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Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Uses: A Case Study of Bluegrass Stockyards

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Terry Logan Lunsford

The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

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to Locally Undesirable Land Uses:
A Case Study of Bluegrass Stockyards

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
At the University of Kentucky

By
Terry Logan Lunsford

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Lori Garkovich, Professor of Sociology

Lexington, Kentucky

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Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Uses: A Case Study of Bluegrass Stockyards

Community development is an ongoing issue that faces communities as they develop. This is a case study where two communities were faced with an identical development proposal involving Bluegrass Stockyards. Bluegrass Stockyards a prominent livestock marketing business, located in Lexington, KY needed to relocate its facility and looked at communities in Lincoln and Woodford County Kentucky as possible new locations.

By looking at the case of Bluegrass Stockyards this study is able to use Conflict Theory, Growth Theory and Frame Analysis to look at the development process and issues that was associated with this development proposal. With the two communities being faced with the same proposal, and the proposals having different outcomes, the study is able to gain a better understanding of how development occurs within these two rural communities.

This study provides information to both developers and community development professionals on what issues will need to be addressed with a livestock marketing center relocation and how the

different issues should be addressed in order to make the process more efficient and beneficial to the involved communities.

KEYWORDS: Conflict Theory, Frame Analysis, Growth Machine Theory, Bluegrass Stockyards, Urban Regime Theory

Student's Signature

Date

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Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview of Problem

When discussing controversial social issues, the term that can encompass most of them is community change. On the surface, community change seems like a simple straight forward term, as long as you are not the one being affected by or implementing the change. Community change is complicated by the situation, the actors, the interests at play, and potential outcomes of the change. As a practitioner, this makes the concept of community development much more complex and challenging.

Community development or planned community change is an important part of Kentucky's agricultural sector. The future of Kentucky agriculture, specifically livestock production, has been an extremely controversial topic in central Kentucky over the last ten years. This is due to the changes that both the production and the marketing systems are going through. These changes are having dramatic impacts on the industry and the development of communities affected by these changes in the agricultural sector. These changes depend on the type of livestock as well as the site of the marketing facility. Kentucky has traditionally been known as a horse state, which has allowed equestrian sales facilities to take on a symbolic role that has made them not only an idealized economic activity but also a tourist attraction. Cattle, which are also very much a part of the

Kentucky landscape, have a much less iconic status than the horse and therefore, have less importance and value from the perspective of many. Even though cattle may not be as iconic as horses, they are a critical part of Kentucky's economy. In some of Kentucky's more rural counties, cattle and cattle markets are the economic backbone of the community. Previous research has shown that the Lexington market provides buyers with the highest price for their product. (Lunsford, 2008)

The Lexington livestock sales facility, Bluegrass Stockyards (BG), began the process of relocation, in 2005, in an effort to consolidate the entire livestock market in the state of Kentucky. This was a major development project for both the Bluegrass Stockyards and the communities involved in the process. The facility is currently the third largest market in the United States as well as the largest market east of the Mississippi River. The mission of the Bluegrass Stockyards is "to provide every opportunity for our customers to be profitable in the livestock production industry by providing progressive innovative programs and services that create access to the broadest array of marketing opportunities" (Bluegrass Stockyards). The relocation process has been controversial; communities have differed in how they view the possibility of having a livestock marketing system relocate there. From an economic perspective the facility is financially

beneficial for producers and the communities; however there are other economic and social issues that have kept the facility from relocating to some of the proposed areas.

How the same economic development project is defined and responded to by two different communities in central Kentucky is the focus of this dissertation. These comparative case studies will provide a basis for creating a deeper understanding of the development process. Both communities held numerous meetings to evaluate the proposal, with one accepting the proposal and the other rejecting it.

The purpose of this research is to try and understand why the outcomes were different for the two locations. The evidence that Bluegrass Stockyards is an economically sound business is strong; so it originally seemed reasonable that any community would be willing to let them relocate there, at least from an economic perspective. As communities around the world face different types of development, we need to understand why communities define development differently and take different paths. Such an understanding can contribute to a less controversial development process in the future, for developers and communities. In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide a brief overview of the dissertation beginning with a quick overview of the economic significance of the Bluegrass Stockyards.

Introducing the Issue and its Significance

When the relocation process began, there was little interest or concern to most people across the state of Kentucky. However as the relocation process unfolded, the debates began, along with shifting political networks of opponents and proponents. As surrounding communities learned about the relocation of the facility, residents began meeting with local planning and zoning commissions and making known their views on whether or not their community wanted the new facility. This resulted in numerous proposals for the new location.

One of the areas proposed was in Fayette County home of the existing facility. The proposed location was near the Kentucky Horse Park, but when Lexington was selected to host of the 2010 World Equestrian Games many no longer wanted the facility near the Park. This location was ultimately defined as not feasible after the governor of the state asserted the stockyards would not be an appropriate neighbor for the Horse Park and The World Equestrian Games. (Hall, 2006) The involvement of the governor in this process provides evidence of the significance of this relocation decision.

Further complementing this relocation process, were the notable changes in the market structure occurring at the same time. Bluegrass Stockyards (BG) has pursued a plan of mergers and acquisitions of

competing stockyards designed to cement its control of the Kentucky and eastern US markets (see Table 1).

Table 1	
Mergers and Acquisitions of the Bluegrass Stockyards	
Event	Date
Garrard County stockyards	Purchased 2007
Madison Livestock Sales LLC	Purchased 2007
Mt. Sterling stockyards	Purchased 2007
Campbellsville stockyards	Purchased 2007
Maysville stockyards	Purchased 2007
Boyle County stockyards	Purchased 2008

As part of this business plan, the Garrard facility and the Boyle facility have been closed and the Mt. Sterling, Campbellsville, and Maysville facilities have been coordinated into the marketing group. By coordinating the market, BG has made cattle auctions available to producers six days a week, by assigning different facilities a set day to auction, so that the different locations do not sell on the same days.

Looking at a map of the state the next possible acquisitions appear to be either the Paris or the Owenton stockyards. These are the two main locations that have not become part of the BG group. At least one of these facilities would have likely already been part of BG,

if they were not already involved in another sales network. Their involvement with what is known as the United Cattle Producers means that these facilities are only for sale if the buyer is willing to buy the complete network, rather than a single facility. The United Cattle Producers network keeps the BG network from gaining nearly full control of the Kentucky cattle sales market. It does not seem feasible for BG to purchase the entire network, given its diverse makeup. BG has concentrated its efforts on the state of Kentucky and the United Producers have facilities that are located in surrounding states.

Given the acquisitions of Bluegrass Stockyards as well as its large volume of cattle sales, this facility plays a major role in the commodity chain of beef production and food production. If this market was not in operation in Central Kentucky, Kentucky beef producers would have diminished marketing power. Bluegrass Stockyards has the ability to get producers a higher price for their product. This makes producers want to bring in their livestock; so the lower levels of the commodity chain come to Bluegrass to meet the higher levels of the chain. The higher levels or buyers and processors come to Bluegrass because this is where they have the best selection of product. In other words, Bluegrass is a major player in the commodity chain because that is the single facility that allows the beef commodity chain to function in Kentucky.

Bluegrass Stockyards also has a significant impact on the communities of Central Kentucky, both directly and indirectly. Buyers and sellers are required to come to the market in order to do business, which increases the traffic flow and economic activity of the area affected. Because the stockyards create financial activity, other non-related sectors also benefit. For example, the community brings in more taxes for whatever type of development or improvement the community sees fit. And, at another relocation site, a community park was also developed as part of the project. The communities that no longer have a stockyard are now at a disadvantage for similar reasons. They no longer receive the benefits that the market brought to their area. These economic interactions will be further explored in the following chapters.

Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation begins in Chapter 2 with an overview of development from diverse perspectives. This chapter first explores different definitions of development and rural development. The discussion will consider the different components of development by incorporating a review of existing literature. The predominant components of development that will be expanded upon are economic development, infrastructure, human capital, and social development. Within this discussion of development, I will show how the cattle

marketing system is an important part of a commodity chain. The role that this commodity chain plays in the surrounding community will also be explored.

Chapter 2 will continue with a discussion of how communities respond to agriculturally-related development efforts. This chapter will conclude with the specific research questions that will guide the study. Chapter 3 will provide a detailed description of the case study communities as well as some of the communities that will be greatly affected by the relocation process.

Chapter 4 will introduce the theories and concepts that will guide the analysis. The main theories that will be used to guide this study will be frame analysis, conflict theory, and network theory. I will then provide a perspective on how these theories will inform our understanding of development. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the methods employed in this study, with a focus on specifying the operationalization of concepts and strategies for measuring how the different communities define and view the issues.

Chapter 5 will then compare and contrast how the two case study communities reacted to the development proposal. Critical to this analysis will understand how each community framed the meaning of the development and its potential impacts and how different interest

groups participated in and/or helped shape the response to this development proposal.

Chapter 6 concludes and summarizes, with a consideration of the implications of my results for development opportunities in other communities. I hope to offer a usable reference for other communities and development professionals to use when trying to evaluate whether or not a community development proposal is one that might be supported or opposed by a community and under what circumstances.

Chapter 2 Development

Overview

This chapter begins by defining key concepts – development, economic growth, economic development, and rural/community development. I then describe the basic functioning of the socioeconomic system, and one particular component of it, commodity chains. I will then explain how the livestock marketing system can be viewed as a commodity chain. After an understanding of both the socioeconomic system and commodity chains is gained, I will then compare a sociological and an economic perspective on a livestock marketing system specifically. This discussion can then be linked to development more generally.

The methods and theories of sociology and economics can be used to describe and analyze the community development process from its inception to its design and implementation. There is a concern for a broader meaning of the “impacts” of community development in terms of the distribution of costs and benefits, both economic and social. Thus, the community development process seeks positive changes in all segments of the community, not just the economic sector. In this case, the process of relocating the Bluegrass Stockyards is viewed as an economic decision distinctly shaped by

sociodemographic, political, and cultural conditions in the two communities.

Perspectives on Development

Development is where we must first begin our study. All local communities are looking to develop at some rate and in some direction. But when these rates and directions differ within and among communities, difficulties emerge. Indeed, the fundamental challenge is to arrive at a consensus on the meaning of development.

Development is one of those concepts that mean something to everyone. For example, development can be defined as sustained progressive change to attain individual and group interest through expanded, intensified, and adjusted use of resources (Shaffer, Dellar, and Marcouiller, 2004; p3). Or, development can be defined as an outcome –physical, social, and economic improvement in a community (Phillips and Pittman, 2009). Regardless of the particular definition chosen, one thing is certain: development processes are contested terrains in communities everywhere.

So what is community development? Community development can be described as an act where qualitative improvements occur (Blair and Carroll, 2009). Community development also involves changing the relationships between the people in the community so that everyone can participate in the issues that affect their lives. It has

the purpose of building a community based on justice, equality, and mutual respect (CDX, 2009). According to Bhattacharyya, community development aims at building solidarity and agency from three practice principles. These principles are self help, felt needs, and participation (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

For the purpose of this dissertation, I define community development as actions or decisions that will improve the community both socially and economically. This modifies previous definitions and makes community development a process as well as an outcome. Clearly this definition draws on many others and it is important to distinguish the variations in meaning and their consequences. To do this, I will describe and assess two related concepts: economic growth and economic development.

Economic growth occurs with an increase in the overall GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Economic development is an increase in the overall standard of living of a population (Deardoff, 1998) through an expansion in the number and types of jobs, an increase in wages and income, or an increase in the monies circulating through the local economy. Growth is often confused with economic development, but in fact, development encompasses a broader approach to improving the standard of living (Howitt and Weil, 2008). Growth can be described as more of the same, whereas economic development may

not be more of the same. According to Blair (1995), economic development can be either an improvement or a detriment to a community. For many in the business of economic development, it is simply the recruitment of industry to a particular area. But in reality, economic development is the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of human, financial, capital, physical and natural resources to generate marketable goods and services (Phillips and Pittman, 2009).

Community development has probably been practiced for as long as there have been communities, but can mean many different things to different people. Some researchers see it as local decision making and program development resulting in a better place to live and work (Mattessich and Monsey 2004: 58) Or, it can be considered as a group of people initiating action to change their economic, social, cultural, and/or environmental situation (Christianson and Robinson 1989). In general terms according to Phillips and Pittman (2009, p6), it is "A process: developing and enhancing the ability to act collectively, and an outcome: (1) taking collective action and (2) the result of that action for improvement in a community in any or all realms."

Community development as used in this dissertation, involves social, environmental, and economic change, which improves the quality of life in a community. Community development often focuses

on equity, which is fairness among members, as well as empowerment, or increasing the community's ability to act on new circumstances as they arrive. Others see community development as a planned effort to produce assets that increase the capacity of residents to improve their quality of life (Phillips and Pittman, 2009; Shaeffer, Deller, and Marcouller, 2004, p12). As development occurs, the chance of success for any individual or firm within the community also rises. Authors have tended to interchange the concepts of community and rural development. From my perspective, rural development is simply community development that occurs in a rural place.

Economic development is only one aspect of the umbrella concept of community development. According to Malizia and Fesser, economic development came from efforts to improve less developed countries and the American war on poverty (Malizia and Fesser 1999). Initially, American economic development focused primarily on recruiting industry to a particular area. According to Phillips and Pittman (2009), economic development is the process of creating wealth through mobilization of human, financial, capital and natural resources to generate marketable goods and services. Other components of the umbrella concept of community development can

include: leadership development, organizational development, human development, and infrastructure development.

Each of these will have a distinctive focus but their impacts may well overlap. While community development often leads to changes that would fit the economic development category, there is much community development that would not be considered economic development. For example, a community development project may close one type of livestock facility and replace it with a more environmentally friendly one, even though the original facility may be more economically profitable. Community development could also mean that the community gains access to a service that they did not have previously. For example, establishing a wireless network and providing free access to every resident household will have direct and immediate costs for the community (thus reducing available cash reserves), but in the long-term, may well improve the overall well being of everyone in the community.

Two other concepts – marketing system and commodity chain - are critical to understanding the economic development process. A marketing system is a systematic process that connects buyers and sellers. A marketing system helps buyers and sellers interact and make deals. It is not just setting the price but the entire system of regulation, qualification, credentials, reputations and clearing that

surrounds that mechanism and makes it operate in a social context (Campbell, 2005). Clearing represents all activities from the time a commitment is made for a transaction until it is settled. Within that marketing system, a commodity chain is a sequential process used by firms to gather resources, transform them into goods or commodities, and finally distribute them to consumers (Rodrique, 1998).

A simple explanation of a commodity chain in a market system according to Hopkins and Walerstein is "A network of labor and production processes whose end result is a finished commodity (Blair, 2009). More specifically, commodity chains are economic networks linking firms, industries and countries that span producers, distributors and consumers of goods

(www.soci.canterbury.ac.nz/resources/glossary/commodc.shtml).

Commodity chains can be either producer driven or buyer driven, depending on who has the larger share of the market control. Since the end product of livestock production is a food product it is also necessary that a definition of a food commodity chain be presented. A food commodity chain operates spatially, in that it connects places of production with places of consumption

(www.usyd.edu.au/su/geography/staff/bpritchard/agrifood/).

An example of an everyday marketing system and commodity chain is the sale of Trail's End Caramel Corn by the Boy Scouts of America.

