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DEVELOPING AGE- FRIENDLY COMMUNITIES:
EVIDENCE FROM MULTIPLE CASE STUDIES

A Dissertation Presented
by
PATRICIA A. OH

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2019

Gerontology Program

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EVIDENCE FROM MULTIPLE CASE STUDIES

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by

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ABSTRACT

DEVELOPING AGE- FRIENDLY COMMUNITIES: EVIDENCE FROM MULTIPLE CASE STUDIES

May 2019

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Population aging brings opportunities and challenges for local community and economic development. One policy solution that has been adopted by 325+ jurisdictions in the United States is joining the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities or the WHO Global Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities. Although the age-friendly movement is gaining momentum in the US, few studies have looked at what influences municipal decision-making about joining a network or making age-friendly changes. The purpose of this multiple case study was to explore what influences municipal decision-making about joining a formal age-friendly network and how communities mobilize the resources at their disposal to make age-friendly changes after joining.

The conceptual model that guided this multiple case study incorporated Kingdon's policy change model to frame municipal decision-making about joining a formal age-friendly

network and resource mobilization theory to frame factors that influence implementation of age-friendly changes after a community joins an age-friendly network. The study was based on three in-depth case studies of jurisdictions in New England that had joined an age-friendly network-- Brookline, Massachusetts; Newport, Vermont; and Ellsworth Maine. Data from the three in-depth cases were brought together in multiple case analysis.

The study offers partial support for the conceptual model. In all three cases, the policy entrepreneur was key to municipal decision-making. However, the policy entrepreneur's role differed if the individual or organization was part of the community or not. Kingdon posits that agreement on a single problem definition increases the likelihood that a policy will be adopted. However, in these cases, the policy entrepreneur defined the problem differently for different audiences, framing the problem differently for municipal government than for organizations and residents, a departure from Kingdon's model.

Resource mobilization theory posits that collaborations are more likely to form when an initiative has resources, opportunities for collaboration, and when stakeholders share a strong commitment to the work. Each case had access to different resources and opportunities for collaboration; collaborations were key to moving the work forward. The primary resources utilized were relational and ideological. Material resources were less likely to move the work forward than other resources.

DEDICATION

Graduate work does not happen in a vacuum. This thesis is dedicated to age-friendly advocates and mentors, and, most importantly, to my family.

Community leaders in Maine's 60+ age-friendly cities and towns are transforming their communities to be places where older folks can live our best lives and remain as active and engaged as we want to be. Maine is a better place to live for everyone—from toddlers to centenarians--because of the work they are doing. You energize and humble me.

To Prof. Madeleine Giguere. You introduced me to the possibility of graduate school. Without you, my life would be very different.

To Prof. Otrude Moyo and Prof. Tara Healey. You taught me the importance of quantitative methods and the power of qualitative methods to tell an engaging story.

To Prof. Kathy Black and Prof. Wendy Kasten. You showed me that PhDs are more than post hole diggers and inspired me with the work you are doing to transform your regions.

Friends kept me sane and balanced—most of the time! A special thanks to my fellow tai-chi balancer, Kathy Pszczolkowski.

And, most importantly, to my wild, wacky, and amazingly wonderful family:

To Charlotte Kronenberg. You showed me that having purpose is vital at all ages, gave me the power of imagination, and taught me that it is cool to learn things.

To Eva Lee, my mother. Thank you for choosing me. You showed me that life—at all ages--is a choose your own adventure story and that the only limitations are the ones we place on ourselves.

To Eleanor Tudor. You added beauty, color, and laughter to my life. That lobster was probably a little surprised to become an honored guest in your living room.

To Larry Huffman, my dad. Thank you for taking the call in 1999. On that first visit, you, Joyce, your boys, and Aunt Sandy gave me the unexpected and priceless gift of acceptance. Granted, you also left us in a broken-down van on the St Louis bridge...

To Hieyoung, my clever, cheerful, patient, and wise friend and life partner. Without your unflagging support, I would not have finished. I am looking forward to the rest of our McGyventures (no asbestos mitigation or cleaning 200 years of dirt, though).

To my children. You are the best! Without you, I would have had far fewer smiles.

To Jasper and Mica. You have expanded my life in 1001 ways. Let the fun times roll--to the moon and back (with Granny's magic bag)!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No one completes an academic journey alone, we learn from those who have gone before, committee members, and, in qualitative literature, from the people who share their stories with us.

I was very fortunate to have guidance from gerontologists who are renowned in the field and hold special expertise in the development of age-friendly environments.

- Dr. Jeff Burr was the consummate committee chair. Getting through the research process and navigating the ins and outs of the dissertation process would not have been possible without him. He also important characteristics for a committee chair--patient nagging/cheerleading, keen critical insight, and an editor's eye for detail.
- Dr. Jan Mutchler is an internationally known expert in age-friendly community development. Her knowledge and leadership in developing environments that support people at all ages expanded my understanding of age-friendly work. She stretched my analytic thinking and brought valuable insights to the final draft.
- Dr. Len Kaye was a steadfast mentor while I was conducting research and writing the thesis. He taught me the valuable lesson of never saying "no" to an opportunity. The real-world experience with the age-friendly team in Bangor and academic expertise in rural aging that he brought to his critique of my work was invaluable.

I would also like to think Dr. Caitlin Coyle and Dr. Emma Quach, you were sources of humor and encouragement during my time on campus. At the beginning of the journey at UMB, I met an amazing group of smart, caring, determined women--Andrea Daddato, Dr. Emily Gadbois, Hayley Gravette-Gleason, Kristina Turk, Dr Wendy Wang, and Dr. Ping Xu. You are all amazing!--I am a better person and a better gerontologist for having known you.

This study would not have been possible without the help of people involved with the age-friendly work in Ellsworth, Maine; Newport, Vermont; and Brookline, Massachusetts. I am deeply grateful to all the leaders in those communities who took time out of their busy lives to talk with me about the age-friendly initiatives. You are all age-friendly super-heroes. I have learned that change happens at the rate of trust, that each community must build on its own strengths and values to make sustainable changes that benefit residents, and the importance of a local visionary to move the age-friendly agenda forward. Everything I know about age-friendly work is rooted in your three communities—and one more, Bowdoinham, ME.

In 2012, when I was commuting from Maine to Massachusetts for classes at U-Mass Boston, Theresa Turgeon, a community leader in Bowdoinham Maine, asked if I could work with them to complete an age-friendly assessment. She and George Christopher, a local farmer and leader in the community, had a vision of Bowdoinham as a great place to grow up and grow old. Thank you for including me in your plan for an age-friendly Bowdoinham and for introducing me to the community I now call home.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Age-friendly communities (AFC) promote active, healthy, engaged aging by adopting policies, making infrastructure changes, and fostering services that enable older residents to enjoy the maximum possible health and well-being and to feel safe in the community (Alley, Liebig, Pynoos, Benerjee & Choi, 2007). The needs and preferences of older people have often been excluded from community and economic development (Lui, Everingham, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009; Menec, Means, Keating, Parkhurst & Eales, 2011). AFCs recognize that the experience and talents older people bring to community engagement make them vital contributors and an important resource to mobilize to make changes that benefit all residents— from toddlers to centenarians.

In 2005, the World Health Organization (WHO) launched the Global Network of Age-Friendly Cities and Communities (WHO-GNAFCC) as part of its promotion of active aging. The program was implemented to encourage municipalities to include an aging lens in community planning and economic development (WHO, 2007). In 2012, AARP became a country affiliate of WHO-GNAFCC as part of their promotion of livable communities. The AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (NAFSC) encourages

municipalities to include older residents in planning, implementing and maintaining age-friendly initiatives while also recognizing the key role played by municipal government, social service and advocacy organizations, businesses, funders, and other stakeholders. By December of 2018, more than 300 cities, towns and counties and three States (New York, Massachusetts, and Colorado) had joined the AARP and/or WHO network (AARP, 2018).

Policymakers increasingly recognize that municipalities benefit when older people participate in the economic, social, civic and cultural aspects of their community (Menec & Nowicki, 2014; Plouffe & Kalache, 2010; Ramalay, Taponga, Neal, Bloom & Reece, 2016). How municipalities encourage active, healthy, and engaged aging differs from one community to another, reflecting the local context (Kano, Rosenberg, Dalton, 2017; Orpana, Clawla, Gallagher, Escaravage, 2016). The implementation and sustainability of age-friendly initiatives is affected by local stakeholders and the resources they control (e.g. volunteer availability, political power of advocates for the initiative, city/town staff commitment) and by the social, economic, and political environments (Buffel, McGary, Phillipson, DeDonder, Dury, et al., 2014; Menec, Novek, Veselyuk & McArthur, 2014).

This thesis will use multiple case study methodology to explore (1) factors that affect municipal decision making about joining the WHO-GNAFCC and/or the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (AARP NAFSC); and, (2) factors that influence the implementation of age-friendly changes by municipalities.

Few studies have looked at what influences municipal decision-making about joining an AFC network or how local governments identify, prioritize, and implement age-friendly changes (Greenfield, Scharlach, Lehning, & Davitt, 2012; Lui, Everingham, Warburton,

Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009). It is beyond the scope of this study to compare jurisdictions that decide to join an AFC network with communities that do not to join a network, whether they make age-friendly changes or do not. This study focuses on the factors that influenced a jurisdiction to join the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC and affect implementation of age-friendly changes in those communities.

Framed by Kingdon’s policy change model and Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), this study will use a multiple case study method to explore the following broad questions:

1. What are the characteristics of three communities that have joined the WHO-GNAFCC and/or the AARP NAFSC? This includes describing the policy, social, and economic environments of three municipalities.
2. In what ways do “policy entrepreneurs”—individuals or organizations—impact negatively and positively the formation of AFC?
3. What roles do other stakeholder individuals and organizations play in planning, implementing, and maintaining the age-friendly initiatives before and after the municipality joins a network?
4. How do stakeholders utilize the financial, human, and community resources available to support an age-friendly initiative, including but not limited to the number and kind of AFC changes made after a community joins a network?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The number of municipalities in the United States that are adopting age-friendly policies to enhance the physical and social environment is on the rise (Buffel, McGarry, Phillipson, DeDonder, Dury, et al., 2014; Clark, 2014). In May, 2013, there were 13 municipalities in the US that had joined the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (NAFSC) and another six that were enrolled only in the WHO Global Network of Age-Friendly Cities and Communities (WHO GNAFCC). By the end of 2018, the AARP NAFSC had grown to more than 300 municipalities. Age-friendly communities, thus far, are concentrated in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, California, and Florida. However, there is at least one municipality in 44 of the US States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The age-friendly movement in the United States is, in part, growing in response to rising municipal awareness that age-friendly environments are good for residents of all ages and are a key aspect of good community planning (Lewis & Groh, 2016).

Although the movement is growing rapidly, it is still in its infancy. Very little research has looked specifically at the effect of age-friendly development on communities or on residents. Early studies suggest that social environments that encourage participation and

civic engagement by older residents may improve neighborhood cohesion, increase intergenerational ties, and promote health (Finkelstein & Netherland, 2010; Lambrinos, 2013; Neal, DeLaTorre & Carder, 2014). Building and zoning codes that allow housing options for different life stages and creating social and recreational opportunities that are attractive to a broad spectrum of older residents may prevent community out-migration by residents who need age-friendly amenities and may attract retiree in-migrants (Gilroy, 2008; Jackson, Illsley, Curry, & Rapaport, 2008; Ryser & Halseth, 2013). Community and economic development may be enhanced when residents of all ages and abilities have transportation options and the opportunity to enjoy accessible community events, inviting public spaces, and affordable recreational opportunities (Leinberger & Alfonzo, 2012).

Like their younger peers, older people shop, hire contractors, and enjoy eating out or buying a cup of coffee. The contribution to the overall economy is significant; people 55-plus are responsible for 41% of consumer spending (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016a). Older residents are an important part of the labor force and purchase goods and services that increase jobs across the age spectrum. People 55+ launch 25% of all new business start-ups in the US (US Census, 2017) and are increasingly likely to seek part or full-time work after traditional retirement (Oxford Economics, 2016). Far from a drain on local economies, older people can represent a wellspring of economic activity for municipalities.

Despite potential advantages, age-friendly development is not embraced by all municipalities. Age-friendly initiatives compete with other municipal programs for tight budget dollars and can be viewed as a deterrent to young families and professionals moving into the community (Warner & Morken, 2013). Municipal officials may fear that being “age-

friendly” makes the community unattractive to young people and working families. Even for those that do recognize the benefits of older people for a healthy community, a municipality may avoid being “too” age-friendly and attracting the “wrong” kind of older people. While retirees with social capital and economic well-being are an obvious benefit to the community, municipal decision-makers and residents may worry that age-friendly changes will attract frail older adults from resource poor towns and cities who will place an additional burden on social services (Waldbrook, Rosenberg & Brual, 2013).

To understand the motivations, advantages, and constraints on joining a network of age-friendly communities, it is important to explore social, economic, political, and demographic factors that influence municipal decision making about joining. Included in possible motivations and constraints on joining a network are the perceived pros and cons of becoming known as a retirement destination; municipal perceptions of the role of older adults in community economic development; the influence of outside organizations, such as the state initiatives and local Area Agency on Aging; popular attitudes toward WHO and AARP, and other factors.

This literature review begins with a definition of AFC. Next, it describes the need for age-friendly community initiatives and provides a brief history of models used by municipalities in the United States to frame age-friendly development. The literature review concludes with a discussion of the roles of local government, stakeholders, and older residents in advocating for AFC, identifying the need for changes in the social and physical environment to improve the health and well-being of older residents, and in implementing and maintaining age-friendly changes.

Age-Friendly Community Definitions

Historically, researchers have not agreed on the key features of an age-friendly community. Based on a review of extant literature, Alley, Liebig, Pynoos, Benerjee & Choi (2007) found three key features: (1) opportunities for civic engagement; (2) adequate infrastructure and services to support the needs of the frail and active older populations; and (3) an environment of respect and social support. Informed by a life-course approach, Lehning, Chun & Scharlach (2007) postulate three essential features of AFC: (1) formal and informal services that compensate for age related changes that make it difficult for older residents to meet physical and social needs; (2) infrastructure to allow ongoing involvement of older residents in activities pursued in younger years; and, (3) opportunities for older residents to explore new activities and find new sources of social support. This thesis, because it looks at communities that have joined the WHO-GNAFCC and/or AARP NAFSC network, follows the WHO definition of an age-friendly community as a place that: (1) encourage civic engagement and social participation of older residents; (2) improve accessibility of the built environment; and, (3) increase access to services to help residents meet basic needs (WHO, 2007).

The Need for Age-Friendly Communities

For more than a decade, academics, politicians, and the general public have grappled with the expected increase in the absolute and relative number of older adults aging in the community associated with the aging of the Baby Boomers (Dobriansky, Suzman, & Hodes, 2011; Webber, Porter & Menec, 2010). Most older adults want to age in their homes, a preference that may depend more on attachment to the neighborhood and to the larger

community than to their residence (Olsberg & Winters, 2005; Keenan, 2010). Municipalities are often ill-suited to offer physical and social environments that maximize independence, facilitate civic engagement, and provide the necessary physical supports and services to enhance the health and well-being of older residents (Feldman, Oberlink, Simantov & Gursen, 2004). Environmental factors, such as the availability of health care and long-term care supports and feeling safe to be out alone, affect the likelihood that an older resident will plan to remain in the community after retirement and whether, over time, an individual will, in fact, age in the community (Burr & Mutchler, 2007; Lehning, Smith & Dunkle, 2013). Beyond the need for accessible spaces, adequate health care, and housing and transportation option, it is challenging for communities to offer the social and recreational opportunities desired by relatively healthy people and by older, frail adults with few resources (Kaye & Harvey, 2014). One of the challenges of developing AFC for municipalities is to provide the supports and services that are needed by older adults at different ages and abilities.

Recognizing the need to develop age-friendly communities, Ireland, Spain, Canada, Portugal, Slovenia, and the Russian Federation have implemented programs that encourage communities to provide residents aging with a range of abilities with adequate housing, access to outdoor spaces and buildings, recreation, transportation, information, employment opportunities, and social services in order to remain in the community of their choice (Minnigaleeva, 2014; Plouffe & Kalache, 2010; Public Health Agency of Canada, ND; Shannon, 2012; WHO, 2014a). In the United States, national policies (e.g. Housing and Urban Development, 2013; Dalrymple, ND), advocacy groups (e.g. AARP, 2014; Menehan, 2011; American Planning Association, 2014; Grantmakers in Aging, 2013), and private

insurance providers (e.g. Lehning & Harmon, 2013), have embraced AFC as social policy. AFC provide older residents with the security of knowing that they can remain in the community, engage in meaningful activities, and be socially active even with the physical changes that often accompany aging. Additionally, age-friendly changes benefit people of all ages and may have a positive effect on community and economic development (Quinn, 2008). For example, the same ramp that makes it easier for a person with a mobility impairment to enter a building makes it easier for a young mom with a toddler to enter and increases opportunities for community involvement by residents of all ages.

Age-Friendly Community Models in the United States

Several models have been developed to inform municipal planning for AFC. All the models provide guidelines for modifying the physical and social environments of a municipality to support healthy, active, and engaged aging. However, the models differ in what they identify as the key resources needed to adequately support older residents and the methods used to build age-friendly community.

AdvantAge

The *AdvantAge* initiative, established by the Visiting Nurse Service of New York, was one of the first national models to develop a set of community health indicators intended to improve the health outcomes of older residents. Research with 10 municipalities concluded that AFC: (1) address basic needs for housing, safety, nutrition, and information; (2) provide an environment that optimizes the physical and mental health of older residents; (3) promote social and civic engagement; and, (4) maximize independence (Feldman & Oberlink, 2003). Based on the criteria of an age-friendly community, an assessment tool was

developed to identify the changes a municipality could make to improve the quality of life of older residents and to document the strengths of the community (Hanson & Emler, 2006).

Although the assessment tool included qualitative data from older residents and other key stakeholders, the key change agent identified in the *AdvantAge* initiative were the organizational stakeholders who formed the community collaborative. The model does not require involvement by elected officials or municipal leaders. The community collaborative conducting was encouraged to create a three- or five-year plan to address issues that could not be resolved in less time but does not detail how communities make age-friendly changes or how advocates for AFC engage municipal authorities in a dialogue about the need for and benefits of age-friendly changes.

National Association of Area Agencies on Aging Livable Communities

An alternative age-friendly initiative adopted by the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging (n4a) stressed the creation of livable communities for all ages through broad-based planning and age-friendly zoning initiatives. The emphasis of the n4a initiative was on transportation, housing, public safety, provision of social services, and opportunities for civic engagement, and participation in recreational, socio-cultural and lifelong learning opportunities (Dalrymple, ND). Similar to the *AdvantAge* initiative, n4a recommended a broad collaboration of key stakeholders that included, but was not necessarily spearheaded by, municipal government (n4a & Partners for Livable Communities, 2007). The n4a initiative did not recommend a specific assessment tool but provided guidance about aspects of the social and physical environments that should be included in an assessment. Older residents—among key stakeholders included in a community collaboration--played a role in

planning the implementation of age-friendly changes in the community as did stakeholders representing younger members of the community.

EPA Aging Initiative

The United States Environmental Protective Agency took an approach similar to the n4a model – advocating for livable communities that enhance the lives of residents of all ages. The EPA advocated, in the guide *Growing Smarter, Living Healthier: A Guide to Smart Growth and Active Aging*, for a grass-roots movement led by older residents who were encouraged to define and lead community development initiatives in their own neighborhoods. The 20-question assessment tool provided in the guide focused on the availability of accessible infrastructure, built environment, housing, and transportation and opportunities for civic engagement and recreational activities tailored to encourage participation by older residents (EPA, 2009). Older residents worked together to advocate for and, when possible, implement, age-friendly changes in their neighborhoods and in the community at large.

WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC

In 2005, WHO extended its interest in active aging by looking at environments that support healthy and productive aging. Drawing on information from focus groups of older adults in 33 cities throughout the world, WHO developed a checklist of essential features organized into eight domains-- housing, social participation, respect and social inclusion, civic participation and employment, community support and health services, transportation, outdoor spaces and buildings, and communication and information--that influence the age friendliness of a community (see Appendix 1) (Plouffe & Kalache, 2010; WHO, 2007). In

2012, AARP joined with WHO-GNAFCC as a country affiliate to promote AFC in the United States (AARP, 2013). Municipalities that join the AARP NAFSC are automatically eligible to join the WHO-GNAFCC. However, it is not required that communities join both networks. A municipality in the United States can join the WHO-GNAFCC directly, without going through the AARP NAFSC. Similarly, municipalities that join the AARP NAFSC are not required to also join the WHO-GNAFCC.

In 2012, building on its work promoting community involvement and productive aging, AARP launched a livable communities initiative that encouraged municipalities to make age-friendly changes to increase opportunities for older residents to age optimally (Koscheram, Straight & Guterbock, 2005; Scharlach, 2009). AARP had a long tradition of promoting civic engagement by older residents and advocating for livability changes in the built environment. With the launching of the livable community initiative, it widened its focus to address the social environment that promotes or discourages optimal aging. The initiative promoted policies and strategies for federal, state, and local governments to: (1) encourage civic engagement and involvement in community planning by residents of all ages and abilities; (2) increase accessibility in private homes and public spaces; and, (3) provide housing and transportation options for residents of all abilities (AARP, 2007, 2014).

Joining either the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC network does not require that a community meet a pre-determined criterion for age friendliness. To join the WHO-GNAFCC, a letter of intent that indicates municipal commitment to AFC must be signed by the highest elected official (e.g. mayor, county commissioner, governor). In New England, many communities do not have a “mayor” but have an elected board that governs the town

(usually known as a “select board”, “board of selectmen” or, “town/city council”). Each elected board has a chair who, when the community does not have a mayor, is considered the highest elected official. Within the first two years, a team is formed that include older residents and the group completes an age-friendly assessment. Following the assessment, the team develops a three-year action plan and implements changes to address the identified needs (AARP, ND, 2013; WHO, 2007). At the end of the three-year implementation phase, the team develops an after-action progress report that may include an updated assessment and is the basis of a new action plan. The WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC describe how eight domains effect the age friendliness of a municipality (see Appendix 1), but neither prescribes measures of age friendliness that must be attained after joining. Some member communities adopt many age-friendly policies, programs, and infrastructure changes, while others adopt fewer.

Whether municipalities join the AARP NAFSC or the WHO-GNAFCC or both is a matter of choice. The application process and requirements from member municipalities are nearly identical; joining the AARP NAFSC provides a streamlined process for joining the WHO GNAFCC. Municipalities that join the AARP NAFSC have the benefit of technical support from their state AARP office, networking opportunities with peer communities, and grant opportunities made available by AARP (AARP, 2014). The WHO-GNAFCC does not provide money to help communities make age-friendly changes but features member communities on its website (<http://agefriendlyworld.org/en/>) and provides opportunities for communities to share information about the assessment and strategic planning processes electronically. Municipalities joining either network receive a certificate of participation.

Developing Age-Friendly Communities

Local Government

All the models of AFC implementation described above recognize the involvement of local governments to make changes but emphasize the leadership role of municipal government differently. All the models recognize that, for AFC to be sustainable, local policy makers must support changes in the social and physical environment. However, they disagree about who the primary change agents are—older residents, service providers, or local government. The WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC models stress the leadership role of municipal government as a change agent to implement the integrated community planning necessary to create an environment that supports active, engaged aging (WHO, 2007). Municipal departments, for example, may work together to develop building and zoning codes that increase accessibility of public building and outdoor spaces so that residents of all ability will have greater access to social and recreational opportunities. Although WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC emphasize municipal leadership to implement, promote, and sustain an age-friendly initiative, the models also underscore the key role of older adults to identify needed changes in the social and physical environment and plan implementation of changes that make the community more age-friendly (Neal, DeLaTorre, & Carder, 2009).

Joining an age-friendly network provides municipalities with national and international recognition for the commitment the community is making to enhance livability. The networks also provide guidelines for assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation of the age-friendly work (AARP, 2014; WHO, 2007). Membership can also be used to garner economic and community support for making age-friendly changes. For

example, joining the AARP NAFSC provided residents of Newport Vermont with a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the municipality; bolstered support for the AFC initiative by residents of all ages, local politicians, and municipal employees; and offered tangible proof to funders that the community has made a commitment to making age-friendly changes (Stanton, 2014).

Change Agents and Stakeholder Groups

The development of AFC is enhanced by a broad base of support from community stakeholders, including older residents, for-profit and non-profit social service providers, faith-based organizations, public health and safety officials, influential citizens, and local government agencies (Lui, Everingham, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009; Feldman, Oberlink, Rudin, Clay, Edwards, et al., 2003; Parker, Dunn, MacCall, Goetz, Park, et al., 2013). All the models described earlier encourage community collaborations between municipal offices and stakeholder groups as well as alliances with regional entities that have an interest in aging and community development (e.g. Area Agencies on Aging, Community Action Agencies, universities, organizations that focus on regional economic development, private and public philanthropies, advocacy groups, etc.) (Bradley & Fitzgerald, 2013; Fitzgerald & Caro, 2014; Ivery & Akstein-Kahan, 2010; Taylor, 2013).

Community building is essential for AFC implementation that will transform the physical and social environment of a municipality. Successful collaborations facilitate the exchange of information between stakeholders, establish shared goals, and reach agreement about how age-friendly changes will be implemented and maintained (Bronstein, McCallion, & Kramer, 2006; Warburton, Everingham, Cuthill, Bartlett & Underwood, 2011).

Everingham, Petriwskyj, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett (2009) compared implementation of age-friendly changes in two communities in Australia and concluded that the extent of stakeholders' engagement in a coalition affected whether age-friendly changes were successfully implemented and maintained. Garon, Paris, Beaulieu, Veil & Laliberté (2014) reached a similar conclusion when comparing implementation in two communities in Quebec. Given the need for age-friendly initiatives to draw on a large base of support, it is vital to learn how municipalities create opportunities for collaboration among stakeholders and how stakeholders utilize the financial, human, and community resources available to support an age-friendly initiative.

Policy entrepreneurs--individuals or organizations with recognized technical expertise and political know-how, who persistently advocate for a desired solution—work over time to create support from municipal officials and residents to convince community members that AFC are a benefit to residents of all ages. Key to the success of community collaborations and alliances is the active involvement of policy entrepreneurs who: (1) know the community; (2) are aware of the extent of popular support for starting an age-friendly community initiative; (3) understand the perspective of older adults who want to remain in the community as they age and of their care partners; (4) are well respected in the community and among representatives of key stakeholder groups; and, (5) are able to keep collaborative efforts on point (Menec, Hutton, Newall, Nowicki, Spina, et al., 2014; Winterton, Warburton, Clune & Martin, 2014). Communities are more likely to make age-friendly changes when policy entrepreneurs are politically powerful and have a formal role in city government (Lehning, 2011; Spina & Menec, 2013). Thus, it is important to learn how policy

entrepreneurs advocating for AFC initiatives influence town governments to commit to making age-friendly changes and to explore how the individuals and organizations that act as policy entrepreneurs negatively and positively affect the formation of AFC.

Older residents

Cities and towns that join the AARP or WHO network often form citizen advisory committees of older residents to identify specific age-friendly changes that are needed. The lack of federal or state funding and tight local budgets mean that initiatives may have to depend on volunteers, many of whom are older, to ensure that identified changes are maintained (Buffel, McGarry, Phillipson, DeDonder, Dury, et al., 2014). Thus, older residents in the community are integral to decision making about infrastructure changes as well as planning and delivering the services and supports designed to increase aging friendliness. Although reliance on older volunteers offers an opportunity for civic engagement and social inclusion, it may also de-value older adults who either cannot or choose not to volunteer (Martinson & Minkler, 2006). Thus, it is important to learn more about how older community residents have been involved with identifying, planning, implementing, and maintaining age-friendly initiatives.

Kingdon's Policy Change Model

Kingdon (1995) describes the decision to adopt policy change as a union of at least two of three streams—(1) agreement that an issue is a social problem that should be addressed by government: (2) availability of viable policy alternatives: and, (3) support in the political environment. Over time, the streams develop independently but when at least two converge—when a social problem matches a proposed solution and/or the political climate

supports change—a policy window opens to place the social problem on the political agenda (Kingdon, 1995). Policy entrepreneurs work toward a policy window and then use it to effect change, to bring the social problem to the attention of policymakers who have the power to make a policy decision (Mintrom & Vergari, 1996).

For municipalities to decide to include an aging lens in community development, there must be agreement that the increase in the percentage of older residents is an opportunity and a challenge that should be addressed by local government (Dobriansky, Suzman, & Hodes, 2011; Lui, Everingham, Warburton, Cuthill & Bartlett, 2009). Without popular agreement that a community should encourage residents to lead active, healthy and engaged lives, it is unlikely that AFC will be a priority on the municipal agenda. Similarly, if there is no acceptance that older adults make a significant contribution to community and economic development, it is not likely that municipal officials will place age-friendly initiatives on the decision-making agenda, even when they recognize environmental barriers to active, healthy aging.

The second stream that contributes to bringing AFC to the decision-making agenda is support in the political environment. Advocacy for AFC by special interest groups and adoption of age-friendly policies by regional government affect municipal decision making about joining a network and about making age-friendly changes (Spina & Menec, 2013). Special interest groups and outside organizations, such as the WHO and AARP, affect the political environment through lobbying and public education campaigns (Neal & DeLaTorre & Carder, 2013). National or regional policies may provide impetus and guidance for communities to complete needs assessments, act on identified needs, and maintain age-

friendly changes over time (Garon, Paris, Beaulieu, Veil, & Lalibertè, 2014; Plouffe & Kalache, 2011). For example, Western Australia adopted an AFC policy. As part of the provincial initiative, municipalities were given funds (8,000 AU) to complete an initial needs assessment (Government of Western Australia, 2011, 2014). Twenty-seven municipalities participated, which covered 33% of the senior population in the province (Young, 2013).

Kingdon's (1995) policy change model posits that municipal officials concerned with many different local problems are more likely to focus on problems accompanied by solutions. The AARP NAFSC and WHO-GNAFCC offer a ready-made policy alternative for communities that want to address the problem of age un-friendliness and enact changes to become more livable.

Some problems are not identified as problems until a solution is proposed, which is often the case with communities that join the AARP NAFSC or the WHO GNAFCC. It is possible that municipalities are attracted to joining one of the two networks because membership is perceived as recognition of age-friendly accomplishments rather than as a commitment to include an aging lens in municipal decision-making. One of the reasons that WHO developed the program was to promote active, healthy aging at the local level by encouraging municipalities to include an aging lens when developing policy, creating programs or activities, and planning change in infrastructure.

Joining an AFC network may be politically more feasible than some other alternatives (such as Villages or addressing a single-issue initiative such as housing or transportation) because the application process is simple, costs the community nothing, and stresses the importance of mobilizing older volunteers and creating low-cost and no-cost

solutions to the challenges identified by residents. Although WHO does not offer significant support directly to communities making age-friendly changes, AARP provides technical advice and local support to identify, implement, and sustain age-friendly changes.

Kingdon's policy change model facilitates a discussion of how all three streams have developed over time and provides a lens to look at how policy entrepreneurs have prepared for an opening in the window of opportunity, and may have worked to bring the problem, policy, and political streams together to create a window of opportunity.

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) defines a social movement organization as one which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement. A social movement is a "set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of a social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (McCarthy & Zeld, 1977). Social movements attempt to alter social structures (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), organize group of people who have not previously organized for social change that will benefit their interests (Gamson, 1980), or represent people who have previously been excluded from policy (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977). RMT focuses on efforts to make institutional changes, as opposed to personal changes (Jenkins, 1983).

Age-friendly community development seeks to change the way municipalities approach planning—to include older people and adults living with disabilities in the way changes are structured in the built environment, to implement policy changes that support the desire of older people to live safely and comfortably in their communities as they age, and to encourage the development of programs, activities, and services that meet the needs of an

aging population. Community planning has, for the past 50 years, focused on children and young families. The age-friendly movement, as represented by WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC, seeks to mobilize grass-roots groups, including older adults and organizations that speak for them, to champion an inclusive planning process that includes both an aging and an ability lens. Local age-friendly committees go through a planning process to identify goals that will make meaningful changes in the community. They may advocate for changes in policy or raise awareness of a service so that it can be better utilized. The goals have clearly defined outcomes that can be measured to document effective change.

Informed by classic economic theory, RMT explains that individual and organizational decision-making about political action and/or participation in a coalition is based on a rational consideration of costs and benefits (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zeld, 1977; Rowley & Moloveanu, 2003). Stakeholder organizations weigh the cost and benefits of participating in a coalition for the organization and for the population they serve (Klandermans, 1984). Each municipality that joins the AARP NAFSC or WHO-GNAFCC includes stakeholders that represent different aspects of community life—business, local non-profit organizations, the municipality, spiritual organization, education, etc. Stakeholders come together because the goals of the age-friendly initiative are in line with either personal or organizational goals. Effective coalitions form when resources are available that bring stakeholders together and support ongoing growth of the initiative. AARP provides US-based technical support, funding, peer networking and other resources to support municipalities that join the AARP NAFSC. WHO provides limited supports to communities. RMT predicts that communities that participate in AARP NAFSC will benefit

from the supports offered by the program and will develop strong coalitions to move the age-friendly work forward. However, outside support is not enough. Social movements need access to local resources that can be mobilized to make change.

Resources can be ideological, human, material, or relational. Ideological resources are most powerful when they are in line with mainstream beliefs. One of the struggles for many grass-roots organizations that are trying to build municipal support for joining a network of age-friendly communities is the need to align “aging” with mainstream ideology that values youth over aging, and fitness over disability or frailty (which are associated with aging in popular parlance). The solution for some grass-roots organizers has been to use terms that de-stress aging—such as livability, community for all ages, a great place to grow up and to grow old, and community for a lifetime.

Human resources can be classified as either volunteer or paid and are, roughly, divided into two groups—potential beneficiaries (people who believe in the goals but do not give resources to the movement and people who may benefit from the work of a social movement organization but who do not give resources) and adherents (people who believe in the goals of the movement and contribute resources of some kind) (McCarthy & Zeld, 1977). Much of the age-friendly work being done on the local level is volunteer-based. However, some age-friendly initiatives have access to paid staff.

Relational resources are social networks that can be used to advance the age-friendly effort. Many age-friendly initiatives depend on the social networks of core team members to build support for age-friendly changes at the municipal level. One of the key characteristics

of an effective age-friendly policy entrepreneur is the ability to use networks that were established in previous advocacy efforts to effect age-friendly changes.

Municipal decision making about implementing age-friendly changes is influenced by the availability of resources (Hassanein, 2003). Resources that may influence age-friendly changes made by a community, include residents who volunteer their time and expertise to the initiative, prior collaborations among stakeholders, public and private funding, support by organizations outside the community, and municipal awareness of the contribution to community and economic development made by older people (Bolda, Lowe, Maddox, Patnaik, 2005; Clark, 2014; Gonzales & Morrow-Howell, 2009). While some changes (e.g. creating social opportunities, providing information about local services) require minimal financial investment by the municipality, they benefit from municipal sponsorship and may require community resources (e.g. volunteers, donated space) (Emlet & Mocerri, 2012). Other age-friendly changes require significant investment (e.g. age-friendly public transport, creating a senior center) that may present a barrier to implementation in some communities (Alley, Liebig, Pynoos, Banerjee, & Choi, 2007). RMT encourages an exploration of how resource availability affects the extent of age-friendly changes made by a community.

RMT posits that resources do not provide the impetus to effect change unless they are mobilized (Trinatapoli, 2005). Mobilization is influenced by (1) commitment to the mission, vision, and goals by the coalition of stakeholder organizations; and, (2) opportunities for stakeholder collaboration (Simon, Loewry, Sturmer, Weber, Freytag, et al., 1998; VanStekelenburg & Klandermans & Van Dijk, 2011). The likelihood of collaboration

increases when there are opportunities for stakeholders to meet and when stakeholder organizations share long-range goals for their work together (Abers, 2007).

Before entering into a collaboration, each stakeholder or stakeholder organization completes a cost-benefit analysis to determine if involvement is beneficial, and if so, the nature and extent of involvement (Zald & McCarthy, 1987). To ensure that participating stakeholders have a unified view and maintain consistency in their actions, the collaborative effort must be consistent with the mission of the individual stakeholders (Jenkins, 1983). For example, in 2012, AARP became an affiliate of WHO-GNAFCC to broaden its Livable Communities work by drawing on the technical and financial resources available from WHO (AARP, 2012; Alley, Liebig, Pynoos, Banerjee, & Choi, 2008; Margesson, 2013). WHO-GNAFCC benefited from AARP's capacity to promote AFC in the United States and to give communities a source of local support for their initiatives (AARP, ND; Lawler, 2015).

On the local level, after a municipality joins a network, stakeholder organizations within the community determine if it is beneficial for the organization to participate in the municipal initiative and to decide the nature and extent of involvement. Municipalities provide the forum and resources to support collaboration between stakeholder organizations to increase the resources available to effect age-friendly changes. Thus, as predicated by RMT, the dynamics of each local AFC initiative is the product of decision-making by individual stakeholders and by other factors unique to the collaboration, including the availability of resources. For example, age-friendly New York City notes that: "The participation of partners from every part of New York is what sustains this initiative and drives it forward" (Age-Friendly NYC, ND). Prior studies offer support for RMT, finding

that effective implementation of age-friendly changes by municipalities may be affected by a consistent level of commitment by stakeholder organizations working together within clear municipal guidelines (Buffel & Phillipson, 2012; Everingham, Lui, Bartlett, Warburton & Cuthill, 2010; Garon, Paris, Beaulieu, Veil, & Lalibertè, 2014).

Conceptual Model

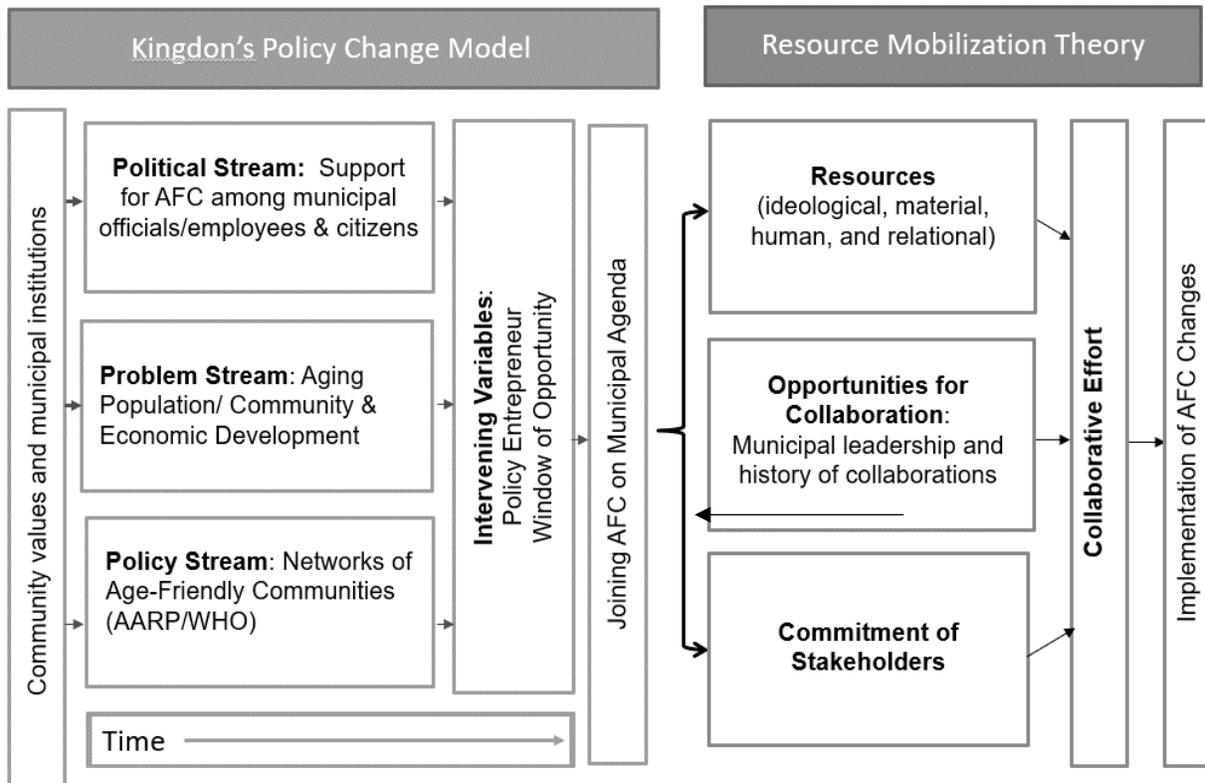
Kingdon's policy change model is integrated with RMT to frame this exploration of municipal decision making about joining an AFC network and implementing age-friendly changes after joining. Factors that contribute to the decision by elected officials to adopt the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC as a policy option were framed by Kingdon's policy change model. It provides a lens to look at how policy entrepreneurs bring together factors in the political stream (support by decision makers for addressing the need for age-friendly changes and/or joining a network), problem stream (agreement that the increasing number of older people aging in communities that lack the physical and social environment to support optimal aging by residents with a broad spectrum of abilities is a social problem that should be addressed by a jurisdiction), and policy stream (perception by decision makers of the benefits of joining an AFC network) to create a window of opportunity that moves joining an age-friendly network onto the municipal decision agenda.

