

CHAPTER 14

The Community Resilience Profile: A Framework for Assessing Community Development Efforts

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Abstract

Much is known about the characteristics of resilient individuals, but less has been said about the characteristics of resilient organizations, communities and nations. Combining an individual framework of resilience with a framework for transformational change offers just such a lens. A transformational change framework of resilience was applied to four international community development projects. In this chapter, case studies of these community development efforts are presented and their Community Resilience Profiles depicted to illustrate how a community-level resilience framework can serve as a diagnostic tool to aid action planning. Based on each case study's Community Resilience Profiles, recommendations to increase the community's resilience and improve the likelihood of successful realization of its development efforts are presented. Implications for practice and recommendations for future research are then discussed.

A great deal of research has been done on personal resilience—the combination of attributes that enables individuals to move through the disruption of change quickly while maximizing performance and minimizing dysfunctional reactions. One stream of research in this area has identified five characteristics that describe resilient individuals: being Positive, Focused, Flexible, Organized, and Proactive (Conner Partners 1993).

At any given time, each individual has a limited supply of attentional capacity and energy, which can be used as “adaptation

resources”—the cognitive, physical, and emotional assets that enable a person to adapt when he or she encounters disruption. When this supply is depleted, increased levels of unproductive behavior and reduced adaptation result. Resilience characteristics appear to enable individuals to use their adaptation resources more efficiently, both by conserving them from waste and increasing their available quantity.

We can extrapolate this definition of individual resilience to the community, defining community resilience as a community's ability, when it encounters or initiates major change, to achieve effective outcomes with minimal waste of resources. The two constructs are related but separate. While a community made up of resilient individuals will be better positioned to quickly and effectively adapt to change, a collection of resilient people does not necessarily ensure that a community as a whole will be able to respond well to challenges in its environment—there is a systems element to the equation that must be considered.

Community Resilience Framework and Profile

The Community Resilience Framework is based on a model of organizational resilience developed by the second author (Conner Partners 1996a) and adapted to community settings by the first author. The organizational resilience model integrates the earlier-mentioned Personal Resilience framework with a model of transformational variables in organizations.

Burke and Litwin's (1992) work with organizations revealed three components that shape the course of transformation: leadership, context (vision, mission, and strategies), and culture. These “transformational variables” interact with one another to yield dramatic shifts in an organization's functioning.

When a community is faced with transformational change, its leadership, context, and culture can be examined as well. Adapting the Burke-Litwin model to a community setting, we can characterize these transformational variables as follows:

Table 1: Leadership, Context and Culture Definitions

<i>Leadership</i>	Executive behavior that provides direction and encourages others to take needed action during change; how leaders are perceived to behave and what they value in relation to supporting a resilient culture.
<i>Context</i>	The community's vision, mission, and strategy—what leaders and members believe is the central purpose of the community and how the community intends to achieve that purpose during uncertain times.
<i>Culture</i>	The interrelationship of shared beliefs, behaviors, and assumptions that are acquired over time by members in a community.

According to the organizational resilience model cited above, an organization will be more resilient when its leadership, context, and culture are positive, focused, flexible, organized, and proactive at various times to meet changing situational demands. Adapted to the community setting, the resilience characteristics can be thought of as follows:

Table 2: Community Resilience Characteristic Definitions

<i>Positive: External</i>	Recognizing the community's environment as challenging yet filled with opportunity
<i>Positive: Internal</i>	Cultivating strong internal resources that promote confidence in the community's ability to capitalize on opportunities during change
<i>Focused</i>	Adhering to goals that are clear and appropriate to changing circumstances, as well as the strategies to achieve them
<i>Flexible: Internal</i>	The ability to reconfigure structures and processes to meet changing environmental demands
<i>Flexible: External</i>	Drawing on resources outside the community to generate new ideas and approaches during change
<i>Organized</i>	Detecting patterns amid chaos; applying order to complex information
<i>Proactive</i>	Engaging change; willingness to take action in ambiguous circumstances and to test and experiment with new approaches

Every situation calling for transformation is unique and draws on resilience and transformational variables in different ways. Thus, each of the above resilience characteristics must exist in a dynamic balance to be optimally effective. For example, a strong emphasis on structuring information (Organized) may result in an overly rigid adherence to existing structures that interferes with seeking new and better ways to achieve goals (Flexible). The most resilient communities will have a well-rounded set of strengths to draw from, allowing them to succeed in any change endeavor.

The Community Resilience Questionnaire is an assessment of the constructs outlined above. Adapted from the Organizational Resilience Questionnaire (Conner Partners 1996b, 1996c), it contains 66 items, three for each combination of transformational variable and resilience characteristic (e.g. Leadership/Proactive) and three additional items. Responses are made on a seven-point scale with anchors ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree.” The resulting Community Resilience Profile provides scores on each of the various elements assessed.