The Boy Scouts are part of a marketing system when they set up their stands in your neighborhood, or go door to door in order to sell their product. They are the next to the last step in a commodity chain that brings caramel corn to your mouth, and they do this by connecting the buyer and seller when they sell a tin of Trail's End Caramel Corn.

In the spring of the year, farmers plant corn, including the variety of mushroom corn that is used for Trail's End. Then as the year passes, the Boy Scouts recruit people to buy the fund-raising caramel corn. At the same time, there are farmers in the Virgin Islands who are harvesting sugar cane which will be used in the final product. After the sugarcane is harvested, it is shipped to Indiana where it is further processed. The tins that will eventually hold the product are also being rolled off of an assembly line in North Carolina. There are numerous products that go into the making of the tin cans, which would include other commodity chains but we will stick with the caramel corn. As the tins are finished they are shipped to the Trail's End Popcorn Plant, where the cans are decorated and labeled. As fall of the year begins, it is time for the corn farmers to harvest their commodity, mushroom corn. After the corn is harvested it is shipped to the Trail's End plant where it is processed. After it is processed, it is flavored with the sugar mix. After this value-added transformation, the caramel corn is packed into the tins and then shipped across the

nation to the individuals or groups who had previously purchased the product earlier in the year from their local Boy Scout group. In summary, the final product comes from corn farmers in the US, Mexico, and Canada, while the sugar comes from the Virgin Islands. The tins are made from metals from Africa, South America, and the US. All of the pieces of the chain come together at the Trail's End Plant in Indiana and then they ship the product out to the consumers.

The livestock marketing system

The livestock marketing system also illustrates the components of a marketing system. Many rural communities across Kentucky have been built around these markets, which bring both social and economic ties to the area. One of the reasons for this is that the household, community, and economy have traditionally been tightly bonded with one another (Lyson, 2004; p8-10). Lyson also points out that it is impossible to isolate the local economy, from the larger society, noting that local communities serve as a trade and service center for the rural population. The local livestock marketing center must be considered a part of the trade and service center, since a product is being sold and the market supplies a service to the producers. From an economic aspect, the cattle being sold at the market are supporting the livelihoods of the local producers, as well as increasing the economic revenue of the area for beef producers, and other merchants who can

now sell their goods to the farm producers in the community. The continual buying and selling of goods in the local market allows the market to exist, which in turn, allows the community to exist.

Without a viable marketing system the entire community might slowly wither away, an argument that is made by Bell (2004). According to Bell, as agriculture becomes more and more industrialized and commercialized, the traditional culture of agriculture is threatened. He uses the term "Ag" rather than "agriculture" to signify the faster paced industrialized version of farming, which he sees as culturally different from traditional family farming. Many family farm operators and rural community members believe in the romanticism associated with an historic myth of rural America that sustainable agriculture supporters like Lyson (2004), Bell (2004), and Allen (2004) refer to. These authors argue that family farm operators and rural community members are willing to fight for the sustainability of their way of life because their roots or connections to the local area are far deeper than those of their urban counterparts. If correct, this suggests that agriculture as a sector of the economy and farming as a lifestyle-based business are changing in ways that are detrimental to local communities.

The dominant livestock marketing facility for this area, Bluegrass Stockyards, generates well over 200 million in annual revenue. From

an economic perspective, this can create a market system for the entire community. Bluegrass Stockyards projects that it will hire between 36 and fifty people directly at its new facility (Schell, 2007). This makes jobs for the area that may or may not be directly involved in agriculture. More jobs mean more money and people in the area, which creates more business opportunities for the community. The state of Kentucky has approximately 2.3 million head of cattle. Lincoln County is home to approximately 62,000 of them while Woodford County is home to around 19,600 head. Lincoln Counties Livestock generated \$19.2 million in cash receipts in 2009. Woodford County Livestock generated \$243 million in cash receipts. Typically, the livestock raised in a community will be taken to the local sales facility, which can be a substantial amount of income as can be seen in the above cash receipts. This facility is often a local hangout for the community and serves as an informal community center. Thus, the local livestock market is a place for both economic and social interchanges that create strong social bonds. While the social bonds are being strengthened, the commodity chain is also continuing, as the cattle are being marketed.

After the livestock are marketed as calves, they typically are transported to a different area of the United States, for the next step

in the production process. This is especially the case here in Kentucky where the producers are predominately cow/calf producers.

A goal of traditional economic development initiatives is to increase economic resources within the community while for individual families or businesses, it is to maximize the return on their efforts (i.e., profit). Different sectors of the community, however, often have different views on how this should be accomplished. There is a long history of community conflict over the types of economic development that are desired and welcomed (Phillips and Pittman, 2009) (Shirouzu, 2006) (Blair 1995) One segment of the community may regard a development as a highly desired change in the local economy while others may view it with suspicion or opposition. Given this, how is it possible to determine whether an economic development project will be welcomed or opposed? What factors shape how the community defines or gives meaning to an economic development proposal?

The actual sales facility is working for their own best economic interest, which means that they are out to make as much profit as possible from the sales transactions. Producers are concerned with increased transportation cost if the facility is not local. However maximizing profit is not necessarily the reason underlying the value other members of the community may attach to that livestock facility. Family owned operations value their way of life and many believe that

it can only be sustained by having a local livestock sales facility. Moreover, the facility serves as more than part of a marketing system. The actual facility is a place for members of the community to congregate and trade news and other social facts. The facility also attracts others to the community as buyers and sellers and sometimes, just curious visitors. In this case, the facility has spillover economic effects for other businesses in the area.

The livestock facility is part of a commodity chain for the cattle industry with economic spillover for surrounding communities. As noted earlier, a commodity chain is a sequential process used by firms to gather resources, transform them into goods or commodities, and finally distribute them to consumers (Rodrique, 1998). For this study, a commodity chain is the connected path from which a good travels from the producer to the consumer. Market systems have many different commodity chains and together they comprise the larger economic system.

In the livestock industry, the commodity chain will move from the breeding of the cow to the calving and raising of the calves to a size and weight where they can be sold and processed and the value-added products sold to the consumer at the retail level and then to the consumer's table.

In this livestock commodity chain, the location of the sales facility plays a role in the movement of the cows and the calves at different points in their life cycle. To play this key role in the commodity chain, the livestock sales facility must be located close to an efficient transportation system (e.g., an interstate) for easy transport of the live animals. Both of the case study communities have access to an interstate which provides each with economic development opportunities not available to other more isolated rural communities.

For our analysis of commodity chains, I will begin the discussion by starting with the beef producers. The actual live animal producers require a high percentage of the land located around a community, given that the animals are typically grass fed, at least in the early stages of production. For this reason, the producers tend to locate themselves in a rural setting rather than in the center of an urban area. This is one of the reasons that the original Bluegrass Stockyards is trying to relocate; the facility is no longer located in a rural agriculture sector of the Lexington community. Urban Lexington has grown up around it. The neighboring businesses and residences define the facility as a LULU (locally undesirable land use) or, a less than acceptable industry for Lexington. Environmental and traffic issues that were once not a concern for the area, have now become part of a social debate to get the facility to relocate.

From the producers vantage point, they want the facility to be located as close to their area as possible, for the health of the animal, for convenience and to decrease the transportation cost of their commodity. They would also typically prefer to stay out of urban traffic while transporting their product to market. Cattle are stressed during the transportation process making them lose weight. So, the further they are transported, the more weight they lose, a financially costly situation, for once they reach the market they are sold on a per pound basis.

Research has also shown that Bluegrass Stockyards has the ability to provide producers with a price premium. (Lunsford) This premium can be between \$.02 and \$.03 per lb, which can be a substantial amount of money for the producer, when they market their animals. This increase in profits can help producers continue producing and also provides them with a better means of further stimulating their local economies. From the producers standpoint any type of price premium, is seen as a benefit if it does not have an increased cost associated with it. In the case of Bluegrass Stockyards there is no increased expense.

After the calves are sold at the local market, the animals then go to the next stage in the commodity chain, which is where the animals are fed before they are processed. Generally, this occurs on feedlots

where an industrial approach to fattening the cows maximizes weight gain. From here, the cattle are sold and shipped to a processor. When the processors are located near the feedlots, they have access to a cheaper product. However processors also have to consider the amount of labor that will be required. Urban centers typically have a more abundant labor supply, as well as other inputs that are needed for this stage of the chain. The processing of the live animals, into wholesale and retail cuts of meat requires a considerable amount of labor. It can also be an advantage for the process to be located near the retail centers that will supply the largest number of consumers, although there are some exceptions. Urban areas also tend to have a larger consumer group compared to rural community consumer groups. Being close to more people and bigger communities increases the chances of a retailer being, successful.

Community responses to agriculturally-related development efforts

To fully understand the research issue underlying this dissertation, it is necessary to think of the livestock marketing system as a commodity chain and to evaluate it from both an economic and a sociological perspective. As will be argued, economic rationality is not sufficient for understanding the breadth and intensity of responses to a local economic development proposal. This dissertation explores this

complexity using a comparative case study analysis of the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. In the case of Bluegrass Stockyards, community leaders in Lincoln County were eager for the facility to relocate to their area because it would create jobs, revenue, and strengthen the community's reliance on agriculture (Leader 1). The livestock marketing facility would allow the community to capture the value from one more link in the livestock commodity chain. Yet, although the facility would have the same effect on Woodford County, there the reception was much more hostile, due to the makeup of the community and the community history that will be discussed in the next chapter.

What other issues might influence how a community defines and evaluates an economic development proposal such as a livestock marketing facility? If we look at community responses to other types of agriculturally-related development, some key factors emerge. These factors in fact, did come to dominate conversation in both of the proposed locations.

Given the large number of animals that are involved with a livestock sales facility, it is appropriate to examine the literature related to community responses to confined animal feeding operations (CAFOs). The poultry industry has evolved so that most poultry is produced in a large scale industrial setting. "Industrial" production and

process of poultry is a hot topic in many communities where people couch their views in terms of questions about environmental and health risks associated with such facilities as well as their economic impact (Sharp, 2005; 208-228). Sharp explains how the confined production of poultry has aroused residents' concerns about human and animal health, animal welfare, as well as waste control and the smell of the facility. These differing views appear to be related to people's risk perceptions based upon the level of trust they place in the production facilities. Many residents are not comfortable depending on the facility's personnel to tell them about health issues that could affect them, nor do they trust the facility to place their safety above profits. Sharp (2005) also points out that the people or groups that stand to gain the most economically tend to express the least concern about the environmental and animal welfare issues. Although not directly addressed, it is clear that Sharp's study points to the role of symbols and how they affected the meanings different groups attach to these operations and the consequences for the local political landscape.

Donham (2007) addressing the environmental impacts of CAFOs and how they affect the surrounding communities. This study looks at the health of the community as a whole rather than particular health issues (e.g. economic health, physical health, mental health, social

health, and environmental injustice) (Donham 2007). There is little debate that the presence of a CAFO will affect some aspects of a community, but whether the net effect is positive or negative is a point of contention. The article points out some of the difficulties facing politicians when a decision concerning the location of CAFOS must be made. Additionally, there are strains that are placed on agriculture, and specifically sustainable agriculture, as the industry becomes more industrialized. After talking about the effects of the CAFOs the article makes some comparisons of the confined operations and the more traditional approach to animal production. This portrays a more accurate description of what the overall effect is. It is inaccurate to talk about how much damage is or isn't being done by a CAFO if you are not aware of how much effect the traditional approach also has on the environment.

One of the main concerns environmentalist have with CAFOs is water quality. At a 2007 conference on Environmental Health Impacts of Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations, a workgroup looked specifically at the impacts that CAFOs have on water quality, by looking at the amount of waste that they generate (Burkholder et al, 2007). There is no question that a CAFO produces more manure in a smaller area than traditional production practices, but what effect does this have on water quality?

This is an important question for it is one of the main reasons that people are against CAFOs being located near them. At this conference, field work and case studies were examined, so that a better understanding of what effect the waste had could be determined. The article, "Impacts of Waste from Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations on Water Quality", by Burkholder, et. al., which summarizes the workshop, discusses some of the dangers that the waste could cause. The article explains what is contained in different types of waste, providing a better understanding of the risk associated with the different types of CAFOs. The type of animal that is in the CAFO plays a major role in determining the quantity of waste and the potency of the different levels of pollutants. Burkholder et. al., then talk about the possible consequences for different parts of communities such as impacts on water, ecological systems, and human health.

Although not related to confined animal feeding operations, a study by Shriver (2005) focused on the environmental issues related to large industrial facilities. Shriver's case study examines a facility in the community of Picher, Oklahoma. In this community, years of commercial mining waste had polluted the area and many residents supported the government purchase of surrounding properties and the relocation of the community rather than the mining operation (Shriver,

2005; 491). This study conducted in-depth interviews of community residents, looking at how they felt about the issues and what they thought should be done to solve them. The main issue for this case study was whether or not to relocate the entire community away from the polluted land. This is similar to the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards and has many of the same issues even though the relocation is just the opposite. In this situation they are looking at relocating the facility rather than relocating the community, but the issues are similar.

Shriver's article helps identify some of the environmental concerns that may be associated with the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards. The main issues were air and water pollution and the debate that surrounded whether or not mining was the cause of certain health problems that had occurred in the area. Shriver found that long-term residents tended to be less concerned about the issue than the residents that were new to the area. Older residents were more attached to their home and property and saw no reason for anyone to try and get them to move somewhere else given that they had experienced no prior problems. Older residents used their connections to the community as a representation of why they should not be forced to move; they were already home. Other residents believed that they were at an economic disadvantage because their

property values had decreased due to the mining operation, and felt they should be compensated. Symbolic interaction theory was used to explain residents' reactions, as different residents portrayed their lives in terms of symbols relating to relocation or leaving the community in its current location. These symbols allowed the different groups to support their individual claims as they came into contact with groups that had the opposing frames. It also started the different frames that people used as the concerning issues

Communities decide on a development direction or whether or not they want to accept a particular development proposal, a combination of social and economic factors on which to base their decision on, rather than one or the other. The reaction to proposals for the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards to Woodford or Lincoln is a good example of this. Both communities had the cattle numbers to support the proposed facility, but only one of these locations accepted the proposal. The livestock facility allowed Lincoln County to develop in the direction that they wanted, allowing the community to become more stable economically, as well as make their way of life and culture more sustainable, than it would have been without the stockyards. The other community, Woodford County, chose to pursue a different development path, which did not include the stockyards. Woodford County is still part of the livestock commodity chain because of the

number of beef producers in the area, but the development direction of the community is geared more toward tourism and horses rather than cattle. The capital associated with promoting the horse is specific to the area.

When each of these communities was deciding on whether or not to allow the facility in their area, they were required to consider all of the cost and benefits at once. In order to make a decision all of the economic and sociological views had to be considered together. Therefore, this study will consider the development and relocation process from economic and sociological perspectives.

An Integrative Perspective on the Livestock Marketing System

The livestock marketing system or stockyard as the name implies, is a market and being part of a market system, it is impossible to accurately talk about the system without addressing the economic perspective. The local livestock sales facility serves as a market to bring producers and sellers to the same location. The producers want to have a market that will allow them to make a profit on what they have produced, because if they are not able to make a profit, in the long run they will not be able to stay in production. If the market is not profitable in the long run, beef production will cease to exist in the area and will only continue in an area where the producer can make a profit from production. If beef production is removed from an area,

the entire community will be affected. Beef producers are not only a part of the livestock marketing system, they are also residents and businesses that are part of the economic make up of the community. For example, the local department store may not be directly related to beef production, but the beef producer that shops in the store will no longer be able to if they don't make a profit from their livestock that allows them to purchase new items.

