President regarding annual non-instructional discretionary funding requests.
- Assisted with course **Public Financial Management** (Fall 1996, undergraduate). Prepared syllabus and class reader for undergraduate public finance course, advised students on term projects, managed class electronic listserv, and conducted two class lectures in the absence of the instructor

Graduate Research Assistant (Doctoral degree)

Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia 1996

- Assisted professor with research and preparation of proposal to study "aging in place" of suburban seniors

Graduate Research Assistant (Master's degree)

Virginia Center for Housing Research, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia 1990 to 1992

- Conducted research concerning state policies and programs to preserve federally assisted low income housing and the effectiveness of targeted marketing in local and regional economic development programs using qualitative techniques including unstructured interviews and case studies
- Co-authored journal article on state policies and programs to preserve federally assisted low income housing and contributing chapter for book on targeted marketing in local and regional economic development programs
- Researched and reported to the Virginia Housing Research Board possible state and local strategies to implement the 1990 Low Income Housing Preservation and Resident Homeownership Act, focusing on efforts targeted towards nonprofit capacity building and tenant empowerment

Associate

Economic and Planning Systems, Inc., Berkeley, California 1987 to 1991

- Conducted 12 real estate market analyses for residential, retail, hotel, office, and industrial projects in the San Francisco Bay and Sacramento areas
- Prepared six fiscal impact analyses of real estate development projects on local public service providers including cities, counties and special districts
- Managed residential and commercial market, fiscal, and financial studies pertaining to a 440-acre redevelopment site in Union City, California
- Assessed the need for affordable housing to determine the feasibility of a proposed 80-unit affordable senior housing project for the Rocklin Redevelopment Agency

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Adjunct Faculty, Instructor

Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia 1998 to 1999

- Taught course **Public Financial Management** (Spring 1999, undergraduate)
- Taught course **Computer Laboratory, Research Design for Policy/Planning Professionals** (Fall 1998, graduate)

Adjunct Faculty, Instructor

Geography, Radford University, Radford, Virginia 1998

- Taught course **Introduction to Human Geography** (Fall 1998, undergraduate)

Graduate Teaching Assistant (Doctoral degree)

Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia

1995

- Co-taught course **Urbanization and Development** (Fall 1995, undergraduate). Co-instructed; responsibilities included syllabus preparation, lecturing, and student advising, undergraduate class of 35 students on the subject of urbanization and development
- Assisted with course **Research Methods for the Social Sciences** (Fall 1995, undergraduate). Provided teaching assistance for an undergraduate social science research methods class of approximately 100 students, which included grading, advising, and tutoring students

DIRECT SERVICE EXPERIENCE

Project Manager

Ecumenical Association for Housing (EAH), San Rafael, California

1992 to 1995

- Managed development, including financing, contract administration, preparation and monitoring of development budget, payment of invoices, obtaining final map approval and other approvals necessary for building permits, of an 18-unit rental project in Healdsburg, California, and a 43-unit project in Santa Rosa, California, with combined development budgets totaling over \$6.0 million
 - Prepared two successful California Tax Credit Allocation Committee applications requesting a total of \$6,409,030 in federal Low Income Housing Tax Credits for family rental housing located in Healdsburg and Santa Rosa, California
 - Obtained \$312,300 in Sonoma County HOME Program funds for construction of family rental housing in Healdsburg, California
 - Submitted successful S.H. Cowell Foundation grant proposal requesting \$175,000 for construction of family rental housing in Santa Rosa, California
- Performed as liaison between EAH and federal, state, and local governments, private foundations, and commercial banks
- Worked collaboratively with Marin County Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) administrator to amend county's CDBG rent standard for affordable housing to increase the flexibility of the funding program
- Supervised the preparation of applications to competitive funding programs, including the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, HOME, and Community Development Block Grant programs

