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RETHINKING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE



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Abstract

Hispanic immigrants in the United States have long maintained tangible and intangible ties to their countries of origin. These ties have persisted to the current day and are now referred to as transnational ties. These transnational ties may have a variety of effects on community development efforts within Hispanic immigrant communities in the United States. Recently, Hispanic immigrants in the United States have dispersed from traditional ports of entry to new destinations in the Southeast and Midwest that often are not accustomed to them and unprepared for their arrival.

Through a case study analysis of new Hispanic immigrant destinations in Marshalltown, IA, and Greenville, SC as well as the established immigrant community of Pilsen, Chicago this research investigates community development in transnational communities in the United States. This research finds that while community development organizations are not strongly addressing the transnational nature of their clients they are addressing the uniquely Hispanic nature of their clients. From the specific conclusions drawn from this work a set of best practice principles for use in community development in transnational and Hispanic communities has been created.

I. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of the United States the issue of immigration has elicited the full gamut of emotions and reactions from almost every sector of society. More than four centuries after the first European immigrants came to United States immigration remains a boiler plate issue particularly in regards to immigrants from Latin America, especially Mexico. At current, the national discussion on immigration ranges from undocumented workers, to bilingual education, to the provision of public services to immigrants. While immigrants have historically gravitated to certain geographic areas they have started to become much more dispersed as of late. Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago are still major attractions for new immigrants but small towns in the Midwest and Southeast are becoming just as attractive a destination. Another relatively new aspect of immigrant behavior is that many immigrant communities have started being identified as transnational communities. Being designated as transnational signifies that members of a community are playing active roles in any number of arenas in both the United States and in their countries of origin. There has been a great deal of discussion about how this cross border interaction is affecting communities on both sides of the border. Of particular

interest is the issue of community development among transnational communities. Community development is not a simple and easy process, especially if the community in question has citizens living lives and maintaining loyalties not contained solely to their current place of residence. Despite its complexity, the study of community development in transnational communities is necessary as these communities will continue to be an important part of life in a growing number of areas in the United States. Though this study is limited to transnational community development in the United States, it is an issue that is relevant and important in countries across the globe from Canada to Russia and dozens of locations in between.

II. IMMIGRATION, TRANSNATIONALISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Dating back to its colonization, the United States has been a nation of immigrants. Colonization was the first of four great waves of immigration, each of which has helped to alter the United States in profound and meaningful ways. Currently, the United States is in the middle of the 4th great wave of immigration which as Dowell Myers states, "...is the only immigration that most American's have known (2007, p. 55)". This 4th wave of immigration has included migrants from diverse places but by far the largest share has come from Latin America, in particular, Mexico. In 2008, survey data reveal that the Mexican born population living in the United States stood at about 12.7 million people and accounted for 32 percent of immigrants in the United States, dwarfing the next largest group of immigrants who accounted for only 5 percent of the immigrant population (Pew Fact Sheet, 2009). A view from the Mexican perspective is equally astounding in that, "About 11% of everyone born in Mexico is currently living in the United States (Pew Fact Sheet, 2009)." Though it is true that immigration from Mexico to the US has slowed the past few years, it is still substantial and very few Mexican

immigrants are returning home, maintaining a large Mexican born population in the United States (Passel and Cohn, 2009, pp. ii). Pew Hispanic Center population projections predict that about one fifth of those living in America in 2050 will be immigrants and about 30 percent of the entire US population will be Hispanic (Passel & Cohn, 2008). Focusing on Mexico, conservative estimates (assuming economic growth in Mexico, declining Mexican birth rate, and weak US labor demand) predict about 400,000 immigrants a year will enter the US from Mexico until the year 2030 (Simcox, 2002). Whether one is concerned with general immigration or Mexican immigration it appears that even if it appears to be slowing, this does not mean the numbers of immigrants living in the United States will become insignificant any time soon.

It should be noted that while there is great care to estimate immigration figures accurately they are still only estimates and undocumented or unauthorized immigration has also been a characteristic of this 4th wave of immigration, making the numbers subject to discussion (Meyers, 2007, p. 59). While this work does not aim to explain or fully characterize undocumented immigration, a few brief notes are necessary. Data from the Pew Hispanic Center and the US Census Bureau reflect that about 11.9 million undocumented immigrants reside in the United States and about 8.3 million undocumented immigrants are part of the US labor force. Further, 59 percent of all undocumented immigrants come from Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2009). So, while undocumented immigrants make immigration data more difficult to characterize, even rough estimates of their numbers reflect that they are an important part of the immigration discussion in the United States.

Even by conservative estimates, both documented and undocumented immigrants, particularly of Mexican origin, look to play an important role in the future of the United States. This is especially so as immigration is transitioning from traditional destinations like California

or Texas to small communities across the country, particularly in the Midwest and the Southeast. Many of these communities are not used to immigrants and are not prepared to provide the extra services they require which at times can lead to tense situations between old and new residents (Myers, 2007, pp. 95-96). So, while immigrants will remain a crucial and large part of states like California, they are currently drawing the most attention in small towns from Iowa to North Carolina.

Defining transnational

Throughout history immigrants have made efforts to maintain ties with their country of origin either socially, culturally, economically, politically or some combination of the four. Though this behavior is not new, the past few decades have given rise to the study of immigrants actively participating in their country of origin, also known as the sending country, as well as their current country of residence, also known as the receiving country. This so called, “transnational” behavior is described eloquently by Luis Guarnizo; “Transnational living refers to a wide panoply of social, cultural, political, and economic cross border relations that emerge, both wittingly and unwittingly, from migrants’ drive to maintain and reproduce their social milieu of origin from afar (Guarnizo, 2003, p. 667).” Alejandro Portes further illuminates the term transnational as he contrasts its study to that of traditional immigration studies:

... ‘transnationalism, has introduced an alternative perspective on international migration studies. Instead of focusing on traditional concerns about the origins of immigrants and their adaption to receiving societies, this emerging perspective [the transnational perspective] concentrates on the continuing relations between immigrants and their places of origin and how this back-and-forth traffic builds complex social fields straddling national boundaries (Portes et. al, 2008, p. 1057).

Peggy Levitt highlights the importance of transnational migration for both migrants and non-migrants in saying that,

The social, economic, and political ties linking migrants and non-migrants are so deep and widespread that they fundamentally change the ways individuals earn their livelihoods, raise their families, enact religious rituals, and express their political interests (Levitt, 2001, p. 196).

As Guarnizo has shown, “transnational living” is composed of those actions and interactions which occur without regard to borders which in turn has led to Portes’ new ways of studying and understanding immigrants and the transnational communities in which they live and work. Finally, Levitt shows that Portes’ “alternative perspective [the transnational perspective]” is crucial because Guarnizo’s “transnational living” is something which profoundly affects the day-to-day lives of “migrants and non-migrants” alike.

Transnational practices occur worldwide but in the United States the large numbers of Latino, particularly Mexican immigrants have been at the center of the transnational discussion. A Pew Hispanic Center report helps to specify Latino transnational activities by providing seven categories of transnational behavior. These include a person who; has made at least one trip back to the native country, traveled home in the past two years, sends remittances, phones weekly, sends email, owns property in the home country, or belongs to an immigrant civic organization (Waldinger, 2007, p. 2). Of course, there are many additional transnational activities outside the list just given but it is a helpful starting point for understanding what makes a practice transnational

Of all transnational activities, economic and political transnational activities are two of the most widely discussed and researched (Guarnizo, 2003, p. 666 and Smith, 2007, p. 1097). While social and cultural transnational practices are important and cannot be ignored, their scope is too large for this work and will remain on the periphery, maintaining economic and political transnational activities as the main areas of focus. In regards to who is most likely to act transnationally, much of the literatures shows that first generation immigrants are purported to participate more frequently (but not exclusively) in transnational activities (Waldinger, 2007, pp.

17). However, there is some disagreement and as Alejandro Portes states, “Whatever else it may be, transnationalism is not a phenomena associated with recency of arrival and destined to disappear as part of an inexorable process of assimilation (Portes et al., 2007, p. 266).” No matter if one looks at it in the short term or the long term transnationalism appears to be a phenomenon with some staying power and warrants attention both now and in the future. Again, while the discussion of this work is limited generally to transnational relations between Latin America and the United States it is an issue affecting nations across the globe (Newland, 2007, MPI).

The community development model and transnationalism

Before discussing specific transnational activities in more detail, particularly how they relate to community development in transnational communities, it is necessary to formulate a basic model for community development and to define certain factors relevant to community development. To begin, a brief definition of community is necessary. The term community in and of itself has endless meaning though as Larry Lyon states and it may seem obvious, there is general agreement that, “...communities are made up of people (1987, p. 5).” James Christenson and Jerry Robinson go further to say that, “...a community is defined and best described by the following elements: (1) people (2) within a geographically bounded area (3) involved in social interactions and (4) with one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place they live (1980, p. 6).” This admittedly broad definition proves interesting in that when applied to transnationalism, a community can involve people that identify with particular *places* and their interactions and psychological ties can be *across borders*. So, with community now at least broadly defined, the concept of community development may be discussed. Like community, the word development is exceedingly hard to pin with one definition. Combining the two words

to say community development is even more problematic. Larry Lyon provides yet another definition saying this of development, “Generally, it is a dynamic, value-laden concept that implies positive change (1987, p. 114).” Robinson and Christenson provide a more detailed definition and define community development as follows: “...(1) a group of people (2) in a community (3) reaching a decision (4) to initiate a social action process (i.e planned intervention) (5) to change (6) their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation (1980, p. 12)”. Again, when looked at from the transnational perspective, like the concept of community, community development can take on new meaning as any part of the six step process outlined above may be occurring across borders.

As community development is difficult to define it is equally difficult to provide a definitive model for community development. In a useful discussion of the current state of community development efforts in the United States, James DeFilippis posits three similarities among most all community development efforts: 1) “They are unambiguously market-based in their larger goals and programmatic details” and they are non-confrontational 2) they are communitarian in that, “there are shared interests among individuals in a community, and thus community development should be about creating the social relationships which allow those mutual goals to be realized” 3) “*individual* gains and interests in the community are synonymous with *collective*, or community, gains and interest” and “communities are functions of, and defined by, the attributes and relationships of people within them (2008, pp. 33-34).” These three elements lay out a groundwork from which a model for community development might be built but they do not provide this model. While there are comparative models which analyze the various modes of community development a more inclusive and holistic model is best for the purposes of this work (Lyon, 1987). As such, this work will utilize a model developed by Avis

Vidal and Ross Gittel as the standard model for community development. The five major pieces of the model include; 1) Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes, 2) Intermediate Outcomes (enhancement of commitment, capacity, and control), 3) Long-Term Measurable Outcomes, 4) Local Context, and 5) External Agents (1998). Each of these pieces then includes subcategories with descriptors which when combined, form a complete model for community development (Figure 1.1).

As has been described, there is much ambiguity in the words community and community development, making the construction of a model for community development a difficult task. As such, the model that has been presented is broad but not vague and provides enough specificity so that the model might be used as a basis of comparison across communities. This comparison may illuminate certain sections of the model that are more or less important for a specific community and may also bring forth pieces that are missing or altogether unnecessary for a particular community. In the case of this work, the communities to be analyzed with the help of this model will be the previously mentioned transnational communities.

- **Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes**
 - Geographic and population target
 - Mission and goals or strategic focus
 - Governance
 - Board, staff, and community (resident) influence
 - Funding
 - Public, non-profit or private sources
 - Periodic or dedicated
 - Matching or direct
 - Staff capacity and orientation
 - Professional training
 - Prior experience

- **Intermediate Outcomes (enhancement of commitment, capacity, and control)**
 - Resident commitment
 - Interests in and loyalty to community
 - Relationships among residents (i.e. levels of trust and cooperation)
 - Vision for community
 - Resident capacity
 - Leadership
 - Financial, technical, and political know-how and wherewithal
 - Organizational capacity
 - Board development and orientation
 - Activities and “spin-offs”
 - Implementation of plans
 - Staff development and orientation
 - Technical know-how (staff)
 - Network capacity (i.e. bridging with the support community)
 - Public sector, nonprofit, private sector
 - Financial, technical, and mentorship relations
 - Realization of mutual gains
 - Resident and neighborhood control
 - Influence of development processes and outcomes
 - Power relations with support community

- **Long-Term Measurable Outcomes**
 - Physical housing and development
 - Employment and business development opportunities
 - Enhancement of resident human capital
 - Training and educations
 - Human service provision

- **Local Context**
 - Socioeconomic conditions
 - Trust and cooperation among residents
 - Race and class relations
 - City policies
 - Political culture
 - Level and quality of community development activities
 - Competency and capacity of community-based organizations (e.g. CDCs)
 - Nonprofit and private foundation resources and commitment to community development
 - Private-sector support of community development

- **External Agents**
 - Federal agencies and programs
 - State agencies and programs
 - National and regional intermediaries

Figure 1.1 Gittel and Vidal’s Model

Transnational community development, the issues

Now that a general model for community development has been distilled from the literature a discussion of transnational activities and how they relate to community development may proceed. Specifically, this discussion will revolve around how economic and political transnational activities come to play an integral role in community development in immigrants' sending and receiving countries. At current, there is a growing body of knowledge that highlights how transnational activities, particularly sending remittances home, might be able to foster and sustain community development in immigrants' countries of origin (Taylor et. al, 1996, p. 411). On the other hand, the literature is still scant in relation to what is being done for community development in transnational communities in the United States. This work will outline what the literature states about basic economic and political transnational activities, transnational community development work being done in sending countries, particularly Mexico, and what little is known about community development efforts in transnational communities in the United States.

Economic transnational activity

Economic relationships with transnational citizens' countries of origin dominate the literature on transnationalism. Of particular note is the practice of immigrants sending monetary remittances to their country of origin. Remittances sent to the country of origin come primarily in the form of individual transfers by family and friends and are most often used for basic needs or consumption purposes like housing or food (Guarnizo, 2003, p. 674). Remittances are also sent via civic organizations in the receiving country for specified community purposes in the sending country (Smith & Bakker, 2008). To give an idea of just how important remittances have become, in 2008 World Bank estimates found that 338 billion dollars were remitted

worldwide (Ratha & Silwal, 2009). Focusing on Mexico, the Bank of Mexico states that in 2006, 23 billion dollars were remitted to families alone in Mexico, which exclude additional funds sent from civic organizations (Waldinger, 2007, p. 9). These civic organizations are known broadly as transnational migrant organizations (TMO's) or more specifically in the Mexican case as Hometown Associations (HTAs) (Levitt, 1997, p. 510). The body of research surrounding TMOs and HTAs is growing rapidly; of particular importance is the literature regarding Mexican HTAs. HTAs are groups, both formal and informal, of immigrants in the United States that raise funds and send money to their community of origin for everything from building schools and fixing roads to productive investment programs which aim to create jobs (Zabin & Escala, 2002). Increasingly, the large amounts of resources sent to families and individuals and the funds funneled through TMOs/HTAs have brought forth discussion about the development possibilities of remittances. The Mexican government in particular has realized this and has increasingly partnered with HTA's through matching grant programs like the Citizen Initiative program (3 x 1 or *Tres por Uno*) which matches HTA's funds with government funds to increase their development capacity (Orozco & Lapointe, 2004, pp. 5-6). The literature surrounding HTA's and community development in Mexico will be discussed at more length later in this work.

Political transnational activity

Politically, the discussion of transnational activities in the literature revolves around dual citizenship, voting rights, the participation of permanent U.S. residents in Mexican politics, and immigrant participation in TMOs/HTAs. Michael Peter Smith discusses dual citizenship saying that in a time when the U.S. was becoming more stringent on immigrants, Mexico passed a "dual nationality" law (Smith, 2001, p. 78). Only a few years after dual nationality restrictions had

been eased in Mexico, and despite a heated political battle on both sides of the border, a “...political coalition was able to stay the course and broker a compromise in the historic 2005 legislation that made the vote from abroad a reality (Smith, 2008, p. 137).” While it is certainly notable that it had become easier to maintain Mexican citizenship and voting rights while still living in the United States, there is a transnational behavior that is even more astounding. In 2001, a successful tomato grower (“The Tomato King”) from Winters, CA, Andres Bermudez, was elected mayor (*president municipal*) of Jerez, Mexico. Additionally, the only debate between the two candidates involved in this election took place in the United States (Smith, 2005, pp. 129,139). Bermudez was not an anomaly either as a number of U.S. citizens or permanent residents have sought office in Mexico since his historic first (Smith, 2003, p. 733). These examples display just how transnational politics have become in the past few decades.

Much has also been made of the political capacity of Mexican HTAs and other TMOs in regards to how they participate in politics in their communities in the United States. While these organizations may seem an obvious vehicle to promote political change for transnationals, this is not necessarily the case. When HTAs rallied together against Proposition 187 (a California initiative to screen people so as not to provide state services to undocumented immigrants) in California many asserted that this unification marked the rise of Mexican HTAs as a political force in the United States (Martin, 1995 and Zabin & Escala, 2002). However, this instance proved to be an exception as Zabin and Escala state, “...Proposition 187 is the sole event that pushed these migrant associations beyond their traditional boundaries of action (2002, p. 21).” Aside from this one specific instance the only major political activity of TMOs and HTAs in the United States seems to be the effort to naturalize transnationals as United States’ citizens (Zabin and Escala, 2002, p. 24). In sum, the literature makes it clear that Mexican immigrants to the

United States have increasingly more transnational political ties with their country origin. Unlike their rising involvement in Mexican politics and despite a few singular instances, the activism of transnationals in politics in the United States does not seem to have truly blossomed as of yet.

Community development in sending countries: Focus on Mexico

As discussed, community development in countries which send transnational migrants occupies a large portion of the literature in regards to transnational activities. Much of the discussion of development in sending countries pertains to how they receive remittances and to what end they are used. There is a growing body of work, particularly in regards to Mexico, on how sending countries' governments relate with these HTAs through collaborative development projects. As earlier figures stated, large sums of money are sent yearly from the United States to Mexico as remittances. Much of the literature criticizes remittances as they are largely spent on disposable goods and services by individuals and families and they are not put towards productive ends. Still, this money sent to individuals and families benefits community development indirectly as it keeps many above the poverty line, works toward loosening general financial markets in developing countries, and has a multiplier effect on other sectors of the economy (Suro, 2003, p. 5 and Taylor et al., 1996, p. 411).

While it is true that many foreign governments and aid organizations participate in community development projects in developing countries, particularly in Latin America, remittances spent on savings and productive programs, "...far exceeds the aid and development assistance that wealthy countries like the U.S. are sending to the region (Suro, 2003, p. 5)." As previously mentioned, HTAs have had a large role in funding community infrastructure and social projects that contribute to community development in Mexico (Alarcon, 2004, slide 5).

Orozco and Lapointe state that in many communities in Mexico, “HTA donations are equal to local government budgets for public works in rural Mexico (2004, p. 6). It is estimated that in 2002 alone, HTAs donated 30 million dollars to various community development projects (Orozco and Lapointe, 2004, pp. 6). Of particular interest to community development in Mexico is the relationship between various levels of the Mexican government, other donors, and HTAs. As Orozco and Lapointe say;

The majority of HTAs have contacted and collaborated with other institutions based in Mexico. Nearly 80 percent of the HTAs reported approaching municipal leaders to discuss their projects and to coordinate efforts to distribute resources. As a result, HTAs are increasingly linking with mayors and other local government officials (2004, pp. 5-6).

