



Stockyard Road

Siler City, North Carolina
Chatham County

**A Community Assessment including
Secondary and Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis**

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Most importantly, we would like to thank the residents of Stockyard Road, who patiently shared with us their stories from the past and their visions for the future of this community.

This document is dedicated to the residents of Stockyard Road.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Stockyard Road , a small, rural community in Southwestern Chatham County, North Carolina, is located three miles west of Siler City. We first met the residents of this community in August of 1997 when, as five first-year master's students at the School of Public Health, we were assigned to Stockyard Road to conduct a "community diagnosis:"

A community diagnosis... aims to understand many facets of a community including culture, values and norms, leadership and power structure, means of communication, helping patterns, important community institutions and history. A good diagnosis suggests what it is like to live in a community, what the important health problems in a community are, what interventions are most likely to be efficacious, and how the program would be best evaluated (Steuart, GW and Kark, SL, 1962).

As we researched secondary data and talked with residents of Stockyard Road, we frequently struggled with the question of how to define the geographic and social boundaries of this community. None of the service providers that we spoke with actually described Stockyard Road as a "community." The residents themselves rarely used the term community to refer to Stockyard Road unless they were responding to one of our questions about it. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the residents who live here have a unified sense of where their community begins and ends, both in terms of physical and psychological boundaries. As one community member said, "I would say it's this area from highway 64 up to, ya know that intersection I told ya about [Bish Road]. It's not the whole Stockyard Road to me. Further up, that's a different community to me." Said another resident in regard to community boundaries "It's like the White and Black are separated and the people around the curve are separated."

Although the primary concern of a community diagnosis is the health of the community, the process recognizes other aspects of a community that impact its wellness. Our team assessed the Stockyard Road community over the course of two semesters, collecting secondary data and interviewing 25 community members and service providers. In the fall, the major focus was on

collecting quantitative data from a number of county, state and national sources. However, the conclusions we can draw from this data are limited. This limitation is partly due to the fact that most of the data were only available at the county level, and the demographics of Stockyard Road differ from other parts of Chatham County; namely, it is a small, predominantly African-American neighborhood. Thus, we have placed greater emphasis on the primary data collected during the spring semester through interviews with community members. During the course of interviewing, Stockyard Road residents graciously shared their thoughts and experiences with our team. The following summarizes several important findings that have emerged through observations and conversations with community members and service providers.

- ◆ Stockyard Road is comprised of primarily African American residents. Estimates suggest that there are approximately 60-70 individuals living within this community. Many of the community members have lived in the community all their lives and have extended family in the area.
- ◆ Two churches are located in the Stockyard Road community, the Unity Powerhouse Holiness Church and the Mt. Cavalry Holiness Church. Together these two churches offer a variety of activities and programs to residents. These include adult choirs, children's choirs, women's groups and weekly worship services.
- ◆ Stockyard Road residents have many individual talents and skills to offer the community. Residents play musical instruments, sing in the church choir, stake out vegetable gardens and run small businesses. Others find time to volunteer at local civic organizations and schools.
- ◆ The Stockyard Road community is located in an Extra Territorial Jurisdiction and is therefore not within the Siler City limits. This has both political implications and implications in terms of residents' access to services (mail delivery, trash, sewage and water hook-up, etc.)
- ◆ In recent years, housing conditions in Stockyard Road have deteriorated. On March 10, 1998, ten homes in the area were officially condemned and occupants were issued eviction notices.
- ◆ Many residents in Stockyard Road lack indoor plumbing. As a result, some residents are forced to use neighbors' facilities or one of two functioning outhouses.
- ◆ Crime and safety are also a major concern to residents of Stockyard Road. Some residents blame rising crime on a recent influx of inexpensive rental housing.
- ◆ Transportation is an issue for the many residents that do not own cars because there is no

public transportation system in Chatham County. Many depend on neighbors to drive them to work, to buy groceries, or to receive medical care.

- ◆ Compared to nearby Siler City, there are few economic opportunities available to residents of Stockyard Road. Most of the employees who work at the Carolina Stockyards, located within the community, are from neighboring towns.
- ◆ Residents of Stockyard Road face many barriers to receiving adequate health care. These include lack of insurance, dissatisfaction with the quality of service and inaccessibility to services located in Pittsboro, Greensboro and Chapel Hill.

Historically, Stockyard Road is a community that has garnered very little attention within Chatham County. Nonetheless, the complex social, economic and political issues facing this community pose serious challenges for Stockyard Road residents. By utilizing some of the existing resources and developing new ones, Stockyard Road can continue to strengthen community ties and move towards increased community cohesion.

INTRODUCTION

This document is the result of a community diagnosis conducted in Stockyard Road, a small, rural community located one mile west of Siler City, North Carolina. This diagnosis was organized by five first-year master's students in the Department of Health Behavior and Health Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill-School of Public Health, in collaboration with the residents of Stockyard Road and Chatham County service providers.

Community diagnosis is a process that focuses on the strengths, talents, skills and challenges of a community. This process has several phases. The purpose of the first phase is to compile and analyze secondary data related to the communities' geography, history, demographics, economics, education, transportation, politics and government, and health. The second phase of the community diagnosis process is a qualitative analysis of the community, based on interviews with service providers and community members. Sections of the qualitative document are devoted to the following major themes: community assets, community challenges, water and sewage, transportation, housing, crime and safety. This second phase seeks to capture the voices of community members regarding Stockyard Road's strengths, challenges, and possible strategies for resolving community issues.

The final phase of the community diagnosis process is a public gathering where the team presents both quantitative and qualitative data back to the community (see *Forum Summary*). This gathering gives residents a venue to voice their concerns and an opportunity to plan for action.

While this document is intended to serve community members and service providers in identifying strengths, challenges, and issues of concern to residents in Stockyard Road, it is important to note the limitations of both the quantitative and qualitative chapters of this document. As mentioned previously, most of the secondary data was available only on the

county level and may not be representative of Stockyard Road residents. In addition, the 25 residents and service providers we interviewed were not randomly selected. Although the team was able to identify major themes, we recommend that the reader keep in mind that the ideas and statements within this document may not necessarily represent the views of all residents.

Despite these limitations, it is our sincere hope that this document will provide valuable information to the people of Stockyard Road and to the individuals and organizations that work with them.

Secondary Data Analysis

GEOGRAPHY

Geography is defined as "the description , distribution and interaction of the diverse physical, biological and cultural features of an area" (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1993). Geography influences the health status of a community and a community's need for and access to nearby services. This section explores the geography of Chatham County and its influence on the Stockyard Road community.

Chatham County

Chatham County's geography and mild climate are suitable to agriculture and livestock. Undeveloped forests and rolling farms border relatively small, rural towns. The red clay soil found in the area is typical of the Piedmont Region. Centrally located in North Carolina, the county spans a total area of 707 square miles, with a population of 42,616 (M. Pollard- Chatham County Commissioner, personal communication, September 13, 1997). Two main highways intersect Chatham County; 15-501 dissects the county north and south, and Highway 64 divides the county east and west. The Rocky, Deep and Haw rivers provide water and recreation to the citizens of Chatham County. Raleigh, North Carolina's state capitol, is within an hour's drive of Chatham and provides employment and cultural opportunities.

Siler City

Siler City, with a population of about 5,148, is located in northwest Chatham and is the largest city within the county. Several major universities, both public and private, reside within a 30 minute drive from Siler City. These include the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke University, North Carolina Central University and North Carolina State University. Educational institutions within Siler City include a high school, an elementary school and a

community college. In addition, the Raleigh-Durham International airport is 30 miles from Siler City (North Carolina Department of Commerce, 1996-1997). Chatham Hospital, a sixty-eight-bed facility, and the Chatham County Public Health Department provide primary and emergency care for Siler City residents (NC Statistical Abstract, 1997).

Stockyard Road

Stockyard Road, a three mile, U-shaped stretch of road, lies two miles west of Siler City (See Appendix A). Taking the eastern entrance onto Stockyard Road, one enters a small community of approximately 15 to 20 African-American families. Along this section of Stockyard Road, homes are generally small, built close together and in extremely poor condition -- many reveal rotting wood, crumbling paint, dilapidated roofs and foundations, and broken windows. Furthermore, many homes do not have running water or electricity and outhouses are common. According to residents, people in the neighborhood could have paid \$25.00 for a meter to hook-up to municipal water in 1992. However, today that same service costs approximately \$2000.00 and most residents cannot afford the service (personal communication, African-American male resident, November, 24, 1997).

In August of 1997, an Environmental Health Team from the Chatham County Health Department performed a site review along this section of Stockyard Road. The team determined that some residents obtain their water from an unsafe community well and the outhouses are unsanitary. In addition, they noted that some homes maintain electricity via "drop-chords" that create potential fire hazards (V. Upshaw, Chatham County Board of Health, personal communication, November 14, 1997). Comparatively, the quality of the homes dramatically improve further up the road, where the residents are primarily White. In this area, there are no outhouses, homes are larger and spread out, and yards are landscaped.

Geographically, the rural nature of Stockyard Road has implications for transportation and services. There is no public transportation that serves the area. An older resident of Stockyard Road claimed that until 15 years ago, children in the area were not even served by a school bus (personal communication, African-American female resident, October 1, 1997). In addition, there is no municipal trash service and one resident explained that many community members are unable to afford the garbage fee (personal communication, African-American male resident, October 12, 1997).

HISTORY

A region's geography is also closely linked to its historical development. Chatham County's history is rooted in the rich traditions of the rural South, while at the same time marred by its past role in slavery and segregation. This unique history has both positive and negative implications for communities that have developed within Chatham County.

Chatham County

During the early 1700's, persons of Scottish, Quaker, and English descent settled in Chatham County ("History of Chatham County," 1997). These settlers, primarily interested in agricultural pursuits, were attracted to the area because of its pristine forests, mild climate, and fertile soil. Inhabitants officially formed Chatham County in 1771 (Wade, Horton, & Strowd, 1976).

Cotton and tobacco were the first significant cash crops in the area ("History of Chatham County," 1997). According to the 1830 Census, almost one-quarter of the population in Chatham County were slaves forced to provide either domestic services or farm labor (Hadley, et al., 1976). This agricultural foundation allowed for continued growth for Chatham's ruling class over the next several decades. During the 1890's, however, the economy began to deteriorate due primarily to poor farming techniques. Fortunately, a lucrative shift was starting to take place in the western part of the county where people began raising livestock -- primarily broiler chickens and dairy cattle ("History of Chatham County," 1997).

Siler City

At the same time, Siler City was developing into the industrial heart of Chatham County. With the advent of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway in 1884, Siler City burgeoned into a major shipping area. (Osborn & Selden-Sturgill, 1991). In the years after slavery was abolished, many African Americans moved to Siler City where they made a living in manufacturing jobs requiring unskilled labor (Hadley, et al., 1976). Despite their newfound freedom, many African Americans in Chatham County struggled under the burdens of low wages and harsh living conditions.

Stockyard Road

The Stockyard Road community, originally a rural, unpaved road called Colonial Road (personal communication, African-American female resident, October 1, 1997), contrasted with the industrial based Siler City. According to long-time residents, only a couple of houses dotted "a relatively peaceful" road during the 1950's (personal communication, African-American male resident, October 2, 1997). However, these personal accounts of the past stand in sharp contrast to the realities of the community today.

Several community members state that the area began experiencing problems approximately 12-15 years ago when a large tract of land was purchased (personal communication, African-American male resident, October 2, 1997). At this time, pre-existing structures were brought in from outside the area and converted into inexpensive rental properties. With the addition of these properties came a sudden influx of tenants into the area.

Unfortunately, to the authors' knowledge, no written history of Stockyard Road exists beyond the oral histories provided by long-term residents. Subsequently, the community's assets and needs remain relatively unknown to people residing outside of the area.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

An analysis of the economic circumstances in a community lends insight into the distribution of resources. Chatham County's history and geography provide a foundation for the county's strong agricultural and manufacturing industries. However, closer examination reveals an economic reality which is not consistent for all communities within the county.

Chatham County and Siler City

Historically, the geography of Chatham County has attracted many industries, ranging from poultry to textiles to furniture. The two largest companies are Townsends, Inc., in Pittsboro, and Golden Poultry and Hatchery, in Siler City. Together, these two poultry businesses employ more than 2000 people. Furthermore, Chatham ranked 16th in the state in terms of gross farm income in 1994 (N.C. Cooperative Extension Service, 1995).