The cattle buyers that make up the other half of the market also want to have a market that will allow them to make a profit. The buyers are only the middle men in the beef commodity chain. They typically buy the live animals and send them to a feedlot where they are fed and finished. Besides the live animal price, transportation cost plays a major role in determining their profitability. A successful market from their perspective must have an appropriate means of transportation, which can be translated to having easy access to an interstate system. For the producers this is not as big of an issue, because the producer typically hauls the animals to market in a much smaller trailer than what the buyers ship the animals out in. For the producer, the market being close to the farm is more important than being located near the interstate.

Profitability runs the market, so the market must try to satisfy both the producers and the buyers, if they want to gain control over the

market. Looking at the large number of acquisitions and mergers, of Bluegrass stockyards as well as the entire relocating process it is obvious that they want to gain as much control of the cattle market as they can without becoming a monopoly. Some producers already believe that Bluegrass has an unfair advantage over the market.

All three of the groups (i.e., cattle producers, sales facility operator, buyers) directly involved in the livestock marketing system place a great deal of importance on the location of the sales facility. When considering the location of the facility the issue of land use and community development must also be addressed. The land use issue is a broader one that includes people involved directly and indirectly with the industry. Profitability is a main concern for all the parties directly involved, but they may also be sensitive to the concerns of the indirectly involved groups.

All of the people who live in the community and surrounding areas may well see themselves as either directly or indirectly affected by this land use decision. Neighbors of the facility want to know how the facility will change their property values. If it is an increase in price, then the residents are typically in favor of the change, at least from an economic perspective. Landowners typically want to maximize the value of their assets and the land they occupy is often a very large

portion of their assets. Landowners do not want enterprises to come to their area that they think will hurt their profitability.

In Lincoln County, the community thought that the facility would increase land prices, while this was not the case in Woodford County. The difference came from the perspective of the community and the long term direction of growth that each of them wanted to pursue. In essence the two communities are both developing, but have different definitions of what development is. In Lincoln County, they hoped that the sales facility would provide an incentive to other agriculture enterprises to locate in the area, which would increase the amount of development and growth in the area and increase the demand for local land. Currently there are other businesses locating near the sales facility, and they have been welcomed by the community. In Woodford County, the sales facility did not support the direction that some members of the community wanted, which was also the case for the accompanying businesses. This was the result of different situations leading to different reactions.

Demand for both land and other resources also plays a role in the economic system associated with the livestock marketing system. When a facility moves into the area, land is not the only resource that is affected. If land in one area of a community has a change in price there will also be a change in the price of land in other areas, which is

due to the change in overall demand for land. For example, if the land used by the facility was previously used for crop production, crop production will have to move to another location. The new location may not be as suitable for crop production, or if it is as suitable, there is now more competition for the remaining land, so the rent for the land will increase, which can be seen as development. Other resources that will affect the economic system include the other necessary inputs (e.g., labor, roadways, electricity, and water). The sales facility will require all of these resources; however resources like labor are fixed in the short term, which could cause labor wages to increase.

The community also has a highway system that may require an upgrade in order to adequately handle the increase in traffic to the area. The improvement in highways and the environmental improvements that the new facility has over the older facilities are not completely economic based. This is also the case with some of the other amenities that came to Lincoln County with the facility. The developers argued that the facility would be an environmentally safe facility. Also along with the development of the facility, the community received several acres of recreational area, which would be open to the community regardless of their involvement in agriculture.

Bringing the stockyards to either of the areas would have met the textbook definitions of economic development. However, it only met the definition of development from the perspective of local residents in one of the communities. In Lincoln County the facility fit the direction that they wanted the community to develop. In Woodford County, the facility could have been called rural development, however, it did not fit in with the direction that a portion of the community thought was the right path for their community, so they decided not to pursue the stockyard proposal. According to some in Woodford County, their long term development goals did not include the stockyards, while Lincoln County plans to use the stockyards locating in their area to increase future development opportunities. Places like Lincoln County that are agriculturally based want to keep beef production as an important part of the community, so the facility would be considered a good rural development.

On the other hand, for communities similar to Woodford County that have other avenues of development, such as becoming a more prominent college town or an agriculture community that prefers the horse over the cow, the stockyards would not pass for rural development, even though it would likely benefit the community economically. Woodford County believed that it had opportunity costs that were relatively high compared to Lincoln County. The facility

could be considered economic development, even though it is not the type of development that a community desires as the backbone of their development plans. The livestock facility also would be considered economic development if residents believe that the facility is an overall asset, rather than a cost to their community. Only when the people feel that the industry is beneficial will it be considered acceptable. Otherwise, people will resist the introduction of the facility. If the facility is accepted, the argument goes, then other similar industries will likely follow, aiding in the development process.

Another point that must be considered by each of the communities is the direct and indirect economic effects that the general population would receive. The money that enters the local economy would not disappear after it was originally spent. It would have direct and indirect effects. The facility would increase employment by approximately fifty people, so the salaries would be direct effects for the community. Those residents would then spend their earnings, and then the process would be repeated. This is known as the multiplier effect. It has been estimated that for agriculture production industries the output multiplier would be 1.55, while the employment multiplier would be 1.18 and the income multiplier would be 1.52. For cattle ranching these multipliers can be over 3. (Davis, 2007) This is saying that the money will be used more than once in the community

increasing the overall affect that it has on the economy. For Lincoln County these multipliers add an even greater benefit to the county. Woodford County will not be receiving these multiplier effects.

Summary

This dissertation explores the issues of how communities define and respond to development proposals using a comparative case study analysis of the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. In the case of Bluegrass Stockyards, community leaders in Lincoln County were eager for the facility to relocate to their area because it would create jobs, revenue, and strengthen the community's reliance on agriculture (Leader 1). The livestock marketing facility would allow the community to capture the value from one more link in the livestock commodity chain. On the other hand, community leaders in Woodford County choose to not be a more integrated part of the beef cattle livestock commodity chain. However the large amount of livestock in the area prevents them from removing themselves from the system entirely.

The next chapter will explore in greater detail the characteristics of each of the case study communities in order to understand the context within which this development proposal, the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards, can be assessed.

Chapter 3. The Communities

In many of the communities across Kentucky, cattle production and sales are a key component of the local economy. Therefore, the local economies are altered when the marketing system is relocated. When the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards began, Bluegrass Stockyards purchased several other facilities in the surrounding counties and closed them down. This further increased the market concentration and has given Bluegrass more market control and influence. The concentration of the Kentucky cattle market has dramatically changed the rural communities that no longer have a marketing facility. Many question the viability of these communities given the decrease in economic revenues as well as the attractiveness of other types of developments. So, it is important to look at how rural agriculturally dependent communities are being affected. While the horse industry also consolidates, these facilities are being promoted as tourist attractions, and business is continuing to grow. But, this isn't the case for the cattle industry. Before describing the two communities where the new facilities were proposed, it is important to also understand the towns that lost a marketing facility. Throughout the comparison of the different communities, we will be using 2009 data from City-Data.com.

Garrard County is a rural community that has been drastically affected by the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. The total

population for the city is just over 4000, with the county being home to just over 17,000. This gives the county a population density of 74 people per square mile. The cost of living index is 17.3% below the U.S. average, with the majority of the workforce (74%) being in private wage or salary occupations. The median age for the population is around 37 years which is above the state average. The median household income is approximately \$29,500, which is below the state average (\$40,000). The county median income is in line with the state average. It has also been reported that 14.7% of the population in this county have income levels that place them below the poverty level. These income levels can be linked to educational attainment, only 10% of the population that is over the age of 25 has a bachelor's degree or higher. The mean travel time for people commuting to work is just over 31 minutes. The average farm size for this county is 137 acres, with the average value of agricultural products being sold per farm around \$24,000. The average total farm production expenses per farm however is around \$21,000.

Until recently Garrard County had a market that was the hub of the community. Many question the viability of communities like the one in Garrard County, given the decrease in economic revenues that occurred with the loss of their livestock facility. The livestock facility was the center of the town, and served as much more than a

traditional marketing facility. It was a place of social gathering among members of the community. Many farmers of the community as well as the surrounding community used the facility as a place that would supply them with the latest news about the issues of concern to them. It was the social gathering place, where many other business decisions have been made. It was not uncommon to see a group of farmers who were obviously friends discussing business deals as well as other matters that had no link to the cattle industry. If there was something going on in the community that you wanted to know about you could find out about it any Friday that you wanted, just by showing up in Garrard County on sale day.

Now, with the stockyards closed, the community has begun to decline. When the facility was functioning Main Street was often completely at a standstill due to a traffic jam created by people going to and from the facility. Today you can be from one end of town to the other in less than five minutes, regardless of the day or time. Without the facility, the community has seen its restaurants and other business undergo major declines in revenue, while some have been forced to close their doors. The facility was the landmark of the community, and had become famous to many because of its frequent use in country music videos.

The Garrard County community is very similar to Texas communities that have also had to adapt to market changes. In Texas, the cow is the horse of Kentucky. The city of Fort Worth has historically been known as a "Cowtown" (NFWHS 2008). Fort Worth's tourism is based on the city's stockyards whose history dates back to the 1800's. However time has also affected this facility, which is no longer in operation, due to marketing changes. Fort Worth is now the home of the nation's leading video livestock auctioning agency, Superior Livestock (Saunders). Even with the marketing changes, the town is still centered on the cow and the Fort Worth Stockyards. The town has tried to maintain this image and has created a museum that highlights and displays the history of the stockyards. This is a similar situation to the Kentucky Horse Park, which also highlights the history of the horse with a museum and several other tourist attractions. Both are seen as a state symbol and are often viewed as being prestigious in the surrounding area. In Fort Worth, the Livestock Exchange Building which was once part of the stockyard facilities became known as "The Wall Street of the West" which signifies the importance that the cattle industry had on the community.

In Kentucky, the Garrard County community has witnessed the demolition of their landmark and is looking to for some alternative economic activity that would allow them to transform from a dwindling

community to one that can prosper into the future. What many in the community fear is that without their stockyards, the community will become like the old stockyard location -- an idle vacant lot.

Boyle County

The total population for the city in Boyle County, is just over 15,000, with the county being home to just over 29,000. This gives the county a population density of 161 people per square mile. The cost of living index is 16.5% below the U.S. average, with the majority of the workforce (77%) being in private wage or salary occupations. The median age for the population is around 37 years which is above the state average. The median household income is close to \$42,000, for the county and community, which is just over the state average (\$40,000). It has also been reported that 11.9% of the population in this county have income levels that place them below the poverty level. Boyle County on average is more educated than Garrard County with 19.3% of the population over the age of 25 having a bachelor's degree or higher. The mean travel time for people commuting to work is just over 18 minutes, which is also considerably less than that of Garrard County. The average farm size for this county is 138 acres, with the average value of agricultural products being sold per farm around \$31,500. The average total farm production expenses per farm however is around \$29,000. The Boyle County facility was

another one of the sale facilities that was recently purchased by the Bluegrass Stockyards group.

But Boyle County can also be considered a college town, since it is home to a liberal arts college, so it is hard to determine what affect the loss of the stockyard will have on that community, since they are not as dependant on agriculture. The closing of the facility is not expected to have as much of an effect as occurred in Garrard County. The facility was an important part of the community but it was not the heart of community life. If you go downtown you would not necessarily encounter any signs of the facility as it was located more on the outskirts of the town. There are also other industries in Boyle County, which will help offset the closing of the stockyards. It is also important to note that the owner and operator of the existing Boyle County facility transferred to the new Lincoln County facility as part of his incentive package for selling the facility to Bluegrass Stockyards. Now we will examine the two study communities.

Lincoln County

The county seat of Lincoln County, Stanford, is one of the oldest settlements in the state. According to Census data, the population for the community is 3,386, while the county population is just over 25,000. Also according to the Census, the city has a total area of 3.1 square miles. The population density of the town is 1,114.5 per square

mile and 75 people per square mile for the county. The racial makeup of the city was 89.97% white, 8.10% African American, 0.09% Native American, 0.09% Asian, and 3.12% from other races. The median income for a household in the city was \$25,087 and the median family income was \$32,550. The cost of living index for the county was also below the state average by 17.9%. Private wage or salary workers made up 78% of the workforce. The median age of the population was very close to the state average. The median household income was approximately \$9,000 below the state average (\$40,000). The median house or condo value was around \$91,000 with the lower and upper quartile values being approximately \$52,000-\$128,000. Approximately 21% of the population has income levels below the poverty level, which is above the state average by around 5%. Unemployment in the area is also above the state average. Only 8% of the population over 25 years of age has a bachelor's degree or higher. The mean travel time for employees to get to work is 27 minutes.

When looking at the agricultural makeup of the county the average farm size is 134 acres. The average value of the agriculture products sold per farm is around \$27,500 with the average total farm production expenses per farm being almost \$24,000. The average

number of cattle and calves per 100 acres of land in farms is just over 31 head.

Woodford County

Woodford County located in the “Bluegrass” region of Kentucky which is known for its fine farms which produce tobacco, corn, cattle and horses. Midway, the site of the proposed facility, is home to several major thoroughbred race horse breeding operations, and is part of the Lexington-Fayette Metropolitan Statistical area. According to Census data, the population was 1,627 for the town and 25,000 for the county. Also according to the Census the city has a total area of 1.1 square miles. The population density of Midway is 1,484.3 per square mile and 131 people per square mile for the entire county. The racial makeup of the city is 89.81% white, 7.72% African American, 0.31% Asian, 0.06% Pacific Islander, and 3.52% from other races. The majority of the workforce (75%) is employed in either a private wage or salaried position. The median resident age is above the state average by a little over a year. The median income level for the county was almost \$59,000, well above the state average (\$40,000). The estimated median house or condo value was \$178,000 with the lower and upper quartile being \$110,000 and \$229,000. Approximately 7% of the population is considered to be below the poverty level, which is considerably lower than the state average.

21.0% of the population was under the age of 18, 14.1% from 18 to 24, 29.9% from 25 to 44, 21.6% from 45 to 64, and 13.3% who were 65 years of age or older. The median age was 35 years (U.S. Census data). For the community, 33.4% of the population held a bachelor's degree or higher and in the county that level was 26%. The mean travel time for going to work was around 21 minutes.

From an agricultural standpoint, the average farm size is 174 acres. The average value of agricultural products sold per farm is \$243,000, while the average total farm production expenses per farm is \$147,000. The average number of cattle and calves per 100 acres of all land in farms is close to 19 head. Similar to Boyle County, Woodford County is also the home of a college, which is one of the tourist attractions that they have to offer.

Fayette County

It is also important to look at some of the statistics for the current location of Bluegrass Stockyards. The county population is around 297,000. The population density is 1042 people per square mile. The cost of living index is 14% below the U.S. average. The majority of the workers (78%) are employed by either private wage or salaried positions. The median resident age (33 years) is a considerable amount below the state median age. The estimated median household income is around \$46,000. The estimated median house or condo

value was around 163,000 with the lower and upper quartile values being 121,000 and 253,000. An estimated 17.6% of the population lives in poverty. Approximately 36% of the population that is over the age of 25 has at least a bachelor's degree. The mean travel time for employees is around 19 minutes.