In addition to the collaboration of local governments and HTAs, the previously mentioned *Tres por Uno* program in Mexico represents one of the best examples of a national government working to channel the resources of its transnational citizens by matching funds given to community development projects (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). While various levels of the Mexican government, foreign governments, and aid organizations are certainly contributing to community development in Mexico, the literature shows that Mexico’s citizens abroad, especially in the U.S., are playing an increasingly important and sometimes primary role in community development in their home country. It is clear that Mexico’s citizens abroad are playing an important role in furthering the development of their home country and no one would argue that they are providing a worthy service to their country of origin. At the same time, this attention to their communities of origin also affects their communities in the United States. The issue then arises, if transnationals are participating so heavily in developing their communities of origin, what happens to the communities in which they live in the United States? More explicitly, for immigrants to focus their

development on their communities of origin there are inevitably costs to the development of their communities in the United States.

Community development in transnational communities in the United States

In reviewing the literature in regards to transnational communities in the United States and community development efforts within them, a gap begins to appear. While there is a large amount of literature defining transnational citizens and their activities, as well as how these citizens are fueling development in their countries of origin; there is little discussion of how community development is occurring in transnational communities in the United States. Historically, immigrant groups have acted collectively in an effort to better their communities. As David Imbroscio states, “The key to economic achievement in these groups [immigrant/ethnic] was their cooperation with others, and more generally, the supportive nature of the community environment (1997, p. 107).” This early example of migrant cooperation seems to bear analogy to current transnational communities in the United States in the form of transmigrant organizations. However, two statements about transmigrant organizations (TMOs) help reveal why there may be scant literature on their role in community development in transnational communities in the United States. First, Peggy Levitt comments on how members of a Dominican TMO in Boston view community development, “...committee members tended to view community development as a zero-sum game. They claimed they had limited time, energy, and resources, and that to devote themselves to making their lives better in Boston would detract from their efforts to help those at home (1997, p. 523).” Zabin and Escala make a similar comment about Mexican HTAs after interviewing a political aide to a prominent Latino official in the US in regards to HTAs, “Since clubs [HTAs] focus on their small hometowns [in Mexico] rather than on issues that unify them with other *Latinos* [in the US], the aide considers

parochialism to be a major defect of the HTAs (2002, p. 31).” These two examples reflect that the primary transnational civic/community groups (TMOs or HTAs) in the United States appear to have little efficacy for community development, making its study all the more difficult. It should be noted that a small portion of the literature does allude to HTAs occasionally providing newly arrived immigrants assistance in terms of housing, medical care, and other basic services. However, this mention is brief, not thoroughly explained, and generally left out of the remainder of the literature on TMOs and HTAs (Zabin & Escala, 2002 and Orozco & Rouse, 2007). While their actual provision of services is questionable, TMOs and HTAs have been mentioned as providing at least one element necessary for community development, they act as a vehicle for building social capital (Zabin & Escala, 2002, p. 11). While TMOs and HTAs may not be wholly dedicated to community development in the United States, they should not be left out of future discussion of community development in transnational communities especially as they provide an avenue for building social capital.

While there have been and currently are a few attempts at community development in transnational communities in the U.S., New Americans Centers (NACs) are of particular interest. New Americans Centers are located in Arkansas and Iowa and are part of a Department of Labor and Training Administration demonstration program which focuses on communities not accustomed to large numbers of immigrants. The programs aim to work with three groups of people in communities in these two states: participants (immigrants), employers, and various leaders and members of the community (Koralek & Parnes, 2008, pp. 1-2). NACs aim to assist immigrants in, “...job placement, job training, language classes, community service referrals, resettlement assistance, and legal assistance (Koralek & Parnes, 2008, p. 2).” As immigrants are provided services or referred to service providers, contacts are made with local employers and

community members so that immigrants' arrival is smooth for everyone in the community (Koralek & Parnes, 2008, p. 2). NACs appear to be some of the most inclusive and wide-ranging community development efforts involving transnational citizens and continued research will help to illuminate whether or not they truly are exemplary in their transnational community development efforts.

Local governments, non-profits, religious groups, and other agencies all provide services to transnationals in a variety of forms. Certainly some of these groups target immigrants or Latinos but New American Centers aside, there is relatively little literature about community development practices being modified to account for those persons that have loyalties in communities that span borders and often actively participate in these communities in a variety of ways, notably, economically and politically. Simply, the concept of community development in transnational communities is still in its infancy and as of yet, has largely not been incorporated into models for community development.

Transnationalism, a next step

As has been well outlined, immigration and immigrants play an important part in many facets of society in the United States. This has been in the case in the past, in the present, and looks as though it will remain this way in the future. Like anything, immigration and immigrants have changed and evolved over the decades and currently they are moving away from their traditional destinations to locales that are less accustomed to incorporating immigrants into their communities. Additionally, immigrants are participating in transnational behaviors in levels that have not previously been seen. Residents of transnational communities live in one community in the United States but maintain very real and substantial social, cultural and most importantly for this work, economic and political ties with their countries and communities of origin. While

there is a great deal of research addressing transnational practices and their relationship to community development in countries that send immigrants, little has been written on transnational community development in the United States. It is from this gap that the next logical step in research should take place. *The larger aim of this research then becomes to identify how best practice principles can be applied to community development in transnational communities in the United States.*

III. METHODOLOGY

The objective of this research is to investigate community development in transnational communities in the United States and to formulate a set of best practice principles to be used by transnational communities and relevant organizations for guiding community development. To identify best practice principles for community development in transnational communities a number of steps must be taken. The first step to conducting this research is to alter Gittell and Vidal's model for community development so that it may be used in a case study analysis. Gittell and Vidal's model is a general model for all community development and all of its elements do not necessarily apply to transnational communities.

To modify Gittell and Vidal's model a qualitative meta-analysis of literature on development in transnational communities has been utilized. The literature for the meta-analysis is not limited to the field of community development but comes from a variety of areas of study which include but are not limited to: rural development, social work, community organizing, public administration, and political science. Relevant discussion of how this literature deals with transnational populations, immigrants and ethnic organization helps to modify Gittell and Vidal's

model so that it is applicable to community development and relevant organizations in transnational communities. More important than the modifications to the model are the specified ways each element will be analyzed in regards to transnational community development. An example of an addition to the model and specified questions to ask of it to make it applicable to transnational community development will be helpful. Gittell and Vidal's model lists *intermediate outcomes* as a base element of community development and *activities and "spin-offs"* and *flexibility of programs* as some of these outcomes. For transnational communities it is logical to add a possible *activity/spin-off* as being a, "Channel to country/community of origin for remittances and/or political participation." It is relevant to ask the following questions of this *activity/spin-off*: Does the organization assist the community in sending remittances? Participating politically in the country of origin? (Cordero-Guzman & Quiroz- Beccera, 2008 and MALDEF, 2007). In another example, the model provides *resident commitment* as a proposed *intermediate outcome* of community development. More specifically, it proposes that residents', "Interests in and loyalty to community" will be part of this *intermediate outcome of resident commitment* to the community (Gittell and Vidal, 1998, p. 24). When analyzing this piece of the model in regards to transnational community development, relevant questions to ask would be: Do the residents' communities of origin take precedence over their community in the United States? Is the population a transient one? Most of the remaining elements of the model, as well as elements that have been added or modified, have similar questions that accompany them allowing the model to serve as a basis for analyzing transnational community development (see Appendix A for complete modified model).

As has been discussed, the modified model serves as the theoretical framework for a case study analysis of community development in transnational communities and serves as vehicle

from which to derive questions to be asked of the data collected in this case study analysis (Yin, 1984, p. 49). Through the case study analysis the model for community development in transnational communities was reassessed and modified according to findings from the case studies. The modified model accompanies a document derived from the analysis of the case study data. This document includes an analysis of the cases studied and a series of “best practice” principles and recommendations for guiding community development in transnational communities.

Case study design

As this research was conducted through case study analysis, a discussion of the case study methodology that was used is necessary. This discussion will include the following elements: the case study unit of analysis, the type of case study, the data collected and the method for collecting this data, threats to validity and reliability and strategies used to ameliorate those threats and finally, a preliminary look at the cases to be studied and the reasoning behind choosing these cases. To begin, the unit of analysis for the case studies is transnational communities and organizations in those communities. As will be elaborated on later, this is a multiple, embedded unit of analysis. As has been discussed, defining community is a complex task, especially for transnational communities. For the purposes of this study, there are not specific quantitative or qualitative guidelines that automatically include or exclude a community from being transnational. Rather, the cases chosen primarily look at communities with Hispanic immigrant populations and organizations or groups of organizations within these communities that aim to serve Hispanic immigrant populations. Particularly, for literal replication, the cases look at two communities with a more recently arrived Hispanic immigrant population and a community not historically defined as a Hispanic immigrant port of entry. These communities

are Marshalltown, IA and Greenville County, SC. It should be noted that recency of arrival does not always dictate participation in transnational activities so an older, more established immigrant community might possibly be deemed transnational (Portes et al., 2007, p. 266). In fact, for the theoretical replication, a more established immigrant community in a traditional immigrant port-of-entry, Pilsen, Chicago, was ideal. Generally, in identifying a community as transnational, behaviors among members of a community such as remitting money to their country of origin, participating politically in their country of origin and participating in transmigrant organizations were signifiers of whether or not a community is transnational. Locating and assessing these communities has been done in the following ways: using basic, publicly available demographic data, speaking with local experts in community development and community organizing, preliminary discussions with leaders of immigrant organizations and walkthrough surveys of the selected communities. Something crucial to note is that the questions to be asked of the data relate to the particular transnational characteristics of immigrant communities and attempt to directly address these transnational activities. As a primary subunit of analysis, the study focuses heavily on a number of organizations, both public and non-profit, that participate in community development in transnational, Hispanic immigrant communities. Various pieces of these organizations have been investigated from leadership, to resident participation, to specific programs that these organizations offer. The necessity of looking at these various pieces of a community and an organization within it is what makes the unit of analysis and embedded one. The embedded nature of the unit of analysis will become more apparent as the data and methods used for collecting data are discussed (Yin, 1984, pp. 44-45). The type of case study analysis conducted was a multiple case study analysis using pattern matching and both literal and theoretical replication. The pattern that was matched is the

modified model for community development derived from the meta-analysis (see Appendix A). The questions developed with the model are the vehicle for linking data to propositions as the model is in a way, a set of propositions (Yin, 1984 pp. 33-34).

In regards to the data collected and the method for collecting this data it was largely based on organizations that were available to be analyzed and what type of data could be obtained from these organizations. Taken directly from Robert Yin's six sources of evidence this work draws on four of the sources of evidence he discusses; documentation, archival records, interviews, and direct observations (Yin, 1984, pp.79).

In regards to documentary evidence, organizational reports and plans were collected as well as meeting agendas and minutes and other official communications. Additionally, reports or studies conducted in regards to the community in general and the organizations themselves have also been collected. These documents include evidence as to how immigrants and their transnational activities might be affecting the community and the organization and its functions. Specifically, these reports help answer certain questions from the modified model such as; the nature of the target population (transnational, immigrants, other), whether the organization practices holistic or issue related community development, the organization's programs and how they operate, and how the organization works with other local agencies and various levels of government. Further, meeting minutes and agendas are particularly useful in revealing how often certain transnational issues (remittances, politics in country of origin, etc.) are officially included as topics of discussion in certain organizations. For further explanation of how data answers questions of the modified model one may refer to Appendices C, D, and E. Most of the data just discussed has been obtained from members of the organizations discussed or organization's websites. Relevant media, especially newspaper articles in regards to the area

where the organization works or the organization itself are another helpful piece of documentary evidence that has been collected. Though media sources can be opinionated and factually suspect they also help provide a context to see how the larger community views the organization and the community in which the organization works. This data links heavily to the *local context* section in the modified model but also answers other questions of the model as well.

Additionally, U.S. Census Bureau data goes a long way to developing the *local context* element of the modified model for community development. Spatial data, in tandem with the previously mentioned statistical data, provides a rich context for the case study analysis. Statistical and spatial data was collected through the US Census Bureau website and through the ESRI website.

Maybe the most important piece of evidence collected for this case study analysis was interviews. Generally, the type of interview conducted for this analysis was a focused interview as discussed by Yin (1984, pp. 83). While there was a base set of about thirty interview questions, these questions were modified slightly for each interview because certain questions were not relevant for all organizations (Appendix F). As mentioned, this case study analysis has an embedded unit of analysis which is reflected in the interviews associated with the analysis. The diversity of people that were interviewed across various sectors of the community reflects this embedded nature. Interviews included twelve different community development professionals, four from Marshalltown and eight from Greenville. In regards to the modified model, interviews aimed to address almost every aspect of this model from organizational mission, structure and leadership, to resident participation, local programming, local context, and external agents and their influence. In conducting interviews it was important to present

questions specifically in regards to the transnational nature of the community, its residents, and the organization.

For example, in interviewing an organization's staff in regards to the organization's programs, it was crucial to ask if any of these programs are specifically tailored to the transnational nature of those they aim to serve. Further, if programs are not explicitly tailored to address this transnational nature, are there aspects of the programs that may actually be doing this unknowingly? These interviews provide a source of factual evidence in regards to organizational structure, program offerings, etc. and they also help to develop a rich qualitative context in regards to professional opinions about how transnational practices are affecting community development and the community in general. It was important to structure and phrase questions in a way that the theories behind transnationalism were translated to plain talk without leading subjects to respond in a certain manner. These interviews were conducted in person in both Marshalltown and Greenville. Interviews were conducted respecting procedures for ethical treatment of human subjects.

A final source of data collected for this case study analysis was direct observations. Direct observation of organizational meetings and program offerings provide another rich source of data and helped to develop a context for individual programs and the community as a whole. In attending these events it was important to note how the agenda and topics addressed the local community as well as the residents' communities abroad and whether or not this is done explicitly or implicitly. These observations link directly to elements from the modified model such as; *resident commitment*, *levels of participation*, and *resident capacity* (see Appendices C,D, and E). In sum, numerous pieces of data were collected from a variety of sources which provides for a rich and informative case study analysis.

As data was obtained and analyzed, steps towards assuring the validity and reliability of data were taken. To assure construct validity a number of steps were taken following Yin's methods. First and foremost construct validity was assured by using multiple sources of evidence to address the questions posed in the modified model (Yin, 1984). This has been outlined in the multiple types of evidence and data that were obtained during data collection. For example, in looking at *resident commitment* and *levels of participation*, interviews were conducted with staff and meeting minutes and meeting agendas were also obtained in some cases. This method of collecting multiple sources of evidence was replicated for all of the questions derived from the modified model that has been constructed for this work, helping to bring construct validity to the case study analysis. Further, construct validity was achieved through establishing a chain of evidence. This chain starts by outlining all the data that was collected, how this data addresses questions laid out in the modified model, and how these questions tied back to the overall research question and objective. This was accomplished through a research database which was maintained through careful record keeping of all data and how it was collected and by continually documenting how this data links together (Yin, 1984). These linkages are shown in a table for each location where data is referenced from that location's appendix to the modified model to the overall research question (Appendices C,D, and E).

Internal validity is another issue to be considered for this case study analysis, especially because of the large of number of interviews to be conducted. In conducting these interviews it was hoped that those being interviewed provided data to the fullest extent possible without withholding anything or providing only certain pieces of data that may have altered the overall interpretation and analysis of the data. The researcher stayed as much as possible, an unbiased,

somewhat removed figure so that the data collected avoided the problems just discussed. In regards to interviews, each interview write-up in the appendices includes the possible biases and issues associated with that interview. Additionally, external validity, or how well the results apply outside the case being studied, provides a threat to validity (Yin, 1984). To address this threat to validity, a multiple-case study analysis was conducted so as to replicate results both literally and theoretically (Yin, 1984, p. 49). Yin refers to a “theoretical framework” to serve as the vehicle for this replication. In this case, the modified model served as this framework (1984, p. 49 and Appendix A). While every attempt possible was made to uphold external validity, the reality is that only three cases were analyzed for this analysis which limits the ability to generalize the results as well as if eight or ten cases were studied.

A final issue to address is the reliability of the case study analysis. This is concerned with how well the analysis could be replicated under similar conditions by another researcher (Yin, 1984, p. 40). The best way to make certain a case study is reliable is to document extensively. As has been discussed, a database has been developed linking all the collected data and evidence. Additionally, notes on data; how and when it was collected, its biases, and possible threats to its validity are all included in the case study appendices (Appendices: C, D, E). Further, data like interviews and direct observations were compiled and analyzed as soon as they were collected. This goes a long way towards keeping it in the context it was meant to be kept in and also makes it easier to account for any special circumstances which accompanied the collection of the data. The design of this case study and all the protocol discussed in relation to validity and reliability will help to ensure that the data collected was analyzed to address the objective of this research which as previously stated, has been to formulate a set of best practice

principles to be used by transnational communities and relevant organizations for guiding community development.

IV. FINDINGS

Cases studied

As has been outlined, this is a case study analysis involving both literal and theoretical replication. Two cases have been analyzed using literal replication of the modified model for community development; these cases are Marshalltown, IA and Greenville County, SC. The Pilsen Neighborhood in Chicago, IL has been analyzed using theoretical replication of the modified model for community development. It is expected that the cases chosen for literal replication of the modified model, Marshalltown and Greenville, will have less specific and less established methods of serving transnational Hispanic populations. Further, it is unlikely that their programs for serving these populations will have yielded long term measurable outcomes as these communities are still relatively unaccustomed to serving the Hispanic population. The case chosen for theoretical replication of the modified model, Pilsen, Chicago, is expected to have well developed and established programs for serving the Hispanic population and is expected to have made specific modifications to programs to account for the transnational nature of these populations. Further, it is expected that community development efforts in Pilsen will have yielded some long term outcomes like creating employment opportunities and building a more unified Hispanic community.

The first case analyzed using literal replication is Marshalltown, Iowa. Marshalltown is located in Central Iowa approximately one hour northeast of Des Moines with a 2000 population

of 26,009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). While Marshalltown is located in a somewhat rural county (Marshall County) the City of Marshalltown itself is not a rural town but a fairly well-defined small city. One reason that Marshalltown has been selected for this case study is because it is one of the many new destinations for Hispanic immigrants in the United States (Myers, 2007, pp. 95-96). Marshalltown has seen its Hispanic population increase dramatically from under 300 Hispanic residents in 1990 to over 3,500 Hispanic residents in 2000, constituting approximately 13 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and Table 2.3). Many of these immigrants initially immigrated from Mexico and other parts of the United States to Marshalltown because of the meatpacking industry in the area. Now, many other immigrants have come to be with family members and for other forms of employment outside the meatpacking industry (Griffith, 2004). In addition to Marshalltown being a new immigrant destination, it has also been the topic of academic research and press coverage as it is heralded for how well it has gone about integrating and including its rapid influx of Hispanic immigrants. As the objective of this research is to create a set of best practice principles for community development in transnational communities, these notable integration and inclusion efforts are another reason for selecting Marshalltown.

The second case analyzed using literal replication is Greenville County, SC. Greenville County is located in the Upstate of South Carolina and has a 2000 population of 379,616 according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000). While the city of Greenville is fairly urban, the county is home to a number of smaller towns and rural areas. Like Marshalltown, Greenville is also a new immigrant destination with its Hispanic population increasing from about 3,000 in 1990 to almost 15,000 in the year 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and Table 3.2). Greenville also has food processing plants on which some immigrants are dependent for employment.

While Greenville County is much larger than Marshalltown and Marshall County, the areas within Greenville County where Hispanic immigrants primarily reside, Berea and Greer, are similar to Marshalltown (Fig. 3.1). Berea saw its Hispanic population increase from 371 to 1,902 between 1990 and 2000 constituting about 13 percent of the total population in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and Table 3.3). Greer saw a similar increase in its Hispanic population with Hispanics constituting about 8 percent of the 2000 population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and table 3.4). While Greenville County is larger than Marshalltown, the manner in which Greenville's Hispanic population is arranged in places like Berea and Greer makes the two comparable. Also, through personal observations and visits to both sites the researcher has further confirmed the adequacy of these sites for a case study analysis.