Stockyard Road

There is little economic information specific to the Stockyard Road community. Businesses located in the area include a funeral home, a kennel supply company and the Carolina Stockyard Company. However, there appears to be little employment opportunity overall and there are no future plans for development at this time (personal communication, Economic Development Department staff member, October 8, 1997). According to one resident, some people commute to Siler City to work in the poultry factory or in fast-food restaurants (personal communication, African-American female resident, October 12, 1997). However, lack of transportation may be a barrier to employment for many residents (personal communication, African-American male resident, October 12, 1997). Further information on the economic status of Chatham County and the Stockyard Road community is presented in the *Economic* section of this document.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

Sociodemographic data is an essential first step in understanding the dynamics of any community. Analyzing data pertaining to age, race and family structure can illuminate the personal qualities of community members, while raising awareness about existing community assets and needs.

Most of the data described in this report will be collected through qualitative interviews. Unfortunately, there is limited statistical data available for the Stockyard Road community at the local level. Therefore, most of the statistical data comes from the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau, which divides geographic regions into tracts and smaller block groups. The Stockyard Road geographic area is divided into two separate block groups, 2031 and 2041. Because these block groups are fairly large relative to Stockyard Road, the statistics from the combined tracts may not adequately reflect the size and unique characteristics of this community. Stockyard Road consists of a cluster of houses situated on a 3-mile stretch of rural road, with a population numbering approximately 200. In some cases, this discrepancy may lead to over or underestimates of the population and housing characteristics pertinent to Stockyard Road. Unless otherwise indicated, all data contained in this section is from the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau.

Population

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the total population of the Stockyard Road census tract area is 2,216 persons. The population is divided relatively equally in reference to gender, with females comprising 49.7% of the community. This is only slightly lower than county and state levels (see Figures 1-a,b,c). Of these residents, 16.7 % are African American and 82.6% are White. With regards to the racial make-up of the community, these numbers are not an accurate

representation of the Stockyard Road community because of Census defined boundaries. Because preliminary observation suggests Stockyard Road is a community comprised primarily of African Americans and a few Whites, discussion will be limited to these two groups throughout the remainder of this section. Most of the residents of the area are 25-64 years of age, which similarly reflects county and state percentages (See Figures 2-a,b,c). This data also suggests that Stockyard Road has a lower percentage of persons who are 65 years or older. Again, there is concern that this data does not accurately reflect the age distribution of the community, as it reflects the block groups rather than what we have defined as “the community”. Stockyard Road is primarily comprised of extended families. This may influence the community's attitudes towards caring for elderly family members, which may impact the percentage of older persons remaining in the community. In addition, Stockyard Road has a higher percentage of youth ranging between 1-14 years (22%) than Chatham County (18%) and North Carolina (19%).

Families and Households

The U.S. Census Bureau defines a household as all persons who occupy a housing unit (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Census data for 1990 show a total of 819 households in the Stockyard Road area. The Stockyard Road area has a substantially lower percentage of two-person households than the County or State, but a significantly higher percentage of three-person households, 27% compared to 19% and 19.4% respectively (see Figures 3-a,b,c). Stockyard Road also has a higher percentage of households with 6 or more persons, which may contribute to more crowded living conditions. In addition, African Americans at the community, county and state level own disproportionately fewer homes as compared to Whites (see Figures 4-a,b).

Among the 819 households in the Stockyard Road area, 301 have children under the age of 18 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). There is a notable difference in the percentages

of married couples and single-headed families among the White and African-American households in Stockyard Road. Of the 599 White family households, 85% include married couples. The percentage of married couples among African-American family households is 65% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). This lower estimate of African-American married couples may contribute to the percentage of single-family households headed by African-American women. Among Whites, women account for 60% of the single-headed households, while among African-American households, women account for 100% of the single-headed households (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). County level data varies from the Stockyard Road area, with 73.4% of households headed by White women and 88% headed by African-American women.

Plumbing Facilities

Given the rural nature of Chatham County, some communities face water and sewage issues. The relatively high percentage of Stockyard Road residents lacking indoor plumbing makes this an especially pertinent issue. According to the 1990 Census, plumbing facilities in occupied housing units within Chatham County differ among Whites and African Americans. Only one-percent of the total housing units among Whites lack complete plumbing facilities, as opposed to six-percent for African Americans. Although this disparity reflects the difference between African Americans and Whites in regards to plumbing facilities, it may underestimate the actual lack of plumbing facilities among African Americans in the Stockyard Road area.

Transportation

The 1990 U.S. Census defines the labor force as those workers age 16 years or above. Of the 20,878 employed civilians (not including military personnel) of Chatham County, 570 walk to their place of employment. The majority of county workers travel to work via personal vehicles and a smaller percentage utilize carpools. Although workers may also rely on public

transportation such as buses and trains, these numbers within both the county and the two block groups are quite small, 7.5% and 9.1% respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). As discussed in the *Economics* section of this document, no public transportation serves the Stockyard Road area. Therefore, the data reflects the dependence members of the community have on private modes of transportation when traveling to work.

Implications

Sociodemographic indicators provide baseline data for assessing the Stockyard Road community. For instance, data suggest that Stockyard Road has a higher percentage of youth than Chatham County, which may have implications for services targeting children and adolescents. African-American families in this community are less likely to consist of married couples than White households and are more likely headed by female heads-of-household. Single income families may have increased financial burdens compared to double income families, particularly in households with children. Stockyard Road's lack of public transportation and rural nature may not only act as a barrier to employment, but may impede community access to recreation, healthcare, services, and basic sustenance needs (groceries, laundry, etc.). Stockyard Road residents, most of whom are African American, share a disproportionate burden of households lacking water and sewer facilities as compared to Whites. This may reflect substandard housing conditions. Although Census data is valuable, the overall lack of data on the local level documenting housing and population characteristics specific to Stockyard Road is problematic. More specific data could reveal differences in resources and family structure among the residents and could offer a more accurate road map for evaluating potential community resources and documenting existing community needs.

ECONOMIC STATUS

The economy is central to the health and survival of any community. Money affords the basic needs, services and opportunities that stabilize families and ultimately communities. It is reasonable to assume that wealthier communities have better access to resources, services and healthcare. However, lower income communities can sometimes find ways to overcome fewer economic resources.

Median Family Income

The 1990 U.S. Census does not identify median family income by race on the block group level. However, the median family income for Stockyard Road in 1989 was \$29,324. This ranks comparatively low relative to the median state income for North Carolina, which is \$31,548 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). In reality, the discrepancy is probably much greater, but specific data could not be found to verify this.

Persons Below the Poverty Level

According to 1990 U.S. Census data, 10% of African Americans living in tracts 2031 and 2041 have income levels below the poverty line. Comparatively, of the 1840 whites living in Stockyard Road, 3% have incomes below the poverty line (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). In the case of Stockyard Road, the poor quality of housing and lack of indoor plumbing suggest that many individuals are affected by poverty.

Unemployment

The unemployment rate for African Americans that live in the Stockyard Road area is very low according to 1990 U.S. Census data. There is a 0.24% unemployment rate at the

community level and a 1.17% unemployment rate for African Americans at the county level. However, this may not represent the actual number of individuals who are affected by the lack of employment opportunities in the Stockyard Road area. To calculate unemployment rates, the U.S. Census takes into account only "individuals who are actively seeking employment." For example, there may be individuals living in this community who are caring for young children, and thus are not available to work outside the home.

Implications

Economic opportunities are a major concern for the Stockyard Road community. From 1990 U.S. Census data, it is clear that there is an economic disparity between African Americans and Whites in Chatham County. Overall, African Americans in Chatham make substantially less money and have a higher percentage of persons living below the poverty line. Unequal economic status can reduce access to opportunities for better housing, jobs, daily necessities, services, and transportation.

EDUCATION

From elementary school forward, children are taught the skills they need to achieve economic success in a highly technical, competitive and evolving society. The quality of education available to individuals in a community can have a significant impact on their overall health. Educational data can provide a blueprint for how well individuals are prepared for employment and higher educational opportunities. Data also can provide a useful barometer for how Stockyard Road compares to Siler City, Chatham County and the State of North Carolina.

Educational Attainment

Residents of the Stockyard Road area have achieved fairly low education levels compared to other North Carolinians and residents of Chatham County (See Table 1-a,b,c). Statewide, 70% of residents (25 years and older) have earned a high school diploma or GED equivalency (Research Triangle Region Statistical Data Book, 1996) Approximately 17% have earned a college degree (U.S Bureau of the Census, 1990). Approximately, 38% of Stockyard Road residents have finished high school or the equivalency and only 4% have graduated college. For the same reasons that 1990 Census block group economic data may not represent the Stockyard Road community, statistics on educational attainment may actually be lower. Because preliminary observations of the Stockyard Road area suggest that the racial make-up of the community is almost exclusively African American, data for African Americans living in Chatham County may be more relevant to Stockyard Road than data from the two block groups. While 23% of Whites in Chatham County are high school graduates and 10% have college degrees, only 6% of African-Americans are high school graduates and 1% have college degrees.

Literacy Rates

In the United States, North Carolina ranks 43rd in terms of adult literacy (<http://www.unc.edu/~klk5056/oclc-nclitfax.html>). Since the State of North Carolina elected not to participate in the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), no data has been collected at the county or city level. However, based on data from other states, it is clear that literacy and economics are tightly linked. For example, the National Adult Literacy Survey found that 43% of people with the lowest literacy skills live in poverty; 17 % receive food stamps and 70% have no full or part-time job (<http://novel.nifl.gov/newworld/FASTFACT.HTM>). From the 1990 U.S.

Census data, it is likely that illiteracy has contributed to the poverty in the Stockyard Road community.

Drop-Out Rates

If the present low drop-out rate for African-American teenagers attending Jordan Matthews High School is any indication, it is likely that the literacy rates will improve over the next generation. Jordan Matthews High School, one of three grades 9-12 public high schools in Chatham County, serves all teenagers living in Stockyard Road. In the 1996-1997 school year, the drop-out rates for Jordan Matthews High School is similar to the other two high schools in Chatham County. However, during the 1996-1997 school year, the drop-out rates for African Americans at Jordan Matthews, at five percent, was equal to that of Whites and lower than for other minorities, whose drop-out rate was 23% (Central Office Chatham County Schools staff member, personal communication, November 23, 1997).

Implications

Clearly, the economic vitality of a community is intertwined with the education levels of the people who live there. For example, in the United States, workers who lack a high school diploma earn a mean monthly income of \$452, compared to a mean monthly income of \$1829 for those with a bachelor's degree (<http://novel.nifl.gov/newworld/FASTFACT.HTM>). As many individuals in Stockyard Road may have low literacy, it could be difficult for them to compete for high paying jobs or to build small businesses. Hopefully, Stockyard Road's relatively low high school dropout rates will lead to a better-educated work force in the community's future.

HEALTH

MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY

Morbidity and mortality data is important for analyzing the health problems of a community. Such data highlights the critical health issues affecting a population and serves as a basis for implementing health services and policies. The limitations of this data, however, are that it is not often collected at the community level. For this reason, the health problems of a community may not be reflected accurately in county or state statistics. Most of the statistics presented are for the county and state, but health data for Siler City has been included wherever possible. Siler City data may not be representative of the health indicators for Stockyard Road. For example, Stockyard Road has a significantly higher percentage of African Americans than represented by county or state level data.

Until more comprehensive statistics can be collected at the community level and for minority populations, secondary data should not be the only tool for evaluating the health concerns of a given community. One way to complement quantitative statistical data is to conduct in-depth qualitative interviews with community members. Qualitative interviews cannot only enhance the quality of secondary data, but voice a community's concerns regarding their most pressing health issues. Therefore, the lack of available data and the value of qualitative information need to be taken into account by health officials, researchers and politicians when assessing community health needs.

Leading Causes of Mortality

Siler City, Chatham County and North Carolina

The leading causes of mortality for the community, county and state in 1996 are outlined in Table 2. Each regional level shows chronic illnesses to be among its top mortality cases.

These include heart disease, cancer and stroke. These data are also consistent with national trends, as chronic diseases are the leading causes of death in the United States (<http://www.amfire.com/afistatistics/deaths.html>). In cases of intentional injury, suicide appears to be more of a leading cause of death for the state than homicide. In spite of the growing AIDS epidemic nationally, no cases were reported in Siler City and only three cases were reported for Chatham County in 1996. It is important to note that these data represent actual numbers of cases and not rates. When analyzing such data, it is difficult to assess whether such numbers are statistically significant. However, the data presented here may be used as an overall estimate of leading causes of mortality for a given geographic region.