Agriculturally speaking the average farm size is 161 acres. The average value of agricultural products sold per farm is \$242,000, with the average total farm production expenses per farm being \$209,000. The average number of cattle and calves per 100 acres of all land in farms is less than 13 head. This county is also the home of numerous colleges and universities, one of which is a land grant institution.

Clearly, Bluegrass Stockyards is relocating from a community that is significantly larger, wealthier, and more economically diverse than the other communities just described. For the community left behind, the loss of Bluegrass Stockyards is likely to be a minor bump on its economic vitality.

Table 2. Characteristics of the Counties

County Characteristics, 2009										
					% of Pop. With					
	Pop	A	Inc	% in	Bach.	Tra	Far	Far	Farm	Unem
		g	om	Pove	Deg. or	vel	m	m	Expe	ploy.
		e	e	rty	higher	Tim	Siz	Prod	nse	Rate
						e	e			
Garrard	17,000	37	29,500	14.7	10	31	137	24,000	21,000	11.40%
Boyle	29,000	37	42,000	11.9	19	18	138	31,500	29,000	11.80%
Woodford	25,000	35	59,000	21	26	21	174	243,000	147,000	7.90%
Lincoln	25,000	36	31,000	7	8	27	134	27,500	24,000	14.80%
Fayette	297,000	33	46,000	17.6	36	19	161	247,000	209,000	8%

Woodford and Lincoln County Similarities

Both of the rural communities in this study, Woodford and Lincoln, are struggling to grow their local economies. However, the two communities have decided to develop in different ways. When I first started looking at these two communities both were considering being home to the new Bluegrass Stockyards, a multi-million dollar business. A business such as this has both direct and indirect effects. Both communities addressed these issues but framed them differently. This is partially due to some of the previous decisions that have been made by the counties.

Woodford County has its own planning and zoning commission, which handles all of the development proposals for the county. Lincoln County has no planning and zoning. Woodford County also actively seeks to develop its tourism, especially visitation based on the horse. Others often view the residents of Woodford County as the elite, whereas others would tend to view the residents of Lincoln County as working class. Woodford County has also developed a reputation of being ready and willing to argue and dispute any land use change that would affect the county. Woodford County would be classified as much more modern and sophisticated in comparison to Lincoln County. Decisions in Woodford County are much more political than in Lincoln County.

The issues that had to be addressed in considering the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards included topics such as: environmental impacts of the facility and how that would affect the local residents as well as the community as a whole. In addition, there were concerns about increased traffic to the area, since beef producers would be required to transport their animals to the facility. One of the key characteristics of these two communities was their proximity to the interstate system. Economic stimulation for the community was also taken into consideration, along with other development alternatives. All of these issues along with other concerns were presented to the community in newspaper articles and public hearings as well as at meetings of the local planning commissions before a final decision was made.

Initially, the Bluegrass Stockyards planned to relocate within the county of its current location. The site selected for its new location was near the Kentucky Horse Park, the host of the 2010 Equestrian Games. Until this event was scheduled for the area, a location for the new facility close to the old one had not been a major issue. But many no longer wanted the Bluegrass Stockyards near the park, due to fear of environmental impacts, such as odor and waste management, as well as concerns that the appearance of the facility would negatively affect tourist perceptions of the Horse Park. Given that this location was no

longer feasible, the two case study communities became the main points of interest.

Lincoln County

Eventually, Lincoln County became the new home for the Bluegrass Stockyards and faced little opposition as the surrounding area was predominately agriculture. The new facility consists of a state of the art structure that covers approximately five and a half acres (Leader 2). The new facility is exactly the same as what was proposed for Woodford County. The Lincoln County site was welcomed by the majority of people in the community as well as the businesses. The facility was constructed on what was previously farmland, located outside the city limits. The surrounding area still remains rural and unindustrialized. As will be seen later, the networks of the Lincoln County community and the surrounding county led to its selection as the new home for the Bluegrass Stockyards.

Woodford County

The possibility of locating the stockyard in this community led to numerous meetings on whether or not the facility should be located in an industrial park that already existed in the area. The question led to the mobilization of several groups both for and against the facility. The groups that supported the facility believed that this was a viable

option to help keep agriculture and beef production in the area, providing benefits to the local farmers. They also supported the location due to increased economic revenues for the area (VMWPZC). The facility was also supported as a way to help the industrial park become a more productive venture, as it had not grown as expected.

Opponents to the location were concerned about the increased traffic to the area as well as environmental factors. These environmental factors included animal waste, water contamination, noise, and trailers. The facility would have animals on site seven days a week and they would create large amounts of waste that would have to be dealt with directly by the facility. According to opponents, the trailers bringing the animals to market also ran the risk of dropping waste along the way to the facility. Others were concerned that the area's water supply would be affected by the water runoff of the facility.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the study communities which each had the opportunity to become the home of a major business with significant potential for increasing economic activity in the host community. But groups within each community defined this project in very different ways, leading one to oppose and one to welcome the

Bluegrass Stockyards. The next chapter provides a conceptual context for interpreting these different responses.

Chapter 4. A Conceptual Perspective

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general framework for understanding this particular development proposal as well as a more specific context for understanding how a community (and segments of it) comes to give meaning to a proposed development initiative; factors that influence the selection of a response to development efforts, and how the community evaluates the outcomes. The discussion will begin by considering how sociologists would approach this development proposal

Development from a sociological perspective

Durkheim on Development

Before an in depth discussion about a specific theory it is important to take a look at how some of the main sociological theorists would have addressed this development issue. Durkheim believed that culture was the explanatory factor of society, and so would have looked at the concept of collective consciousness, and then the different subcultures involved. There are two main subcultures involved in this issue and these are the "cattle culture" and the "horse culture." Both of these subcultures are part of Lexington's heritage, but they have different views as what the future should be. The horse subculture believes that horses are and should continue to be the

focus of economic development, and that cattle are only a supporting component of the economy. The horse subculture has dominated the Lexington area for over a century and so the horse subculture has more collective power.

Taking a closer look at the importance of the horse to Lexington, Durkheim would likely refer to the horse as a major part of the collective conscious. Durkheim refers to the collective conscious as "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of society, forms a determinate system with a life of its own." (DOL 39) The economic and political life of Lexington has been strongly influenced by those involved in the horse culture, and people who have little to do with the horse industry, have supported these interests. An example of this is the concerted community effort to bring the World Equestrian Games to Lexington. Horses and the horse industry have linked generations of Lexington society together. The horse has become an important symbol for the city as well as the state.

Durkheim refers to totems as usually an animal or other naturalistic figure that spiritually represents a group of related people such as a clan. In this case, the clan would be the population of Lexington and the sacred animal would be the horse. From Durkheim's perspective, this sacred symbol has the ability to take on a life of its own just as

the horse has done in the state of Kentucky. Whether you are driving across the countryside or are in the center of one of the larger cities, you will see the representation of the horse.

In Lexington, the Kentucky Horse Park is one of, if not the biggest, tourist attraction. The Horse Park highlights the existence of the major horse breeds by allowing people who are typically not associated with horses in their everyday life to come enjoy hands on experiences with the different breeds. To ensure that the experience is remembered there are also gifts and other attractions that highlight the spectacular presence of the horse, and these help promote its significance to the area. The park also allows visitors to view the vast "green space" that surrounds the park as yet another way that the horse is part of Kentucky and is helping ensure Kentucky's heritage.

Kentucky's heritage has also been formed by the races that the state hosts. The Kentucky Derby is known around the world as a one of the most prestigious horse races. People come to celebrate the once a year occasion, similar to other religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter. However what was once just a horse race, has now turned into a symbol of Kentucky and has taken on a life of its own. The actual race is run in Louisville, which is approximately an hour drive from Lexington. But on the weekend of the race, if you were not familiar with the geography of Kentucky, you would likely

think that the race was going to occur in Lexington. There will be numerous advertisements and social gatherings, all in celebration of the event.

Keeneland, the pre-eminent racing and sales facility in Lexington, is surrounded by acres of Kentucky bluegrass and the facility is carefully maintained, in order to provide visitors with an experience that will push them to believe that Kentucky will always be a natural home for the horse. The sales and racing at Keeneland are seen as highly prestigious events. While the races attract thousands every year, it is the horse sales that define the economic future of Keeneland and to some extent, the city of Lexington. The sales are open to the general public, and many come to view the actions of the upper class.

Although some might argue that Keeneland is simply a livestock sales facility for horses, just like a livestock sales facility for cattle, no one would confuse the two. In the past, both horses and cattle were sold at the same market for agricultural purposes. But today, while you might find horses at cattle livestock facilities, you would not find cattle at Keeneland. Today, it is not cattle but horses that are the iconic symbol of Kentucky's heritage and its agriculture.

Marx on Development

A Marxian perspective on development would view debate over the relocation of the stockyards as a struggle for economic resources and influence. Given the scale of operations of the current Bluegrass Stockyards and the market control that it has within the industry, the proposed relocation would be an economic initiative designed to increase the profits of the owners of the facility. Moreover, Bluegrass Stockyards would be viewed as an excellent example of the capitalist system at work, for it is using its resources to purchase or drive other facilities out of business, establishing its dominance of livestock sales in Kentucky.

A Marxian perspective on the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards would consider several factors including: the ability of the existing facility to implement new innovations; the amount of labor that a given location had to offer; and how relocation would influence the continued accumulation of market power by Bluegrass Stockyards. What would not be important would be how neighboring businesses or residences viewed the aesthetics of the facility.

But a Marxian perspective would also consider how the interests of different classes would be enhanced or diminished by the relocation process. Each of the groups involved are going to be concerned with those issues of greatest importance to them, and dismiss those issues they do not deem as core to their self-interests. For example, the

Bluegrass Stockyards owners will be concerned with the profits that they can generate from relocating the facility. Their main concern will be with constructing the facility in the most efficient manner and in the location that they believe will make them the most money. According to Marx they would need to implement his M-C-M (money-capital-money) approach which looks at how money can be converted into capital and then capital can be converted back into money and the process will then start over. From a Marxian perspective, the process will continue this circular approach as long as the ending amount of money is greater than the initial amount.

This model can be broken down further to show the amount of profit or the amount of money that is being generated in the conversion process. The model can be written as $M-C-M+\Delta M$. The surplus value or ΔM is what the capitalist system is pushing to gain. The more surplus value that can be gained by the business, in this case Bluegrass Stockyards, the more the laborers in the system can be exploited. This includes the people who are directly hired by the management of the facility as well as the people who bring their cattle to market at the facility. The producers, who sell animals at the facility, are not employed by the stockyards directly. But when selling their animals at the yard they are required to give the facility a portion of the selling price of the animals sold. The larger the percentage

allocated to the Bluegrass Stockyards, the less money the producer retains, which keeps them from reinvesting in other forms of capital.

Neither of the potential locations is as concerned with how much profit the Bluegrass owners will generate. They will be more concerned with the economic value the Bluegrass Stockyards will bring to their area. Each will be concerned with the M-C-M concept but for the community as a whole rather than from an individual perspective.

In Lincoln County, part of this will include the profit that the owners of the stockyards receive, but it will not be a top priority. The top priority for this location is the economic resources that will be generated by the new development. There will be increased activity in the area, which will make the area more attractive to other businesses and industries, allowing the county to grow and be more economically viable. As the area becomes economically stable, there will be more labor opportunities. With more job opportunities, more people will migrate to the area. As the area grows the division of labor will also grow, and people will ultimately become more specialized in their particular fields. As people become more specialized, Marx believed that people would become more dependent on the capitalist system, and further away from a survival based approach that allowed them to be mainly concerned with food, clothing and shelter. As the division of labor increases, the community as a whole becomes more segregated,

making it more difficult to gain support on an issue from the entire community.

Woodford County would also receive economic growth from the relocation process but economic growth is not their main concern. They are more concerned with maintaining their community identity, and they are willing to fight to protect it from change. The community is the home of numerous horse farms and is surrounded by acres and acres of pasture that are implemented as tourist attractions because of the beauty of the natural green space. This community receives value from this atmosphere; however it is not always in the form of monetary dollars. The community sees itself as a different type of community because of the horse farms and the local tourist attractions. It is less concerned with the economic incentives that can be generated from bringing in different types of industries to the area.

A Marxist perspective would see Woodford County as going against the capitalist system approach because, the capitalist approach would have the community trying to accumulate as much economic value as possible rather than being selective about what kind of industries produce this income. In this context, Woodford County, which is seen as the more financially stable community, is not as concerned about labor or employment opportunities but is more concerned about the aesthetic effects that the facility would bring to the area. Economically

speaking they are in a better position to wait for an alternative development opportunity, while Lincoln is desperate to take whatever they can get to come their way.

There are also some environmental concerns with relocating the facility, which include odor pollution, water contamination, and waste removal. There are odors that come along with the facility, which are created by the large number of animals that are kept on the site. In an agricultural setting, this is typically not a problem because there are few people and the few that are around are typically farmers as well, and they are not usually bothered by the odors. They also have animals that help create the odors.

The Lincoln County community is in an agricultural area of the county, however Woodford County, has more residences located closer to the facility. Water contamination and waste removal are both concerns about having a large number of live animals in a small area. For residents of Woodford County, the question became whether or not Bluegrass owners and managers could develop a plan that would remove the waste in a safe manner that would prevent the water from becoming contaminated, as well as a way to dispose of the large quantities of waste. Lincoln County was more trusting of Bluegrass Stockyards and welcomed the facility because the increased job opportunities were needed for the community.

Weber on Development

A Weberian perspective applies rationalization theories to the relocation process. From this perspective, the owners of Bluegrass Stockyards should try to relocate the facility if this would allow them to increase their profits. Simply put, this is a rational choice and this type of rational choice is a good fit for the capitalist system and the community. Looking further into the concept of rationality, the response to the relocation decision by the involved communities can be examined from the concepts of class, status, and power.

Weber refers to social class as a division of society that is based on economically determined relationships in the market. These relationships can be broken down further into groups that include property owners, property renters, and employees, just to name a few. It is Weber's belief that status is based on non-economic characteristics, such as prestige and honor. When Weber refers to party he is referring to a political affiliation, which will ultimately have the ability to influence the actions of the individual. Power or politics depending on the translation, links the individual to others of similar interest, at least on a particular issue and by being associated with the group, the individual is entitled to a set of benefits that are not offered to the general public.

The Bluegrass Stockyard owners and cattle producers can both be considered members of the upper class from this perspective since both are owners of their independent operations. By operating their own enterprises, they have more ability to influence what goes on in their community compared to the workers, who have only their labor to sell in order to earn enough to survive. The workers who can be hired by both the cattle producers and the stockyard facilities can have very strong opinions about the issue, but it is much harder for them to be heard because they do not have the ability to influence others within the community. It is the business owners, both agricultural and nonagricultural, and other elites, who have the financial means to join in the debate. Weber would distinguish between the two groups because the upper class, which is more financially secure, has more leisure time, so they are not forced to work during the planning and zoning meetings that are typically when the relocation debate takes place. They also have more developed social and communication skills.

Both of the communities that have been involved in the relocation process are made up of land owners, renters, and laborers but there are some differences between the two. The Lincoln County community can be considered as a community that is predominately middle class, compared to the Woodford County community, which is typically made

up of people who have more financial stability. Residents of Lincoln County are still trying to grow their wealth so they are trying to use their power and class status to bring industry to their area. Residents of Woodford County are not looking to bring industry and jobs to the area because they have other considerations besides wealth. Residents of Woodford County seem to take pride in the community that they have developed and that community is portrayed as horse farms, natural green space, and other tourist attractions.