SERVICE ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY OUTREACH

- *Delegate* – Gustavus Adolphus College Association of Congregations, 2007 to present
- *Troop Leader* – Girl Scout Council of the Saint Croix Valley, 2005 to present
- *Volunteer* – Meals on Wheels, March 2000 to 2005
- *Committee Member* – Children, Youth and Family Board, Arlington Hills Lutheran Church, 2001 to 2002
- *Committee Member* – Virginia Tech, College of Architecture and Urban Studies, Honorifics Committee, 1997-1998
- *Committee Member* – Gerontological Society of America, Public Policy Committee, 1996-1998
- *Chapter President* – Sigma Phi Omega, Beta Sigma Chapter, 1997-1998
- *Chapter Treasurer* – Sigma Phi Omega, Beta Sigma Chapter, 1996-1997
- *Committee Member* – Virginia Tech, Environmental Design and Planning Program Committee, 1996-1997
- *Volunteer Visitor* – San Francisco Ministry to Nursing Homes, 1992-1995

HONORS, AWARDS, AND ACADEMIC GRANTS

- *Member of Sigma Phi Omega*, National Academic Honor and Professional Society in Gerontology, 1996-present
- *Outstanding Doctoral Student in Gerontology* - Virginia Association on Aging, \$1,000 Scholarship, 1999
- *Annual Meeting Travel Grant* - Association of American Geographers (AAG), \$200, 1999
- *Grant for Travel to the AAG Annual Meeting* - College of Architecture and Urban Studies, \$200, 1999
- *Virginia Citizens Planning Commission Award for Outstanding Achievement*, 1991
- *Member of Tau Sigma Delta*, National Honor Society in Architecture and Allied Arts, 1991

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- Gerontological Society of America (GSA), 1996 to present
- AcademyHealth, 2005 to present
- Minnesota Gerontological Society (MGS), 2000 to 2003; 2007 to present
- American Society on Aging (ASA), 2001 to 2003
- American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), 1994 to 2005
- American Planning Association (APA), 1990 to 2005

PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS

Bailey, C. L. (2005, June). Designing a Life of Wellness: An occupational therapy approach to wellness. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L., & Martin, N. (2005, February). Senior Care Community Partnership: Progress toward service integration. Report commissioned by the Elderberry Institute, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, August). Medical Assistance Health Plan Survey : a survey of family members of nursing home residents enrolled in the Minnesota Senior Health Options (MSHO) and the Prepaid Medical Assistance Program (PMAP). Report commissioned by Minnesota Department of Human Services, Integrated Purchasing Demonstrations, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, July). Korean Service Center caregiver support and education: program evaluation report. Report commissioned by Korean Service Center, Minneapolis, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, July). CLUES – Tercer Amanecer Adult Day Service caregiver support and education: program evaluation report. Report commissioned by CLUES, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, July). Centre for Asians and Pacific Islanders (CAPI) and Vietnamese Social Services (VSS) caregiver support and education: Program evaluation report. Report commissioned by CAPI: Minneapolis, MN and VSS, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, July). FamilyMeans, Inc. Caregiver Educations (EAP): Key informant survey. Report commissioned by FamilyMeans, Inc., Stillwater, MN.

Bailey, C. L. (2004, May). Survey of consumers of the Minnesota Personal Care Assistance program. Report commissioned by the Minnesota Department of Human Services, Disability Services Division, Saint Paul, MN.

Bailey, C. L., & Gilmore, K. (2004, May). Building communities where older adults thrive: Highlights of a survey of older adults in Ramsey County. Report commissioned by Ramsey County Community Human services and the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.

Martin, N., & Bailey, C. L. (2004, January). Wilder home health agency: 2002-2003 program evaluation data tables and open-ended responses. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.

Martin, N., & Bailey, C. L. (2004, January). Wilder homemaker and housekeeping services: 2002-2003 program evaluation data tables and open-ended responses. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.