By Age

The leading causes of mortality by age group are presented in Tables 3-a,b,c. Chronic illness appears to be a leading cause of death among persons aged 65 and over in Siler City. This trend also corresponds at the county and state levels. This age group also experienced more deaths related to unintentional injuries at the county and state levels. Homicides tended to be more prevalent among persons aged 25-44 at the county and state level while they were equal in number to homicides among 0-24 year-olds at the local level. This offers a different picture relative to national trends where homicide is a leading cause of death among 15-34 year-olds (<http://www.moh.org/deaths.htm>). Whereas there were no or few AIDS cases reported in Siler City or Chatham County in 1996, respectively, the group experiencing the most AIDS fatalities at the state level was 25-44 year-olds.

By Race

According to Tables 4-a,b,c, Whites experienced the greatest number of chronic disease fatalities at the local, county and state level. This is not surprising given that Whites make up the

majority of the population. In cases of unintentional injury, Non-Whites in Siler City suffered the greatest number of deaths compared to Whites. County and state trends, however, showed that deaths from unintentional injury were more prevalent among Whites than Non-Whites. At all levels, suicide was most frequent among Whites. Non-Whites represented more AIDS, homicide, and deaths due to prenatal conditions at the state level.

By Gender

The leading causes of mortality for men and women are described in Tables 5-a,b,c. It is interesting to note that at every level, males suffered the greatest number of fatalities for most leading causes of death. However, more females suffered from diabetes in 1996 than males. There is also a difference in cases of death due to pneumonia and influenza between Siler City data and county and state level data. While twice the number of cases were reported for males in Siler City, the trend reverses for the county and state with females accounting for more cases than males. Deaths due to conditions originating in the prenatal period were similar for males and females at all levels. Finally, all three cases of AIDS reported in Siler City for 1996 were among males.

Healthy Carolinians 2000 Objectives

As mentioned before, the numbers presented here are frequencies and may not adequately reflect mortality rates according to population subgroups. To gain a better understanding of these figures, it is necessary to examine the objectives set forth by the Healthy Carolinians 2000 project. Comparing the current figures with those of Healthy Carolinian objectives not only helps to focus attention on the most pressing and prioritized health problems in the state, but also helps determine what sub groups of the population have been impacted the most. These objectives were compared to adjusted mortality rates for the county and state (see Table 6).

Chatham County has met all Healthy Carolinians 2000 objectives for major chronic illness fatalities including heart disease, cancer and stroke. It is slightly below its objective for chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and diabetes. Unfortunately, no data were available for Healthy Carolinians 2000 objectives for deaths due to intentional and unintentional injuries. However, according to the State Center for Health Statistics, Chatham County had higher death rates due to these injuries compared to the state from 1991-1996.

Leading Causes of Morbidity

Morbidity data for Siler City, Chatham County and North Carolina were pulled from several sources. Although this information paralleled leading causes of mortality, the availability of data were limited to cancer, Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and sexually transmitted disease (STD) rates.

Cancer Rates

By Age

Age-specific cancer rates for local, county and state levels from 1990-1993 are outlined in Table 7. Data from 1996 reflect a similar trend. According to the data, the 65 and over age group experienced the highest incidence of cancer. Cancer morbidity rates for Siler City are less than national rates for all age groups except for the 25-34, 35-44 and 55-64 year-old age groups. This may have implications for health education in Siler City as younger persons in this area are experiencing higher rates of cancer than in the county and state. Compared to national trends, however, age-adjusted cancer incidence rates for the local, county and state levels are below national figures (see Figure 5).

Sexually Transmitted Diseases

In 1993 and 1994 the rates of some sexually transmitted diseases (STD) in Chatham County were significantly higher than in the state of North Carolina. According to the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) in 1993 and 1994, the incidence of syphilis in Chatham County was three times greater than in the State (see Table 8) (DHHS, 1997). Chatham County Health Department statistics also indicate that 39% of the total cases of syphilis, gonorrhea, and chlamydia were among adolescents between the ages of 10-19 (The Health of Chatham 1996-97, 1997). To respond to this high incidence of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases, the Healthy Carolinians' goal is to reduce by 30% the rate of persons 15-24 years of age who contract STD's and reduce by 70% the number of persons infected with syphilis by the year 2000 (The Health of Chatham 1996-97, 1997). This effort has resulted in a dramatic decrease in the incidence of syphilis in 1995, 44.3 per 100,000 people in the county compared to 42.5 per 100,000 for the state (The Health of Chatham 1996-97, 1997).

HIV and AIDS Rates

By Race

The reported incidence of HIV and AIDS in Chatham County is far below state rates for this leading cause of mortality (see Figures 6-a,b). One reason HIV/AIDS cases may go unreported in North Carolina is because of the confidential testing laws that currently exist. Current legislation in North Carolina does not guarantee anonymity for persons receiving HIV tests. Therefore, people may be discouraged from testing because of the stigmatization of a positive test. They may fear a loss of employment, housing or other resources if their HIV status became public. Figures 6a and 6b illustrate the number of HIV and AIDS cases according to race in Chatham County from 1991-1996. According to the figures, there were more HIV and AIDS cases among Non-Whites than Whites during the 6-year period, with both groups showing

a decline in the number of cases from 1995-1996. There were no AIDS cases reported among Whites compared to ten HIV cases reported among Non-Whites. Overall, there were more HIV cases (n=24) than AIDS cases (n=11) reported during this period.

Limitations of Data

In summary, the data presented here is not a complete picture of morbidity and mortality rates for Stockyard Road. Stockyard Road is a community primarily consisting of African Americans and is not reflective of the county or state racial distribution. Therefore, diseases that typically affect African Americans disproportionately, such as diabetes, are more likely to impact a community like Stockyard Road. In addition, the lack of indoor plumbing in many Stockyard Road homes has implications for environmental health. Because of this, a leading cause of mortality and morbidity for these residents may be respiratory infections or other communicable diseases related to unsanitary living conditions. In the absence of such data, qualitative interviews with community members can provide a more accurate picture of the critical health issues facing Stockyard Road. In order to maximize the generalizeability of the secondary data to Stockyard Road residents, zip code data for Siler City (27344) was used wherever possible. Finally, adjusted rates were used in order to get a more precise reflection of leading causes of mortality and morbidity data, such as cancer, HIV and AIDS incidence rates. The majority of these data refer to raw numbers, making it difficult to assess the relative significance of particular health indicators at each of the levels. Still, these data provide an estimate of rates at the county and state levels. When combined with data gathered from qualitative interviews, quantitative data can serve as a useful tool for evaluating the health concerns of Stockyard Road residents.

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

Rural communities like Stockyard Road are affected by a wide variety of environmental factors such as air pollutants, drinking water quality, and environmental toxins. These factors can impact a community's health in many adverse ways. As stated in the *Community Profile* section, there are limitations to the data available in regards to environmental hazards and the threats they pose to the Stockyard Road community. Much of the 1990 U.S. Census data may not reflect the concerns of the Stockyard Road community. However, general data can be helpful in raising awareness of some potential concerns.

Plumbing and Drinking Water

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, approximately two percent of housing units in Chatham County lack complete plumbing facilities. Observation suggests that a high number of Stockyard Road residents lack complete plumbing facilities. The director of the Chatham County Board of Health acknowledges that this is a concern for residents of Stockyard Road. For those homes in the community that do have plumbing, a majority use a well as their water source. When the Chatham County Environmental Division investigated the neighborhood during the summer of 1997, they found that some of the housing units utilized a “community well” that was not adequately built nor environmentally safe (V. Upshaw- Chatham County Director of the Board of Health, personal communication, November 14, 1997).

Wastewater and Sewage Disposal

Another environmental issue prevalent in the Stockyard Road area is the proper disposal of sewage and wastewater from homes. Among the many diseases transmittable by human wastes are typhoid fever, hepatitis, and cholera (Davis, 1993). The residents of Stockyard Road may be at risk for these diseases because some housing units lack septic tanks or connection to

the public sewer system. Of the 874 housing units, 29 of them are not able to properly dispose of wastewater and sewage (US Bureau of the Census, 1990). Alternative means of sewage disposal include the use of pit privies or “outhouses” that discharge waste directly onto surface soils (Davis, 1993). Many of the outhouses themselves are in poor condition and some residents utilize wooded areas instead. Although exact figures are not available, observation and qualitative data suggest a relatively large percentage of houses in Stockyard Road use these unsanitary methods of sewage disposal.

Solid Waste Disposal

The residents of Stockyard road and Siler City do not have garbage collection service. To dispose of solid wastes, residents must drive to one of 12 garbage and recycling collection centers in the county. Two of these collection sites are located in Siler City (<http://www2.emji.net>). The Stockyard Road area has a noticeable amount of litter on the street and in the front yards of houses. Because of a lack of transportation, some residents may not be able to carry their garbage to the collection sites in Siler City.

Pests

According to service providers who work with youth in the Stockyard Road area, pests and rodents are a concern (personal communication, African-American male service provider, September 23, 1997). Rodents and pests such as cockroaches and flies are known to carry and spread disease among human populations (Davis, 1993). This may be of special concern with regards to young children, the elderly and persons with compromised immune systems.

Lead Poisoning

A research study found that children living in rural areas are at greater risk of lead poisoning than their urban counterparts (Norman, 1992). In addition, minority children are twice as likely to be at risk for lead poisoning than non-minority children (The Health of Chatham, 1996-1997). Because of this life threatening environmental hazard, North Carolina mandated that all children seen at local health departments or by private providers for Medicaid visits be screened for blood lead levels before six years of age. Given the rural nature of Stockyard Road and the fact that the community is primarily comprised of African American residents, lead exposure may be a health concern. Overall, Chatham county identified a lower percentage of children for high risk of lead exposure, having screened 11.2%, as opposed to the state's average of 23.7% (The Health of Chatham, 1996-1997).

HEALTH AND RELATED SERVICES

An important component of the health of any community is the presence and accessibility of health services. Services that exist in close proximity to the community and provide emergency care, preventative health care and various support services to community members have substantial implications for the health and quality of life of residents. Because health services are typically located in more urban centers, rural communities like Stockyard Road may lack access to these resources.

Medical Facilities

The primary medical facility serving Stockyard Road residents is Chatham Hospital. Chatham Hospital is a 68-bed facility that provides primary and emergency treatment (NC Division of Services, 1995). In recent years, the hospital has suffered financial setbacks as a result of health care reform measures and subsequently lost its only obstetrician in the county in

1991. To compensate for the loss of financial resources and medical personnel, Chatham Hospital formed a collaboration with UNC Hospitals in 1994. This alliance created the UNC Family Practice clinic located near Chatham Hospital, which is currently able to provide prenatal care for expectant mothers. However, due to the lack of appropriate facilities and medical support staff at the clinic, deliveries still take place at UNC Hospital. Payment for these services can be made through Medicaid or Medicare, as well as by private insurance (The Health of Chatham 1996-1997, 1997). Other medical institutions within a 30 mile radius of the Stockyard Road area are UNC and Duke University Hospitals. These hospitals provide special services that might not be available within Chatham County (i.e. obstetric services). There are 29 practicing physicians in Chatham County and no physician assistants.

Chatham County Health Department

The Chatham County Health Department has two clinic locations, one in Pittsboro and the other in Siler City. Services are provided to Chatham County residents and payment for services is based on a sliding fee scale depending on individual income levels. Medicaid is also accepted. The clinics are open during regular hours and also offer on-call home health and animal control services after hours (Chatham County Health Department, 1997).

The Health Department offers a variety of services. The ***general clinic*** provides immunization shots to children and adults, and free HIV testing. The ***primary care clinic*** provides blood pressure checks, chronic disease testing and treatment for illnesses such as diabetes and high blood pressure. The ***women's health clinic***, in Siler City, also offers breast and cervical cancer screening. The ***family planning clinic*** offers pregnancy and sexually transmitted infection testing, counseling on contraceptive methods, and pelvic examinations. Finally, the ***maternal health*** division has a prenatal care and patient education service, including parenting classes and nutritional counseling.

The health department's *animal control* division has served as a liaison between dog owners and concerned citizens of Chatham County. Because of a recent rabies scare, the animal control services were utilized extensively to monitor the prevalence of dogs and other animals with rabies (V. Upshaw- Director of the Chatham County Board of Health, personal communication, November 14, 1997). According to community members in Stockyard Road, animal control services recently removed animals from the area for precisely this reason (personal communication, African-American male resident, September 23, 1997).