Community Development Case Studies

This chapter presents case studies of four international community development efforts. It depicts four sets of scores for each—Leadership, Context, Culture, and a composite Community Resilience Profile that averages the other three. Each is based on a single evaluation of the community from an individual familiar with that situation. In each case we have briefly summarized some insights from the profile and identified recommendations that were made to participants in the research. The study was designed as an exploratory inquiry into the value of the CRP as a tool to help improve the effectiveness of community development efforts.

Community A

Situated near the border of Northern Ireland, Community A has been severely affected by over thirty years of conflict in the area.

As a consequence, Community A has experienced little inward investment and little local business investment over the years, resulting in a lagging commercial environment and dilapidated town center. The conflict has impacted the quality of life in the community and created a culture of avoidance, silence, and strong inherited attitudes and mindsets. Unemployment and poverty are higher than the national average, educational attainment among adults is lower than the national average, and early school leaving has been a particular problem.

The local economy of Community A is diverse and characterized by expansion in some sub-sectors and decline in others. Historically, the local economy was based on agriculture and a number of traditional local manufacturing industries such as textiles and primary food processing. Over the years, manufacturing declined with the closure of a shirt factory and other smaller businesses. Changing economic trends have seen an increase in commercial services in the area.

Community A consists of three major religious groups (Presbyterian, Church of Ireland and Catholic) with very little interaction. Lack of social integration has worsened in recent years due to an increase in the number of new residents as a result of the community being adjacent to two larger urban centers. The area has a large proportion of minority religious groups (19.3 per cent compared to 6 per cent nationally). The population increase has been associated with a high level of commuting out of the area for work and a resulting loss of revenue to local businesses. Future population trends indicate that the population will continue to rise sharply. That said, population trends point towards continued out migration of younger people and increasing dependency ratios.

Regarding infrastructure, only one national primary road serves the region and secondary roads are of variable quality. Formerly a vibrant commercial and trading center, a bypass was constructed during the early 1990s that led to large volumes of

traffic bypassing the town. This, combined with changes in the local and national economy, accelerated the decline of Community A. In addition, lack of broadband telecommunication services in the community represents a significant disadvantage to business. Limited electricity supply does not enable the community to serve industries that require high power inputs. The absence of banking facilities in the area (except for a local credit union) has contributed to poor investment in the retail sector.

Never having benefitted from EU Peace Programme funding as neighboring villages had, and given the existence of community tensions, Community A received development funding through the International Fund for Ireland and Atlantic Philanthropies. Subsequently, an overall development organization was formed to plan, implement and coordinate local and community development. As part of the development initiative, a survey was conducted with 65 local businesses to seek their views on the local economy and to assist in development of a community strategic plan. Arising from research undertaken in a socioeconomic audit—along with consultations held with the local community, business interests, the development initiative's management, statutory agencies and funders—a strategic community action plan was prepared that identified projects and actions geared toward developing economic, social and community infrastructure and services. Actions were designed to encourage and promote cross-community participation and ensure that the community is an open and equal society for all.

As a participant of the 2009 Social Capital and Community Resilience conference held in New Lanark, Scotland, one of Community A's volunteer development workers was given an opportunity to complete the *Community Resilience Questionnaire* and subsequently agreed to allow Community A to be written up as a case study. The community development representative had been working with the development initiative for a while and

was responsible for overseeing implementation of the development plans, serving the various working groups and community/agency forum, and implementing peace and reconciliation building initiatives. As a result of the assessment, the following Community Resilience Profile emerged. One chart depicts the resilience characteristics of the community's leaders, one depicts the resilience characteristics of the development initiative's context (vision, mission and strategies), one depicts the resilience characteristics of the community's culture, and an overall resilience profile that consists of an average of these.

The first author reviewed the profile with the community development representative, leading to greater clarity regarding how the development initiatives were unfolding and revealing actions that could be taken to increase the likelihood of success of the development efforts. Interpretation of the profiles involves looking at the overall level of the scores, the balance of the various characteristics, and the potential impact of the relative highs and lows, which can indicate characteristics that are over- or underutilized. A relatively balanced resilience profile is preferable because it increases the likelihood that all resilience characteristics will be employed.

Leadership: The Positive characteristics suggest that Community A's leaders view the environment as posing both potential challenges and potential opportunities, but have relative confidence in their ability to respond. The leadership profile also suggests that this community's leaders may overemphasize adopting changes that other communities have made (Flexible: External) vs. looking at changes that might be made to the community's internal structures or processes (Flexible: Internal). In addition, the community's leadership may also have a tendency to take action (Proactive) before ensuring that adequate time has been spent planning the change initiatives (Organized).