Both of these communities also have political forces that are trying to use their power for their self interest. For example, at the public hearing in Woodford County, residential neighbors of the proposed site joined together to present their opposition to the sales facility coming to their area. In Lincoln County, the political base is much more focused on production agriculture and they used their power in support of the facility locating in their area. Since these different groups have joined forces they increased their power status and could play a larger role in the relocation debate compared to each individual trying to persuade the Planning and Zoning Commission.

A Comparison of Sociological Perspectives on Development

Durkheim, Marx, and Weber are regarded as the founders of modern sociology, so it is appropriate that these three perspectives

are used to provide a sociological view on the social issues surrounding the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards. From all three perspectives, Lexington could be a viable area for the new location of the facility. Lexington has traditionally been the home of the facility, and the operation has been extremely successful in the area. Each of these theories could compare Fort Worth and Lexington as a starting point for their analysis.

Durkheim would look at the traditions that had helped the current society to form, which would allow the implementation of his collective conscious theory. Marx would look at how each of the cities had been successful in the capitalist system and then explore ways they could remain profitable. This would include looking at new locations as well as renovating the current location, regardless of the opposition that is located in the surrounding area. Weber would examine the two cities by looking at the people who called the cities home. He would look at how the different classes of citizens felt about the facility being located near them and then consider the amount of power that the different groups could control or influence. He would see this influence as the deciding factor of who would get the facility located where they wanted it.

If the above theorist decided that a new location for the facility was needed, I think they would be in favor of both Woodford and Lincoln

Counties. Central Kentucky may be known for its horse industry but the cattle industry is also important, so it is a reasonable assumption that the facility would remain in the region. An important characteristic that the new facility must have is easy access to the interstates of the area. Both of the proposed locations are located near at least one interstate. This makes the transportation process more convenient for both the producers and the buyers, which all theorists would see as important for the industry to be successful. Each of the theorists would use different concepts in order to examine the social aspects of the relocation process, but regardless of the process each of them would be interested in the outcome of the issue.

After taking this general look at how these theorists would have addressed the issue in their respective time we can now focus on the specific theories that will be applied to understanding the decision making process.

Perspectives on Urban Growth

Harvey Molotch developed growth machine theory as a response to the traditional urban theory approach. Growth machine theory explains how land is more than empty parcels waiting for human action but instead is associated with specific interests. Molotch argues that the real estate interests of those whose properties gain value from growth

are particularly important in shaping the pace and nature of growth in a city. He termed these actors as “the local growth machine.” He believed that to truly understand the dynamics of change in cities, it was critical to compare them in terms of the organization, lobbying, manipulating, and structuring carried out by these actors because these social actions determine the outcome.

The local livestock marketing system plays a major role in a community’s economic growth. Looking again at the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards, Lincoln County, sought to use the new facility as a springboard for economic growth. One of the main, if not the main, factors involved in the relocation of this facility was the actual land that the facility would be placed on. Different theorists have different opinions on the commodification of land but, I agree with Molotoch when he says that “the fundamental attributes of all commodities, but particularly of land and buildings, are the social contexts through which they are used and exchanged” (Logan and Molotoch, 1987, p.1).

This supports the notion that each input has both a use and exchange value. According to Marx, use value is the amount of benefit or utility that a consumer gets from a commodity. This does not necessarily represent the market price of the commodity. The exchange value of a commodity is the amount of other commodities that a good can be traded for on the market, which also is not

necessarily the market price of the commodity. In later research (Capital) Marx started assuming that exchange value was equal to value and value was proportional to price, where value is the amount that a commodity is worth.

In this context, it is up to the community leaders to decide which value is the most important and how the two values should be blended together to allow the community to develop along the path that they define as most beneficial. The development path for Woodford County was very different than that for Lincoln County. One reason for this is that "social factors shape prices of places and humans' response to those prices; we can understand the physical and social shape of cities" (Logan and Molotch, 1987, p. 9). In Lincoln County, the social factors that surrounded the facility locating to their area increased land prices and the facility was welcomed by members of the community. In Woodford County, the social factors that were most important to the community members led them to believe that the facility would hurt their land prices and the community fought to keep the facility out. Molotoch believes that any member of the community has the ability to influence, and help dictate the social factors that affect the land use of a given community.

Molotoch sees any city as a growth machine, and argues that place should not be viewed as being the same as other commodities. He

sees place as an indispensable commodity that is not disposed of after it is used. This allows a location to establish a special collective interest among the individuals that occupy the space. Typically people who have "bought" into a particular neighborhood have a stake in the neighborhood's future. They have an interest in their own location as well as the locations that surround them.

The growth machine concept can be applied to both of the communities. Both want to grow and develop, however, the way in which they intend to grow and develop is very different. The Woodford County community has grown around the local college and the surrounding horse farms, which has created an image for the community that they are proud of and want to preserve. Lincoln County is not as developed and the new facility would provide them with an enterprise that would allow them to further shape their community image. Lincoln County has always been supported by agriculture and specifically cattle production.

It is important to remember, as Molotch points out, that location cannot be disposed of and is not a typical commodity. It is his belief, as well as my own, that it is impossible to separate between the material and psychological uses of a location. It is the rewards from the material and psychological uses that allows members of a given location to create the community feeling that members want to

preserve. This allows residents to feel like they belong to the community, making them much less mobile than other commodities. People have ties to family and friends of a given location and many are not willing to break those ties, making it even more important that the community growth machine functions in a way that they deem suitable. This also enables politics within the communities to occur (Ferman, 1996).

Urban regime theory gained popularity from Clarence Stone's study of Atlanta, along with earlier work done by Fainstein and Fainstein, as well as Elkin (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). It has primarily been used to examine urban politics. This theory has greatly impacted the reorienting of the power debate in North America and in facilitating the analysis of politics beyond the formal institutions of the government outside North America. According to G. William Domhoff, regime theory (with its roots in political science) is similar to growth theory (with its roots in sociology) in that it too is an extension of what came before it. Regime theory starts with the government and then looks at how elected officials find coalitions in the private sector while growth theory starts in the private sector and then moves toward coalitions in the government sector (Domhoff, 2005).

A key focus of urban regime theory is how communities grow and it focuses more specifically on how politics and government agencies

affect the growth of a community. In both of the proposals there were political and governing groups that were in favor of the facility locating to their area. These groups typically placed a high emphasis on how the new facility would improve the area economically. In Woodford County however, there also were political groups opposed to the facility. Stone (1987) points out that local government does not have the capacity to govern without forming coalitions for strategic support with at least one or more private groups or classes. This coalition is what Stone refers to as the regime and it is what allows the "agenda" to be accomplished. The regime is able to gain power through the long term relationships that are formed and is only as successful as the amount of power that can be gained for the governing body.

Regime theory takes a broader look at how coalitions can be formed around an area compared to growth theory which concentrates primarily on the elite members of a community. Even though the two theories start at opposite ends of the process, regime theory can be seen as an extension to growth theory according to Domhoff. Kevin Ward comments: "What makes governance ... effective is not the formal machinery of government, but rather the informal partnership between city hall and the downtown business elite.

One reason that growth theory studies the elites is that they tend to be more mobile. For example, many CEOs live in one area and work

in another, making them less attached to an area than your average citizen, who does not have the necessary resources to relocate to another community if he becomes unhappy with his current one. Similarly, regime theory looks at the amount of power that elites can supply the governing agency. Regime theorists believe that if elites had all of the control that certain issues would not be decided on because they would never be placed on the docket for discussion, unless the elite group was in favor. In essence, the group with the power will try to control what information flows to the general population.

Regime theory also takes into consideration how the forming of different groups such as volunteer groups can affect the direction in which a community grows. A good example of this can be seen in Woodford County, where the governing body owned the land that would be used for the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards. Opposition groups rallied for support and eventually kept the facility from locating in the area, going against what many of the elites wanted, however, all members of the elite were not in favor of the proposal. Many of the proponents of the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards to Woodford County wanted the decision to be made by a democratic vote so that every member of the community had an equal influence on the decision. The reason for this was that while only a

few people opposed the facility, they were members of the elite who were passionate enough about the issue to spend whatever resources necessary to influence others to stop the proposal.

In applying either urban regime and growth machine theories to considering whether or not a livestock marketing facility should be located in a particular area, each has strengths and weaknesses. In the ideal situation, both of the communities would support a value free development process where the "where" and "how" of the development would be decided by looking at how the most people could gain the most benefits. However the process does not work that simply as both of these theories point out. Members of the different interest groups and political groups and even the different communities have ties to one another. In Lincoln County, the elected officials in favor of the proposal recruited other local businesses that could benefit from the new facility to join in support of the stockyards. This included businesses that would benefit from the increased traffic to the area as well as other possible businesses that could be tied to the livestock sales facility. In Woodford County, high ranking officials such as former governors were recruited to try and influence the outcome. Each group was willing to fight to gain the most benefit for their group, not necessarily for the good for the most people, or the community as a whole.

Both of these theories can contribute to the understanding of the process associated with relocating a livestock sales facility and how the development of a community is effected by the growth machine. However, both of these theories are limited by the fact that they are not being applied to a lab situation, but to communities. It is extremely difficult to gain an understanding of all of the social ties and connections that are at work in a given community. The development outcome is dictated by these alliances and how the members use the resources that they have. It is ultimately these alliances that decide what is important for the community and whether they believe the use value or the exchange value is the most important. These alliances frame the individual proposals as well as the development process in a way that will benefit them the most.

For example, in Lincoln County the proposal was never considered as a negative development venture for the community. In Woodford County there was an alliance (fewer in number than the proponents) that was willing to fight the proposal. This group was extremely passionate and went to outside sources that had influential powers that eventually helped them get their way. It is these types of networks and patterns of influence that complicate the community development process and require additional theoretical explanation.

Lincoln County considers itself to be an agricultural community and sees that community makeup as one that they wish to preserve in the future. Members of the community are not overly concerned about bringing in factories and infrastructure, as long as traditional agriculture is providing them with what they need. Woodford County continues to be highly involved in agriculture but, also has some other avenues to develop. Many of the community members want their agriculture to be horse concentrated. Others within Woodford County want the community to develop into more of a non-agricultural setting. Both of the communities seem to be actively involved in the development process, or growth machine, given the number of council meetings as well as the participation level at these meetings. A decision was not made at either location without numerous meetings. From these meetings conflict and disagreement develop, and this leads to a consideration of how conflict theory can help us understand events in these communities.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is associated with Marxism and is a reaction to functionalism and other positivist approaches. Conflict theory's initial statement was by Lewis Coser (Ritzer, 2008) and Randall Collins (Hurn, 1978). Conflict theory asserts that a conflict is generated when one group gains power over another group, or when both groups want

all of the power. Each of the groups involved want to gain as much power as possible because they want to control what happens within their community, including development.

Hence, conflict theory is a social theory that emphasizes a person's or group's ability to exercise influence and control over others, thereby affecting the social order. It points out that individuals and groups are always struggling to maximize their personal benefits, which contributes to both social change and development. The development can occur before any type of physical conflict or after a full revolution has occurred. These types of struggles are always apparent in society. This takes us back to our community development definition that says the needs of the members must be satisfied and the members typically do not agree on how the development process should occur.

Conflict is often times what generates the beginning of the social movement or development process. A particular group within the society wants something to change, so they start trying to gain support. This support can be economic, social or physical. Sometimes, it is those without power who come together to use their numbers to gain power that can be used to keep the elite from doing whatever it is that they want to do. The elite often have more power and influence; however as the weaker bond together they become

more competitive in the democratic system as well as economically competitive.

The Bluegrass Stockyards location in Lexington at the time of this study was an outdated facility that needed to be modernized. The location had become a residential area, and it had changed from an economic benefit to an unwanted neighbor. As opposition to that location grew, the stockyards began looking at other locations. As the Bluegrass Stockyards began considering location options, community members began forming alliances for and against the proposed locations. At one point, a location was selected near the Kentucky Horse Park and most thought the relocation debate was over. However, once Lexington was selected as the host of the World Equestrian Games, conflict arose. A chorus of voices asserted that they didn't want the cattle facility so close to the Kentucky Horse Park. As different opposition groups banded together to get the relocation process stopped, they exercised their influence to convince the governor to step in and stop the stockyards from relocating to the Kentucky Horse Park (Hall).

Bluegrass Stockyards next considered building two facilities rather than one. This would mean continuing to operate in Lexington, a very central location, but expanding elsewhere. As this information spread, neighboring towns began holding community meetings and trying to

decide whether or not they wanted to be the new home of Bluegrass Stockyards. Had there been no conflict on whether or not the communities wanted the facility, no alliances or town meetings would have been necessary.

Two communities were decided on as possible locations, and they were Woodford and Lincoln County. Their proximity to the interstate system was a major attraction for both of these communities. The facility was looking for a location that had easy interstate access, since a large number of the cattle are transported by truck. A further explanation of the conflicts and how they developed and were resolved will be included in the following chapter.

Based on this overview of how different theoretical perspectives can inform the analysis of the events associated with this development proposal, I will explore the following. If two communities are faced with a similar proposal involving large-scale livestock operations, and the decisions of the communities are different, then it has to do more with the characteristics of the communities and its members than it does, the development proposal itself. I would also expect that the power of the individual members within the community would be used to influence the final outcome, of the community's development plan. This can be directly related back to their economic well-being. It is the make-up of the community members, socially and economically, as

well as the networks within the given communities that are the basis for the social and political influence that most affects development decisions. It is much more difficult for individual community members to influence the entire community.

Furthermore, I expect that the livestock issue will be framed differently in each of the communities, and across networks within the communities. In essence, the proponent groups will likely stay away from environmental issues, and highlight the economic incentives for the area, while the opponents will highlight environmental concerns and those economic issues that they feel discredit the potential value of the stockyards. Opponents of the livestock facility, typically view the facility as a cost rather than a benefit for the area. I also hypothesize that social and political networks will be formed in order to try and influence the outcome of the decision. These networks will be formed by people who are and are not directly involved with the issue.

Based on this review of the communities and or theories, we can speculate that the following might occur in response to this development proposal in these counties. Both communities would want the stockyards, which is what you would expect from an economic standpoint, if the communities act rationally. It should also be expected that any opposition, if it appears, should not be successful because of the economic impact that Bluegrass Stockyards can have

on the communities. It can also be expected that there would be alliances formed in support of the development proposal. In summary, the research questions to be answered are what are the deciding factors that determine the outcome of a development proposal.

Methods

Community case studies using multiple methods will be the basis for evaluating the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards. These methods include observation, key informant interviews and content analysis of critical documents. I attended three of the public hearings in both communities where the relocation proposal was considered. This allowed me to observe the nature of the discussions as well as the atmosphere surrounding the discussions. In addition, it also helped me to begin identifying individuals who could serve as key informants.

To supplement each of the above methods I have also incorporated frame analysis. Frame analysis has emerged from studies of social movements and social constructionist theory. Social movement theories try to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it is manifested, as well as potential social consequences. Social constructionist theory explores how different groups "construct" or give meaning to social settings. Social movements have often been interpreted from a social constructivist perspective. Frame analysis is

an approach that applies a social constructivist perspective to the analysis of social movements.