Social Services

The Chatham County Department of Social Services (DSS) has locations in both Pittsboro and Siler City. The department provides support services, including information and referral services, in-home support services for disabled and elderly individuals, financial assistance, and child protective services to families that live on Stockyard Road (personal communication, White female service provider, November 6, 1997).

Substance Abuse Treatment

Substance abuse and illegal drug trafficking have been re-occurring themes throughout Stockyard Road provider interviews. According to a social worker who serves Stockyard Road, years ago the county had intended to build a half-way house in Siler City that would serve drug addicts from Stockyard Road. Unfortunately, the project was stalled by anxious Siler City residents who feared that its location would be detrimental to their neighborhood (personal communication, White female service provider, December 3, 1997). As a result, Stockyard Road Residents with substance abuse problems are served by the Orange, Person, and Chatham Area Program, (OPC) which is staffed by physicians, nurses and counselors from UNC Hospital. The OPC serves approximately 200 substance abuse clients in Chatham County per month and,

of these, 75 clients are from Siler City (personal communication, service provider, April 1, 1998). Those without insurance are billed according to a sliding scale. In addition, there are two OPC counseling centers in Chatham County, one in Pittsboro and the other in Siler City (<http://www.opc-area.w1.com>).

Domestic violence and rape services

Three cases of sexual assault have been reported in Stockyard Road since the end of 1993 (personal communication, Chatham County Sheriff's Department staff member, December 3, 1997). According to one social worker, the actual rate of sexual assaults in Stockyard Road is probably much higher, because many incidents of domestic violence may go unreported (personal communication, White female service provider, November 6, 1997).

Chatham County has two major resources to address rape and domestic violence issues. The ZERO Tolerance Coalition was created in 1996 with state grant money and input from a number of community groups. From this initiative, The ZERO Tolerance Coalition has been formed with the cooperation of other agencies to address this issue (The Health of Chatham 1996-97). The Chatham Family Violence and Rape Crisis Center, located in Pittsboro, provides services and shelter for domestic violence and sexual assault victims. In 1996, 306 cases of domestic violence were reported in Chatham County. Seventy-six cases (24%) were reported by African-American women and 115 cases (37%) were reported by White women. The Center also found that 84 of 274 reported sexual assault victims in 1996 were African-American women and 157 of 274 victims were White women (North Carolina Council for Women Statistical Report, 1997). The increasing demand for services is most dramatic in Siler City, where from 1992-1993, FVRC served 722 women from Siler City; by 1995, this number rose by 41 percent (FVRC, 1997). In addition to services and shelter for victims and their children, The Family and Rape Crisis Center also offers a bilingual 24-hour rape crisis hotline to better serve the Spanish-

speaking population in Chatham County (personal communication, female service provider, November 24, 1997).

HIV/AIDS Council

In 1991, Chatham County initiated an HIV/AIDS Council, which consists of health professionals and community volunteers of all ages. The purpose of the Council is to support persons infected with HIV/AIDS and to develop strategies to help reduce the risky behaviors that lead to contracting the disease (The Health of Chatham, 1996-1997).

Services for Senior Citizens

The Chatham County Council on Aging, located in Pittsboro, offers a variety of services and activities for the senior citizens of Chatham County. These services include the meals-on-wheels home delivery program, personal care services (PCS), case management, medical transportation, support groups, health screenings, physical fitness and information and referral. However, during a recent interview with staff from the Council, it was found that they are not currently serving any members of the Stockyard Road community (L. Timmins and S. Brown-Council on Aging, personal communication, November 13, 1997). Staff stated that they were aware of the need in the Stockyard Road community for services, but do not get many referrals from the area.

Home Health Agency of Chatham County is part of the Chatham County Health Department and is certified to provide home health services to people under the supervision of a physician. These services have been recognized as a cost-effective alternative to nursing home and lengthy hospital stays. Another benefit of this service is that Medicaid and Medicare cover some costs. These services are often a welcomed alternative to more expensive nursing home institutions (Home Health Agency Services, 1995).

BARRIERS TO HEALTH-RELATED SERVICES

Stockyard Road residents may face potential barriers to accessing health services.

Although a sufficient profile of the health concerns of the Stockyard Road community is not yet available, qualitative data will provide additional knowledge of community concerns. However, the following potential barriers may provide a framework for future reference.

Knowledge of Services

Community members may not be aware of the availability and/or their eligibility for services. As stated in the *Geography Section* of this document, Stockyard Road is physically isolated from other areas within Siler City. This isolation may not only lead to a lack of knowledge of services on the part of community members, but may also create challenges for service providers. For instance, due to resource limitations, the Council on Aging does not currently provide meal delivery assistance to the Stockyard Road area because of staff and time constraints. Another issue that needs further research is the issue of community trust. Even if members of Stockyard Road are aware of available services, they may not perceive certain agencies as providing culturally appropriate services. Where this may hold true, it is important for agencies to continue to develop programs that meet the unique needs of specific populations.

Transportation

Transportation is a major issue for Chatham County residents, particularly for low-income residents who are located in more rural settings within the county. As most of the health resources that serve Stockyard Road are located in Pittsboro and Siler City, accessing these services could prove problematic for Stockyard Road residents. Public transportation is not available and, based on initial observations and secondary data, many Stockyard Road residents do not have personal vehicles. According to the 1990 Census data, approximately 4.7 % of

Chatham County's White residents do not own cars. This compares to 17% of African-American residents. Furthermore, data for the Stockyard Road area documents comparatively fewer residents as owning vehicles, 6.8% of whites and 32.3% of African Americans do not own cars (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Since 1990 U.S. Census block group data may underestimate the African-American population in Stockyard Road, it is likely that these statistics are not representative and the lack of transportation may be an even greater barrier.

In a rural community such as Stockyard Road, this lack of transportation can have a profound influence on access to medical care. Elderly members of the community are more likely to need frequent care and less likely to be able to drive themselves to service providers. Overall, the lack of transportation is also of special concern to Stockyard Road's youngest residents - children in need of immunizations and other preventive services. Based on the poverty data indicated in the previous section, it is unlikely that families without cars could afford the cost of taxi fare for these important, non-emergency services. In addition, the lack of car ownership likely places a burden on hospitals that serve Stockyard Road, because families without cars may be forced to rely on ambulances for "non-emergency" transportation.

High Cost of Care/ Lack of Insurance

Another barrier may be the rising cost of health care coupled with a lack of health insurance coverage. Among the low-income population in Chatham County, 26% have no health insurance (The Health of Chatham 1996-1997). In 1994, 21.3% of African Americans in Chatham could not afford to see a doctor, compared to 9.1% of Whites in the county (The Health of Chatham 1996-1997). Given these figures, it is possible to infer that the low-income, predominately African-American residents of Stockyard Road may be at a disadvantage when it comes to the ability to afford many available health care services.

Implications of Health Services

Medical care and other health related services are available at the city and county level. In addition to primary and emergency care facilities, there are a number of programs offered by the county and non-profit agencies. These include services for domestic violence and rape victims, senior citizens, and HIV/AIDS patients. However, the extent to which residents of Stockyard Road are able to utilize and benefit from these resources remains suspect. Barriers to health-related services appear to exist at multiple levels that include a lack of awareness or trust regarding available resources, limited transportation, dwindling agency resources, the high cost of care, and a lack of medical insurance.

SOCIAL HEALTH

There are other factors at work that contribute to the well-being and health of communities besides mortality rates and availability of health services. Issues such as crime and safety influence the quality of life within any community and directly impact both the physical and mental health of community members.

Crime

Since 1984, the rate of reported violent crime in North Carolina has increased by 54% (Pelfrey, 1992). Based on informal interviews with Stockyard Road residents, safety issues and rising crime appear to be of vital concern within this community as well. Data from the Chatham County Sheriff's Department from October 1993 to November 1997 documents a total of 147 reported crimes in the Stockyard Road area, ranging from assault to vandalism to breaking and entering (see Table 9). According to an official within the department, the number of actual crimes committed in the area is likely higher, because these numbers do not account for reports of crime the officers are unable to substantiate (due to a lack of evidence, for instance).

Property crimes are the most common type of crime in North Carolina, Chatham County and Stockyard Road. Overall, Chatham County ranks 49th for property crimes in comparison to other counties in the State of North Carolina (County Ranking Profiles, 1997). In Stockyard Road, specifically, there were 55 property crimes reported to the Chatham County Police Department from the end of 1993 to the present. (personal communication, Chatham County Sheriff's Department staff member, December 3, 1997). One Stockyard Road resident stated that he was glad he lost his job because he was tired of having his house broken into while he was at work (personal communication, African-American male resident, October 13, 1997).

A possible explanation for the rise in property crimes, as well as violent crimes in North Carolina is the burgeoning drug market (Components of Crime and Justice: Trends and Projections, 1997). Stockyard Road residents cite drugs as a leading problem in the community, stating that police are called out to the area on a regular basis for drug-related incidents (see *Drugs and Crime* chapter). Service providers who work in the Stockyard Road area also suggest that drugs are a significant problem. Not only are drugs blamed for property crimes, but the use and sale of drugs seem to create a general perception among residents that their neighborhood is unsafe. Ironically, Chatham County Police records only show two documented drug complaints in Stockyard Road (personal communication, Chatham County Sheriff's Department staff member, December 3, 1997). Although unexplained by the Sheriff's Department, this number seems low relative to resident and service provider accounts of drug trafficking in the area.

In terms of crime among youth, North Carolina statistics for juvenile arrests actually decreased by 7% among 10-15 year-olds between 1981-1994 (North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission, 1997). Unfortunately, this dip in juvenile crime is probably more of a reflection of changing demographics than of a real decrease. Demographers anticipate that while the 10-15 year-old juvenile population will have only increased by 8% between 1980 and 2010, the arrest rate will have grown by 67% during this same period (Components of Crime and Justice: Trends

and Projections, 1997). Since crime data is not available specific to Stockyard Road, it is not clear what the true incidence of juvenile crime is in this geographic area. However, based on a conversation with a Juvenile Court Counselor who has clients in the Stockyard Road area, juvenile crime is and will continue to be a problem in Stockyard Road because of the economic, family and social pressures youth face in the community (personal communication, White male service provider, November 12, 1997).

Since Stockyard Road is relatively isolated and rural, rural crime trends in the state of North Carolina may be particularly applicable to this geographic area. In 1986, the rate of reported index crime in rural North Carolina was 2,880 reported incidences per 100,000. According to data ten years later, this rate has more than doubled to 4,439 reported index crimes per 100,000 residents. This stands in sharp contrast to the relative stability of crime in urban areas of North Carolina, which has increased by only 11.1 percent from 1986 to 1996 (Components of Crimes and Justice: Trends and Projections, 1997). The increase in crime in rural areas of North Carolina may be in part a reflection of the expansion of the illegal drug trade from urban to rural areas.

Implications of Crime

Crime in the Stockyard Road community can have tremendous implications for residents. The economic loss associated with property crime and the physical harm related to violent crime are obvious outcomes. However, beyond these issues, the emotional trauma related to the ever-present threat of violence can have mental health and quality of life implications as well. In addition, domestic violence not only poses an immediate threat to those individuals involved, but has a lasting impact on families, particularly young children. Also, a perception of crime in a neighborhood may lower property values and discourage businesses from entering the community.

Additional Social Indicators

Data on social health indicators such as prenatal care, low birth weight babies and infant mortality are not available at the local level. However, since the Stockyard Road community is primarily African American, statistics representative of African Americans living in Chatham County may provide the best indicators for social health presently available.

Access to prenatal care is extremely important in terms of maternal and child health. Prenatal care has short-term implications for the health of both mother and infant, as well as long term implications for the child. Prenatal care can be measured using the Kessner Index (this is a categorical index of a women's quantity of prenatal care based on three variables -- the trimester in which the first prenatal visit occurred, the number of prenatal visits and the number of weeks gestation at time of delivery.) The percentage of Non-White women who are not receiving any prenatal care is significantly higher in Chatham County versus the state of North Carolina as a whole, 3.8 % compared to 2.2 % (DEHNR, SCHS, 1997).

Clearly, the discrepancies between prenatal care received by Whites as compared to Non-Whites has had a detrimental impact on the health of African-American babies born in Chatham County. In 1995, the most recent year in which data is available, the rate of low birth weight for Non-Whites was twice as high as for Whites (DHHS/ SCHS, 1997). Babies born weighing less than 5 pounds 8 ounces face a much greater risk of health complications, and even death, than babies born in the normal weight range. Thus, it is not surprising that in 1995, the infant mortality for Non-Whites living in Chatham County was fifteen times higher than for Whites (DHHS/SCHS, 1997). Given the racial composition of Stockyard Road, this statistic has major implications for pregnant women and their infants in this community.