Context: This shows even more pronounced relative high and low characteristics. In contrast to the community's leaders, those

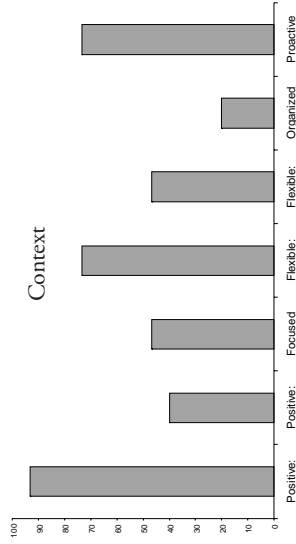


Figure 2: Community A's Context Resilience Profile

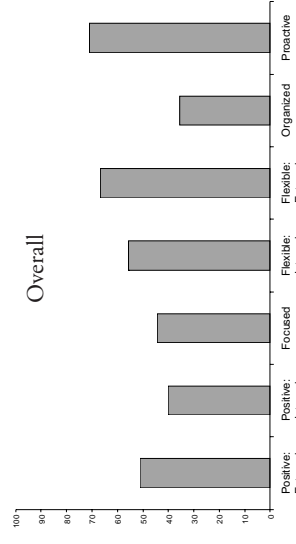


Figure 4: Community A's Overall Resilience Profile

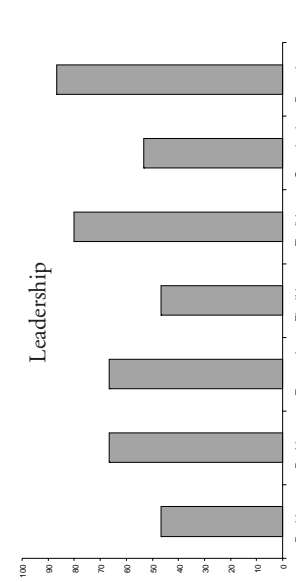


Figure 1: Community A's Leadership Resilience Profile

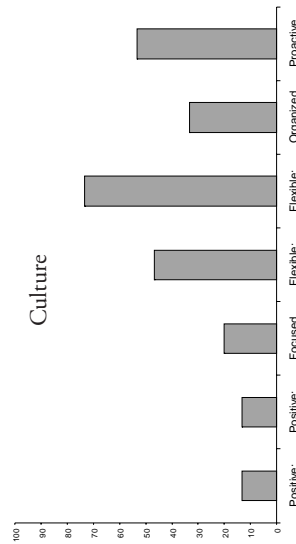


Figure 3: Community A's Culture Resilience Profile

involved in strategic planning envision many opportunities (Positive: External) yet have relatively lower confidence in the ability to carry them out (Positive: Internal). Another contrast is seen with the flexible characteristics. Those involved in strategic planning looked less at what other communities had done (Flexible: External) and more at what changes could be made to the community's structures or processes (Flexible: Internal). Similar to the leaders but even more pronounced, those involved in strategic planning were likely to take action (Proactive) without ensuring that adequate planning had taken place (Organized).

Culture: These data suggest that members of this community view changes in the environment as threatening and lack confidence in their ability to respond (Positive: External and Internal). In addition, the culture profile suggests that members are not focused on the community's goals, and perhaps view them as being inconsistent with their personal goals (Focused). Similar to the community's leaders, members run the risk of placing too much emphasis on what other communities have done (Flexible: External) rather than looking at changes that the community might make among itself (Flexible: Internal). Finally, the culture profile reveals a similar propensity to take action before adequate planning has taken place.

Overall: The overall resilience profile has fewer relative highs and lows, indicating that relatively well-developed characteristics in particular subgroups can be leveraged to offset relatively less-developed characteristics in other subgroups (e.g., Positive: External, Flexible: Internal).

The above insights that emerged from the resilience profiles were confirmed by the community development representative, who added the following information to further assist in interpreting the profiles. Given the long history of segregation in the area, three versions of community resources were common (e.g., youth groups, sports clubs, social clubs, and cultural societies). Integration among the religious groups had occurred

within the community's leadership—who tended to be relatively new to the area, more educated, and relatively affluent, and who sought such integration for the larger population. However, integration had not occurred among community members—who tended to come from rural, working class backgrounds, were less educated, and had been in the area for many years. The majority of those who made up the community viewed the changes as threatening (e.g., “they’re coming to take our jobs”) and lacked confidence in their ability to capitalize on the development initiatives. Consequently, they didn’t embrace the change efforts.

While the community leaders thought they were being representative during the strategic planning process, they didn’t adequately include the elderly population who had historically been the community and continued to represent the majority of its members. This, coupled with the tendency to look at what other communities had done (vs. looking at the internal challenges that had been ingrained in the community for so many years), highlighted the development initiative’s under-emphasis on the community’s deep-rooted issue of religious segregation. Leaders had been able to bridge the religious divides, but the community had not.

Given Community A’s across-the-board tendency to take action without adequate planning, it runs the risk of not making as much progress toward creating an open and equal society for all as it could conceivably make. Much greater emphasis could be placed on working closely with long-standing community members to understand what is important to them and include them in the action planning process. More actively engaging the community to overcome its years of divisiveness can increase the likelihood of creating a true sense of common unity.

Since interpreting Community A’s resilience profiles with the community development representative, huge progress has been made as a result of internal and external relationship building. For example, cultural groups began working together

on joint projects with the development group, including opening a housing shelter for elderly residents with heavy involvement from all three religious groups. A marked difference in local community relations now exists, and progress can be attributed to the dedication, forward thinking, and risk taking of the local community leaders.