- Martin, N., & Bailey, C. L. (2004, January). Wilder chore and home maintenance services: 2002-2003 program evaluation data tables and open-ended responses. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Martin, N., & Bailey, C. L. (2004, January). Wilder home-delivered meals program: 2002-2003 program evaluation data tables and open-ended responses. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Bailey, C. L. (2003, December). Survey of older adults: Quality of life and community. Report commissioned by Ramsey County Community Human services and the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Fair, J., & Bailey, C. L. (2003, September). Wilder home health agency: 2000-2002 program evaluation report. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Bailey, C. L. (2003, February). Designing a life of wellness: Evaluation of the demonstration program at the Wilder Humboldt campus. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Redlin, J., & Bailey, C. L. (2003, February). Home-delivered meals program: Program evaluation report. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Redlin, J., & Bailey, C. L. (2002, December). Homemaker and housekeeping program: Program evaluation report. Report commissioned by the Wilder Foundation's Community Services for the Elderly, Saint Paul, MN.
- Bailey, C. L., & Hope, G. (2001, October). Universal design: Home design for easy living. Report commissioned by East Metro Seniors Agenda for Independent Living (SAIL), Saint Paul, MN.
- Bailey, C. L. (2001, August). Dually-enrolled Medicare and Medicaid clients' views of hypertension and preventive health care: A Stratis health focus group study in Minnesota. Report commissioned by Stratis Health, Bloomington, MN.
- Bailey, C. L., & Mattessich, P W. (2001, July). American Cancer Society's Reach to Recovery: Program evaluation report. Report commissioned by the American Cancer Society, Atlanta, GA.
- Bailey, C. L., & Mattessich, P W. (2000, October). American Cancer Society: Teens Kick Ash/Great American Smokeout. Report commissioned by the American Cancer Society, Atlanta, GA.
- Mattessich, P W., & Bailey, C. L. (2000, July). American Cancer Society's Make Yours a Fresh Start Family: Evaluation report. Report commissioned by the American Cancer Society, Atlanta, GA.
- Bailey, C. L. (1998, June). Growth in Medicare managed care in Virginia: Metro-nonmetro changes. Unpublished manuscript, Rural Health Policy Research Program at Virginia Tech.
- Bailey, C. L. (1997, May). Managed care and Medicare: Opportunities and constraints for the League of Older Americans Area Agency on Aging. Unpublished manuscript, practicum for Graduate Certificate in Gerontology.

Bohland, J. R., & Bailey, C. L. (1997, Spring). Policy issues in health care and the quality of life of older Virginians: Challenges to Medicare and Medicaid. Virginia Issues and Answers, 4, 2-6.

Koebel, C. T., & Bailey, C. L. (1993). Putting targeted economic development to work: The role of targeted marketing in an economic development program. In Peter B. Meyer (Ed.), Comparative studies in local economic development: Problems in policy implementation (pp. 17-29). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Koebel, C. T., & Bailey, C. L. (1992). State policies and programs to preserve federally assisted low income housing. Housing Policy Debate, 3, 995-1016.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Bailey, C. L., Kvendru, S., Morishita, L., Paone, D., & Malone, J. (2006, October). Minnesota Senior Health Options and Care Coordination. Symposium presented at the national conference of home and community-based services convened by the National Association of State Units on Aging and the Minnesota Board on Aging, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Bailey, C. L., Gilmore, K., & Wilcox, L. (2004, August). Survey of older adults in Ramsey County: Finding quality of life and community. Poster presented at the annual conference of the Minnesota Board on Aging, Saint Cloud, Minnesota.

Heinz, M., Bailey, C. L., Matuska, K., & Wilcox, L. (2004, August). Designing a Life of Wellness: Engaging older adults to enhance their lives. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Minnesota Board on Aging, Saint Cloud, Minnesota.

Bailey, C. L. (1999, March). Social change in aged suburban spaces: Temporal-spatial patterns of the roles of the aging populations in local public agenda setting. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Bohland, J. R., Roberto, K. A., Bailey, C. L., & Southard, D. (1998, May). Geographic expansion of Medicare managed care penetration in southern rural counties: 1993-1997. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Health Association, Orlando, Florida.

Bailey, C. L. (1997, November). Characteristics of aging in place communities: A cluster analysis of geographical attributes. Poster presented at the annual meeting of The Gerontological Society of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bailey, C. L. (1997, April). Communities for the life course: Political economy of aging in place in the suburbs. Roundtable presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Gerontological Society, Norfolk, Virginia.

Bailey, C. L. (1993, December). Financing low income housing: Constructing complex financial partnerships. Roundtable presented at the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia, at the invitation of C. Theodore Koebel, Director of the Virginia Center for Housing Research.

REFERENCES

James Bohland, Ph.D.

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Community Services for the Elderly
Wilder Foundation
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Pamela J. Parker

Manager
Special Needs Purchasing
Health Care Purchasing and Delivery Systems
Minnesota Department of Human Services
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