Movements are carriers of beliefs and ideologies, which are part of the processes of constructing meaning (Snow and Benford, 1998). Frame analysis was developed by Erving Goffman as a multi-disciplinary research design method that is used to analyze how people evaluate situations and activities. Goffman uses the example of a picture frame to help explain his theory. The frame represents the structure that holds the picture, which represents the context of what you are experiencing in life (Trevino, 2003). For the communities of this study, the frame can be displayed like the frame used by Willem van Winden, et al. (March, 2007) as they look at the shifts that a community goes through as it moves to a more knowledge based economy. Figure 1 shows the different parts of a community, as well as how the different parts must work together in order to move forward. In order to develop or move forward the community must go through this cyclical process and the individual parts must frame the issue in a way that aligns with the other sections or the process will not flow in the continuous manner and progress will be stopped.

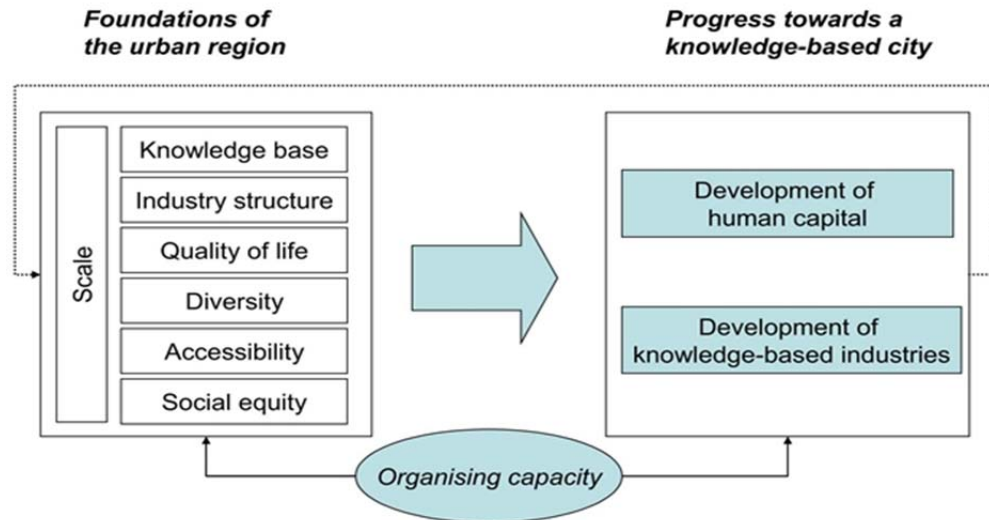


Figure 1. Cities in the knowledge economy: a framework of analysis.

The left side of the figure is the foundation, while the right side can be seen as the building blocks. As the pieces join forces the cyclical process begins, depending on the organizing capacity. This capacity is generated as the community starts to frame the issues in the same manner. Part of frame analysis is frame alignment, which is when individual frames become linked.

The linking of the individual frames is what allows for change to occur. In order for this to happen three things must occur. The first is a diagnostic framing for the identification of a problem and the assignment of blame. This can often be done by the media, which was just the case in a study by O’Neil (2009). O’Neil states that “The media is the public’s dominant source of information about youth issues in contemporary American Society.” This study looks at the frames that are used to portray the youth of different communities.

This study points out that the framing of the issues determines the solutions and the involvement of the community. One frame portrays a community filled with violence and crime, while another frame addresses the underlying issues and paints a completely different picture of youth that are disadvantaged and have specific needs.

Second, there is a prognostic framing that suggests solutions, strategies, and tactics for addressing a problem. For example, in O'Neil's study the solution was to work with the media networks rather than against them. In order to do this, a campaign was started that allowed the media networks to look at the underlying issues rather than the past approach, that had community members lashing out at the media coverage that they felt portrayed their community incorrectly. Third, there is a motivational framing that serves as an alarm or rationale for action (Snow and Benford, 1988). For O'Neil, this came from more of the community including the media networks to see the issues that needed to be addressed.

As the importance of the issue emerges and the framings of different groups or individuals connect them, there are grounds for a movement to begin, which will ultimately change society as a whole. Frame alignment occurs in a series of steps or stages: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation.

Frame bridging links two or more frames that involve a particular issue or problem. It can become the organizational base for people who share similar beliefs that would otherwise not be able to bond together. Frame amplification clarifies or invigorates participants on a particular issue, making them more likely to come together and seek a particular change. "The analysis is less about cataloguing what is explicitly said than it is about identifying the implicit understandings conveyed." (O'Neil, 2009) Frame extensions extend the typical boundaries of an issue so that other groups or targets are inclined to join forces and become part of the movement. With this development proposal opponents linked the facility to a CAFO, which helped to generate more environmental concern. More groups and community members are concerned about the environment and have seen media coverage of CAFOS than what are actually concerned with the Stockyards, due to the framing differences. Frame transformation redefines the issue into one that will be of interest to more people as a way of gaining support for a particular cause. Linking the facility to the undesirable characteristics of a CAFO was also a way of doing this. This is similar to Ryan and Alexander's study on how media can reframe laws and policy. (Ryan, 2006)

Frames can be summarized as "The principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tactic theories about

what exists, what happens, and what matters.” (Gitlin, 1980) Each of these aspects of frame analysis will be applied to the assessment of events in the two communities. Each of the frames in the respective communities is often generated within the community. The frames are a result of the attitudes and beliefs of the community members. This can be directly related to the underlying political and economic structure. It was shown earlier that economically speaking Woodford County is in a better position than Lincoln County. Woodford County is also at an advantage in the political system. Woodford County has very well developed planning and zoning board along with several citizen groups that are all concerned with the development that occurs in Woodford County. In the Lincoln County location, there is little or no formal system for regulating development efforts. This is partially due to the makeup of the communities. Woodford County is known for its wiliness to have conflict and debate over development and other community issues. It is also widely known that the affluent population in the county is more than willing to do whatever it takes in order to get their way. In Lincoln County there is not a similar structure. If the citizens have questions or concerns they turn to their elected officials, who they trust and have elected to represent them. In Woodford County the citizens are not as trusting of their elected officials.

In order to see what matters from the perspective of community residents, I used key informant interviews. The people that I chose to use as key informants were people that I knew from my personal experience had been strategically involved in the relocation process of Bluegrass Stockyards for one of the perspective locations. These were people that had official positions within their community and had worked on the proposal. By talking with people that had been highly involved, I was able to gain a more in-depth understanding of what had actually occurred throughout the process. It is important to remember that many of these debates and discussions are not advertised or publicized but play a major role in the process. The key informant interviews provided insight into how the issue was being framed by various groups within the community. In both communities, I interviewed a core group of key informants and then supplemented the list with others reflecting the diversity of interests in each community. Appendix A provides the information about the study and IRB forms that the key informants were given. Table 2 presents a list of types of key informants in each community.

List of Key Informants		
Type of Informant	Lincoln County	Woodford County
Local county official	Leader 1	Leader 2
Extension agent	Leader 3	Leader 2
Local businessperson	Leader 4	Leader 2
	Leader 5	Leader 6
		Leader 7
		Leader 8
		Leader 9

The questions I used in the key informant interviews (see Appendix B) focused on identifying the relevant interests engaged in the discussion of the relocation proposal and then how the relocation proposal was being framed by these different interests.

With the two communities framing the issues differently, it will help to understand what each of the two communities' value the most. What the community places the highest values on will be directly related to what group or groups have the most power within the community. This can also be linked back to media coverage. The side of the debate with the most resources, typically, has the most media influence, putting them in a better position to persuade other members of the community that are not as directly involved. (Ryan, 2001) Along with the community members values it is also important to understand the communities general development desires for the particular area in question, such as a residential area, a green space, or a community park. With this type of questioning it is also important

that the respondents have enough background information about how viable each option is. For example in Woodford County, the land that was being considered had loans against it, so not developing it was not a viable option. After all it was classified as an industrial park, due to the amenities that had been incorporated after it was purchased by the community.

Content analysis was used to explore the presentation of this issue in the local media, in statements to the Planning Commissions and other legislative bodies, as well as in statements to community organizations. In order to do this, I obtained copies of all newspapers published during the two year period of the controversy, as well as all minutes of the public meetings. These key documents were made available by contacting the respective groups and through searching the internet. The purpose of the content analysis is to determine key phrases and words that were used to frame the issue by the different interests within each community.

The resulting qualitative data is interpreted using both conflict theory, in particular the role of interest groups, and frame analysis in order to identify, describe and evaluate the issues of importance to the different interests within each community. The analysis will focus on how different groups within the community framed the question of whether or not the livestock facility should be allowed to move to the

area. This analysis will consider (1) The issues that the communities express as important in my initial investigation (e.g. environmental, social and economic factors); (2) Sociodemographic characteristics of opponents and proponents of this type of development, and (3) Locational factors associated with the project (e.g., location, visibility to the public).

Chapter 5. The Results

Framing the Relocation Issue within Each Community

When considering the conflict and the framing of the issues that each community thought that it was faced with, it is important that each one be looked at independently as well as in comparison to each other. Lincoln County accepted the proposal and the site is currently up and running and faced little apparent opposition as the residents of surrounding area had strong ties to agriculture and saw the facility as an economic benefit. The facility consists of a state of the art structure that covers approximately five and a half acres (EDA representative, private conversation). This facility has served as an example of what the organization was proposing for Woodford County. The facility was constructed on what was previously farmland. The surrounding area still remains rural and unindustrialized. If this had been the only relocation proposal the issue would have been of little interest to a community development practitioner.

Woodford County is where the majority of the conflict was generated. Once the proposal for relocation became public, there were numerous meetings on whether or not the facility should be located in an industrial park that already existed in the area. Networks both for and against the facility emerged and became active

and ultimately, the framing of the issue by those opposed to the relocation determined the political decision. See Figure 2. Framing the Relocation Issue for an overview of the framing process.

Figure 2. Framing the Relocation Issue		
Setting the Stage		
Framing Activity and Definition	Application in Lincoln	Application in Woodford
Motivational framing Serves as an alarm or rationale for action	Improve the Economic standing of the community	Facility will change the community, and is a CAFO. Tourism will be decreased and we need tourism.
Diagnostic framing Identifies the problem and assigns blame	Looking for a more successful economy.	Industrial park a failure. EDA not looking out for community interest. Traffic will hurt community, Economics not the only issue.
Prognostic framing Suggests solutions, strategies, and tactics for addressing a problem.	Do what we can to get the facility to locate in our community	Accept the proposal Deny the proposal
Shaping the meaning of the discussion – frame alignment		
Frame bridging Links two or more frames that involve a particular issue or problem	We are an Ag. Community and this facility will help our Ag people and our Economic well-being. It is good for our people.	Linking the facility to a CAFO Using the facility as a starting point for the Industrial Park
Frame amplification Clarifies or invigorates participants on a particular issue, making them more likely to come together and seek a particular change.	Frame proposal so that community members help get in to locate in our area.	CAFO environmental characteristics applied. Provide possible disasters for the area.
Frame extensions Extends the typical boundaries of an issue so that other groups or targets are inclined to join forces and become part of the movement.	Not Applicable	Comparison of cows to horses. Hire well recognized spokespeople to speak on your behalf
Frame transformation Transforms the issue into one that will be of interest to more people as a way of gaining support for a particular cause.	It's about the economy not just the cow.	Highlight the possible environmental concerns

The groups that are supportive of the facility believe that this is a viable option to help keep agriculture and beef production in the area, providing benefits to the local farmers. For this reason Lincoln County

did not provide an example of many of the framing techniques that were employed in Woodford County. In Woodford County, the site was welcomed by the majority of people in the community as well as some of the businesses in the community. During the February planning and zoning meeting Donald Mitchell, a Woodford County citizen, asked the people present to stand if they were in favor of the proposal and approximately 75% of the group rose. Mr. Simpson, a speaker against the proposal, later asked for the people against the change to stand and approximately 25% rose. Rusty Thompson also spoke in favor of the amendment on behalf of the local Cattlemen's Association, as did Donald Mitchell for the local Farm Bureau members. Len Martin provided evidence in favor of the facility by showing how the existing facility did not have a negative impact on the surroundings. Quite simply, many supported the location due to increased economic revenues for the area (VMWPZC).

The facility has also been supported as a way to help the industrial park become a more productive venture, as it has not grown as expected. The failure of the park was used as part of the Diagnostic framing. Since the park was not successful, some believed that the EDA was willing to let any business use the process in order to get them out of debt regardless of the community impact. The park site was acquired in 1997 and was completed in 2005 and is still virtually

empty. Many thought that the facility would also encourage other agricultural businesses to locate in the area. One reason that has been cited is the lack of an anchor business for the park (Duckworth). For example, cattle buying companies often want to locate near cattle buying facilities, which would serve as the anchor. Other agriculture facilities such as equipment and supply businesses could be located there, since the stockyards would obviously bring agricultural people into the area. (Mitchell, 2007) If Bluegrass Stockyards would relocate there, the community could also get itself out of debt as the owners of the park, who were paying close to \$100,000 annually in interest payments. (Duckworth, 2007)

Opponents to the relocation are concerned about the increased traffic to the area as well as environmental factors, while the proponents would argue that they are simply against change. This can be seen as motivational and diagnostic framing. The environmental factors of concern included noise, odors, animal waste and water contamination, which can be interpreted as a form of frame amplification. The facility would have animals on site seven days a week and they would create large amounts of waste that would have to be dealt with directly. Others argued that the trailers bringing the animals to market also run the risk of dropping waste along the way to the facility. Others are concerned that the area's water supply would

be affected by the water runoff of the facility, even though studies have shown that this would not be the case. Residents remained concerned. (Mitchum, 2007) Transportation and environmental factors have been examined by different types of scholars, especially if you are willing to consider the facility as a CAFO. When the facility is compared to a CAFO there are typically more concerned parties about where the facility will be located. With the development of these networks, also came the conflict and the different framing of the prominent issues.

The Lincoln County community meetings were held but very few residents were concerned enough to attend, while Woodford County had approximately 200 in attendance and others who had written in their concerns. For the community members in Lincoln County who did have questions, the local agriculture extension agent was more than willing to answer any questions that were raised. This was also the case for the City Council members as well as the County Judge Executive. All of these people had agriculture backgrounds and were answering questions in an agriculture community, which allowed both sides to have a better understanding of the issues as well as the proposal. There was a single framing of the issue rather than a multiple framing as was the case in Woodford County. Refer back to Figure 2. Part of this was due to the similarities among the community

members in terms of background and a connection of some type to agriculture.

In Woodford County there were more meetings than what occurred in Lincoln County. At these meetings there were more people in attendance and the discussions were much more contentious. The Chairman even went as far as pointing out at the beginning of the meeting that there were ushers on hand to escort people out of the building if they were not able to control their outbursts, applause, and heckling (Carl Ellis). By the time a final decision had been made there had been numerous court proceedings filed and several members of the Economic Development Authority Board resigned.

Lines were clearly drawn throughout the proceedings and each side saw the other as a threat, creating more and more conflict over the issue. As the conflict increased, so did the differences in the framing of the issues as well as the definition of the issues. Before the final decision had been made, the proponents even added a former KY governor as their spokesperson to talk to the opponents. Proponents thought that he may be able to convince the opponents that it was a good proposition since he too was a local horse farm owner, meaning he should have been for the proposal, or at least seen as an unbiased participant. This can be seen as Frame Bridging or Frame Extension. It is also important to note that each person that spoke at the

meetings started by stating how they were connected to and how long they had been part of the community.