Community B

Community B consists of a small school in Lanarkshire, Scotland whose town of Pather suffered more than most from a number of the problems caused by relative poverty (e.g., addiction, lowered expectations, broken families, and ill-health). It was the fourth most deprived school in North Lanarkshire, as measured by free meals and clothing grants. From 2003-2005, the school had the highest suspension/exclusion rate per child in Scotland, was ranked in the bottom ten schools in the nation, had one of the poorest attendance rates in North Lanarkshire, and experienced almost weekly vandalism to the building—often caused by ex-pupils. Nearly a fifth of the students made requests to be placed at schools that were perceived as ‘better.’ Needless to say, morale was low.

In 2007, the children of the P7/6 class faced a number of challenges. A tailor-made program of psychological services was undertaken to alleviate some of its problems with fall-outs, anger, and lack of teamwork, respect and empathy—but was met with limited success. The P7/6 teacher and the school’s Head Teacher believed that the common factor in all the signs of a ‘great’ school was *relationships*. Thus, they were on the alert for a project that would foster relationships and lead to personal, social and leadership development of the children.

As a result of one of their ‘what’s in the news’ sessions, the students of P7/6 became interested in Georgia when news of the Russian invasion hit the headlines. They subsequently began to research, investigate and fact-find about the country. After doing so, they decided to create links with a Georgian village and

orphanage, raise money for the orphanage, and learn about Georgian culture, music and history—which they later shared with the larger school community.

As a participant in the 2009 Social Capital and Community Resilience conference held in New Lanark, Scotland, Community B's Head Teacher was given an opportunity to complete the *Community Resilience Questionnaire* and subsequently agreed to allow Community B to be written up as a case study. As a result of the assessment, the following Community Resilience Profile emerged.

All of the graphs for this community reflect mixed scores, suggesting that some resilience characteristics may be under-utilized compared to others. The culture profile, which we are interpreting as representing the characteristics exhibited by the P7/six students, shows the most variation among resilience characteristics.

The Positive: Internal characteristic is highest in the culture profile, suggesting a strong degree of confidence among the P7/six students. Upon debriefing the profiles with the Head Teacher, it was learned that the students exhibited more of a brash (vs. calm) confidence.

Regarding the Positive: External characteristic, the leadership profile suggests that the school leaders view a lot of opportunities and believe that they can be capitalized on. In contrast, the students view the outside world as relatively more threatening, although they also believe that they can meet the challenges they face. The school believes that this might have been a self-cultivated 'siege' mentality—defining oneself against the bigger 'other' as Scotland has often done against England—as a way of strengthening identity and bonds within and as a foundation for a more 'mature' future direction.

The focused characteristic was relatively high on all of the profiles. In addition, all of the profiles suggest that the leaders and students may be less likely to examine changes they can make

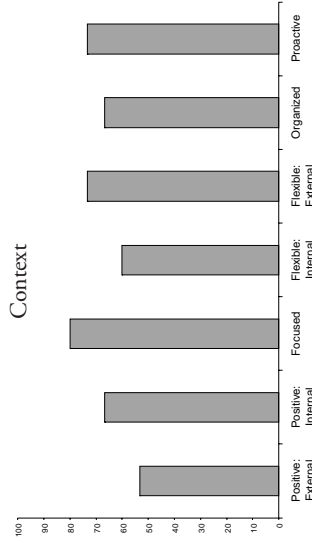


Figure 6: Community B's Context Resilience Profile

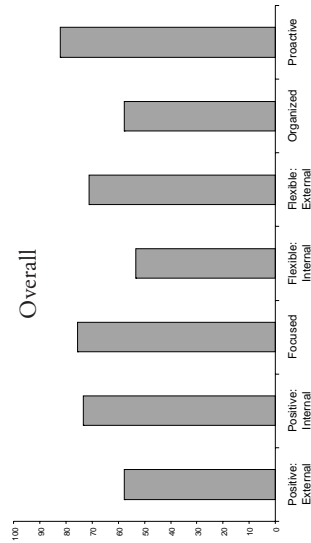


Figure 8: Community B's Overall Resilience Profile

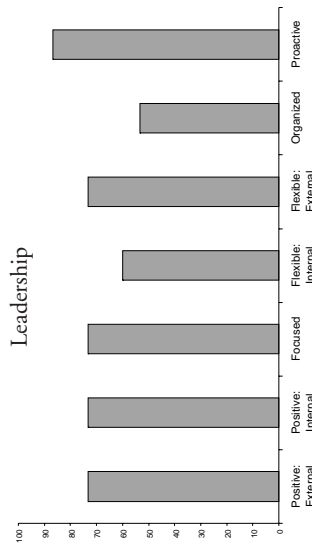


Figure 5: Community B's Leadership Resilience Profile

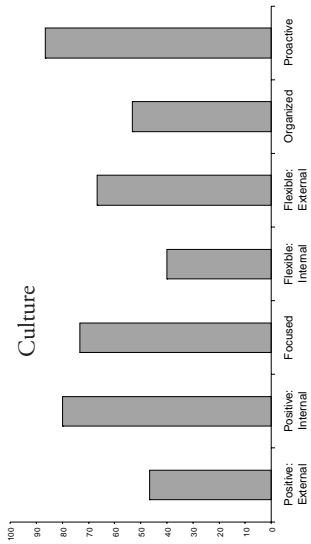


Figure 7: Community B's Culture Resilience Profile

internally (Flexible: Internal) and more likely to draw on resources outside the community to generate ideas (Flexible: External). This is most pronounced among the students. Indeed, the organic project driven by the P7/6 students did not have a prescribed outline as much as a philosophic framework in which there were many possibilities—that what was needed was relationships and working together.