Infants born to women in Stockyard Road represent the future of the community. Adequate prenatal care, low birth weight and infant mortality are important indicators of the

overall health status of Stockyard Road. The degree to which access to care, low birth weight and infant mortality varies between Whites and Non-Whites in Chatham County is alarming. Aside from the tremendous financial and emotional burdens these issues place on individual families, the costs to society are also high. On average, medical care for a low birth weight infant costs \$19,999 verses \$3,500 for a normal birth weight infant (American Dietetic Association, 1993).

Implications of Additional Social Health Indicators

Analysis of social health indicators such as crime and maternal and child health for Chatham County may illuminate some of the challenges facing a community like Stockyard Road. Issues like safety, substance abuse, and infant mortality must be considered along with morbidity and mortality data in order to make accurate inferences about members of this community and their overall health.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

"Except as otherwise directed by law, each power, right, duty, function, privilege and immunity of the corporation [i.e., the county] shall be exercised by the board of commissioners." (Bell, 1989)

Each county in North Carolina is governed by an elected Board of Commissioners. The Board provides and maintains services such as the board of elections, the court system and health services and takes formal action by orders, resolutions and ordinances. Chatham County is governed by a board of five County Commissioners, each elected at large for four-year terms. The current race and gender break down of the board is two White males, one White female, and two African-American females.

A responsibility of the Board includes oversight of health and human services. Citizen participation is facilitated by the Public Input Session. This session is held to give citizens an opportunity to speak on any item which does not appear on the day's agenda. The Chairman of the Board presides at all meetings. By law, s/he has not only the right but also the duty to vote on all questions before the board unless s/he is excused by a standing rule of the Board or by consent of the remaining members.

The Board is required by law to hold at least one meeting each month, although it may meet as frequently as necessary. The law dictates many features of how the county government will be organized. For instance, the people elect the sheriff and Register of Deeds. On the other hand, the Board of Commissioners directly appoints individuals to the following: the Board of Education, the Board of Health, the Board of Social Services, and the Board of Elections, the tax supervisor, tax collector, county attorney, county manager, and clerk to the board of commissioners.

Because Stockyard Road is located in an Extra Territorial Jurisdiction, its residents have no government of their own. Therefore, residents are not permitted to participate in the elections of Siler City Town Commissioners. If Stockyard Road residents have a particular request from the County they must petition either the County Manager or the County Commissioners (Quinton Baker, personal communication, February, 1998).

Chatham County Board of Health (BOH) is the local governing body for health services. BOH sets policies and budgets for programs and services offered by the Chatham County Health Department. Funding for these services is obtained from Chatham County's tax revenue. Additional funding is obtained from third party and patient fees. Some funding comes from the state level, most of which is passed through the state from the federal government.

Primary Data Analysis

METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the way in which qualitative data is gathered and analyzed for research. In this second phase of the community diagnosis process, our team conducted interviews with Stockyard Road residents and service providers from Chatham County. These interviews, designed to get first hand information about issues and concerns important to people living in Stockyard Road, are intended to complement the quantitative data collected in the previous section of this document.

Developing the Interview Guide

The first step of this process involved the development of two interview guides. An interview guide, as opposed to a structured questionnaire, allowed for optimum flexibility during interviews. Interviewers had the freedom to follow-up particularly interesting topics with questions that were not necessarily included in the interview guide. Thus, we were able to word questions spontaneously, build conversation, and establish a relaxed atmosphere, while keeping focused on the predetermined topics of interest.

The development of two separate interview guides proved helpful because service providers may perceive the community differently than residents do. Topics and questions for the interview guides were adapted from several primary sources. First, quantitative data that was gathered during the first part of the community diagnosis provided direction in the construction of our questions. Second, interview guides used by past community diagnosis teams offered examples of successful question types. Finally, conversations with our team preceptor, Jeremy Long of the Chatham County Health Department, provided further insight into relevant topic areas. Minor revisions were made during the course of the interview process based on the responses of community members and team observations.

The community interview guide contained 35 questions, focusing on topics such as family, community, services and utilities, health, lifestyle, and quality of life issues. The service provider interview guide consisted of four broad service related questions. Copies of each guide can be found in Appendix B. Both the community and service provider interview guides were reviewed and approved by the School of Public Health Institutional Review Board.

Identifying Interviewees

Since the views of each community member are important, we tried to obtain a sample of subjects that represented the wider community. To some degree, however, we were limited by some community members' apprehension to being interviewed and by time constraints inherent in the community diagnosis process. Identification of interviewees occurred mainly through word of mouth. A service provider from Chatham Together, an agency that works with high risk youth, provided referrals for the initial community contacts and interviews. Other community members interviewed were identified based on suggestions provided by community members who had already been interviewed. Through this "snowball" technique, we were able to interview 25 total individuals. Our sample of interviewees consisted of 12 provider interviews (2 African Americans, 10 Whites) and 13 resident (13 African American) interviews. A total of 10 men and 15 women were interviewed.

Service providers were sometimes difficult to identify because Stockyard Road is not an identified township of Chatham County. While many service providers had heard of Stockyard Road, few had substantial information about the community. The identification of providers occurred by contacting members of an agency until an employee was found who was familiar with the Stockyard Road community.

Data Collection

Two members of the community diagnosis team attended each interview, with one team member asking questions and the other making observations and taking notes. Before each interview, the interviewee was told briefly about the community assessment process, the community diagnosis team, and its plans for the information gathered. In addition, residents who consented to interviews were told that their identities would remain confidential and that they were free not to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable. This information was also provided in the form of a fact sheet provided prior to each interview (see Appendix B). The interviews were taped and then later transcribed for main ideas and relevant quotes, unless interviewees preferred not to be recorded. In this case, detailed notes were taken during the interview.

After interviews were completed, typed field notes were submitted to each team member. Each interview transcript was then read in the presence of all the members of the team and coded based on the major themes and sub-themes that arose during the interview. Similar thematic segments from different interviews were then grouped together and analyzed. The set of coded themes were then roughly organized into chapters for this document. A list of the codes used to analyze the interview data for this document can be found in Appendix D.

Methodological Limitations

Several methodological limitations existed in this phase of the community diagnosis process and may have affected the quality of information obtained. The interview guides were developed without community input and may be biased by the secondary data we collected during the fall. Additionally, as all five team members conducted interviews, there is the possibility that interviewer bias led to substantive differences in the type of data collected. These differences are likely to be the result of individual interviewing style and the personal

characteristics of the interviewers. Furthermore, some community members were unwilling to be interviewed because they were not comfortable with our presence in the community.

Therefore, the interviews conducted may not be representative of the views and opinions of all community members. Finally, while interviewing, we experienced some technical difficulties where tape recorders were not working properly. Although this only occurred during a few interviews, we may have missed some important information.

COMMUNITY ASSETS

Most of Stockyard Road's community assets are intangible and may not be visible to a stranger's eyes. Many houses are run-down and in need of repairs. Few businesses have set up shop on Stockyard Road compared to the bustle of nearby Siler City. There are no parks, movie theaters or restaurants within the boundaries of Stockyard Road. Nonetheless, those that reside here are wealthy in many unique respects: Stockyard Road boasts closely-knit extended families, a rare example of community cohesion and an eclectic collection of individual talents. A visit to one of Stockyard Road's two churches would enable a stranger to glimpse these assets for him or herself. The stranger might witness several generations of a family, ranging in age from 5 to 75, sharing a pew. Or, he or she might watch one churchgoer gently calm another's baby. Or, the stranger might tap his or her foot in time to the drum solo of one of Stockyard Road's talented musicians.

Importance of Family

"As far as what keeps me here, it's my family." This sentiment was heard in virtually every interview with Stockyard Road community members. Some younger residents had actually left Stockyard Road to seek higher-paid employment, and returned to care for aging parents. Multiple generations of Stockyard Road families share close quarters and child-rearing responsibilities. Extended families socialize together and attend church together. Residents who do not own cars rely on family members to take them grocery shopping, to visit doctors and to jobs in nearby Siler City. Said one community member "They [residents of Stockyard Road] depend on each other to get in and out of the community".

Community Cohesion

“Most of the people [in Stockyard Road] grew up together.” These long-standing ties may explain, in the words of a community member, why “people [in Stockyard Road] tend to look out for each other.” Although crime is a concern for most community members, the commonly held belief is that many of the perpetrators come from outside the community. Said one community member in reference to crime “People from other areas come in. Hard to tell who’s who”. Another community member put it a different way: “It’s not the neighborhood that’s bad, it’s the people who come through the neighborhood that makes it bad.”

Individual Talents

Stockyard Road benefits from the wide array of skills and talents of those who live there. Some have achieved success in business, selling candy to neighbors or running a day-care service from home. Others create and build, working on furniture, houses or cars. One community member said, “That’s what I do. I work with my hands.” Still others are musically gifted, and sing or play instruments. The influence of music in Stockyard Road is clear from this resident’s comment: “This is a music neighborhood. Me and my brothers go down to the basement and play music all day.”

The Role of the Church

Hosting regular services each week, a women’s group, a Sunday school, a children’s choir, and an adult choir, the role of the church is significant, both for many individuals and for the community as a whole. Said one community member; “I was raised in the church. As I give to God and give the best, he will supply my needs.” Although some residents attend church in other neighborhoods, in the words of one community member “The majority of people round here are church-going people.” Many community role models stem from the church. When

asked to identify role models in the community, the most frequent responses were “the Reverend” and “those who teach Sunday school.”

Conclusion

Stockyard Road’s reputation outside the community for, as one service provider put it “drugs, drugs and drugs” does little justice to the strengths and assets residents of this neighborhood possess. Chief among them is powerful family ties, a tolerance and a willingness to help neighbors, a wealth of individual talents and a strong church. Undoubtedly, this is an incomplete list. Interview after interview, the writers of this document were moved by stories told by residents. A common theme was the relentless strength of community members facing staggering obstacles. Despite a lack of material assets, it became increasingly apparent that Stockyard Road possesses tremendous individual and community potential.

COMMUNITY CHALLENGES

Stockyard Road is a community that faces many challenges. When residents were asked to describe the single greatest concern at our February 28th community forum, the most common responses were “water and sewage” and “housing.” Other important issues that residents brought up were crime and safety, drug use, and transportation. As we have devoted entire chapters in this document to each of these concerns, we will focus here on those issues that may be less dramatic, but also have an important impact on the quality of life for residents of Stockyard Road. These issues include scarce economic opportunities, insufficient recreational opportunities for youth and the lack of leadership within the community.

Economic Opportunities

Sparse economic opportunities undoubtedly contribute to many of Stockyard Road’s most talked about problems, such as poor housing and crime. Said one community member “Most Stockyard Road residents don’t work or work sporadically, in illegal businesses [prostitution, or drug sales]. Residents we spoke to suggest many reasons for the lack of economic opportunities in Stockyard Road. These include Stockyard Road’s rural isolation and depressed economy, a lack of public transportation, and the presence of illiteracy, especially among older adults. Whatever the myriad reasons, the consequences are devastating to the community. Several residents pointed out that those who are leaving Stockyard Road to seek better jobs elsewhere are young, educated men and women. They fear that these are the very residents who have the potential to contribute to the growth and improvement of the community.

Recreation for Youth

Over and over again, both community members and service providers spoke of the lack of recreational opportunities for youth living in Stockyard Road. Said one resident bluntly “Recreation is a problem. They [youth] might be different if [there was] more to do. Nothing to do.” In response to the question of what life is like for young people living on Stockyard Road another resident said “Terrible. They have no recreation – no where to go”. A service provider described the problem like this:

Recreation is problematic because there is little there [in Stockyard Road] and children don’t have clothes that are warm enough to play outside and can’t play outside after dark because its unsafe.

Lack of recreational opportunities was blamed by residents for a wide range of issues, including youth crime, drugs, and the flight of upwardly mobile young families from Stockyard Road.

Community Leadership

According to a service provider we interviewed, there are few leaders in Stockyard Road because of the predominance of elderly residents. She said, “Many get used up because everyone comes to them.” A community member felt similarly when he said “Leaders? Say if I was a leader it would put a lot of pressure – then those people would ride me hard. I don’t want to be a leader.” Although a lack of leadership may not be the source of many of Stockyard Road’s problems, having more leadership within the community could surely be part of the solution.