Joining a network is the first step to developing an AFC. However, joining is not enough; a community can enact the policy without implementing change. An exploration of how and to what extent communities implement age-friendly changes after joining a network was framed by RMT. The theory provides a lens to understand how community, financial,

and human resources; stakeholder commitment to age-friendly initiatives; and opportunities for collaboration affect implementation of age-friendly changes.

Figure one illustrates how RMT and Kingdon’s policy change model were linked to create the conceptual model of municipal decision making about joining a network and how resources within a community, including resources developed during the decision-making process, contribute to age-friendly implementation. The two theories are linked to recognize that the factors that affected decision-making about joining a network affect implementation of age-friendly changes after a community joins the WHO-GNAFCC or the AARP NAFSC.

Figure 1. Conceptual model, factors influencing adoption of age-friendly policies and implementation of age-friendly changes by municipalities



Kingdon's policy change model provides a lens to look at how the need for AFC gains prominence on the political decision-making agenda. There has been little research that identifies (1) what motivates a stakeholder to take on the role of policy entrepreneur; and, (2) how policy entrepreneurs raise awareness of the problem stream and build support in the political stream for joining a network of AFC. The policy, problem, and solution stream develop independently but may be influenced by other streams. For example, a social problem, such as the inadequacy of the physical and social environment to meet the needs of older residents, may not be recognized as a "problem" that requires municipal intervention until a solution, such as joining the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC network, is proposed (Kingdon, 1995). Exploring the perceptions of policy entrepreneurs and other municipal leaders about how the problem and/or political stream converged with the AFC policy stream adds to our understanding of the factors that influence a municipality to join a network.

After a municipality joins a network, RMT suggests that the resources available to support change, organizational commitment of stakeholder organizations, and opportunities for collaboration among stakeholders affect the level of commitment to making age-friendly changes. Among the resources available to a committee are the ones developed while the municipality was deciding to join a network. WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC encourage members to establish citizen advisory councils with a broad base of stakeholders who have resources to move the age-friendly initiative forward. RMT provides a lens to explore how stakeholder groups work together to plan, define, and foster a local AFC initiative and to examine how resource availability and stakeholder involvement affect the extent of age-friendly changes implemented.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This thesis used a multiple case study approach to gather in-depth information about three New England communities that have joined the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC. New England was chosen because of the age structure of the region and the concentration of age-friendly communities. All six New England States (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont) are among the top ten oldest states in the US, ranked by median age. In 2015, 15% of AFC network members were in New England (AARP, 2015). The higher median age of the New England States compared with other areas of the United States suggests the importance of developing AFC that will enhance opportunities for older residents to age optimally and contribute to community development.

Multiple Case Study Analyses

A case is defined by Yin (2011) as one of several similar entities that have unique variations. A case may be an individual, program, organization, event, or time period. In this study, the age-friendly initiative in each community is considered a single case.

Case study research methods are particularly useful when the boundary between the environment and the phenomenon being studied is not clearly defined (Yin, 2013; Stake, 2006). Prior research about implementation of age-friendly changes illustrates how the

context of an age-friendly initiative affects its structure (Eales, Keefe & Keating, 2008; Lui, Eeringham, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009). Kingdon's policy change model suggests the importance of looking at factors outside the municipality—factors in the political stream, such as regional support for AFC, solutions in the policy stream, and popular or cultural understanding of the problem stream--to explore municipal decision making about joining an AFC network. Based on a review of the literature and the conceptual model used to explore development of AFCs, a case study method is appropriate.

The purpose of including more than one case study in this analysis was to learn from each case and to learn across multiple cases by comparing the experiences of each (Stake, 2006). Yin (2009) advises that case selection should be made either to show a similar pattern of results or to illustrate contrasting situations. The three cases chosen for this study shared the experience of joining an age-friendly network. However, factors effecting decision making about AFC differed as did the age-friendly changes that were pursued. Theory, the conceptual model described above, framed the understanding of each individual case and a comparison of the differences and similarities among cases.

Case Selection

Case study data were gathered about three strategically selected municipalities in New England that have joined the WHO-GNAFCC and/or AARP NAFSC. Some municipalities join both networks; others join only the WHO-GNAFCC. Joining both has the advantage of AFC recognition from WHO and AARP and access to the benefits each offers—networking, technical assistance, access to best practices. Joining the AARP NAFSC automatically includes membership in the WHO-GNAFCC. However, communities can join WHO GNAFCC without going through AARP NAFSC. In this study, joining one network or

joining both is seen as indicating the intent to join an AFC network. The unit of analysis is the AFC initiative in municipalities that have joined either one or both AFC networks.

To be included in the case study, a community had to be: (1) a member of WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC prior to January 2015; and, (2) located in New England. In March 30, 2015, when this study was planned, the following New England communities were members of at least one of the network: Boston, MA; Bowdoinham, ME; Brookline, MA; Ellsworth, ME; Kennebunk, ME; Newport, VT; New Haven, CT; North Adams, MA; Pittsfield, MA; Paris, ME; Portland, ME; and Yarmouth, MA. Table 1 contains a demographic profile of the communities. All were considered for inclusion in the study.

This study began by exploring factors that influence municipal decision making about joining a network of AFC. Next, it looked at whether age-friendly changes were implemented, and, if so, how. Municipalities have up to two years after joining a network to complete the needs assessment used to create an action plan. The AARP NAFSC encourages municipalities to complete the needs assessment within the first six months of joining (P Morelli, personal communication, January 04, 2015). If a municipality has joined either the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC within the past six months, it is unlikely that a plan for implementation will be in place. Pittsfield and North Adams, Massachusetts; Paris and Kennebunk, Maine; and New Haven, Connecticut joined the AARP NAFSC or WHO- GNAFCC in 2015. Portland, Maine and Boston, Massachusetts were excluded because they are the largest municipalities in their states. As urban population centers, they have different barriers and advantages to making age-friendly changes than smaller communities. Bowdoinham, Maine was excluded because the researcher has worked with the age-friendly team since 2012. Yarmouth, Massachusetts was approached for inclusion but opted not to participate.

Table 1: Population Characteristics of New England Communities that joined the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC prior to or during 2015

	Total Pop. ¹	Median Age ¹	% 45+ ¹	% 60+ ¹	% 75+ ¹	AARP date joined	WHO date joined ²	Median hh income ³	% hh, 60+ ⁴	% 65+ living alone ⁵	% pop with disability ⁶	% pop 65+ with disability ⁶
Massachusetts		39.4	43.1	21.7	6.8	NA	NA	74,167	38.9	28.7	10.9	32.7
Boston	669,158	32.0	31.9	15.6	4.8	2014	2014	62,021	29.0	38.0	11.3	41.7
Brookline	59,246	34.1	36.5	20.8	6.2	--	2012	111,289	33.8	30.3	6.7	26.2
North Adams	13,211	43.1	47.6	25.2	9.1	2015	2015 ¹	38,774	43.0	39.2	17.9	42.5
Pittsfield	43,289	43.5	47.9	26.0	8.3	2015	2015	46,871	42.4	36.1	16.1	31.7
Yarmouth	23,459	52.9	59.4	39.4	15.4	--	2014	62,954	59.7	31.3	14.6	30.5
Connecticut		40.8	44.7	22.4	7.2	NA	NA	73,781	39.7	27.2	10.3	31.1
New Haven	130,884	30.7	30.3	14.6	4.3	--	2015	39,191	27.7	38.6	9.6	34.5
Vermont		42.8	47.2	25.0	7.1	NA	NA	57,808	41.6	29.6	13.2	33.1
Newport	4,372	39.5	44.8	22.8	8.3	2013	2015	38,576	37.0	42.1	21.6	44.7
Maine		44.3	49.1	26.2	7.8	NA	NA	53,024	42.6	27.8	14.9	34.0
Bowdoinham	2,921	44.9	49.7	26.4	7.1	--	2014	69,563	39.9	19.0	5.9	12.7
Ellsworth	7,916	43.6	48.6	29.5	7.8	2014	2014	49,737	46.0	28.3	16.3	42.2
Kennebunk	11,223	51.3	59.7	35.6	11.5	2015	2015	73,105	54.5	31.3	15.9	38.0
Paris	5,148	44.6	49.7	29.4	7.2	2015	2015	42,857	50.1	16.6	26.6	33.2
Portland	66,715	36.0	39.0	19.1	6.2	2014	2015	51,430	30.5	38.6	11.4	34.4

¹ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table SO101, Age and Sex. 5-year estimates

² AARP NAFSC is a national affiliate of WHO-GNAFCC. Municipalities that join AARP NAFSC are automatically eligible to join WHO-GNAFCC.

³ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table S1903, Median Income in the Past 12 Months (2017 Dollars), 5 Year Estimates.

⁴ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table B11006, Households by Presence of People 60+, 5 Year Estimates

⁵ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table B09020, Relationship by Household Type, 65+, 5 Year Estimates

⁶ Source: 2018 American Community Survey, Table B18101, Sex by Age by disability Status, 5 Year Estimates.

The focus of this study was on Brookline, MA; Ellsworth, ME, and Newport, VT. For a comparison of key political and demographic characteristics of the three communities, see Table 2. In 2012 Brookline became the first municipality in New England to join the WHO-GNAFCC. Since joining the network, Brookline has made age-friendly changes in most of the eight age-friendly domains (Weiss, 2014). In this study, Brookline provides an example of a well-established and well-developed age-friendly initiative. Dr. Frank Caro (formerly a faculty member in the UMass Boston Department of Gerontology) has been a primary facilitator of the age-friendly initiative in Brookline and has agreed to work with the researcher to describe the initiative and to identify other key informants. Because it is an example of a well-established AFC initiative, Brookline was the first case study completed.

Newport, Vermont was, in 2013, the first community in New England to join the AARP NAFSC. Ellsworth, Maine joined the AARP NAFSC in 2014. Both Newport and Ellsworth have a been members of the network for a long enough period to implement age-friendly changes, and, thus, can provide material for an exploration of how the AFC initiative was implemented and how age-friendly changes have been implemented.

Protection of Human Subjects

Prior to beginning the study, the researcher requested an expedited review from UMass Boston's IRB. The study was determined exempt from the need for approval from the IRB because it will only focus on the work people are doing on age-friendly initiatives. No questions were asked about the private lives of the people who agreed to be interviewed.

Much of the case record consisted of publicly available documents created for non-research purposes (e.g. meeting minutes, media articles about an AFC initiative, needs

Table 2: Selected Characteristics of Case Study Municipalities

	Brookline, Massachusetts	Newport, Vermont	Ellsworth, Maine
Total Population (2010) ¹	58,700	4,589	7,741
Percentage Households, urban ²	100%	82.8%	33.8%
Median Age ³	34.1	39.5	43.6
Old Age Dependency Ratio ³	18.5	21.6	25.2
% White, non-Hispanic ⁴	71.6	96.8	95.8
% Black, non-Hispanic ⁴	3.2	0.8	0.7
% Hispanic ⁴	5.5	0.4	1.3
% Other Race or Ethnicity ⁴	19.7	2.0	2.2
% total population < 200% FPL ⁵	20.7	46.2	32.7
% residents aged 65+, <200% FPL ⁵	19.8	41.1	34.3
per capita municipal spending	\$2711.01 ⁶	\$1940.56 ⁷	\$2905.60 ⁸
municipally sponsored senior center (Yes/No)	Yes ⁹	Yes ¹⁰	Yes ¹¹

¹ Source: 2010 US Census, Table DP-1, Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristic

² Source: 2010 US Census Table H2, Urban and Rural. Note: Here, “urban: combines urbanized areas and urban clusters. To qualify as an urban cluster, an area must have at least 500 per square mile.

³ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table SO101, Age and Sex. 5 year estimates

⁴ Source: 2018 American Community Survey, Table BO3002, Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race. 5 year estimates

⁵ Source: 2018 American Community Survey. Table B17024, Age by Ratio of Income to Poverty Level in the Past 12 Months, 5 Year Estimates.

⁶Source: Brookline, Mass (2015). Town of Brookline FY 2016 Program Budget. Retrieved from: <http://www.brooklinema.gov/DocumentCenter/Home/View/7060>

⁷Source: Newport, Vermont. (2014). City of Newport, Vermont: 2014 Annual report. Retrieved from: <http://newportvermont.org/documents/>

⁸Source: Ellsworth, Maine (2015). Adoption of Budget for Fiscal Year 2016. Retrieved from: cityofellsworthme.org

⁹Source: Brookline, Mass (2015). Town of Brookline FY 2016 Program Budget. Retrieved from: <http://www.brooklinema.gov/DocumentCenter/Home/View/7068>. Program budget increased by 1.5% in FY 2016. Total municipal funding: \$875,211. Senior Center Website: <http://www.brooklineseniorcenter.org/>. Senior center is a 510c3 organization that receives significant support from municipality.

¹⁰ Included items from City of Newport, Vermont: 2014 Annual Report: \$6300, Senior Center Director Salary; \$300 for events. Represented a 9.25% rise over FY 2013 budget.

¹¹ Ellsworth Maine contracts with Friends in Action, a 501c3 organization, to provide Senior Center Services in a renovated school owned by the town.

assessments, strategic plans). Key informant interviews were conducted to complement the publicly available data by providing the perspectives of people who are directly involved with a municipality's AFC initiative. Interviews were voluntary and limited to a discussion of the informant's experiences with the age-friendly initiative in a single municipality; there were no personal questions. Given the limited number of stakeholders involved with a single initiative, anonymity was not possible if the name of the community (or the region where it was located) was included in the report. Members of local age-friendly committees are often well known in the community. When the committee is municipally appointed, the names of committee member may be publicized on the municipal website and in the annual town or city report. All informants were asked if they wanted their name publicized in the report or if they preferred a pseudonym. They were, without an exception, proud of their role in the age-friendly effort in their community and wanted their name used. Interviews were, with the permission of the informant, voice recorded. The researcher transcribed all interviews.

Construction of the Case Record

In-depth comprehensive information from different sources is needed to construct a case record (Stake, 1995). Document review, observation of community meetings and/or events, and semi-structured interviews with key informants were used in this study. The same protocol was used to construct the case record for each AFC initiative. Initial contact was made through the chair of the age-friendly initiative. Jo Cooper, the Executive Director of Friends in Action and chair of the age-friendly committee, was the first contact with Ellsworth. In the case of Brookline, MA, Frank Caro, co-founder and chair of Brookline Community Aging Network (BrooklineCAN), was the initial contact. In Newport, Trish Sears, then chair of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Committee, was the first contact.

The person initially contacted in each municipality was asked to provide copies (electronic or paper) of publicly available documents, such as web or Facebook pages, planning department documents, needs assessment and long range planning documents specific to the age-friendly initiative, minutes from committee meetings, strategic plan, press releases, brochures, bylaws, and other public representations of the age-friendly initiative. The initial contact was also asked for a schedule of meetings pertinent to the AFC initiative, including meetings of the citizen's advisory group or other committee whose primary focus is implementation of age-friendly changes. At least one meeting was observed in each case study site. Extensive field notes were taken and were stored in a locked file cabinet.

Each case record included between six and seven semi-structured interviews with participants in the community's AFC initiative. The initial contact person as well as two to three key people involved with the AFC initiative (opponents or proponents) were selected for interviews based on mention in publicly available documents. After each interview, the interviewee was asked to identify people who played a significant role in the initiative, either as proponents or as opponents, and who fit into one of the following categories:

1. One or two members of the AFC committee. Interviewees were selected for their participation on the committee and for their role (if there was one) as age-friendly advocates before the community joined an AFC network.
2. One or two older residents. To understand the role of older residents, as one stakeholder group, in planning, implementing, and maintaining the age-friendly initiatives before and after the municipality joins a network, it was important to know how older residents who are involved in the initiative perceive age-friendly changes.

3. One or two local elected officials and/or municipal employees who were responsible for enacting AFC. The WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC stress the importance of municipal buy-in for successful implementation of AFC. Thus, it was vital to hear how elected officials and municipal employees were involved with the initiative.

The study plan was to include one or two people who opposed the AFC initiative. When a municipality contemplates a new initiative, some community residents and stakeholders support the change, while others oppose it. To learn about the policy, social and economic environments of the three case studies, it is vital to hear the perspective of people who opposed joining WHO-GNAFCC and/or AARP NAFSC. However, it was not possible to find people who were opposed to joining a network. One reason may have been that referrals came from people who were involved in the age-friendly work—in one way or another. In Newport, one of the interviews was with John Wilson, a selectman who initially opposed joining the AARP NAFSC. However, at the time of the interview, he was supportive of the work. In Brookline and Ellsworth, all the interviews were conducted with people who were at least marginally supportive of the work.

Some of the targeted interviewees represented more than one of the categories. For example, in Brookline, Frank Caro is an older resident of the community and co-chair of the town-sponsored AFC committee. Thus, one person fulfilled the criteria for more than one targeted interview group in each case. The guides for the semi-structured interviews were based on the conceptual model and extant research about AFC. Table 3 lists the interview questions.

Table 3: Semi-Structured Interview topics by selected interviewee roles in an AFC initiative and their relationship to research questions

Interview Topic	Interviewee type¹²	Research Questions
History of resident involvement in community initiatives.	1 - 5	1
History of age-friendly initiative implementation in the community and the decision to join an AFC network.	1 - 5	desc. of AFC
Place of AFC initiative in municipal government (department where housed, title of staff person who has primary responsibility for AFC)	1, 4	desc. of AFC
Benefits and drawbacks of joining a formal initiative (AARP/WHO)	1 - 5	desc. of AFC
Presence/absence of a policy entrepreneur	1, 2, 4, 5	2
Positive or negative effect of policy entrepreneur on municipal decision making about joining an AFC network	1, 2, 4, 5	2
Positive or negative effect of policy entrepreneur on planning, implementing, and maintaining the age-friendly changes implemented	1, 2, 4, 5	2
Positive or negative effect of stakeholder groups and organizations on municipal decision making about joining an AFC network	1 - 5	3
Positive or negative effect of stakeholder groups and organizations on planning, implementing, and maintaining the age-friendly changes implemented	1 - 5	3
Creation of citizens' advisory committee	1, 2, 4	desc. of AFC
Major accomplishments	1 - 5	desc. of AFC
Use of community resources (human, financial, and infrastructure) to support the initiative	1 - 5	4
Source of funding for initiatives	1, 2, 4	4
Challenges to sustainability	1, 2, 4	desc. of AFC

¹² 1=initial contact in each municipality; 2=member citizen's advisory committee; 3=older residents; 4=municipal employee; 5=individual opposed to joining an AFC-network

Data Analysis

The final case report is based on multiple case study approach—which included three single case studies and cross-case analysis of the three case studies. Cresswell (2013) suggests that single or multi-case analysis begins with a narrative description of each case. The narrative for each of the three cases was based on all of the materials (participant observation, archival documents and publicly available descriptions of the initiative, and interviews) gathered about a single municipal AFC initiative and will include the following:

1. a summary of the community context;
2. a chronological description of the initiative, including age-friendly changes made to date;
3. identification of the policy entrepreneur and a description of how the policy entrepreneur developed support for the initiative;
4. a description of changes that are planned but have not been implemented;
5. broad descriptions of the role of older residents, service providers, and municipal employees in identifying, planning, implementing, and fostering age-friendly changes;
6. a broad description of how the community prioritized identified changes;
7. from the combined perspective of residents, municipal employees, and service providers, a summary of the advantages and disadvantages of implementing age-friendly changes in the community; and,
8. a description of how the community has funded age-friendly initiatives.

Individual case analysis developed a deep understanding of each case before trying to understand the larger phenomenon of age-friendly decision making about joining a network and implementing changes. Data gathered about each single case was analyzed for trends and patterns to identify themes within the case. The goal was to provide situated case-specific answers to the broad research questions that reflect the context of each community.

Cross-case analysis of data began after the three single case narratives were completed. Stake (2006) suggests that cross-case analysis begins with a review of all the data gathered for all three cases--the transcripts of the interviews, notes from the participant observation of all three single cases, and archival documents gathered. The data was analyzed for themes using a coding scheme based on the narrative description of the individual cases, on the literature review, and on the conceptual model that guided this study. During the analysis, data was organized into themes, patterns experienced across the three municipal AFC initiatives that are relevant to what Stake terms the “quintain”, or social phenomenon being studied (Stake, 2006). In this study, the quintain refers to the phenomenon of age-friendly decision-making. The analysis process, as described by Stake (2006) begins with identification of significant statements or observations. All the significant statements were interpreted into meaning units and grouped into themes to describe the phenomenon of municipal decision making about joining and age-friendly network and about implementing changes across the three municipalities included in this study.

Methodological Integrity

Yin (2003, p. 34) outlines how validity of case study research can be shown. He proposed three types of validity that are essential for case study research: construct validity, external validity, and internal validity.

Validity

Construct validity is challenging for any case study research, in part because the researcher's understanding of how to measure a phenomenon—such as age-friendly decision-making—is subjective. Two points in age-friendly decision making were explored. The first was whether a community opted to include an aging lens in planning and community development. The second was whether communities implemented changes after joining a network.

Although a community does not have to join a network to adopt age-friendly planning, joining was used to operationalize decision-making about adopting age-friendly planning. A review of the application and the requirements for a letter of commitment that are required to join AARP NAFSC and WHO-GNAFCC showed that a community could not join a network without “showing that the elected officials in your village, town, city, county or state, are committed to including an aging lens in municipal planning” (AARP, 2014). A review of the letters of commitment written by all three communities confirmed that each elected body committed to age-friendly planning when they applied to WHO and/or AARP for membership in an age-friendly network.

Measuring implementation of changes depended on people's perception of change, rather than on a quantifiable information. Data was not gathered about how many or what

kinds of changes resulted from the work. Rather, the researcher explored whether people perceived that changes had been implemented and what resources were mobilized for advocacy efforts or to implement age-friendly services and programs.

External validity is enhanced by using existing theory to frame a study. Resource mobilization theory and Kingdon's policy change model structured the exploration of the two aspects of age-friendly decision making that were explored. Combining the theories allowed the exploration of municipal decision making about age-friendly communities from raising awareness about joining a network to implementing changes. Even though the two theories were combined, the conceptual model was firmly based in existing theory. The conceptual model was applied to each of the three cases individually, which was the basis of the cross-case analysis. Using theory to create the conceptual model enhanced external validity.

External validity was also enhanced by the study design. Yin (2009) asserts the importance of using replication logic to choose the cases included in a multiple case study (p. 41-2). Each case is the equivalent of a "whole" study, not of a single survey respondent and, thus, when carefully, chosen, replicates the other single case studies in a multiple case study analysis. The three cases included in this study were chosen based on criteria inherent in the conceptual model. Communities had to be members of an age-friendly network and had to be members long enough to have, reasonably, implemented changes. Replication logic was used to choose the cases—with the intent that each would predict similar results, which enhanced the external validity of this study.

Internal validity is enhanced through study design and through analytic methods (Barbour, 2001). The study was designed to reduce threats to internal validity. Purposive

sampling of key informants within a single case study, for example, can be used to maximize the different perspectives that inform analysis of each case and reduce the errors that are caused when the researcher depends on key informants to relay what happened. This study included six to seven key informant interviews in each municipality and included the perceptions of older residents, municipal employees, and other community-specific stakeholders. By including different perspectives of each case, the analysis reflected a diversity of experiences moving age-friendly onto the decision-making agenda and implementing changes in the community.

Four analytic methods—data triangulation; member checking; reflexivity; and keeping an in-depth, detailed audit trail—enhanced the internal validity of the findings (Cresswell, 2013). Data triangulation requires that the researcher gather different types or sources of data to answer the research questions. (Barbour, 2001). Different types of data represent different perspectives on the case and different approaches to answering to the research questions. Three types of data—archival documents, passive observations of committee meetings and/or public meetings where a municipal age-friendly initiative was discussed, and interviews—were used in this study. Qualitative research is, inherently, relative. It was expected that the different types of data would be complementary and not provide identical information, thus deepening the understanding of the research questions while also confirming the inferences made by the researcher (Stake, 1995).

Member checking is frequently used by qualitative researchers to improve the accuracy, credibility, and validity of inferences made. One method of member checking is to ask participants to provide feedback to the researcher about the authenticity of the final report

(Creswell, 2013). In this study, member checking of the individual case studies gave in each municipality an opportunity to provide critical feedback about the case study that describes their municipality's experience joining a network of AFC and making age-friendly changes. Each person interviewed was given a copy of the case study that included their experience. Interviewees were given the opportunity to provide feedback via email or to schedule a phone call with the researcher. At the discretion of the chair of the age-friendly committee, individual case studies were also shared with the wider committee. Both Brookline and Newport requested that the full committee review the case study. In both municipalities, the researcher visited the committee to hear their feedback. All the feedback received from stakeholders about a single case studies was recorded in field notes and was included in a re-write of the case study, based on the feedback. The final case report for any one municipality reflected the comments received from stakeholders and, in Newport and Brookline, the full age-friendly committee.

Checking the researcher's emerging understanding of the three single case studies against the perceptions and experiences of stakeholders limited the biases that the researcher brought to the study and refined the case study. Additionally, the researcher used reflexivity, examining the biases and preconceptions brought to each stakeholder interview and to the analysis of the data, to enhance validity throughout the study process—from the creation of interview questions, to awareness of how the research relationship with stakeholders affects the data provided for each case, and to single and cross-case analyses (Cresswell, 2013; Stake, 1995).

Since 2012, the researcher has worked with Bowdoinham, Maine to create a more aging friendly community. During that time, she has developed an understanding of what it takes to create a more aging friendly community in that context and has developed biases and insights. During the writing of this study, she worked with age-friendly communities in Maine, northern New England and the rural US as part of her work with the AARP Livability team, AARP Maine, and the Tri-State Learning Collaborative on Aging. In preparation for this study, the researcher has read extant literature about developing AFC. While the researcher tried to put aside her work-related experience and learnings from the literature review when she was creating individual case records, a complete block of knowledge and biases was impossible. Thus, member checking was essential to create a case study that reflected the experiences of the municipality as authentically as possible.

A detailed, in-depth audit trail was kept throughout the study. All written communication was archived, and a log was kept of all contacts made with municipal stakeholders. Records were kept about the context of all documents gathered (when retrieved, how located, and any other contextual details). Similar records were kept about passive participant observation (who arranged the researcher to attend the meeting, location, whether researcher was passive or at any point became an active participant, etc.).

Reliability

Reliability refers to the possibility that another researcher could complete the same multiple case study and come to similar conclusions. Yin (2003) posits two aspects of data collection that enhance reliability—the case study protocol and case study database. The researcher followed standard case study protocols, as described by Yin (2009) and Stake

(2006). The details of the study protocol—the types of data that were gathered—was informed by the questions that guided this study. The study database included citations to the types of data gathered for this study. Yin (2009, p. 123) refers to those linkages as maintaining a chain of evidence, which enhances reliability.

A case study database makes it possible for another person to look for data that informs the final case study report. The researcher used excel to organize interview notes by name of person interviewed and factors in the conceptual model (as well as other themes that appeared that were not expected by the conceptual model). Excerpts from field notes and extant documents were coded according to community and factors in the conceptual model. While writing an individual case report and when writing the cross case analysis, notes, excerpts from documents, and interviews were occasionally re-coded to reflect the researcher's emerging understanding of the themes that arose.

Summary

During the three years that this study was conducted, the researcher interviewed 19 stakeholders in three communities about their experiences with age-friendly community development, gathered primary and secondary documents about the work in those communities, and observed one age-friendly meeting in each community. Member checking was used to make sure that the researcher's perception of each individual case lined up with participant's experience. As an extension of member checking, in two communities, the researcher facilitated group member checking discussions with the age-friendly committees. Analysis of transcribed interviews, extant documents, and participant observation of meetings was completed without software but was aided by creation of the study database.

Analysis was structured by the conceptual model. For each single case, themes—surprising or expected—in each factor in the conceptual model were described. The themes across three cases in each factor were then compared and contrasted in the cross-case analysis. The aim was to explore factors in the political, problem, and policy streams that affected decision making by local elected officials about joining a network and to learn what resources age-friendly teams mobilized to effect change.

The next three chapters present the individual case studies for each community. Chapter seven presents the cross-case analysis.

CHAPTER 4

CASE ONE: BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

Context

Brookline, Massachusetts is home to approximately 59,000 people (ACS, 2017, Table S0101) concentrated in an area of 6.8 square miles. The town borders Boston and is served by the MBTA green line, which gives easy access for Brookline residents to go into Boston without the need to use a private car. The median age is 34.5; 21% of residents are age 60 or older (ACS, 2017, Table S0101). Mel Kleckner, Brookline Town Administrator, characterizes the community as “a very socially conscious liberal community” where residents are actively involved in the running of the town—as elected town meeting members, members of municipal committees and voluntary boards, and volunteers for town departments (personal communication, December 01, 2015). The town has a representative town meeting form of municipal legislature with an elected select board and town administrator appointed to carry out the policies adopted by the select board.

Brookline has a thriving retail center and a wealth of cultural and recreational opportunities that serve the needs of residents of all ages. The northern part of Brookline is more densely populated than the southern part of the town. North Brookline offers a mixture

of business, retail, residential, and green space that makes it an attractive place to live for people who want urban convenience with suburban charm. The more than 50 parks and open spaces in Brookline mean that most residents are within walking distance of green space (Daly, Dobek & Caro, 2012). Many of the green spaces feature wide, even paths, accessible toilets, and benches. South Brookline is less densely populated, with single-family homes and little retail development. Although MBTA bus service includes two routes in south Brookline, people living in the area are more dependent on personal cars than their peers in north Brookline who have a variety of transportation options.

The Town of Brookline has a long history of applying an aging lens when it makes policy or infrastructure changes that influence the quality of life of older residents. This section describes the Brookline Council on Aging, Brookline Senior Center, Brookline Community Aging Network (BrooklineCAN) and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. The Brookline Council on Aging, among other duties, oversees the work of the Brookline Senior Center. BrooklineCAN is a non-profit membership organization that is run by volunteers who provide information to help their members remain engaged in all aspects of community life. BrooklineCAN partners with the Brookline Council on Aging, the Brookline Senior Center and other organizations to make it easier for Brookline residents, members and non-members, to be as actively involved with the community as they want to be. The Age-Friendly Cities Committee is appointed by the select board to oversee Brookline's Age-Friendly City initiative. There is considerable overlap between the members of the four organizations. However, each has a distinct role so is described separately.

Brookline Council on Aging (COA)

The Brookline COA is one of the oldest in the state. One of its primary responsibilities is operating the Brookline Senior Center. Members include representatives of the select board and several municipal departments—the library, housing authority, public health department, school committee, and recreation department. Twenty-eight Brookline residents serve as members, associate members, or honorary members. The inclusion of other municipal departments on the COA provides the opportunity for the departments to work collaboratively with the COA on initiatives. The Council on Aging/Brookline Senior Center is consulted when changes (e.g. in the types of carts issued for recycling, introduction of automated parking meters, improvements to municipal parks and gardens) are planned. Current age-friendly work of municipal departments is featured on Age-friendly Cities TV, a project of the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee.

Municipal departments, such as the Public Library, Health Department, and Department of Public Works, have also taken the lead and created programs and services to encourage Brookline’s older residents to be active in the community. For example, the Public Library of Brookline has been offering a Thursday afternoon “Senior Cinema” program (now known as the “Movie Matinee”) for more than 40 years (A. Reed, personal communication, December 08, 2015). Brookline has a rich legacy of parks and green spaces whose lighting, benches and wide paths have been welcoming to people of all ages and abilities for more than 50 years (E Gallentine, personal communication, December 16, 2015). The Brookline Public Health Department has offered education and wellness services geared to maximize the health of older residents for more than 20 years (C Chanyasulkit, personal

communication, December 16, 2015). The collaboration of town departments on issues of interest to older residents has worked for the benefit of residents of all ages and abilities.

Brookline Senior Center

The Town offers its older residents well-developed services to support the diverse needs of the older population, most of which are coordinated by the Council on Aging and Brookline Senior Center. In addition to social, cultural, lifelong learning, and recreational opportunities, the center provides caregiver support programs, access to income-based supports, and services and programs to help people maintain or improve their health. The Brookline Elderbus provides free fixed route transportation (suggested donation: \$0.50/ride) and the Senior Center van provides door-to-door transportation to the Brookline Senior Center. Other initiatives include the Hoarding Task Force, which has developed materials to help a person overcome hoarding or that can be used by a friend or relative to help a person who hoards; the TRIPPS (Transportation Resources, Information, Planning and Partnership for Seniors) program, which provides a guide to local transportation options and helps people become more comfortable using public transportation by matching them with a volunteer to accompany people over 60 who are trying public transportation; nutritional programs; and wellness events—such as the annual flu clinics, blood pressure, podiatry, and sugar screenings. For adults transitioning into retirement, the Senior Center offers programming and resources to develop an encore career or to find meaningful volunteer work. The work of local artists is displayed, at no cost to the artist in *Gallery 93*, on the third floor of the Brookline Senior Center. Given the breadth of programming offered, it is not surprising that the Brookline Senior Center is a thriving mecca for older residents.

One of the challenges faced by the Brookline Senior Center staff is attracting residents from South Brookline to the center. The lack of public transportation from South Brookline to North Brookline as well as the shortage of parking near the Brookline Senior Center make it harder for residents from South Brookline to visit the center than it is for people who live in North Brookline. Although many senior services and programs are offered at the Brookline Senior Center, a few activities—a book discussion group and occasional social events for older residents—are scheduled at the Putterham Branch library, which can be more convenient for residents of South Brookline than getting to the Brookline Senior Center.

BrooklineCAN

BrooklineCAN has its roots in Aging Well at Home-North Brookline, a program piloted by Jewish Family and Children's Services (JF&CS), in collaboration with the Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging, in one North Brookline neighborhood (Jewish Family and Children's Service, 2012). The program, loosely based on the Beacon Hill Village in Boston, sought to develop an age-friendly neighborhood by encouraging interactions with neighbors, providing help with simple household tasks, and offering referrals to existing services—all of which was coordinated by a “community liaison,” who maintained ongoing contact with each participant. Seeing the benefits of the program for Brookline's older residents, a grass-roots group of interested residents formed to consider extending a similar program throughout Brookline.

Informal meetings that led to the founding of BrooklineCAN began in 2010 in response to the JF&CS pilot. The purpose of the meetings was to build on the lessons learned

during the pilot and create a sustainable neighborhood-based support network. Residents and aging services providers who attended the meetings recognized that there were a lot of programs and services sponsored by the Brookline Senior Center and Brookline Council on Aging to help older residents live their best lives but that many older residents were not aware of them. A primary goal of BrooklineCAN was to encourage older people to remain active participants in the social, cultural, and civic activities in Brookline by providing access to information and by advising the town about what older residents need and want to feel safe and secure aging in Brookline. The mission of BrooklineCAN is to:

...promote services and activities to enable independent living and improved quality of life. Its principal purpose is to ensure that older Brookline residents remain a vital part of the town's social, cultural, and civic life. BrooklineCAN works with town departments, businesses, and other organizations to make the town a better place to live for all Brookline residents (BrooklineCAN, 2013a)

A monthly newsletter keeps members up-to-date about local happenings and highlights different resources. Educational forums are open to the public and cover topics of interest to older residents. The all-volunteer organization frequently collaborates with the Council on Aging/Brookline Senior Center. Ruthann Dobek, executive director of the Brookline Senior Center is co-chair, with Frank Caro, of BrooklineCAN's steering committee. Community partners include several municipal departments-- the Police Department, Public Library, Recreation Department, and Department of Planning and Community Development (BrooklineCAN, 2013b). Membership is reasonably priced to be as inclusive as possible

(\$25/individuals; \$40/household; \$10 for households with an annual income of \$35,000 or less) (BrooklineCAN, 2013c). Members have access to a list of vetted service providers. Additional resources developed by BrooklineCAN include a list of public access toilets in Brookline and a description of apartment buildings with elevators. Both guides were developed with the help and support of the municipality. For example, the Guide to Residential Buildings with Elevators was a collaborative effort of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and the Brookline Board of Assessors. BrooklineCAN was launched April 2011 (BrooklineCAN, 2013a) and currently has approximately 350 members (BrooklineCAN Membership Committee, July 13, 2016).

Age-Friendly Brookline

In November 2012 the Town of Brookline applied to join the WHO Global Network of Age-Friendly Cities and Communities (WHO-GNAFCC). The application was submitted by the select board, at the joint request of the Council on Aging and BrooklineCAN, supported by several municipal departments, including Board of Assessors, Library, Health and Human Services, Planning and Community Development, Public Health, Public Works, Fire, Police, and Recreation and Leisure Services (Daly, Dobek & Caro, 201). The application listed many existing strengths of Brookline and detailed a strategic action plan to make Brookline an even better place to live, work, and play, especially for older residents.

In January 2013, the Brookline Select Board appointed 11 residents to formally serve on the Age-Friendly Cities Committee (Weiss, 2014). The committee is co-chaired by Nancy Daily, representing the select board and Frank Caro, Co-Chair of BrooklineCAN and Chair of its Livable Community Advocacy Committee. The purpose of the Age-Friendly Cities

committee is to oversee implementation of the strategic plan presented in the WHO-GNAFCC application and to advise the Board of Selectman about policy and infrastructure changes that can make it easier, safer, and more comfortable for Brookline residents to stay in the community as they age. The committee works to raise awareness of age-friendly planning by municipal departments and to create bridges between departments working on similar age-friendly issues.

The Age-Friendly Cities committee has addressed many of the issues in the 2012 application. One area of focus for their early work was to increase awareness of existing services and to advocate for infrastructure and policies to make it easier for people to remain fully engaged in the life of the community. To increase awareness of the services that different municipal departments provide for older residents, the committee sponsors a public access television program, Age-friendly Cities TV (Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee, March 11, 2015). In 2013, a housing forum was held with panelists who presented a variety of housing models to meet the need for additional market rate and affordable housing for older residents (Weiss, 2016). The Age-friendly Community Committee advocated for continuation of zoning codes that allow accessory dwelling units in the residential/agricultural district (Brookline Age-friendly Community Committee, June 05, 2014). Many communities in Massachusetts have a tax work-off program for older residents who meet income and asset qualifications. The Age-friendly Community Committee sponsored a proposed change in the guidelines governing the program to allow more residents to participate (Weiss, 2016). Many of the people who are qualified for the program

choose to work at the library or at the Brookline Senior Center, increasing their opportunities to feel a sense of purpose and belongingness in the community.

The committee has focused on pedestrian safety and accessibility issues to make it easier for people with mobility limitations to access green spaces and recreational opportunities. It has advocated for increased crossing times at intersections controlled by stop lights and for better enforcement of regulations that prevent bicycles from using sidewalks in commercial areas (Brookline Age-friendly Community Committee, July 14, 2015). A central pedestrian safety issue during the winter months was enforcement of existing regulations that required residents to clear the sidewalks in front of their properties in the commercial area. The Age-Friendly Cities Committee, working with BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee, brought a warrant to Town Meeting that required the town of Brookline to enforce the clear sidewalk regulation within 24 hours of a storm (Brookline Age-friendly Community Committee, May 01, 2014). After passage of the Sidewalk Snow Clearing Warrant, Mel Kleckner, the Town Administrator, led a working group to develop protocols for implementation (Brookline Hub, 2015). Two members of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee were included in the working group. The Town Administrator and heads of municipal departments, the select board, and appointed members of volunteer boards have been firm supporters of the age-friendly initiative. Without their support, it would not have been possible for the Age-Friendly Cities Committee to successfully advocate for the many age-friendly changes that have been implemented since 2012.