Regarding the Organized and Proactive characteristics, the profiles suggest that both the leaders and students may be prone to take action and less likely to take considerable time for planning. Upon debriefing the profiles, it was also learned that the school leaders intentionally did not become involved in planning the project.

Regarding the Flexible: Internal characteristic, it was confirmed during the profile debrief that the students were less likely to look at changes they could make among themselves. Instead, they got started, made themselves available, and looked externally for ideas, learning about Georgia and its villages and orphanages, food, traditional clothing, song and culture from class visitors.

The main theme that stood out when reviewing the profiles with the Head Teacher was that—while the project was viewed as a big success—the students may not have internalized their learning. The students fulfilled the expectations placed upon them to create a project, and readily took action—turning to outside resources for ideas, then implementing them whole-heartedly. While these are characteristics that foster resilience, the opportunity exists to help the students reflect on their success and learn about the internal changes they made. Doing so would help generate insights that the students could leverage going forward in life, thereby strengthening their resilience even further.

Community C

Primarily a mountainous region with settlements separated by an extensive coastline and sea lochs, Community C is an area of

outstanding natural beauty in the Scottish Highlands. Although agriculture and fishing make up a small proportion of the community's employment, they hold a significantly higher percentage than the Highland and national average and are reflective of the community's rural and coastal setting. The economy of Community C is dependent on the tourist industry, and the proportion of part time jobs is well above the Highland average. The unemployment rate fluctuates around the Highland average as people take up seasonal jobs, but has risen recently. The long-term unemployment rate is above the Highland average and has increased slightly. Average household incomes are well below the Highland average.

Although Community C is the largest Ward in the Scottish Highlands, it has the second lowest population density. The overall age profile of Community C is older than the Highland average, with a below-average proportion in the under-50 age groups. The total population has increased moderately as a result of inward migration; over half of the homes sold in some west coast settlements were to buyers from outside Scotland. Overseas migrant workers have been moving into the area—mostly from Eastern Europe. While the population of Community C has been growing, it has also been aging due to an outward migration of youth.

The number of new homes built in Community C in the last few years was slightly below the Highland average. That said, Community C experiences a high rate of “windfall” planning applications for small developments. Around half of the sites cannot be started until Scottish Water improves the community's infrastructure, however. This could lead to a general shortage of viable sites.

As part of the Scottish Rural Development Programme aimed at promoting economic and community development within rural areas, a community Alliance was formed. A recipient of European development funding, the Alliance's aim is to bring

together community residents and organizations to address the community's challenges (e.g., low employment, lack of infrastructure, relative impoverishment compared to the rest of the nation) and to promote sustainable development of the area so that all may enjoy a high quality of life. There is a strong tradition of self-help and community organization in the villages of Community C.

As a participant in the 2009 Social Capital and Community Resilience conference held in New Lanark, Scotland, the Alliance's Project Officer was given an opportunity to complete the *Community Resilience Questionnaire* and subsequently agreed to allow Community C to be written up as a case study. The following Community Resilience Profile emerged from the assessment.

The overall scores for this community are low and relatively balanced, while the three components show mixed scores. This suggests that Community C is in a position to call upon the resilience characteristics relevant to a given situation if it leverages the strengths of its leaders, strategic planners, and members. Given that the overall profile is low, however, the opportunity exists for the community to strengthen its resilience across factors.

Regarding the Positive characteristics, the community's leaders view the environment as threatening (Positive: External) but believe they can take on the challenges they face (Positive: Internal). In contrast, members of the community perceive opportunities as a result of receiving development funding (Positive: External), but are relatively less confident in their ability to capitalize on them (Positive: Internal). The same holds true for those involved in the strategic planning process.