The case analyzed using theoretical replication of the modified model for community development is the Pilsen Neighborhood on the West Side of Chicago, Illinois. Pilsen has a 2000 population of about 44,000 with about 90 percent of this population being Hispanic and 37 percent being foreign born (Pilsen (Lower West Side), 2010). Pilsen has been the center of Mexican life in Chicago since the 1950's and 1960's and continues to be the center of Mexican life in Chicago today (*Quality of Life Plan*, 2006). While Pilsen is markedly different than Marshalltown and Greenville it has been selected because of this difference. Pilsen allows the case study analysis to compare an established immigrant port-of-entry against newer ports-of-entry or as Yin puts it, "...contrary results but for predictable reasons (1984, p. 50)."

Case-by-case analysis

To restate, the objective of the following case study analysis has been to investigate community development in transnational communities in Marshalltown, IA, Greenville County, SC, and Pilsen, Chicago in order to formulate a set of best practice principles to be used by

transnational communities and relevant organizations for guiding community development. The study has been carried out using a model for community development modified to analyze community development efforts with a focus on how Hispanics' transnational ties may affect community development efforts in the communities where they live. The modified model has five major sections with a variety subsections which ask specific questions of the data that was collected. For the purposes of this study the term Hispanic will be used interchangeably with Latino and transnational and Hispanic immigrants. Though not all Hispanics and Latinos demonstrate transnational behaviors or are immigrants, this study has been conducted with a specific focus on the transnational behaviors of Hispanics and Latinos, especially immigrants, in regards to community development.

The findings for this work will be organized into five separate chapters. Each of the three cases; Marshalltown, IA, Greenville County, SC, and the Pilsen Neighborhood in Chicago, IL has been analyzed in accordance with the modified model for community development on an individual basis. Following these three separate analyses is a cross-case analysis involving the most important and notable aspects of the three cases. Finally, building off of the cross-case analysis as well as any other particularly striking observations from the case studies, a set of best practice principles for community development in transnational communities in the United State has been formulated.

Case study analysis: Marshalltown, IA

The case of Marshalltown has been analyzed using the following data; relevant news media, interviews with community development professionals, academic research, organizational reports and plans, meeting minutes and official communications, organizational websites and

finally relevant demographic and economic data from the U.S. Census.¹ This case study focuses on two organizations which perform community development efforts in Marshalltown, IA; the City of Marshalltown Housing and Community Department and Iowa Workforce Development's New Iowan Center. While these two agencies are the focus of this case study the data allow one to perform a preliminary discussion of other agencies and groups that do community development work with the Hispanic community in Marshalltown, Iowa. This case study will be analyzed in five sections according to the modified model for community development; *program or organizational and implementation attributes, intermediate outcomes, long-term measurable outcomes, local context, and external agents*. As stated, Marshalltown was analyzed based on a literal replication of the modified model for community development. Based on the model's five sections there are some expectations as to what one might find when analyzing Marshalltown. In regards to program or organizational and implementation attributes it is expected that organizations in Marshalltown may be focused on the Hispanic community but not specifically on the transnational community. Intermediate outcomes of community development in Marshalltown should reflect programs that have been developed and adapted to serve a Hispanic population with some possible adaptations for the transnational aspects of this population. It is not expected that there will be many long-term measurable outcomes of community development in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown though employment business development opportunities within the Hispanic community might be apparent. The local context in Marshalltown should reflect a community that is not yet fully accustomed to its rapid influx of Hispanic immigrants though some meaningful changes should be apparent. Finally, a variety of external agents will likely be apparent in community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown though they may not be driving these efforts.

¹ **Note:** Names in personal interviews have been changed to protect identities

Following the discussion of each individual section, there will be an overall discussion of conclusions that can be drawn and any possible issues regarding data collection and analysis involved in this case study.

Program or organizational and implementation attributes

Program or organizational and implementation attributes refers to how various organizations are structured and organized. This is important to note as the structure of an organization can directly affect the manner in which it performs services. The first organizational attribute to consider is the *geographic and population target* and is the target population transnational, immigrants, Hispanics, a combination, or something else entirely? In the case of Marshalltown Housing and Community Development (MHCD), the target population is simply the citizens of the City of Marshalltown, IA (About Housing and Community Development, 2010). This target population includes but is not limited to Hispanics. In the case of the Marshalltown New Iowan Center (NIC), the target population is all citizens new to the state of Iowa (Anderson, 2010). A number of other organizations within the community provide services to Hispanic immigrants either specifically or by serving a general population that includes Hispanics. In the case of some churches in Marshalltown, they do have Hispanic ministries but as stated, the community development organizations looked at in this case study serve Hispanic immigrants but they generally do not serve these populations exclusively (Woodrick, 2006).

Another organizational attribute to consider is the *mission and goals* of an organization such as; does the organization try to practice holistic or issue based community development and how does the transnational nature of residents affect the mission? In the case of MHCD the mission and goals of the organization are numerous but generally, they are to serve the residents

of Marshalltown as best as possible and to do this with “quality and consistency” (Adams, 2010). To carry out their mission and goals consistently concerning the Hispanic population, extra attempts of contacting this community and providing services with cultural and linguistic alterations are necessary. For the NIC, the general mission is to provide support services to those that are new to Iowa as designated by community need (Anderson, 2010). In the case of the NIC, serving Hispanic immigrants falls directly under the mission of helping those “new” to Iowa. That being said, the transnational nature of some of their clients does not necessarily alter the mission of the NIC as they continue to serve Hispanic immigrants regardless of what ties they may have with their country of origin. Both MHCD and the NIC do not try to practice holistic community development which is the same for other community development organizations in Marshalltown (Adams, 2010 and Mason, 2010). Community development organizations in Marshalltown provide only a certain package of services but many of these organizations, like the NIC, will refer their clients to another organization if they cannot provide the service requested.

A third organizational aspect to look at is *leadership and capacity*, specifically; where does leadership come from, how is it organized, what is the background of the leadership, and what is the leadership’s stake in the community? In the case of MHCD, leadership is part of the city staff structure and the current leadership came up internally from within in the organization. It full under the supervision of broader city leadership (city administrator) and elected officials (Adams, 2010). In the case of the NIC, the leadership also came up internally from Iowa Workforce Development (Mason, 2010). In addition to staff leadership, there is an advisory board at the NIC made up of community members that provides leadership and guidance for the organization (Mason, 2010). For MHCD, the background of the leadership is not directly based

in serving Hispanic populations whereas the leadership at the NIC has strong experience in this respect as well as a professional and personal interest in serving the Hispanic population. In regards to other organizations providing community development services in Marshalltown, there is a wide array backgrounds for leadership and while it may seem logical that having a background serving Hispanic immigrant populations can make an organization more effective in this respect, this is not always the case. This can be seen in the case of Reverend John Allen of Elim Lutheran Church who did not speak Spanish and was not Catholic but was still one of the first people to provide outreach and services to the Hispanic community in Marshalltown in the early 1990's (Woodrick, 2006). Finally, leaders in both MHCD and the NIC seemed to have a strong stake in the community as they themselves were involved residents, participating in a host of different organizations throughout the community (Adams, 2010 and Mason, 2010).

The final organizational aspect to discuss is an organization's *staff capacity and organization*. This includes asking; how is staff is hired or recruited? What are their educational levels, experiences, etc. (ability to work bi-lingual)? What is their stake in the community? Staff in both organizations in Marshalltown is recruited in typical ways and positions at both MHCD and the NIC are filled through the typical application and interview processed. Staffs at both MHCD and the NIC are generally well educated with a mix of Spanish language ability at MHCD and bi-lingual skills being required for employment at the NIC. All staff members at both MHCD and the NIC are members of the Marshalltown community and in that respect have a stake in the general success of Marshalltown. Without comprehensively assessing staff at MHCD, the NIC and other organizations doing community development in Marshalltown, it seems that Spanish language skills are common (though not the rule) as well as varying levels of cultural and diversity training. It is difficult to speculate on staff members' stake in

Marshalltown but in general they seem to be involved citizens but this likely varies greatly by the individual.

From the data collected in regards to Marshalltown, IA, some conclusions may be drawn in regards to *program or organizational and implementation attributes*. To begin, it is unlikely that an organization will focus their services exclusively on the transnational or Hispanic population even though this population may constitute a large portion of an organization's target population. Second, like target population, it is unlikely that an organization will focus exclusively on the Hispanic population and their transnational ties as far as organizational mission and goals are concerned. However, this population will certainly fall under the mission and goals of many organizations and may constitute specific aspects of certain organizations (i.e. a Hispanic ministry for churches). Third, leadership does not necessarily have to have a long background working with Hispanic immigrant communities to be successful in serving them but this trait is certainly helpful. Finally, while an organization's staff's background in cultural and diversity training and their knowledge of Spanish varies in Marshalltown, these traits seem to be very valuable and in high demand for any organization that hopes to successfully do community development within the Hispanic community there. In sum, the Hispanic community and their transnational traits do not necessarily drive the structure of organizations doing community development in Marshalltown but certain structural changes on account of these traits are sometimes made.

Intermediate outcomes

Intermediate outcomes refer to a variety of short to mid-range outcomes of community development in a community where community development efforts are being performed. These outcomes are measured by asking questions of the data that has been collected in three areas;

resident commitment, resident capacity, and network capacity. Though intermediate outcomes can be difficult to quantify and measure this does not mean that they are not important to the community development process. In fact, intermediate outcomes include some of the issues and topics that are most relevant to the transnational character of the Hispanic population in Marshalltown. The first intermediate outcome of community development is resident commitment. Resident commitment can be seen in residents' *interests and loyalty to the community* which considers issues like; does community of origin take precedence? Is the population transient? It is incredibly difficult to measure loyalty to the community among the Hispanic population. From the data available it is very evident that the country of origin is very important and Hispanic immigrants keep in frequent contact with their country of origin by phoning, sending money, and often visiting home, even at the expense of their jobs (Ester and Mason, 2010 and Grey and Woodrick, 2002). That being said, development and growth of the Hispanic small business sector and a change in the Hispanic population from single males to families and their children shows that even though the country of origin may remain important, the Hispanic population is becoming a permanent fixture in Marshalltown (Adams, 2010 and Griffith, 2004).

Like loyalty to community, *relationships among residents* and levels of trust and cooperation are very difficult to quantify and analyze. This is one area of the case study data that does not have a wealth of data with which to draw conclusions. However, there certainly appears to be at least some sense of community among the Hispanic population with quinceañeras, soccer clubs, and groups that meet to materially support their home towns in their country of origin (Sprenelmeyer, 2007). While easier to quantify than *relationships among residents*, *levels of participation* among residents, as far as being active in the community and its

respective organizations is also an area where there is relatively little data. Most of the data that does exist shows that generally, civic participation in the Hispanic community is low in formal community groups and is not necessarily strongly encouraged by the organizations on which this case study focuses. It was noted on a number of occasions that many Hispanics are hesitant to participate in formal settings but may be more responsive to personal contact and one-on-one interactions (Adams, 2010 and Mason, 2010). Also, Marshalltown is home to Latinos en Acción, a group which helps to help promote the interests of Hispanics in Marshalltown. Additionally, many Hispanics in Marshalltown are very active within their respective churches (Woodrick, 2006).

Another intermediate outcome of community development within the Hispanic immigrant community in Marshalltown is resident capacity. One measure of resident capacity is *resident leadership* which can be derived from the data by asking; how do residents take on leadership roles and what residents take on leadership roles? With the data available, interviews and academic articles lead one to believe that few members of the Hispanic community take on active leadership roles. That being said, there do appear to be attempts made on behalf of the community at large to bring some members of the Hispanic community into leadership roles but for whatever reason, this has not been very successful (Human Relations Meeting Minutes and Adams, 2010). However, those limited examples of members of the Hispanic community taking on leadership roles often seem to be small business owners or church leaders (Cardenas, 2006).

Resident capacity can also be measured by looking at an organization's *activities and "spin-offs" and the flexibility of their programs* and asking; what programs does the organization participate in and why? How does the organization modify these programs for the transnational nature of those they serve? The primary community development services that MHCD offers are

assistance in the form of housing and housing rehabilitation. These services are offered to the community as a whole but efforts have been made to advertise them to the Hispanic community. Word-of-mouth advertising seems to have had the most positive results in this respect (Adams, 2010). Generally, MHCD uses personal contact and translation of documents into Spanish as ways in which to alter their services for their Hispanic clients. Additionally, it has been noted that patience and understanding of cultural difference go a long way in any community development efforts within the Hispanic community (Adams, 2010). As to the NIC, they offer mainly job search related services in Marshalltown though all NIC offices offer citizenship and civics classes. NIC alters programs mainly by being aware of cultural differences and offering their services in both Spanish and English. Also, the NIC sees the possible transience of transnational residents as a positive at times because if they visit home at the expense of their job, they will return to the NIC for assistance when they return to Marshalltown (Mason, 2010). On a larger scale, the most common alteration to services across the community is to provide services in Spanish and to maintain an understanding of cultural differences.

A final part of resident capacity is whether or not community organizations act as a *channel for remittances, political participation and contact with the country/community of origin*. In the case of Marshalltown, it is very apparent that Hispanics have real and ongoing relationships with their country of origin as represented by calling, sending money, and visiting when possible (Ester, 2010 and Grey and Woodrick, 2010). With the data available, it does not appear as though any of the formal community development organizations in Marshalltown assist the immigrant population to this end. As mentioned, less formal groups of immigrants do work together to send money home and in one case, the fate of Villachuato, Mexico is very much linked to Marshalltown. Villachuato has a strong immigrant presence in Marshalltown that

supports the community in Mexico in a number of very concrete and important ways (Grey and Woodrick, 2010).

The capacity of a community to network within the larger community where it exists is another proposed outcome of community development. One way to measure this is to see whether the organization can be a *bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic community*. MHCD and most of its staff are not part of the Hispanic community so they use a variety of actors from real-estate agents to members of the clergy to help gain entry with the Hispanic population (Adams, 2010). One of the purposes of the NIC is to serve as the bridge between new Iowans (in many cases Hispanic immigrants) and the communities where new Iowans locate. The NIC does this through their advisory board as well as being active and visible members in the community (Mason, 2010). In addition to these efforts, local churches and the Chamber of Commerce have also made attempts at forming a bridge between the Hispanic immigrant community and the community at large.

In addition to serving as a bridge to the community at large it also important to look at the *public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, and HTAs/TMOs*, and see whether or not the organization has connections with any these types of entities here or abroad. Both MHCD and the NIC have a number of connections with a variety of entities, typically in an informal manner. This is particularly important to the NIC's referral service. It also seems that many of the other organizations that serve the Hispanic population in Marshalltown also belong to a similar network of service providers. The data collected in this study does not provide evidence that there are any formal connections between organizations in Marshalltown and organizations abroad.

One final aspect of an organization's network capacity is whether or not the organization is an *advocate for transnational populations* and does the organization advocate for them in the broader community (local, state, or national). Neither MHCD nor the NIC officially advocates for the Hispanic immigrant community directly though MHCD has advocated that this community is necessary to the success of the City of Marshalltown and the NIC often serves as an intermediary for this community and the community at large (RDG Planning and Design, 2006). The data from this study points to local church groups being the strongest advocate for the Hispanic immigrant population though Marshalltown's Chamber of Commerce and other elected officials do actively lobby in Washington D.C. for a resolution to the national debate on immigration.

While a variety of important issues come out of the discussion of intermediate outcomes of community development, a few of these issues stand out. First, resident commitment seems to be the most difficult outcome to measure. Still, it seems that while Hispanic immigrants have ties with their country of origin they also have a degree of permanence in Marshalltown. Also, there is some civic involvement among the Hispanic community but in general, it is not widely engaged in the community at large. As to resident capacity, the data in this case study show that there is limited leadership among the Hispanic community though the business and religious communities may be an area to look for this leadership. As to programs and their flexibility, it seems that while transnational links of residents are widely acknowledged, there are not necessarily specific service alterations as a result of these transnational links. Some of the key accommodations made on behalf of the Hispanic community involve service provision in Spanish, cultural understanding and patience, word-of-mouth advertising and face-to-face information dissemination. Again, while transnational links, including the sending of

remittances have been discussed, the data available does not show an active role on the part of community development organizations in assisting with these practices. The final aspect of intermediate outcomes is building a network capacity. It appears most of the organizations in Marshalltown have worked toward building this capacity both to bridge the gap between Hispanics and the larger community and to build a network of service providers to better serve clients. Also, it appears there are some entities, especially churches, which advocate for the Hispanic population in Marshalltown. These advocacy efforts are in addition to some general community leaders in Marshalltown who advocate both at the state and national level for a resolution to the issue of immigration.

Long-term measurable outcomes

Building off of intermediate outcomes it is then logical that community development organizations' efforts should yield some long term measurable outcomes. While community development in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown has been occurring for less than twenty years, one can still see the beginnings of what some long-term outcomes might be. The first long term outcomes to look at are *employment and business development opportunities* and whether the organization communicates with local businesses/employers? If yes, what is the nature of this relationship? Both MHCD and the NIC work toward employment and business development opportunities. MHCD sees the Hispanic business community as an important opportunity for keeping downtown Marshalltown thriving and therefore includes discussion of this community in official documents and plans (RDG Planning and Design, 2006). The NIC's main goal in Marshalltown is to provide assistance in finding those new to Iowa with employment which directly affects employment opportunities for the Hispanic community (New Iowan centers - Iowa Workforce Development). Further, the Marshalltown Chamber of

Commerce has taken an active role to partner with the Hispanic small business community so that they might have a reciprocal relationship with the community at large.

Another a long term measurable outcome is a more established and unified community as seen through the growth and maturity of *neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, and community participation* among the Hispanic community. As previously mentioned, Marshalltown has some informal Hispanic organizations, especially sports teams, religious groups, and groups which support hometowns in their country of origin. While Marshalltown's Hispanic population does not yet appear to be widely involved in the community at large, attempts are made by groups like the Chamber of Commerce and others to include them in this community. Also, the NIC does provide citizenship classes and more and more members of this community are becoming legal citizens, aiding to solidify a more established and unified community (Anderson, 2010). That being said, as one community development worker alluded to, welcoming newcomers goes beyond business and job opportunities and political and civic inclusion will be one of the real signs of a more unified Hispanic community in Marshalltown (Anderson, 2010). As stated previously, the Hispanic immigrant community is hesitant to participate in formal settings and does not respond to certain forms of advertising so face-to-face contact, word-of-mouth advertising and patience will be necessary before this more established and unified community can be seen.

In sum, long term measurable outcomes of community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown are yet to be seen. Still, both organizations discussed here are taking an active role trying to create both employment and business development opportunities for this community. One cannot say whether there is more established and unified

Hispanic and immigrant community in Marshalltown and while efforts are being made to this end, more time is need to make an assessment on this issue.

Local context

Another key aspect to the study of Marshalltown is to gain an understanding of the local context in which community development organizations operate. While the local context can be broad and include any number of issues it is incredibly important to understand as it provides a background for understanding the case study and plays an integral role in community development efforts. An important aspect of local context to investigate is *socioeconomic conditions* and do they influence the organization's funding, programs, and resident participation? A basic but important statistic to note is that the Hispanic median household income in Marshalltown is about \$6,000 lower than the general population's, this no doubt plays into the need for low or no cost services on the part of the Hispanic population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Further, the NIC is directly driven by the local economy as their main role is to help people find employment. This economic factor plays in because when economic times are tight, it is even harder to get the Hispanic and immigrant community to become civically engaged. Additionally, since the Hispanic population in Marshalltown is heavily dependent on low skill jobs, especially meatpacking, the impact of changes by one or two employers can ripple throughout the whole community (Grey and Woodrick, 2002 and Mason, 2010).