Conclusion

Many of the challenges described in the scope of this and other chapters are not unique to Stockyard Road. Access to care is problematic in many rural communities, as is a lack of

economic and recreational opportunities. Neither are these problems insurmountable. Only miles from Stockyard Road, the community of Jordan Grove has, through persistent and organized efforts, managed to obtain grant funding to address many similar issues of concern to that community. It is our hope that as a result of the recent attention paid to Stockyard Road, both through our community diagnosis and through the Chatham County Health Department's own study, that community leaders will emerge and seize this moment of opportunity to work towards positive changes in Stockyard Road.

DRUGS AND CRIME

Within communities, social factors such as crime and substance abuse can impact health outcomes and dramatically reduce quality of life. Crime can result in physical injury and loss to property - as well as erode residents' feelings of safety in their community. In addition, substance abuse not only affects those individuals who use drugs and/or alcohol, but has severe implications for families and the larger community. In North Carolina, the prevalence of reported violent crime has increased by 54% since 1984 (Pelfrey, 1992). According to residents and service providers, the Stockyard Road community has also experienced increasing crime and substance abuse in recent years.

Drugs and Alcohol

In every interview with community residents and service providers, drugs and alcohol were mentioned as one of the most significant problems within the Stockyard Road community. Many of those interviewed felt that substance abuse was in fact the number one issue in the community. A social worker who is very familiar with the community stated, "Poverty [in Stockyard Road] is an issue, but the biggest problem is drug abuse."

Stockyard Road residents often spoke of the division drugs and alcohol cause within the community. One male resident stated:

You got two different groups - you got the people who do and sell the drugs and then you got good Christian people. It's kinda like a split in the community. Right down the middle. Certain people you just don't associate with.

He went on to suggest that this division can even extend to members of the same family, "People are divided...very divided. Some families don't even take up with their own family members."

Another resident echoed this theme of division. "Ya know, there's good people and bad people."

According to community members, Stockyard Road did not always face the drug problems that it does today. People who have lived in the area for a long time spoke of the dramatic shift that has occurred within their community. One female resident, when asked how long Stockyard Road has had a problem with drugs, replied: "When I was growing up, it wasn't like that. I guess in the last five years it changed a lot." One man answered the same question, "I think it has been going on for 6 or 7 years."

Although growth in this rural community has been very limited, it is perceived as a contributor to increased substance abuse in the area. One woman said:

It's a drug neighborhood. The older families...are good people. This used to be a good neighborhood. But the old ones are gone. When the old ones die and the new people come in...well, it's not always such a good thing then."

Another man had a similar sentiment, stating that, "people who been here since I been here don't give you any problem. It's the people that come in, live for a year or two and leave." Lack of employment opportunities was also provided as an explanation for the increasing drug and alcohol problem in the area. "But everybody has to make a livin' some how," one woman said.

Community members spoke often of the migration of crime and drug trafficking into Stockyard Road from outside the area. One man said: "People from other areas come on in. Hard to tell who's who." According to community members and service providers, Stockyard Road has a reputation in Siler City as the place to buy and sell drugs. One woman explained that Stockyard Road now has a reputation for drugs similar to that of Lincoln Heights, a community in Siler City that has faced drug problems in the past: "You talk about Lincoln Heights used to be bad, this is about as bad as Lincoln Heights."

Problems appear to have begun in the community, not with drugs, but with alcohol. "Stockyard Road used to be a bootleg community," one service provider explained. Although both residents and service providers suggest that bootlegging still exists in Stockyard Road, there has been a movement away from alcohol and an increased emphasis on cocaine. A detective

with the Chatham County Sheriff's Department said: "People used to bootleg alcohol, but crack and cocaine have raised the stakes and led to an increase in crime."

Crime and Safety

In addition to drugs and alcohol, Stockyard Road residents spoke often about their concerns regarding the issue of crime and safety within their community. Clearly, residents confront this issue constantly in their daily lives. Interviewees described trends in criminal activity. For example, one resident talked about the fact that crime is fairly constant, but that it escalates at night. "At night, you got to watch your back." He later added that "it is not safe to drive here at night." Although residents were overwhelmingly worried about crime in general, some suggested that they were less worried about violent crime. "They don't come violent but they bother you because they come to use certain things...like using the telephone." Another woman stated that there aren't generally, "major crime like murders" and then added, "I worry about getting robbed."

Community members have mixed opinions as to whether neighbors watch out for one another. Some residents suggested that neighbors do help one another and that this increases the overall sense of safety. "Everybody gets along with everybody. The neighbors will watch my house when I leave," one woman said. However, another resident expressed a different view, saying: "I wouldn't know where to go for help from a neighbor."

Most residents do agree, however, that residents are afraid to speak publicly about crime and drug issues. When asked why he felt people in the community were not speaking out, one middle-aged man said that people "don't want their names known." A service provider reinforced this perspective when he said, "neighbors want change, but they are not going to speak because they are afraid." Another woman expressed frustration when she stated, "the

neighborhood is bad, yes it is bad, but if people don't speak up and do something about it, why talk about it."

Prostitution

Prostitution was also mentioned as an issue in the majority of interviews, with several residents claiming that there are approximately 10-15 women out on Stockyard Road just about any night of the week. When asked what types of crime are common in Stockyard Road, one woman stated, "drugs and prostitution." According to local police, prostitution "is also a big problem" and, "women commit a fair number of crimes in the area as well as the men." In addition to engaging in prostitution, residents mentioned that some women have been known to stop cars and rob the people inside. Speaking to this issue, one man said:

There's women out on the street at night. There's 10 to 15 women every night trying to stop cars...beg for money. They get around the cars and stop them when they're driving up the road. Steal or try to make some money.

When asked if by "making money" he meant prostitution, he added:

But that's exactly it. When I drive by and get up to them and they figure out who I am, they back off. They stopped one guy and dragged him out of the car and robbed him.

A service provider elaborated on this same incident, claiming that the victim in this case was a police officer's father. In addition to these other threats, the presence of prostitution in the Stockyard Road community may also contribute to increased risk for sexually transmitted diseases.

Theft

An alarming number of the community members we interviewed had been victims of robbery and theft on at least one occasion. While one elderly woman mentioned that she had in fact been twice a victim of burglary, another woman told interviewers: "My next door neighbor,

he got robbed. I haven't been robbed yet." Comments like these suggest that community members worry about becoming victims of theft.

Records from the Chatham County Sheriff's Department (from late 1993 through 1997) document the high prevalence of theft in this community, revealing that out of 147 reported crimes in the Stockyard Road community, 55 were property crimes. Among the various types of property crimes described, one community member explained that even their mail is not safe:

"One concern out here is that the mail gets stolen outta the mail box. They have got to get their mail as soon as it is delivered so nobody can get to it first."

An older male resident compared stealing in the community to drugs, in that he felt a lot of the problem comes from outside the community as well:

One thing is that people from here, they tell people they know outside where the good places are to come in and steal. Ya know, these people are really good at thieving so they come in [and] it's a thing they got worked out.

Impact of Crime on Youth

Given the climate of crime in Stockyard Road, it is not surprising that people interviewed stated their concern for the safety of children and adolescents in the community.

One mother expressed fear for her children:

It's worsen now than it was when I was younger. Cause then you didn't have to worry about drugs. And I could trust my kid in the street then. Now I don't like them outside cause you never know when someone will ride by and sell drugs, or shoot someone who is on drugs...

As far as the risk of youth involvement in criminal activity, many people living in Stockyard Road acknowledged that there are few opportunities for youth in the area. When asked about recreation opportunities for children in the area, one woman said:

[The] older boys I always see hanging out - they just hang out on the side of the road, ya know, loafing beside the road. I see a lot of the older kids during the school day when they should be at school.

A Chatham County probation officer mentioned his concern that, given the lack of resources and opportunities in Stockyard Road, youth in the community are at high risk for engaging in crime and drugs. He emphasized that he sees, "both males and females coming into the [juvenile] system." According to this same officer, common juvenile crimes in Stockyard Road are larceny, assaults, drugs, breaking and entering and some sex offenses. Another service provider stated that some of the youth in Stockyard Road, "think that the only way they can make something of themselves is to deal [drugs]." A female resident also spoke of youth involvement in selling drugs when she said, "they know they parents can't give them what they want, so they get out here and sell drugs."

Police

There appears to be disagreement among residents about the extent to which Chatham County police are making crime in Stockyard Road a priority. Residents did agree that the police are called out to the community often and as one resident put it, "the law stays out here." However, differences in opinion arose when residents expressed their thoughts on police effectiveness in fighting crime in the area. One female resident said:

The police have been pretty good. I think they caught a few of them and put them in jail. They get a lot of calls up there. You see them a lot down there at the bottom.

Another man said:

Sheriff's Department come here more often than they used to so that have helped. At one time, it was so terrible you know, loud music and carry[ing] on. Overall, it is better than two years ago.

On the other hand, other residents also expressed their distrust and dissatisfaction with police involvement in the area. Angrily, one man told interviewers:

As far as police, they ask so many unnecessary questions. Don't make sense. They just assume everyone out here is either on drugs or selling them. That's always the first thing they ask, if you got drugs in the house or [if] you got any guns."

During an interview, one service provider was seemingly perplexed by the issue when she asked: "Why can't they [the police] stamp out crime? There are several drug busts a year, but they don't seem to amount to much."

Conclusion

Interviews with community members and providers serving Stockyard Road suggest that substance abuse and crime have become major problems in the community, particularly within the past five to ten years. Although several community members felt that the area has improved slightly in the past couple of years, the majority of people interviewed shared their concern about the current level of crime in Stockyard Road. Some residents stated that they are afraid to leave their homes at night, while others said they are afraid to let their children play outside. Such a climate of fear has many implications for the physical and emotional health of all members of the Stockyard Road community. Increased partnership between Stockyard Road residents, service providers, local officials and police may move the community forward in addressing the issues of crime and substance abuse within the community.

INFRASTRUCTURE

The most basic needs in our lives are often those which are taken for granted. These necessities include adequate shelter, electricity, indoor plumbing, sewer disposal and means of transportation. There are undoubtedly serious health implications for residents when these basic needs go unmet. From qualitative data gathered through interviews with Stockyard Road community members and service providers, it is clear that substandard living conditions impact the environmental health and social well-being of this community. The issues described in this section are arguably the most pressing to this community and were not only expressed by those who are directly affected, but also those who voice a genuine concern about the welfare of their neighbors and the community as a whole.

Housing

Each person interviewed mentioned substandard housing conditions as a major concern for Stockyard Road residents. As one resident stated “Housing is poor. It’s very poor and very unsanitary. To me it seems kinda bad.” This was reiterated by another community member “I’m not content with the housing. They are really run down.”

Currently there are ten houses on Stockyard Road that tenants rent for only \$60-70 per month. Given this low monthly rental, it may not be profitable for owners to make the necessary improvements on these homes. At the same time, it may be difficult for the low income residents who live in these homes to obtain the financial resources to relocate. As one service provider noted "They're [the residents] probably on a fixed income. [Some may think that] it's better than being on the street or homeless."

The structural deterioration of these houses (i.e. fallen boards, decayed wood, broken windows) has occurred over a number of years and, according to some residents, landlords have been negligent in making necessary repairs.

In July of 1997, at the referral of Chatham Together, the Chatham County Health Department conducted an environmental assessment of the conditions of these "cottages" on Stockyard Road. The resulting evaluation documented that "two of the cottages [were] obtaining their electricity by drop cords" (Health/Environmental Study report conducted by the Chatham County Health Department, July 10, 1997). One community resident who mentioned her knowledge of the use of drop cords between houses stated that "...they get electricity that way. Most people I know use wood to get heat. Get wood where they can."

In a follow-up evaluation conducted in December 1997, it was noted that "some of the cottages have doors and windows boarded up with plywood" (Health/Social/Environmental Evaluation report conducted by the Chatham County Health Department, December 15, 1997). When asked if there was anything further being done to address the housing conditions in this community, one service provider noted that some improvements have been made. "[They] put a brand new electric meter box in one cottage. This has helped to do away with extension cords."

Despite the efforts of the Chatham County Health Department and Chatham Together, several interviewees noted that the landlord would like to have the houses torn down. However, one service provider noted that the residents "are caught in a situation that if the houses are pronounced condemnable, where will the inhabitants of these rental houses live?" Another provider further stated "The landlord does not have any alternatives as to where these people would go if the houses were condemned."