Returning to the leadership profile, leaders of this community may have a tendency to be overconfident in their ability to address the changes they face. The leadership profile suggests that the community's leaders may have difficulty focusing on clear goals (Focused), may not be exploring as many options

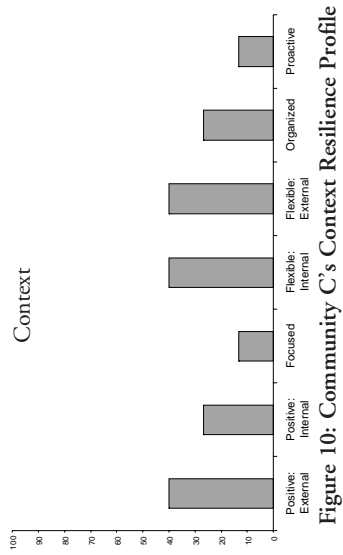


Figure 10: Community C's Context Resilience Profile

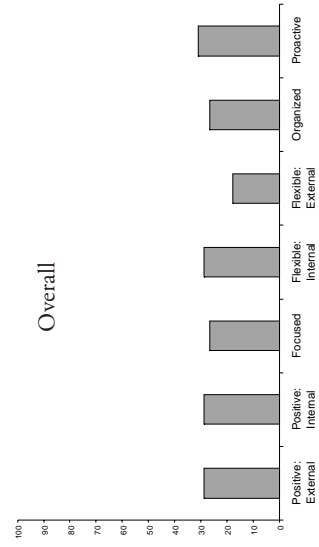


Figure 12: Community C's Overall Resilience Profile

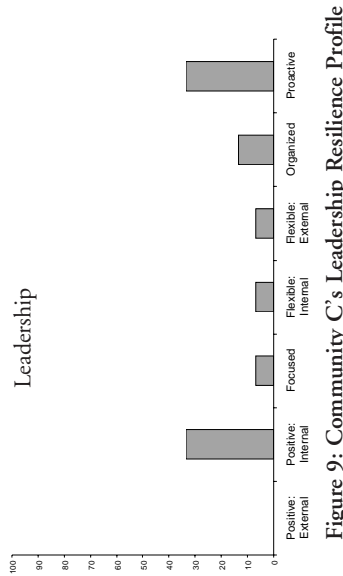


Figure 9: Community C's Leadership Resilience Profile

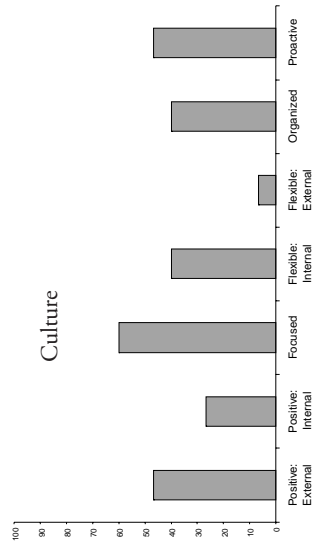


Figure 11: Community C's Culture Resilience Profile

as possible (Flexible: Internal and External), and may have a tendency to take action (Proactive) before sound plans are in place (Organized).

The context profile suggests that those involved in strategic planning perceive opportunities but do not have a clear focus and are somewhat less confident in their ability to capitalize on the opportunities they perceive. In addition, they are relatively less likely to take action compared to the community's leaders and members.

The culture profile suggests that community members could potentially be too focused on existing plans and relatively less open to possibilities, particularly from outside the community. That said, the community profile suggests that members exhibit the strongest tendency to impart structure to the development planning process and take action.

Upon reviewing the profiles with the Project Officer, the following information was obtained and further aided understanding of Community C's development efforts. The community has a history of hierarchical leadership power. Leaders are threatened by change because they don't want to give up power. Thus, they have been reluctant in their dealings with anyone they perceive as threatening their power, and have been trying to control where the development funding money should go. Being comfortable with the status quo, the leaders have not created a long-term vision for the community. Given these dynamics, it is not surprising that the leaders may be overconfident in their ability to capitalize on the development funding opportunity.

Community C's members have a history of deferring to the leaders and believing that they cannot be questioned. This explains the tendency of community members to not turn to others for help and ideas. That said, the community's strong tradition of self-help and organization has resulted in its members struggling to take control and take advantage of the opportunities that the

development funding presents. Grass root projects have sprung up and informal leadership has emerged. For example, a community cooperative was formed that plants and farms organic produce for local consumption. As a result of successful grass root community efforts, a culture shift has been going on very quietly. People are learning that cooperation is working and that they don't need the hierarchal leadership.

While the Project Officer knew that the leaders did not have a long-term vision for the community, she received push-back when she tried to get the community's leaders to generate long-term plans. Upon reviewing the resilience profiles and reflecting upon the facts that informal leadership had emerged in the community and grass root efforts were proving successful, the Project Officer realized that a community development action plan needed to be put in place. Doing so would enable Community C to leverage the resilience characteristics of its members. Working with the community's members to explore what other communities have done in terms of revitalization would further build the community's resilience and enable it to realize even greater benefits from the development funding efforts.

Community D

Community D is a predominantly working-class and lower-class neighborhood in a mid-sized southern city in the United States. The neighborhood is in transition and includes those in the middle to upper classes as well. Sixty percent of residents are African-American, 37 per cent are Caucasian, and 3 per cent represent other ethnicities. The community was experiencing higher crime rates than the national average—particularly in the areas of burglary, motor vehicle theft, aggravated assault, and vandalism. Properties were run down and substance abuse was higher than in other parts of the nation.