As the above conflicts unfolded it also became apparent that the two communities had differing amounts of capital and assets and, that they viewed their assets differently. As a community development practitioner, one has to look at the different types of capital that groups can access, including economic and social capital. The amount of capital that you have will play a major role in helping you decide which area of development to focus on. The community members that were more directly involved with the interest payments, tended to be in favor of the project, while the community members who were in a better financial situation were not as concerned with the payments. Alinsky, reminds us in his book, *Rules for Radicals*, that we must do what we can with what we have (Alinsky 1972 pg.126). Alinsky summarizes this when he says that "once the fever begins the flame will follow" (Alinsky 1972 pg.19). Another interpretation of this is that as key community members emphasize the importance of an issue, other community members will want to join the fight to support or stop the change.

The Lincoln County community members see remaining rural and supportive of agriculture and the beef industry as an asset that they have and want to maintain. (Leader 1) The community understands

that it is agriculture that supports many of their local ventures as well as the local school system. Part of this can be explained by the majority of the people having some connection to the agricultural industry, including many of the elected officials. (Leader 3)

For this community it was a very rational choice for them to actively pursue getting the facility to locate in their area and the issues that were addressed were framed so that the community would be in support of the facility. By framing the possible issues in an agriculturally acceptable way, the community did not become concerned and the proposal was passed without any major conflict. The proposal was perceived as a way for the community to improve their economic position. The new facility would bring more jobs to the area, both directly and indirectly (Leader 1). By having the facility in the area more people will travel to the area, hopefully spending their money along the way (Leader 1). More people in the area improve the chances that other local businesses can have more people in their shops, creating even more revenue (Leader 1). All of the increased revenue has its direct effects as well as the increased tax revenue for the area.

The Woodford County community members have a more diverse makeup of citizens, with only a portion of them being involved in agriculture. To this community, agriculture was beneficial if it

promoted tourism and the horse. They were not necessarily interested in the beef industry. However, others have pointed out that this facility should be seen in the same manner as the famous horse sales pavilions since the horse producer was a “brother” to the cattle producer. (Mitchell, 2007) This community has more financial assets than Lincoln County, and viewed the increase of people associated with cattle farming coming to the area as a potential expense rather than an asset, which reflects a different framing. This community placed a higher value on preserving their community than on helping local businesses as well as the economic standing of the community in general. It seemed this community envisioned itself as “better” than the beef industry, while Lincoln County wanted to be seen as an innovative part of the beef industry.

The Woodford County community is a college town community that has gained a level of prestige from the tourism industry and the ability to promote the Bluegrass and Kentucky landscapes. Part of this image has traditionally included the thoroughbred horse. Main Street is an historical section of the community and the community is not willing to jeopardize that look or way of life, which also highlights how community and community life are framed differently across the two communities. To the residents, or at least the ones that make up the

opponents of the relocation, this is more valuable than any benefit that the stockyards might bring.

A Sociological Interpretation of the Conflict Among Interest Groups

The relocation process and conflict over the decision can also be analyzed from the perspective of competing interest groups in each community. At a basic level, these interests can be defined as proponents and opponents of the relocation. But as we shall see, this is too simplistic a perspective. The interests mobilized by this issue are more complex and somewhat unexpected.

Each of the interests involved in this issue framed the issue so as to benefit their concerns and to question the legitimacy of the concerns of the other interest groups. The proponents include the owners and managers of Bluegrass stockyards, cattle buyers, and the majority of the farmers in the area. The main issues that the proponent group is concerned with are that they have a local facility that can accommodate their marketing needs. The farmers are looking for a facility that is convenient to their location that will help them continue producing more efficiently. The further the animals have to be transported before they are sold, the less profit the farmer is able to retain. The current Bluegrass Stockyards Corporation is currently managed by seven different people, which can be considered large

scale compared to this facility and others that have existed in the past, and their goal is to make as much profit as possible. The Woodford County Economic Development Authority that purchased the initial property and developed the industrial park was also looking to make a profit, or at least get out of debt. However the park has not prospered as planned, so the livestock facility could be the business that gets them out of debt, allowing them to regain the resources that they have invested, hence, increasing their power over the development process. The cattle producers and buyers also control the means of production, the cattle and the economic resources to buy and sell the animals.

The facility managers are out to make a profit for themselves, meaning that they want the most economical location as well as the location that will bring them the most animals allowing them to push out the competition. The commercial cattle buyers who typically buy the feeder animals are looking for a facility that is located near a highway system that will provide the quickest and easiest route to the feedlot, which in this case are interstates 64 and 75. This group also includes politicians and members of the general public who believe that the facility would generate increased tax revenue and an increased number of jobs in the Location B area. Many believe that the facility would also allow the area to remain agriculture which is one of its main tourist attractions. However this also raises conflict and

framing issues over what should be considered agricultural tourism but we will not address that issue at this point.

The opponents include groups such as the main street business owners. Their concerns are that the Economic Development Authority who owns the proposed site is looking out for themselves rather than the good of the entire community, especially given the amount of interest payments that they are bound by. They are also concerned about the changes that they feel will occur to the area such as water pollution and increased traffic. These concerns to some are not necessary to some residents that feel that any type of development would generate these same issues. According to Len Martin any type of new business will increase traffic. (Martin, 2007) While it was the belief of Jon Maybriar, "That the community is more worried about perception than what the real risk could be."

Even though Don Robinson, a Fayette County resident stated that he would have liked to see the facility remain in Fayette County, the residential homeowners in the area adjacent to the proposed site were opposed because they believed the facility will burden the area more than it would benefit. The opponents tend to be individual residents who do not want the facility; however as individuals they will have trouble competing against the elites of the community. To overcome

this limitation, they have come together, combining their powers to compete against the proponents.

This is similar to the division of labor that Marx discusses in, *The Premises of the Materialist Method* (Marx, 1977). In this writing, Marx defines how the division of labor allows the continuation of the system by keeping the laborers at a disadvantage to the owners who already have the power that they need. An example of how the bourgeoisie will ensure that they can maintain their power status is that if the proposed facility was built in Lincoln County, the increased revenue to the area would be 200 million dollars per year, which most would consider a good source of power (Thompson, 2007). Economically, this places the residents at another disadvantage, assuming that the residents in the area are not able to generate 200 million dollars in revenue on an annual basis. Resources are a form of power, especially to a developing community. When a facility, with this amount of resources is located within an area, they are often able to use their power and resources to get their way. Opponents can often be persuaded to go along with what the power elite want.

Looking further into the issue the case can also be related to the theories of Max Weber, especially his focus on the importance of the middle class (Weber, 1958). It was the belief of Weber that the classification of a person or group of people involved more than simply

whether or not they owned land (Weber, 1989). By looking at different types of rational-legal authority, Weber was able to distinguish different degrees and kinds of power. Weber believed that power could be analyzed by looking at a person's economic situation, status, or the parties they were associated with. He believed that a person's occupation could provide them with a level of power, regardless of their power in other facets of their life. Examples of this would be the individual members of the Planning and Zoning commission, the Woodford County Preservation Association (opposition), or the Kentucky Farm Bureau members (proponents).

The Zoning board members are the people who actually get to make the decision of whether or not to allow the facility to be constructed in the park. Each member had to frame the issues for themselves and had to vote for or against the facility making some of their constituents happy and others unhappy, depending on how they framed the issues and the proposal. In either case they are obligated to exercise the power that their political position has granted them.

The Farm Bureau members all have different backgrounds and beliefs but by being part of this group they also have gained a level of power that they otherwise would not have had. The Preservation group is similar to the Farm Bureau members because they too are individuals who have come together as a group to gain power from

each other in order to counteract the proponent groups. Each of the individuals that are associated with these different groups has increased their level of power over what it would be without group membership, but the different groups also have different amounts of power. The proponents and opponents are trying to influence the Zoning board that has more power than any of the individual groups in this particular decision-making arena.

Economic issues affected the outcome but were not framed to be the sole deciding factor. If the issue were completely economic, the proponent and opponent groups would not be the ones deciding the issue. The owners of Bluegrass Stockyards as well as the Woodford County EDA would be the major players, however it has been noted that no members of the Stockyards ever attended any of the zoning meetings. The EDA also has more to gain or lose than any of the other groups, economically speaking. The local businesses in the area are also divided on the relocation question based on different interpretations on the impact of the Stockyards on the local economy. Some businesses see the increased revenue to the area as a way for them to improve their economic situation through increased business while others feel that their business will decrease if the new facility is built in the area. In general, agribusinesses support the facility while

tourism businesses are against the facility. Restaurants and other retail locations tend to have mixed feelings about the issue.

Regardless of whether the debate is over the environmental factors, economic factors, or the effects that the new facility would have on the surrounding community, there are power struggles, which are generated from individual's struggles within their own class status. This relocation debate is the first true opposition that the owners of Bluegrass Stockyards have faced. Until now, in its Lexington location, the facility has had the power over the surrounding area, so any opposition to its location and its operating policies had relatively little, if any impact on the business. The owners can be considered a higher class than the surrounding residents, so the residents were at a disadvantage. Political officials were benefiting from the economic revenues and lived far enough away from the actual site that they typically were not concerned with the issues that the more local residents were.

This was also the case with the relocation process until the governor entered the debate over the new facility being located near the Horse Park. When the debate reached this political level, the facility owner's elite status had been trumped by a higher level of power. The owners were no longer able to do whatever they pleased, people with more power than they had were concerned with the issue

so the owners had to start considering the makeup of the respective communities where the Kentucky Horse Park would not be an issue.

As the conflicts and framing of the issues arose, networks began forming, which reflects a frame analysis perspective on the emergence of a social movement. The relocation to Lincoln County was less controversial than the proposed relocation to Woodford County in part because existing social networks supported the move. Even after the proposal had been approved, the networks are still working to improve the well-being of Lincoln County and the communities it includes.

I interpret events in Lincoln County as supporting the claim that social networks helped get the new facility to the area, even though there are little to no records on the existence of these networks. Information about these networks is not available in newspapers, journal articles, or other traditional sources. In order to learn about the networks and how they functioned, I visited Lincoln County and used part of a network that I had developed during my life in this community. I set up an appointment with a community leader for Lincoln County. Leader 3 and I have a hobby in common, so he was more than willing to meet with me and tell me about the accomplishments he and Lincoln County had made regarding the local stockyard project. Before I met with Leader 3, I was uncertain about his involvement with the project but, thought that he was a good

person to start with given his involvement with agriculture and the Cooperative Extension Service.

When I arrived at the meeting, I began asking Leader 3 questions about the relocation of the stockyards and learned that he had been very involved in the relocation discussion. The Kentucky Cattlemen's Association and the Kentucky Farm Bureau had heard through their own networks that the Bluegrass Stockyards was considering relocating to a place other than Lexington. Leader 3 immediately began talking to the beef producers of the area, informing them about the possibility that they could get the new facility to locate in their town. Leader 3 also held meetings with other county officials to see if they had an interest in making a proposal to Bluegrass Stockyards. At this point in time, Leader 3 was the leader of the network that supported the new facility coming to the area. His position gave him an advantage in talking to the county officials as well as members of the community who are involved in agriculture. He could use his position of respect and influence in the community to promote the facility relocating to the area. Also as an extension agent, his employment connected him to the University of Kentucky. Leader 4, another employee of the University, who was also working with the Bluegrass Stockyards on the relocation process, was a member of the Cattlemen's Association and also in communication with Leader 3.

After Leader 3 had met with the local officials and people that he thought had the power to help get the facility to relocate there, he worked with Leader 4 to develop a plan to make it happen. The framing of the proposal was acceptable to the community and that kept the conflict at a minimum. Leader 3 drafted a letter to the management of the Bluegrass Stockyards making them a proposal to relocate to the area, and a meeting was established.

Gene Barber the primary owner of Bluegrass Stockyards, showed up at the Lincoln County Court house with his personal network of influence to meet with the local network. Barber's network consisted of himself and the top three cattle buyers at the Bluegrass Stockyards markets. These four representatives are the most powerful members of the cattle marketing business in Kentucky, and Barber would not want to hurt his business by making them unhappy with where he chooses to relocate the facility. The Lincoln County network that was present at this meeting included Leader 1, Leader 3, a City Council member, and others that Leader 3, thought had influence in the area. After the meeting both networks were interested in the new facility being located in the area.

As part of the Lincoln network, the elected officials also played a role in promoting the relocation process. Talking with Leader 1, it became obvious that he was very proud of his agricultural background

as well as what he had accomplished for Lincoln County. When I asked him about the stockyards and the relocation process, he summarized it by saying "It was just good for us." He was also proud of the fact that the only sector that was larger than agriculture in the area was the school system, which also had numerous ties to the agricultural base.

As part of the network, Leader 1 was able to use his position in the community to help persuade Bluegrass Stockyards to make the move. He was able to guarantee a better road to the new facility, as well as help find the proper location for the new facility. When I spoke with him, he made it clear that he would use his power and do whatever was needed to help the stockyards or any other business that he thought would help his community. He supported this claim by telling me about a business that wanted to move to the land beside the stockyards. This company wanted to place a sign out by the road but there was a group of trees that needed to be removed from the state highway. This would normally be a job for the state highway department. He told me that he had already talked to state highway department officials and had convinced them to remove the trees. However, their department was behind and unsure when they could complete the job. Leader 1 wanted to help the company get started in his county so he was "spending" some of his resources to address the

concerns of the new company. The county was going to remove the trees since the state would take longer to get the job done. From his perspective, this would demonstrate to the new business the support they had in the community for coming there.

As an elected official, Leader 1 felt that it is his job to help everyone in the community, and he is in contact with people involved in all aspects of local life. He said that when the proposal was made that there was little to no opposition to the relocation of the stockyards and that other businesses in the community had benefited from the relocation. It is possible that there would have been more opposition to the proposal if he had not been so involved with the issue. He spent the necessary time providing answers to people who were directly and indirectly connected to cattle marketing. If Leader 1 had been against the move, he could have framed the proposal differently, and he could have probably gained support to keep the market out of the community. This makes him a vital player in the relocation process.

A third member of the Lincoln County network who had an influential role in the relocation process was Leader 5. Leader 5 is a member of the City Council as well as a salesman at the local implement dealership. As a council member he has a privileged access to the above members of the network, as well as to the other council members. In addition to his official connections, he is an employee of

an implement business that is located on Main Street. What better place could there be to talk to farmers and people involved in agriculture than a place that works on and sells agriculture equipment? He has gained the respect of his clients through the implement business, so they are more willing to trust his judgment on where the new stockyard facility should be located.

When I asked him how he had handled any type of questions or opposition, he said that he had really not had any except someone that asked him about the amount of manure that the facility would generate. He said that he was prepared for this because numerous studies had addressed the issue and that he expected the issue to be a concern. He related his response to this question and felt that local people appreciate his opinion and understand the claims that he made. He responded that the Amish community's horses would leave more manure on the roadways than the stockyards would. A different framing of this environmental issue could have generated conflict and opposition to the proposal.

Proponents of the Lincoln County facility outnumbered the opponents; however, there were a few individuals who were against the proposal. One of the neighboring landowners voiced his opposition because he did not want to accept the change that would occur in the area. I was also told that he was in the blacktop business and that he

was only against the proposal for business reasons. He knew the people who were working on the proposal and he also knew that their social network would be hired to complete the blacktopping job. By trying to stop the project he could possibly open the door for another project that would require his blacktopping services.