Another important factor which may contribute to the poor housing conditions on Stockyard Road is its location relative to Siler City. Stockyard Road is located in an Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction (ETJ); therefore, the minimum housing ordinance for Siler City does not

apply to the Stockyard Road area. Along with other factors, a lack of a minimal housing ordinance may allow landlords to avoid making repairs that would be mandated otherwise.

Water and Sewage

Another concern frequently mentioned by community residents and service providers was water and sewage. The fact that some houses do not have running water and sewage disposal was reiterated in the interviews. As one community member stated:

We don't have no sewage in a lot of these places. I don't have indoor plumbing. For drinking I have a well. Used to get my water from it, till the county water come through. Now I'm hooked up to it. Got no hot water though...

Although some residents have wells from which they obtain their water supply, others have to rely on the resources of neighbors. According to one service provider "There's a centralized spicket. They [residents] have to carry buckets to the house [with the spicket] and get water from there to use the bathroom."

In addition to an inadequate water supply, many residents also lack indoor plumbing or other means of waste management. A few of the homes have pit privies that are not structurally sound or sanitary. As one service provider noted "There are pit privies that are dilapidated and unfit to use. This is not a good standard of living to have a pit privy [and] have no indoor plumbing."

Another barrier to adequate means of waste disposal is the moisture level of the soil, which makes it installing septic tanks difficult and costly. If the installation of septic tanks was a viable option for residents, they would have the financial responsibility for installation and maintenance. This was expressed below by a Health Department official:

Well, the soil in this area is not proper for installing septic tanks. It's really wet and weak. It would cost each home about \$10,000 to install a central sewer. This has to be maintained. Someone has to pay for it.

When asked about laws addressing water and sewer standards, one provider stated:

There's a state law that requires every household to have an approved means of waste management. This can be a community sewer, individual septic tank or an approved privy.

Obviously, there are serious health implications for the residents living in these substandard conditions. The sharing of drop cords between homes, especially in an area permeated by wet soil, is a potential fire hazard. The fact that some residents use wood heaters is also dangerous. Furthermore, those who cannot afford to buy wood for their heaters likely go without heat. Moreover, any decayed boards, especially in cold and damp homes, may serve as a breeding ground for roaches and other pests. Also, conditions such as these may contribute to upper respiratory infections such as pneumonia and asthma, which may be of special concern for those with weaker immune systems such as small children and older persons.

A lack of running water in some homes also poses serious health concerns. Improperly covered wells used by some residents may be unsanitary, may attract unwanted pests such as flies and possibly result in water that is unsuitable for drinking. Furthermore, having no running water may affect personal hygiene, cooking and housekeeping.

Aside from the implications to the physical health of residents, water and sewage issues may also affect social health. The sharing of electrical power and water may place a tremendous financial burden on some residents, making them more reluctant to continue sharing resources. Furthermore, issues surrounding personal hygiene may place a social stigma on school children. As one service provider expressed: "Many children have a hard time coping with the school environment because of their appearance [dirty clothing] and their inability to keep up with their studies."

Because of these unsanitary living conditions in some homes, in February 1998, ten households received eviction notices, giving them until March 10, 1998 to leave the premises. During our February 28th community gathering, several of these residents passionately expressed

their concerns. A summary of resident concerns and possible solutions can be found in the section titled *Forum Summary*.

Transportation

Another issue of concern for residents is a lack of transportation, since no public transportation is available in Siler City. As a result, some residents have to rely on the kindness of their neighbors. As one community member noted:

I ain't got a car. Don't want to get a car one day and in the shop the next. Most people 'round here ain't got cars. Some do. Cost me money to get a ride from somebody if I gots to get somewhere, say run downtown. Costs me five dollars. That's hard with money being how it is. It's hard.

Another resident added: "Nobody has a car. Most don't work at all or are disabled. They can't afford [to buy a car]."

For many of these residents, a lack of transportation poses a significant barrier to gaining employment and accessing medical services. One resident stated:

...A lot of people get around by paying for rides or thumbing it [hitchhiking]. It's a real problem, because sometimes people have to get up real early to catch a ride. I mean, if you getting a ride from some guy who has to be to work real early, way before you, well you got to take the ride when you can get it. And then not everybody gets off at the same time. Definitely keeps people from getting jobs. And makes it hard just to get into town for groceries and stuff like that."

Furthermore, residents may neglect preventative medical services if they lack transportation. This may cause some to seek medical care only if they become extremely ill. As one community member noted "Well, if you got money, you're okay. I guess I'd say that people can't afford a lot of the services. And they can't get to them half the time anyway. Transportation is just tough."

Trash Collection

As Stockyard Road is located in an ETJ and, therefore, does not receive trash collection services, some residents frequently dispose of their trash improperly. This is an inconvenience to neighbors, as described by the following community members:

“We don’t get trash pick-up here. I carry mine out when I work. We sure don’t know why we don’t have trash pick-up service, because we pay for it on our taxes.”

“I burn mine. Got an area over beside my house.”

“We take our trash to the landfill. There’s no trash collection here”.

Still, for others it is a financial burden. One resident noted: “We have to pay about \$90 a year to have our garbage picked up and that’s why many residents don’t have it. I have to pay a neighbor to take my trash to the landfill.”

Mail delivery

Although Stockyard Road is located in Chatham County, residents receive their mail from Randolph County and have a Staley, North Carolina mailing address. This has been a concern for residents because it demonstrates to them another way in which they are being treated like "outsiders" even though they are a part of Siler City. As one resident stated at the community forum:

I don’t know why I have a Staley address when I pay taxes to Siler City. It’s not fair. Some houses don’t have sewer either because we are outside the city limits. It’s just not right when we pay city taxes to Siler.

Conclusion

The issues outlined in this section present a unique challenge for community residents and service providers. Although there are no immediate solutions to these problems,

collaboration among residents, service providers and political officials would be an important first step in making long-term change.

HEALTH

This chapter examines the health of Stockyard Road through the eyes of residents and health care providers. Most of the health data described in the first part of this document may not be appropriate for the Stockyard Road area since it is based on county level data. Interview data may more accurately reflect the health concerns of the Stockyard Road residents.

Environmental issues were identified as major problems for the community. Lack of health insurance, services, and transportation were also seen as barriers to health care access.

Health Concerns

As discussed in the previous chapter, substandard housing, an inadequate water supply, and the absence of a sewage system are primary concerns of the Stockyard Road community. Each of these factors has had a direct impact on the health of residents. Poor housing conditions are seen as depressing and can lead to a decline in pride and motivation, both of which are essential to optimum mental health. According to a volunteer who works with the community, children are ashamed to say that they live in Stockyard Road, “ There was one kid that didn’t like to be dropped off by his parents house for fear the other children would see where he lived.” Research suggests that living in substandard housing conditions may contribute to feelings of oppression, powerlessness, and alienation (Green, 1994).

Although few residents talked about the health implications of not having water and sewage connections, many service providers mentioned inadequate sanitation as a serious health hazard, particularly for children “The children had feces on them and were dirty. The children had to be put in the hall[at the school]. They smelled so bad,” said one service provider. Another resident expressed a concern about the amount of solid waste, such as garbage and miscellaneous debris in the community “ I can’t even tell you how much garbage there was.”

Because “there’s no trash collection here”, as one community member said, garbage poses a significant health menace by providing feed for stray dogs, rats, and insects (Green, 1994).

Access to Health Services

Community members utilize several different health care services in the area. These services include medical and emergency services in Chapel Hill, Chatham County Hospital, and private practices in Greensboro. However, few residents mentioned using the health department in Pittsboro. The Smart Start Van also provides multiple health services to the community. The van offers immunizations, as well as dental, hearing and vision screening for children.

Accessibility of these services was a concern voiced by several residents. They talked about financial barriers, lack of insurance, transportation, and inadequate services. Many of the low-income residents in Stockyard Road are more likely to seek care in Chapel Hill, often in emergency situations, because of the high cost of services in Chatham and the fact that many physicians do not accept Medicaid . One resident said:

Most residents, they try to go to Chapel Hill if they can get there. That’s because at Chatham you pay up front or else they bill you for the whole thing- can’t pay no payments. And they really get on your case to pay. Chapel Hill is a lot easier on you. You can pay the bill in payments; you know twenty bucks a month or something. Reason a lot of people go to Chapel Hill is they don’t hound you. I’ve seen Chatham Hospital turn people away before, just turn them away. People without insurance. Depends on the problem, whether they they’ll take you. Most people around here don’t have health insurance for sure.

Several residents cited lack of transportation as another barrier to health care. One long time resident said “ Well, If you got money, you’re okay. I guess I’d say that people can’t afford a lot of the services. And they can’t get to them half the time anyway. Transportation is just tough.”

Quality of Health Services

Quality of services in nearby health facilities is another factor that causes several residents to seek healthcare elsewhere. A member of the community said:

It [Chatham Hospital] doesn't have enough doctors and so you wait in line, even if it's supposed to be for emergencies. No matter how sick you are, for everyone it's slow. I had to wait for two hours for my mom to see a doctor."

Another resident added:

Took me to Chatham Hospital, but they didn't have the equipment to do what they had to do. Son called ambulance to try and get me on down to Chapel Hill. They told him was gonna take a long time. My son realized he could get me to Greensboro faster than ambulance could get me to Chapel Hill. It was a good thing I got there, but it was real tough time getting there. Ya know, when you're hurting real bad, seems like you never get there [Chapel Hill]. We had to wait 2 hours one time at Chatham to get seen.

Conclusion

Any conclusions about health based strictly on secondary data would be incomplete without resident input. For this reason, it is critical that Stockyard Road residents join forces with local community agencies to begin to address the identified health concerns of the community – particularly those issues surrounding housing and water/sewage. Issues such as these have tremendous public health implications, ranging from infectious disease to mental health.

SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY FORUM

On February 28, 1998, approximately 60 residents and service providers of the Stockyard Road area came together to discuss the issues that were most important to them. The gathering took place at the Unity Powerhouse Holiness Church and was organized by our community diagnosis team, with the help of a planning committee. Prior to the gathering, team members solicited businesses, contacted local media and sent personal invitations to political officials, services providers, and community members.

As a result, several local businesses donated gift certificates, food, and clothing items that were distributed as door prizes at the gathering. In addition, the Chatham Record printed information about the upcoming event and also wrote a follow-up article, focusing attention on the Stockyard Road area (see Appendix E). Although no political officials attended, many service providers attended and offered their resources to the community. Most importantly, a large number of Stockyard Road residents attended and actively participated in the event.

After the Unity Powerhouse Children's Choir sang, the team presented a brief overview of our findings. This included quotes from community interviews, as well as facts and statistics from secondary sources. These findings were divided into two components: community assets and community concerns. Community assets included family, community cohesion, role of the church and individual skills and talents. The second component, community concerns, consisted of crime and safety, housing, water and sewage, and transportation. After the presentation of findings, community residents voted *water and sewage* and *housing* as the topics they most wanted to concentrate on during the open discussion.

Housing

Throughout the community diagnosis process, housing was a major topic of discussion among residents and service providers. In fact, poor housing conditions prompted the Chatham County Health Department to investigate the overall living conditions in Stockyard Road in July of 1997. Ironically, the Health Department was investigating this same issue independent of our community diagnosis. After an environmental assessment, the Health Department concluded that unless improvements were made on ten dilapidated houses in the area, they would be condemned. The landlord of the dilapidated houses and the Chatham County Health Department made the decision to condemn the houses and evict the occupants of these houses by Sunday, March 1st, 1998. Many of these occupants, facing eviction, were present at the gathering and voiced their concerns about their future.

One resident, a middle-aged man facing eviction, asked the question, “Where am I suppose to go after tomorrow?” At this point Wayne Sherman, Director of the Chatham County Health Department, addressed questions concerning the housing conditions and eviction notices. Mr. Sherman provided background information on why the houses were being condemned, stating poor soil conditions and substandard outhouses. Because of the high cost of installing pit privies in each home, the landlord ultimately decided not to upgrade the ten houses. They were subsequently condemned by the Health Department. Mr. Sherman went on to inform these occupants that the deadline for eviction had been extended until March 10th, 1998, and they could place their names on a Housing Authority list for emergency housing. Although this information quelled the occupants immediate fears of homelessness, it did not provide long-term solutions.

Water/ Sewer and Other Issues

The second major issue of concern to community members was water and sewage. The ten dilapidated houses and other houses in the neighborhood have no indoor plumbing and Mr. Sherman acknowledged that, while the neighborhood does have county water, it does not have county sewage. One of the reasons that county sewage does not extend to the Stockyard Road community is that it is in an Extra Territorial Jurisdiction and is not considered part of Siler City. Residents are required, however, to have alternative methods to dispose of waste such as septic tanks.