Another important aspect of the local context is *trust and cooperation among residents with local officials* and how each respective side views one another. Marshalltown seems to be very unique in that they have gone to great lengths to integrate their Hispanic community. A few examples of this effort are a Diversity Committee, informational Police videos in Spanish, meetings between police and business owners and a trip organized for Marshalltown officials to

Villachuato, Mexico to see the town where its Hispanic immigrants originate from (Griffith, 2004 and Adams, 2010). Despite these efforts there are still misunderstandings and a degree of apprehension in regards to local officials. This apprehension and fear is due to a number of factors. A few of these factors are that some residents are undocumented immigrants, two INS/ICE raids on local meatpacking plants in the past twenty years and also because of perceptions immigrants bring with them to the U.S. in regards to government and authority figures in their countries of origin (Adams, 2010 and Sternberg, 2007).

Directly related to how immigrants relate with local officials are *city policies* and whether or not the area is accustomed to immigrants and does it have ordinances or programs tailored to immigrants? While Marshalltown and Iowa both have a long history of immigration, the growth of the Hispanic population is very recent. From 1990-2000 the Hispanic population grew more than 1200 percent and from 2000-2008 the population is estimated to have grown 54 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). That being said, this immigrant population is far different and more noticeable than any previous population. As to ordinances, while Marshall County does have an ordinance designating that all official business be conducted in English, the City of Marshalltown has no such ordinances (Sprengelmeyer, 2007). In fact, the City of Marshalltown has a number of initiatives and programs directly catering to the Hispanic community. A few examples are a Hispanic Task Force/Diversity Committee, a Human Relations Commission, changing the 4th of July celebration into a multi-cultural affair and a fully bi-lingual elementary school (Griffith, 2004). While tensions still arise, it appears that as a community, Marshalltown has gone to great lengths to integrate its Hispanic immigrants.

One final aspect of local context to discuss is the *level and quality of community development activities*. Particularly, it is necessary to ask, what other organizations exist in

addition to the ones already discussed and what services do they provide? As has been discussed, neither of the organizations which this case study has focused on provides a total package of services but the NIC does make referrals to other community organizations. Additionally, the religious community in Marshalltown is one of the most important community development groups and they provide a host of services and referrals like the NIC (Woodrick, 2006). There are a number of possible explanations for the importance of the religious community but one likely explanation is the amount of trust which the religious community has with the Hispanic population especially through its Hispanic ministry. The available data does not lead one to believe that there are formal Community Development Corporations serving the Hispanic community (or any community) in Marshalltown and their creation does not appear to be on the horizon.

A few very important things about local context in Marshalltown come from the data that has been analyzed. First, socioeconomic conditions drive community development efforts within the Hispanic community and in some cases, cause community development to be necessary. Additionally, trust continues to be an issue with Hispanic residents and local officials but the community's initiatives in Marshalltown certainly seem to have the community moving in the right direction. Additionally, while the area is not historically accustomed to Hispanic immigrants they have taken extraordinary measures to integrate this population and should maintain these efforts to build on their successes. Finally, there are limited community development activities in Marshalltown and in addition to the two organizations already explored in-depth, the church appears to be one of the most important and trusted organizations that participates in community development activities.

External agents

Finally, it is important to investigate how external agents might be affecting community development in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown. It is important to look at *federal/state agencies and programs* and does the agency participate in federal or state programs, work with federal or state agencies and what is the nature of these relations? Both MHCD and the NIC rely on the federal government for much of their funding. MHCD receives much of its funding from HUD and the NIC receives its funding from the Department of Labor and Wagner-Peyser monies (Adams, 2010 and Anderson, 2010). In the case of MHCD, HUD funding does have an effect on their provision of services as certain HUD programs like Section 8 have citizenship requirements. Citizenship requirements have obvious implications in serving the Hispanic community as portions of this community lack citizenship or legal status. While the NIC relies on federal funding it is actually part of Iowa Workforce Development so it falls under the purview of both of these agencies. Though MHCD is a local agency they have connections to a variety of state agencies as well; including the Iowa Civil Rights Commission which works heavily with issues related to Hispanic immigrants (Adams, 2010). Another external agent that has seriously affected community development efforts in Marshalltown in the past twenty years, especially in regards to levels of trust, is INS/ICE and the two raids they have performed on a local meatpacking plant. Finally, according to the data available community development organizations in Marshalltown do not have connections with national intermediaries.

In regards to external agents, community development efforts rely on federal funding so it is integral for community development organizations in Marshalltown to continue actively working towards obtaining such grants. For the moment, various groups in Marshalltown cannot

control ICE but they can continue their lobbying efforts and hope that the issue of immigration is resolved quickly in Washington, D.C.

Conclusion, threats to validity and limitations

As specific conclusions have been drawn for each specific section of the model some more general conclusions from the case of Marshalltown, IA can now be made. To begin, it seems evident that the Hispanic population in Marshalltown certainly has transnational links with their countries of origin. That being said, transnational links of Hispanic residents do not seem to strongly affect the way community development organizations in Marshalltown structure their organizations or provide services. Still, making a number of cultural and linguistic alterations to service provision is necessary for these organizations to effectively serve the Hispanic population in Marshalltown. Additionally, Marshalltown seems to be unique in the lengths it has gone to as a community to help integrate the Hispanic population. Like anywhere, Marshalltown has had some issues during this integration process but on the whole it appears that the community does not look at the problems rapid change can bring but instead at the opportunities. In general, Marshalltown seemed to follow closely expected results of literal replication of the modified model for community development. One notable area where Marshalltown differed from the expected results was that while Marshalltown has only had Hispanic immigrants for about 20 years, the community seems to be generally well accustomed to serving and working with this population though of course, there are tensions at times.

As with any case study, there are threats to the validity of its results. Two issues with the case study of Marshalltown are that there were a small number of interviews conducted and while interviews can provide factual information, they also include a lot of opinion. That being said, those interviewed seemed to produce similar answers to the same questions which was

further supported by various types of documentary evidence. Of course, more interviews strengthen the validity of any case study but the consistency of the interviews and documents in this case study lead one to believe that the data is valid in this respect. Additionally, there is the issue that no two community development agencies are exactly the same so it is difficult to analyze them in exactly the same manner. With that in mind, efforts were made to ask the same questions of these organizations and of the data collected. Another threat to validity was the inability to conduct interviews with residents of the Hispanic community in Marshalltown due to certain research protocols. While there is secondary data available on residents, particularly in the intermediate outcome sections of the model, this data needs to be taken with the understanding that it is secondary and that no residents were interviewed during this research.

One important limitation of this research was the inability to conduct interviews with members of the religious community in Marshalltown. Academic research and interviews with community development professionals allowed this work to comment on the importance of the churches and religious leaders in community development efforts in Marshalltown. However, it is recommended that further research be conducted in regards to the religious community's work with community development efforts in the Hispanic community, particularly the work of St. Mary's Hispanic ministry. Table 1.1 provides an assessment of the relative strength of data for which conclusions were drawn for Marshalltown, IA.

Data Assessment table: Marshalltown, IA						
Model elements		Data sources collected for Marshalltown				
	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes						
<i>Geographic and population target</i>	Transnationals not targeted, Hispanics sometimes targeted, usually a larger population is served	7	4	1	0	12
<i>Mission and goals</i>	Generally not focused on Hispanics or transnationals, serving Hispanics falls under organization's more general mission	6	4	2	0	12
<i>Leadership and capacity</i>	Leadership does not have to come from within the Hispanic community, Hispanic leadership may be helpful if the organization focuses on the Hispanic population	3	3	3	0	9
<i>Staff capacity and organization</i>	Cultural competency of staff varies but is necessary to serving the Hispanic community, networks used when qualified staff is unavailable	7	1	1	0	9

Model elements		Data sources collected for Marshalltown				
Intermediate Outcomes	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Resident commitment						
<i>Interests and loyalty to community</i>	Transnational ties are important, Hispanic immigrants show permanence in Marshalltown	5	3	2	0	10
<i>Relationships among residents</i>	There appears to be some level of trust and cooperation among Hispanic residents, this trust is mainly seen through social interactions	0	4	4	1	9
<i>Levels of participation</i>	Formal community participation is low among Hispanics, participation is often seen in social and religious settings	2	3	1	0	6
Resident Capacity						
<i>Leadership</i>	There is little formal leadership in the Hispanic community, religious groups and small business are possible sources of leadership	0	5	1	0	6
<i>Activities and "spin-offs" and flexibility of programs</i>	Few alterations to programs are made for Hispanics' transnational links, alterations are generally linguistic, cultural, word-of-mouth advertising, and face-to-face contact	5	5	1	0	11
<i>Channel for remittances, political participation, and contact with country/community of origin</i>	Community development organizations do not assist residents in maintaining transnational ties	5	3	1	0	9

Model elements		Data sources collected for Marshalltown				
Intermediate Outcomes	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Network Capacity						
Bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic/Latino community	Most organizations do attempt to form a bridge with the larger community	8	3	2	0	13
<i>Public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, HTAs/TMOs</i>	Organizations rely on a network of service providers to effectively serve the Hispanic population	5	5	0	0	10
<i>Advocate for transnational populations</i>	A handful of organizations advocate for the Hispanic population; particularly churches	1	8	1	0	10
Long-term Measurable Outcomes						
<i>Employment and business development opportunities</i>	Long-term outcomes are difficult to measure, organizations are making efforts to create job and business opportunities for the Hispanic community	6	2	1	0	9
More established and unified community						
<i>Neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, community participation</i>	There is generally little civic participation within the Hispanic community, there are some informal social organizations	1	6	2	2	11

Model elements		Data sources collected for Marshalltown				
Local Context	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
<i>Socioeconomic conditions</i>	Difficult socioeconomic conditions drive community development efforts within the Hispanic community	1	5	2	1	9
<i>Trust and cooperation among residents and with local officials</i>	The community has gone to great lengths to build trust with Hispanics/immigrants but some tensions still exist	8	2	0	1	11
<i>City policies, is area accustomed to immigrants?</i>	The area is not accustomed to immigrants but the city has gone to great lengths to integrate immigrants	5	6	5	2	18
<i>Level and quality of community development activities</i>	Community development activities in the Hispanic community are limited in Marshalltown, the church appears to be a major player	2	5	2	0	9
External Agents						
<i>Federal/state agencies and programs</i>	Federal and state funding are important to community development in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown, ICE also has a notable effect on the Hispanic community and trust levels	9	1	1	0	11
<i>National and regional intermediaries</i>	There do not appear to be any ties with national/regional intermediaries	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1.1

Case study analysis: Greenville County, SC

Greenville has been analyzed using the following data; relevant news media, interviews with community development professionals, academic research, organizational reports and plans, meeting minutes, direct observations, organizational websites, and finally relevant demographic and economic data from the U.S. Census.² While data has been collected on a number of agencies which serve the Hispanic population in Greenville County, South Carolina this analysis will focus on the Greenville County Human Relations Commission (GCHRC), the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority (GCRA) and the Alliance for the Collaboration of the Hispanic Community (ACCH). Though these agencies are the focus of this case study, pertinent data on other agencies and entities will be included where relevant. Like Marshalltown, this case study will be analyzed in five sections according to the modified model for community development; *program or organizational and implementation attributes, intermediate outcomes, long-term measurable outcomes, local context, and external agents*. As stated, Greenville was analyzed based on a literal replication of the modified model for community development. Based on the model's five sections there are some expectations as to what one might find when analyzing Greenville. In regards to program or organizational and implementation attributes it is expected that organizations in Greenville may be focused on the Hispanic community but not specifically on the transnational community. More than likely, it is believed that organizations and their programs will serve the Hispanic community as a subset of a larger community. Intermediate outcomes of community development in Greenville should reflect programs that have been developed and adapted to a serve a Hispanic population with some possible adaptations for the transnational aspects of this population. It is not expected that there will be many long-term measurable outcomes of community development in the Hispanic community in

² **Note:** Names in personal interviews have been changed to protect identities

Greenville. The local context in Greenville should reflect a community that is not yet fully accustomed to its rapid influx of Hispanic immigrants though some changes should begin to be apparent. Finally, a variety of external agents will likely be apparent in community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Greenville though they may not be driving these efforts. Also, like Marshalltown, following the discussion of each individual section there will be an overall discussion of conclusions that can be drawn and any possible issues regarding the data collection and analysis involved in this case study.

Program or organizational and implementation attributes

Program or organizational and implementation attributes refers to how various organizations are structured and organized. This is important to note as the structure of an organization can directly affect the manner in which it performs services. The first organizational attribute to consider is the *geographic and population target* and is the target population transnational, immigrants, Latinos, a combination or something else entirely? Of the three focus organizations only one, ACCH, exclusively targets the Hispanic population as it is the Alliance for the Collaboration of the *Hispanic* Community. The other organizations all serve the Hispanic population but this is not the only community which they serve. The GCHRC and the GCRA generally provide services based on income though there are variations by program (Jackson, 2010 and Brown, 2010). That being said, GCHRC has made strides to be more inclusive of the Hispanic community and since the GCRA funds a number of smaller community organizations, these organizations might have a stronger focus on the Hispanic community. One other organization from which data was collected; the Hispanic-American Women's Association (AHAM), specifically targets the Hispanic female population and provides cultural programs and educational initiatives to this population as well as the general population (AHAM, 2010).

Generally, community development organizations for which data is available in Greenville serve the Hispanic community in Greenville because members of this community meet other general requirements to receive services and not solely because they are members of the Hispanic community.

Another organizational attribute to consider is the *mission and goals* of an organization such as; does the organization try to practice holistic or issue based community development and how does the transnational nature of residents affect the mission? None of the data from this case study reflects that organizations in Greenville are practicing holistic community development in the Hispanic community. Rather, individual organizations aim to provide just a few aspects of community development or in the case of ACCH, act as a referral network to help community developers fill in the gaps so that their clients can access all the services they require. In no cases is the transnational nature of Hispanic residents specifically referenced in an organization's mission or goals. Still, in the case of ACCH and AHAM the organizational mission is directly related to the serving the Hispanic population. That being said, one of ACCH's many goals is not only to serve the Hispanic community but to help bridge the gap between this community and the Greenville community at large (Williams, 2010). As most of the organizations investigated do not necessarily target Hispanic immigrant populations, their missions and goals are not driven by the transnational aspects of those they serve.

A third organizational element to look at is *leadership and capacity*, specifically; where does leadership come from, how is it organized, what is the background of the leadership and what is their stake in the community? In the case of the organizations studied here, the various boards which direct organizations are generally quite diverse including members from across the community with varying ethnic, socioeconomic and professional backgrounds. ACCH is

especially important to focus on because while their board is primarily composed of Hispanic leaders, these leaders come from the public, private, religious and nonprofit sectors. Also, ACCH does include board members not from the Hispanic community broadening its voice to the larger Greenville community. Finally, across all organizations there seems to be a strong stake in the community among leaders either because they themselves are Hispanic immigrants or simply because they are citizens who recognize that the Hispanic population in Greenville is growing rapidly and this community's voice needs to be included in the community at large.

The final organizational aspect to discuss is an organization's *staff capacity and organization*. This can be addressed by asking; how is staff hired or recruited? What are their educational levels, experiences, etc. (ability to work bilingually)? What is their stake in the community? For the organizations which this study has focused on the staffs have a variety of backgrounds but there is a common thread in Greenville that these organizations have at least some staff members from within the Hispanic community who may even be immigrants themselves. If staff members are not from within the Hispanic community, there is also evidence that these organizations have staff members who have personal, professional, or academic interest in working with this community. In the case of ACCH, there are not official staff members but members of the organization generally come from within the Hispanic community or work with this community on a regular basis. In the case of the GCRA, members of the staff do not draw directly from the Hispanic community but as mentioned, they work through a variety of other agencies, one of them being GCHRC, who has staff members with the background and skills necessary to work with the Hispanic community (Brown, 2010). For staff members who comes from outside the Hispanic community, their personal and professional interests in a more inclusive community gives them a stake in the success of the Hispanic

community. For staff members that come from within the Hispanic community they seemed to have an inherent interest in the success of the community which plays into why they are working in a community development position in the first place.

While there are any number of conclusions to draw in regards to program or organizational and implementation attributes a few are particularly noteworthy. First, many if not most organizations that work with the Hispanic community do not necessarily target this community but serve it because it is part of a larger community that they already serve. Second, the mission and goals of organizations that serve the Hispanic community in Greenville are generally broad enough so that they can be applicable to larger communities. However, organizations are evolving whose mission is to primarily serve the Hispanic community in Greenville. Third, leadership in organizations that serve the Hispanic community comes from all sectors of society and though it may be helpful for these leaders to be members of the Hispanic community, those outside the community may also be able to help provide useful links to the larger Greenville community. Finally, the staffs of organizations that serve the Hispanic community in Greenville generally come either from within the Hispanic community or have a background working with this community. When organizations lack staff members with certain linguistic and cultural competencies they are reliant on their networks to bring in qualified professionals who can assist them as needed.

Intermediate outcomes

Intermediate outcomes refer to a variety of short to mid-range outcomes of community development within a given community. These outcomes are measured more specifically by asking questions of the data in three areas; resident commitment, resident capacity and network capacity. Though intermediate outcomes can be difficult to quantify and measure this does not

mean that they are not crucial to the community development process. In fact, intermediate outcomes include some of the issues and topics that are most relevant to the transnational character of the Hispanic population in Greenville. The first intermediate outcome of community development in the Hispanic community is resident commitment. Resident commitment can be seen in residents' *interests and loyalty to the community* which considers issues like; does the community of origin take precedence? Is the population transient? It is incredibly difficult to measure loyalty to the community among the Hispanic population but through the data collected, it is evident that Hispanics in Greenville do keep ongoing ties with their country of origin whether it is by calling, sending money or even visiting home for holidays and other important occasions (Thomas, 2010). However, it is also clear that immigrants in the Hispanic community in Greenville do build a loyalty to the local community as well (Smith, 2010 and Jackson, 2010). A strong Hispanic business community as seen in the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and a number of Hispanic shopping centers points to a certain degree of permanence in the Hispanic community (Davis, 2009 and Davis, 2008). The data in this study support that immigrants are loyal to both Greenville and their country of origin with varying degrees of loyalty being dependent on the individual situation.

Like loyalty to community, *relationships among residents* and levels of trust and cooperation are very difficult to quantify and analyze. Still, some findings from the case study can shed some light on this issue. While much of the data does not support a strong Hispanic community in Greenville it was discussed that individual communities from Mexico, Colombia, and to a lesser degree the Central American countries are very apparent (Thomas, 2010 and Jackson, 2010). This sense of community mostly comes forth in athletic and social clubs but beyond that, is difficult to speculate on individual levels of trust and cooperation within the

community. While easier to quantify than *relationships among residents*, *levels of participation* among the Hispanic community seem to be generally low in Greenville. Many community development workers discussed that they had promoted civic involvement within the Hispanic community but for any number of reasons from too little time to lack of knowledge of activities; participation in the community by Hispanics remains low.

Another intermediate outcome of community development within the Hispanic immigrant community in Greenville is resident capacity. One measure of resident capacity is *resident leadership*. This can be derived by asking of the data; how do residents take on leadership roles and what residents take on leadership roles? With the data available, especially through interviews and direct observations of ACCH meetings, it appears that there are a growing number of leaders coming from any number of sectors in the Hispanic community and that membership in ACCH is one way of being a leader in this community. It is hard to speculate on which residents take on leadership roles but from the data available, service workers, small business owners and religious leaders all appear to be a strong source of leadership for the community.