Participants

Six people who are part of the age-friendly initiative in Brookline participated in the study. Interviews were conducted between November 17, 2015 and January 06, 2016. Initial contact was made with Frank Caro, one of the co-chairs of the Age-friendly Community Committee. A review of press releases about Brookline's age-friendly initiative and documents on the BrooklineCAN and Town of Brookline website suggested that he is a policy entrepreneur, who has worked steadfastly to raise awareness of the strengths of Brookline to meet the diverse needs of its aging population and to advocate for improvements that will make Brookline an even better place to live. During an initial interview with Frank Caro, the researcher learned of the role played by two key municipal supporters of the initiative—Mel Kleckner, town administrator, and Ruthann Dobek, executive director of the Council on Aging. Both agreed to participate in a semi-structured interview. Frank Caro invited the researcher to attend the Age-friendly Community Committee meeting on December 02, 2015. At that meeting, contact was made with Anne Reed, assistant director for administration at the Brookline Public Library, Roberta Winitzer and Matthew Weiss, two Brookline residents appointed to the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. All three were willing to share their insights about Brookline's age-friendly initiative. One additional participant in the Age-friendly Community Committee, who was approached for an interview, was not able to participate. None of the participants requested a pseudonym and wanted their names included in the report.

Frank Caro is co-chair of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee, a founding member of BrooklineCAN, and chair of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee.

For his work advocating for age-friendly changes in Brookline, Frank Caro received the Massachusetts Gerontology Association Louis Lowry Award and was recognized by the Brookline Foundation as an “Unsung Hero.” He has also been honored by the Brookline Senior Center and, in 2015, received the Massachusetts Councils on Aging “Innovator of the Year” award. Frank Caro is a policy entrepreneur who has worked tirelessly to place the need for age-friendly changes on the policy agenda of town departments and the select board. His knowledge of Brookline, the needs of older residents, workings of municipal government, and understanding of aging services provided important context for Brookline’s age-friendly initiative. Frank Caro built momentum for the initiative by using the social capital he had developed over several years as an elected member of town meeting to approach department heads and to work collaboratively with the select board and town administrator.

Ruthann Dobek has worked in different capacities at the Senior Center for more than 25 years. She and Frank Caro were among the founding members of BrooklineCAN. The Brookline Senior Center was one of the town departments that signed support for Brookline’s application to the WHO-GNAFCC. In 2008, her work with Brookline’s older residents was recognized when she was awarded “Social Worker of the Year” by the National Association of Social Workers and, in 2015, with Frank Caro, she received the Massachusetts Councils on Aging “Innovator of the Year” award. Ruthann Dobek voiced strong support for the Age-Friendly Cities Committee even though she does not participate in the monthly meetings. She indicated that joining the WHO-GNAFCC expanded the volunteer base of the Brookline Senior Center/COA and expanded town-wide advocacy for creating an age-friendly community, which benefitted the Brookline Senior Center/COA.

Mel Kleckner has worked as Town Administrator in Brookline for six years and has been working in similar positions in Massachusetts for 30 years. He provided valuable insight into the motivation of town administration to support formal membership in the WHO-GNAFCC. Mel Kleckner stressed that Brookline is a very active community and residents take a keen interest in the various town initiatives. He stated that the largest benefit of joining the WHO-GNAFCC was the Age-Friendly Cities committee, which is consulted by the town departments about changes that may have an impact on the health and well-being of older residents. In their role as advisors, the committee also fosters collaborations between departments. He surmised that one reason the collaborations have been successful is that department heads were aware of his support for the age-friendly work. As one example, Mel Kleckner described his involvement in the work group to develop an enforcement mechanism for the town regulation requiring that property owners in the commercial district keep the sidewalks in front of their properties free of ice and snow. He said that collaborations on age-friendly issues had encouraged departments to increase collaborative efforts on other issues, as well.

Matt Weiss is an older resident of Brookline, who volunteer his time as an active member of BrooklineCAN, serving on the Steering Committee, Livable Community Advocacy Committee, and on the Communication Committee. He represents BrooklineCAN on the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee and hosts a public access TV program about the age-friendly initiative in Brookline. Soon after his retirement in 2012, Matt Weiss was recruited by Frank Caro to become involved with BrooklineCAN and the Age-friendly Community Committee. Matt Weiss described Frank Caro as a “force of nature,” who

recruits volunteers by presenting them with ideas that excite them and by encouraging people to develop their own interest areas in the age-friendly initiative. Matt Weiss emphasized that one of the key roles of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee is to encourage communication and collaboration among city departments. One purpose of the Age-friendly City TV program is to highlight what departments are doing to increase access to social and recreational opportunities and how municipal government is working collaboratively to enhance the well-being of older Brookline residents.

Roberta Winitzer recently retired from 12 years of service on the Public Library of Brookline Board of Trustees and is co-leader of a library book group sponsored by the Brookline Council on Aging. She is also an associate member of the Brookline Council on Aging, member of the BrooklineCAN Steering committee, executive producer of the Age-friendly City TV program, member of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee, and member of the Devotion School Building Committee. Her long history serving on citizen boards in Brookline gave Roberta Winitzer a strong understanding of the kinds of community connections that were needed to keep the age-friendly initiative moving forward. She posited that the Age-Friendly Cities Committee had accomplished many of its goals by working judiciously with town departments to raise awareness of the need to include an age-friendly lens when planning new initiatives and infrastructure updates. Roberta Winitzer shared that leadership of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee uses the opportunity created by their appointment by the select board to educate municipal departments about planning for an aging population and to bring departments together to collaborate on making changes identified as desirable by the committee.

Anne Reed works at the main branch of the Public Library of Brookline, located at 361 Washington Street. She was appointed to the Age-Friendly Cities Committee by the select board to represent the library. Although Anne Reed is the most junior member of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee; she brings a longer understanding of the initiative because of her connection with Roberta Winitzer (who, as a Library Trustee, represented the library on the Age-friendly Community Committee and was in frequent collaboration with Anne Reed about increasing the age friendliness of the Main Branch of the Public Library of Brookline as well as the Coolidge Corner and Putterham Branches). Anne Reed shared several age-friendly changes that increase accessibility of the library. She indicated that she consistently brings new programming, such as loaning out decorative cake pans and the Book Bike program, to the Age-Friendly Cities Committee to increase awareness of the Committee about age-friendly changes being made at the library and to get feedback from the committee about ways to make specific initiatives, such as the re-design of the Putterham branch gardens, even more aging friendly.

Themes: Kingdon's Policy Change Model

Kingdon's policy change model provides a framework to understand how the problem, political, and policy streams were aligned in Brookline to create a window of opportunity for the policy entrepreneur to effectively advocate with grass-roots activists, town departments, and the Brookline Select Board to adopt an age-friendly cities program. This section explores key factors in the three streams and the role of the policy entrepreneur in bringing membership in the WHO-GNAFCC to the attention of town departments, and, ultimately, to the Brookline Select Board.

Problem Stream

Kingdon's policy change model suggests that a municipality is more likely to decide to join the WHO-GNAFCC when there is agreement about effective and sustainable ways to address a well-defined problem. Broadly, the BrooklineCAN steering committee sought to make the community more livable and came to believe that the only way to accomplish the goal was to embed an awareness of age-friendly planning into the way all the departments within town government conducted everyday decision-making.

Selective framing. To bring joining the WHO-GNAFCC to the municipal decision-making agenda, the policy entrepreneur had to selectively frame the problem for two audiences. The first was stakeholders who were already doing age-friendly work or who may be future participants in an age-friendly initiative. The second was elected and appointed municipal officials. For the first audience, it was essential that the policy entrepreneur presented a definition of the problem that supported the existing age-friendly initiatives in the community. He did this by bringing together older residents and organizations that worked with older residents to identify community needs. The second frame of the problem stream was developed for elected officials and focused on building on community values and celebrating accomplishments. The "problem" was gaining recognition for the commitment the town had made to age-friendly community development and expanding the community value that Brookline is a community that cares for all its residents to explicitly include older people.

When the policy entrepreneur brought together stakeholders to identify the problem that joining an age-friendly community could address, two specific problems were identified:

(1) the need for Brookline residents to know about the services, programs, and activities available to support their desire to age in place; and, (2) the need for environmental supports to encourage older residents to remain actively engaged in the life of the community.

Although the need for services was being addressed through the Brookline Committee on Aging and the Brookline Senior Center, many residents were not aware of what the Senior Center and other social service organizations provided. The advocates realized that changes in infrastructure and policy could not be realized without the cooperation of municipal government.

Information and education. A prominent theme in the interviews and in a review of documents was the need to find more ways to educate Brookline residents about the services that are offered to help people live their best lives. From its inception, the efforts of BrooklineCAN have been intentionally planned to complement the work of the Brookline Senior Center. One of the findings of the JF&CS Aging Well at Home-North Brookline pilot was that, although the Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging offered services to help older people to maximize their well-being and enjoy the best health possible, they were under-utilized because people did not know about them. The pilot project served about 70 residents in one neighborhood who were given access to a community liaison to help them with simple household tasks and connect them to services, many of which were offered through the Brookline Senior Center/COA. When the pilot project ended, Frank Caro invited people to his home to talk about ways to make the program sustainable and to reach a larger target group. His goal was for a Brookline-wide initiative that would link residents to

existing services and provide needed services that were not offered elsewhere. One of the people invited to attend an organizational meeting of the group was Ruthann Dobek.

So, I went to that meeting just because one of the other major issues, and I think you will find this everywhere, is that people don't know what you are already doing. And that's huge. That's another benefit of age-friendly because that's another way to educate the community. The community has no idea that there are already meals on wheels and homecare, all these other services, until they need it and even then, they don't... so anyway, I went bringing our resource guide because many of the things people were looking for already existed.

Starting with the first organizational meetings that led to the founding of BrooklineCAN, there was agreement that communication and information was a problem and that it could be best addressed by creating multiple paths for residents to find information about what the many things that municipal departments are doing to enhance livability.

BrooklineCAN, with the support of the Brookline Council on Aging and other municipal departments, successfully advocated for Brookline's Select Board to vote to join the WHO-GNAFCC on June 06, 2012. As part of the application process, Nancy Daly (select board liaison to the Council on Aging), Ruthann Dobek, and Frank Caro wrote *Age-friendly Brookline: An assessment of Brookline's age-friendly features and plans to pursue additional age-friendly features*. The action agenda proposed in the document included "more effective dissemination of information." The document describes how existing programs were getting

word out about services and explains that “the Age-Friendly Cities agenda...has already increased communication among staff members in various departments on matters involving older residents”. However, it acknowledges that, although there is increasing cooperation among departments, “there is a wide-spread sense that there are many offerings for seniors in Brookline, the challenge is how to let seniors know these programs exist.” The document posits that “residents often need to receive information repeatedly from multiple sources before they absorb it fully.” To increase effectiveness of communication methods, the action agenda proposes a “multidepartment collaboration on information dissemination” that will use different types of media and will stress mutual sharing of information about programs and services offered to town residents to make sure that residents can easily find information about services and learn about local activities. All the municipal departments that signed the letter of support that was part of the WHO-GNAFCC application adopted the plan as part of their ongoing communication planning.

Age-friendly is the norm. Making age-friendly planning part of the normal way that all the municipal departments in the Town of Brookline do business was one of the reasons that Frank Caro was interested in joining the WHO-GNAFCC. The BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee successfully advocated for age-friendly changes and developed strong relationships with municipal departments in the process. However, each development of age-friendly infrastructure or policy change had to be approached separately. While department heads, overall, welcomed the advocacy efforts, there was no municipal authority behind the efforts of the advocates. Department heads could listen to and implement the suggestions of the committee or they could ignore the issue that the advocates

brought to them. Frank Caro explained that the WHO-GNAFCC membership was useful to the committee to change the conversation with departments heads “so that it wasn’t just that they were being cooperative with the kind of advocacy efforts that we were bringing to them but that it was a little bit stronger for them, that it would be built in to what they would do on a regular basis, trying to be age-friendly.”

Political Stream

Kingdon’s policy change model posits that decision making about joining an AFC may be influenced by the degree of support for age-friendly changes in municipal government and among citizens. In Brookline, the decision to join WHO-GNAFCC was made by the select board, with the support of the Mel Kleckner and 11 town department heads who signed the application. Aside from the strong support of advocates involved with BrooklineCAN—particularly by the Livable Community Advocacy Committee—there was little citizen engagement in the decision to join WHO-GNAFCC.

Recognition. Support by the Town Administrator and by the Brookline Select board was garnered through the support of the town departments and because joining the WHO-GNAFCC was perceived as well-deserved recognition for the accomplishments the town had already made. Mel Kleckner, town administrator, described why he supported joining the network: “What the World Health Organization created, in addition to the recognition for the work we were doing, was credibility and a sort of framework so we weren’t making things up as we went along.” The combination of recognition for the work already accomplished and framing for age-friendly work moving forward was key to support by the town administrator and the select board. The theme of “recognition” was continued when the

Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee submitted an action plan to accompany the application to join the network. The press release stated, in part:

“Brookline’s plan emphasizes the Town’s many existing age-friendly features, including its housing stock, transportation, municipal services, health and social services, educational and cultural resources, opportunities for residents to participate in community life, and its well-educated population” (Brookline CAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee, 2013).

The BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy committee, which authored the press release, remained careful to celebrate accomplishments before presenting changes that it and the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee would work toward.

Working in municipal structure. Soon after BrooklineCAN started meeting, the members considered the benefits for older residents of a livable community and decided that the concept of livable communities was in line with BrooklineCAN’s overall mission and with its goal to be inclusive. The BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee was formed and began to invite town departments to share information at the meetings.

Roberta Winitzer, a member of the Age-Friendly City Committee and well-versed in the politics of making change in Brookline, stressed that, during the initial age-friendly work in Brookline, good relationships were built between the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee, town departments, and the select board:

Characteristically, these were friendly discussions. What we learned from those meetings was that town departments were sympathetic to the needs of vulnerable older people. There were things we wanted them to work on and

they were characteristically supportive of using their resources—within what they were able to do.

The select board formed an ad hoc committee to prepare the application to join WHO-GNAFCC and, in April of 2013, four months after being accepted as a member of WHO-GNAFCC, the select board changed the designation of the committee from ad hoc to a standing committee.

Policy Stream: WHO-GNAFCC

Frank Caro learned about the WHO-GNAFCC from a graduate student who was working with WHO. When he heard about it, he realized that the way the World Health Organization framed age-friendly planning with the eight domains of livability reflected what Brookline was already doing and the work of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee, a sub-committee of BrooklineCAN that advocates for age-friendly changes in municipal policy and infrastructure. Although the advocacy efforts made by the Livable Community Advocacy Committee had been well-received by municipal departments, elected officials, and Brookline residents and the committee had known considerable success from their efforts, Frank Caro thought that joining the WHO-GNAFCC would, “build into what the town does on a regular basis, trying to be age-friendly”. When Frank Caro presented the WHO-GNAFCC to BrooklineCAN, the chair of the select board, the town administrator, and the department heads, there was universal excitement about joining the network.

Brookline has many amenities—such as green spaces and transportation—that make a community a friendly place to grow older. The Brookline Senior Center, working with other town departments, had created a menu of programs to meet the needs of its diverse senior population. Joining the network gave the citizen activists advocating for age-friendly a way of framing accomplishments and strategies to build on existing strengths within a globally recognized framework. It was motivation for the advocates and for elected officials and staff of the Town of Brookline to continue and expand the age-friendly work that had been accomplished prior to joining.

It seemed like a wonderful thing, we were already doing a lot of the...

Brookline was already on the path of being age-friendly. It gave us the language to take it to another level. Joining the WHO-GNAFCC brought in a whole new group of volunteers and made the department heads less likely to put age-friendly on the bottom of their list, make it a priority to sit down with us. (Ruthann Dobek)

Role of Policy Entrepreneur: Citizen/activist

Kingdon's policy change model emphasizes the key role of policy entrepreneurs that increase awareness of an issue to grow public support for change and, with time and the right opportunity, bring it successfully to the change arena. There was universal agreement among the people interviewed that Frank Caro was the policy entrepreneur who raised awareness of the need for age-friendly changes and who successfully led the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee in their effort to convince Brookline to join the WHO-

GNAFCC. Frank was not a political leader or the leader of a social service organization. He has engaged in the work in Brookline as a citizen/activist.

There are several keys to the effectiveness of Frank Caro's leadership:

1. **Civic Engagement.** Frank Caro has a long history of civic engagement in Brookline. He is a Town Meeting member and has served on several town-appointed and citizen-initiated boards in Brookline. Because of his involvement, Frank Caro understands how to effectively make change in Brookline.
2. **Stature in Community.** The advocacy work of Frank Caro is held in high regard by the community and has created the respect and personal connections in municipal government that are needed to garner municipal support for a change agenda. Frank Caro is also well-respected by other stakeholder groups interested in aging in Brookline--publicly funded aging service providers, private enterprises, social service providers, local businesses, and citizen activists.
3. **Known support for Age-Friendly Planning and Development.** Frank Caro was aware of support for an age-friendly initiative by community members, elected officials, and town staff. As a gerontologist, Frank Caro was aware of livable community development long before there was interest among the advocates for working toward those changes. In his interview, he said that he had brought the issue up at other times and in other venues, but the response was not enthusiastic. However, he continued to bring it up at propitious times. Frank Caro did not push the change agenda until he knew he had community and municipal support for the

implementation of age-friendly planning and development of age-friendly policies and infrastructure.

4. Works within Relationships. Frank Caro knows how to motivate and encourage the core team working with him to effect change. The people who were interviewed see him as a visionary who knows how to capitalize on opportunities. Matt Weiss stated, “When he has an idea he doesn’t just consider it something to pleasantly put on the side, he starts working on it and finds others to work on it and sets them off.” One of the strengths of Frank Caro’s leadership style is to work within the relationships he has developed with people to identify the person or group that has the power to make changes and the passion to see them through. After they take on the roles, Frank makes sure that the work they do fits within the goals and framework of the age-friendly initiative. For example, Matt Weiss did not have a background in media but is a good speaker. Frank Caro saw the potential and encouraged Matt Weiss to take on the role of host of the Age-Friendly Cities community television program. Roberta Winitzer, who has strong and positive contacts with municipal departments and community organizations and had some familiarity with community television, was enlisted as the executive director of the program. Frank Caro capitalized on the opportunity of community television and worked within the relationships he had with people to identify a group that could make the Age-Friendly TV program a success.
5. Coalition-Building. He knew how to build a coalition that could successfully advocate for change. One of the first things Frank Caro did was enlist one of the

members of the select board to join the efforts of the advocates. Her knowledge of the politics in Brookline and her ability to stay focused on the priorities established by the Age-Friendly Cities Committee has helped the committee to stay on track. She has been an extremely effective champion for the age-friendly changes implemented in Brookline. Frank Caro carefully recruited people to join the core team who had experience working in different aspects of Brookline community development.

6. Focused. Frank Caro knew how to keep the Town of Brookline’s Age-Friendly Cities Committee and BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee focused on their goals. Roberta Winitzer summed up the opinion of the interviewees when she said: “I think the success of this committee is mostly due to (Frank Caro). To (his) ability to stay on task and to communicate that to the committee members.” All the people interviewed agreed that Frank Caro works very effectively with people and town departments—to keep them focused on the big picture goals established by the committee.

Given Frank Caro’s key role in the Age-friendly Community Committee, one concern for the people interviewed was the fate of the age-friendly work in Brookline when he is no longer involved. While a few of the people interviewed thought the hole he would leave may not be filled and all agreed that his absence would not be filled easily, most agreed that the initiative will continue, even without Frank Caro. Mel Kleckner, Town Administrator, noted that one reason is that Frank Caro has carefully developed advocates who can take leadership roles in

various aspects of the initiative but that, because he is a strong leader of the initiative, he stays in the center of the work:

Any one or more of which could pick up responsibility and are, in fact, he is very good at making sure there are others to pick up things. So, he's been doing that again and again, but it is just that he keeps getting new ideas (laughter). And he is also involved so people rely on him. He's really good. Even though people may be able to do it on their own, they still involve him. So that's why he stays in the center of everything even though he doesn't necessarily want to so... I am in no doubt that the initiative would continue and would be strong, at least as strong, but I am not clear as to what it would look like.

Frank Caro has developed key leaders inside government structures and among citizen advocates, who are committed to age-friendly development. The Age-Friendly Cities Committee is becoming part of the usual way Brookline Departments think about planning. Ruthann Dobek pointed out that other key leaders will emerge when there is a gap that needs to be filled. It is a pattern she has seen throughout her time as a department head in Brookline. Although Frank Caro described the initiative as “precarious”, he has done a lot to build sustainability into the work—through the development of key leaders and by integrating the work into every department in Brookline town government.

Time and a Window of Opportunity

Kingdon's policy change model posits that advocates work for policy change over time and that a window of opportunity opens to bring the proposal to the change agenda.

Stirring the pot. In his work as a Professor of Gerontology at U-Mass Boston, Frank Caro became familiar with the concept of “livable” communities, places that are safe and secure, have affordable and appropriate housing and transportation options, and offers supportive community features and services (AARP, 2015). In 2008, when Frank retired from U-Mass Boston, one of his goals was to start a livable community initiative in Brookline. He used his social and political influence to gently “stir the pot” and raise awareness and support for adopting an age-friendly policy over time with mixed results but, gradually, to more effect.. Brookline submitted its application to join the WHO-GNAFCC four years later, in June 2012.

Organizations coalesce. The launch of BrooklineCAN and its Livable Community Advocacy Committee increased awareness of livability by advocates as well as at the municipal level. After two years of advocating for livability through the Livable Community Advocacy Committee and raising awareness of the importance of making small changes that enhanced the livability of Brookline, especially for the community’s older citizens, Frank Caro heard about WHO-GNAFCC and brought it to the advocates, who then worked to build support by elected officials and town staff. The window of opportunity was created through the work done by the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee.

Mel Kleckner recognized the advantages of joining a formal network to frame the livable community changes that Brookline was making. Membership gave the changes that had been implemented some credibility and gave a structure to the work as the town moved forward:

What the World Health Organization designation created, in addition to the credibility was a sort of a framework, sort of a platform to aspire to so that we weren't making things up as we went along but there was somewhat of an established framework that we could follow and that some objective third party thought that was the logical sequence, logical things to prioritize on. Before joining the WHO-GNAFCC the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee structured their work to meet the needs that committee members and community partners were aware existed. Joining the network forced the committee to advocate for age-friendly planning in all eight domains of livability. The window of opportunity was open because the initiative—and the town—were ready for the structure offered by the WHO-GNAFCC and welcomed recognition of their efforts to date.

Themes: Resource Mobilization Theory

This section applies Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) to describe the collaborative efforts the age-friendly cities initiative has taken since joining the WHO-GNAFCC. Joining the WHO-GNAFCC was not the final goal of the advocates—they wanted to use membership to add credibility to their ongoing work to make the community more livable. Roberta Winitzer, an older resident of Brookline who joined the Brookline CAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and was appointed to the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee, explained that strengthening the relationships with municipal departments was key to effective, sustainable age-friendly planning and development:

We wanted to be at the table if, for example, they are planning a new park because we want to make sure that the needs of the seniors have been thought of, that you need places for people to sit even though you may be going around this wonderful park and it may have wide walkways but you still need to have benches for people to sit down. And that would affect everybody.

BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee continue to use the resources developed while advocating for joining the WHO-GNAFCC to advocate for planning and program development that includes an awareness of the needs of older residents while stressing that changes made also benefit residents of all ages

RMT posits that resources available to support and further the change agenda, opportunities for collaboration, and stakeholder commitment to collaborative efforts influence the effectiveness of collaborations. The discussion of resources, opportunities for collaboration, and stakeholder commitment is followed by a brief example of collaborative efforts undertaken by the age-friendly cities project to increase awareness of programs and services in Brookline that enhance the lives of older residents.

Resources

RMT hypothesizes that the degree of implementation of a new policy, such as the Age-Friendly Cities program in Brookline is, in part, dependent on the availability of resources that bring stakeholders together and support ongoing growth of the initiative. BrooklineCAN raised awareness of the need for age-friendly planning and community development in municipal government and, through its Livable Community Advocacy

Committee, continues its central role advocating for age-friendly changes with the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. Thus, it is vital to look at the resources available to BrooklineCAN to effect change. Resources that were mobilized by BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee include human, material, relational, and ideological.

Volunteer engagement. RMT posits that resources, however few or of whatever type, must be controlled and organized before change can happen and that they must be directed by the strategy employed by the social change organization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). BrooklineCAN's mission is to: "provides information for older residents that helps them remain engaged in the life of the community, and advocates to make Brookline an even better place to live for seniors and everyone". The organization gains its strength in municipal government by recruiting members who are energized by the organization's mission. BrooklineCAN works toward its mission through the efforts of several member sub-committees—a steering committee as well as committees focused on communications, education, membership, service referrals, livable community advocacy, and a professional service provider group that provides space for professionals who provide services in Brookline to exchange information and collaborate.

In total, 68 BrooklineCAN members serve on at least one sub-committee (<http://www.BrooklineCAN.org/>). Each committee is headed by a member of the steering committee and a review of meeting minutes for each confirms that each committee adheres closely to the overall mission of BrooklineCAN. By working with a large group of volunteers, BrooklineCAN can address numerous issues at one time. For example, a review

of the notes for the December 05, 2016 meeting of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee included discussions of a visitor parking program, parking for people attending the senior center, a report from a study committee on property tax relief for seniors, a proposal for a senior housing development, a report by the street lighting for pedestrian safety project, the addition of a bus stop on the 51 bus route, an update from the pedestrian advisory committee, a discussion of the addition of benches on Beacon Street, and an update on the winter sidewalk monitoring program. BrooklineCAN has successfully mobilized members to advocate for the changes that the organization identifies within the scope of its mission.

BrooklineCAN has increased its volunteer resources, in part, by expanding their volunteer base to include bystanders and adherents who were not actively involved in BrooklineCAN or in the Senior Center prior to pursuing membership in the WHO-GNAFCC. New volunteers were interested in the municipal change agenda posited by the WHO-GNAFCC framework, which motivated them to move from potential beneficiaries of the work of BrooklineCAN and the Senior Center to becoming advocates for age-friendly changes in infrastructure and policy, many as appointed members of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee.

Material. BrooklineCAN's financial resources are limited to membership dues (349 active members in July 2016, dues amt. \$25 for individuals, \$40 for couples, \$10 discounted) and donations (BrooklineCAN Membership Committee, July 13, 2016). Although the group, since its founding in 2011, has accrued money to allow them to expand the services it offers members, the primary resource that the committee is able to leverage to make change is the

experience that members of BrooklineCAN, and especially the Livable Community Advocacy Committee, have making change in Brookline and the relationships the organization has built with other Brookline-based groups and municipal government. BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee have used the material resource provided by the Brookline Interactive Group, the town public access television station, and created the award-winning *Age-Friendly Cities TV* to raise awareness of how city departments and local organizations have developed programs and services to make the community more livable. By the end of 2018, the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee has produced 19 programs:

1. Round table discussion with Age-friendly Committee Chairs (aired: 4/23/2015)
2. Brookline Recreation Department (aired: 5/28/2015)
3. STRAITS (Senior Transportation Resources Advice Information Training Support) (aired: 10/15/2015)
4. Brookline Health Services Initiatives (aired: 11/23/2015)
5. Brookline Public Libraries (aired: 2/11/2016)
6. TRIPPS Transportation Advisory Program for 60+ (aired: 4/14/2016)
7. Brookline Parks and Open Spaces (aired: 6/30/2016)
8. Brookline Board of Selectmen (aired: 9/22/2016)
9. Brookline Commission on Disability (aired: 11/17/2016)
10. Housing for seniors in Age-friendly Brookline (aired: 1/26/2017)
11. Volunteering with the Brookline Senior Center (aired: 03/23/2017)

12. The Nancy “Daly Show” (aired: 5/3/2017)
13. Brookline CAN’s annual meeting and Brookline Day (aired: 9/7/2017)
14. Brookline Health Commission (aired: 11/29/2017)
15. Emergency Preparedness, Health Dept. and Buddies Program (aired: 2/8/2018)
16. Pedestrians and Bicycles (aired: 3/29/2018)
17. Food Insecurity, Resources in Brookline (aired: 6/6/2018)
18. Brookline Fire Department (aired 09/20/2018)
19. Property Tax Relief (aired 11/08/2018)

The Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee has used the television program to expand relationships with municipal departments, which has, in turn, expanded the relational resources available to help the committee accomplish its goals.

Networking. Members of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee are recruited for their ability to contribute to the advocacy mission of BrooklineCAN. The group actively recruits people who are familiar with how change is made in Brookline, understand how to craft a message that fits the community and will resonate with municipal government and the general population, and/or have had successful working relationships with municipal department heads. Through the advocacy experience and efforts of its members, the group can extend its ability to effect age-friendly changes in Brookline. Similarly, members of the Communication committee are recruited for their

understanding of messaging and experience carrying out communication plans. Members are key resources that BrooklineCAN uses to advocate for age-friendly changes.

There is a close relationship between the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. A visit to attend the Age-Friendly Cities Committee on December 02, 2015 and a document review of the agenda for the Age-Friendly Cities Committee shows a similar structure and interests. The Age-Friendly Cities Committee capitalizes on the work of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee to further its agenda. However, an important resource available to the Age-Friendly Cities Committee that is not available to the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee is the status of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee as a standing committee appointed by the Brookline Select Board and the power of Nancy Daly, co-chair of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee and representative of the select board on the committee. Matt Weiss posited that one reason for the success of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee at creating collaborations and working with departments to make age-friendly changes is that one of the co-chairs is a member of the select board. In her role on the select board, she has easy access to department heads and frequently invites them to attend meetings of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee to discuss topics of concern.

Building on community values. RMT posits that an initiative that seeks to make social changes in a municipality can move forward more quickly if the values and mission of the AFC are in line with community values. Brookline sees itself as a forward-thinking community that provides what residents of all ages need to thrive. Mel Kleckner, Brookline

Town Administrator, described how the age-friendly cities initiative fit in with larger municipal policy:

And, I think the other part is, that there is this recognition that this is not just for the age-friendly cities, this is good public policy, to devote money for these purposes. They have been extremely effective in talking about the merits of these expenses regardless and that it has value beyond that constituent organization, that it is good practice to be friendly to people with mobility or other issues.

Building popular support among Brookline residents was vital to increase the ability of the age-friendly initiative to successfully advocate for change. All the participants in semi-structured interviews agreed that, although the town government is supportive of age-friendly changes that have happened since joining WHO-GNAFCC, many residents are not aware that Brookline was a member or of the benefits for residents of all ages of age-friendly changes implemented after joining. One of the resources that BrooklineCAN and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee are working to build is popular support for the age-friendly change agenda. Efforts in that direction have included a Lego Display illustrating an age-friendly community that is prominently displayed at the Town Hall, social media campaigns, and increased use of their branding on events co-sponsored with the Brookline Senior Center.

The Town of Brookline has a representative town meeting form of government. Town meeting has passed several articles supported by BrooklineCAN, partner organizations, and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. Among successes have been passage of an article

making it easier for older residents to qualify for property tax relief programs by raising the income threshold for eligibility and an article that proposed age-restricted, mixed income housing over a town-owned parking garage. Success at Town Meeting would not have been possible without popular support for the age-friendly change agenda. Melvin Kleckner, Town Administrator, noted that the age-friendly advocates in Brookline, “have really done a good and effective job communicating that an age-friendly city is good for everyone and not just for the people that are elderly.” Advocating for a community for all ages increases support from municipal departments and acceptance by the general population.

Opportunities for Collaboration

RMT posits that, for resources to be effectively mobilized, there must be opportunities for stakeholders to collaborate. BrooklineCAN has worked toward its goals, in part by creating opportunities and building strength through partnerships and collaboration with municipal departments and local organization with similar goals. Founding partners were Brookline Senior Center, Center Communities of Brookline, Goddard house, and Jewish Family and Children’s Services. Community partners are Brookline Adult and Community Education, Board of Assessors, Building Department, Department of Planning and Community Development, Department of Public Works, Health Department, Police Department, Public Library, and Recreation Departments. The organization also includes a network of professional service providers, which increases opportunities for professional collaboration as well as with BrooklineCAN.

Creating opportunities. The collaboration between BrooklineCAN, the Brookline Council on Aging, and other municipal departments prior to joining WHO-GNAFCC

provided a basis of trust and mutual respect that added credibility to the Age-Friendly Cities Committee when they began to advocate for age-friendly changes with municipal departments. Joining the WHO-GNAFCC and the ongoing work of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee infused new energy into the existing collaborations and gave credibility to the age-friendly initiative. Opportunities for collaboration that were established prior to joining the WHO-GNAFCC have been critical to the success of the age-friendly work in Brookline.

Many of the departments in Brookline's municipal structure have a history of working together on shared goals. For example, the Public Library of Brookline has worked with the Brookline Council on Aging to offer a book club for older residents. Age-friendly and ability-friendly changes have been made in the library to make it more accessible for all residents (interview, Anne Reed). The Age-Friendly Cities Committee has purposely built on the history of department cooperation to advance the age-friendly agenda. The Age-friendly Community Committee visits department heads to find out how they can most effectively advocate for changes that are under the purview of that department and invites department directors to meetings. Matt Weiss summed up the way that the Age-Friendly Cities Committee creates opportunities for collaboration with town departments:

Over the years, we have worked with the various departments, communicating with them and bringing the age-friendly aspect of things to their attention so that it can be included in department planning. We try to send someone who has already worked with them or knows them personally for the first meeting because someone who knows them, knows how to connect the dots—from age-friendly changes to their department goals. More and more that's really a very important part of our role—

facilitating communication between the town departments and making sure they are aware, when they do things, of the age-friendly aspects that need to be maintained and enhanced. We work hard not to lose them, that's one thing, and to expand them.

Opportunities for collaboration to make Brookline more age-friendly increased, first, with the founding of BrooklineCAN, and, later, with the select board appointment of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee. As discussed earlier, there is considerable overlap between the key players. Six members of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee serve on the BrooklineCAN steering committee and four are members of the Brookline Council on Aging. The overlap means that the interests and concerns of the Brookline Council on Aging are well represented in the advocacy efforts of BrooklineCAN and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee.

Stakeholder Commitment

RMT posits that commitment by stakeholders to the mission, vision, and goals of the collaboration is essential to effectively mobilize resources. From its inception, BrooklineCAN has worked closely with the Brookline Council on Aging/Senior Center on shared goals. For example, the organization notes on its website that it is not part of the Brookline Council on Aging or the Brookline Senior Center but that it works closely with both. The explanation was necessary because people were not clear what the line was between the organizations. Similar explanations for the relationship between the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee.

Shared vision. One co-chair of BrooklineCAN’s steering committee is also the Director of the Brookline Senior Center and Council on Aging. The other co-chair, Frank Caro, is the Chair of the BrooklineCAN’s Livable Community Advocacy Committee and Chair of the town-appointed Age-friendly Community Committee. All the stakeholders share a commitment to the mission, vision, and goals of the collaboration, currently represented by the Age-Friendly Cities Committee, which presented and advocated for the decision by the Brookline Select Board to join the WHO-GNAFCC. When referring to the motivation of BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Senior Center to join the AHO-WHO-GNAFCC, Ruthann Dobek noted:

For the last 50 years our stodgy council on aging has been taking on these issues. But to be able to then put in our local paper is called the Tab, to be able to put an add into the Tab, or a press release, saying join us as we make Brookline more age-friendly and be the first municipality, we get a whole new cache of volunteers. That was an important motivator.

The Age-Friendly Cities Committee includes three co-chairs—Frank Caro, Ruthann Dobek, and Nancy Daly, a statutory member who represents the select board on the Age-Friendly Cities Committee and the Brookline Council on Aging. Other members include representatives from municipal departments and older residents who are also active advocates for age-friendly community development through their work with the Brookline Senior Center and/or BrooklineCAN.

Membership in the WHO-GNAFCC is an important motivator for departments to work with the Age-friendly Community Committee to implement change because

membership is a municipal commitment that is supported by the select board and town administrator, and thus, has become part of the planning process for all departments. The ongoing work of the committee in reminding departments of municipal commitment and the needs of older residents cannot be underestimated. Over time, the effectiveness of working with the departments has increased with the increased commitment of departments to age-friendly goals. In the 2014/2015 update to the 2012 needs assessment, the Age-friendly Community Committee listed more than 50 successful initiatives with 16 municipal departments, the Chamber of Commerce, and neighborhood associations (Weiss, 2015).

Collaborative Efforts

Communication and education. The mission of BrooklineCAN is, in part, to increase awareness of services and programs. The communication and education goal has been a significant part of the collaboration that developed between BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging. The goal of the collaboration was to provide more avenues for people to learn about available resources, programs, and services. There are several ways that the two organizations have worked together to get the word out about resources. The 200-page *Elder Resource Guide*, updated periodically by the Brookline Senior Center, is widely distributed to residents who participate in the programs of the center or access their website and portions of the guide are included on the BrooklineCAN website. Activities and resources offered by BrooklineCAN are included in the monthly Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging newsletter. The BrooklineCAN education committee, often in collaboration with the Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging, organizes events that draw attention to issues of interest to older residents. BrooklineCAN's monthly newsletter

features the work of BrooklineCAN as well as upcoming events at the Senior Center and information from other Brookline-based organizations, such as the Public Library of Brookline, Adult-Ed, Brookline Historical Society, Brookline Art Center, and Brookline Recreation Department. The collaboration between BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Senior Center/Council on Aging has increased opportunities for residents to learn about the services, programs, and activities available to make aging in Brookline safer and more enjoyable.

The Age-friendly Community Committee has also worked to disseminate information about the age-friendly features of Brookline. In April of 2015, the Age-friendly Community Committee launched a series of programs for public access television. The initial purpose for putting together the program was to “to provide information about the towns services to people of all ages, including seniors”. It was a vehicle to expose all of Brookline’s residents to an “age-friendly cities” point of view. As the host of the program noted, “I like to say that what older adults need, is what everybody else wants” (M Weiss, personal communication, December 12, 2015). So far, six programs have been broadcast. The first program explained the work of the Age-friendly Community Committee. The second focused on the work of the Brookline Recreation Department and the Bicycle Advisory Committee. A member of the Age-Friendly Cities Committee who works in Brookline’s Diversity, Inclusion, and Community Relations Department talked about health initiatives in the fourth program, the Public Library of Brookline was highlighted in the fifth program, and Brookline Parks and Open Spaces was the subject of the sixth. Matt Weiss, host of the Age-Friendly Cities television program, points out that the goal of the program is information dissemination:

I'm just trying to get the information out. I have no axe to grind about what the information is. I just want to get it out. Communication is a really important aspect of being age-friendly—communicating to people who don't necessarily know how to get the information. It is the hardest thing but most important thing to do.

The people who are producing and hosting the Age-friendly Cities program see themselves as educators. Matt Weiss said, "I really consider myself an educator. Whatever I do, my object is to help people recognize what is important in their lives." Not only is the group dedicated to bringing programming to the attention of Brookline's older residents, they are also intent on making sure that the message is positive—emphasizing what is being done well--so that people are inspired to access the programs and motivated to work with the committee and with the town on initiatives to make the community even more age-friendly. When a department agrees to do an interview, the team that produces the program makes sure that the interview will reflect collaboration with the Age-Friendly Cities Committee and offer information about how town departments are including aging and inclusion in their planning and in their daily work for the town.