Possible Solutions

A primary purpose of the community gathering was to address community concerns and pose possible solutions. Because of his extensive community organizing experience, Mr. Quinton Baker was asked to address the community about effective organizing strategies. At the conclusion of his speech, the community appeared interested and motivated to organize themselves around the issues of mail delivery and water/sewage. A suggestion was made that the community contact Chatham County and Siler City Commissioners and propose that a referendum be included on the voting ballot to include Stockyard Road in the Siler City limits. Mr. Baker further proposed that the community petition Siler City to annex Stockyard Road and offered his assistance in this endeavor. Several community members made a commitment to organize residents around these issues.

The gathering concluded with the team presenting the Stockyard Road community and Unity Powerhouse Holiness Church with an appreciation plaque. Residents also enjoyed food, door prizes, and talking about the next steps they will take to organize themselves. The team also talked to residents after the gathering and one resident said, "Thank you for doing this. It was needed."

CONCLUSION

This document was intended to present a comprehensive picture of the Stockyard Road community. Therefore, it was necessary to not only collect and analyze quantitative secondary data, but even more importantly, to examine qualitative data. When writing the qualitative section of this document, an attempt was made to let the document “write itself.” In other words, the authors tried to focus on the themes and ideas that emerged out of the interviews, using the community members' own words as much as possible. While it is true the authors selected the quotes and the context in which they were presented, an effort was made to accurately reflect resident views.

As outsiders, we were conscious of the fact that certain concepts relating to community might not be addressed directly by residents or service providers. These concepts -- community neglect, community competence, and community organizing -- are important in helping us to draw conclusions. In the next few paragraphs, we will explore these concepts based on our observations and interactions with residents and service providers.

Community Neglect

At the beginning of the community diagnosis process, we heard many things about Stockyard Road, from “Never walk on that side of the street” to “This area is no place for a young woman.” Comments such as these (one from a service provider and the other from a former resident of Stockyard Road) did not deter us from exploring the community with an open mind. After visiting the community several times and establishing rapport with residents, we discovered that few political officials and service providers from the town of Siler City had taken the time to listen to the residents of the community. When conducting meetings with Chatham County service providers, many were initially unfamiliar with Stockyard Road. Among those

service providers who were knowledgeable about this community, a majority focused primarily on the needs rather than the assets of Stockyard Road residents.

While interviewing residents, we found that most of them were very appreciative that we were taking the time to listen to their concerns. It became increasingly clear that few service providers had spent a significant amount of time in this community. We believe that neglect by service providers and political officials may be a contributing factor to the conditions present in this community.

Community Competence

Leonard Cottrell Jr., a social psychologist, was the first to operationalize the concept of community competency. Cottrell described a competent community as one that collaborates effectively in identifying the problems and needs of the community, achieves a working consensus on community priorities, agrees on ways to implement shared goals, and collaborates effectively in taking action to reach these goals (Cottrell, 1976). As part of the community diagnosis process it is important to identify community leaders, as well as whether residents have the means and skills with which to organize themselves in addressing community concerns. When interviewing residents, one of the questions we asked was “Who would you identify as a community leader?” We received various answers to this question. Few of the residents identified themselves in this way and many had to think for a moment before being able to name persons whom they identified as community leaders. Possibly because this community has yet to formally organize itself around the common issues of concern identified in this document, no clear community leaders have emerged. Nonetheless, we discovered tremendous community potential as we interviewed Stockyard Road residents, including a wealth of individual talents, a strong church base, and powerful families ties.

Community Organizing

One question that is asked by service providers and community members is “What will happen after the community diagnosis is completed?” It is hoped that this process and document will provide information and serve as a tool for improving conditions in Stockyard Road. The community gathering gave Stockyard Road residents an opportunity to openly discuss their concerns and brainstorm possible solutions. From this discussion, potential community leaders were identified. In addition, several community agencies offered their resources in helping residents organize around pertinent issues. By giving voice to the concerns of Stockyard Road residents within this document, it is our hope that community members and service providers will come together and work towards positive change.

Summary

Ideally, the community diagnosis process will open the lines of communication between service providers, political officials and residents of Stockyard Road. We would like to thank the residents of Stockyard Road for their graciousness and willingness in taking the time to welcome us into their community and into their lives. We learned tremendously from our experience in Stockyard Road and hope that our project will benefit the members of this community.

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FIGURES AND TABLES: Pages 74-88

APPENDIX A

MAP

APPENDIX B

Community Interview Guide

Community Diagnosis - Stockyard Road

- *Thank you for agreeing to meet with us. We are going to ask you some questions about Stockyard Road as a community.*
 - *My name is _____. I will be asking most of the questions and _____ will be taking notes.*
 - *With your permission, we would like to tape record this interview. If at any time you do not want something recorded, feel free to turn off the tape recorder or gesture to me that you would like me to do so.*
 - *Every thing you say will only be heard by students in the School of Public Health and the tape will be erased as soon as the information is recorded. Your name will not be connected with your answers or with the written report.*
 - *Do you have any questions before we begin?*
-

Demographic Information

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your occupation?

Self & Family

1. How long have you lived in Stockyard Road?
2. What brought you here?
3. What keeps you here?
4. Who lives with you (children, parents, etc.)?
5. Do you have any other family living in Stockyard Road?
6. What are some skills and/or talents you have to offer your family, friends and community members?

Neighborhood & Community

1. How do you define your neighborhood (physical borders, streets)?
2. What do you call your neighborhood?
3. Who are some community leaders and organizers?
4. What is the best thing about living on Stockyard Road?

Services & Utilities

1. Do you have concerns about water issues? How do you manage with drinking water? indoor plumbing? laundry?
2. How is your trash collected?
3. How do you feel about the quality of education available to neighborhood children?
2. What, if any, transportation issues are there in your community? How do you get to work? Medical appointments? The grocery store?

Health and Wellness Issues

1. What do you do when you get sick?
2. How do you feel about the quality of care you have access to?
3. Do you see the same person every time you seek health care?
4. Where do most residents go for health care?
5. What health services are lacking?

Lifestyle

1. Do you work outside the home?
2. What is the job market like for neighborhood residents?
3. Who do you socialize with?
4. What do you do for entertainment? Do you play or watch sports? Attend parties? See movies?

3. Where do you get your news? Do you subscribe to a daily newspaper? Watch the news on television?
4. Do you vote? Are you involved in local politics? National politics?
5. What role does the church play in your life?

Quality of Life

1. Are you happy living in this neighborhood?
2. How do you feel about the housing in Stockyard Road?
3. How safe do you feel around here? What types of crime are common in Stockyard Road?
4. What is life like for young people in the Stockyard Road area?
5. What is life like for the elderly in the Stockyard Road area?
6. Are there any racial tensions that you're aware of within your neighborhood or with people from surrounding areas?
7. What are the strengths of your community?
8. What are the weaknesses of your community?

Final Questions

1. Do you feel any of the following issues are a priority in your community?
 - Substance Abuse?
 - Sexually Transmitted Diseases?
 - Housing?
 - Rabies?
 - Social and Recreational Opportunities?
 - Education?
2. Are there other issues facing the community that we haven't talked about?
3. Can you give me the names of any of your neighbors who might be willing to talk to me?
4. We are planning a community forum to take place in February. Would you be interested in participating or can you name someone who might be?

Thank you very much for your time. If you think of anything you'd like to add, please don't hesitate to call me later.

Provider Interview Guide

Community Diagnosis - Stockyard Road

- *Thank you for agreeing to meet with us. We are going to ask you some questions about Stockyard Road as a community.*
 - *My name is _____. I will be asking most of the questions and _____ will be taking notes.*
 - *With your permission, we would like to tape record this interview. If at any time you do not want something recorded, feel free to turn off the tape recorder or gesture to me that you would like me to do so.*
 - *Everything you say will only be heard by students in the School of Public Health and the tape will be erased as soon as the information is recorded. Your name will not be connected with your answers or with the written report.*
 - *Do you have any questions or concerns before we begin?*
-

Services

1. In what way are you familiar with the Stockyard Road Community? What services does this agency provide to Stockyard Road?
2. Who are the people that utilize your services?
3. What groups of people tend to be the most difficult for your agency to reach?
4. What other agency provides services to the Stockyard Road area? Which of these do you think is the most knowledgeable about the issues important to the Stockyard Road community?

Community

1. What do you consider to be the strengths of the Stockyard Road community? What needs do you think the community currently has?
2. How do you define the Stockyard Road community?
3. What types of community projects have been attempted in this community? Were these projects successful? Why or why not?
4. Who are the community leaders in Stockyard Road?
5. Are you aware of any racial/ethnic tensions that may exist within the community?

Health

1. What are some of the pertinent health issues facing the Stockyard Road area?

Documents

1. Does your agency have any documents that relate to the community (reports, statistics, etc.)?
2. Are there any other agencies that might have compiled information on the community?

Referrals

1. Are there any other people we should get to know or talk to about Stockyard Road?

General Overview

1. Do you feel any of the following issues are a priority in your community?
 - Substance Abuse?
 - Sexually Transmitted Diseases?
 - Housing?
 - Rabies?
 - Social and Recreational Opportunities?
 - Education?
2. Is there anything else you can tell us about the Stockyard Road community?
3. Can you give me the names of others who may be willing to talk to me?
4. We are planning a community forum to take place in February. Would you be interested in participating or can you name someone who might be?

Thank you very much for your time. If you think of anything you'd like to add, please don't hesitate to call me later.

FACT SHEET

Dear M _____ :

We are Masters students in the UNC -Chapel Hill School of Public Health. One of the degree requirements is to conduct a community diagnosis and needs assessment in a pre-selected community. We have been assigned to Stockyard Road (Siler City, NC).

The community diagnosis will give us the opportunity to learn more about the Stockyard Road community and gain insight into what life is like in the Stockyard Road area. In turn, we hope that you will take the opportunity to share with us your experiences as a resident (or service provider) of Stockyard Road by answering a series of interview questions. The interviews should last no longer than 1 hour and 2-3 interviewers will be present to ask questions and take notes. Only with your permission will interviews be tape-recorded. You may stop the interview at any time should you feel uncomfortable answering any questions.

Please be advised that a written document will be produced as a result of this community diagnosis, however, your name will remain anonymous with any information you may provide. In addition, any tape-recorded interviews may be used by students enrolled in Part II of the Community Diagnosis requirement (HBHE 246). This course focuses on program planning and implementation.

There are no costs or incentives for your participation in this project, however, we value your time and look forward to you sharing your experiences as a resident (or service provider) of Stockyard Road. Any issues or concerns addressed by you and/or other interviewees will be brought to attention at a community forum, to be scheduled in late January 1998. We hope that you will be able to attend this forum.

In addition, we appreciate any recommendations you may have for additional persons whom we can contact regarding participation in this project. If a potential participant is contacted, however, your name will be given as the point of reference.

If you have any questions or concerns about this project, please do not hesitate to contact either of the persons whose names and numbers are provided below. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Sonya Goode, BA, Masters Student (919) 402-8566
Sandra Quinn, PhD, Professor (919) 966-3915

APPENDIX C

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Community Members

- 5 Adult Female Community Members
- 7 Adult Male Community Members

Community Member/ Service Providers

- Female Service Provider, Chatham Home Health

Service Providers

Female Service Providers

- Chatham County Public Schools
- Chatham County Department of Social Services
- Chatham County Department of Social Services
- Chatham County Department of Social Services
- Chatham County Health Department
- Joint Orange Chatham Community Action Agency

Male Service Providers

- Chatham County Sheriff's Department
- Chatham County Sheriff's Department
- Chatham County Health Department
- Chatham County Health Department
- Chatham County Board of Health
- Chatham County Police Department

APPENDIX D

LIST OF INTERVIEW CODES

- I. Community Assets/ Strengths**
 - A. Individual
 - B. Community
 - C. Family

- II. Community**
 - A. Definition
 - B. The past
 - C. The future

- III. Drugs and Crime**
 - A. Police/ Community Relationships

- IV. Employment**

- V. Elderly**

- VI. Youth and Children**

- VII. Education**

- VIII. Infrastructure**
 - A. Housing
 - B. Water and Sewer
 - C. Transportation
 - D. Mail
 - E. Trash Collection

- IX. Health**
 - A. *Health Services*
 - 1. Perceptions of
 - 2. Satisfaction with
 - 3. Accessibility
 - 4. Availability
 - B. *Environmental Issues*

APPENDIX E
FORUM MATERIALS