Resident capacity can also be measured by looking at an organization's *activities and "spin-offs" and the flexibility of their programs* and then by asking; what programs does the organization participate in and why? Also, how does the organization modify these programs for the transnational nature of those they serve? Of the organizations which this case study focuses on, bi-lingual services, translation of documents and specific cultural knowledge and understanding of diverse populations were common ways to adjust for a possibly transnational population. In one case, a community development worker discussed that for all of the programs and classes that the organization provided; they were up-front with all those receiving services

and said that once inside the door, everyone was equal and there needed to be patience and understanding on everyone's parts (Jackson, 2010). In another more specific case, one community development worker discussed needing to adjust a client's financial counseling session to include the money they sent home to their country of origin every month (Jones, 2010). The data also reflects that interruption of services due to clients returning to their country of origin is a transnational aspect of the Hispanic community that must be taken into account by community development organizations. In the case of the International Center of the Upstate (ICU) and the Greenville Technical College ESL program, they are both designed almost exclusively to serve immigrants but do not make significant alterations for transnational ties. Another *spin-off* that was suggested in the data collected is the creation of a "Latino Guide to Greenville" written in Spanish and English and contains all the pertinent information that immigrants would need to know while living in Greenville (Greenville Forward Vision 2025, 2010). While this information is provided by a number of different organizations, compiling one universal document in Spanish with all of this information would be invaluable to serving the Hispanic community of Greenville.

A final part of resident capacity is whether or not community development organizations act as a *channel for remittances, political participation and contact with the country/community of origin*. As stated, it is apparent that many Hispanics in Greenville have real and ongoing relationships with their country of origin. That being said, with the data collected in this case study it does not appear that any organizations in Greenville assist in maintaining or perpetuating these transnational links.

The capacity of a community to network within the larger community where it exists is another proposed outcome of community development. One way to measure this is to see

whether the organization can be a *bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic community*. In the case of Greenville, ACCH and Greenville Forward stand out as being bridges between the Hispanic community and the greater Greenville community. These groups work towards helping the Hispanic community develop but also stress helping the Greater Greenville community understand and include the rapidly growing Hispanic community. Further, while ACCH focuses on the Hispanic community their members come from across the community bringing awareness about the Hispanic community both inside and outside of this community. In addition to ACCH and Greenville Forward, the ICU acts as a bridge between a more general international community and the greater Greenville community (Smith, 2010). Though a slight digression, it is important to note that there was an important turning point among the community development professionals who constitute ACCH after 2008 ICE raid of a local poultry processing plant. As non-Hispanic community development professionals realized the importance of their Hispanic counterparts' cultural and linguistic skills these Hispanic professionals gained respect and became empowered. Alternatively, Hispanic community development officials also got the chance to realize that their non-Hispanic counterparts have valuable skills and services to offer to the Hispanic community (Williams, 2010 and Martin, 2010).

It is also crucial to look at an organization's connections as far as the *public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, and HTAs/TMOs*, and see whether or not the organization has connections with any these types of entities here or abroad. Every organization analyzed had connections in the public, nonprofit, and private sectors. ACCH, Greenville Forward and likely other organizations have contacts within the religious community as well. None of the data in this study reveal any organization having connections with

hometown associations or any organizations abroad though the Mexican and Guatemalan consulates do have some informal contact with ACCH and some of its members (Williams, 2010). An interesting and important connection that came up numerous times in the case of Greenville was between community development organizations and immigration and bi-lingual attorneys. A 2008 ICE raid in Greenville made the need for connections with attorneys very apparent. A number of issues which could be termed as ‘forced transnationalism’ among Hispanic residents necessitate strong connections with attorneys. For example, it seems to be the case that if Hispanic immigrants must to return to their country of origin either expectedly or unexpectedly (i.e. visa expiration, deportation) they are not legally equipped to deal with their affairs in the United States. Additionally, power of attorney was an issue that frequently came up in serving non-English speakers which again, necessitates strong connections with culturally and linguistically equipped attorneys.

Another aspect of an organization’s network capacity is whether the organization is an *advocate for transnational populations* and does the organization advocate in the broader community (local, state, or national)? In this case study two particular organizations seem to advocate on behalf of the Hispanic community. The GCHRC does not advocate specifically for this community but their work and mission is to provide fair opportunities for all of the different groups in Greenville including but not limited to fair housing initiatives (Greenville County Human Relations Commission, 2002). ACCH is also a strong advocate for the Hispanic community with ACCH members and leadership actively participating in local panels and discussions on Hispanic issues. ACCH’s advocacy efforts were best seen when ACCH and its member organizations helped provide assistance in a variety of ways to members of the Hispanic community that were affected following a 2008 ICE raid (Williams, 2010). The data also shows

that religious groups and churches may be another important advocate for the Hispanic community though further research should be conducted before drawing any conclusions.

While there are a number of intermediate outcomes of community development in the Hispanic community a few points seem especially pertinent in each of the three areas. While resident commitment is generally hard to measure it can be noted that Hispanics in Greenville frequently maintain relationships with their country of origin while still establishing permanent ties in the Greenville community. However, generalizations should not be made either way on this issue and it should be assessed on an individual basis. Further, it is difficult to assess the levels of trust and cooperation among the Hispanic community but there do appear to be some informal ties, often in regards to the specific country from where an immigrant came as opposed to some type of larger Hispanic community. Finally, it is found that the Hispanic population in Greenville is not generally civically engaged though community development workers seem to commonly espouse engagement among the Hispanic populations that they serve. In regards to resident capacity and leadership one should look to groups like ACCH for future leaders as well as to the church and possibly small business owners. As to activities and “spin-offs” and flexibility of programs, bi-lingual services, cultural awareness and diversity training are some of the most important adjustments organizations make in regards to serving the Hispanic community. While the transnational nature of Hispanic clients is readily apparent, organizations mention few specific alterations to programs in this regard. In that same vein, there is no apparent evidence that organizations which serve Hispanic immigrants in Greenville are actively involved in their clients’ transnational ties. Finally, in regards to network capacity it was found that a number of organizations in Greenville provide an important bridge between the Hispanic community and the community at large and that in fact, certain organizations like ACCH and the

ICU include this in their organizational goals. Additionally, nearly every organization that serves the Hispanic population in Greenville has a wide network of formal and informal partner agencies. This network is roundly regarded as integral to serving the Hispanic community in Greenville. Finally, while there are organizations in Greenville that serve the Hispanic community not all of these organizations necessarily advocate on its behalf even though certain groups like ACCH are vocal and important advocates.

Long-term measurable outcomes

Building off of intermediate outcomes it is then logical that community development organizations' efforts should yield some long term measurable outcomes. The rapid change in the Greenville Hispanic population has really come into the public purview in the last decade or so and the two organizations in Greenville which exclusively serve the Hispanic community, AHAM and ACCH, are both relatively new. This being the case, one cannot expect too many long term outcomes to have come to fruition as of yet because of community development efforts in the Hispanic community. The first long term outcomes to look at are *employment and business development opportunities* and does the organization communicate with local businesses/employers? If yes, what is the nature of this relationship? As of yet, this is not a heavily developed part of the community development package for the organizations analyzed in this case study. That being said, ACCH does provide a network that notifies members of job openings and some members of ACCH do focus on workforce development type activities. Additionally, the GCRA does have a small business development program which it hopes to expand and advertise to the Hispanic community (Brown, 2010).

Another a long term measurable outcome is a more established and unified community as seen through the growth and maturity of *neighborhood organizations, political participation,*

citizenship, and community participation among the Hispanic community. As mentioned, civic participation among the Hispanic community in Greenville is low due to a number of factors such as fear over documentation status, lack of education about civic involvement and lack of time due to busy work schedules. That being said, ACCH is a good starting point for civic involvement and some related and well-attended events such as the Minority Health Summit put on by the Greenville Hospital system and a Community Outreach Festival in Berea (the most heavily Hispanic community in Greenville) are promising signs for the future of community involvement within the Hispanic community in Greenville.

It is difficult to draw conclusions on the long term measurable outcomes of community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Greenville as these efforts have only been occurring recently. At current there are minimal employment and business development opportunities though this is becoming a topic of discussion among community development organizations working with the Hispanic community. Additionally, a more unified and established Hispanic community in Greenville is yet to be seen though community development professionals are working tirelessly towards this end and certain events and programs do show promise.

Local context

Another key aspect to the case study of Greenville is to gain an understanding of the local context in which community development groups operate. Local context can be broad and include any number of issues but it is also incredibly important as it provides a background to understanding the case study as it may affect community developments in a variety of both obvious and subtle ways. An important aspect of local context to investigate is the *socioeconomic condition* and does it influence the organization, funding, programs, and resident

participation? According to 2000 data, the Hispanic population in Greenville County had a median income far lower than the general population in addition to which, 26.1 percent of Hispanics are below the poverty level and 47 percent do not have a high school diploma (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and Impediments to Fair Housing, 2005). These issues, as well as language barriers and cultural barriers, contribute to a strong need for community development efforts within the Hispanic community. Two agencies that were the focus of this study, GCHRC and the GCRA, exist in large part due to the socioeconomic condition in Greenville County. GCHRC provides a variety of financial counseling services, financial literacy services and home-ownership assistance primarily to lower and moderate income populations including bi-lingual counselors who serve the Hispanic community (Jackson, 2010). Additionally, GCRA in cooperation with a number of local nonprofits governments seeks to provide affordable housing for those with low to moderate incomes, including the Hispanic population (Brown, 2010).

Another important aspect of the local context is *trust and cooperation among residents with local officials* and how each respective side views one another. As with any minority population trust of local officials is certainly an issue for the Hispanic population, especially considering the fact that some members of this community may be undocumented. Additionally, Hispanic immigrants, especially those most recently arrived, bring with them notions of local authorities that cause them to seriously distrust these authorities (Williams, 2010). While trust issues will always exist to some degree, positive steps are being taken toward building this trust (Monroe, 2010). One of the focus organizations in this case study, ACCH, allows Hispanic leaders to connect with leaders from across the community on a number of issues. Additionally, the work of Greenville Forward in carrying out their “inclusion” vision has facilitated a number of different presenters and roundtable discussions aiming to give the Hispanic community a

voice at the table and to build trust between them and other sectors of the community (Greenville Forward, 2010). The data in this study also suggests that before organizations outside the Hispanic community want to work with this community, they need to have someone vouch for them and have an “in” with this community so that they are trusted and their efforts are not wasted (Monroe, 2010). Additionally, other efforts like organizations hiring bi-lingual employees are also an important step towards building trust in the Hispanic community (Lundeen, 2008).

Directly related to how immigrants relate with local officials are *city policies* and whether or not the area is accustomed to immigrants and does it have ordinances or programs tailored to immigrants? Greenville is not accustomed to Hispanic immigrants and policies, plans and organizations have really just started to adapt to this population in the last decade. This is not surprising as the Hispanic population increased by 372 percent from 1990-2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In addition to rapid change, local policy can also make this trust more tenuous. For example, Greenville County attempted to pass an ordinance in 2009 regarding business licenses and the necessity to certify workers’ immigration status to receive a license. This ordinance was viewed by some as an ordinance singling out Hispanic small business owners (Szobody, 2009). This, coupled with the 2008 ICE raid of a poultry processing plant and current legislation regarding car insurance and valid drivers’ licenses; breaks down the trust between the Hispanic community and local officials (Walton, 2008, and ACCH March Membership Meeting, 2010).

One final aspect of local context to discuss is the *level and quality of community development activities*. Particularly, it is necessary to ask, what other organizations exist in addition to the ones already discussed and what services do they provide? None of the

organizations analyzed in this study provides a complete package of services to the Hispanic population and they all rely heavily on networks and referrals to other organizations to achieve this complete package of services. While ACCH does not directly provide services to the Hispanic community, they are invaluable to the overall level of community development efforts within this community as they allow organizations to pool their resources and fill in the gaps when necessary. ACCH provides a directory of its members which serves not simply as a directory of service providers but a directory of service providers that are interested in and may have a background in working with the Hispanic community (Martin, 2010). An interesting finding to come out of Greenville is that because of varying organizational requirements due to the documentation status of clients, a network of organizations and service providers is crucial as one organization may be able to help a client when another cannot. Additionally, the data from this study supports the importance of the church as a community developer but more research needs to be done before any conclusions are drawn in this regard.

In regards to the local context in Greenville a number of issues come to the fore. First, the *socioeconomic condition* of the Hispanic community in Greenville is generally worse than the community at large making community development within the Hispanic community that much more important. Additionally, there is a lack of trust between the Hispanic community and local officials. However, a variety of steps, from bi-lingual workers to networking between these communities are being taken to build this trust. At current, Greenville is in the process of adjusting to a rapidly expanding Hispanic population and this is starting to show up in organizational policies and official documents. Also, certain county, state and federal policies seem to raise the tension between local officials and the Hispanic community at times but on a whole, positive steps are being taken towards trust building and an inclusive community.

Finally, the level of community development activities in Greenville varies but a variety of services are available to immigrants if organizations are committed to networking and sharing information.

External agents

Lastly, it is important to investigate how external agents might be affecting community development in the Hispanic community in Greenville. It is important to look at *federal/state agencies and programs* and does the agency participate in federal or state programs, with federal or state programs, and what is the nature of these relations? In this case study two agencies, GCRA and GCHRC, rely heavily on HUD funding for their programs. That being said, there are often certain citizenship requirements dictating who this money is spent on, especially in relation to homeownership assistance. Additionally, many of the other agencies that serve the Hispanic community receive varying degrees of federal and state money and some of these agencies actually receive Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding through GCRA. Unlike other HUD programs, programs funded by CDBG monies are not necessarily subject to citizenship requirements (Brown, 2010). Finally, ACCH has recently become a 501 (c) 3 so they now have the opportunity to apply for a variety of different grants including federal, state, and private grants (ACCH March Membership Meeting, 2010). Another external agent affecting Greenville is ICE, which was evident in the 2008 poultry processing plant raid. While community development groups in Greenville cannot control ICE's practices, continued lobbying efforts at the state and local level may help ICE reform the manner in which raids are performed.

Conclusion, threats to validity and limitations

As specific conclusions have been made about each section of the model a few more general conclusions can be made about the case of Greenville County, SC. To begin, it seems evident that the Hispanic community in Greenville has strong transnational links between residents and their countries of origin. While specific alterations were made by some organizations in a few cases, there do not seem to be large scale alterations to any organizational structures or programs based on Hispanic clients' transnational ties. Generally, organizations stress that cultural and language competency are some of the most important factors in community development efforts within the Hispanic community. Additionally, a strong network of service providers both within the Hispanic community itself and in the larger Greenville community was a very important aspect to successful community development within the Hispanic community in Greenville. While this network seems to be important to community development efforts in any community, the need within the Hispanic community seems to be especially acute as this community's needs are very diverse depending on culture, language, documentation status and a host of other issues. While Greenville has had some growing pains adapting to a rapidly expanding Hispanic population, the initiatives of organizations like ACCH and Greenville Forward are certainly positive steps towards an inclusive community. In general, Greenville seemed to follow the results that were expected of a literal replication of the modified model for community development. One particular area where Greenville differed from the model was in the intermediate outcomes section of the model. In this area of the model Greenville exceeded expectations and was shown to have a very well developed network capacity among organizations serving the Hispanic community. Further, the Alliance for the Collaboration of the Hispanic Community (ACCH) strengthens this network and lays the

groundwork for an important long term outcome of community development; a more unified Hispanic community in Greenville.

Like most research, there are certain threats to the validity of the case study analysis of Greenville. One possible issue in the case study of Greenville is that dozens of organizations do community development in Greenville and only eight individuals were interviewed. That being said, those interviewed seemed consistent in giving similar answers to the questions asked of them. Additionally, as interviews involve some opinion, outside documents have been used as much as possible to confirm information gathered in the interviews. Additionally, there is the issue that no two community development agencies are exactly the same so it is difficult to analyze them in exactly the same manner. With that in mind, efforts were made to ask the same questions of these organizations. Another threat to validity is the inability to conduct interviews with residents of the Hispanic community in Greenville due to certain research protocols. While there is secondary data available on residents, particularly in the intermediate outcome sections of the model, this data needs to be taken with the understanding that it is secondary and that no residents were interviewed during this research.

One important limitation of this research was the inability to conduct interviews with members of the religious community in Greenville. Interviews with other community development professionals allowed this work to comment on the importance of churches and religious leaders in community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Greenville. Still, it is advised that further research be done in regards to how the religious community plays into community development efforts in the Hispanic community in Greenville. In particular, Catholic Charities and certain Presbyterian ministries are thought to be some of the most important religious institutions involved in community development within the Hispanic

community in Greenville. Also, it would be important to talk with the Lutheran pastor that helped to create ACCH. Table 1.2 provides an assessment of the relative strength of data for which conclusions were drawn for the Greenville, SC.

Data assessment table: Greenville, SC						
Model elements		Data sources collected for Greenville				
	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes						
<i>Geographic and population target</i>	Transnationals not targeted, Hispanics sometimes targeted, usually a larger population is served	12	6	2	0	20
<i>Mission and goals</i>	Generally not focused on Hispanics or transnationals, serving Hispanics falls under organizations' more general missions, a few Hispanic focused missions	10	5	3	0	18
<i>Leadership and capacity</i>	Organizational leadership is very diverse, may be helpful to have Hispanic leadership if this is the focus population	5	5	1	0	11
<i>Staff capacity and organization</i>	Staff come from within the Hispanic community or have background working with Hispanic community, when staff does not have necessary background networks are utilized	6	3	0	0	9

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Greenville				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Intermediate Outcomes						
Resident commitment						
<i>Interests and loyalty to community</i>	Transnational ties are important, Hispanics do show permanence in Greenville but this should be judged on an individual basis	5	4	2	0	11
<i>Relationships among residents</i>	There is some level of trust and cooperation, communities are formed around country of origin, a broader "Hispanic" community is still developing	3	2	6	1	12
<i>Levels of participation</i>	Hispanics are not generally civically engaged, community developers frequently espouse civic engagement	6	5	3	2	16
Resident Capacity						
<i>Leadership</i>	One should look to service workers, church groups, and small business owners for leadership	5	3	0	0	8
<i>Activities and "spin-offs" and flexibility of programs</i>	There are few specific alterations to services for the transnational nature of clients, linguistic and cultural alterations are the most common alterations	17	6	4	1	28
<i>Channel for remittances, political participation, and contact with country/community of origin</i>	Community development organizations are not involved in clients' transnational ties	3	0	3	0	6

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Greenville				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Intermediate outcomes						
Network Capacity						
Bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic/Latino community	Organizations aim to form a bridge between the Hispanic community and the larger community, some organizations include this as an explicit goal	9	5	1	0	15
<i>Public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, HTAs/TMOs</i>	Almost all organizations have a wide network of formal and informal partners, a strong network is integral to serving the Hispanic population	13	4	1	0	18
<i>Advocate for transnational populations</i>	Not all organizations serving the Hispanic community advocate for it, ACCH is the most notable advocate for the Hispanic community	6	4	3	0	13
Long-term Measurable Outcomes						
<i>Employment and business development opportunities</i>	Long-term outcomes are hard to measure because of the relative newness of community development in the Hispanic community, some employment and business development opportunities are apparent	0	4	5	0	9
More established and unified community						
<i>Neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, community participation</i>	A more unified Hispanic community is yet to be seen but organizations are constantly working towards this end	11	3	2	0	16

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Greenville				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support for findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Local Context						
<i>Socioeconomic conditions</i>	Difficult socioeconomic conditions drive community development efforts within the Hispanic community	5	5	5	1	16
<i>Trust and cooperation among residents and with local officials</i>	There is a lack of trust between Hispanics and local officials, steps are being taken to build trust	7	4	3	0	14
<i>City policies, is area accustomed to immigrants?</i>	The area is not accustomed to Hispanic immigrants, some policies appear hostile to immigrants, steps are being taken to build trust but tensions still exist	13	6	2	0	21
<i>Level and quality of community development activities</i>	A variety of community development organizations exist in Greenville, networks are key in providing services to Hispanics	12	3	2	0	17
External Agents						
<i>Federal/state agencies and programs</i>	Federal and state funding are important to community development in the Hispanic community, ICE also has a notable effect on the Hispanic community and trust levels	7	7	0	0	14
<i>National and regional intermediaries</i>	Do not appear to be any ties with national/regional intermediaries	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1.2

Case Study Analysis: Pilsen, Chicago

The data collected includes relevant news media, academic research, organizational reports and plans and organizational websites. Data has been collected on two primary agencies which serve the Hispanic population in the Pilsen Neighborhood on the West Side of Chicago, Illinois. The Resurrection Project (TRP) in partnership with Local Initiative Support Corporation's (LISC) New Communities Program and the Instituto del Progreso Latino. Though these organizations are the focus of this case study, pertinent data on other agencies and entities will be included where relevant. This case study will be analyzed in five sections according to the modified model for community development; *program or organizational and implementation attributes, intermediate outcomes, long-term measurable outcomes, local context and external agents*. As discussed, Pilsen was analyzed using a theoretical replication of the modified model for community development and its results are expected to be different than those of Marshalltown and Greenville. It is expected that based on the model, programs and organizations in Pilsen will be primarily targeted towards Hispanics and possibly towards transnational communities. Intermediate outcomes of community development should reflect programs completely adapted and tailored to a Hispanic population accounting for its transnational nature. Long-term outcomes of community development should be readily apparent with well-developed business and employment opportunities and a unified Hispanic community. The local context should reflect a community very much accustomed to its Hispanic population. Finally, external agents should play an integral though not leading role in community development efforts in Pilsen. Following the discussion of each section individually there will be an overall discussion of conclusions that can be drawn and any possible issues regarding the data collection and analysis involved in this case study.