Local advocacy. The Age-Friendly Cities committee has had similar successes through advocating with town departments on infrastructure changes and policies to make it easier for the aging population in Brookline to remain as engaged in all aspects of community life as they want to be. For example, the Age-Friendly Cities Committee and BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee advocated for a discount of 35%

for older residents to swim, skate, and enroll in other health and wellness activities offered by the Brookline Recreation Department. Similarly, both committees advocated for the inclusion of older adults in the Brookline Health Department’s emergency preparedness plans. In response, the Health Department designed the “Emergency Preparedness Buddies” program, which matches trained Brookline Medical Reserve Corps (MRC) and Community Emergency Response Team (CERT) volunteers with frail, isolated older adults to improve their ability to prepare for an emergency—such utility outages caused by winter storms. BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and the Age-Friendly Cities Committee successfully advocated for Fisher Hill Reservoir Park to be developed with age-friendly features—including a fully accessible promenade, extensive benches and seating, fully accessible bathrooms, and age-friendly lighting. The work that the committee has influenced through its advocacy efforts is significant and supports the tenants of RMT—that resources used effectively, collaboration, and shared commitment to the goals of collaboration are key to implementing changes.

Case One Summary

Brookline provides strong evidence for the policy change model that guides this research. Kingdon’s policy change model can be used to describe the process that led to Brookline’s decision to join the WHO-GNAFCC. Frank Caro is a strong policy entrepreneur who worked over time to raise awareness of the need for livable community planning by the municipality. There was universal agreement among the people interviewed that Frank Caro was key in organizing BrooklineCAN, bringing stakeholders together, developing an enthusiastic volunteer base, and developing support within municipal government.

BrooklineCAN, led by Frank Caro, developed considerable support with municipal departments, the town administrator, and the select board as they advocated for age-friendly changes. Frank Caro was respected for his quiet, well-reasoned, but tenacious advocacy for age-friendly changes.

1. The problem stream was not a single, defined problem but, rather an emerging awareness by the advocates that municipal involvement was needed to make the community more age-friendly. Specific issues embraced by BrooklineCAN included the need for more effective communication and information about services available to Brookline residents and the need to embed age-friendly planning throughout Brookline's municipal structure by creating opportunities for collaboration.
2. The WHO-GNAFCC offered a policy framework that reflected the types of changes BrooklineCAN was working toward. The work of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee led directly to the decision by BrooklineCAN to try and raise support at the municipal level for joining the WHO-GNAFCC.
3. In the political stream, the work of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and, especially, of Frank Caro, led to municipal support from town departments, the select board, and the town administrator that was needed to join the WHO-GNAFCC. The only departure from Kingdon's model that is seen in the case of Brookline is the Brookline CAN Livable Communities Committee did not elicit support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC from the

residents of Brookline. Support and awareness of the age-friendly initiative and membership in the WHO-GNAFCC has been concentrated in municipal government and the two key supporters—BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Council on Aging/Senior Center (both of which represent older Brookline residents).

The window of opportunity was not created by a crisis but through the networking and advocacy work of BrooklineCAN. Municipal support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC occurred over time, because of the advocacy efforts of BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee. The committee carefully crafted a message that was non-threatening to the elected officials and municipal employees, presenting membership as a natural offshoot of age-friendly work already being done in the community

RMT can be used to explain the effectiveness of BrooklineCAN and the Age-friendly Community Committee after joining the WHO-GNAFCC. The primary resources mobilized by BrooklineCAN to advance its change agenda were human resources (volunteers) and its social-organizational resources (the networks of members of the Town of Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee and the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee and the relationships developed by both committees with other organizations and town departments). Opportunities for collaboration had been established early in the history of BrooklineCAN and were developed to enhance the efficacy of age-friendly advocacy with municipal departments. Commitment of the core group of stakeholders was assured by the close ties between the leaders of organizations (many of whom overlapped, for example, the

co-chair of the Brookline Steering Committee is also the director of the Brookline Council on Aging) and the careful recruitment of older citizens who could help the committee reach its goals. Frank Caro ensures stakeholder commitment to the goal of increasing age-friendliness by recruiting people with an interest in local change, commitment to increasing accessibility and other age-friendly features of the community, and expertise to meet the goals of the committee. Because of the strong collaborative effort among municipal departments, BrooklineCAN, and other stakeholders, Brookline has become a leader of age-friendly practices in Massachusetts.

CHAPTER 5

CASE TWO: ELLSWORTH, MAINE

Context

Ellsworth, home to 7,804 people, has a median age is 45. One in five (21%) residents have attained the milestone of their 65th birthday (US Census, 2015, Table DP05). More than one-third (38%) of the 3,441 households include at least one resident age 60+ (US Census, 2015, Table S1101). Between 2000 and 2010, Ellsworth grew by 20%, making it the fastest growing city in Maine (US CENSUS, 2000, 2010, Table DP-1). The increase in population was among young families and middle-aged adults. The population 65+ grew by a more modest 12.5%. The overall rate of population growth has slowed in recent years. Between 2010 and 2015, US Census estimates a growth rate of 1.5%. However, in the same period, the population 65+ grew by 25%. (Milneil, 2016).

The city, located two and a half hours northeast of Portland and 45 minutes south of Bangor, is the county seat of Hancock County. Ellsworth is a gateway to popular tourist destinations on Mt. Desert Island. It is a resource community with shopping and medical and social services for your round and seasonal residents of smaller communities in Hancock and Washington Counties. Compared to communities in the surrounding area, it is relatively easy

to access medical and health-related services if a resident owns a car or has access to alternative transportation. There is no public bus service but *Friends in Action* (FIA) provides a volunteer door-through-door transportation program for older residents and people living with a disability who need rides to access medical care, socialize, shop, etc. Some of the congregate housing projects offer transportation for their residents to the senior center and shopping areas.

Community and Economic Development

The goal of the city council and chamber of commerce is to transform Ellsworth from a “gateway and resource stop on the way to other places” to an attractive destination, a place where people “settle down and stay a while” (R. Crossthwaite, personal communication, February 22, 2016). Between 2007 and 2015, the city worked to create a welcoming, vital downtown through downtown beautification projects, improvements in walkability, support for development of housing options for older residents, and investment in programs to encourage business development in the downtown area. Since 2015, Ellsworth has focused on business development in the city by telecommuters, retailers, restaurants and manufacturers of all sizes. The work has included building the infrastructure to attract adults who want to relocate to Maine and tele-commute to paying jobs, encouraging small businesses and restaurants to locate in the historic downtown. A recent coup for the city is the plan for Jackson Laboratories to develop abandoned retail space to raise laboratory mice. The facility is expected to open in December 2017 and create about 150 new jobs. The key to the city’s success attracting Jackson Labs expansion from its Bar Harbor facility to Ellsworth has been a thriving “partnership and a team effort. The city is investing money and

manpower to improve water supply to the area where the facility is located and to provide safety services. We will do what it takes—and they respect that” (D. Cole, Ellsworth City Manager, personal communication, February 19, 2016).

Friends in Action

Friends in Action (FIA) began in Ellsworth in 2003. Jo Cooper, the founding director, worked with a similar program—*Island Connections*—before writing the Robert Wood Johnson Faith in Action Grant that financed the start of the program and provided extensive training, technical advice, and peer learning opportunities (M. Reisman, personal communication, January 14, 2016). Originally named “Faith in Action Community Connection”, the Board voted to shorten and change the name to *Friends in Action* in 2012 (J Cooper, personal communication, February 02, 2016). Changing the name avoided confusion by people who thought the organization was faith-based.

The mission of *FIA* is to: “offer free services to elderly and disabled residents of Hancock County so that they can live independently, with dignity and a strong quality of life” (Friends in Action, n.d.). The program uses more than 200 community volunteers from Ellsworth and the surrounding area to offer friendly visiting, a telephone check-in program, help with home chores and shopping, simple home repairs, and transportation. The single most popular program is the transportation service. In 2015, about 100 active volunteer drivers provided 5,000 rides and traveled 70,000 miles.

In 2008, the Bryant E Moore School was no longer considered suitable for use as a high school. The property was abandoned and handed over to the City of Ellsworth. Although the school had been neglected and had fallen into disrepair, it had significant

historical value to the city. The city council directed the city manager to develop the property as a community center (Ellsworth City Council, 2008). In 2009, the City of Ellsworth approached the YMCA and FIA to find out if the organizations could use the facility as a child care and senior center. Both organizations agreed to the plan and co-located in the main section of the building. FIA expanded its offering to include wellness and socialization programs offered at the facility and continued to offer transportation and other home-based services for older residents of Hancock county.

In 2013, the city voted to renovate the Bryant E. Moore School (Fuller, 2013). FIA would have a much larger space and was asked to enlarge the senior center to offer more programming—a nutrition program, exercise rehabilitation, lifelong learning opportunities, wellness programming, and indoor recreation. The additional programming required a significant fund-raising effort by FIA. In 2015, the renovations on the Moore Center were complete and the larger senior center was fully operational. The FIA senior center includes a fully operational kitchen and dining area that serves a weekly senior lunch program and is open twice a week for the “Visit with Friends Coffee House”. The space also has a dedicated music room where intergenerational music classes are offered by the Ellsworth Community Music Institute as well as a monthly free “Midday Concert Series” that attracts people of all ages. Other areas include a craft room and pottery area, pickleball court, meeting rooms, and exercise rehabilitation area.

The expansion of services required increasing the number of people working for FIA—from one full time worker to one full time administrator and five part-time employees and several contracted professionals who are paid to teach classes or work in the exercise and

rehabilitation programs. For FIA to run the Senior Center at the Moore School has stretched the capacity of the organization and required doubling its annual budget (J. Cooper, personal communication, February 02, 2016). The opening of the Senior Center decreased the time FIA Executive Director Jo Cooper and the FIA Board had to work on other community initiatives, such as the decision for the City of Ellsworth to join the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities AARP NAFSC).

Age-Friendly Ellsworth

When AARP became the county affiliate of the WHO-Global Network of Age-Friendly Communities in 2012, it selected a few communities to pilot participation in the Network of Age-Friendly Communities. In 2013, the pilot was deemed a success and the program was rolled out in all the states. States were given the option to either work intensively with one or two communities or take a broad approach and enroll as many communities as possible. AARP Maine opted for the broad approach and hired Peter Morelli, recently retired from a 27-year career as the Planning Director for the City of Saco, as a consultant to encourage communities throughout the state of Maine to join the Network of Age-Friendly Communities. Initially, Peter Morelli recruited cities where he knew there was support from appointed officials for age-friendly planning. Ellsworth was among the first communities he approached because he knew that the community was working on several revitalization projects and had the political will to act to make the community an even better place for older people to live.

Michelle Beal, City Administrator, Bob Crosthwaite, Mayor of Ellsworth, and Micki Sumpter, Economic Development Coordinator, attended the first meeting with Peter Morelli

to discuss the benefits of joining the Network of Age-Friendly Communities (R. Crossthwaite, personal communication, February 22, 2016). Michelle Beal had an ongoing and strong commitment to making the community a better place to live for its older residents. Bob Crossthwaite serves on the Board of FIA and is the Resident Manager for one of the Senior Housing complexes in the city. Micki Sumpter had been Executive Director of the Ellsworth Chamber of Commerce for 15 years before she was appointed as the City of Ellsworth Economic Development Director. She was familiar with the work of FIA and with business support for making age-friendly changes. Micki was appointed lead on the project.

Overall, at the first meeting, the municipal officials agreed that it was a good time for the City of Ellsworth to join the NAFSC. The municipality had completed several livability projects—wide sidewalks throughout much of the downtown area, the creation of a new park, a downtown beautification project, inducements for local businesses and restaurants to locate in the historic downtown area, development of municipally-managed housing and privately managed housing for older adults, and the conversion of the Moore School into a community center that was to be jointly occupied by the YMCA daycare program, various programs for young adults, and the Ellsworth Senior Center. Given all the work the community had completed, Michelle Beal thought membership in the AARP NAFSC would recognize the work that had already been accomplished and would increase momentum for making further changes (Michelle Beal, personal communication, February 22, 2016). The group decided to approach the select board to find out if the majority would support joining the Network of Age-Friendly Communities and then to re-convene for a second meeting to

discuss next steps. They unanimously agreed that Jo Cooper, Executive Director of Friends in Action should be invited to join them at the second meeting.

The city council was a firm supporter of the application and considered it an extension of the Strategic Planning process, Community and Economic Development policies, and Planning Department protocols they had endorsed to retain and attract older residents to the City. The application to join the AARP NAFSC noted:

The city council heartily embraces an Economic Development Plan and Comprehensive Plan that addresses the issues of providing for the health and well-being of Ellsworth's aging population through initiatives that target housing, safe neighborhoods, available healthcare, senior support services, goods, services and amenities (with a focus on pedestrian friendly areas), social integration and transportation. The City of Ellsworth has focused on being progressive, rather than reactive to capture the economic and social benefits of an aging population.

In December 2014, Ellsworth became the second member of the AARP NAFSC in Maine.

FIA was also brought into the discussions about joining the network and, ultimately, agreed to participate in the age-friendly planning cycle prescribed by the AARP NAFSC (see Appendix 2). The primary reason FIA supported the application was that Jo Cooper, Executive Director, thought the age-friendly planning process would provide opportunities to network with other stakeholder groups, local government departments, and local business (J. Cooper, personal communication, February 02, 2016). Her willingness to participate in the

initiative was predicated on the strong working relationship she had with the city manager, who was a regular visitor to the senior center and had expressed strong support for improving the age-friendliness of the community. The FIA Board of Directors thought the age-friendly initiative would formalize ties with the municipality and embed age and ability-friendly awareness in the way the city and local business operated (P Pangburn, personal communication, March 09, 2016).

Three months after the City of Ellsworth joined the AARP NAFSC, Michelle Beal left her position as city manager. FIA was left with no formal ties with the municipality at a time when the organization was being stretched to capacity by the demands of developing the FIA Senior Center. Paul Pangburn, then chair of the FIA board explained that:

Jo Cooper, the Executive Director of FIA, and the FIA Board didn't have the energy or the capacity to start work on AAARP NAFSC planning when we were actively developing the Senior Center. It always stayed on our radar but couldn't be our focus until the Senior Center was on firm ground, with the support we needed from the City and the community.

The AARP NAFSC planning process remained on hold until July of 2016, when FIA applied for a planning grant from AARP Maine to conduct a needs assessment and develop an action plan (J. Cooper, personal communication, February 02, 2016). As part of that process, Jo Cooper and the Friends in Action Board requested that the city council appoint an ad-hoc or standing committee to focus on aging in Ellsworth, a request that was supported by the Mayor (R. Crossthwaite, personal communication, February 22, 2016).

Participants

Jo Cooper is the founding Executive Director of FIA, launched in 2003 with a Robert Wood Johnson *Faith in Action* grant. Prior to 2003, she had worked with a similar volunteer driver program, *Island Connections*, that serves the Mount Desert Island communities. From its inception, FIA provided rides, companionship, help with chores, yard work and shopping, and has been a source of service referrals for residents. In 2009, FIA opened a small senior center in the Bryant E. Moore School that has expanded to its current space and continues to offer the services that were part of the program prior to opening a senior center as well as additional programming and services through the senior center. Jo Cooper has been a strong advocate for older adults in Ellsworth and in nearby communities. Friends in Action has an ongoing commitment to raising awareness in the community for age-friendly community and economic development and to offering services to older people regardless of ability to pay. In 2017, her work with FIA was recognized with the “Working for All” award by the Hancock County Democratic Committee.

David Cole, City Manager of Ellsworth, was hired full time in July 2015 after serving four months as interim city manager. Prior to working for the City of Ellsworth, he was the Commissioner of the Maine Department of Transportation. The focus of his work in Ellsworth has been on business development. Among his priorities are creating a welcoming environment for tele-commuters, fostering new local businesses, services, and restaurants. In 2015, the City commissioned a housing report to identify the need for housing among people 55+. The report found that there was adequate housing at the high and low ends of the income scale but a dearth of housing for people who were not income qualified for

subsidized housing or wealthy enough to afford “active adult” ownership units located in the area surrounding Ellsworth. In response to the findings, David Cole has pursued housing development to meet the needs of older people with an annual income higher than \$25,000. For discussions about aging-related services and needs, David Cole has worked closely with Jo Cooper, Executive Director of Friends in Action.

Michelle Beal, city manager prior to David Cole, is an Ellsworth native. She began her career at City Hall as Finance Manager and then took the position of city manager, which she held for more than 7 years. Although she now works in Bangor, she remains active on several committees, the Ellsworth Chamber of Commerce and the Heart of Ellsworth, formerly Ellsworth Downtown Association. While Michelle Beal was City Administrator, her focus was on economic and community development. Several large retail stores opened in a new commercial development area and the industrial park expanded to include more businesses. She oversaw several Department of Transportation projects to improve state roads that go through the city, including improvements in Route 1A, the road that links Bangor and Ellsworth that make it possible to live in Ellsworth and commute to Bangor to work in 30-45 minutes. Development of a new wastewater treatment plant increased public water service to include most of the city. When the Moore and Knowlton Schools in downtown Ellsworth were slated for closure, Michelle oversaw the development of the first community park in the city, the addition of senior housing, and development of the community center. As city manager, she was committed to making the City a friendlier and easier place to live for older residents and, therefore, of the work of FIA.

Janna Newman is the assistant planner for the City of Ellsworth. She was hired in May of 2015. Prior to working for the City, she worked for Island Heritage Trust. Since starting work in Ellsworth, she has worked closely with David Cole on his vision for the City of Ellsworth. Her work includes bringing awareness of aging to the planning projects undertaken by the Ellsworth Planning Department.

Robert (Bob) Crosthwaite is the Mayor of Ellsworth, co-pastor of Faith Community Fellowship and resident services coordinator and administrator of Meadow View Apartments, an 86-unit apartment city-owned congregate housing for older and disabled adults. He has served eight 3-year terms on the city council and two terms as Chair. He has also served in the Maine legislature. Bob is an avid supporter of age-friendly Ellsworth. He signed the application for Ellsworth to join the AARP NAFSC and continues to work closely with Jo Cooper on age-friendly initiatives.

Paul Pangburn is the President of the FIA board. Prior to taking the role of president, he served as treasurer. The FIA board includes members with a wide base of expertise in fields relating to aging services and local business. He is a financial advisor and active in the noontime Rotary Club. Jo Cooper purposely recruits younger people for the FIA Board. Paul Pangburn is a young professional, active in the community, and is raising his family in the area.

Janice O'Brien is the chair of the age-friendly committee in Ellsworth. She moved to the city in June 2015 from Vermont. Professionally, Janice was a project manager for IBM. She moved to the City of Ellsworth because it was a member of the AARP NAFSC and has been an active member of the age-friendly committee since January 2016. Janice chose to

live in downtown Ellsworth so that she can walk and bike to the places she wants to go without having to rely on a car for everyday errands. Janice volunteers 15+ hours/week for Friends in Action.

Themes: Kingdon's Policy Change Model

Kingdon's policy change model provides a framework to understand how the problem, political, and policy streams came together in Ellsworth to create a window of opportunity that was conducive to joining the AARP NAFSC. On December 10, 2014, the city council signed a letter of commitment to the five-year cycle of age-friendly improvement using the framework provided by the AARP NAFSC. Joining the network includes more than saying the community wants to be age-friendly, it requires a commitment to age-friendly planning (See appendix 2). The goals of the first two years of the 5-year program cycle are to establish an age-friendly committee, complete an age-friendly assessment, and develop an action plan. Implementation and evaluation occur during years 3-5 and are followed by another cycle of assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation. Between 2014 and 2016, the city made little progress toward implementing age-friendly changes as part of its membership in the AARP NAFSC. This section will explore why that was the case and will look at the window of opportunity that opened late in 2016 that has provided the opportunity for a policy entrepreneur to advance the age-friendly program in Ellsworth.

Problem Stream

There is a saying among old-time residents of down-east Maine (the area east of Augusta and south of Bangor) that "all roads lead to Ellsworth". The statement refers to the City's role as a service center for smaller communities in surrounding Hancock and

Washington Counties and for its position as a gateway to the communities of Mt Desert Island, which sees millions of visitors each year. One of the goals of the city council in the past several years has been to develop Ellsworth as “an economically, socially and culturally vital community that serves the region by providing an exceptional place for business, leisure and life” (City of Ellsworth Vision Statement, 2016). The long-term goal started with City Manager, Michelle Beal, and was continued after she resigned and was replaced by David Cole.

Selective framing. Kingdon’s model of policy change posits that a solution, such as joining the AARP NAFSC, is most likely to be adopted when there is widespread agreement about the definition of the problem that the solution addresses. AARP Maine framed the problem to Michelle Beal and FIA as providing a means for older residents and FIA to have a voice advocating with the select board for a continuation of the age-friendly development that the city had started to implement. Michelle Beal explained that the message was attractive:

we started something great here—a campus where seniors can live safely and still be involved with the broader community, but excitement was waning. Some folks were worried that were turning Ellsworth into a community just for seniors. AARP Maine explained that joining the AARP NAFSC offered a way to revitalize enthusiasm and could create a path for FIA to advocate for the new senior center. It was perfect timing.

When Michelle Beal, Jo Cooper (FIA) and Peter Morelli (AARP Maine) approached elected officials, they framed the definition of the problem as recognition for the development the council had already endorsed, as part of their wider plan to revitalize the downtown and develop services and infrastructure that would attract tourists and provide opportunities for people living in Ellsworth to thrive at all ages.

Ellsworth as a destination. The city council aimed to make Ellsworth a desirable place to live—not just pass through on the way to Bar Harbor, shop or access critical services. Municipal officials aggressively addressed the problem while Michelle Beal was city manager. Her approach fit well with the solution offered by the AARP NAFSC. The city council viewed joining the NAFSC as recognition for the work they were doing to make Ellsworth a better place to live. An added advantage of membership was that it provided a marketing tool to attract new residents who were well-prepared to contribute to the local economy.

The problem stream did not change in March 2015 when the city hired David Cole to replace Michelle Beal but the approach to addressing the problem changed. Michelle Beal's approach, in part, was to create an attractive retirement destination through the development of a wealth of housing, transportation, recreational, social, and civic opportunities for the full range of adults 60+ living in the community—richer and poorer, with different physical abilities, interests, backgrounds, and economic means. Her goal was to retain current residents and to attract retirees looking for an age-friendly community. David Cole shifted focus from the social and physical environment to the economy. His goal, in part, is to create an attractive environment for 55+ near-retirees (and younger people) with economic, social,

and health capital to relocate to work in Ellsworth and contribute to the growth of the community. Both approaches can be used to structure a community's age-friendly plan using the guidelines offered by the AARP NAFSC. However, the two will have different approaches to the age-friendly work.

David Cole's focus on economic development did not fit well with Michelle Beal's emphasis on the AARP NAFSC or the Friends in Action Senior Center. When David Cole assumed the job of city manager, he did not become involved with "senior activities" established while Michelle Beal was city manager—including work on the AARP NAFSC initiative. He was not familiar with the AARP NAFSC, did not attend meetings of the fledgling steering committee, and was minimally involved with the Friends in Action Senior Center. The FIA Board President noted,

David Cole, as the city manager, doesn't have a strong connection with us. He saw age-friendly as a project of the prior town manager—it wasn't his. He had to establish his own priorities and deal with the problems that were facing the city. We weren't a problem to be solved. The FIA Senior Center was running well and growing under solid, efficient management.

Micki Sumpter, Economic Development Coordinator, was instructed to focus on creating infrastructure to attract tele-commuters and to work with the Ellsworth Chamber of Commerce on various business-friendly initiatives. Bob Crosthwaite, Ellsworth Mayor, explained,

David came on as an interim city manager and did a wonderful job so the city council unanimously voted to make him permanent. We had to give him time to define his priorities for the City. He has done a great job. Now that he has put his own stamp on the job, we can start working on age-friendly again.

The focus of his time in office has been business development and infrastructure improvements to make Ellsworth an attractive, thriving destination for professionals and other people committed to expanding the economic base of the city. Although the problem stream didn't change with the change in city managers, the approach to the problem did and support for doing the work required of AARP NAFSC communities decreased.

Political Stream

Membership in the AARP NAFSC was presented by AARP Maine to city manager Michelle Beal; Micki Sumpter, Economic Development Coordinator; and Bob Crossthwaite, then Mayor of Ellsworth. Later, membership in the AARP NAFSC was presented to Jo Cooper, Executive Director of FIA. All four were enthusiastic supporters of joining the AARP NAFSC because it aligned well with City of Ellsworth municipal goals and with FIA goals (R. Crossthwaite, personal communication, February 22, 2016). With their support, the AARP NAFSC was presented by AARP Maine to the full council, which unanimously approved joining the network.

There are two common pathways that lead to joining the AARP NAFSC. One approach, exemplified by the age-friendly approach of the policy entrepreneur in Brookline, Mass, is for a grass-roots resident group to present the idea to the city. An alternative method

is a top-down approach, such as the one in Ellsworth. Municipal officials, working with AARP and FIA, presented Network membership to the Council, who adopted it. At the time when Ellsworth joined the AARP NAFSC, it was not a citizen initiative and had not been presented to Ellsworth residents so did not have citizen support. Resident involvement is required by the AARP NAFSC. After joining the network, a top-down approach has the task of engaging older residents in the process so that the experiences and opinions of older adults inform all phases of age-friendly planning.

Recognition. Many of the projects initiated by Michelle Beal, the city manager in Ellsworth from 2007 until March 20, 2015, improved the quality of life for older residents of the community. The city developed a park and accessible walking paths, started a grant program to allow home-owners and landlords to insulate, update, and modify homes that are located in the built-up section of the city, targeted the repair of sidewalks and creation of bike paths, opened a community center that houses the FIA Senior Center and the YMCA children's daycare center, completed an extensive housing survey to identify gaps in housing available to Ellsworth's 55+ residents, permitted development of Leonard Lake Senior Housing Development, subsidized congregate housing for people 60+ that is within easy walking distance of the Moore Community Center and adjacent to the Knowlton Community Park, courted development of an assisted living and rehabilitation center adjacent to the Moore Community Center, and started to develop city-wide high-speed internet access. All those accomplishments line up with work communities can choose to do in the eight domains of livability. Michelle Beal, the city manager who championed the application to join the AARP NAFSC said, "it was a natural for us—the Network was another way of thinking

about the changes Ellsworth was already making so that residents can participate in all aspects of our community. We were excited for the opportunity to be recognized by AARP for our work”. Michelle Beal’s vision was for an inclusive campus that would allow people living in the Leonard Lake Senior Housing Development and Seaport Village to be included in the social and recreational opportunities offered at the Knowlton Park and FIA Senior Center and to live close enough to the downtown to be as involved with the economic and civic life of the community as they wanted to be.

Policy Stream

AARP NAFSC. As early as 2011, headlines in the Ellsworth American proclaimed “Ellsworth Seeks Status as a Senior Citizen Mecca” (Osborn, 2011; Miller, 2011). Michelle Beal had a vision for Ellsworth as “the golden crossroads of Downeast Maine. Golden as in senior citizens: You are wanted in Ellsworth to live, recreate and volunteer.” As part of her vision for age-friendly Ellsworth, the FIA Senior Center was encouraged to move into the renovated Moore School and to expand their programming when the Moore Community Center was fully renovated (P. Pangburn, personal communication, March 09, 2016). Two housing options were developed close to the FIA Senior Center. A sidewalk initiative repaired and extended sidewalks to create a more walkable community. A housing study was planned to determine the unmet needs for housing by residents 55+ and to encourage further housing developments (J Newman, personal communication, February 19, 2016). The age-friendly changes in Ellsworth were part of the overall push to make the community a destination, not a place to visit and leave for older residents.

Expectations of support. Prior to joining the AARP NAFSC, Ellsworth was engaged in age-friendly planning. People interviewed thought that AARP approached Ellsworth about joining the AARP NAFSC because AARP recognized the age-friendly work of the city. Municipal decision-makers thought that recognition of accomplishments would include some ongoing support from AARP Maine. The Executive Director of FIA explained her understanding of the reason AARP approached the City of Ellsworth:

AARP came to Ellsworth... Michelle Beal was still the city manager and Micki Sumpter was the Economic Development Director. AARP contacted them and then they contacted me to be part of the committee and to meet with them. I think it was almost ready-made for AARP. We have done so much here already. That is why they contacted us—to recognize the work the City of Ellsworth has accomplished since FIA started in 2003. AARP wanted to find a good model city to say ‘this is what you can accomplish’ when they sell the program to other communities. AARP sorta wanted to recognize the work and to take some credit even though they had nothing to do with the work here until after we joined. There have been some good consequence of joining. Ellsworth gets the credit for being age-friendly. Whenever they publish the list of age-friendly communities, Ellsworth gets mentioned. Even FIA gets more attention. I have people contact me who have heard, because of FIA, that Ellsworth is in an ‘age-friendly community’ and want to know what we are doing--that kind of thing. Other than that, to be honest I’m not aware of any benefits for joining.

AARP NAFSC offered a policy solution that fit in well with existing policies that had been embraced by the community—the community and economic development priorities of Michelle Beal and the city council.

AARP, nationally, instructed state directors to begin enrolling communities in the AARP NAFSC. AARP Maine applied for a grant from the Gorman Foundation to pay a consultant to roll out the program and to provide small grants for communities to use for an age-friendly assessment and for planning. The consultant was hired in June 2014. Portland, Maine joined the NAFSC in September and Ellsworth joined in December. The consultant's goal was to identify cities that were engaged in age-friendly work and convince them to join the NAFSC. Ellsworth was a natural choice for the program because it was already engaged in age-friendly planning in housing, transportation, outdoor spaces and buildings, civic participation and employment, and community supports and health services. The primary goal of AARP Maine was to enroll communities, not to provide more than minimal support for the work. The Maine office provided technical advice and mini-grants so that communities could hire a consultant to work with them on assessment and planning. AARP Maine did not have staff to attend age-friendly meetings or help recruit volunteers or make connections with local organizations. That was the work of each local age-friendly team.

Role of Policy Entrepreneur

Dual champions. AARP Maine recruited Ellsworth to join the AARP NAFSC. The organization had no prior history working in Ellsworth so lacked the ability to effectively move joining the AARP NAFC to the municipal change agenda. It recruited a local policy

entrepreneur, Michelle Beal, to champion joining the network. She, in turn, recruited FIA to join the effort.

Michelle Beal advocated for age-friendly community and economic development during her tenure as Ellsworth city manager. She was not, specifically, an advocate for the AARP NAFSC but, more broadly, of increasing services and programs for older residents. She saw the economic and social benefits to the community of creating a place that was attractive to people who want to retire in Maine and to having the services that older adults who had lived in the community for 25+ years to remain in the community after retirement:

Helping them gives so much benefit to the city. Seniors are a demographic that don't cost a lot. Their children are grown, so you don't have the educational expenses. They spend their money here in the service center. They pay their taxes. They have medical appointments. They volunteer in the community. It just makes sense.

Michelle's work in the city making age-friendly changes and her position as city manager, made her the obvious choice when AARP was looking for a local champion to advocate for joining the AARP NAFSC.

FIA was the only non-governmental organization approached about membership in the AARP NAFSC. The reason that Michelle Beal and AARP approached FIA was that FIA was working with the city to expand their services at the Moore Community Center (J. Cooper, personal communication, February 02, 2016). Prior to the development of the Senior Center, FIA had focused most its effort on providing transportation for people living

throughout Hancock County. The public-private partnership that allowed the FIA Senior Center to expand at the renovated Moore School was strongly supported by Michelle Beal, the city manager who advocated for joining the AARP NAFSC. She took a personal interest in the new Senior Center and visited it at least weekly. FIA and Michelle Beal shared a vision for a more age-friendly community and were natural political allies working on the effort. When the city manager left her position, the age-friendly initiative lost its municipal champion and the Executive Director of FIA lost her link to municipal government:

We have never had a strong connection to the city. They would call us if someone was in trouble or when there was a problem—like a bad storm—and they wanted us to do reassurance calls. They don't fund us. Michelle took an interest in us and in the city—she grew up here and she wanted to make this a city that would be very good for seniors to live. We worked closely with her but when she left, we didn't have a tie to the city anymore. So, I think there are pieces to this puzzle...you know, the age-friendly part--that we are not there yet, and we need to set some goals with the city probably.

In 2016, FIA reluctantly took the lead as policy entrepreneur advocating with the City to start the age-friendly planning process and has worked to create ties to municipal government.

Time and a Window of Opportunity

Organizations coalesce. The success of the city manager's projects to increase services to older adults between 2007 and 2015 created excitement in the city council about being a "mecca for seniors". FIA was pleased with the direction the city was taking by

increasing its support for older residents. AARP Maine needed to enroll members of the AARP NAFSC. The council believed that AARP NAFSC membership was recognition for the work they were doing and planned to do in the future. Michelle Beal, then city manager said:

The timing was perfect because we were really focusing on services for seniors and we wanted to use the structure offered by the AARP NAFSC to structure a more global approach to community development that would benefit all ages in the community.

With the departure of the city manager, the window of opportunity that had opened for the community to join the AARP NAFSC slammed shut before the policy was implemented. The primary policy entrepreneur was gone and the Executive Director of FIA, who had worked closely with the city manager to gain support for membership by the city council, was overwhelmed by the responsibility of creating stability for an organization whose budget more than doubled when the board agreed to take on the responsibility for developing and administering social, recreational, and nutritional opportunities for residents of Ellsworth and the surrounding area who are 55+.

Themes: Resource Mobilization Theory

This section applies Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) to the age-friendly work in the City of Ellsworth since joining the AARP NAFSC. RMT posits that the strength, resources, and commitment of collaborators affect the strength of collaborations dedicated to a change agenda. At the time of the interviews, there had been no collaborative efforts

around the need for age-friendly changes in the community. The City of Ellsworth has not formed an age-friendly ad hoc or standing committee, no provider-led collaboration has taken on the issue, nor has a citizen's group formed to address the age-friendly change agenda. Without a policy entrepreneur to champion the initiative, Age-Friendly Ellsworth lay dormant.

Interviewees agreed that, although there have been age-friendly changes in the community that are part of the plan for the community to be more welcoming to people of all ages, there have been no changes that can be attributed to joining the network. The Mayor of Ellsworth summed up what the others said:

My feeling is that we haven't had enough time yet to really push that. And I think that needs to be part of our whole marketing scheme. It is something that we are very aware of and we are open to senior people being an integral part of the community. And for that reason, we want to have facilities for them-- both to live and to do whatever else they need to do.

The change in city manager and concomitant loss of the policy entrepreneur who championed joining the Network of Age-Friendly Communities in 2015, combined with the strain on the organizational resources of Friends in Action caused by the launch of the expanded senior center dealt a double blow to the AARP NAFSC work in Ellsworth.

A city-appointed age-friendly planning group had not been formed in the three months between joining the AARP NAFSC and the departure of the city manager. Because the work was not a grass-roots effort, a group of citizen advocates, such as initially formed in

Brookline, was not available to lead the effort in the absence of a city-appointed committee. The Executive Director of FIA was busy with the expansion of the senior center and FIA so did not have the time or resources to commit to the AARP NAFSC planning process. With no financial or human resources available to be mobilized for the work, no changes were implemented in Ellsworth until 2017, when financial and human resources became available.

Resources

RMT posits that material, relational, ideological, and human can be mobilized to implement changes after a new policy, such as joining the AARP NAFSC, is adopted. The interviews all stressed the lack of resources that followed the departure of Michelle Beal as policy champion.

Municipal support. As mentioned earlier, the age-friendly effort in Ellsworth lost a significant relational resource when Michelle Beal left her position as city manager. David Cole, the current city manager recognizes the benefits that can, potentially, come from attracting 55+ professionals to participate in his economic development projects but his primary emphasis is on infrastructure (roads) and business development. He explained his understanding of what was needed to make the community a more attractive place to live, work, and do business:

I'm not a champion for older adults or for any age group. The City of Ellsworth wants to improve quality of place to allow people of all ages to be actively involved with our city and with our downtown development. High school student interns who will be working in the gardens behind the business incubator (Union River Center for Innovation) and who will be painting a

mural on the side facing the river are learning that this is a great place to live. We hope they will stay here for a lifetime. And that is what age-friendly is about—friendly for people of all ages. That is why I was so excited about the program. It is another way to look at economic development that will attract residents and businesses—and that benefits everyone.

The change in city manager changed the availability of support from the political stream—with an increased emphasis on business development, rather than the creation of services to support aging in the community.

AARP Maine. As a newly formed municipal initiative without a municipal champion, the age-friendly effort in Ellsworth had very few material resources. Neither AARP or the municipality funded the initiative immediately.

In November 2016, Friends in Action applied for and received a planning grant for \$7126 from the AARP Foundation, administered through AARP Maine. The grant requested funds to complete an age-friendly assessment and write an action plan to that builds on community strengths to address needs identified by residents of Ellsworth and the immediate area. Although the grant was written and administered by FIA, the work was supported and approved by the city manager and city council. Results from the assessment were submitted to the committee in July and shared with city council in September 2017. The group has tried to recruit additional volunteers but has struggled to engage residents and other stakeholders. It is rare for Micki Sumpter or Bob Crossthwaite to attend a meeting; the representative of

the Chamber of Commerce resigned in May 2018. Active members of the committee are Jo Cooper and the three Ellsworth residents.

Despite its diminutive size, the age-friendly committee submitted an AARP Challenge grant in 2017, requesting \$12000 to construct a “senior playground” in Knowlton Park. The application was not funded but AARP Maine offered the committee a matching grant. If the committee could raise \$6000, AARP Maine would donate \$6000 to the project. The committee worked with the Chamber of Commerce to develop a raffle with more than 50 donations from businesses. The raffle and community donations successfully raised \$7258. With the AARP Maine \$6000 donation, the committee was able to move forward with their plans. They worked with Parks and Recreation to create a plan for the space where the additional equipment will be placed, purchase 3 pieces of exercise equipment, four benches and an outdoor game table. The park is expected to be installed by October 2018. The successful addition of adult exercise equipment has increased ties with the downtown association and with Parks and Recreation. The committee hopes that the installation of the park will also increase general awareness of the age-friendly work in Ellsworth.

Opportunities for Collaboration

The structure of the AARP NAFSC requires, at a minimum, collaboration between citizen advocates and the municipal government. With the departure of city manager, Michelle Beal, the initiative did not have a champion in municipal government. The only tie between the municipality and FIA was their lease, as tenants in the Moore Building, and referrals for services from town employees who were asked for resources by residents. Jo

Cooper, Executive Director of FIA summed up the changing relationship between FIA, the Moore Community Center and the City:

I don't really have any organized way of being in touch with what the city is actually doing. We are a separate organization. I mean we are a private organization, but the public/private partnership has been very successful and is a great model. I think it was unfortunate that we had the personnel change just as we started because it... David Cole, as the city manager, doesn't have any connection with us. I think he saw good things going on in Ellsworth and this was already a done deal. As with any good manager, you are dealing with a lot of things and have to put out fires and this wasn't a fire so...

Although the select board supported the application and signed a letter of commitment, no one member took leadership in the initiative and the select board did not appoint an age-friendly ad hoc or standing committee. Without an age-friendly committee, there was no one to work on the initiative and no opportunities for groups to form partnerships or collaborate with other stakeholders.

Engaging stakeholders. The Executive Director of FIA was enthusiastic about joining the NAFSC and hosted several of the early planning meetings (R Crosthwaite, personal communication, February 22, 2016). The organization had a good knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of the community for supporting an aging population and had established relationships with volunteers and older residents of the community. However, at the same time, FIA opened the expanded Senior Center. Time and energy that could have

been devoted to the age-friendly planning effort went into the expansion of the FIA Senior Center. FIA did not have the capacity to recruit and nurture an age-friendly committee.

By the end of 2016, FIA had established the new senior center and successfully advocated with David Cole, Ellsworth city manager, and with the city council for municipal appointment of an ad-hoc age-friendly committee. Initial members of the committee were three older residents, one appointed and one elected official, and a representative of the business community (Jo Cooper, personal communication, October 12, 2016). In addition to Jo Cooper, members include Mikki Sumpter, Ellsworth Economic Development Coordinator; Bob Crosthwaite, member of the Ellsworth City Council, a representative of the chamber of commerce, an active FIA volunteer who moved to Ellsworth because it was a member of the AARP NAFSC and two other residents who moved to Ellsworth in retirement.