To address the high crime rates, abuse, and deteriorated conditions, residents of Community D decided to take collective

action and form a neighborhood association. Unlike associations in higher income areas that focus on maintaining the status quo, Community D's association focused on social change. The main goal of the association was to empower community members and build their capacity. Community D had a vision of what it wanted to be, and vowed not to allow drug dealers and poverty to bring down its neighborhood.

Association leaders were mostly older African-Americans who actively looked at new models outside the community and examined changes that the community could make internally. People took a proactive approach to solving the community's problems. Through the work of the association, Community D embraced education and found out what its options were (e.g., regarding government codes, regarding laws not allowing property to go to waste). People took time to put plans in place, then took action (e.g., calling the police on drug dealers even though doing so was risky and frightening).

As a participant of the 2009 Social Capital and Community Resilience conference held in New Lanark, Scotland, a researcher who spent two years as a participant observer in Community D's neighborhood association meetings and other community events (Gaynote 2004)—and whose study provided the data on which Community D's analysis was based—was given an opportunity to complete the *Community Resilience Questionnaire* and subsequently agreed to allow Community D to be written up as a case study. As a result of the assessment, the following Community Resilience Profile emerged.

All of the scores for Community D are relatively flat and high, except for the culture profile which shows somewhat greater variation among resilience characteristics. This suggests that, by and large, the community is able to call upon all of the characteristics of resilience.

Regarding the Positive characteristics, the community's leaders and those involved in strategic planning view the

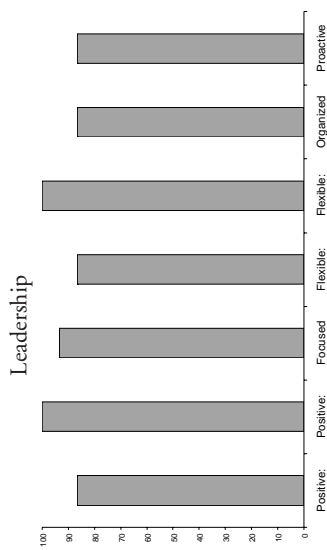


Figure 13: Community D's Leadership Resilience Profile

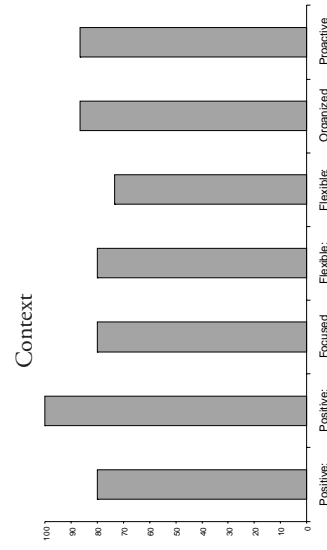


Figure 14: Community D's Context Resilience Profile

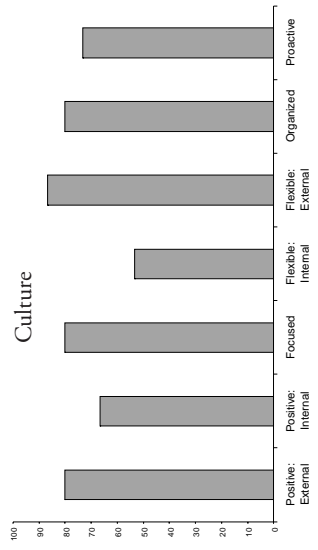


Figure 15: Community D's Culture Resilience Profile

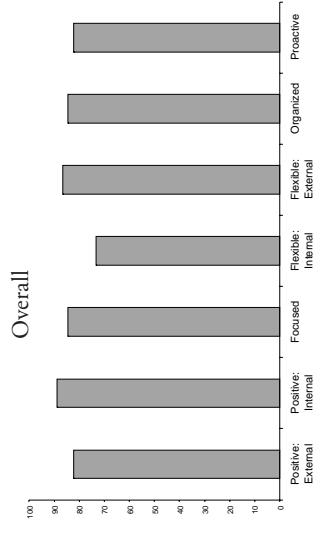


Figure 16: Community D's Overall Resilience Profile

environment as primarily filled with opportunities (Positive: External) and believe even more so in the community's ability to respond (Positive: Internal). While members also perceive the environment as possessing opportunities, the culture profile suggests that members have somewhat less confidence in their ability to make them happen. Looking at the culture profile also suggests that community members may be somewhat less likely to examine changes that could be made to the community's existing structures or processes (Flexible: Internal).

Upon reviewing the data with Gaynote (2004), the following additional information was obtained. A grounded theory analytical approach to studying the community's development efforts was employed. Grounded theory is a research design that enables important concepts and findings to emerge on their own, without the influence of an existing framework. The key research questions examined in Community D consisted of the following.

1. How do cultural factors such as values, attitudes, and beliefs influence how and why people mobilize social capital for community benefit?
2. How is social capital use and mobilization influenced by the interaction between individuals' access to resources (structural factors) and their values, attitudes, and beliefs (cultural factors)?