Program or organizational and implementation attributes

Program or organizational and implementation attributes refers to how various organizations are structured and organized. This is important to note as the structure of an organization can directly affect the manner in which it performs services. The first organizational attribute to consider is the *geographic and population target* and is the target population transnational, immigrants, Hispanics, a combination or other? In the case of the The Resurrection Project (TRP) the target population is residents of the Pilsen Neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. This geographic area is composed of a population that is 90 percent Hispanic and 37 percent foreign-born making TRP's default population target Hispanic immigrants (Pilsen (Lower West Side) – New Communities Program, 2010). The Instituto del Progreso Latino (IDPL) targets, "Latino immigrants and their families" in the Chicago area but as their main offices are located in Pilsen and this is the center of Mexican life in Chicago, this geographic area becomes a focus (Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008).

Another organizational attribute to consider is the *mission and goals* of an organization such as; does the organization try to practice holistic or issue based community development and how does the transnational nature of residents affect the mission? In the case of TRP, the organization practices holistic community development offering services from housing to financial counseling to community organizing and much more. While explicit transnational factors do not necessarily come into the *mission and goals* of TRP they have a strong commitment to preserving the Mexican culture of Pilsen. Whereas TRP practices holistic community development IDPL focuses on education of immigrants and serves as a complement to many of the programs which TRP offers. Like TRP, explicitly transnational factors do not

drive IDPL's mission but their mission is closely related as it involves serving the Hispanic population of Chicago and Pilsen.

A third organizational aspect to look at is *leadership and capacity*, specifically; where does leadership come from, how is leadership organized, what is the background of the leadership and what is its stake in the community? There is not a wealth of data to comment on the leadership of either of the organizations discussed here but generally, leadership appears to come largely from the Hispanic community and from broad sectors of this community. As to leadership's stake in the community the IDPL states that board members, "... fuel Instituto's mission with a genuine commitment to the advancement of the Latina/o community (Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008)." The final organizational aspect to discuss is an organization's *staff capacity and organization* such as; how is staff hired or recruited? What are their educational levels, experiences, etc. (ability to work bilingually)? What is their stake in the community? Like *leadership and capacity*, data in regards to *staff capacity and organization* is lacking though the staffs of both TRP and IDPL appear to be largely composed of members of the Hispanic community and as IDPL says, "...a dynamic team of talented, hard working, experienced and mission-driven bi-lingual leaders who are professionally and personally dedicated to the education and empowerment of the Latina/o community (Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008)".

While there are a number of conclusions that might be drawn in regards to program or organizational and implementation attributes a few are of particular note. First, in a community like Pilsen that is historically a port-of-entry for Hispanic immigrants organizations will either explicitly target this population or by the nature of working in Pilsen, target this population. Second, the mission and goals of organizations that serve the community of Pilsen can be broad but they either have explicit language related to serving the Hispanic community or it is assumed

that since their mission applies to serving Pilsen that it then applies to serving the Hispanic community. Third, organizational leadership in Pilsen comes from within the Hispanic community but can come from various sectors of this community. Finally, the staffs of organizations that serve the Hispanic community in Pilsen generally seem to come from within the Hispanic community. It should be noted that there is limited data on leadership and staff so the conclusions here must be taken as preliminary.

Intermediate outcomes

Intermediate outcomes refer to a variety of short to mid-range outcomes of community development within a given community. These outcomes are measured more specifically by asking questions of the data in three areas; resident commitment, resident capacity, and network capacity. Though intermediate outcomes of community development can be difficult to quantify and measure this does not mean that they are not important to the community development process. In fact, intermediate outcomes include some of the issues and topics that are most relevant to the transnational character of the Hispanic immigrant population in Pilsen. The first intermediate outcome of community development in the Hispanic community is resident commitment. Resident commitment can be seen in residents' *interests and loyalty to the community* which considers issues like; does community of origin take precedence? Is the population transient? It is incredibly difficult to measure loyalty to the community among the Hispanic population but through the data collected , it is evident that Hispanics in Pilsen do keep ongoing ties with their country of origin most notably in the form of remittances (Taylor et. al, 2006 and Sarmah, 2007). Loyalty to country of origin has a particularly interesting dimension in Pilsen as the TRP *Quality of Life Plan* explicitly aims to build a "Mexican-oriented community" and many aspects of the plan work directly towards maintaining the Mexican culture of Pilsen

(2006). In this sense, Pilsen residents are maintaining a loyalty to their country of origin by re-creating certain aspects of it in their community in the United States. While there appears to be a re-creation of Mexican culture in the U.S., IDPL also strongly encourages citizenship for Hispanics in the Chicago area which directly promotes loyalty to the United States.

Like loyalty to community, *relationships among residents* and levels of trust and cooperation are very difficult to quantify and analyze. Still, a few findings from the case study can be discussed. Limited data show that with TRP's and the Pilsen Planning Committee's (PPP) *Quality of Life Plan*, residents of Pilsen do want to work together to improve their neighborhood and its future (Pilsen (Lower West Side)- New Communities Program, 2010). A visioning session from the planning process for the *Quality of Life Plan* showed that the community is not reactive or a "hotbed" of activists and that there are some common goals among members of the community (Pilsen (Lower West Side)- New Communities Program, 2010). That being said, most of the data from this study does show that organizations want to keep building on trust among residents and fostering even greater levels of cooperation. *Levels of participation* in the community by Hispanics in Pilsen are difficult to speculate on though there is evidence of a large number of community organizations and a long history of community organizing (Pilsen: UIC's Neighborhood Initiative). Additionally, both TRP and IDPL both promote resident participation in their programs and in the community though it is uncertain how much participation actually occurs.

Another intermediate outcome of community development within the Hispanic community in Pilsen is resident capacity. One measure of resident capacity is *resident leadership* which can be found by asking of the data; how do residents take on leadership roles and what residents take on leadership roles? With limited data it is apparent that Hispanic residents

in Pilsen do take on leadership roles. One example that is directly related to transnational issues is the involvement of members of the Pilsen community and leadership from within the community that joined a 2007 boycott of Western Union because the company was charging exorbitant rates to remit money to Mexico. Further, Western Union was not putting any money back into communities on either side of the border (Sarmah, 2007). Additionally, TRP includes a program, Social Ministry Action and Reflection Teams (SMART) which aims to create new leadership and build upon the existing leadership of residents (The Resurrection Project, 2010).

Resident capacity can also be measured by looking at an organization's *activities and "spin-offs" and the flexibility of their programs* and then by asking; what programs does the organization participate in and why? Also, how do they modify these programs for the transnational nature of those they serve? Both TRP and IDPL offer a host of services from housing to education. While these programs do not seem to be specifically modified for the transnational nature of those they serve most of the programs are offered in Spanish and the provision of ESL and citizenship classes are emphasized. Another important "spin-off" in Pilsen is the *Quality of Life Plan's* inclusion of a guide or booklet produced in Spanish to inform local residents of the services that are available to them. This booklet would specifically highlight services available to undocumented immigrants (*Quality of Life Plan*, 2006). Also, some of TRP's physical construction programs aim to create Mexican style architecture and streetscapes in Pilsen and their *Quality of Life Plan* aims to make 18th Street the major Mexican shopping district in Chicago (2006). Again, it seems that rather than maintaining transnational ties, TRP is re-creating the country of origin's culture in Hispanic immigrants' new home. Also, as large portions of the staff at TRP and IDPL come from within the Hispanic community it is possible that their cultural awareness aids them in their working with the Hispanic community of Pilsen.

A final part of resident capacity is whether or not community organizations act as a *channel for remittances, political participation and contact with the country/community of origin*. As stated, it is apparent that many of the Hispanic residents in Pilsen have real and ongoing relationships with their country of origin. Though the data available does not support that TRP or IDPL are channels for remittances between immigrants and their country of origin TRP did host an event put on by the Mexican Consulate and IDPL has worked with the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee rights in regards to some money transfer issues with Western Union (Wagner, 2006). Additionally, survey data and academic work suggest that if community based organizations did work with those who send remittances that immigrants in Chicago might be open to using these services as opposed to sometimes costly money transfer options (Taylor et al, 2006).

The capacity of a community to network within the larger community where it exists is another proposed intermediate outcome of community development. One way to measure this is to see whether the organization can be a *bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic community*. While there is little data available for Pilsen about organizations serving as a bridge between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic community partnerships with the University of Illinois at Chicago and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee rights do support the idea that there is a bridge between Pilsen and the larger Chicago community (Pilsen: UIC Neighborhoods Initiative). That being said, Pilsen is somewhat unique in that the community is almost entirely composed of Hispanics so the importance of a bridge to the larger community and across communities may be of lesser importance than elsewhere. Again, data is limited so these findings require more research before they can be taken definitively. In addition to serving as a bridge to the community at large it is also important to look at the *public sector, nonprofit sector,*

private sector, religious organizations, and HTAs/TMOs, and see whether or not the organization has connections with any of these types of entities here or abroad. In the case of TRP and IDPL they both have numerous connections throughout all sectors. TRP and IDPL work cooperatively with one another, local schools and a host of other nonprofits and community organizations. Additionally, TRP works heavily with the religious community as there is a faith based aspect to its mission and programs (The Resurrection Project, 2010). With the data available it is uncertain as to whether TRP or IDPL work with any entities abroad on a regular basis. Another aspect of an organization's network capacity is whether the organization is an *advocate for transnational populations* and does the organization advocate in the broader community (local, state, or national). Both TRP and IDPL are very active in advocating for Hispanic and immigrant populations on a number of issues from responsible urban development to immigration reform. It appears that they advocate for issues at the local, state and national levels.

While there a number of intermediate outcomes of community development in the community of Pilsen a few points seem especially pertinent in each of the three areas discussed. In regards to resident commitment, there is certainly some continuing loyalty to residents' country of origin though certain programs also point to immigrants building loyalty to the United States. In regards to relationships and levels of trust and cooperation among residents this is also difficult to measure but it seems that there is at least a basic level of trust and cooperation. Despite at least a certain level of trust, community organizations continue trying to add to the trust and cooperation that already exists. As to levels of participation within the Hispanic community in Pilsen, limited data make it difficult to draw conclusions but it does appear that organizations actively promote this type of participation. In regards to resident capacity and

leadership, it is believed that residents do take on leadership roles and TRP also has a program specifically designed to promote leadership in the community. As to activities and “spin-offs” and the flexibility of these programs, both TRP and IDPL have a variety of programs directly targeted at immigrants and are very culturally and linguistically prepared to serve these immigrants. In the final aspect of resident capacity, neither TRP nor IDPL appear to be channels for which immigrants can send remittances or participate politically with their country of origin in meaningful ways. A third expected intermediate outcome of community development in the Hispanic community is that organizations can build network capacity. As far as TRP or IDPL serving as a bridge to the community at large this does not seem to be the case based on limited data but this may be less of an issue for Pilsen as opposed to other communities that do not have a resounding Hispanic majority. In regards to links with public, private, nonprofit and other entities both TRP and IDPL actively work with one and other and with a host of other agencies. This highlights the importance of networking when serving the Hispanic community. Finally, TRP and IDPL both appear to be strong advocates for the immigrant community and this appears to be an important part of both of their organization’s goals and missions.

Long-term measurable outcomes

Building off of intermediate outcomes it is then logical that community development organizations’ efforts should yield some long term measurable outcomes. As the Hispanic population in Pilsen is well established and both TRP and IDPL have been around for quite some time, certain long-term outcomes of their development efforts can be seen. The first long term outcomes to look at are *employment and business development opportunities* and does the organization communicate with local businesses/employers? If yes, what is the nature of this relationship? Both TRP and IDPL have a variety of contacts with local businesses and include

strong workforce development programming in the package of services that they offer (The Resurrection Project, 2010 and Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008). Additionally, both organizations, IDPL especially, have connections with a variety of local businesses. Additionally, in TRP's *Quality of Life Plan* there is a strong component about local business development, especially in regards to a Mexican business corridor (2006).

Another a long term measurable outcome of community development is a more established and unified community as seen through the growth and maturity of *neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, and community participation* among the Hispanic community. This issue has been discussed before and though it is difficult to speculate, there appear to be a variety neighborhood organizations, strong political participation, citizenship efforts as well as community participation among the residents of Pilsen. Additionally, strong efforts to register voters and lobbying for immigration reform show political participation while IDPL's citizenship classes show that citizenship is also an important issue (Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008).

Local context

Another key aspect to the case study of Pilsen is to gain an understanding of the local context in which community development organizations operate. While the local context can be broad and include any number of issues it is also incredibly important to understand as it provides a rich background for understanding the case study and plays an integral role in community development efforts. An important aspect of local context to investigate is *socioeconomic conditions* and do they influence the organization, funding, programs and resident participation? In Pilsen, socioeconomic conditions drive the need for community development in many respects with 45 percent of households making lower than the area median income

which is coupled with rising property values and housing costs (Pilsen (Lower West Side – New Communities Program, 2010). Additionally, education levels are very low and the dropout rate from high school is almost 65 percent (Pilsen: UIC Neighborhoods Initiative). That being said, housing assistance, financial counseling and education programs provided by TRP and IDPL seem logical outgrowths of the socioeconomic situation in Pilsen.

Another important aspect of the local context is *trust and cooperation among residents with local officials* and how each respective side views one another. While this is an important issue to consider there is too little data to draw strong conclusions. Still, this is certainly an issue where further research should occur. Directly related to trust are *city policies* and is the area accustomed to immigrants and does the area have ordinances or programs tailored to immigrants? While the data available does not provide much insight on city policy, Pilsen is very much accustomed to immigrants from its earliest days in the 19th century to the 1950's and 1960's when Hispanic immigrants became the major ethnic group in Pilsen (*Quality of Life Plan*, 2006). Based on 2000 numbers, with 90 percent of a population of roughly 44,000 being Hispanic, it is difficult to say Pilsen is not accustomed to its Hispanic population (Pilsen (Lower West Side – New Communities Program, 2010). Finally, it is necessary to discuss the *level and quality of community development activities* outside of TRP and IDPL that serve the Hispanic population in Pilsen. Being so accustomed to the Hispanic population, Pilsen has wealth of community development groups outside of TRP and IDPL providing services to the Hispanic community. Most of these appear to have a strong commitment to rebuilding the community and making it thrive (UIC website).

A few issues in relation to the local context in Pilsen come out as being most important. First, the *socioeconomic conditions* of the Hispanic community are such that income is low, land

and housing costs are high and educational levels and high school graduation rates are very low. All of these issues definitely drive the need for continued community development efforts. Trust between Pilsen residents and local officials cannot be commented on due to lack of data. Finally, outside of TRP and IDPL there is a very high level of community development activity within Pilsen which is crucial to the continued development of the neighborhood and the success of TRP and IDPL as they do not have to go it alone in their community development efforts.

External agents

Finally, it is important to investigate how external agents might be affecting community development in the Hispanic community in Pilsen. It is important to investigate *federal/state agencies and programs* and does the organization participate in federal or state programs, with federal or state programs and what is the nature of these relations? While the data does not reveal relationships with federal or state programs or agencies for TRP, IDPL has connections with a variety of state organizations. It is also expected that a number of community groups within Pilsen have varying degrees of connections to federal or state agencies through a variety of programs and grants. It is important to mention that in respect to *national and regional intermediaries*, TRP participates directly with the Local Initiatives Support Corporation's (LISC) New Communities Program which was an integral part of creating TRP's and the Pilsen Planning Committee's *Quality of Life Plan* (Pilsen (Lower West Side – New Communities Program, 2010).

Conclusion, threats to validity and limitations

Following specific conclusions in regards to each section of the modified model for community a few general conclusions can be made about community development within the transnational and Hispanic community of Pilsen. In the case of Pilsen the residents of the

community do appear to have strong transnational ties but the community development organizations serving this community do not necessarily make specific alterations to their structures or programs because of these ties. Additionally, Pilsen is a truly Hispanic, more specifically, Mexican community and this is reflected in plans, programs and organizational missions. Further, community development efforts in Pilsen are well developed with a host of organizations providing any number of services and some of these organizations practicing holistic community development. Generally, the analysis of Pilsen matched up well with the results that were expected of a theoretical replication of the modified model for community development. However, there were a few notable exceptions. The first exception was that while most all organizations in Pilsen are tailored to the Hispanic population, none seem to target the transnational population. Second, programs on the whole do not seem to be altered in significant ways to account for the transnational nature of the residents they serve.

In the case of Pilsen there are a few threats to validity and some limitations to the analysis that has been presented. No interviews were conducted with residents or members of any agency in Pilsen. While lack of interviews is obviously a threat to the validity of this case study analysis the data available in regards to Pilsen still allows for a substantive analysis. Of course, interviews would add to the richness of the analysis of Pilsen but since new destination immigrant communities are the focus of this work, Pilsen is most important for the “contrary results” it brings to the overall analysis and even without interviews these “contrary results” are still very evident (Yin, 1984, p. 50). Table 1.3 provides an assessment of the relative strength of data for which conclusions were drawn for the Pilsen Neighborhood.