Currently, with the appointment of an ad-hoc age-friendly committee in December 2016, that includes representation from local business, the municipality, residents, and Friends in Action, it is hoped that the committee will be able to move through planning and build a strong collaboration with other local groups.

Stakeholder commitment

Retiree in-migrants. Older residents are a significant, committed asset for the age-friendly work in Ellsworth. Each of the older residents on the committee has strong ties with FIA—either as volunteers or as recipients of services. Collectively, they have provided much-needed leadership for the work and have proven that they are willing to engage in fund-raising for the organization. All three of the older residents on the committee moved to

Ellsworth in retirement. Janice O'Brien, a member of the age-friendly committee, summed up their involvement in the age-friendly work:

We all came here to be involved with the community. I retired from IBM and so did Bob. We have great project management skills and aren't afraid to approach businesses to ask for donations. One challenge, though, is that we don't know a lot of people in town. FIA has given us the opportunity to meet people and to socialize but we don't know who to contact in the municipality or who the local influencers are—not yet. We have to depend on Jo for that. It's tough...

They have used their connections with residents, businesses, elected officials, and municipal departments to partner on short-term projects with defined goals, such as the addition of adult exercise equipment, outdoor game table, benches, and accessible picnic tables in Knowlton Park. However, the committee has struggled to engage community-based organizations, local business, and municipal employees as active long-term collaborators with the age-friendly team.

Collaborative Efforts: Building a Base

The commitment to making the community more livable has included projects that are often aspects of age-friendly development. For example, the Ellsworth Area Healthy Community task force included health care and social service providers, businesses, and representatives of municipal departments. Among other efforts, the task force advocated for improvements to the sidewalks and roadways that benefit bicyclists and pedestrians

(Ellsworth Bicycle-Pedestrian Committee, 2007) and successfully worked to create outdoor recreation opportunities for residents of all ages. The efforts of the Healthy Communities Task Force tied in with the downtown improvement plan and the update to the 2004 Comprehensive Plan. The commitment to making outdoor spaces more accessible benefits older and younger people alike.

The City of Ellsworth has a history of collaboration between the public and private sectors. A public-private partnership led to the opening of the Moore Community Center, where the Friends in Action Senior Center is located:

We are proud of our community center...The original estimates were pretty high and raised a lot of concern in the community, but we ended up doing that job--about \$4.5 million. Much of the money for that --about 1 million--was raised by private donations and people from the commercial sector saying they want to be on it. Now, FIA runs our senior center in the space and the YMCA manages the building and runs the daycare program. It was a win for the community, FIA, local businesses, and for city government. (Paul Pangburn, personal communication, March 09, 2016)

To date, two collaborations have arisen from the age-friendly work in Ellsworth. The group had to collaborate with local businesses and with the municipality to add adult exercise equipment, an outdoor chess table, benches, and accessible picnic table in Knowlton Park. The committee has also collaborated with local fire and police to offer a fire, fall, and fraud prevention training and have partnered with the Red Cross to distribute smoke detectors to

residents of all ages in the city. The committee hopes to build on the successes of 2018 to develop additional collaborations and to partner with local organizations (Janice O'Brien, personal communication, March 18, 2018)

Case Two Summary

Ellsworth provides strong evidence for parts of the theoretical model that inform this study. Kingdon's policy change model is, typically, applied to grass-roots movements, such as the age-friendly initiative in Brookline. Joining the AARP NAFSC was not, in the case of Ellsworth, a grass-roots effort but was spearheaded by AARP Maine, working with a city manager who strongly advocated for improving services and infrastructure to retain and attract older residents to the community. Her efforts to make Ellsworth a "senior citizen mecca" were supported by her staff and by the city council.

Michelle Beal successfully brought the problem stream – the desire to market Ellsworth as an attractive place for people of all ages to live, work, and do business—and the policy stream—joining the AARP NAFSC—together to gain support of elected officials in the political stream. However, support for the AARP NAFSC was limited to the town manager and elected and appointed municipal officials and the administration of FIA. The City did not host an event to celebrate joining the NAFSC and press releases did not ask for volunteers from the public to help with the work. Thus, there was no citizen involvement in the work prior to 2017, when a steering committee was formed.

Within a few months of joining the AARP NAFSC, Michelle Beal resigned from her position as city administrator to take a job working for a law firm in Bangor. With no policy entrepreneur to provide momentum for the AARP NAFSC planning process, the initiative

floundered. At the same time, the organizational capacity of FIA was being stretched by the increase in services and programs it implemented as part of its agreement with the City of Ellsworth to run the FIA Senior Center in the fully renovated Moore Community Center. The organization could not further extend itself to take leadership of the initiative.

The emphasis of the city council on proactive “senior friendly” community and economic development between 2007 and 2015 provided a window of opportunity to join the AARP NAFSC when AARP Maine asked the City of Ellsworth to join the network. Membership in the AARP NAFSC was not sought by citizen advocates or City of Ellsworth officials, it was presented by AARP NAFSC as a good fit for a community that had already made a commitment to age-friendly development. As such, membership in the AARP NAFSC was a policy solution for a problem that was already being addressed by policies developed by the City of Ellsworth, supported in the political stream. The people interviewed as part of this research project saw the policy as recognition for work that had been completed, not as policy guidance for work that needed to be done.

The role of age-friendly advocate leading Ellsworth’s work on the AARP NAFSC has recently been taken by the Executive Director of FIA. She has applied for and received a grant to support the planning effort and has recruited a steering committee to guide the work. Based on past age-friendly work by FIA and the City of Ellsworth, it is possible that the effort will lead to strong collaborations that champion further age-friendly efforts in the city. However, only time will tell how successful any collaborations that will form as part of the age-friendly work will be.

CHAPTER 6

CASE THREE: NEWPORT, VERMONT

Context

Newport, Vermont, county seat of Orleans County at the northern tip of Vermont, is home to 4,493 people. The median age of residents, 39.1, is comparatively younger than surrounding Orleans County, which has a median age of 44.8 (US Census, 2015). About one-third (33.7%) of the 1,786 households in Newport include at least one person age 60+.

Newport has struggled to develop a strong economic base with jobs and opportunities to keep young people in the area. A few years before Newport joined the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities, a large economic development project was planned by the Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative (NEKEDI). The project brought hope for economic vitality that would spur community development. One reason the city joined the AARP NAFSC was that the program aligned with the municipal plans to make the city a safer, more enjoyable place for people to live throughout their lives. When the NKEDI project fell through, momentum for community development projects, including age-friendly initiatives, faltered.

Socio-Economic Development

The Northeast Kingdom is known for its natural beauty and year-round recreational opportunities. One in four homes in Orleans County and 8.6% of homes in Newport are used seasonally (US Census, 2015). Newport, which shares Lake Memphremagog with Quebec to its north, was a resort town from the mid-1800's to mid-1900's attracting tourists from Boston, New York, and Montreal by passenger rail. When passenger rail service ended, tourism decreased. The Newport downtown association, Newport City Renaissance Corporation (NCRC), started a "Discover Newport" campaign in 2006 that markets the many recreational, cultural, and foodie opportunities for local and distance visitors. The campaign targets people who enjoy outdoor activities—from the nearby Jay Peak four season resort to Lake Memphremagog—or have a special interest that is served by such annual events as the jazz festival, soap box derby, high school music festival, and ice fishing derby.

Between 2000 and 2015, Newport's population decreased by 10.2% while the overall population of Orleans county increased by 3%. The decrease in the population of Newport has been most pronounced among older people. The number of working age adults (ages 15-64) decreased by a modest 3% while the population 65+ in Newport decreased by 27%. A woman who participated in an AARP walk audit on June 01, 2017 noted:

Newport is in a beautiful area, but beauty only goes so far. The cost of living is too high for us on a fixed income, crime is going up, drugs, and everything else that's going on in Newport...We are moving as soon as we can sell our place. We've brought the price down by 40% but still no takers. This is a hard place to live.

Newport has the highest level of unemployment in a municipality with a labor force over 1000 in Vermont (Vermont Dept. of Labor, 2017). Overall, Newport has a poverty rate of 19%, compared with 10% in Orleans County. About 11% of people 65+ live below the poverty line in Newport, compared with 10% in Orleans County (US Census, 2015).

Newport is a resource center for the smaller communities in Orleans County. It has transportation options and medical services that are not available in the surrounding area. Rural Community Transportation, Inc. offers limited bus service Monday through Saturday that is available at no cost to people in Newport and in neighboring Derby. People who have a physical disability that makes it hard for them to walk to a bus stop but who live within ½ mile of a stop, can call in advance for curbside pick-up. The bus route was designed to accommodate shopping, errands, socialization, and medical care. The North County Hospital, with approximately 500 employees, is the largest employer in Newport and provides all levels of medical care and specialization services. Of the 596 long-term beds available in Orleans County, 21% are in facilities located in Newport. The availability of transportation and medical care may be part of the reason that Newport has a higher percentage of residents 80+ than the surrounding area; about 6% of Newport residents are 80+, compared with 5% of people living in Orleans County and 4% of Vermonters.

Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative (NKEDI)

Jay, Vermont, located 18 miles west of Newport, is home to Jay Peak, the largest ski/four-season resort in northern Vermont and a source of jobs and recreation for people living in the area. William Stenger, CEO and President of Jay Peak Ski Resort from 1985--

2016, led an aggressive campaign to update and expand the facilities. Starting in 2006, the development was primarily funded by foreign investors who wanted to fast-track US citizenship by investing in a US company through the EB-5 Visa program. The EB-5 program, created by Senator Ted Kennedy's Immigration Act of 1990, allows people interested in becoming US citizens to invest \$500,000+ in a rural, economically depressed area to either start a new business or invest in a troubled business to create ten new jobs or maintain 10 jobs that would have been eliminated without the investment. In exchange, EB-5 participants receive a green card for themselves, their spouse, and children under age 21. In 2008, Ariel Quiros purchased Jay Peak Resort. Bill Stenger retained his position as CEO of Jay Peak and became a partner in the NKEDI, an aggressive program to fund development in Burke, Jay, and Newport using EB-5 investment, when it was launched in 2012.

The NKEDI was perceived by locals as a Robin Hood approach to development—stealing from rich foreign investors and giving it to the poor areas of Vermont. State legislators, municipal officials, businesses, and residents believed in the economic development scheme because it was, in their minds, backed by the US Government. John Wilson, an alderman at the time, explained that:

The proposal was like winning the foreign investment funding lottery. Finally, the Northeast Kingdom was going to experience economic prosperity and have the resources we need for residents to thrive throughout their lifetime. Why not allow rich foreign investors to spend some of their money here? You could say it sounded almost too good to be true, but the US government backed the plan. How could we not believe it?"

The NKEDI planned to raise \$600M from EB-5 investors and create 10,000 new jobs. The primary goal of Ariel Quiros and Bill Stenger was further expansion of Jay Peak. Projects proposed for Newport included:

- A large research facility for AnC Bio, a South Korean bio-tech firm that would produce stem cells, vaccines, and artificial organs
- A manufacturing plant to produce energy efficient windows for Menck Window Systems
- A marina and 150-suite hotel with restaurants, retail space and conference facilities on Lake Memphremagog.
- The “Renaissance Block”, a four-story mixed-use development to replace the derelict Sprague Block, named to honor NCRC’s work promoting downtown development.
- Newport Airport expansion—to include small jet passenger service and development of a private plane manufacturing and repair facility

The projects promised to transform the economically troubled region into a prosperous area where people could get a good education, launch a successful new business to provide services or goods to the burgeoning population, or find a steady well-paying job with full-time benefits at the new factories, hotels, and medical center. The development would attract new businesses and bolster existing businesses by bringing more economic activity to downtown Newport. The biggest concern of state legislators, municipal officials, and

residents was how to expand transportation, schools, hospitals and medical care, restaurants, local shops, and housing to meet the needs of the new residents.

A few of the early projects at Jay Peak were completed but none of the projects outside the resort were finished. The agreement with Menck fell through in 2013. In August 2015, the Vermont Department of Financial Regulation suspended the AnC Bio Vermont development over concerns that the project did not comply with state and federal security and immigration laws. In April of 2016, the federal Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) filed fraud charges against Quiros and Stenger and froze the assets of Jay Peak and all the projects associated with the Northeast Kingdom Development Initiative. Pam Ladd, a community resident active in the age-friendly initiative and in NCRC, the downtown association, summed up the immediate reaction of the community to the SEC:

It was depressing and infuriating to hear that Bill Stenger, someone this community trusted, participated in that kind of fraud. It was depressing to hear that the vision we all hoped for wasn't going to happen. However, Newport residents, many of whom had been skeptical of the scheme from the beginning, were determined that Newport would dig itself out of the hole and turn the liability into an asset.

Bill Stenger settled with the SEC in 2016; Ariel Quiros has entered negotiations with the SEC to settle his portion of the suit. A poignant reminder of the EB-5 scandal is a chain link fence surrounding an empty lot where the nine-building Spates Block was razed to make way for the "Renaissance" block development project. Instead of a thriving area with a mix

of retail stores, restaurants, and a 64-room hotel, the city was left with a city-block sized hole in the ground. A citizen effort transformed the chain link fence that surrounds the site from a reminder of the disappointment to a beacon of hope for the future of Newport. Nine murals designed by the Memphremagog Arts Collaborative made of weather-resistant fabric donated by a local theatre company decorate the fence. During the early of fall of 2016, residents wove the designs through the chain link fencing. Each design represents an organization in the community. City Manager Laura Dolgin explained that, “the art work, representing nine different groups in Newport, has pulled the community together in a wonderful way.” The art project had helped the community to move beyond the disappointment of the EB-5 fraud to imagine the future of the community. City administration continues to seek developers to build on the site. A resident advisory council works with the city to make sure resident voices are heard about the direction it will take.

AARP Vermont

AARP became a country affiliate of the WHO-GNAFCC in 2012 and started to promote the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (AARP NAFSC) as one way for state offices to structure work with municipalities on livability projects. AARP Vermont had a strong history working with municipalities on livability issues and advocating for livability at the state level. The AARP NAFSC represented a seamless extension of the work the office had already done with Burlington and other cities. AARP Vermont, unlike AARP Maine, focused their age-friendly community work in one community rather than work with many cities and towns. The first task of AARP Vermont was to identify a municipality that could benefit from small grants and intense work with staff. When AARP

Vermont looked for a good municipal candidate to join the AARP NAFSC, they wanted to find a community that was rural, under-resourced, and economically challenged but poised for change. Newport was chosen.

Newport was recruited to become the first Vermont member of the AARP NAFSC because it was a very rural, underserved, region that struggled economically. The NCRC had worked on livability projects for seven years prior to AARP approaching the organization to partner in the age-friendly work in Newport. The NKEDI projects planned for Newport had energized residents to critically think about and plan the changes they wanted to make to enhance their community. Newport was poised for change. Recruiting Newport provided an ideal opportunity for AARP Vermont to actively work with a municipality to influence the direction new development would take.

Newport City Renaissance Corporation (NCRC)

NCRC is a nonprofit collaboration of residents, business owners, municipal leaders, and leaders of community-based organizations. The mission of the organization is to:

Serve as a catalyst for economic and community development in Newport's designated downtown district and the greater Newport City area by:

- Advancing and enhancing the economic environment.
- Developing a cohesive and welcoming City design, and
- Promoting the City as a tourism and investment destination.

The NCRC oversees the City of Newport's downtown designation. In Vermont, downtown designation comes with financial incentives—tax credits, grants, and loan

packages—that are only available to communities that commit to working with a non-profit organization to vitalize downtowns by enhancing housing and transportation, improving walkability, and encouraging economic development. Between 2004 and 2017, the NCRC brought \$1.5 million in grants to Newport for downtown development and attracted more than \$8 million in private investment. The NCRC has been key for effective, sustainable downtown development in Newport and, as part of its mission, supported the development approach championed by Jay Peak’s Bill Stenger and Ariel Quiros.

The EB-5 funded NKEDI aligned perfectly with the organization’s economic development and design missions. Two sub-councils work on NCRC initiatives. The Economic Development Council (EDC) is charged with supporting existing businesses and attracting economic development to Newport. The Design Committee is tasked with downtown beautification and creating safer streets for people who drive, use public transport, bike, walk, or roll to get to the places they need to go in Newport. The NKEDI was enthusiastically supported by both committees because it promised to take the downtown association’s development work to a new level economically and by design.

In 2009, NCRC received a \$15,000 grant from the American Institute of Architects to examine the effectiveness of current zoning in Newport to guide development. The provided an Urban Design Assistance Team to identify what residents wanted new design to look like in Newport. The Design Committee directed the project and worked closely with the Newport City Zoning Department to create a new approach to zoning that reflected the recommendations of the Urban Design Assistance Team. In 2010, Newport became the first city in Vermont to adopt form-based code. Mayor Paul Monette explained that the city

wanted to: “attract development while maintaining our historic downtown”. The goal was to embrace development to create economic stability while building on the history and values of the city to preserve Newport’s community identity.

The new code created different zones, each with a description of what new or renovated buildings would look like, rather than on the purpose of the building. The changes ended the lengthy review process required whenever a new business started in the downtown. If new or renovated construction met the requirements of the form-based code in the section of Newport where it was located, the project could expect approval in a few months. The NKEDI’s Bill Stenger was pleased with the code change because it meant that his downtown development projects could move ahead at a much faster pace. After the buildings were approved, Bill Stenger could move multiple businesses into the space without gaining approval for each. Patricia Sears summed up the effect of the new code:

The form-based zoning was a return to the "cityscape" of cities of 100 years ago, when four and five-story buildings featured retail and restaurants on the first floor and apartments or condominiums above with parking below. By changing the code to emphasize the look of the building instead of the function, we were saying that Newport was “Open for Business”.

In May of 2013, NCRC was designated as a National Main Street Program for its approach to revitalization of the downtown area. The new code promoted mixed uses for buildings and, it was hoped, refresh neighborhoods in desperate need of revitalization and promote local entrepreneurship. The design goal was to develop a locally strong downtown

to meet the needs of residents and attract people from neighboring communities to shop, patronize local eateries, and participate in recreational and cultural opportunities. The proposed Renaissance Block dove-tailed perfectly with the downtown development goals of the NCRC Design Committee.

In April 2014, Patricia Sears stepped down from her position as Executive Director of NCRC. Julie Raboin, a member of the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council, was appointed as part-time “program coordinator” to replace Trish Sears. She was fired by the NCRC Board of Directors 18 months later, in December 2015. In March 2016, the SEC froze the assets of the NKEDI. In July 2016, Cynthia More, founder of the Newport Jazz Festival and active member of the NCRC Design Committee, was appointed as part-time Executive Director of NCRC. She left the organization six months later, in January 2017, and died by suicide in April 2017. Some of the people who were active in the NCRC Design Committee blamed the NCRC Board for practicing “bullying tactics” that led to the departure of Sears, Raboin, and More.

Public and municipal support for the NCRC declined steadily after Patricia Sears left the organization and picked up speed with the failure of the NKEDI. Since Cynthia More’s departure, the NCRC has had no staff and has had difficulty attracting volunteers to work on its councils. Newport City Council has not increased financial support since 2014 and has publicly questioned the effectiveness of the organization. A September 16, 2017 article in the Caledonian Record announced that NCRC was petitioning the Newport City Council to appoint a municipal commission to oversee the downtown designation that is necessary for the city to apply for grants needed for downtown development.

Age-Friendly Newport

Newport became the 19th community in the US and the first in Vermont to join the AARP NAFSC on December 06, 2013. Newport remains the only municipality in Vermont to join the AARP NAFSC or the WHO-GNAFCC. Six months earlier, in June of 2013, Bill Stenger announced the Northeast Economic Development Initiative development plans for Jay, Newport, and Burke, VT. The combined project was expected to bring prosperity to the region with new jobs, housing and infrastructure development, expanded medical services, and additional educational opportunities. Although there was enthusiasm for the change, there was concern by some people, including city council member John Wilson who wanted to make sure that changes in Newport, “happened in a way that is for Newport, not to Newport”. John Wilson gave his begrudging support for joining the NAFSC because he saw it as one way for the Council to encourage community development and infrastructure changes that honored what residents wanted and needed from their community and create another venue for residents to participate in planning for the changes happening in the community.

The Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council began to meet in the spring of 2014. It is an independent advisory group and does not have formal ties with the municipality. Members were not appointed by the select board but were recruited by Trish Sears, NCRC executive director at the time, and by Kelly Stoddard-Poor, AARP Vermont Outreach Director. The two successfully recruited representatives of agencies that provide local services, town employees, and older residents who were familiar with how to effectively make change in the community. The Age-friendly Community Advisory Council,

with the help of AARP Research, conducted an age-friendly assessment of residents 45+ in 2014 and completed an action plan, which it presented to the select board in February, 2016—two months before the SEC filed fraud charges against Stenger and Quiros and froze the assets of the NKEDI, effectively ending any hope that the development plans would bring an economic boon for the area or be a catalyst for changes in infrastructure or policy to enhance livability.

AARP Vermont has invested in Age-Friendly Newport by providing technical support, staffing for meetings and events, financial sponsorship of all public events, and an annual Community Action grant program open to local groups that are making Newport a better place to live. Kelly Stoddard-Poor explained the reason for the grants:

The purpose for AARP Vermont offering the small grants in Newport was to help move forward the age-friendly agenda and the response was really great. We wanted to use the grants as a catalyst for pushing forward change around livable communities, whether through advocacy or specific projects.

The program was launched in partnership with NCRC in October 2013—two months prior to the Newport City Council’s decision to join the AARP NAFSC. The first winners were announced in February 2014—a news service, domestic violence advocacy group, a community gardening project, and a support program for people who are visually impaired. Thirteen of the fourteen grantees between 2014 and 2017 provide services and opportunities that benefit people of all ages. Only one—a \$250 grant to increase access of older people to technology—specifically benefitted older Newport residents. The emphasis of the

Community Action grants on benefitting residents of all ages reflects the focus of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council.

The age-friendly initiative received steady press coverage for its work in the community. The focus prior to the EB-5 scandal was on the annual mini-grant winners and the council's work on transportation and, particularly, for the "Our Town, Slow it Down" initiative. Since the scandal, the focus of media coverage has been on the age-friendly work as a force for community development and positive change in the downtown area. Eight articles published in the 18 months from May 2016 to October 2017 in the *Caledonian Record* have discussed the change in leadership, work on the Newport Recreation path study funded by this year's AARP Vermont community action mini-grant winner, a conversation series held at the Goodrich Library about "critical conversations" between older adults and other family members, downtown parking, a program to bring live music to a monthly luncheon for older residents, and the expansion of bus services. In the 40 months from December 2013 to April 2016, there were seven articles about the age-friendly work in Newport; two announced acceptance by the AARP and WHO into the AARP NAFSC, one informed the public about survey results, two focused on the community challenge grants, and two discussed the Our Town, Slow it Down initiative. In the search to highlight what is working well in Newport, the press and residents have turned their attention, in part, to the work of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council.

Participants

Patricia Sears, until June 2017, was the Chair of the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council. As Chair, she has represented the initiative publicly. When

Patricia and her family moved to the Northeast Kingdom, she was working as an international economic development consultant. However, she put her many talents to work locally and was the founding director of NCRC in 2002. In 2012, her work was recognized by the City of Newport when she was named Citizen of the Year by the Newport Daily Express. Patricia was approached by AARP Vermont to lead the age-friendly initiative in Newport because of her role as executive director of NCRC. From 2014 to 2017, she also served as State President of AARP Vermont, a volunteer position.

Kelly Stoddard-Poor was hired by AARP Vermont as their Outreach Director in May 2013. She has worked closely with the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council and has spearheaded much of the work they have accomplished. Kelly came to AARP Vermont with a strong background in community organizing and development. Her work with AARP Vermont has focused on livability projects, including complete streets and bike/pedestrian safety. She leads the state office's livability work with Burlington and other Vermont communities.

Mary Butler was appointed Chair of the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council in July 2017. Kelly Stoddard-Poor approached her about taking the position. When Mary accepted, the decision was announced to the council, who agreed that Mary was a good choice to replace outgoing chair, Patricia Sears. Mary Butler is a retired nurse and started a Survivors of Suicide support group through the local chapter of the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention (AFSP).

Pam Ladd is a long-time member of the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council and hosts the public television program, NEK VT Rocks! When the

council is introduced to the public, Pam emphasizes that she serves on the council as an older resident, specifically avoiding making a connection with her other work in the community. During the interviews, Pam shared that she feels it is important to privilege the voices of residents on the council so that changes planned are what people in Newport and the surrounding area want and are implemented in a way that builds on community values. The problem with agency representatives, according to Pam, is that the work they do reflects the mission and vision of their organizations, not of the community at large. She has also been active in the NCRC Design Committee and was central to the work on project to place murals on the fence surrounding the demolished Spate Block in downtown Newport. Pam is an active participant in the Wednesday Walkers program that accompanies primary school children for the one-mile walk from the Courthouse to their school. Currently, Pam is the only citizen representative on the council.

Laura Dolgin has been city manager of Newport, Vermont since 2015. She has lived in the Northeast Kingdom most of her life and has been active as an elected official and as an appointed official in municipal government. The primary challenge for Laura working with the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council has been her concern that the council will unrealistically raise hopes for change. She participated in the 2017 walk audit sponsored by AARP Vermont and the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council and has asked for their input in a traffic study. Although she is supportive of the community development work the council has recommended, the EB-5 scandal hit the community hard and recovery has been a slow process. Laura believes that Newport City

Age-friendly Community Advisory Council will have a key role in planning but cautions that they should not expect too much too soon.

John Wilson has served as president of the Newport City Council for 17 years. A vocal opponent of joining the AARP NAFSC in 2013, he is now one of Age-Friendly Newport's ardent supporters because of the small grant program that AARP sponsors each year to support local organizations and the council's work on accessibility. John was opposed to joining the AARP NAFSC because he felt that NCRC and AARP had presented the program to the mayor without going through proper channels to get the back-up of the full council. When the program was presented to the council, it was described as another vehicle to apply for grants. John Wilson has been a consistent opponent to any measure that may increase property taxes; he opposes grant opportunities that pay for a new service for 1+ years but expects the community to pick up the tab after the initial funding period has ended. He was also concerned that joining the AARP NAFSC would cede local control to the World Health Organization. Over time, he has seen that the initiative has not requested money from the city budget and that AARP has invested heavily in the community. John has also seen that any changes that have been made or proposed by the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council are rooted in what Newport residents want and need to thrive in the community. Opposition to the AARP NAFSC was not an unusual policy position for John Wilson, who also cautioned careful consideration of the development project presented by NKEDI. He has long been a supporter of making the community more accessible and has been a voice for older residents of the community on issues such as property taxes and creation of the community gardens.

Themes: Kingdon's Policy Change Model

Kingdon's policy change model is used to describe how factors in the problem, political, and policy streams created a window of opportunity for Newport to join the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities. This section discusses key factors in the three streams that created an opportunity for AARP Vermont and Patricia Sears to present membership in the NAFSC to the city council and that contributed to the decision of the aldermen to join the AARP NAFSC, despite initial reluctance.

Problem Stream

Selective framing. Kingdon's model posits that a community is most likely to adopt a policy change, such as joining the AARP NAFSC, when decision makers, advocates, and other stakeholder agree on the definition of the problem. As in Brookline, the policy entrepreneur framed the problem differently when talking with residents and local organizations than when presenting to municipal officials. To local organizations, AARP Vermont and NCRC framed the problem as the loss of local control in planning about the NKEDI. To city administration and the board of selectmen, they framed the problem as the need to celebrate the development work the city had started.

Loss of local control. In 2013, there was general agreement that Newport, Vermont was a rural community with chronic unemployment and that the area was in desperate need of community and economic development. The solution that was cautiously embraced by the community was the NKEDI programs proposed by Ariel Quiros and Bill Stenger. The two had successfully used the federal EB-5 visa program to bring \$500 million investment dollars to expand Jay Peak Resort; in 2013, they were proposing to build seven new businesses as

part of an “enterprise” initiative that would, in five years, create an astounding 10,000 new jobs.

Although the community was enthusiastic about the infusion of cash and jobs, many residents worried that the new jobs would require a specialized skill set that locals did not have, and that Newport would become an upper-class destination that would exclude people who lived in Newport before the development project. There was a fear that the development meant a loss of local control and in-migration of people who would take the new, well-paying jobs.

Some of us worried that Newport wasn’t going to be able to absorb that much change and still keep its community character. On a basic level, did we have the services—medical, transportation, education—and housing for all the new people? But on a more important level, would the changes ruin the unique character of the Northeast Kingdom and, particularly, Newport? –*John Wilson*

The community worried about the need for workforce development programs and transportation improvements to meet the influx of new residents. They worried that new sprawling housing developments could take away from the village feel of Newport. Local businesses wondered if it would be a boon to their existence or signal the end of the vital downtown if big box stores came to the region.

The problem addressed by the AARP NAFSC was how to ensure that local people had a voice in the changes that were being made as part of the proposed development. Area residents wanted to make changes that would make the community a better place to live but

also wanted to make sure it remained a city that was welcoming and inclusive for all residents. One of the primary organizations working on the issue at the time was the NCRC, Design Committee.

Those of us who lived in the neighborhoods were concerned about what was happening—worried that we would lose our neighborhoods and losing the community feel. We weren't sure that the economic development was really going to happen—it was a preposterous proposal—but, if it was happening, we wanted to make sure it didn't take away from our communities. That was one of the goals of the Design Committee, to protect and build on the community feel. The age-friendly program fit in with those goals. It is a community development program to make a better place for all ages and all abilities and all economic levels. Many of the people on the Design Committee became involved in the age-friendly council. *—Pam Ladds, member of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council*

Municipalities that join the AARP NAFSC commit to implementing changes in policy and infrastructure that encourage residents of all ages to be as actively engaged in all aspects of community life as they want to be. The program requires that older residents are included in planning and implementing age-friendly changes and encourages age-friendly teams to make sure they include the voices of people who represent the diversity in the community. Joining the AARP NAFSC was an effective way to address residents' concerns that they were being

left out of the changes that were happening in their community as a residual effect of the EB-5-funded development projects.

Political Stream

Recognition. To move decision making about joining the AARP NAFSC to the municipal agenda the policy entrepreneur stressed that joining was a celebration of the work the city had already done to make the community more age-friendly as well as a commitment to ongoing age-friendly planning and development. In an article in the Newport Dispatch News (January 2015), Kelly Stoddard Poor, AARP Vermont Director of Outreach is quoted saying:

As Newport plans for major redevelopment of its downtown and economic base, the city and its partners, including AARP Vermont and the Newport City Renaissance Corp., are looking at ways to prepare for a rapidly aging population and to celebrate all the great work the city has already done by focusing on safe, walkable streets, better housing and transportation options as well as access to key services and community engagement opportunities for all ages.

By celebrating the work the city had already accomplished, AARP Vermont and NCRC were able to successfully advocate for joining the AARP NAFSC despite initial resistance from the city council about joining.

Reluctant municipal support. On March 04, 2013, Patricia Sears brought the proposal to join the AARP NAFSC to the city council. The aldermen expressed concern that

AARP was a lobbyist that did not represent the opinions of Newport residents and that joining the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities would mean giving some local control to AARP and, since AARP's NAFSC was a country affiliate of the WHO-GNAFCC, to the United Nations World Health Organization. They asked Patricia Sears to bring someone from AARP Vermont who could provide additional information about the AARP NAFSC and, specifically, address their concerns about how the program was structured.

Kelly Stoddard-Poor was hired as Outreach Director for AARP Vermont two months later, in May 2013:

So, when I came on board in Main 2013, my goal was to work with the city to get them to sign on. We had really strong support from Bill Stenger, the entrepreneur who was later caught in the EB-5 scandal. We had really strong support from the community and from business leaders to get Newport into the Age-Friendly Network. We had considerable push-back from city leadership. Initially from the mayor, the present city manager, and one of the city counsellors were strongly opposed.

Gaining the support of the city council was the last step for AARP Vermont to formalize its commitment to work intensively with Newport as a member of the AARP NAFSC. In August and September, Kelly solicited support for joining the AARP NAFSC by talking with community groups and individual change agents to share information about the AARP NAFSC, hear what they wanted from the Network of Age-Friendly Communities, and

explain how AARP Vermont would support the work. Her first stop was the NCRC Design Committee. During the next few months she met with other local organizations, Bill Stenger, the city manager, and Mayor. Bill Stenger became a vocal supporter of joining the network and, on October 14, wrote a letter of support to Mayor Monette. In the letter he wrote:

I would very much like to see Newport City as the front runner in our state to pro-actively address the needs of our valuable aging population, who are living longer and more healthy lives...This opportunity will also serve as an innovative economic driver for Newport, attracting an energetic workforce and entrepreneurs that includes millennials through baby boomers.

Prior to the scheduled meeting with the city council, on November 14, Patricia Sears and Kelly met with Mayor Monette and city manager John Ward to discuss joining the AARP NAFSC and to present the letters of support they had gathered from community leaders, including the letter from Bill Stenger. Mayor Monette supported the application and agreed to sign a letter of commitment because he believed the partnership between AARP Vermont, NCRC, and the City of Newport would increase visibility of the city's efforts to enhance livability and could help the city to further improve the quality of life of residents. In his letter, presented to the aldermen on November 18, Mayor Monette wrote:

In Newport we have already accomplished much to make our community age-friendly. This includes our vast network of sidewalks, our work on ensuring easy access to our downtown, beautiful public parks and all the local services dedicated to helping our aging citizens.

To join the AARP NAFSC, the signature of the highest-ranking elected official is the only one required on the letter of commitment. However, without the support of the city council, the AARP NAFSC work was unlikely to have the full support of the Council and appointed officials. Joining the AARP NAFSC was added to the December 02 city council agenda.

At the December 2 city council meeting, Alderman John Wilson accused AARP Vermont of going behind the back of the council to sneak approval for joining the AARP NAFSC. Kelly Stoddard-Poor apologized for giving that impression and explained that the Advisory Board would simply guide the work of Age-Friendly Newport and would have no legal standing to levy taxes or change municipal regulations. She also discussed the mini-grant program that had been launched in the fall of 2013. During the meeting, Mayor Monette apologized to the aldermen for writing the letter without council support. The motion for Newport to join the AARP NAFSC passed unanimously and the city council agreed to support the letter signed by Mayor Monette, dated November 18, 2013.

Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative. NKEDI played a critical role in municipal decision-making about joining the AARP NAFSC. The city was excited about the possible benefits that NKEDI would bring. Residents and local businesses, for the most part, saw it as an opportunity to make the community a better place for people of all ages. John Wilson, a member of the Newport Board of Selectmen talked about what people expected from NKEDI:

Everyone was excited. Newport had been the punching bag for a lot of state policy and hadn't been able to attract industry or large business since the

tourist industry went belly-up in the 60s. We all love Newport, but it is a hard place to live, especially for our younger people who want higher education or good paying jobs. We thought the NKEDI was going to revitalize the economy. The select board had stretched city dollars to pay for some improvement and we thought we would have the money to make more changes but that all ended when the scandal broke.

With the promise of NKEDI, the community was optimistic that the long struggle for economic vitality was going to be achieved. Elected officials thought that economic prosperity would provide the opportunity to make needed changes in infrastructure and provide what residents needed to thrive in Newport at all stages of life.

Policy Stream: AARP NAFSC

In 2013, AARP actively encouraged state offices to identify communities where having a local presence could increase the organization's engagement at the municipal level and engage residents in AARP Vermont's state policy agenda. States were charged with focusing some of their work on cities and towns that were struggling economically. Newport—with its high poverty and unemployment rates—clearly qualified for extra focus by AARP Vermont. AARP Vermont had a long history working on livability issues in the state so embracing the AARP NAFSC was a natural extension of the work the office had already done elsewhere in the state. Kelly Stoddard-Poor explained:

We have never had such proposed large-scale development, particularly in a rural, under-served part of the state. The Northeast Kingdom and the

Southwest part of Vermont is much older than the rest of our state so, and unlike the southwest, the northeast also has very high poverty rates. So, we thought it was a unique opportunity to influence how the development was to occur. And there was beginning momentum around the Age-Friendly Network so there was synergy, the program met the need and the office had the expertise so...

AARP Vermont saw the proposed development and need for infrastructure change as a unique opportunity to work with residents to make the community as age-friendly as possible with affordable, accessible housing within walking distance of the downtown; affordable social and recreational opportunities; streets designed for a walkable, bikeable, rollable downtown; ready access to health care; and opportunities for people to stay engaged with the community through volunteering and civic engagement. Newport had already shown its dedication to creating the type of downtown envisioned by the AARP NAFSC and, with the EB-5 development, the money was available to make changes. For AARP Vermont, it was an opportune moment to work directly with residents to help them create the city they wanted.

Expectations of support. NCRC agreed to act as local policy champion with the understanding that AARP Vermont would continue to be actively engaged in the age-friendly work. The organization knew that, for economic growth to be sustainable and for the City of Newport to retain its look and feel, residents should be given a voice in planning and implementing changes. NCRC had worked with the American Institute of Architects to hear how the community wanted their downtown to look and had worked with the City of

Newport to implement form-based code. However, there was need for more resident participation in planning the future of Newport with the new development. One challenge for the NCRC was that it was, as part of its economic development mission, actively engaged in the NKEDI. However, as part of its design mission, NCRC was charged with encouraging city design to enhance the health and well-being of residents, which could require that NCRC oppose some of the development supported by its economic development mission. Joining the AARP NAFSC dove-tailed nicely with the NCRC Design Committee mission and ensured a vehicle for residents to tell the city what they needed and wanted to thrive in the changing city. Many of the members of the Design Committee became members of the Age-friendly Community Advisory Council because the AARP NAFSC was, at that time, an ideal policy to solve the problem of local control over the changes happening in Newport and further the work of the NCRC Design Committee.

Role of Policy Entrepreneur

Dual champions. As with Ellsworth, AARP Vermont did not have a history of working in Newport so recruited a well-respected organization working on similar goals to act as the local policy champion. However, AARP Vermont, unlike AARP Maine, remained committed to the effort after the city joined. During the interviews both policy entrepreneurs were discussed—Patricia Sears, Chair of the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council from 2014—June 2017, and Kelly Stoddard-Poor, Outreach Director, AARP Vermont.

AARP approached NCRC’s Executive Director, Trish Sears, to act as the local lead for joining the AARP NAFSC. The NCRC Design Committee was enthusiastic because

joining the AARP NAFSC as aligned with their goals for a welcoming, inclusive, accessible, downtown. Patricia Sears believed membership in the AARP NAFSC would signify recognition for the work the NCRC Design Committee had accomplished and keep the Design Committee work moving forward:

In the beginning, Renaissance (NCRC) came on AARP Vermont's radar when I was running the association because we had built up substantial councils of community people to do design work, economic development, all that kind of stuff...So Renaissance was like, 'maybe we can hook up with you (AARP Vermont), this could work. There is added value to the work we were planning that could benefit from partnership with AARP Vermont, especially with the design work.... Streetscapes and all that kind of stuff. It really dove-tailed.

When Newport joined the AARP NAFSC, Patricia Sears, Executive Director of NCRC, was designated Citizen of the Year by the Newport Daily Express in 2012 for her work with NCRC. From 2014 to 2016, she was named Volunteer President of AARP Vermont and represented the age-friendly work in Newport at national and international meetings. The social capital Patricia had developed over a decade of work with NCRC was critical to her ability to advocate locally for joining the AARP NAFSC. She met with stakeholders to advocate for joining the AARP NAFSC and introduced Kelly to key change agents in the city. Without her support, Kelly would not have had the opportunity to influence elected officials to join the AARP NAFSC.

As part of AARP Vermont's commitment to Newport, Kelly Stoddard-Poor, Outreach Director for AARP Vermont, has attended most meetings of the age-friendly council and has spear-headed many of the council's efforts. Kelly works closely with the Chair to create an agenda. In 2017, soon after she was appointed Editor of the Newport Dispatch, Patricia Sears resigned from her position as chair but plans to continue as a member of the Age-friendly Community Advisory Council. In May 2017, with the knowledge that Patricia Sears planned to resign, Kelly asked Mary Butler to take over the role of chair.