As a result of Gaynote's (2004) research with Community D, the following main concepts emerged: (1) self-efficacy, (2) collective efficacy, (3) learned helplessness, (4) resourcefulness, (5) persistence, and (6) courage.

Regarding efficacy, Gaynote (2004) found that propensity to engage in collective action varied based on community members' ethnicity and socio-economic status. This may have contributed to the culture profile's relatively lower Positive: Internal characteristic. In other words, not all community members viewed other residents as resources to assist in addressing the community's change efforts. Specifically, middle and upper

middle class Caucasian residents were likely to feel efficacious when addressing neighborhood problems, but felt they did not need to do so in a collective context. Instead, they did so individually (e.g., by making a call). In contrast, working class, middle class and upper middle class African-Americans were most likely to feel efficacious when addressing neighborhood problems either individually or collectively, and working class and middle class African-American residents were most likely to address problems collectively (e.g., by leveraging one another's contacts). The neighborhood association's leaders—who were primarily African-American—believed the community could achieve its goals together and leveraged members' connections. A third manifestation of efficacy was exhibited by lower-class residents, who tended not to address social problems in any format—collectively or individually.

Regarding learned helplessness, Gaynote (2004) found that lower class African-American and Caucasian residents were most likely to experience learned helplessness (i.e., apathy and submission) in response to the neighborhood's problems.

Similar to efficacy, resourcefulness, persistence and courage also varied based on community members' ethnicity and socio-economic status, although in different ways (Gaynote 2004). This may have contributed to the culture profile's relatively lower Positive: Internal and Flexible: Internal characteristics. In other words, some but not all community members expressed strong beliefs that they could influence positive changes in systems and processes. Specifically, working, middle and upper middle class African-Americans frequently spoke of cultural trends from their youth and from the Civil Rights Movement that shaped how they thought of their possibilities and responsibilities. In contrast, lower class African-American residents did not speak of cultural trends from their youth and from the Civil Rights Movement—these possibilities seemed absent from their thinking. Similarly, no such narratives seemed to shape the thinking of Caucasian residents.

The main themes that emerged from Gaynote's (2004) research—excluding learned helplessness which was only evident among lower class residents—seem to align with several of the resilience characteristics. Efficacy seems associated with the Positive: Internal characteristic, resourcefulness may relate to the Positive: Internal and Flexible: External characteristics, and persistence and courage may relate to the Proactive characteristic. Given the strong resilience profiles of Community D, Gaynote's (2004) research findings suggest construct validation evidence of some of the characteristics associated with the community resilience framework.

Summary

The exploratory nature of these data does not yet allow us to draw strong conclusions about the validity of the instrument as a measure of the resilience of a community. However, it is worth noting that Community D, which showed a particularly high level of effectiveness in moving their efforts forward, also showed the strongest Community Resilience Profile scores.

As an additional validation point, we found that people closely involved in the community development efforts found the Community Resilience Profiles to depict very valid assessments, and gained much clarity and insight into the strengths and challenges of the projects. Particular recommendations to increase resilience—and thereby increase the likelihood of successful change execution—were well received.

Implications for Practice

The above four case studies illustrate the potential utility of the Community Resilience Framework for assessing and strengthening community development efforts. Understanding the resilience characteristics of a community's leadership, context (vision, mission and strategies) and culture at the start of a community development effort can help identify a community's strengths and potential challenges. In turn, actions can be taken to address less-

developed characteristics and, in so doing, increase the likelihood that the community's change efforts can succeed. In addition, increasing a community's resilience characteristics will aid the community in building its overall resilience capabilities and, in so doing, increase the likelihood that the community can effectively adapt to future changes as well. Thus, using the community level resilience framework to increase a community's resilience can have long-term as well as short-term benefits.

Recommendations for Future Research

For each of the four international community development case studies presented, only one representative completed the *Community Resilience Questionnaire*. To get a more comprehensive perspective of a community's resilience, we would recommend that representatives from all key constituencies (e.g., community leaders, community members, strategic planners) complete the assessment. Any notable differences in responses between constituency groups could be examined to shed light on how and why such groups might differ in their perceptions of the community's resilience.

To ascertain the benefits of implementing action plans based on the community resilience lens, community development projects could be randomly assigned to treatment and control groups. Action plans based on the Community Resilience Profile data could then be put in place for the treatment group. Success indicators for community development efforts that did and did not apply action plans based on the community level resilience framework could then be compared. In addition, action plans to increase particular resilience characteristics can be evaluated for their effectiveness—initially via case studies, then over time via experimental research.

Conclusion

Community development efforts aim to assist communities in not only adapting well to the circumstances in which they find

themselves, but in capitalizing on opportunities to improve various aspects of their community's life. What is known about resilience—the process of effective coping that leads to successful adaptation—can aid community development efforts. In addition, examining the resilience profiles of a community's leaders, context (vision, mission and strategies) and culture can shed light on resilience characteristics that are well-developed and less-developed. In so doing, community resilience profiles can guide action planning to increase resilience and, ultimately, increase the success of a community's development efforts.

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