Data assessment table: Pilsen, Chicago						
Model elements		Data sources collected for Pilsen				
	Findings	Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes						
<i>Geographic and population target</i>	Target population is either explicitly Hispanic or Hispanic by nature of working in Pilsen	3	3	0	0	6
<i>Mission and goals</i>	Mission and goals explicitly reference Hispanic population or by being applied to Pilsen, apply to a Hispanic population	4	1	1	0	6
<i>Leadership and capacity</i>	Organizational leadership comes from within the Hispanic community but from various sectors of this community	0	2	0	0	2
<i>Staff capacity and organization</i>	Staff generally come from within the Hispanic community and often have built-in cultural and linguistic competence	0	2	0	0	2

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Pilsen				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradict findings	Total data sources
Intermediate Outcomes						
Resident commitment						
<i>Interests and loyalty to community</i>	Transnational links are strong among residents, commitment to Pilsen is also strong among residents	5	1	0	0	6
<i>Relationships among residents</i>	There seems to be a basic level of trust among residents	0	2	0	0	2
<i>Levels of participation</i>	Organizations and their activities are actively supported by the residents	2	2	0	0	4
Resident Capacity						
<i>Leadership</i>	Residents do take on leadership roles, organizations have programs to cultivate leadership among residents	1	0	2	0	3
<i>Activities and “spin-offs” and flexibility of programs</i>	There are no known alterations for the transnational nature of clients, many programs are tailored to Hispanic immigrants	5	1	1	0	7
<i>Channel for remittances, political participation, and contact with country/community of origin</i>	Organizations do not facilitate transnational ties	0	3	0	0	3

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Pilsen				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradicts findings	Total data sources
Intermediate Outcomes						
<i>Public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, HTAs/TMOs</i>	Organizations work with a wide network of partners organizations	4	2	0	0	6
<i>Advocate for transnational population</i>	Organizations are strong advocates for the Hispanic population that they serve	2	3	1	0	6
Long-term Measurable Outcomes						
<i>Employment and business development opportunities</i>	Organizations have numerous contacts with local businesses and numerous workforce and business development programs	4	2	0	0	6
More established and unified community						
<i>Neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, community participation</i>	There are a host of neighborhood organizations, there appears to be a relatively unified Hispanic community in Pilsen	1	6	1	0	8

Model elements	Findings	Data sources collected for Pilsen				
		Strongly support findings	Moderately support findings	Weakly or do not support findings	Contradicts findings	Total data sources
Local Context						
<i>Socioeconomic conditions</i>	Difficult socioeconomic conditions drive community development efforts	2	1	1	0	4
<i>Trust and cooperation among residents and with local officials</i>	Lack of data	-	-	-	-	-
<i>City policies, is area accustomed to immigrants?</i>	Area is very accustomed to immigrants and is a center for Hispanic immigrants in the Midwest	5	0	2	0	7
<i>Level and quality of community development activities</i>	There is a very high level of community development activity across a number of organizations	4	2	3	0	9
External Agents						
<i>Federal/state agencies and programs</i>	It is believed that many agencies have strong federal and state connections	0	0	1	0	1
<i>National and regional intermediaries</i>	The national intermediary LISC has a strong presence in Pilsen	2	0	0	0	2

Table 1.3

Cross case analysis

Cross-Case Analysis of Marshalltown, IA, Greenville County, SC and the Pilsen Neighborhood, Chicago, IL

After completing an individual analysis of how community development organizations in Hispanic and transnational communities in Marshalltown, Greenville and Pilsen operate with a

focus on transnational aspects of these communities, a number of conclusions have been drawn. From these individual conclusions some more general conclusion can be made and from there a series of best practice principles will be derived in regards to community development in Hispanic and other communities focusing on the transnational nature of residents. Again, these conclusions will stem from how individual cases answered questions of the previously discussed modified model for community development. However, this cross-case analysis will involve more interpretation than the individual cases as the importance and weight of the conclusions must be analyzed against one and other and not simply as findings obtained from the data.

Program or organizational and implementation attributes

The first aspects of the modified model for community development to be analyzed across the three cases are the program, organizational and implementation attributes of the organizations examined. None of the cases has a target population that is exclusively transnational and most of the organizations examined in Marshalltown and Greenville do not focus on the Hispanic population and instead, focus on broader populations under which Hispanic residents are included. That being said, both Marshalltown and Greenville do have some budding Hispanic centered organizations which are evolving as the Hispanic community in these two locations continues to mature. In the case of Pilsen, most any organization doing community development in the neighborhood has a Hispanic focus by nature of operating in an area that is 90 percent Hispanic (Pilsen (Lower West Side) – New Communities Program, 2010). As Marshalltown's and Greenville's Hispanic populations continue to grow it is possible that more organizations will, like Pilsen (though probably to a lesser degree), focus more exclusively on the Hispanic population. Another likely possibility is that branches of existing community development groups will have a department that focuses exclusively on the Hispanic population.

All things considered, having a broad based target population or a solely Hispanic target population, especially in Marshalltown and Greenville, does seem to dictate how well an organization is able to serve the Hispanic population. The important thing is for organizations to be cognizant of the fact that a Hispanic population falls within their broader target population and that this population may require certain adjustments during service provision.

Like an organization's target population the mission and goals of most of the organizations in Marshalltown, Greenville and Pilsen do not appear to be driven by the transnational nature of those they serve but rather by a mission to serve broader populations under which Hispanic immigrants with transnational behaviors fall. Still, there are a few organizations in both Marshalltown and Greenville like *Latinos en Acción*, the Alliance for the Collaboration of the Hispanic Community (ACCH) and the Hispanic-American Women's Association (AHAM) whose mission is to exclusively serve the Hispanic population. This is also the case in Pilsen where The Resurrection Project's (TRP) goals are even more specific in aiming to promote the Mexican culture of the neighborhood. In regards to the manner in which community development is practiced, no organization in Marshalltown or Greenville practices holistic community development but instead they offer only a limited package of services. Due to this fact, it was found to be very important for organizations serving Hispanic immigrants in these locations to effectively network, especially considering that Hispanics and immigrants with transnational behaviors have unique needs based on language, culture and possibly their immigration status. Organizations in Pilsen do practice holistic community development which is likely due to a number of factors from a well established Hispanic population to a more dense urban setting. It is evident that an organization's mission and goals do not necessarily need to single out the Hispanic population to effectively serve this population. However, as the new

Hispanic immigrant destinations become more accustomed to their Hispanic populations and these populations gain a foothold, organizations whose mission and goals are unique to the Hispanic community are likely to become stronger community development agents in these communities. Additionally, in places like Marshalltown and Greenville where there is not an overwhelming majority Hispanic population, it is unlikely that community development groups will practice holistic community development within the Hispanic community and as such, a network of agencies will remain vital to doing community development within these Hispanic communities.

A third aspect of organizational attributes to be discussed is an organization's leadership. In the cases of Marshalltown and Greenville leadership across organizations comes from a variety of backgrounds. In some cases like the New Iowan Center (NIC), ACCH, TRP, and Instituto del Progreso Latino (IDPL), leaders have a strong background in working with diverse populations and many come from within the Hispanic community. Additionally, board members across organizations in Marshalltown and Greenville come from all socio-economic classes as well the public, private and nonprofit sectors. Whether or not leadership is from within the Hispanic community it appears to have a strong stake in the success of that community in each location. In sum, if an organization is focused on serving the Hispanic community it makes sense that leadership like executive directors, presidents, etc. should come from within the Hispanic community. If organizations serve larger populations, including the Hispanic population, cultural and diversity training is a benefit as well as having a staff that is culturally and linguistically qualified to serve this population. Boards of organizations serving the Hispanic community should include not only strong representation from the Hispanic community but also members from diverse sectors of the community at large. This mix will allow

organizations to both attend to the specific cultural nuances of serving the Hispanic population while also serving as a way for the Hispanic community to be included within the community at large.

The final organizational attribute to be discussed in this case study analysis relates to an organization's staff. In all cases staffs have a variety of backgrounds. Many organizations have staff members who speak Spanish, have a background in working with diverse populations or are themselves Hispanic immigrants. In the cases where staff does not meet these qualifications organizations rely heavily on networks and partnerships to effectively provide services to the Hispanic population. In general, staff seem to have a strong stake in both the Hispanic community and the community at large as evidenced by a dedication to their work and community involvement outside of their organization. The findings from this case study analysis support that it is crucial for organizations to hire and recruit staff that have Spanish language skills and a background working with diverse cultures and populations. Additionally, if at all possible, hiring staff who are themselves Hispanic or Hispanic immigrants allows an organization to have someone who not only has the skills just listed but might also have a certain degree of trust and rapport already established with the Hispanic community by nature of their background. Of course, it will not be possible for all organizations to hire linguistically and culturally knowledgeable staff so a well developed network of partners is crucial to effectively serving the Hispanic population.

Intermediate outcomes

In comparing the three cases there are number of interesting findings in regards to the intermediate outcomes of community development. First, as to resident commitment and loyalty to the community versus loyalty to country of origin the findings seems consistent across all

three cases. It is very apparent that members of the Hispanic community in Marshalltown, Greenville and Pilsen maintain ongoing with their countries of origin in any number of ways from phoning home to sending monthly cash remittances. While ties with the country of origin are maintained, Hispanics in these three communities establish ties and loyalty to their local community as well. In the end, there does not appear to have to be a trade-off in loyalty between communities in two countries. Also, loyalty and its varying degrees and intricacies are something that is different for each individual. So, while community development organizations should espouse citizenship classes and various ways of supporting the community where Hispanic residents currently live this does not necessarily need to come at the expense of Hispanics losing sight of or contact with their country of origin.

As to relationships among residents in the cases of Marshalltown and Greenville it appears that residents do have some degree of trust and cooperation that is often evident in social clubs and athletic functions. Additionally, this trust is often strongest among Hispanic immigrants from the same country or even the same part of that country. In the case of Pilsen, resident relationships and levels of trust and cooperation seem generally more developed and the wealth of neighborhood organizations and activism are reflective of this trust and cooperation. The findings support that a high level of trust and cooperation is something that cannot be achieved quickly and community development organizations must continually work towards building relationships among their clients and promoting events where they can come together as part of the community.

A final aspect of resident commitment is the level of resident participation in the community. In both Marshalltown and Greenville resident participation in the community seems generally low due to factors such as lack of time, lack of education about ways to participate and

fear over documentation status. That being said, both Marshalltown and Greenville are taking steps to foster this participation and be more inclusive communities. This can be seen in many areas from increasing advertising in Spanish to using face-to-face contact and word-of-mouth advertising for community events and activities. The findings from the three cases support the idea that community development organizations should continue their tireless efforts in encouraging their clients' participation in the local community. In doing this, they need to constantly be aware of cultural, educational, linguistic and legal issues which may prevent this participation and use their expertise to overcome these barriers.

A second intermediate outcome of community development is resident capacity, measured first by resident leadership. Resident leadership in the Hispanic community in Marshalltown and Greenville is difficult to speculate on but small business owners and religious groups seem to be two places where resident leadership might be found. Business owners are a necessary and integral part of the community and they have contact with a broad spectrum of residents. Similarly, those heavily involved with the church also have contact with a variety of residents and might have a previously established level of trust with these residents. Additionally, in the case of Greenville, ACCH appears to be an excellent venue to cultivate resident leadership and many of the Hispanic service workers who are part of ACCH are becoming strong leaders within Greenville's Hispanic community. In the case of Pilsen, it is evident that community development organizations like TRP and their SMART program take it upon themselves to help foster leadership among residents of the Hispanic community. Across cases it appears there is at least a certain degree of resident leadership among the Hispanic community and while this leadership is more organic in Marshalltown and Greenville, Pilsen's community development organizations take a hands-on approach to developing this leadership.

The findings from this analysis support that community development organizations should continue looking to small business owners and religious groups for resident leadership but networking groups like ACCH should also be considered as a vital agent for leadership development. Additionally, as funding and staff allows leadership development programs like SMART should be encouraged among community development organizations that serve the Hispanic community.

Another measure of resident capacity is an organization's activities and "spin-offs" and the flexibility of these programs. One of the major issues identified in this case study analysis was that while it is widely acknowledged that Hispanic residents in all three cases have transnational ties, programs and activities are not necessarily altered as a result of these ties. A few specific alterations that were made in a few cases were including remittances in financial counseling sessions and being prepared to have services interrupted as immigrants traveled to their country of origin for extended periods of time. Across cases the most important alterations made to serve a Hispanic and transnational population include; cultural competency, provision of bi-lingual services and maintaining understanding and patience. Additionally, personal contact as a way to build relationships and advertising programs via word-of-mouth were also discussed as ways to alter service provision. Community development organizations that serve the Hispanic population should be culturally and linguistically prepared to do this which includes the provision of documents and services in Spanish and a staff that can understand the nuances of the variety of Hispanic cultural difference that exist. Additionally, these organizations may consider alternatives to typical advertising methods and work through established contacts in the Hispanic community to advertise programs. If an organization cannot make these alterations they should try as much as possible to partner with organizations that do have these capabilities. Also, a

spin-off that would be useful for any Hispanic community and which is in development in Greenville and Pilsen is a guide for Hispanics, particularly new immigrants, which provides information about available services in Spanish and also about services available to undocumented immigrants.

A final aspect of resident capacity is whether or not organizations serve as a channel for remittances or political participation between residents and their countries and communities of origin. It was unanimous across cases that no organizations participate directly in promoting or perpetuating any of these transnational links. The extent of organizational involvement with residents' transnational links involves a few organizations being loosely involved with Latin American countries' consulates. While it may not be community development organizations' place to perpetuate or assist with these transnational links, it might be beneficial for community development organizations to become more involved in promoting the most reliable and cost effective modes of remittance transmittal. This is especially relevant to those organizations which provide various types of financial counseling services.

A final intermediate outcome of community development is network capacity. One measure of network capacity is how well organizations serve as a bridge between the Hispanic community that they serve and the community at large. It was found that across cases organizations attempted to form a bridge with the community at large. These bridging efforts came in a variety of forms such as Hispanic organizations having members serve on community boards and panels, organizations themselves having diverse boards and outreach on the part of both the Hispanic community and the non-Hispanic community to be inclusive of the other. Additionally, it was repeatedly mentioned that to form a bridge with the Hispanic community, an organization needs to have someone (or a number of people) who is trusted in the Hispanic

community to serve as a liaison between the community at large and the Hispanic community. Whether or not a community development organization comes from within the Hispanic community or is from outside this community, there needs to be a bridge between these communities. This bridge is especially important for new destination communities. This bridge can be formed through organizations being actively involved the community, having diverse boards and using trusted connections to gain entrée into the Hispanic community.

Directly related to organizations being a bridge between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic communities is whether or not these organizations network and have partner organizations. In all three cases organizations had a host of different connections with public agencies, private agencies as well as nonprofits and religious organizations. However, in the three cases analyzed organizations did not appear to have ties with any type of organizations abroad or organizations based on hometowns from the country of origin (HTAs/TMOs). Networks were found to be integral in building the previously mentioned bridge between communities as well as facilitating service referrals for clients. A network is especially important in the cases of Marshalltown and Greenville as no organization in either location provides a complete package of services and some organizations are not yet equipped to serve a Hispanic population with diverse and layered needs. The importance of building a network across organizations is the most strongly supported finding across the three cases. Any organization that does community development in the Hispanic community should have a network of service providers including everything from ESL teachers to attorneys to real estate agents. It is beneficial for this network to be catalogued in a directory like that of Greenville's ACHH. The relationships in this network can be fostered and nurtured by continually referring clients, taking clients that are referred, information sharing and

frequent face-to-face contact, especially with those organizations that are primarily staffed by Hispanics.

A final aspect of network capacity that has been analyzed is whether or not organizations advocate for the Hispanic, transnational and immigrant populations that they serve. The results related to advocacy were mixed across cases with some organizations strongly advocating on behalf of Hispanic populations and some simply providing services with no advocacy efforts. Generally, those organizations that serve larger populations with Hispanics and immigrants included were not advocates for the Hispanic population. On the other hand, organizations whose mission and target population have a focus on the Hispanic community were found to advocate on behalf of this population. A community development organization that serves the Hispanic community need not vocally advocate for this community to serve it but they can support the organizations which do advocate on behalf of the Hispanic community.

Long term measurable outcomes

Another section of the modified model to be analyzed in regards to community development efforts within Hispanic and transnational communities are the long term outcomes of community development efforts within these communities. As has been discussed, community development in the Hispanic communities of Marshalltown and Greenville is still in its infancy so the analysis provides limited insight into the long term outcomes of community development in these places. On the other end of the spectrum, Pilsen has a long history of community development in the Hispanic community. The first long term measurable outcome to discuss is if and how community development efforts produce employment and business development opportunities. In both Greenville and Marshalltown a number of efforts are being made towards business development such as using existing networks to inform the Hispanic

community of job opportunities, specified workforce development activities (job training, resume building, education, etc.) and promoting the importance of the Hispanic small business community. In Pilsen, workforce development was a key aspect of programming across agencies and small business development with a focus on Hispanic, specifically Mexican, small business was a focus of community planning efforts. Across all cases the importance of promoting Hispanic small businesses as an opportunity for the larger community was expressed by the data and in the case of Marshalltown, crucial to helping the central business district thrive (Adams, 2010). The findings support that community development organizations should continue focusing employment opportunities through their networks with various agencies as well as providing workforce development opportunities which assist residents in building the skills they need to be employed. This assistance and training should be conducted by bi-lingual and culturally competent professionals with the awareness that cultural values and the transnational nature of Hispanics are different than those in the United States. Specific to employment and workforce development, Hispanics may at times leave employment for extended periods of time so that they may return to their country of origin. Additionally, workforce and business development opportunities need to be expressed to the Hispanic community through standard advertising procedures as well as one-on-one contact and through trusted members of the Hispanic community. It is also important for community development organizations to continue networking with the business community at large and helping Hispanic small business owners connect with this community. Through these connections Hispanic business owners and entrepreneurs will become aware of the opportunities that exist to them in the business community at large and the larger community will be able to see the opportunities Hispanic businesses can bring.

Another long term outcome to be achieved through community development is a more established and unified community as seen through neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship and general community participation. As touched on before, there is a low level of community involvement among the Hispanic community in Marshalltown and Greenville due to a number of issues such as; lack of time; lack of knowledge about available activities and hesitancy on the part of individuals because of fear over their documentation status. While levels of participation are low, organizations are making efforts through various outreach events and alterations in the way in which they advertise and try to include the Hispanic community. As stated, Pilsen was found to have higher levels of participation which is likely a result of a result of a well-established Hispanic community, a wealth of community organizations and a more comfortable environment for Hispanics to participate in community events. Community development organizations in all cases do espouse community involvement among their clients and they must continue doing so as the data in the cases makes it very evident that this involvement is crucial to the continued development of the Hispanic community. These organizations should continue their efforts and continue to provide safe and inviting environments for Hispanics to participate in the community. These opportunities should be advertised in a culturally appealing, bi-lingual manner using personal interactions whenever possible.

Local Context

The fourth dimension of the modified model to be analyzed is the local context in which community development efforts occur in the Hispanic and transnational communities of the three cases studied. The first aspect of local context to discuss is the socioeconomic conditions under which community development efforts exist. Across all three cases the socioeconomic

conditions of the Hispanic community are very much a driving factor in why community development organizations are providing services and working with the Hispanic community. In each of the three cases the Hispanic community has lower incomes, lower education levels, as well as a bevy of cultural and linguistic difficulties and differences. All of these factors drive the programs and services that exist in these communities. The findings support that to combat the socioeconomic conditions evident in the Hispanic community organizations should continue to provide services and programs in regards to literacy, ESL, financial literacy, general education, workforce development and housing assistance to name a few. Community development organizations need to continually do research and keep a pulse on the needs of the Hispanic community in regards to what services are required because of the socioeconomic conditions and as always, provide these services with a culturally competent and bi-lingual focus.