Time and a Window of Opportunity: A powerful ally

Kingdon's model of policy changes posits that a policy entrepreneur advocates for change over time. During the time that the policy entrepreneur increases awareness of the need for change, he or she gathers support for the change agenda. The support garnered allows the change advocates to take advantage when the window of opportunity opens to allow a change agenda to gain traction with people who have the power to implement policy change.

NCRCs Design Committee was an active council that advocated for a walkable, welcoming downtown. In 2012, the council sponsored a sidewalk art event that asked residents, business people, and visitors to help design a map for a walkable city. They worked to raise awareness of the importance of encouraging economic and business development that brought economic vitality to the city and preserved the historic look of the downtown and celebrated Newport culture, the Design Committee advocated for the Community gardens and worked to increase the number available to meet the needs of people living in the different neighborhoods in Newport. In August of 2013, when the Northeast

Vermont Development Association sponsored a study of the ability of the current transportation infrastructure to meet the influx of people expected as part of the NKEDI, the council advocated for walkable, bikeable streets and increased transportation options. Given the priorities of the NCRC Design Committee, the time was ripe for NCRC to support membership in the AARP NAFSC, which, through planning in the eight domains of livability, was very much in line with the work the NCRC Design Committee was doing. The NCRC Design Committee wanted to expand their work and to increase engagement and support from residents and the city for their projects. One way to meet that goal was to join the AARP NAFSC, which was widely seen as an honor for the work the Design Committee had completed to date.

The city council opposed the idea of joining the AARP NAFSC when the NCRC brought it to them in March 2013. Kelly Stoddard-Poor spent two months meeting with local organizations, resident groups, and the political powers in Newport to raise awareness of how the AARP NAFSC would work to make Newport an even better place to live. In October, she launched a livability grant program that allowed local organizations to apply for funding for a small project. The mini-grant program showed that AARP Vermont wanted to invest in Newport and increased the base of support she had developed. She confirmed a wide base of support before she approached the city council in December 2013. The letter of support from Bill Stenger, with his central role in bringing economic prosperity to the region, was key to swaying the Aldermen. They unanimously approved the motion to join the AARP NAFSC.

Themes: Resource Mobilization Theory

Resources

Resources available to the Newport Age-Friendly Advisory Council changed during the two years between joining the AARP NAFSC and completing the planning process. Fallout from the EB-5 scandal affected access to material resources associated with NKEDI and relational resources associated with NCRC. Two resources that did not change with time were ideological resources and the material resources provided by AARP Vermont.

Building on community values. From its inception, the Newport Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council focused on creating a better community for all ages. One reason for the emphasis on improving livability for all ages was the strong partnership with the NCRC. Of the eighteen council members listed in Newport City's Age-friendly Community Action Plan, five were part of the NCRC Design team. The emphasis on intergenerational benefits was also a reflection of Newport values. The City of Newport has not, in the past, marketed itself as a retirement destination. The community has focused on children as the economic, political, and social future of the city. Trish Sears discussed how the age-friendly community work builds on Newport's intergenerational values:

AFC is, I think, a great asset for economic development as well as strengthening our community for all ages. It is a wonderful opportunity to intentionally bring the different age demographics together and discover simultaneously, 'oh yeah, that's good for you and that's good for me.' It's what Newport has always been about—what is good for one generation is good for all of us. So, it was really important that we reach out to the youngest people in

our community from the start, so the Age-Friendly Council wouldn't be seen as 'greedy geezers' trying to get everything we could from the EB-5 development at the expense of younger families.

Stressing intergenerational benefits for the age-friendly work was key to gaining community acceptance and represented a strong ideological resource that the council could use to advocate for change.

When people who were interviewed were asked about the intergenerational focus of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council, there was unanimous agreement that the council was focused on increasing livability for all ages. When Kelly Stoddard-Poor talked about the accomplishments of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council, she stressed the importance of intergenerational initiatives to re-frame how people in the community think about aging:

One of the bigger accomplishments has been re-framing what it is to age in Newport. I think there has certainly been an increased awareness around the needs of older adults and how important it is for intergenerational connections. A lot of the grant funding we have provided over time has really helped them move forward a number of really good initiatives. Particularly around intergenerational connection and social connectivity.

The Newport Senior Center is not represented on the Newport Age-Friendly Advisory Council and Age-Friendly Newport has not partnered with the Senior Center or other

groups with a focus on aging to work on initiatives that primarily benefit older residents. They, have however, worked to amplify projects that benefit people of all ages, such as the community gardens, pedestrian and bike safety, and transportation.

AARP Vermont. The second resource that has not changed between 2014 and 2017 is the material investment of AARP Vermont. The organization recruited Newport to join the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities in 2013. As part of its commitment to the region, AARP Vermont invested significant human and financial resources in the initiative. Kelly Stoddard-Poor attended all the early council meetings and has coordinated much of the age-friendly work. She continues to work closely with the chair and attends most of the monthly meetings. Between 2013 and 2017, AARP Vermont invested \$18,500 in an annual community action mini-grant competition. Organizations that serve residents of any age in Newport are eligible to apply for grants of up to \$2000. The community action grant program has been a tangible investment in the work of local organizations that has allowed AARP Vermont and the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council to build trust with area residents by showing that they want to foster community development that builds on existing strengths to meet needs and encourages change in the way that residents want to see it made.

AARP Vermont's investment in Newport has not been limited to aging-related services but has reflected the values of the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council. The services that have won grants make Newport a better place to live for everyone from toddlers to centenarians. Pam Ladds explained that the unwavering support of AARP

Vermont has been key to the sustainability of the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council:

Kelly is very involved. It has been very helpful. I know that some of the other initiatives in other parts of the country haven't had anyone nearly as involved as Kelly. We have loved having her involved. She brings a great perspective. She provides us with resources we can't get in other ways. I mean the bells, whistles and toys that we get from AARP are helpful, they really are. And AARP Vermont pays for things like printing and postage. We would either have to get an agency to take that on or do without because we don't have a budget and postage and printing cost money. We also have had the community grants, that community groups could use to sort of kick-start a program. The community gardens benefitted and so did some other small groups. The groups could be experimental. The program has helped to build community.

Two of the resources that have changed in the three years since Newport joined the AARP NAFSC are the relational resources of the council members and the human resources available to do the age-friendly work. Newport became the 19th community in the United States to join the AARP NAFSC on December 06, 2013. The following two years were spent establishing a council, conducting an assessment, and developing an action plan to build on community strengths and to address the needs identified in the assessment.

Strong leaders. Patricia Sears and Kelly Stoddard-Poor have played a crucial role in municipal decision-making about implementation of the projects sponsored by AARP NAFSC and have worked effectively to increase community engagement with livability projects. Patricia Sears was the policy entrepreneur with local influence over Newport's decision to join the AARP NAFSC and was the founding chair of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council. In her role as founding chair, Patricia Sears was the public face of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Committee. Within Newport, working behind the scenes, Kelly Stoddard Poor has built trust, especially with the municipality and non-profit groups, and is a well-respected champion of livability projects in Newport. Mary Butler explained the importance of the dual leadership of Kelly Stoddard-Poor and Patricia Sears:

Trish (Patricia Sears) has been the chair. She and Kelly were the energizers.

Trish worked closely with Kelly and they fed off each other's energy to motivate the group and engage the community. Kelly is the heart and soul of this initiative. Trish is very good, but she is so busy, she has her hands in so many pies. I think it was really hard for her to keep a handle on the day-to-day work that the council is doing but she is a strong representative of the work we are doing at meetings and conferences outside Newport. Kelly kept us on track, motivated, energized, and moving with a purpose.

Patricia Sear's decision to step down from the role of Chair leaves the council with a hole but the council members interviewed were agreed that it is an opportunity to re-examine the

Newport City Age-friendly Action Plan and pursue new directions for the work of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council. Mary Butler, the newly appointed Chair brings a different perspective to the work. Kelly Stoddard-Poor is working closely with Mary Butler to insure a stable transfer of leadership and to keep the age-friendly initiative on a sustainable track.

Stakeholder involvement. The AARP NAFSC five-year cycle of continuous improvement can seem process heavy—especially to volunteer-driven efforts that want to make changes, not go through a vigorous planning process. When the AARP NAFSC was first rolled out in the United States, staff stressed the importance of a linear cycle that moved from assessment to planning and then to implementation and evaluation. Age-friendly teams were discouraged from starting implementation before their action plan was formally accepted by AARP. Patricia Sears noted that the council maintained its momentum during assessment but that writing the action plan took the energy out of the council. Based in her work with NCRC, she asserted that the team would have been motivated to continue the work if there had been some “quick victories” they could have celebrated along the way:

When we did the eight domains and our work plan. It was a lot of work. We have multiple goals in each domain. None of them were prioritized so it is tough to execute. When I worked with NCRC’s volunteers, I always emphasized that they should prioritize about five working goals. I always emphasized the importance getting to the accomplishments. When you can knock one off, everything moves up, and when you knock another one off, everything moves up again. The plan with eight domains and all those goals, it

is so dense and intense, and it is overwhelming for community members to effect change, it is so overwhelming.

Council members dropped off the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council during the planning process. A year after the plan was completed, only one community member continued to work with the council. The plan was accepted by the city council in February 2016 and the results were shared with the city in a forum on March 23, 2016—less than a month prior to the US Securities and Exchange Commission filing suits that, effectively shut down all the EB-5 foreign investment developments in Newport City. Just as the council was ready to start working to implement the plan, access to resources expected as an indirect result of the NKEDI disappeared, and the attention of change makers was turned away from improving livability to coping with the fallout from the scandal.

Municipal support. Relational resources available to the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council changed between 2013 and 2016, in large part because of the EB-5 scandal and a change in the city manager. The work with elected officials had been tenuous from the start. Kelly Stoddard-Poor explained the effect of changes in political support on the age-friendly work in Newport:

The city council didn't appoint an ad-hoc group to guide the assessment and planning. The initiative was seen as, sorta, part of NCRC. They didn't want to add another board to all the other boards in the City. We had pretty good support and gave periodic updates to the city council. During the planning process, we had a new city manager that came on board. Getting her buy-in

with the action plan was, obviously, really important because she is the implementer. Even though there is a mayor, the mayor serves as a figurehead not as the one who does the work. She is the one who implements. So, it was really important. We had a double-whammy because we were seen as part of NCRC, so we were trying to help her see the value of our work as separate from her perception of us as part of an organization that tended to have a difficult relationship with her. We didn't have any independent standing with the council that could influence her. It was tough to get the plan through her approval. There were lots of drafts (laughing).

The age-friendly team in Newport has struggled to successfully advocate for municipal changes to increase livability. Most of their successes have been with local organizations, such as the bus service, primary school, and community gardens but a few changes to enhance walkability were enacted by the town.

Another change in relational resources was a direct result of the EB-5 scandal. The NCRC was a powerful partner organization, closely aligned with the NKEDI when Kelly Stoddard-Poor asked NCRC to champion AARP Vermont's effort to recruit Newport for the AARP NAFSC. Although NCRC did not contribute money to the community challenge grant program. AARP Vermont listed the organization as a partner to stress that the community grants were a local program that responded to local needs. Kelly Stoddard-Poor summed up the challenges to the relational resources of the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council:

The council has had a lot of challenges. The EB-5 scandal broke less than a month after the action plan was accepted by the city council. We don't have strong downtown association anymore. NCRC has no staff member. There have been a lot of things that have taken the air out of the room. It feels a little debilitating for the work of the Age-friendly Advisory council. They have to strengthen other relationships, like the ones with the Laura, City Manager, and Paul, the Mayor. And we are moving in that direction, but it is slow.

The loss of NCRC as an effective champion for the change agenda proposed by the Newport Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council motivated the leadership of the Newport Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council to develop new partnerships and deepen existing ones to move the age-friendly work forward. The efforts show promise. For example, early in 2017, City Manager, Laura Dolgin and Mayor Paul Monette asked Mary Butler, appointed Chair of the Age-Friendly Council Advisory Council in July 2017, and one other member of the Age-Friendly Council Advisory Council to represent the Age-Friendly Council Advisory Council on a council working on a traffic study.

Opportunities for Collaboration

(Re)building trust. The single most important collaboration within the community was with NCRC. There was considerable overlap in the mission of the two groups and in the people who volunteered on the NCRC Design Committee and the people involved with the Newport Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council. Other opportunities for collaboration have been fostered by the Community Action mini-grant program. Winners included:

- Fresh Start Community Farms (\$2000 awarded in 2014)
- Newport Dispatch (\$2000 awarded in 2014; \$1500 awarded in 2016)
- Cornucopia (\$1000 awarded in 2014)
- Vermont Association for the Blind and Visually Impaired, PALS group (\$500 awarded in 2014)
- I Mentor Program (\$2000 awarded in 2015)
- Now Playing Music (\$1000 awarded in 2015)
- Journey to Recovery Community Center (\$1000 awarded in 2015)
- Newport Free Bike Council (\$2000 awarded in 2015)
- Rural Community Transportation (\$2000 awarded in 2016)
- Now Playing Newport (\$1000 awarded in 2016)
- Newport Jazz Festival (\$750 awarded in 2016)
- Upper Kingdom Food Access (\$500 awarded in 2016)
- Laptop and Computer Project (\$250 awarded in 2016)
- Vermont Land Trust (\$2500 awarded in 2017)

The Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council and AARP Vermont have worked with the above organizations to foster changes that increase access by people of all ages and develop community. By working with the various organizations, rather than mandating an age-friendly agenda for organizations to follow, the council has built trust in the community. Particularly after the EB-5 scandal, the trust built by the council has been vital for furthering the age-friendly agenda and supporting ongoing community development, much of which

started with the NCRC Design Team and is now being sustained by members of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council.

Stakeholder commitment

Shared vision. AARP Vermont has made a strong and ongoing commitment to the work. Kelly Stoddard Poor knew that recruiting a wide range of stakeholders—including agencies and individuals who could help with goals in the eight domains as well as different factions within the town—was crucial for the work to move forward. She worked closely with Trish Sears, chair of the committee, to recruit members. As part of the planning process, the team developed mission, vision, goals and values that guided their work together. Even though several organizations were included in the committee, each had a part of the age-friendly work and shared the vision for a more age-friendly Newport. Pam Ladd was a member of the NCRC Design Committee and a founding member of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Committee who worked on the assessment and plan:

We were all excited when the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council started to meet. Some of us had been active on the Design Committee but there were also new faces. Agencies were there but they didn't take over. We all worked together to develop mission, vision, values, and goals that could guide our work. The plan was ambitious! The design committee took the lead on 3 of the 22 goals in the plan. Agencies took the lead on the remaining goals. For example, the Northeast Kingdom Council on Aging took the lead on the four goals in the communication and information domain and RuralEdge took the lead on three of the four goals in the housing domain. It was an exciting time!

When the plan was developed, organizations were gearing up for projects to start in Newport that were funded through the NKEDI. However, with the collapse of that initiative, agencies had to re-evaluate how they use the resources they had to make changes in Newport.

Taking the air out of the room. In the aftermath of the EB-5 scandal, agencies and organizations had to re-evaluate how best to support the City of Newport and surrounding area. Agency commitment to work with City of Newport residents may or may not have changed but the focus of their work and resources available for the work were affected. Patricia Sears explained the effect of the scandal on the focus of the organizations and groups on the City of Newport Age-Friendly Committee Advisory Council:

The EB-5 scandal took the air out of the room for everyone on the council. A lot of the organizations and agencies around the table planned to write grants based on the new development in Newport. Working with the council and implementing the plan was part of their goal. They saw the work on age-friendly as an investment in the community that they could use as a model in other places. But then things changed. The organizations went back to having to deal with not enough resources to support the needs in Newport and the surrounding towns. It has been hard on all of the members of the committee. They want to do the work but without money and time, it is hard to get the work done.

Unsurprisingly, very little progress has been made toward addressing goals in the action plan. The council is re-evaluating the plan to create realistic goals within the current capacity of the organizations that are members of the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council.

Collaborative Efforts

Tagging along. During the interviews, people identified several projects that had been tied with other community organizations but few that had been started or lead by the Newport City Age-friendly Community Advisory Council. For example, the community garden project represented a collaboration between Fresh Start Farms and NCRC Design Committee. Although the Newport Age-friendly Community Advisory Council was not responsible for creating the community garden, it has advocated for the gardens with the municipality and has increased access and public awareness of the benefits of the gardens. The council worked with the North Country Career Center to create an indoor walking opportunity for residents and with the Goodrich Library for the “Critical Conversation” series for caregivers. Mary Butler, Chair of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council, saw collaborative efforts to enhance the work of other organizations as the primary accomplishment of the group:

It’s mostly the willingness of group members to come together on the issue. I haven’t seen any big outcomes yet but the organizations that come to the council meetings are united to work on the environmental, economic, and social factors that influence health and well-being. Through the small grant program and in other ways, we have helped other organizations expand what

they are doing so that residents from Newport and the surrounding communities will have the things they need and some of the things they want, which makes Newport a better place to live and a better life for everyone.

That is the biggest accomplishment of the council.

The Newport City Age-friendly Advisory Council meetings provide a venue for the business and non-profits represented on the council to share information with each other and, by sharing, to increase access to programs, services and activities available to residents of Newport and the surrounding area. Patricia Sears explained how sharing information between agencies and organizations that do not usually speak to each other challenges each group to expand its mission and reach into the community.

At council meetings, businesses and social services providers come together to hear each other and join purposes on a totally different subject—aging, safer streets, accessibility, transportation, etc.—to be able to reflect or share what they are doing and challenge others to step up.

Although non-traditional partners are coming together on the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council to share information and ideas, there have been few collaborations between council members that can be tied to the council and community engagement with the council has been minimal. The exception has been in the transportation domain.

The Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council was the lead organization for “Our Town, Slow it Down”, a forum conducted in March 2015. The goal of the forum was to gather ideas about creating a better, safer, Newport for people who walk, bike, ride, or roll to get to the places they want to go using their preferred mode of transportation. Partners in the forum and ensuing work included NCRC., Vermont Department of Public Health, Healthworks ONE, Vermont Center for Independent Living, and Vermont Safe Routes to School. The forum spearheaded the Age-Friendly Newport council’s work to create safer streets for people of all ages and abilities. The council learned that parents did not feel comfortable allowing their children to walk to school because of the high speed of cars. Working with the NCRC Design Committee and the local school, the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council started “Walking Wednesdays”. Residents of all ages, but usually older people, join the primary school children for the one mile walk from the courthouse to the Newport City Elementary School. The walks have been popular with older and younger people alike and have increased awareness of safety concerns. In 2016, A the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council organized an effort to monitor vehicular speed, especially in the downtown area. Recommendations, including speed bumps and other traffic calming measures, were presented to the Newport Police Department and to the City Manager. Due to concerns about the cost of creating and maintaining them, speed bumps have not been installed but other traffic calming measures, such as four way stops, have been enacted. In 2017, the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council conducted a walk audit that was attended by the Newport city manager and two aldermen. Because of Age-Friendly Newport’s advocacy role with pedestrian and bike safety, the chair

of the Age-Friendly Council and one other member have been asked for their input in a traffic study conducted by the City of Newport in 2017.

Case Three Summary

Newport provides strong evidence for parts of the model that guide this research. There is strong positive evidence for Kingdon's policy change model and evidence suggesting that RMT does predict the collaborative outcomes of an age-friendly initiative. Patricia Sears, founding director of NCRC, was the policy entrepreneur in Newport who worked over time to increase awareness of the need for public policy and infrastructure to make Newport a better place for people to live, work, play, and do business. The AARP NAFSC policy framework closely aligned with the mission and goals for the NCRC and provided an opportunity to move the NCRC work forward.

AARP Vermont also played the role of policy entrepreneur. AARP Vermont, following the lead of the national organization, wanted to increase engagement at the local level. The organization was particularly excited about working in Newport because there was an opportunity to use the considerable resources of AARP Vermont to guide change happening in an under-resourced community. Kelly Stoddard-Poor brought the policy to the attention of the NCRC and then leveraged the considerable social capital of the NCRC and Patricia Sears to influence change makers in the community, including Bill Stenger, to support the initiative. It took the combined efforts of Kelly Stoddard-Poor and Patricia Sears to gain the support of the city council for joining the AARP NAFSC.

1. The problem stream was also the NKEDI. Although people were excited about the development, elected officials, local businesses, and residents were

concerned that the development would be imposed on the community and that residents would not have a voice in the shape it would take. The AARP NAFSC emphasis on an advisory council that would make recommendations about policy and infrastructure changes to the city council assured that there would be at least two formal ways for residents to voice their opinions—the NCRC Design Committee and the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council.

2. The political stream was heavily influenced by the NKEDI. The overwhelmingly positive citizen support for joining the AARP NAFSC reflected positive feelings about the work of NCRC and excitement about the NKEDI. Municipal reluctance was tied to concerns about outside influence. However, those concerns were quelled when joining the AARP NAFSC was tied to the economic development plan for the region. It is likely that the city council would not have joined the AARP NAFSC if it weren't for the extent of development proposed by Bill Stenger and Ariel Quiros and the letter of support from Bill Stenger.
3. AARP Vermont wanted to build on its experience working on livability initiatives and use the AARP NAFSC framework to influence the shape of development in a rural, under-resourced area. Newport was under-resourced and primed for change. The AARP NAFSC framework was closely aligned with the NCRC mission and goals so didn't represent a new way of thinking about community development in Newport.

The window of opportunity that allowed AARP Vermont to advance its livability agenda by recruiting Newport to join the AARP NAFSC was the NKEDI. The policy proposal came at a time when people were excited about the changes but also wanted a voice in how changes were made and to use the economic development opportunity to increase the livability of the community.

RMT can be used to explain the effectiveness of the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council. During its first two years, the Council was able to engage residents, municipal officials, businesses, and social service organizations with their work. Human resources were readily available in part because of the general excitement about community and economic development that accompanied the NKEDI. The council also had access to relational and ideological resources that it developed through its close alignment with the NCRC Design Committee and the technical and financial resources of AARP Vermont, including the small grant program. The primary goals of the first two years were to develop a strong council, complete an age-friendly assessment, and write an action plan. Although planning was the primary goal, the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council also oversaw the annual small grant program, which fostered connections and built trust with the community, and, in 2015, launched a successful forum, “Our Town, Slow it Down,” that included several of the organizations represented on the Council. The forum was the start of a campaign to create safe streets that continues to this day.

The resources available to the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council and stakeholder commitment to the work shifted at the same time as the Council

finished the action plan and was ready to start implementation. During the planning phase, council members who were more interested in making change than in working on the process dropped by the wayside. The result was a loss of human resources available to implement the action plan. The EB-5 fraud came to light and the NCRC went from being a thriving organization to one that had no staff and was struggling to attract volunteers. The result was a loss of relational resources that had helped the council make connections in the community and a loss of community enthusiasm for improving livability. Organizations that were part of the council and had committed to enacting the plan had to adjust their agency goals to reflect the shifting environment. The result was that agencies and groups that the committee counted on to implement the plan were no longer available to lead the work on specific goals.

The Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council conducts monthly meetings that bring stakeholders together to share resources and to discuss how to tackle a shared project that is part of the age-friendly work in Newport. All the people interviewed said that the single largest success of the initiative has been that the Council continues to bring together organizations that do not traditionally partner to talk about livability projects. One City Counsellor, John Wilson, attends occasional meetings of the Council. The current council chair provides regular updates to the city manager and meets with her when municipal support is needed for an initiative. Recently, the Newport City Age-Friendly Community Advisory Council's role advocating for transportation and safe streets was recognized by Newport City administration. Two representatives have been asked to participate in a city-sponsored transportation study. Opportunities for collaboration have been sustained and are starting to influence city policy.

RMT recognizes that assets are needed in all three areas—availability of resources, stakeholder commitment to the cause, and opportunities for collaboration—for a change agenda to be implemented and sustained over time. In the case of Newport, the shift in resources and reduction in stakeholder commitment that was an indirect part of the aftermath from the EB-5 scandal, has made it difficult for the council to implement changes. To date, opportunities for collaboration have not overcome the lack of resources and lack of stakeholder commitment to implement significant changes.

CHAPTER 7

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Prior chapters have described the details of each case. This chapter compares the three cases within the framework of the conceptual model. Although there is considerable overlap in the key constructs of all three cases, such as the leadership of a policy entrepreneur and finding ways to maximize available resources, each case was driven by a different set of themes that affected decision-making about joining an age-friendly network and how the community approached implementation. The cross-case analysis compares the three cases, noting both similarities and differences. The section will start with an overview of the most salient themes in each case, including a discussion of themes that were unexpected or less prominent than predicted by the conceptual model. The case-by case summary is followed by a discussion of the themes that were identified under the key constructs of the conceptual model.

Overview of Findings by Case

Table 4 lists, by case, the major and minor themes identified in each construct. While the cases had broad similarities, different themes in key constructs emerged that influenced the direction each case took both in decision making about joining an age-friendly network

Table 4: Most Salient Themes (and Missing Themes) for each age-friendly community case¹³

Community	Key Constructs	Themes
Brookline	Kingdon: Policy Entrepreneur	Citizen/activist*
	Kingdon: Political Stream	Recognition* Sub-theme: Working in municipal structure*
	Kingdon: Problem Stream	Selective framing*** Sub-themes: Information and education* Age-friendly is the norm**
	Kingdon: Policy Stream	WHO-GNAFCC*
	Kingdon: Time and Window of Opportunity	Time: Stirring the pot* Window of Opportunity: Organizations Coalesce*
	RMT: Resources	Relational: Networking* Ideological: Building on community values* Material** Human: Volunteer Engagement** Mobilizing: Strengthening relationships**
	RMT: Opportunities for Collaboration	Creating opportunities*
	RMT: Stakeholder commitment	Shared vision*
	RMT: Collaborative Efforts	Communication and education* Local advocacy*
	Ellsworth	Kingdon: Policy Entrepreneur
Kingdon: Political Stream		Recognition*
Kingdon: Problem Stream		Selective framing*** Ellsworth is a destination***
Kingdon: Policy Stream		AARP NAFSC* Sub-theme: Expectations of support**
Kingdon: Time and Window of Opportunity		Window of Opportunity: Organizations coalesce* Time***
RMT: Resources		Relational: Municipal support* Ideological*** Material: AARP Maine** Human: Volunteer engagement** Mobilizing: Limited resources*
RMT: Opportunities for Collaboration		Engaging stakeholders*
RMT: Stakeholder Commitment		Retiree In-Migrants**
RMT: Collaborative Efforts		Building a Base**

¹³ * indicates a primary theme in the case (as predicted by the conceptual model), ** indicates a secondary theme in the case (as predicted by the conceptual model); *** indicates a theme that is unique to the case/doesn't fit the conceptual model

Newport	Kingdon: Policy Entrepreneur	Dual Champions***
	Kingdon: Political Stream	Recognition* Sub-theme: Reluctant Support* Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative*
	Kingdon: Problem Stream	Selective framing*** Sub-theme: Loss of local control***
	Kingdon: Policy Stream	AARP NAFSC* Sub-theme: Expectation of support*
	Kingdon: Time and Window of Opportunity	Window of Opportunity: Organizations coalesce* Time***
	RMT: Resources	Material: AARP Vermont* Relational: Municipal support** Ideological: Building on community values** Human: Strong leadership** Stakeholder involvement*** Mobilizing: Effect of scandal*
	RMT: Opportunities for Collaboration	(Re)Building trust**
	RMT: Stakeholder Commitment	Shared vision* Taking the Air out of the Room***
	RMT: Collaborative Efforts	Tagging along**

and working toward age-friendly goals. For example, each case was influenced by a policy entrepreneur, one of the key constructs in Kingdon’s model of policy change. In one case a “citizen/activist” grew support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC through grass-roots organizing. In the other two cases, there was a departure from the conceptual model. The primary theme under policy champion was “dual champions.” The AARP state office and a local partner influenced municipal decision-making about joining the AARP NAFSC. In the brief summaries of each case that follows, themes that were missing or departed from the conceptual model are highlighted.

Brookline

Factors in the political and policy streams came together to influence the Brookline Select Board to join the age-friendly network; the problem stream was less influential. The second decision point in the community—whether and how to move forward with the policy—was influenced by the resources available to the committee and opportunities for collaboration within municipal government and with local organizations. The primary themes in resources were in the relational and ideological constructs. The committee advanced its goals through networking (using relational resources) and building on community values and the strengths of programs, activities, services, and infrastructure already present in Brookline (using ideological resources).

Kingdon’s policy change model. Municipal decision-making about joining the WHO-GNAFCC was heavily influenced by a single policy champion, Frank Caro. The primary theme under policy entrepreneur was “citizen/activist.” Frank patiently “stirred the pot” over time to raise awareness about the need to include an aging lens in community and economic development and then introduced the benefits of adopting the policy solution provided by the WHO-GNAFCC.

Time was a pertinent construct in the Brookline case. The policy entrepreneur took a grass-roots approach to developing support, beginning with participants in BrooklineCAN. Over the course of several years before his retirement from U-Mass Boston, he mentioned the importance of age-friendly planning and community development. After several years, he succeeded in raising awareness of the issue and a group of participants in BrooklineCAN formed the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee. With their support

behind him, he advocated for the adoption of age-friendly policy with municipal departments and, with their support, discussed joining the WHO-GNAFCC with the city administrator and elected officials.

The primary theme under the window of opportunity construct was “organizations coalesce.” By the time the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee brought the proposal to join the WHO-GNAFCC to the Brookline Select Board, the organization had garnered the support of town departments, the town administrator, and elected officials. With a wide base of support, it was relatively easy to convince the Brookline Select Board that joining the WHO-GNAFCC was good for Brookline.

The primary theme in the problem stream was “selective framing.” The problem stream was framed to decision-makers as an extension of the deeply cherished community value of Brookline as progressive and committed to providing what residents need to thrive to extend to older people in the community. The goal of this frame was to create an environment where “age-friendly is the norm.” Matthew Weiss, a member of the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities committee said, “it wasn’t a leap for Brookline to make a commitment to focusing on the needs of older residents, age-friendly was in line with what the city was doing, it should be the norm.” To potential partners, the problem stream was defined in a slightly different way—specifically that the real problem was not a lack of services or programs but a need for “information and education” of all the programs and services Brookline already offered older residents. In this way, the policy entrepreneur framed the problem so that the age-friendly efforts were not perceived as competition with existing programs and services but that joining WHO-GNAFCC was viewed to strengthen the

effectiveness of the work they were already doing. By defining the problem in a non-threatening way, the policy entrepreneur was able to gain the support of municipal departments and local organizations.

The selective framing of the problem stream was surprising. Kingdon's policy change model suggests that developing consensus around the definition of a problem mobilizes key decision-makers to consider policy solutions. However, in this case, selective framing of the problem stream allowed the policy entrepreneur to develop much needed local support before proposing the WHO-GNAFCC solution to elected officials.

The political and policy streams had a stronger influence on decision making than did the problem stream. In the political stream, the primary theme was "recognition" that the community has consistently made a commitment to livability. A sub-theme was "working in the municipal structure." The advocates worked in the municipal structure, developing support from within, before taking the issue to the town administrator or elected officials. Ruthann Dobek, executive director of the Brookline Senior Center, explained how the political and policy stream came together:

The WHO program seemed like a wonderful thing. Brookline was already doing a lot of things in the eight domains. This is a community that prides itself on trying to be livable for everyone. Brookline was already on the path to age-friendly. The WHO-GNAFCC gave us the language to take it to another level. I don't remember how many of the other town departments wrote letters of support for the application, but it was a lot. Betty DeWitt, the

chair of the Select Board at the time, was a supporter and so was Nancy Daly, the liaison between the select board and the Council on Aging.

Although the definition of the problem was a factor in the argument for joining the WHO-GNAFCC that was put forward by the policy entrepreneur, the existence of the program in the policy stream and municipal support in the political stream were most often cited in the interviews as the reason that the Brookline Select Board voted to join the network.

Resource Mobilization Theory. The Brookline age-friendly committee mobilized all its available resources—human (the committee members, adherents and potential beneficiaries), relational (the social and political capital of committee members and the political influence garnered by the committee over time), and ideological (building on the community value that Brookline is forward-thinking and provides what residents need to thrive by introducing the idea that “all” includes older residents) to form collaborations with the municipal departments and with local organizations. The Age-Friendly Cities Committee did not have many material resources to use but it did have access to a cable access television station. The committee broadcast a total of 18 programs highlighting the many things that Brookline offers its older residents. Many of the programs celebrate the collaborations that have been developed over time.

Although the committee mobilized all the resources at its disposal, the interviews emphasized the construct of relational resources, with a primary theme of “networking.” The Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee used the social capital and political experience of committee members to help the committee network with municipal departments and local

organizations and, subsequently, to develop collaborations. Frank Caro, co-chair of the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee talked about how the committee thought that joining the WHO-GNAFCC would expand the important relational resource with elected officials and department heads:

I thought that it would be an incremental step forward if the town made that commitment, so that it wasn't just that they were being cooperative with the kind of advocacy efforts that we were bringing to them but that trying to be age-friendly would be built in to what they would do on a regular basis.

As a town-appointed committee, the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities committee members have an “in” with the municipality that they would not have had working on livability as part of the mission of BrooklineCAN. As a town-appointed committee, it is easier for the members to network within city government than if the group was working from the outside of municipal structure. Mel Kleckner, Brookline town administrator, explained that, “they have a seat at the table about a lot of issues that they heretofore have not.” Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee has used membership in WHO-GNAFCC and their status as a town-appointed committee to effectively advocate for changes in policy and infrastructure; “age-friendly” has become part of the everyday decision-making process in all the municipal department.

Ellsworth

Factors in the political and policy stream came together to create a window of opportunity for AARP Maine, the Ellsworth city manager, and executive director of Friends

in Action to present a case for the Ellsworth city council to vote to join the AARP NAFSC. In the policy stream, AARP Maine was motivated to champion the policy in Ellsworth to launch the AARP NAFSC in Maine. In the political stream, Michelle Beal was motivated by a desire to gain recognition for the age-friendly work she and the city council had already accomplished.

The primary theme that emerged under policy entrepreneur was “dual champions”, which is a deviation from Kingdon’s construct of the policy entrepreneur. Kingdon’s model does not include a role for outside organizations to act as policy entrepreneurs to enhance their own organizational goals, as was the case with AARP Maine. Rather, Kingdon emphasizes the importance of local leadership. In this case, AARP Maine recruited the city manager and Friends in Action (FIA) as local partners advocating for membership in the AARP NAFSC. As predicted by Kingdon’s model, a local policy entrepreneur who is well-respected in the community was key to moving the work forward. When Bob Crossthwaite, then Mayor of Ellsworth talked about joining the AARP NAFSC, he said, “We voted for it because Michelle thought it was a good fit for Ellsworth. Jo also supported it, so it was a slam-dunk”.

The second decision point—moving forward (or not) with the policy—can be described using the lens of RMT. The primary theme in mobilizing resources was “limited resources.” Among the four types of resources posited in RMT, the loss of relational resources was the primary concern of the people interviewed. It was a blow to the fledgling age-friendly effort when local champion Michelle Beal left her position as city manager. Ideological resources were a missing construct in the Ellsworth case. The paucity of material

and human resources and the lack of relational resources to mobilize the few resources that were available made it difficult to form collaborations to move the age-friendly work forward.

Kingdon’s policy change model. The primary theme in the policy entrepreneur construct was “dual champions.” Unlike the Brookline age-friendly effort, which was led by a single community activist who raised awareness of the benefits of joining the WHO-GNAFCC within BrooklineCAN and, later, with municipal decision-makers, there were three policy entrepreneurs in Ellsworth—AARP Maine, Ellsworth City Manager, and FIA.

Kingdon’s model posits that a policy entrepreneur will raise awareness over time. However, none of the policy entrepreneurs considered it necessary to develop support among a group of citizens, such as the participants in BrooklineCAN to move the work forward, “The AARP NAFSC was a perfect fit for what Ellsworth was doing,” explained Jo Cooper, executive director of FIA, “It was also, possibly, a way to bridge the work being done by the city with FIA. It wasn’t controversial. The council voted unanimously.” AARP Maine judiciously recruited the city manager and FIA, local champions with the power to influence municipal decision-making and presented the program to the city council, which joined the AARP-NAFC based on the advocacy of the policy entrepreneurs. Thus, time was a missing construct in the Ellsworth case.

Prior to joining the AARP NAFSC, the City of Ellsworth invested in sidewalks and other downtown improvements, created the first city park, and worked with developers to create housing for older residents at different stages of independence. All these changes are “age-friendly” and met the goal of city council to improve public perceptions of Ellsworth.

The primary theme in the problem stream construct was “Ellsworth is a destination.” City council wanted people to think of Ellsworth as a destination with a vital, attractive downtown, not simply as a place to pass through on the way to Bar Harbor and other coastal areas. To reach their goal, the city needed recognition for the downtown revitalization work. The window of opportunity for the city to address the problem stream and get recognition for their work opened when AARP Maine began to implement the AARP NAFSC program and needed to recruit members.

FIA lent its support to joining the AARP NAFSC because it needed to find a way to have a stronger voice in municipal decision-making. FIA had taken on the responsibility of developing a senior center for Ellsworth residents and for people in the surrounding area. To ensure that FIA had a means to communicate the concerns of the senior center and of older residents, executive director Jo Cooper wanted to be a part of a formal structure linking FIA to the municipality. The solution to FIA’s problem came in the AARP NAFSC structure, which recommended a town-appointed committee to oversee the age-friendly work. Paul Pangburn, then chair of the FIA board explained that, “the AARP program answered a problem we were struggling with on the board. As it was described to us, if Ellsworth joined the network, FIA would have a place at the municipal table.” Thus, when approached to support joining the AARP NAFSC, FIA accepted because it saw the age-friendly program as aligned with their mission and would give the organization a voice in municipal decision-making.

To launch the AARP NAFSC in Maine, AARP Maine needed to recruit communities to join the network. Ellsworth had received positive publicity for the age-friendly changes it

was making to outdoor spaces, transportation, and housing. It was well-known that Michelle Beal, Ellsworth city manager, spear-headed many of the improvements in the city so AARP Maine approached her to gain her support as a local champion of the age-friendly work and approached FIA, an organization with proven track record working with older people and a well-respected, politically-savvy, credible executive director, to give its support for joining AARP NAFSC. The primary theme that emerged under the window of opportunity construct in Ellsworth was “organizations coalesce.” The window of opportunity was open to join the AARP NAFSC because the goals of all three organizations coalesced. On December 10, 2014, the City of Ellsworth became the second community in Maine to join the AARP NAFSC.

In the political stream, the city council considered joining the age-friendly committee to be “recognition” for the work accomplished by the city council and city manager and expected technical and financial support from AARP Maine to initiate the work. Bob Crosshwaite, then mayor of Ellsworth, explained the city council’s understanding of joining:

There has always been a strong sense of community here--which supports a community for all ages approach to community development. We want to keep that, we don't want to disturb that. There was a lot of excitement on the council for the work we were doing in Ellsworth—that was really all on us, the council led that work. We want people to think of Ellsworth as a place to visit or to stay and raise a family. Ellsworth is a great place to live at all ages—we thought joining the AARP NAFSC would attract tourists and people who want to re-locate to Maine and confirm to residents who were worried

about the cost of all the changes that what we were doing really was good for the city.

The proposed policy met the city's goal under then city manager Michelle Beal, although it was not the "problem"—the aging demographics of America's cities and towns-- that the AARP NAFSC was intended to address. Like Brookline, the problem stream was less clearly described in the interviews than the political or policy stream. However, unlike Brookline, the problem stream was not rooted in community values or institutions but was rooted in the goals of municipal government.

Resource Mobilization Theory. When the city manager left her position, the initiative was left with no municipal champion to advocate for age-friendly changes or guide the work. The primary theme under the construct of the relational resources in Ellsworth was "municipal support". The loss of Michelle Beal and the subsequent change in the way the city planned to meet its goal of making the community more attractive to people inside and outside Ellsworth resulted in a lack of municipal support for the age-friendly initiative. David Cole, Michelle Beal's replacement as city manager, emphasized developing infrastructure to attract entrepreneurs and grow business. The change represented a change in relational resources for the age-friendly effort in Ellsworth.