Another crucial aspect in the local context is trust among residents and local officials. In both Marshalltown and Greenville it was very evident that there is a lack of trust between residents and local officials due to their documentation status and notions of how officials behave in their countries of origin. That being said, efforts are being made across cases to build trust between local officials and the Hispanic community. These efforts range from local diversity committees, to police informational videos in Spanish, to local governments hiring bi-lingual officials. In one extraordinary effort in Marshalltown professors from the University of Northern Iowa took the mayor, police chief and others local leaders to Villachuato, Mexico to see the village where the majority of the town's immigrants originate from (Grey and Woodrick, 2002). Community development organizations need to constantly work towards building relationships between local officials and the Hispanic populations they serve and continue education on both sides. In addition to diversity committees and community panels,

opportunities for Hispanic residents to ask questions and receive answers in a safe environment with personal interaction will also go a long way towards establishing trust. That being said, the cases also hint that the issue of trust will never go away completely and that to some degree, time and continued relationship building is the best way to build trust.

A third component of the local context to discuss is local policies in regards to immigrants and Hispanics and whether or not the broader community is accustomed to these populations. In the case of both Marshalltown and Greenville both areas are not yet accustomed to the rapid influx of Hispanic immigrants and there have certainly been some growing pains on account of this rapid change. Pilsen, on the contrary, is very much accustomed to its Hispanic population and it is the Hispanic center of Chicago and maybe even the Midwest. Both Marshalltown and Greenville have enacted or considered ordinances which many view as unfriendly to immigrants. Each community also had Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids of local food processing plants in 2008. These incidents have caused tensions and fear among the Hispanic community but that being said, both Marshalltown and Greenville have made efforts to bridge this gap. Marshalltown especially has gone to great lengths to be inclusive of its Hispanic population from a fully bi-lingual elementary school to changing their 4th of July celebration to a multi-cultural event. Community development organizations cannot dictate local policy in regards to immigrants but they can be persistent in communicating with local officials and governments and trying to make sure policies are enacted with both sides being included in the discussion. Also, becoming accustomed to a changing Hispanic population takes time but taking steps to include this community through multi-cultural events, diversity committees and frequent, informal communication is a way to ease this transition.

The final aspect of local context to analyze across the cases is the level and quality of community development activities outside of the organizations that were analyzed. In all cases there were a variety of other organizations that work in community development in the Hispanic community. Of the three cases, Pilsen had by far the greatest number of other organizations due to its size and its long history as a Hispanic immigrant port-of-entry. It is important to note that organizations in all locations were parts of a larger network of community development organizations. Further, organizations are very much reliant on the other organizations that exist because outside of Pilsen, no organization analyzed provided a comprehensive package of services. Additionally, though the data is limited in regards to church organizations it should be noted that they seem to play an important role in the overall level of community development in the Hispanic community in all three cases. The findings support that community development organizations need to continually work with one and other both inside and outside of the Hispanic community. This is especially important as no organization can do everything and they often require other organizations' assistance in providing services to a clientele with very diverse needs.

External Agents

The final aspect of the modified model for community development to be examined across cases is how external agents affect community development efforts. In all cases, relationships with federal and state agencies were very apparent. These relationships were most apparent in that organizations were either directly or indirectly funded by federal or state agencies. While this funding is crucial it also has particular importance when serving the Hispanic community as this funding often has citizenship and residency requirements for those that it is intended to serve. These requirements are not flexible and they further enhance the need

for a strong network of organizations as the Hispanic community has a variety of residents with varying immigration statuses. This network is necessary so that organizations can still find a way to provide their clients with services even if it means they send them to a different organization who can serve residents with a certain immigration status. Additionally, the presence of ICE was evident in both the case Marshalltown and the case of Greenville and had a marked effect on the trust levels of the Hispanic community. The findings of this analysis support that community development organizations should continue relationships with federal and state agencies but also continue to make sure that these programs are culturally and linguistically sensitive in how they are applied to the Hispanic residents that they serve. Also, organizations that do participate in federal and state programs need to continually nurture their larger networks so that when regulations prevent service provision based on immigration status, they might still find a way to serve these clients. Additionally, community development agencies certainly cannot control ICE but those agencies that do advocate must continue to do this so that ICE can do its job but so that it can do so in a manner that does not break down levels of trust in the Hispanic community.

One final aspect of external agents' affect on community development to look at is whether organizations interact with national or regional intermediaries. None of the data in Marshalltown or Greenville support that organizations serving the Hispanic populations there are interacting with intermediaries. In Pilsen however, the agencies were very much involved with LISC's New Communities Program which has helped promote long term planning for the neighborhood and a number of other initiatives. Community development organizations serving the Hispanic community should continue to solicit the assistance of intermediaries though in

cases like Marshalltown and Greenville, it is unlikely that these relationships will be formed anytime in the near future.

Conclusion

In closing, the three cases of Marshalltown, IA, Greenville County, SC and Pilsen, Chicago have been analyzed using the modified model for community development as a framework. This analysis has discussed how organizations serving the Hispanic and transnational community in these three cases perform community development in regards to *program or organizational and implementation attributes, intermediate outcomes, long term measurable outcomes, local context*, and finally interactions with *external agents*. The findings of this cross case analysis address the most salient issues in regards to these five sections of the model though it should be noted that many other smaller issues and findings also exist and further research may yield additional findings. As a logical outgrowth of these findings a set of best practice principles to be used by community development organizations in Hispanic communities with a focus on the transnational aspects of these communities has been formulated. Table 1.4 provides an overall assessment of how well cases matched expected results laid out by the modified model for community development. A “+” represents an element that matched the expected findings presented by the modified model for community development, a “-” represents an element that did not match the expected findings laid out in the modified model for community development, and a “√” represents an element where parts of the element did match expected results and parts did not match expected results.

Findings: Summary table			
Model elements	Marshalltown	Greenville	Pilsen
Program or Organizational and Implementation Attributes			
<i>Geographic and population target</i>	+	+	+
<i>Mission and goals</i>	+	+	+
<i>Leadership and capacity</i>	-	-	+
<i>Staff capacity and organization</i>	√	√	+
Intermediate Outcomes			
Resident commitment			
<i>Interests and loyalty to community</i>	+	+	+
<i>Relationships among residents</i>	+	+	+
<i>Levels of participation</i>	√	√	+
<i>Leadership</i>	√	+	+
<i>Activities and “spin-offs” and flexibility of programs</i>	√	√	√
<i>Channel for remittances, political participation, and contact with country/community of origin</i>	-	-	-
Network Capacity			
Bridge with the non-transnational/non-Hispanic/Latino community	+	+	-
<i>Public sector, nonprofit sector, private sector, religious organizations, HTAs/TMOs</i>	+	+	+
<i>Advocate for transnational populations</i>	√	√	+

Findings: Summary table			
Model elements	Marshalltown	Greenville	Pilsen
Long-term Measurable Outcomes			
<i>Employment and business development opportunities</i>	+	-	+
More established and unified community			
<i>Neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship, community participation</i>	√	√	+
Local Context			
<i>Socioeconomic conditions</i>	+	+	+
<i>Trust and cooperation among residents and with local officials</i>	+	+	+
<i>City policies, is area accustomed to immigrants?</i>	-	+	+
<i>Level and quality of community development activities</i>	+	+	+
External Agents			
<i>Federal/state agencies and programs</i>	√	√	+
<i>National and regional intermediaries</i>	-	-	+

Table 1.4

V. FUTURE RESEARCH

As has been stated, this research stems from an existing gap in the current research on transnational communities in the United States. This gap is particularly present in the research and literature regarding community development within transnational communities in the United States. This research has been an exploration into the way that the transnational aspects of Hispanics affect community development efforts in their communities in the United States, particularly in new immigrant destination communities. While this research focuses on only two new immigrant destinations, Marshalltown, IA and Greenville County, SC, research should be continued in these communities as well as a host of other new immigrant destination communities. While all new immigrant destination communities have some things in common, additional research will highlight these common traits as well as finding where these communities differ. Further case study research on new immigrant destination communities will also add new layers and added validity to the best practice principles presented here.

This research points to three areas where more research might be done in regards to community development in transnational communities in the United States. First, it was widely discussed that many Hispanics send remittances to their country of origin but there also seemed to be little to no inclusion of this practice in community development efforts. Future research should include an investigation of how remittances are included in community development efforts in transnational communities in the United States particularly, how they affect those organizations which provide financial counseling and assistance. A second area for future research is to investigate the intricacies of organizational networking in community development in transnational communities. Though this research has discussed the importance of these networks and its benefits, it would be beneficial to know how these networks are formed, how

they are structured and whether transnational factors affect them in subtle or obvious ways. One final area for future research is an investigation of the importance of religious organizations and churches in community development in transnational communities. This research found repeatedly that churches are integral to the community development process in the Hispanic community but without direct information, further conclusions cannot be drawn. Future research in this regards should include how the transnational aspects of Hispanics affect the way in which these churches perform community development and offer services. These three areas for future research are but a starting point and it is hoped that as new immigrant destination communities and the field of transnational research mature that the two will be examined in tandem and in much greater detail for the benefit of all involved.

VI. BEST PRACTICE PRINCIPLES

Best Practice Principles for Community Development in Transnational Communities: The following is a set of best practices and guiding principles for organizations serving the Hispanic community with a focus on the transnational aspects of this community.

The following document is the result of a study of three communities and how community development organizations within these three communities provide services to their respective Hispanic populations. The study focused on how the ongoing ties Hispanic residents have with their country of origin (transnational ties) affect community development efforts in each of these communities. This study had a particular focus on communities that are not traditional ports-of-entry for Hispanic immigrants. The following set of best practice principles should take these factors into consideration when being applied to other communities and organizations within these communities.

Target Population: In communities that are new destinations for Hispanic immigrants it is likely that few or no community development organizations in those communities will exclusively target the Hispanic or transnational population. Not exclusively targeting the Hispanic population does not dictate the success of an organization in providing quality services to this population. *Community development organizations may either target the Hispanic population or serve it as part of a larger population but in either case this organization must be cognizant of the fact that the Hispanic population may require specific adjustments to services due to cultural and linguistic needs. Additionally, community development organizations should consider targeting the new Hispanic population in their area if this population requires the services that they provide.*

Mission and Goals: Like target population, it is likely that many of the organizations serving Hispanic populations in new destination communities will not include mission statements and goals specifically regarding the Hispanic community. This does not mean that these organizations cannot provide quality services to the Hispanic community. Additionally, organizations serving the Hispanic population in new immigrant destinations will not likely provide holistic community development services. *Community development organizations do not need to revise their mission statements and goals to accommodate Hispanic populations but would be wise to consider it in the way they advertise and provide service to the Hispanic population. Further, since these community development organizations do not generally provide holistic services it is vital that they are part of a strong network of service providers in order to ensure that they can best serve their Hispanic clients' very diverse needs.*

Leadership: An organization's leadership will depend on the populations it serves and its mission and goals. Again, not all organizations exclusively serve the Hispanic population so it is not expected that they have leadership from within the Hispanic community. *If an organization is focused on serving the Hispanic population it is logical that the organization's leadership (e.g. CEO, president, executive director, etc.) come from within the Hispanic community or have significant personal or professional in working with and serving the Hispanic community. For organizations that serve the Hispanic community as part of larger community it is recommended that they include Hispanic representation on their board so that they might have leadership which understands the intricacies and nuances of effectively serving this population.*

Additionally, while those organizations that exclusively serve the Hispanic population should have strong representation from within this community on their boards, they should also include representation from the community at large to help build a bridge and to open lines of communication between the two communities.

Staff: An organization's staff will usually be the point of contact between the organization and the Hispanic population it serves. With this in mind, it is necessary to hire and recruit staff that is qualified to serve the Hispanic population and to build the trust necessary for community development to occur. *An organization wishing to serve a Hispanic population should seek to hire staff that is bi-lingual, has extensive experience working with diverse populations and if possible, comes from within the Hispanic community. Having staff from within the Hispanic community may allow organizations to have a degree of trust already established with the Hispanic population they aim to serve. In the case that organizations cannot hire staff that meet the following requirements they must build and cultivate networks with organizations that do have qualified staff and can assist them in serving the Hispanic population.*

Building Resident Commitment: Resident commitment in Hispanic communities has many dimensions as this is an area where Hispanics' transnational relationships with their country of origin can come into play. That being said, research shows that it does not appear as though there is necessarily a trade-off between loyalty to one's country of origin and loyalty to their new community in the United States. *Community development organizations should continue to espouse citizenships classes, community outreach programs and other similar community building events. Encouraging these programs and events should be done by using face-to-face contact, advertising in Spanish and providing safe and inviting environments for Hispanics to participate in the community. Additionally, community development organizations should consider integrating aspects of Hispanic culture into community outreach events to provide this "inviting" environment.*

Building Resident Capacity: Resident capacity depends heavily on the levels of leadership among residents, the programs which organizations provide for residents and whether organizations help facilitate transnational ties for their residents. *Community development organizations should use the small business community, local churches and networking groups as places to find resident leadership in the Hispanic community. Additionally, organizations should consider implementing their own leadership development programs in the Hispanic communities they serve. Community development organizations must provide services and programs that cater towards the linguistic, educational and cultural differences of the Hispanic population they serve. Additionally, organizations should advertise these programs to the Hispanic community using as much personal contact as possible and relying on trusted contacts and word-of-mouth advertising to help spread these programs throughout the Hispanic community. Community development agencies need not serve as a direct channels between Hispanic residents and their countries of origin though they should consider providing guidance on the most reliable and cost-effective ways to send remittances, possibly the most important transnational link between Hispanics and their country of origin.* The following links provide two examples of guides to help organizations or immigrants send remittances more effectively: <http://maldef.org/assets/pdf/MALDEF%20Making%20the%20Most%20of%20Your%20Money>

[%20Handbook.pdf](#) and <http://www.woccu.org/bestpractices/techguides> (A Technical Guide to Remittances).

Building Network Capacity: Another important aspect of community development in any community is the network capacity of those organizations that provide community development services. This capacity is especially important with organizations that serve the Hispanic community as it can help form a bridge with the larger community, allows meaningful relationships with other organizations and in some cases allows organizations to advocate for the Hispanic populations that they serve. *Community development organizations serving the Hispanic community should actively try to network with agencies outside the Hispanic community so that those they serve have access to and a voice in the community at large. This can be accomplished through community development organizations actively participating in the community via panels and community events as well as having diverse boards which build a bridge with the Hispanic community. Additionally, organizations serving Hispanic populations must network with governments, nonprofits, religious organizations and other groups as the diverse linguistic, cultural and often legal needs of their clients will no doubt require services that no one agency can provide. While an organization's network should include a number of different service providers it is particularly important for those serving the Hispanic community to have connections with trusted attorneys that can assist Hispanic clients with a variety of issues from immigration status, to power of attorney, to managing one's affairs from outside the country. In being a part of a network it is imperative that community development organizations refer clients to other service providers but also provide services to clients that are referred to them and continually try to build and nurture these reciprocal relationships. Additionally, while not all organizations can or should advocate for the Hispanic community, those organizations which exclusively serve this community should advocate on its behalf with local government officials and other organizations.*

Business development and employment opportunities: An important aspect of community development in all communities is to help develop business and employment opportunities for the economic success of individuals and the community as a whole. *Community development organizations should encourage small business development and entrepreneurs by providing them the technical assistance they need either through their organization or through referrals to partner organizations. Additionally, community development organizations should help Hispanic small businesses network with the business community at large. Organizations should make the larger business community aware of the range of opportunities a strong Hispanic small business community can bring to a community. The relationships between the two business communities should be made through face-to-face contact to establish trusting relationships. Community development organizations should also network with employers and provide workforce development opportunities with cultural and linguistic adjustments to account for the various needs of Hispanic residents.*

Building a more unified and established community: A proposed outcome of community development activities is a more established and unified community as evident through neighborhood organizations, political participation, citizenship and other forms of general community development. *Community development organizations in the Hispanic community must continue espousing community participation among their clients as it crucial to the long*

term development of this community. This participation will be easier to foster if community development organizations provide Hispanics with safe and comfortable opportunities to participate that are culturally and linguistically adjusted for their needs.

Socioeconomic Conditions: Socioeconomic conditions like income and education levels are often lower in the Hispanic community than in the average population. *Community development agencies and their networks of partner agencies should continue providing services in regards to literacy in English and Spanish, ESL, financial literacy, workforce development, housing assistance, affordable housing and affordable health care. As always, all of these programs, if at all possible, should be provided making cultural and linguistic alterations when necessary.*

Building trust between residents and local officials and local policies towards immigrants: Levels of trust among Hispanic residents and local officials are often tenuous at best. Hispanic immigrants often have high levels of fear in regards to their documentation status, preconceived notions about how local officials behave, as well as lack of knowledge on the part of Hispanic residents about local laws and ordinances. Also, whether intended or not, local policies can at times seem hostile toward members of the Hispanic community which seriously erodes trust. *Community development organizations serving the Hispanic community must continually work towards being a bridge between local officials and the Hispanic population and trying to ameliorate misunderstandings on both sides. Organizations also need to assist local officials with programs to educate immigrants about local policies through the use of Spanish documents and advertisements and face-to-face contact. Additionally, community development organizations need to be in constant communication with local elected officials so that the Hispanic community has input in regards to policies and ordinances that may affect them.*

Other local community development activities: Community development organizations serving the Hispanic community do not exist in a vacuum and there will be other agencies serving the Hispanic population. In many cases, organizations will rely on these other organizations because with a population that has needs as diverse as the Hispanic population; no one organization can provide all the services necessary for comprehensive community development. *Community development organizations must work cooperatively with other organizations and share information and resources whenever possible. Additionally, it would be to these organizations' benefits to refer clients when possible, participate in other organizations' events and even serve on the boards of other organizations if the opportunity arises.*

Connections with state and federal agencies and programs: Most agencies serving the Hispanic community rely on some type of federal or state funding either directly or indirectly and often participate in a variety of federal and state programs. Often, these programs have citizenship or residency requirements which can cause issues when applied to the Hispanic community. *Community development organizations must help tailor federal and state programs to be linguistically and culturally accessible to the Hispanic population. Also, due to citizenship and residency requirements community development organizations must maintain a network of service providers to accommodate residents who may be excluded from some programs based on their citizenship status.*

Connections with local universities and technical colleges: Often, community development organizations work with colleges, universities, trade schools and technical colleges in the areas of workforce development, technical assistance and research. *Community development organizations should continue encouraging connections with institutions of higher learning in all the areas mentioned as well as fostering cooperative agreements and providing assistance with community education and outreach programs. One may use the following link to the Iowa Center for Immigrant Leadership and Integration at Northern Iowa University and the resources within as a guide: <http://newiowans.com/>.*

Targeted Services: Frequently, Hispanic and transnational populations will concentrate in one or more geographic areas in a city or a county. These concentrations may be near their places of employment, affordable housing options or other amenities like ethnic shopping centers or grocery stores. *Community development organizations should utilize these concentrated locations for advertising, events, offices and satellite offices if the organizations serves a larger demographic. These targeted services may be helpful in providing a safe, inviting and convenient environment for the Hispanic population.*

Five Keys for community development in Hispanic and transnational communities

- 1. Provide documents, advertisements, services and programs in both English and Spanish whenever possible.**
- 2. Communication with the Hispanic community from advertising programs and events to networking with service providers and small business owners should be conducted via face-to-face contact whenever possible; email, websites, and paper advertisements will not be as effective as personal contact.**
- 3. Provide cultural, diversity and linguistic training for staffs and board of organizations so that they might understand the incredibly complex Hispanic populations that they serve.**
- 4. Network, network, network. The Hispanic population has a variety of needs that will be different in each individual case and no one organization will be able to provide these needs. Networking between organizations allows Hispanic residents to receive the services they require. Networking also helps organizations share information and make connections outside of the Hispanic community.**
- 5. Exercise patience and understanding when working with the Hispanic community. Often the Hispanic community has markedly different cultural values and norms under which it operates which when compounded with linguistic difficulties and intense fear can make for a very difficult situation. Community development professionals must realize that some of these factors will be at play when serving this community and to provide the best services possible, patience and understanding may be the best skills one can possess.**