Friends in Action took leadership of the age-friendly initiative even though its capacity was stretched thin by the development of the senior center. Bob Crossthwaite, then mayor of Ellsworth and member of the Friends in Action Board of Directors noted:

We were happy to get the recognition that AARP Maine wanted to give us, but we didn't have extra funding for a new program. When Michelle left—that was right after the vote—AARP Maine gave Friends in Action \$2500 to help with the cost of coordinating the age-friendly work. We figured that was just a start, but it wasn't—it was a start and an end (laughs). FIA was stretched but was willing to try so that FIA could strengthen its ties with municipal leaders.

The problem stream—Ellsworth is a destination—was not directly related to FIA's mission or the age-friendly work so was not an ideological resource that could be mobilized to garner support for the work. Ellsworth was the only case where the ideological resource construct of RMT was missing. The city council did not appoint a committee or offer material support so there was no infusion of municipal resources to support FIA's work on the initiative beyond the \$2500 given by AARP Maine. With limited relational, ideological, material, and human resources, there were no resources that the age-friendly team could expend to develop collaborative efforts. The primary theme under the opportunities for collaboration was the “inability to engage stakeholders.”

The primary theme under the stakeholder commitment construct was “retiree in-migrants.” For the last two years, the work of the committee has been accomplished by three older residents, all of whom moved to the city in retirement. While they are committed to the work, they lack the social capital that has led the Brookline initiative to form strong collaborations with other organizations. Prior to involvement by the three retirees, the only

consistent presence on the committee was Jo Cooper, Executive Director of FIA. In Ellsworth, the community-based organizations, municipal officials, and local businesses that joined the effort were committed to working to solve the problem “Ellsworth as a destination.” When they did not see forward movement, they dropped off the committee. Jo Cooper explained, “It was hard to keep organizations engaged. We didn’t have a direction or resources to make change. People came to one or two meetings but that was it. The only accomplishments were the work of the senior center and FIA.” Without resources, stakeholder commitment to a shared mission, and opportunities for collaboration, the work in Ellsworth struggled.

Recently, municipal appointment of a committee and material resources from AARP Maine have provided some energy to move the work ahead. The age-friendly committee completed an assessment and is moving forward with efforts to make the community more age-friendly. They received an AARP challenge grant to add adult exercise equipment, outdoor chess table, benches, and an accessible picnic table to Knowlton Park, which has attracted positive support from the community. However, collaborations are limited while the committee attempts to “build a base” by engaging local organizations and the municipality in its work.

Newport

Kingdon’s policy change model can be used to describe some aspects of Newport’s decision to join the AARP NAFSC, but not all. For example, as in the case of Ellsworth, the primary theme under policy entrepreneur was “dual champions.” AARP Vermont was the

primary policy entrepreneur but had no track record working in Newport so had to identify a local champion who shared the commitment to livability that is central to the AARP NAFSC.

Like Ellsworth, factors in the policy and political stream were the strongest influences on decision-making by the city council. AARP recruited Newport to join the AARP NAFSC while the city was preparing itself for unprecedented economic investment in the community, which created a window of opportunity for the Newport Board of Selectmen to vote to join the network.

Like Brookline, the primary theme under the problem stream was “selective framing.” Although selective framing is a pragmatic way to engage residents, local organizations, and municipal government, Kingdon posits agreement around a single definition of the problem that can be addressed by the proposed policy change. NCRC and AARP Vermont defined the problem stream as maintaining local control in decision making about the upcoming NKEDI community and economic development plan when it presented the AARP NAFSC to residents and organizations in the area. However, when presenting to municipal decision-makers, emphasis was placed on the political stream and recognition for the work the council had already accomplished to attract investment by NKEDI.

RMT posits that successful implementation affects external factors that impact the ability of the organization to mobilize resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1987). The EB-5 scandal had a significant impact on the age-friendly work in Newport. The Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative (NKEDI) planned to invest \$500 million in the area, using investments from people outside the US who wanted to gain a path to citizenship through the federal EB-5 visa program. However, the Securities and Exchange Commission shut down

the operation amid federal and state fraud allegations and none of the promised economic development in Newport or the surrounding area was realized. RMT is useful to explain the impact a change, such as the EB-5 scandal, on the ability of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council to mobilize resources and launch collaborative efforts. Prior to the scandal, while the Newport committee was working on their age-friendly assessment, the committee had access to relational, material, ideological, and human resources. However, when the committee was ready to move from planning to implementation, the ability to mobilize those resources had decreased because of the EB-5 scandal.

Kingdon’s policy change model. Like the Ellsworth case, the primary theme that emerged in the construct of the policy entrepreneur was “dual champions.” The role of policy entrepreneur was shared by AARP Vermont and NCRC, which was recruited to partner with AARP because NCRC, the Newport downtown association had a long history of working to improve the livability of Newport. AARP Vermont had no history working in Newport so did not have the social capital needed to advocate for change without local support. In other communities, AARP Vermont had worked successfully with downtown associations—particularly in Burlington—so partnering with NCRC was not a change in how the organization worked with local communities but was an extension to include Newport as a focus of its work with communities to improve livability.

Like the Ellsworth case, the primary theme that emerged in the construct of the window of opportunity was “organizations coalesce” and the construct of time was missing. The window of opportunity opened because of the many changes that were being proposed by the NKEDI. Without the NKEDI proposals, AARP Vermont would not have recruited

Newport for membership in the AARP NAFSC. Nor would it have been possible to build support in the political stream. Laura Dolgin, Newport city manager, described her opposition to joining the AARP NAFSC and the city council's decision-making process:

Having the AARP age-friendly designation can raise people's expectations unrealistically. We have no funds, no municipal capacity to take on projects. I opposed joining for that reason, but the Newport City Council was persuaded to join by Bill Stenger, a partner in NKEDI. Council thought that the NKEDI would bring money to make improvements and they, especially the mayor, wanted to get all the positive publicity he could.

Like Brookline, the policy entrepreneurs used selective framing to gain the support of the city council and to engage local organizations. For the city council, the problem was defined as celebrating the planned NKEDI development. Among community residents and local organizations, the problem was defined as insuring that residents had a voice in the changes proposed by NKEDI.

The primary theme in the political stream was "recognition" for the city's commitment to livability and to the work that the NKEDI was planning. Initially, there was opposition in the political stream from elected officials and the city manager who were concerned that AARP Vermont, an outside organization, would interfere in community and economic development planned by the NKEDI. Opposition was overcome when Bill Stenger, CEO of Jay Peak and partner in NKEDI, wrote a letter to the city council supporting membership in the AARP NAFSC. Although factors in Kingdon's policy change model

explain much of Newport's decision to join the AARP NAFSC, it does not explain the significant impact by organizations outside the community—AARP Vermont and NKEDI.

Resource Mobilization Theory. The primary theme that emerged in the construct of resources in the Newport case was “AARP Vermont.” As with Ellsworth, one of the early policy entrepreneur's championing the age-friendly effort was the AARP state office. However, an important difference was that AARP Vermont remained engaged with the group—offering technical and financial resources to move the work forward, even after the EB-5 scandal broke. AARP Vermont has been a key resource for the age-friendly work in Vermont. Other resources that the committee has been able to mobilize to develop collaborative efforts have been ideological resources and human resources. Like Brookline, a secondary theme under ideological resources was “building on community values.” One of Newport's values is the importance of intergenerational ties. The committee has framed its work as making a better community for all ages. Human resources have ebbed and flowed in the Newport committee. The primary theme was “stakeholder involvement,” which was significantly impacted by the EB-5 scandal.

The primary theme under mobilizing resources was the impact of the EB-5 scandal. Although Bill Stenger was not an official member of the committee, his support was integral to their work and the committee was viewed as having a strong relationship with NKEDI. When the scandal broke, that resource was lost to the committee. In the aftermath of the scandal, stakeholders did not trust NCRC or outside influences. The primary theme under the opportunities for collaboration construct was “(re)building trust” It has taken time for the committee to build trust and develop collaborations.

Given the dependence on AARP Vermont material resources and the way AARP Vermont structured its mini-grant program, it is unsurprising that the primary theme under the collaborative efforts construct was “tagging along.” It was difficult for the people interviewed to come up with accomplishments the committee had achieved independently. Most of the work they have done has been as part of a larger effort—such as the community gardens or the walks to school.

Analysis of Findings through Lens of Conceptual Model

Each construct included in the conceptual model was present in at least one case. Some were more prominent than others and the themes in each factor differed, which had consequences for the age-friendly work. In a few instances, a construct was missing. For example, time was not a factor in two of the cases. In some instances, a construct was present but the theme that emerged differed from what was predicted by the conceptual model. For example, all three cases included the problem stream construct but in two cases the primary theme was “selective framing” because the problem was defined differently for different audiences. This section will discuss factors in Kingdon’s policy change model and then discuss factors in RMT.

Kingdon’s Policy Change Model

Policy entrepreneur. A policy entrepreneur is defined in Kingdon’s policy change model as a person who works to create a policy window and then use it to bring a social problem to the attention of decision-makers (Mintrom & Vergari, 1996). The defining characteristic of a policy entrepreneur is the willingness to, “invest resources—time, energy,

reputation, and sometimes money—in the hope of a future return” (Kingdon, 2011, p. 122). All the cases had at least one policy entrepreneur who championed the age-friendly effort.

In Brookline, the policy entrepreneur was a citizen/activist with a long history of civic engagement who worked to create the policy window by bringing the need for age-friendly planning and community development first to a local organization (BrooklineCAN) and then to municipal officials. Mel Kleckner, town administrator, explained that Frank Caro’s effectiveness as an advocate was tied to his long history of civic engagement:

Frank is a very active and well-established member of the community. He is very effective. He doesn’t sort of pound the table, but he is very persistent and is very good.

The effort was led from the beginning by Frank Caro, a citizen activist with strong ties to the community and considerable social and political capital that he used to raise awareness about the need for a policy shift to specifically include the needs and preferences of older people.

In the other two cases—Ellsworth and Newport—the theme under the policy entrepreneur construct was “dual champions.” Kingdon’s policy change model does not preclude organizations from taking on the role of policy entrepreneur. In both cases, the policy change was initially championed by the AARP state offices, organizations with no history working with the community on livability issues. In both cases, no person or organization inside the community advocated for joining the AARP NAFSC until the community was recruited by the AARP state office. Bob Crosssthaite, then mayor of

Ellsworth explained, “AARP (Maine) brought the idea to us. I don’t know of anyone who advocated for it before AARP presented the idea”.

A policy entrepreneur must have a deep understanding of the community, of how people think about the issues, and how local policy changes are made to successfully advocate for change. The AARP state offices did not bring that expertise to the table, so they did the next best thing and recruited a partner organization with credibility and experience with the local change process. Without a local champion, AARP Maine and AARP Vermont had to find organizations to partner with that had a strong track record working on initiatives with similar objectives to the AARP NAFSC. Trish Sears, then executive director of NCRC, explained that AARP Vermont approached NCRC because the two groups shared similar goals for the work in Newport:

we were working on some of the same issues and had a similar vision for Newport as a place where people of all ages, abilities, and economic levels can thrive. And we had this great opportunity to have a say in the direction that the new development work would take. It was a perfect storm of opportunity. Working together was going to make both of us stronger.

Initially, Michelle Beal was recruited by AARP Maine to champion joining the AARP NAFSC. To show support by a local organization with a proven track record working effectively with older residents in the community, Friends in Action was also recruited to champion the AARP NAFSC. Jo Cooper explained that the organization decided to join the effort because:

we (FIA) thought it would benefit the community. We had one or two meetings at the Moore Community Center with Peter (AARP Maine) and Michelle Beal (then city manager of Ellsworth). We concluded that if we wanted to have input--a formal connection between the municipality and the Senior Center, this would be a good way to structure the relationship and look beyond the need for a senior center at the larger issues.

FIA supported joining the age-friendly network primarily to increase its power in the municipality. NCRC and FIA worked with their respective AARP state offices to bring the policy to the attention of elected officials because the AARP NAFSC was in line with organizational goals to enhance age-friendliness and livability and to increase their own opportunities to be included in municipal conversations about livability. However, the most important aspect of decision-making about taking on the role of local champion by FIA and NCRC was a problem defined by the organization, not age-friendly planning.

Kingdon's model of policy change worked well to describe the role of the policy entrepreneur in the case of Brookline but did not work as well in the other two cases. The model does not predict the role of an outside organization advocating for change and recruiting local partners. It was also inadequate to discuss the organizational motivation of both the state offices and the local partners. Both state offices championed joining the AARP NAFSC to further national AARP goals to expand the WHO-GNAFCC to the US. FIA and NCRC wanted to have a place at the municipal planning table. Michelle Beal, then city manager of Ellsworth, wanted residents and visitors to see Ellsworth as a great place to visit

or to live. The purpose of the AARP NAFSC, as listed on the web-introduction to the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (AARP, 2018) is to:

encourage states, cities, town, and counties to prepare for the rapid aging of the US population by paying increased attention to the environmental, economic, and social factors that influence the health and well-being of older adults.

None of the policy champions in Ellsworth or Newport were motivated primarily by concerns about aging residents. Each was motivated by organizational goals that were met by the city joining the AARP NAFSC. Kingdon does not explain the effect on policy adoption when the problems a policy purports to address are not the same as the problems that motivate a policy entrepreneur to advocate for a policy. However, in both cases, the coming together of multiple goals was essential to garner support for joining the AARP NAFSC. A key reason that champions came together to advocate with elected municipal officials to join the AARP NAFSC was that the AARP NAFSC met multiple disparate organizational goals.

Time and a window of opportunity. Kingdon's policy change model predicts that acceptance of a policy solution will build over time and that, when the time is right, a window of opportunity will open that will provide a policy entrepreneur the opportunity to successfully advocate for policy change. In all three cases, the primary theme under the window of opportunity was "organizations coalesce." In all three cases organizations agreed that joining an age-friendly network was desirable. In Newport and Ellsworth, three

organizations—the local partner, the AARP state office, and elected officials agreed. In Brookline, agreement was between local organizations and municipal departments.

In all three cases, the people interviewed could identify a window of opportunity as associated with municipal desire for recognition of the commitment the city had already made or was making to enhance livability. In Newport, the window of opportunity came amidst general excitement about the NKEDI. In Ellsworth, the commitment of the city to develop the Moore School and the other age-friendly changes overseen made during Michelle Beal’s tenure as city manager, created a sense that joining the AARP NAFC was recognition for all the work accomplished by the city. In Brookline, the window of opportunity was influenced by one aspect of the problem definition, “age-friendly is the norm,” that built on the historic commitment Brookline has made to livability and was perceived as recognition of the work the community started.

Time was a theme unique to Brookline; it was a missing factor in Ellsworth and Newport. Elected officials in Ellsworth and Newport joined the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities within two months of when an AARP state office presented the policy option to decision-makers—including elected and appointed officials. In Brookline, the policy entrepreneur raised awareness of age-friendly planning with people in the community and local decision-makers long before he knew about the WHO-GNAFCC program. Advocating for joining WHO-GNAFCC fit well with the work he and BrooklineCAN had started. It gave the advocates on the Brookline CAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee a framework to move the age-friendly agenda forward with municipal departments and elected officials. After the committee members agreed that joining the

WHO-GNAFCC would help accomplish their goals, they developed support with key municipal decision makers and then presented both the program and departmental support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC to town administrator, Mel Kleckner:

Interest in joining the (WHO-GNAFCC) network bubbled up, I'm sure at the departmental level when the idea was first introduced, and Frank Caro was clearly a leader in that. It was brought to my attention by Frank and by Ruthann Dobek, who is my staff person for the Council on Aging. I took the recommendation from Ruthann seriously and looked into it myself. It wasn't going to cost the town anything and would add some credibility to the work Ruthann and the town were already doing. So, after talking with a few select board members, I asked Frank to present the program to the select board.

The BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee gained the support of the town administrator before bringing the policy to the select board. The process took approximately six months and built on Frank Caro's work - "stirring the pot" - to raise awareness and connecting decision makers before the Livable Community Advocacy Committee decided to make joining the WHO-GNAFCC one of its priorities.

In Kingdon's policy change model, a policy entrepreneur works over time to develop support and to bring at least two factors in the policy, problem, and political stream together to create a window of opportunity to advocate for a policy, such as joining the WHO-GNAFCC. The model was adequate to explain the way the policy entrepreneur in Brookline developed support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC. However, Kingdon's policy change

model was not entirely able to explain the role of time in the other two cases. In Newport and Ellsworth, the state organization developed support by a local organization and presented the idea to elected officials within a short period. Support was not garnered from a larger group of residents or change makers before presenting the policy to elected municipal officials.

Political stream. In all three cases, the window of opportunity was, at least in part, opened by the introduction of joining a network of age-friendly communities by the policy entrepreneur or by the AARP state office and the fact that the policy lined up with municipal goals (the policy and political streams came together). In all three cases, the primary theme in the political stream was “recognition.” Newport and Ellsworth were experiencing change that included municipal commitment to livability. Brookline had a long history of commitment to livability. In all three communities, joining was perceived by elected officials as recognition for the livability work that had been accomplished or (in the case of Newport) was planned. Among elected officials, joining was seen less as addressing a “problem” than it was celebrating the municipality’s commitment to livability.

Municipal involvement was a salient theme in all three cases. The WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC require a formal commitment by elected officials to supporting age-friendly changes in the community before an application to join either network is accepted. Kingdon’s model of policy change predicts that support in the political stream increases the likelihood that policy change will be adopted and implemented. In Brookline and in Ellsworth, elected officials voted unanimously to join an age-friendly network. In Newport, joining the AARP NAFSC was on the select board agenda two times before it was passed. When the network was first introduced, the select board wanted time to think about if it was a

good choice for the community. At the second meeting, with a letter of support from Bill Stenger, a partner in NKEDI, the motion was passed with four members voting yes and one abstaining. “NKEDI” was a key theme in the political stream of the Newport case; it was a strong influence on decision making by AARP Vermont to solicit Newport for the AARP NAFC, was crucial for the board of selectmen to adopt the policy and influenced the decision by NCRC to act as a local champion.

Only one elected board —Brookline—immediately appointed an ad-hoc committee to lead the age-friendly work in the community. Mel Kleckner, Brookline’s town administrator, values the role that the Age-Friendly Cities Committee has in the community:

The Age-Friendly Cities Committee is using their place at the municipal table to advocate, to really make a difference in the way we think about planning and development. They get involved with some of the capital planning that the town does and makes sure that there is an accommodation perspective for age-friendly components, whether that be physical design or policy. They have been very effective at advocating for some of the HUD CDBG funds. We have to be very careful. Those funds have to be used for low and moderate income but when it involves things like complying with ADA or something, that sort of goes right to the top. It becomes eligible. They suggest changes that no one else would think of and their input can help us solve problems that, without them, would have required a very extensive analysis. They are an asset to us and to my departments.

A sub-theme in the political stream that was unique to the Brookline case was “working in municipal structure.” In Brookline, formal ties, as an ad-hoc committee and then a standing committee appointed by the town council have helped the committee to advocate for a plethora of age-friendly changes in the community—including increasing accessibility, age-friendly parking meters, property tax relief, and creating effective easy-to-read wayfinding signs.

In Brookline, the strength of support in the political stream was greater than in the other two cases. Kingdon’s model does not posit the effect of ebbs and flows in support in the political stream because the model is looking at one outcome—change in public policy and not at a continuum of changes that is integral to age-friendly community development. The decision to join an age-friendly network is followed by decisions about creating a committee and, later, about implementation. RMT is added to the model that guided this research to provide a framework to look at the effect of ongoing support in the political stream on the resources available to develop collaborations and implement change.

Problem stream. Kingdon’s model of policy change predicts that a policy solution is more likely to be adopted when it fits with a generally-agreed upon problem. In Brookline, the problem and policy streams converged around population aging. The proposed solution – the need to educate people about the resources available to make it easier for older residents to live safely and comfortably in Brookline and to advocate for municipal departments to include an ageing lens when making changes in policy, services, or infrastructure—fit easily with the policy solution provided by membership in the WHO-GNAFCC. However, the problem did not fit as neatly with the proposed policy solution in Ellsworth and Newport.

In Ellsworth, the primary theme that emerged in the problem stream was “Ellsworth as a destination.” It was difficult for the age-friendly team to agree on a problem that could be addressed by joining the AARP NAFSC. Without a problem to focus their age-friendly efforts, the committee struggled to find a direction for its work. Jo Cooper, executive director of FIA, explained that the lack of focus also made it harder for the committee to find its fit in the larger municipal plan:

We are going to try to talk with the city about accessibility and other issues but right now the focus is on making the economy stronger. It is hard to show them how our efforts will do that. The city wants to attract young people, entrepreneurs, people who will come with money and make their lives here. It’s hard to put that together with the age-friendly thing.

Newport faced a similar challenge; the primary theme for the policy champions was to ensure that residents would have a voice in planning changes that had been proposed by the municipality in response to the NKEDI. The champion advocated for the policy because NCRC saw how joining the AARP NAFSC could benefit the cause they were championing. Trish Sears, then executive director of NCRC, said,

Joining was a win-win. We wanted people to have a voice in the changes happening in Newport. The AARP NAFSC was structured so that people would have a voice in the municipality. AARP Vermont’s goals for community development lined up with ours so we partnered with them. We were opportunists.

The problem stream in Newport was an extension of the hoped-for economic development by NKEDI. In Ellsworth, the problem was the need to change the city’s image and promote the community as a good place to live. The AARP NAFSC policy met both problem definitions because aspects of the structure—in Newport’s case the advisory committee and in Ellsworth’s case membership in a network that allowed the city to say it was an “age-friendly” community—was a greater contributor to municipal-decision making than the aging population problem stream that was addressed by AARP NAFSC policy. Kingdon’s policy change model does not discuss the possibility that organizations will embrace a policy for reasons outside the realm that are not directly related to the solutions offered by a policy.

A surprising theme in the problem construct was “selective framing”, a primary theme in the problem stream of all three cases. The policy entrepreneurs gave considerable thought to framing the problem so that it could be embraced by people committed to making age-friendly changes as well as elected officials. In the case of Newport and Ellsworth, the problem stream was defined for elected officials as “celebrating development;” in Brookline it was defined as “age-friendly is the norm.” Both frames were designed to reduce resistance by elected officials to join a formal age-friendly network. All the cases framed the problem differently for local organizations and people who wanted to work on the initiative. In Brookline, the problem was framed as “education and information” to make it clear that the work would build on what local organizations and municipal departments were doing well. In Ellsworth, AARP Maine framed the problem as the need for older residents (initially represented by FIA) to have a voice advocating for the age-friendly changes that Michelle

Beal wanted to implement. In Newport, the problem was framed as “loss of local control” to engage organizations and individuals who wanted to have a voice in the changes planned by NKEDI. Although selective framing is not predicted by Kingdon’s policy change model, it was a pragmatic choice made by the age-friendly champions to increase engagement.

Policy stream. The policy stream represented by the WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC emphasizes the importance of tying grass-roots efforts to municipal decision-making structure. One important difference, however, is that WHO-GNAFCC does not recruit communities to join the network and cannot offer local support to communities. AARP NAFSC, to gain some traction in the US, recruited communities to join the Network and provided technical assistance and some financial support to communities that joined. Kingdon’s RMT does not posit whether support by organizations outside the community in the political stream have a positive or negative impact on local decision-making.

BrooklineCAN, a grass-roots organization, had defined creating an environment in Brookline with what older people need to remain as active and engaged as they want to be as the focus of their work. The problem stream fit well with the WHO-GNAFCC policy and allowed the advocates to increase ties with the municipal government and, thus, advance their livability goals. The Brookline team was not looking for local support to start an age-friendly initiative but wanted a closer tie with the municipality, which membership in the network gave them.

Both Newport and Ellsworth were recruited by state AARP offices and received technical and (in the case of Newport) financial assistance for planning and for limited implementation. The perception of support by AARP state offices was a factor in municipal

decision-making in Newport and in Ellsworth. Jo Cooper explained that the promise of help from AARP was key in the decision FIA made to advocate for the city council to join the AARP NAFC

You know, it was a busy time for us. We had a good working relationship with Michelle Beal and the city council was very supportive of what we were doing with the senior center. When I heard that AARP was going to help us with technical advice and funds, I thought it was a great idea to join. It was ready-made for AARP and could help FIA to develop a stronger relationship with the city, so it made sense. FIA knew we didn't have the capacity to do all the age-friendly planning process required by AARP, but we thought we could facilitate the conversation and give what support we had. We wouldn't have agreed to participate in the working group if we didn't have reassurances that AARP Maine would provide the necessary resources—human and financial.

Decision-making by FIA and by NCRC about advocating that the municipality join the AARP NAFC was heavily influenced by the promise of financial and technical support by the AARP state office. Both communities felt that joining was recognition for past or future accomplishments and that the AARP state office was planning to invest material and technical resources into the community. As Pam Ladd, an active member of the Age-Friendly Newport steering committee and prior chair of the NCRC design committee, said, "NCRC had accomplished a lot in Newport that AARP wanted to tap into with their network. It was a

great opportunity for us to engage an outside partner who would bring resources we can't get in other ways and to get recognition for NCRCs accomplishments—in Newport and beyond.”

Kingdon's model of policy change posits the availability of a policy that can effectively address a social problem increases the likelihood that policy change will be adopted. In all three cases, a policy was available. However, support from the organization (WHO or one of the AARP state offices) that promoted the policy varied significantly. The Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee did not expect to receive any material support from WHO; the policy entrepreneur approached WHO about joining the WHO-GNAFCC and developed the support of community officials. In the cases of Ellsworth and Newport, support for joining the AARP NAFSC was developed by the AARP state office. In the Newport case, the state office provided significant financial and human resources. In the Ellsworth case, policy makers thought that AARP Maine was going to provide significant support. Kingdon's model does not predict the effect of support from an outside organization on municipal decision-making. These cases suggest that, when an outside organization advocates for change, the perception of support from that organization effects decision-making by both local organization partners and elected officials. Resource Mobilization Theory is needed to explain the effect of material support from any source, including an outside organization, on the ability of an age-friendly team to implement change.

Resource Mobilization Theory

RMT posits that human, material, relational, and/or ideological resources need to be present and actuated for changes to be implemented. Across the three cases, primary emphasis was placed on identifying and activating available resources. Brookline, for

example, did not have financial resources at its disposal and did not spend a lot of time wishing they had resources they were lacking. Rather, the group emphasized relational resources to work with other organizations with the capacity to make the needed changes. Newport had limited relational resources, especially after the EB-5 scandal so it emphasized ideological resources that opened the door to working with local partners and developing relational resources. Without ideological, monetary, or human resources and lacking relationships with other organizations and with the municipality, Ellsworth faced barriers to developing collaborations and effecting change in the community.

Ideological resources. Ideological resources were a missing theme in Ellsworth. The Brookline and Newport age-friendly teams used ideological resources to move their work forward in line with what residents want, need, and value in their community. Both the WHO and AARP age-friendly networks emphasize the key role of local decision-making. Neither network has created a list of what makes a city or town age-friendly. Each community that joins a network defines what will make the municipality age-friendly. This aspect of joining an age-friendly network allowed Brookline and Newport to successfully build on community values and municipal goals to enhance their cities. The primary theme across both cases under ideological resources was “building on community values.”

The age-friendly effort in Brookline stressed the community value of providing a safe environment where residents of all ages could enjoy the best possible health and well-being. The emphasis allowed the committee to build on that history when approaching municipal departments about age-friendly work and, according to Roberta Winitzer, a member of the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee, “on the whole, the response was positive. They

wanted to do the right thing, but we had to follow-up with praise when work was done and a gentle reminder when it was not.” Reminding decision-makers that age-friendly was part of the way Brookline committed to approach changes in infrastructure and policy increased the effectiveness of the committee’s advocacy efforts.

The age-friendly committee in Newport built on a core value in the community—the importance of intergenerational experiences—to develop collaborations with local partners to support the community gardens, enhance bike and pedestrian safety and advocate for improvements in public transportation services. Kelly Stoddard Poor, Outreach Director, AARP Vermont, stressed the importance of their intergenerational message to move ahead with age-friendly goals:

One of the bigger accomplishments has been re-framing what it is to age in Newport. I think there has certainly been an increased awareness around the needs of older adults and how important it is for intergenerational connections. A lot of the grant funding we have provided over time has really helped them move forward a number of really good initiatives. Particularly around intergenerational connection and social connectivity.

By working collaboratively and stressing the intergenerational benefits of age-friendly work, the committee has been able to expand the role and visibility of older people and to make the community an easier place for older people to lead active, healthy, and engaged lives.

Ideological resources allowed Newport and Brookline to frame the age-friendly work in a way that supported the municipality and local organizations. RMT posits that, for a

social movement to attract the resources needed to sustain itself and move the work forward, it needs to avoid clashing with the work of groups working on similar goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1987). Age-friendly community development, by definition, works toward community improvement. It is essential for the age-friendly teams to work in concert with municipal government. Thus, as posited by RMT, using ideological resources to ground the age-friendly work in the fabric of the community was a pragmatic decision that helped each committee advance the age-friendly agenda.

Relational resources. The WHO-GNAFCC and AARP NAFSC require that age-friendly teams have a relationship with the municipality, with the understanding that elected and appointed officials are decision makers with the power to implement changes. Age-friendly teams develop collaborations by recruiting potential beneficiaries and organizations with a mission to address livability. Relational resources were a salient theme in all three cases.

The key theme in the Brookline case under relational resources was “networking.” The volunteers who make up the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee were recruited by Frank Caro for their social capital as well as for their skills and experience. Roberta Winitzer, an active participant in BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee explained the success of the initiative as in its ability to form relationships with people who knew how to make change, “You have to talk to the right people if you want to influence decision-making. Frank has recruited people for the talents and skills they bring to our work and for their connections.” Over time, the committee was able to develop considerable

political capital that made the committee a more effective advocate with municipal departments and elected officials.

Neither of the other cases has been able to build strong relational ties with the municipality. The salient theme under the relational resources construct in Newport and Ellsworth was “municipal support.” The challenges posed by the lack of a relationship with the city manager, municipal departments, and elected officials in both cases was a primary theme. Mary Butler, Chair of the Age-Friendly Committee, explained, “It is unfortunate that we have not been able to have a strong relationship with the city manager. The Council is getting more supportive, but you have to build trust and that takes time.” Similarly, Ellsworth has struggled to develop relational resources with the municipality. The loss of city manager Michelle Beal, who had been a fervent supporter of age-friendly planning and economic development was a focus of the discussion when Ellsworth talked about the difficulty they experienced forming effective collaborations with elected officials or municipal departments. The lack of relational resources was a barrier to moving forward with the age-friendly initiative in Ellsworth. Recently, the team has starting to build ties with public works and the recreation department that may lead to further collaborations.

Human and material resources. Human and material resources were salient but secondary themes in all three of the cases. The age-friendly teams in Brookline and Ellsworth were volunteer-led and depended on volunteers for implementation. The theme in both cases under the human resources construct was “volunteer engagement.” In Brookline, volunteer engagement was managed by recruiting people for the committee. In Ellsworth, the team struggled to find a way to engage volunteers. The Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council

primarily consisted of people who represented organizations. The salient theme under human resources in Newport was “stakeholder engagement.”

One of the surprising themes under human resources was that the age-friendly work in all three cases was primarily organized by volunteers who were motivated to commit to the work for reasons that were often rooted in personal goals that had little to do with the goals of the age-friendly effort. Janice O’Brien, a volunteer on the Ellsworth committee, “wanted to get to know the city better after I moved here and the opportunity to work on the AFC team was a good fit with my skills and experiences, so I jumped on board,” while Mary Butler, chair of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council and a board member of the Vermont Chapter of the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention was motivated, in part, by her work on suicide prevention:

The age-friendly work is very meaningful, it makes our community a better place to live and that impacts all the small towns around us. Making the city more livable encourages people to be involved with the community and make them aware of resources so I also see it as an extension of my suicide prevention work.

Matt Weiss, a volunteer in Brookline, entered retirement in 2012 and was:

looking for things to occupy me that were of interest. When Frank (Caro) recruited me, I thought ‘well, let’s find out what it is all about’ and I was hooked. The mission to get the word out about what is working well in Brookline resonates with me so I have stuck with it. It gives me a purpose and gives me a chance to continue learning.

The goals of the age-friendly efforts were in line with the value systems of the volunteers who were committed to making their community a better place to live. RMT suggests that volunteers and organizations must be motivated by more than alignment with the mission of a social movement to become involved (McCarthy & Zald, 1987). In all three cases, volunteers gained benefits—relationships, a sense of purpose, the opportunity to advance the goals of another organization—that motivated them to contribute their skills, talents, and life experiences to the work.

Material resources were not a salient theme in Brookline but were in Newport and Ellsworth. The Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee was an advisory committee appointed by the Brookline select board. Their job was to advise the select board and town departments about ways that the town could be more livable. As an advisory board, the committee was unfunded and depended on funding available to municipal departments for changes in infrastructure. Newport and Ellsworth received technical and financial resources from the AARP state offices that helped move the work forward. The AARP Vermont mini-grant program helped the committee to make some connections with other local organizations working on livability goals. AARP Vermont sent a staff member to all the meetings of the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council. Her advocacy in the city was key to advancing the committee's livability goals. Pam Ladds, a community volunteer active on the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Committee, explained:

Kelly is very involved. The resources AARP gives—printing, posting, the bells and whistles—are helpful, they really are. But she also brings another

perspective, which can be very helpful when we are trying to work with the city council or city manager.

Financial and staff support from AARP Vermont helped the committee move forward with age-friendly goals at a time when change was hard in city's post-scandal environment.

A salient theme in Ellsworth was "limited resources" to move the work forward. Recently, Ellsworth gained access to human (volunteers working on the age-friendly team) and material (funding from AARP Maine) resources. Janice O'Brien, chair of the Age-Friendly committee in Ellsworth, explained the effect of the material resources Ellsworth received from AARP in 2017/18:

We didn't get any traction with the community before AARP Maine offered to match funds we earned for an intergenerational park. Two new volunteers spear-headed the fundraising effort and made a lot of connections for the age-friendly committee while they were working on the raffle and soliciting donations. When we reached our funding goals, we had a ready-made excuse to start collaborating with Parks and Rec and the downtown association. So far, working together has gone very well. The age-friendly committee finally has an accomplishment under its belt and has a lot of people watching us.

The increase in human and material resources had a significant impact on the opportunities the Ellsworth age-friendly committee had to form collaborations, especially with the city council and the Recreation Department.

Opportunities for collaboration. RMT posits that opportunities for collaboration increase the likelihood of collaborative efforts that lead to implementation of age-friendly initiatives. The AARP and WHO network models strongly encourage age-friendly teams to work with the municipality, local organizations, businesses, and other stake holders. Ideally, age-friendly committees represent a cross-section of potential beneficiaries and adherents. Newport and Brookline had opportunities for collaboration before the municipality joined an age-friendly network; the Ellsworth team had few opportunities to collaborate.

The primary theme under opportunities for collaboration in Brookline was “Creating opportunities.” Brookline’s Age-Friendly Cities Committee came out of the work done by BrooklineCAN’s collaboration with organizations that provide services for older people. In the six years that the Age-friendly Cities Council has existed, the committee focused on building additional opportunities for collaboration with municipal departments, businesses, and local organizations. For example, the Age-Friendly Brookline Business campaign is co-sponsored by the Economic Development Board, BrooklineCAN, and the Brookline Chamber of Commerce. Opportunities for collaboration led to changes that could only be implemented through collaboration.

Newport’s age-friendly committee was a project of the NCRC, and, especially, of the design committee, so there were—initially—numerous opportunities to collaborate with other community stakeholders. Local organizations were successfully recruited to join the age-friendly team. Monthly meetings created an opportunity to develop collaborations. However, the effect of the EB-5 scandal was to decrease the resources local organizations had to commit to meetings and collaborative efforts so organizational membership on the

committee declined after the completion of the age-friendly assessment. The primary theme that arose in the Newport case was “(Re)Building Trust.” AARP Vermont developed a mini-grant program to fund livability projects sponsored by local organizations, but it is rare for a grant-winner to join the age-friendly team. A primary goal of the Newport team has been to re-build trust that Newport can be a livable community and engage stakeholders in the work again. Overall, opportunities for collaboration have decreased since Newport joined the AARP NAFSC.

Ellsworth offers negative support for RMT. The primary theme under opportunities for collaboration was “inability to engage stakeholders.” No age-friendly committee was appointed by the city and the initiative was not a part of a local organization that had the capacity to champion the effort. With no resources and no opportunities for collaboration, the age-friendly work stalled for more than two years until an influx of resources—financial, technical, and human—helped the work move forward. The committee has struggled to establish relationships with local organizations and the city so still lacks the opportunities for collaboration in some areas where the committee would like to advocate for change.

RMT posits that opportunities for collaboration lead to collaborations that implement change. In Brookline, the Age-friendly Cities Committee creates opportunities for collaboration through its Age-friendly Cities television program, meetings with city departments, and participation on the boards of partner organizations. As a result, opportunities for collaboration have increased since Brookline joined the WHO-GNAFCC. The Newport and Ellsworth age-friendly teams have taken a different tactic—inviting local organizations to join the team. Thus, the opportunities for collaboration have depended on

the ability of age-friendly teams to engage other organizations in the work. RMT posits that organizations will only join a new initiative if the benefits outweigh the cost to the organization. McCarthy & Zald (1987) posit that organizational decision-making about joining an initiative must be explained by looking at incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms, and growth benefits to the organization. The only age-friendly efforts in Newport and Ellsworth attempted to recruit organizations to join their monthly meeting and engage in age-friendly planning. Brookline, in contrast, develops collaborations with organizations that are not part of the age-friendly team and advocates for changes that are within the scope of the organization's mission without asking the group to commit to participating in the Age-friendly Cities Committee. As posited by RMT, it has been easier for Brookline to engage local partners than for the other two cases.

Stakeholder commitment. RMT posits that collaborations will not form unless stakeholders share a commitment to the goals of a collaboration. Stakeholders weigh the costs and benefits of involvement in an age-friendly collaboration and make pragmatic decisions about the resources they will give to the collaboration. Shared commitment by stakeholders to the goals of the collaboration increase the likelihood that an initiative will successfully influence change.

In both Newport and Brookline, the age-friendly entrepreneurs recruited stakeholders who were committed to the mission of the age-friendly committee. In both communities, the theme that arose under stakeholder commitment was, "shared vision." Frank Caro explained how he recruited members for the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee:

one of the first tasks was to include as many different municipal and community interests as we could. We didn't want people who were just going to sit. They had to be committed to the goals of an age-friendly Brookline. It was fairly easy because Brookline is a member of WHO-GNAFCC, so every department should also be age-friendly.

Kelly Stoddard-Poor, Outreach Director, AARP Vermont, and Trish Sears, founding chair of the Age-Friendly Committee, carefully recruited representatives of organizations that were working with NCRC on community development and organizations that provided services to older residents of Newport because (according to Trish Sears), “we wanted to involve as many people as we could who were already committed to community development so that we wouldn't need to convert them, they would be ready to work on age-friendly goals.” Newport and Brookline were able to leverage the resources brought to the committee by dedicated stakeholders to effect change in the community.

In Ellsworth, the primary theme under the opportunities for collaboration construct was “engaging stakeholders.” Bob Crossthwaite explained the lack of engagement, “people were interested in making Ellsworth better—and not just for older folks. Jo invited people to the meetings, but no one came more than once”. The stakeholders were committed to making Ellsworth a better place to live but were not as committed to the age-friendly work. The Ellsworth committee was unable to merge the goal for a better city with the vision for an age-friendly Ellsworth until it started work on the intergenerational park. Jo Cooper, Executive Director of FIA explained that the connection between making the community a better place

and making Ellsworth a good place to age were starting to, “come together. People can see that a project like this one (the intergenerational park) isn’t just for older people but for everyone. Hopefully, we can get some of the businesses and services in Ellsworth interested in joining the committee now.”

Collaborative efforts. RMT posits that the availability of resources, opportunities for collaboration among stakeholders, and stakeholder commitment will influence the quality and number of collaborative efforts that an initiative can effect. The three cases, combined, provide strong support for RMT.

Ellsworth, with its lack of resources and lack of stakeholder involvement, was unable to launch any collaborative efforts until a few community residents became involved in the work and decided to tackle the intergenerational park project, which, of necessity, led to collaborations with local businesses and the city’s park and recreation department.

The age-friendly work in Brookline was based on collaborations from the very beginning and has worked collaboratively to cement stakeholder commitment throughout its history. Roberta Winitzer believed that the emphasis on collaboration was key to the success of the initiative:

The Age-Friendly Cities Committee has successfully advocated for a lot of changes. When the committee formed, the object was to choose a key person from the significant departments in town. I was a library trustee so represented the library. I have sat on enough committees over the years that I know a lot of people. And, you know, when you know somebody you walk around, and they recognize you, so you end up doing favors for each other. That is the

thing, from my perspective, is our biggest accomplishment. For example, we got recruited to participate in a discussion about how to certify taxi cabs in town as accessible because they saw taxi cabs as a way for some seniors to get around and what we had to say was important. So, a year before that, we wouldn't have been asked but now we are. That is a big success.

The single most powerful resource used by the Brookline committee to move the age-friendly agenda forward has been maximizing stakeholder connections to work collaboratively.

Newport used its resources – primarily the financial resources provided by AARP Vermont and the relational resources of the NCRC Design Committee– to develop collaborations with other local organizations. Kelly Stoddard-Poor, AARP Vermont Outreach Director, saw the grant funding as key to moving the age-friendly agenda forward: “the grant funding we have provided to local organizations, like the community gardens, has helped integrate aging into the conversation in Newport.” Mary Butler, current chair of the Newport age-friendly committee agreed—especially in the context of the EB-5 scandal:

After the scandal, we all felt the lack of resources and even belief that Newport could be a thriving community. The mini-grants that AARP invested in Newport helped people to see that we were not just “age-friendly” but people and Newport-friendly. The community needed that right after the scandal. Now we need to build on those partnerships—we aren't there yet but that is the next step in our work.”

All three cases provide evidence, negative or positive, for the importance of resource to forming collaborations with other organizations.

Cross-Case Summary

All three cases provide support for the conceptual model but included themes that were not predicted or were missing some of the key constructs in Kingdon's policy change model or RMT. Broadly, the conceptual model posited that adoption and implementation could not be described by a single model. Joining a formal network of age-friendly communities is one decision point. The conceptual model predicted that Kingdon's model of policy change would explain municipal decision-making about joining an age-friendly network. The second decision point is initiating the policy. The conceptual model predicted that RMT would explain whether and how age-friendly change was implemented in a community. All three cases supported the idea that decision making about joining a network and identifying and mobilizing resources to make change were two distinct aspects of age-friendly work in a community.

Kingdon's Policy Change Model

Kingdon's policy change model posits the key role of a single policy entrepreneur who develops support for policy change over time. In two cases, dual policy entrepreneurs worked together to garner support to join a network. An outside organization, the AARP state office, recruited local partners to champion the work. In one case, an outside organization also played a significant role on the political environment. Kingdon's model works best to explain factors in the local environment that influence local decision-making about adopting

a policy change. NKEDI (in the case of Newport) and the AARP state offices (in the cases of Newport and Ellsworth) affected decision-making significantly. In the case of Newport, outside influence was stronger than the local champion.

Another surprising theme was that local policy entrepreneurs did not champion joining an age-friendly network because they were primarily motivated by a desire to see age-friendly changes in the community. In both Ellsworth and Newport, when a local organization was recruited to champion joining the AARP NAFSC, the organization adopted the cause to solve a problem identified by the organization that could be solved by joining the AARP NAFSC. In both cases, the broad mission of the organization was in alignment with the goals of age-friendly community development. However, the primary motivation was to solve an alternative problem. The problem that the organization wanted to solve by advocating for joining the network was not ulterior. The organizations were forthright about their reason for joining and those reasons were then adapted by the AARP state office into the problem statement when presenting the benefits of joining to other local organizations and residents. Both motivation and the fluid problem definition were not predicted by Kingdon's policy change model.

Time was not a salient theme in the Newport or Ellsworth case but was in Brookline. One key difference between the three cases was that Brookline was the only grass-roots initiative. In Brookline, members of the community came together to address the need for age-friendly changes in policy and infrastructure. The policy entrepreneur worked to build support among community members over time, before BrooklineCAN was organized. After volunteers formed the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee, it took

about six months to bring municipal departments together to support joining the WHO-GNAFCC and to present the policy to the town administrator and elected officials.

Developing a grass-roots movement takes time. Both other cases were not grass-roots movements; each community was recruited by the AARP state office. Gaining support for joining the AARP NAFSC was simply a matter of finding a local champion to help bring the idea to municipal officials. It took about two months for both municipalities to join after the AARP state office approached a local partner. The role of an outside organization to create a very short time between advocacy for policy change and adoption by elected officials was not predicted by Kingdon's policy change model.

Kingdon's policy change model posits that the policy, political, and problem streams that impact decision-making are relatively independent of each other until a triggering force focuses attention on the need to adopt policy change. Examples of possible "focusing agents" include a crisis (such as NKEDI), advocacy by a policy entrepreneur (such as Frank Caro in the Brookline case), or institutional change (such as Ellsworth's desire to change its image) (Kingdon, 1984, p. 21). In Brookline, a local policy entrepreneur joined the WHO-GNAFCC policy solution with a problem stream that was framed to gain support from local organizations, volunteers, municipal departments, and elected officials and created favorable political support to advance municipal engagement with issues he had advocated for over time. In the Ellsworth and Newport cases, the window of opportunity was created by the presence of internal factors that were present independently of the AARP NAFSC policy stream. In Ellsworth, there was agreement that making the community a better place to live, work, play, and do business was the job of government. The commitment to livability and re-

branding the community to make it more attractive as a destination created an opening for an outside organization to introduce a policy solution that was in alignment with the direction elected officials were taking in community and economic development. In Newport, a crisis was created by the NKEDI that created an opening for an outside organization to introduce a policy to engage residents in a conversation about the direction the community should take to enhance livability. In all three cases the political, policy, and problem stream were unrelated until a policy entrepreneur connected a problem with the policy solution of joining an age-friendly network, which was then linked to political opportunities.

In all three cases, the policy and political streams had a greater effect on decision-making by elected officials and by local partner organizations than did the problem stream. Kingdon posits that two streams must come together to create a window of opportunity to adopt a new policy, whether the policy is acted upon subsequent to the decision by elected officials to adopt. It is within the frame of Kingdon's model that two streams came together, with lesser influence by the third. In Ellsworth, the problem definition, "Ellsworth is a destination" was unrelated to the policy stream. In all three communities, "selective framing" meant that the problem was defined differently when presenting the idea of joining an age-friendly network to local organizations and community volunteers than it was to elected officials. By defining the problem differently for different audiences, there was less resistance and more support for the policy change. In all three cases, a problem stream was identified by the policy entrepreneur even though it was not closely related to the policy solution. The problem stream provided a neutral background for decision-making about the policy solution, with primary emphasis on political opportunities.

A surprising theme in the political stream was “recognition”. The AARP NAFSC and WHO-GNAFCC were not primarily designed as a way for communities to improve their image. However, in all three cases, elected officials joined for “recognition” rather than because they saw joining an age-friendly network as adopting a policy change. Joining for a purpose other than embracing a policy solution was a departure from the model, which posits that support in the political stream will be for a policy that directly addresses an agreed-upon problem that it is designed to solve. Just as the motivation for local partner organizations to champion joining the network was not always related to age-friendly planning, municipal decision-making departed from the problem—community planning for population aging—that the policy was designed to address.

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory posits the importance of resources, opportunities for collaboration, and stakeholder commitment for forming collaborative efforts that can effect change. Overall, RMT provided an excellent model for looking at the way change was (or was not) implemented.

One of the salient themes in all three cases was identifying and actualizing resources. None of the cases had access to all four types of resources in equal measure. Relational resources (or, in the case of Ellsworth, the lack of relational resources) was the most important factor cited for forming collaborations. RMT, in its relational resources construct, includes an examination of the socio-political networks of members of a social movement. Brookline recruited members for the social capital, experience, and skills they could contribute to the age-friendly team and built on the social networks of members to form

relational resources with municipal departments and local organizations that could be used by the committee. In Newport, access to outside support through AARP Vermont was critical for the Newport Age-friendly Advisory Council to work with other local groups to effect change. No two cases were able to use the same resources or use similar resources in the same way.

Recruiting human resources (volunteers) to help with the work of the age-friendly team was a salient theme in all three cases. In all three, the motivation of volunteers to become involved with the age-friendly work was not always in line with the goals or mission of the age-friendly team but did align with their personal value systems. RMT posits that volunteers join a change effort for more than simply the goal of the cause but to accrue additional benefits, such as getting to know the community, feeling like they were making a difference, learning new skills and gaining new experiences, etc.

RMT posits that opportunities for collaboration and stakeholder commitment to the goals of the age-friendly team is key to forming effective collaborations. One of the premises of RMT is that a small group of people can make meaningful change in a community but only by collaborating with other groups, such as municipal departments and local or regional organizations, who are committed to work together on initiatives. The only case that was not able to engage stakeholders in the age-friendly work was Ellsworth. It was not until recently, with the infusion of human resources and financial resources, that the committee has been able to make significant change in the community. After the EB-5 scandal, Newport struggled with stakeholder commitment to age-friendly goals. Despite the financial and technical resources from AARP Vermont, there were few accomplishments that the

committee could claim as solely attributable to their advocacy. Generally, the committee played a support role in other change efforts. In the case of Brookline, opportunities for collaboration arose from the BrooklineCAN initiative and the connections made by the BrooklineCAN Livable Community Advocacy Committee. Stakeholders were recruited to the work who were committed to the vision of the group and who had experience making change in the community so could advocate effectively with decision-makers in the community. By creating opportunities for collaboration and ensuring that stakeholders were committed to the cause the Brookline team was an effective change-agent and was able to list more accomplishments than the other two cases.

Overall, there was support for the conceptual model in the three cases that were part of this study. Kingdon's policy change model provided an effective structure to describe municipal decision-making about joining an age-friendly network. Although there were surprising themes, they did not significantly depart from the model with one exception. The role of an outside organization on time and the ability to develop grass-roots support is not explained by Kingdon's model. RMT provided an effective lens to look at the ability of an age-friendly team to form collaborations and affect change in the community. Resources, opportunities for collaboration, and stakeholder commitment influenced the effect of collaborative efforts.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

This study used multiple case study methodology to explore factors that influence two decision points in age-friendly community development: (1) municipal decision making about joining the WHO-Global Network of Age-Friendly Cities and Communities (WHO-GNAFCC) and/or the AARP Network of Age-Friendly States and Communities (AARP NAFSC); and, (2) implementation of age-friendly changes by municipalities that have joined a network. The first decision point in the conceptual model that guided this study was viewed through the lens of Kingdon's policy change model. The second decision point was viewed through the lens of Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). Decision making in three communities was compared—Brookline, Massachusetts; Ellsworth, Maine; and Newport, Vermont.

The conceptual model posited that Kingdon's policy change model can be used to describe municipal decision-making about joining an age-friendly network. In the model, age-friendly community development begins when a policy entrepreneur advocates for joining an age-friendly network. The policy entrepreneur may take a grass-roots approach to community engagement or may take the idea directly to municipal decision-makers. Whichever approach is adopted, the policy change represented by joining a formal age-

friendly network is brought to the municipal decision-making agenda when factors in the political and/or problem stream merge with the policy solution offered by the AARP NAFSC or the WHO-GNAFCC. The conceptual model posited that, after a community joins an age-friendly network, RMT can be used to describe factors that influence implementation of age-friendly changes in that community. In the conceptual model, the two decision-making points are separate but connected as two aspects of a single phenomenon. When a community joins a network and immediately moves forward with implementation, how support is developed for joining a network affects how the work will be implemented because it contributes to the 1) resources available to the age-friendly team, 2) stakeholder commitment to the mission and goals of the age-friendly initiative, and 3) opportunities for partnership and collaboration. However, in cases, such as Ellsworth and Newport, where there was significant disruption to the age-friendly process between adopting the policy and enacting it, how support is developed for joining a network does not have an immediate effect on the resources available to implement change.

RMT posits that relational, material, ideological, and human resources are utilized by age-friendly teams to develop partnerships that lead to collaborations that influence change. Even with resources available for the age-friendly work, two other constructs—opportunities for collaboration and stakeholder commitment—are key contributors to the ability of an initiative to develop collaborative efforts that implement age-friendly changes. Collaboration is essential for an initiative to make changes that have community-wide benefits.

This chapter starts with a summary of findings and highlights ways that the data support the conceptual model and areas that may be altered to frame the age-friendly community development process. A discussion follows of implications for policy champions

who advocate for adoption of age-friendly policies and for age-friendly teams working in their communities. The chapter concludes with a discussion of study limitations and contributions to research on age-friendly communities.

Summary of Findings

The three cases, combined, offered support for using the conceptual model to guide discussion of factors that influence municipal decision-making about joining an age-friendly network and affect implementation of age-friendly changes. Kingdon's policy change model was a useful tool for looking at the effect of local factors on municipal decision making but was less helpful for framing the role of an outside organization, such as the AARP state office. For example, when a policy champion was an organization outside the community, a local entrepreneur had to be recruited. Local champions partnered with the outside organizations for reasons that were often unrelated to making the community more "age-friendly," a theme that did not fit with Kingdon's policy change model.

RMT provided a useful lens to explore factors that affected implementation of age-friendly changes in all three cases. One possible change to the RMT segment of the model is to consider partnerships and collaborations as equally useful to move age-friendly efforts forward. Brookline, for example, recruited partners with the power to make needed changes and collaborated with BrooklineCAN and the Brookline Senior Center. The collaboration allows the committee to use the resources available to each of the three organizations to effect change. However, when advocating for change, the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee primarily used partnerships with municipal departments to move their age-friendly goals forward—a tactic that has worked well to effect broad changes in the community. Ellsworth struggled to find partners and was not able to effect age-friendly

changes in the community. The age-friendly team in Newport did not form collaborations but did partner with other organizations. Through those partnerships, the committee has advocated successfully for some age-friendly changes—such as the Walking School Bus, Community Gardens, and enhanced bus service. In this study, the RMT model would be a better fit if it included the key role that partnerships may have a in moving the age-friendly agenda forward in communities.

Neither model can explain the age-friendly process completely – from raising awareness of the benefits of joining a network to implementation of age-friendly changes. Hence, factors in Kingdon’s policy change model are posited to influence factors in RMT. For example, in the Brookline case, support in the political stream by municipal departments for joining the WHO-GNAFCC, expressed in letters of support submitted to the Brookline select board, was a key factor in the unanimous decision of the select board to join the network. The relationships built while the policy entrepreneur solicited support from the municipal departments became a key resource that the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities committee used to form partnerships that affected age-friendly changes in the community.

Kingdon’s Policy Change Model

Kingdon’s policy change model provides a lens to look at how a policy entrepreneur brought joining an age-friendly network to the municipal decision-making agenda. In the case of Brookline, a local policy entrepreneur who was well-respected in the community and who was familiar with the change process in municipal government dedicated his time and resources to raising awareness of the benefits of age-friendly community development. Time was a salient construct; the policy entrepreneur raised grassroots support over a period of several years and used that backing to gain the support of municipal departments and,

ultimately, the select board. In the Ellsworth and Newport cases, “dual champions” was a surprising theme that arose in the policy entrepreneur construct. In both cases, the AARP state office was the primary policy entrepreneur. The state offices did not have a presence in the community so recruited local champions for their ability to effect change and influence elected officials. The goal was not to develop grass roots support for age-friendly changes but for each community to join the AARP NAFSC as quickly as possible. Local policy champions approached their elected officials without developing grass-roots support. The top-down approach brought joining an age-friendly network to the change agenda much more quickly than the grass-roots approach of Brookline. Time was a missing factor for both communities that joined the AARP NAFSC. To use Kingdon’s model to look at the adoption of a policy, such as joining an age-friendly network, it may be important to think of time as a variable and to include factors that influence time—such as whether a policy entrepreneur is using a top-down or bottom-up approach to change and whether policy is being created at the local level to effect change, or whether a ready-made policy, such as the AARP NAFSC is being introduced by an organization outside the community.

Although in all three cases the definition of the problem was important to gain support for joining an age-friendly network, the constructs that most influenced municipal decision making were in the policy and political streams. The theme that arose in the political stream in all three cases was “recognition.” Elected officials saw joining an age-friendly network as recognition for municipal commitment to livability. In all three cases, awareness of the AARP NAFSC or the WHO GNAFCC program was central to decision-making about joining a formal network. Elected officials were not interested in joining a formal network of age-friendly communities before the policy entrepreneur presented the policy.

There were two surprising themes in the problem stream construct. First, in all three cases, a primary theme was “selective framing.” Kingdon’s policy change model posits that agreement about a single definition of a problem increases the likelihood that decision-makers will adopt a change in policy. However, policy entrepreneur(s) in Newport, Ellsworth, and Brookline framed the problem for elected officials differently than they did with local organizations and volunteers. Elected officials needed to know the benefits of joining for the municipality. Local organizations and volunteers needed to know how joining a network would address community needs. Although elected officials vote to join a network, they look to municipal departments, volunteers, and local organizations to effect the changes that they vote to implement. Thus, community support in the political stream is important to influence elected officials. In all three communities, messaging in the problem stream was used to raise support for joining a network in the political stream by engaging residents and local organizations. Framing the problem to the needs of the specific audience was key to elected officials voting to join a formal age-friendly network and to engaging the community. Kingdon’s model of policy change looks primarily at factors that influence decision making about adopting a policy, not using specific tools in one stream to influence another stream. Given the focus on municipal decision making, it is difficult to use Kingdon’s policy change model to explore the impact of selectively framing a message in the problem stream for raising support in the political stream. However, the model can be adapted slightly to include a deep-dive into the tools used by a policy entrepreneur to raise support in the political stream for joining an age-friendly network, including the possibility of multiple messages in the problem stream—each tailored effectively to its audience.

The second deviation from Kingdon's policy change model in the problem stream was the local goal in the Newport and Ellsworth cases. In Ellsworth, the local goal was "Ellsworth as a destination". In Newport, the local goal was "loss of control". In both cases, elected officials made the decision to join the AARP NAFSC for reasons other than age-friendly community development. In Ellsworth, the reason was marketing the community as a great place to live. In Newport, it was celebration of the economic development of the NKEDI. Prior to introduction of the policy, the elected boards were not looking for a solution to problems associated with population aging, whose solution was joining an age-friendly network. Rather they were looking for solutions to other problems ("recognition") that could be achieved by joining a formal network of age-friendly communities. Kingdon's policy change model posits that, for a policy to be adopted, it should be designed to line up with the problem identified by elected officials. However, that was not true, when looking from the perspective of elected officials, in any of the three cases. For policy champions to advocate effectively for joining a formal network, it may be necessary to identify ancillary community goals that could be solved by joining a network, rather than extolling only the problem that joining a network was designed to solve. Thus, for Kingdon's model, defining the problem should include looking at related municipal goals, such as changing the image of a city or working to encourage economic development.

Bridging Kingdon's Policy Change Model and RMT

Kingdon's policy change model provides a lens to explore municipal decision-making about joining an age-friendly network but does not provide a frame to discuss whether or how a municipality implements changes after joining a formal network. Joining a network is step one; step two is developing an age-friendly team and empowering the team to conduct

an assessment, develop an action plan, advocate for changes in infrastructure or municipal policy, partner with organizations to increase the livability of a community, and develop programs and activities that residents need and want to thrive in the community. Both decision points are critical to the age-friendly process. A community does not become more livable because it is a member of an age-friendly network; volunteers working to implement age-friendly changes benefit when the municipality supports the work they are doing. The resources gained, opportunities for collaboration, and stakeholder commitment to the age-friendly process have a direct impact on implementation. In the Brookline case, the policy entrepreneur used a grass-roots approach to develop support for joining the WHO-GNAFCC, recruiting participants from BrooklineCAN to form its Livable Community Advocacy Committee. The social and political capital of the members of that committee was then used to develop support among municipal departments and local organizations. After the select board voted to join the network, stakeholder commitment by supporters of joining the network was assured and the way had been paved for the newly appointed Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee to move the work forward through partnerships with municipal departments and organizations that had written letters of support to elected officials. The contrast with a top-down approach, that did not develop local support before elected officials voted to join the AARP NAFSC, can be seen in the case of Ellsworth. Local support was limited to Michelle Beal, then city manager, and Friends in Action (FIA) when the Ellsworth city council voted to join the AARP NAFSC. When Michelle Beal left her position, the initiative was left with no resources that could be used to develop collaborations and effect change. RMT is used to look at whether and how age-friendly community teams can implement changes.

Resource Mobilization Theory

RMT provides a lens to look at the types of resources available to age-friendly teams and how those resources (or the lack of resources) influenced implementation of age-friendly changes. The picture of resources that arose in all three cases was that human resources (volunteers and local organizations with the capacity to assign staff to the committee) were essential for the structure and composition of the age-friendly teams. However, the primary resource that moved the work forward (or prevented it from moving forward) were relational resources. Relationships with municipal government were a primary theme in Ellsworth and Newport; networking with municipal government and local organizations were a primary theme in Brookline. Ideological resources were missing in Ellsworth but gave credibility to the work in Newport and Brookline. RMT provides an effective lens to look at the resources a community uses to move the work forward, including influences on resource availability, through changes in the political environment (such as the EB-5 scandal or changes in municipal support), or by outside organizations (such as the AARP state offices and other organizations).

RMT posits that opportunities for collaboration and stakeholder commitment to the goals of the age-friendly team influence implementation of age-friendly changes. Brookline and Newport actively sought partnerships with local organizations and, in the case of Brookline, municipal departments. Both worked with partners to develop a shared understanding of the mission, vision, and goals of the age-friendly work. RMT posits that the opportunities to form collaborations and the commitment by partner organizations and municipal departments increase the likelihood that the resources available to the age-friendly team will be joined with resources from other organizations to form effective collaborations.

The theme that arose in the Brookline case under the opportunities for collaboration construct was “creating opportunities.” Brookline used municipal commitment to the age-friendly mission, vision, and goals of the Brookline Age-Friendly Cities Committee to court partners who worked with the team on specific initiatives. The committee’s goal was to encourage partners to contribute to specific aspects of the age-friendly plan. It did not seek collaborations that would have required partner organizations to commit resources beyond a specific ask, such as age-friendly parking meters, participation in the age-friendly business program, or increasing accessibility to the community’s libraries. Partnership, not collaboration, was the goal and has been used effectively to implement changes in the community.

Newport crafted its mission, vision, and value statements, developing an age-friendly action plan with partner organizations. Many of the goals in the action plan indicated the expectation of true collaborations. For example, one goal was to increase utilization of Newport’s recreational activities. To meet the goal, the committee agreed to create and distribute a map. The work was to be shared by the Vermont Department of Health’s local office, NCRC Design Committee, AARP VT, Newport City Parks and Recreation, and Northeast Kingdom Learning Services. The project was to be coordinated by the NCRC Design committee, developed collaboratively, funded by all but the NCRC Design Committee, and distributed by all the agencies. Planned collaborations did not come to fruition in the aftermath of the EB-5 scandal. As posited by RMT, the decrease in resources limited both the opportunities for collaboration and stakeholder commitment to the work. The theme that emerged in Newport under the opportunities for collaboration construct was

“(re)building trust”. Currently, the team is working to re-energize the committee, engage partners, and develop an action plan for the post EB-5 environment.

In Ellsworth, a theme that arose was an inability to engage stakeholders in the age-friendly work. Potential partners who were invited to the table were interested in and committed to the goal of a more livable Ellsworth and to economic development but were not committed to age-friendly goals. Without stakeholder commitment, there was no opportunity for collaborations to form.

All three cases provide support for the effect of resources on the ability to engage stakeholders and develop collaborations. In the Brookline case, the emphasis was on partnership as an effective tool to advance age-friendly goals. Partnerships do not require as many resources from a partnering organization as a collaboration would. The Brookline case offered partners the opportunity to contribute to age-friendly without demanding an ongoing commitment of time, money, or human resources. When using RMT as a frame to look at the implementation of age-friendly changes, it may be as important to look at partnerships as collaborations. Developing partnerships and encouraging organizations to partner on specific projects may more effectively move the work forward than waiting for true collaborations.

Implications for Age-Friendly Community Development

The purpose of this study was to explore how policy entrepreneurs bring joining an age-friendly network to the decision-making agenda of elected officials in a municipality and to explore some factors that impact implementation of age-friendly changes after a community joins a network. The study findings may help people advocating for age-friendly community development. This section will look at ideas to move the age-friendly work

forward that are taken from the data and analysis produced for this study, along with Kingdon's policy change model and RMT.

The Brookline case used a grassroots approach to advocate for the town to join the WHO-GNAFSC. Participants in BrooklineCAN wanted to expand the focus of the organization to include age-friendly community development. Resources developed by BrooklineCAN prior to the decision to advocate for joining the WHO-GNAFCC could be mobilized for the advocacy effort and to effect age-friendly changes after elected officials voted to join the network. Leveraging the resources of an existing committee or organization to engage residents, municipal departments, and local organizations has a positive impact on the resources, stakeholder commitment to age-friendly goals, and opportunities to form partnerships and collaborations that address needed changes.

All three communities used “selective framing” to craft their message about the problem stream to different audiences. The policy entrepreneur(s) framed the message to municipal decision makers—city manager, city administrator and elected officials—consistently so that there was no confusion about what joining an age-friendly network would accomplish for the community. However, when engaging other stakeholders—older residents, municipal departments, and local organizations—the policy entrepreneurs crafted the message to increase stakeholder engagement by describing the advantages of joining a network for them or for their organization. For example, Brookline framed the message as “communication and education” to acknowledge the age-friendly work that was already in place and to start the process of building on those successful efforts. AARP Maine framed the message to FIA as creating a pathway for the to be included in municipal decision making. AARP Vermont framed the message to residents and local organizations as making

sure that they had a voice in the changes planned by the Northeast Kingdom Economic Development Initiative (NKEDI). By framing for their audiences, the policy entrepreneurs were able to build a stronger base of support.

RMT posits that ideological resources can be used to mobilize changes by making a link between proposed changes and things the community already believes about itself, such as the importance of intergenerational programs or that the community provides what residents of all ages need to thrive. In this way, ideological resources add credibility to age-friendly community development projects. The Brookline and Newport cases identified ideological resources that could be used to link the age-friendly work to community values. The ideological resources were invaluable to persuade people opposed to joining a network or to age-friendly development and lent credibility to the work that was planned by the age-friendly team.

RMT posits the importance of forming collaborations that will move the age-friendly work forward in a community. However, the Brookline case provides positive support for focusing on partnerships that can move one aspect of the age-friendly work forward and may not be true collaborative efforts. For an organization to collaborate on age-friendly goals, it must work with other organizations effectively. All the organizations involved must contribute a commensurate level of resources and effort to achieve an age-friendly outcome that benefits the community. Partnerships include, for example, advocacy for a change in land use policy to allow mixed use development or recruiting volunteers to expand the scope of a volunteer driver program. Both are important age-friendly changes that do not require collaboration but benefit from strong, supportive partnerships. While forming collaborations, as posited by RMT, may ultimately be the key to sustainable, community-wide age-friendly

change, it is short-sighted to ignore the immediate benefits of partnerships, whether or not they lead to collaborations.

Limitations

The findings of this study are limited by several methodological problems. Only municipalities that have joined the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC are included in the study. The plan for this study was to include interviews of one to two people who opposed the AFC-initiative in each of the municipalities included in the study. However, none of the participants, at the time of the interviews, continued to oppose joining an age-friendly network. It is likely that there are people in each of the three cases that oppose joining an age-friendly network or implementing age-friendly changes. The absence of those voices is a limitation of this study.

This study did not include communities that have, for one reason or another, chosen not to join an age-friendly network even if they were working on age-friendly community development projects. In the US, there are communities working on age-friendly community development or on livability projects that have not joined a network even though there is municipal commitment to age-friendly goals. However, no interviews were planned with stakeholders in municipalities that were not a member of either the AARP NAFSC or the WHO-GNAFCC—not with stakeholders opposed to AFC in those communities or with stakeholders advocating for AFC. It is possible that stakeholders in municipalities that do not participate in an age-friendly network have very different perception of and experience with age-friendly community development than stakeholders living in municipalities that have joined a network.

The study analysis was limited by the fact that only one researcher analyzed the data. No software was used to assist with the analysis. The researcher has worked since 2012 on age-friendly community development, first with a small town in Maine and then as an age-friendly consultant with AARP Maine, the Tri-State Learning Collaborative on Aging, and the AARP Livable team. Member checking, as described earlier in the methods section, was used to increase the authenticity of the single case studies. However, since the cross-case comparison was completed by the researcher working alone, it is probable that the researcher's experiences working with age-friendly communities as an age-friendly consultant with AARP Maine and the AARP livable team influenced the analysis, interpretation of the data, and the shape of the final report.

A fourth limitation is the time that expired between completing the first interview November 17, 2015 and completion of this thesis. Age-friendly work progresses over time and responds to changes in the community environment. The interviews for each individual case took place within three months. After interviews were completed, the case was compiled so that data from one case would not cloud the researcher's thinking about another case. As a result, up to one year separated each case. Thus, the cross-case analysis used data up to two years old. Another, related, limitation was that each case was at a different point in their age-friendly journey. Brookline and Newport had completed action plans that were being implemented, Ellsworth did not. Comparing communities at different points in chronological time and at different points in their age-friendly journey means the data and conclusions presented in this study must be interpreted with caution.

A fifth limitation of this study is that it only includes communities in New England. The experience of municipalities in New England cannot be generalized to other regions of

the United States or internationally. Choosing municipalities in different regions of the United States or in different countries would allow the researcher to control for regional variations in support for age-friendly community development. Barriers and opportunities for joining an age-friendly network change over time, with changes in the community and in the regional context. Thus, a longitudinal design would be a more accurate reflection of municipality's on-going experiences creating age-friendly changes.

Future Research

This study adds to the current scholarly literature about the policy, social, and economic environments of municipalities that participate in age-friendly initiatives. Specifically, the study findings contribute to knowledge of municipal decision making about joining a formal network of age-friendly communities and implementation of age-friendly changes after joining a network.

Future longitudinal research that traces age-friendly community development from organizing to implementation and evaluation will allow further exploration of how resources gleaned while a policy entrepreneur is bringing joining an age-friendly network to the municipal change agenda effects long-range sustainability of age-friendly initiatives. Quantitative research that includes communities of different sizes throughout the United States is needed to identify factors in the policy, political, and problem stream that are brought together to influence municipal decision making about joining an age-friendly network and how the process used by a policy entrepreneur effect the resources available to an age-friendly team after a community joins a network.

Concluding Statement

This study explored municipal decision making about joining the WHO-GNAFCC or AARP NAFSC and implementation of age-friendly changes after joining a network in three cases. Data from the three age-friendly communities informed the cross-case analysis. The conceptual model that guided this study posited that Kingdon's policy change model was used to frame the exploration of municipal decision making about joining an age-friendly network and that RMT framed the discussion of how age-friendly work moves forward in a community after elected officials vote to join a network. The cross-case analysis gave strong support for the conceptual model, with some adjustments.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: WHO CHECKLIST OF ESSENTIAL AGE-FRIENDLY FEATURES

This checklist of essential Age-friendly cities and communities features is based on the results of the WHO Global Age-Friendly Cities project consultation in 33 cities in 22 countries. The checklist is a tool for a community's self-assessment and a map for charting progress. More detailed checklists of Age-friendly Cities and community features are to be found in the WHO Global Age-Friendly Cities and Communities Guide.

This checklist is intended to be used by individuals and groups interested in making their community more age-friendly. For the checklist to be effective, older people must be involved as full partners. In assessing a city or town's strengths and deficiencies, older people will describe how the checklist of features matches their own experience of the community's positive characteristics and barriers. They should play a role in suggesting changes and in implementing and monitoring improvements.

Outdoor spaces and buildings

- Public areas are clean and pleasant.
- Green spaces and outdoor seating are sufficient in number, well-maintained and safe.
- Pavements are well-maintained, free of obstructions and reserved for pedestrians.
- Pavements are non-slip, are wide enough for wheelchairs and have dropped curbs to road level.
- Pedestrian crossings are sufficient in number and safe for people with different levels and types of disability, with non-slip markings, visual and audio cues and adequate crossing times.
- Drivers give way to pedestrians at intersections and pedestrian crossings.
- Cycle paths are separate from pavements and other pedestrian walkways.
- Outdoor safety is promoted by good street lighting, police patrols and community education.
- Services are situated together and are accessible.
-
- Special customer service arrangements are provided, such as separate queues or service counters for older people.
- Buildings are well-signed outside and inside, with sufficient seating and toilets, accessible elevators, ramps, railings and stairs, and non-slip floors.
- Public toilets outdoors and indoors are sufficient in number, clean, well-maintained and accessible.

Transportation

- Public transportation costs are consistent, clearly displayed and affordable.
- Public transportation is reliable and frequent, including at night and on weekends and holidays. All city areas and services are accessible by public transport, with good connections and well-marked routes and vehicles.
- Vehicles are clean, well-maintained, accessible, not overcrowded and have priority seating that is respected.
- Specialized transportation is available for disabled people.
- Drivers stop at designated stops and beside the curb to facilitate boarding and wait for passengers to be seated before driving off.
- Transport stops and stations are conveniently located, accessible, safe, clean, well-lit and well-marked, with adequate seating and shelter.
- Complete and accessible information is provided to users about routes, schedules and special needs facilities.
- A voluntary transport service is available where public transportation is too limited.
- Taxis are accessible and affordable, and drivers are courteous and helpful.
- Roads are well-maintained, with covered drains and good lighting.
- Traffic flow is well-regulated.
- Roadways are free of obstructions that block drivers' vision.
- Traffic signs and intersections are visible and well-placed.
- Driver education and refresher courses are promoted for all drivers.
- Parking and drop-off areas are safe, sufficient in number and conveniently located.
- Priority parking and drop-off spots for people with special needs are available and respected.

Housing

- Sufficient, affordable housing is available in areas that are safe and close to services and the rest of the community.
- Sufficient and affordable home maintenance and support services are available.
- Housing is well-constructed and provides safe and comfortable shelter from the weather.
- Interior spaces and level surfaces allow freedom of movement in all rooms and passageways.
- Home modification options and supplies are available and affordable, and providers understand the needs of older people.
- Public and commercial rental housing is clean, well-maintained and safe.

- Sufficient and affordable housing for frail and disabled older people, with appropriate services, is provided locally.

Social participation

- Venues for events and activities are conveniently located, accessible, well-lit and easily reached by public transport.
- Events are held at times convenient for older people.
- Activities and events can be attended alone or with a companion.
- Activities and attractions are affordable, with no hidden or additional participation costs.
- Good information about activities and events is provided, including details about accessibility of facilities and transportation options for older people.
- A wide variety of activities is offered to appeal to a diverse population of older people.
- Gatherings including older people are held in various local community spots, such as recreation centres, schools, libraries, community centres and parks.
- There is consistent outreach to include people at risk of social isolation.

Respect and social inclusion

- Older people are regularly consulted by public, voluntary and commercial services on how to serve them better.
- Services and products to suit varying needs and preferences are provided by public and commercial services.
- Service staff are courteous and helpful.
- Older people are visible in the media, and are depicted positively and without stereo-typing.
- Community-wide settings, activities and events attract all generations by accommodating age-specific needs and preferences.
- Older people are specifically included in community activities for “families”.
- Schools provide opportunities to learn about ageing and older people, and involve older people in school activities.
- Older people are recognized by the community for their past as well as their present contributions.
- Older people who are less well-off have good access to public, voluntary and private services.

Civic participation and employment

- A range of flexible options for older volunteers is available, with training, recognition, guidance and compensation for personal costs.

- The qualities of older employees are well-promoted.
- A range of flexible and appropriately paid opportunities for older people to work is promoted.
- Discrimination on the basis of age alone is forbidden in the hiring, retention, promotion and training of employees.
- Workplaces are adapted to meet the needs of disabled people.
- Self-employment options for older people are promoted and supported.
- Training in post-retirement options is provided for older workers.
- Decision-making bodies in public, private and voluntary sectors encourage and facilitate membership of older people.

Communication and information

- A basic, effective communication system reaches community residents of all ages.
- Regular and widespread distribution of information is assured and a coordinated, centralized access is provided.
- Regular information and broadcasts of interest to older people are offered.
- Oral communication accessible to older people is promoted.
- People at risk of social isolation get one-to-one information from trusted individuals.
- Public and commercial services provide friendly, person-to-person service on request.
- Printed information – including official forms, television captions and text on visual displays – has large lettering and the main ideas are shown by clear headings and bold-face type.
- Print and spoken communication uses simple, familiar words in short, straight-forward sentences.
- Telephone answering services give instructions slowly and clearly and tell call-ers how to repeat the message at any time.
- Electronic equipment, such as mobile telephones, radios, televisions, and bank and ticket machines, has large buttons and big lettering.
- There is wide public access to computers and the Internet, at no or minimal charge, in public places such as government offices, community centres and libraries.

Community and health services

- An adequate range of health and community support services is offered for promoting, maintaining and restoring health.
- Home care services include health and personal care and housekeeping.

- Health and social services are conveniently located and accessible by all means of transport.
- Residential care facilities and designated older people's housing are located close to services and the rest of the community.
- Health and community service facilities are safely constructed and fully accessible.
- Clear and accessible information is provided about health and social services for older people.
- Delivery of services is coordinated and administratively simple.
- All staff are respectful, helpful and trained to serve older people.
- Economic barriers impeding access to health and community support services are minimized.
- Voluntary services by people of all ages are encouraged and supported.
- There are sufficient and accessible burial sites.
- Community emergency planning takes into account the vulnerabilities and capacities of older people.

APPENDIX B: AARP NAFSC PROGRAM CYCLE



AARP Network of Age-Friendly Communities Program Cycle

STEP 1: ENTERING THE NETWORK

The purpose of the AARP Age Friendly Communities is to serve as a catalyst to educate, encourage, promote, and recognize improvements that make cities, towns, and counties more supportive not only of their older residents but for residents of all ages. Our intent is to provide American cities, towns, counties with the resources they need to become more age-friendly, tapping into national and global research, models, and best practices.

AARP's Value Added

- Providing an understanding or definition of the issue/need for change (framing the issue);
- Providing an understanding of economic and social benefit of a more livable community;
- Resources on AARP.org/livable – Future Livability index (all phases)
- Success Criteria
- Streamlined admission into Network

STEP 2: PLANNING PHASE (Year 1-2)

This step has four elements:

- Establishment of mechanisms to involve older people throughout the Age-Friendly city cycle
- A baseline assessment of the age-friendliness of the city.
- Development of a 3-year city wide plan of action based on assessment findings
- Identification of indicators to monitor progress

AARP's Value Added

- Decision making and organizational guidance
- Access to network of communities /Best Practices
- Assessment and survey Tools, identification of key community indicators
- Volunteer network to support/organize aspects of effort

STEP 3: IMPLEMENTATION & EVALUATION (Year 3-5)

On completion of the planning phase, and no later than two years after joining the Network, cities will submit their action plan to WHO for review and endorsement. Upon endorsement by WHO, cities will then have a three-year period of implementation.

At the end of the period of implementation, cities will be required to submit a progress report to WHO outlining progress against indicators developed in Phase 1.

AARP's Value Added

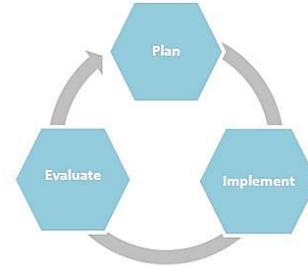
- Evaluation tools
- Organized training and networking events
- Resources on AARP.org/livable
- Access to network of communities /Best Practices
- Volunteer network to support/organize aspects of effort

STEP 4: CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENTS (Year 5+)

Upon completion of phase 3, cities will be able to continue their membership to the Network by entering into further implementation cycles.

AARP's Value Added

- Access to network of communities /Best Practices
- Volunteer network to support/organize aspects of effort
- Resources on AARP.org/livable



A continuous cycle of improvement

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