Another small voice of opposition came from the owner of the existing livestock sales facility in Lincoln County. This operation wanted to be part of the relocation project by having the Bluegrass Stockyards locate onto its property. If this would have happened, the owner of the existing facility would have benefited significantly. Since a new location was decided on, the existing facility was closed and the owner was not part of the new project.

The proponents of the proposal included the Farm Bureau and the local Cattlemen's Association in the beginning but, as the project and proposal developed the main interest groups became more directly related to Lincoln County. From my research and observations, I would consider the main opinion leader to be Leader 3. Leader 3 was in direct communications with the people in Lincoln County as well as representatives of the Bluegrass Stockyards. Local farmers and local government officials came to him for his opinion and expertise in relation to agricultural issues.

Even though Leader 3 was the main opinion leader he was not the only opinion leader associated with the issue. Leader 1 must also be considered an opinion leader for his expertise on the economic issues that needed to be answered. Leader 1 was the person that members of the community came to for information on what the facility would do for Lincoln County, both those involved in agriculture as well as those who weren't. It was his obligation to satisfy his community as well as convince the state to help his community get the project underway. Local businesses and other organizations came to Leader 1, asking how the relocation would affect them, both directly and indirectly. He had to inform the local businesses how they would benefit from the stockyards, even if they had no relation to agriculture. This included businesses such as restaurants, gas stations, Wal-Mart, and other local businesses in the area. He also had to inform the community about what he saw happening in the future if the relocation project came to the area. This included his opinions about future businesses that might come to the area as well as the costs and benefits that the local land owners would receive.

Leader 5, can also be seen as an opinion leader, but not as influential a leader as the prior two individuals. Leader 5 is an opinion leader for the farmers of the area. Leader 3 is also an opinion leader but has a more diverse set of persons that he influences. Leader 5 is

in direct contact with the local farmers and beef producers of the area, and they look to him for answers to their questions as well as looking out for their best interest. It seems Leader 5 would need to get some of the technical information on the issue from Leaders 1 and 3, who would have more expertise in their respective areas of interest.

The political networks of Woodford County generated conflict and framed the issues very differently than those in Lincoln County. These networks promoted and opposed the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards to the area and are the reason that the question of relocation generated so much controversy. The relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards to Woodford County became entangled in the debate about an industrial park that had been on-going for nine years. Unlike the Lincoln County community and associated networks, not everyone wanted the new facility to locate in the area. Also unlike Lincoln County, the proposed land that would have been used for the project was owned by one of the interest groups, as part of an ongoing development project. There is also more restrictive planning and zoning in Woodford County as well as the rest of the surrounding county. In looking at the issue and how it progressed in Woodford County it is important to look at both sides of the issue, and their respective framing methods.

When the proposal to move the Bluegrass Stockyards to Woodford County began, Leader 2 was the Woodford County extension agent and a leader in promoting the relocation of the stockyards to Woodford County. In this sense, both Leaders 3 and 2 had similar roles. These two extension agents are very familiar with the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards and both are part of the Kentucky Extension agent's network. However the position of Leader 2 took on a different role as the relocation discussion unfolded. Leader 2 left his extension position to begin working for a local bank as their agricultural lending officer. He also becomes more involved with the county's Economic Development Authority (EDA), which accounts for him representing multiple aspects of the Woodford community.

The proposed location of the new facility is owned by the EDA, which borrowed the necessary money for the purchase of the property from the local banks in the county including the one he worked for. The banking community comes to the Leader 2 who is now working for one of their own firms, wanting him to get the proposal to pass so that they can recover the community's investment in the industrial site. The EDA wants Leader 2 to get the proposal to pass so that the economic development of the county can finally move forward because the industrial park that the group invested in will be filled.

While the EDA is a key player in supporting the relocation proposal, there were several smaller interest groups who also came to be active in this issue. In order to try and gain support for the project, Leader 2, estimated that the group had spent \$100,000 fighting the opposing groups and taking interested parties on tours of similar facilities so that people could see what was actually being proposed.

The majority of the county elected officials were in favor of the proposal because of the amount of revenue that it would bring to the county. They also tended to be in favor of the proposal because the majority of the people that lived in the county were in favor of the proposal and seeing their community progress into the future with agriculture. Leader 2 stated that while local officials tended to be in favor of the proposal, they were not as willing as himself and the EDA to voice their support, since there was some opposition to the proposal, and some of the opposition came from influential people. Before talking any more about the proponents of the proposal it is important to understand the opponents' side of the issue.

The main opponents of the proposal were two preservation associations. One is a Woodford County preservation group and the other is preservation group in a neighboring county. Both of these groups want to see Woodford County stay exactly as it currently is. Leader 2 stated that these groups were against the Bluegrass

Stockyards proposal as well as a more recent one concerning the future of the industrial park. In fact, he stated that some of these opponents had contacted him to see if he could get the stockyards back because it was not as bad as the large number of houses that have now been approved for the same location.

People associated with the local college also tended to be against the Bluegrass Stockyards relocating to the area. Many of the stockyards supporters in the Woodford County area believe that the opponents are against the proposal because they are not clear on what the facility will be like. Supporters of the issue are also quick to point out that these people are not truly Woodford County people because they have only recently moved into the existing communities and that they are only there for the college and are not concerned about economic health of Woodford County. Both the preservation groups and the people of the college are typically not involved in agriculture. The local college is a liberal arts college that has not been actively involved in traditional agriculture but has an equine program. The college is often described as a group of smug elites by the locals.

Along with the above opposition groups, there is also a group of horse farms in the area that are against the proposal for many of the same reasons that the Lexington location was abandoned. This group was formed by seven of the major horse farms in the area. They

wanted the area to remain recognized for its horse farms rather than cattle. This group was lead by Leader 6, and an attorney hired by the group members.

In order to try and convince this group that the stockyards proposal was a good idea for the county, the EDA got another horse farm owner and his wife who was in support of the proposal to talk to them. This couple, who are Farmers, owned a major thoroughbred farm and had been involved in prior development efforts. He is recognized as being an environmentally friendly political leader and his wife is an avid supporter of farmland preservation. These individuals and Leader 2 (representing the EDA) tried to mediate a support for the development proposal from the horse farm group. After several discussions, only two major farms continued to oppose the relocation proposal.

These advocates continued to play very influential roles throughout the proposal. In addition to the above farmer, the EDA also gained support from the studies that were used to show that the land was suitable for the facility and that the area would not be dramatically changed if the facility were located in the industrial park. For these purposes, the group used the services of Leader 7, an environmentalist and Leader 8, a State Director of the Farm Service Agency and a local farmer.

Local businesses also played a role in the relocation process, even though it is difficult to classify this broad group as either proponents or opponents. The businesses that are considered agricultural businesses were typically in support of the relocation proposal. They believed that the increased agricultural base in the area would improve their own businesses as well as bring more clients to the area. Businesses that were not directly related to agriculture seemed to have mixed feelings about the relocation question. A portion of these businesses liked the fact that the proposal would increase the economic cash flows of the area, increase the people in the area, and provide hope for new businesses in the future. The businesses that opposed the facility didn't want Woodford County to change from the way that it was. They saw Woodford County as acceptable as it was and did not want industry and competition coming to the area.

The businesses in the area make up their own social network but the power of this network was not extremely important in regards to this issue, given the diversity of beliefs. Different types of businesses obviously framed the proposal differently, resulting in mixed messages from the group. The most influential members of this group were made up of only a small portion of the business owners. This subgroup was made up of the owners and operators of the businesses located in the downtown area. This group was willing to fight for the

preservation of Woodford County, and the community that they had developed into a niche tourism market.

Landowners who were located near the industrial park also had more networks associated with the relocation process, however they were also split on whether they were for or against the proposal, which limited the influence they were able to exert on the final decision. One of the most influential opponents was a family located directly across the highway from the industrial park. They hired an attorney to represent the interests of the opponents to the relocation proposal.

Some of the neighboring land owners joined the fight to prevent the proposal from passing, while others joined the group that wanted to see the proposal pass. Both the landowners that were for and against the proposal each had their own networks, but individually they were not extremely successful. They tended to be more successful when they joined the other interest groups on their side of the issue.

Another interest group that had members on both sides of the issue was composed of developers and local real estate agents. The developers that thought they could be part of the project supported the facility coming to the area for the economic benefits that it would provide them. Real-estate agents also wanted to be the ones to make the sale. If another agency found a location, they tried to make it look

unsuitable so that they had more of an opportunity to make the sale rather than their competition.

As part of the relocation process, the Bluegrass Stockyards hired Leader 9, as the agent that they would use to find the appropriate location. After the controversial Woodford County site was chosen, Leader 9, demanded that he be paid \$250,000 for his commission on the completion of the deal. The EDA had previously promised that a 6% commission would be paid to the agent on the completion of the deal for the industrial park. The Woodford County County EDA would not agree to this payment, believing that the community supporters and EDA had just as much to do with the relocation process as Leader 9. Leader 9, then filed a case against the organization making the relocation process more controversial and difficult to get approved. The members of this interest group generally had their own personal economic interest at heart rather than the interest of the community or the Bluegrass Stockyards. Leader 9, had spent a considerable amount of time trying to get both parties to complete this deal and thought that he should be compensated for his efforts. He had brought the parties together and Bluegrass was ready to purchase the property that the EDA was trying to sell.

It is also important to remember that these social and political networks are not exclusive networks and each frame the proposal

differently as well as what they see as the deciding factors for the proposal. The horse farm group members can also be part of the landowner's network, if they choose to be. Both of these can also be members of either of the preservation groups or act as members of the EDA. Given that the level of controversy over the Woodford County proposal was much more elevated than in Lincoln County, the networks are also much more complicated than they were in Lincoln County. In Lincoln County, it was difficult to determine the level of emotion or commitment that each of the groups had for the cause, but this was not the case with the Woodford County networks. Each of the Woodford County networks knew that the proposal included a six million dollar deal and the individual groups were willing to spend any available resources they could find to support their side of the issue.

For example EDA invested well over \$100,000 and the cattlemen's association was willing to provide them with a \$25,000 contribution to help get the proposal passed. EDA was also required to make an annual interest payment for the property that was over \$90,000 a year. The Woodford County Preservation Group also offered the EDA a check for \$25,000 if they would let them look into other alternatives for the industrial park.

In addition to the above financial costs and incentives, there was also several different court cases filed against the EDA. Court cases

are expensive regardless of whether you are the plaintiff or the defendant, which provides more evidence that the interest groups in Woodford County are very passionate about their beliefs and their framing of the issues. For the proponents, the court cases were just another obstacle that would have to be overcome.

During the conflict about the relocation of the Bluegrass Stockyards in Woodford County, the EDA's director resigned because of the stress and problems of the position. For the opponents of the relocation proposal, the court cases provided more evidence that they were going to fight with everything they had to keep the stockyards out of the area. The court cases were also one of the reasons that the Bluegrass Stockyards eventually withdrew their six million dollar offer and started looking for another location. The Woodford County location became too controversial and caused too many problems for Gene Barber and company to continue pursuing the venture.

Before taking a closer examination of what can be concluded from this study it is important to recap what we have discussed in this chapter. Lincoln County was willing to do what was necessary in order to help get Bluegrass Stockyards to come to their community, while Woodford County, or at least some of the more prominent members were willing to spend whatever resources necessary to keep Bluegrass Stockyards out of their community. The significance of these opposing

decisions comes from the proposals for each community being identical. This brings us to the different framing concepts and the levels of community conflict that lead to the result for each community. Having an identical proposal and different outcomes is a significant signal of the development complications for Kentucky communities.

Chapter 6 Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this dissertation has been to provide evidence that the members and characteristics of a particular community play a major role in community development, regardless of the economic incentives. This was accomplished by looking at a case study of Bluegrass Stockyards. This case study provided a unique opportunity because an identical proposal was made to two separate communities. This proposal would have had economic benefits for both of the communities, however only one of the communities accepted the proposal. That raised the general question of why the outcomes were different. Was it the type of facility, the people within the community, or a combination of both? These are all important questions that must be addressed by people involved in community development. In this particular proposal the decision was determined by the interests of the community members, the economic structure of the locations, and the political structure that was present in each location. It is important for practitioners to be able to blend these parts together and understand the different levels of importance that each of the communities place on them. That is what will help the practitioner be able to better determine the outcome of this or other development proposals.

The analysis showed that the community makeup was a deciding factor in whether or not to accept a particular development proposal. In Lincoln County, the community was willing to do whatever they could in order to persuade Bluegrass Stockyards to move to their area, even though they did not have an area that had been previously designed for such a facility. In Woodford County, they had already begun the development process on a piece of property, and still did not accept the proposal. Some community members, those with the resources to promote what they wanted, were willing to use whatever means necessary to keep the facility out of the area, even though it appears that the majority of the community were in favor of the facility.

In Woodford County, the data analysis showed that the deciding issues along with how the particular issues were addressed were very different from the decision process in Lincoln County. The framing of the relocation proposal in Woodford County highlighted and promoted the conflicts that arose throughout the decision making process. The conflict was generated as a result of the underlying political and economic structure. Woodford County is in a better economic position and has a many more organized citizen groups. These two factors make Woodford County much more able to respond to any type of development proposal in their area.

In Lincoln County there were no organized citizens groups either for or against the relocation proposal. Moreover, Lincoln County does not have a planning and zoning commission that could provide a platform for opponents or proponents to express their views. Lincoln County was not as prepared to oppose this proposal and, if they had decided to, the members would not have been as economically prepared to spend their resources, fighting with the opposing side.

Thus, this set of community case studies suggests the following conclusions with respect to the research questions. The level of interaction and development of the communities plays a major role in the development process, if there is a conflicting issue. As the conflict is generated, so are the interest groups and then the different framing tactics are put into use. As this is occurring both sides of the proposal are working to make their case and looking for support. This allows the proposal to follow the growth theories and take on a life of its own. Remember that throughout this debate it was not actually Bluegrass Stockyards that was at the forefront, it was the different citizen groups.

A Quick Update on the Study Communities

The facility that located in Lincoln County has been successful for the community and the community appreciates that they are the new

home of the Bluegrass Stockyards. However, some point to a few aspects of the development that could have been better. For example, the public relations for the facility, or more specifically, the community involvement of the facility could be improved. Also the Bluegrass management recently added a sales expense to producer's bills without explaining the reason, which has raised the concerns of many producers. Community members would also like to see more businesses in the area surrounding the existing facility in order to make the area thrive even more. Overall, though, the facility has been defined as a success and the community has no major regrets about allowing the facility to come to there.

The Woodford County community was faced with what to do with their industrial park since it was not going to be home to the new livestock sales facility (notice it is still not framed as a stockyard). The solution to this problem was to rezone the area so that it can be developed for residential use. This has also created a great deal of conflict in the county. Many of the opponents of the sales facility are also unhappy with the likely increase in residents in the area. This proposal has prompted some of the opposition to contact Leader 2, asking if they could get the sales facility back, stating that while they didn't want the sales facility it would be a better alternative than the residential area. However this is not an option because in one of the

court settlements it was added to the deed that a livestock sales facility would not be allowed on the particular piece of property. It is the belief of Leader 2, that the opponents would not be happy with any type of change and that they should have taken a more serious approach at considering the alternatives before trying to get the livestock facility banned from the location.

Since the decisions have been made in both of the locations, the networks that fought for and against the proposal have disbanded, or moved on to another hot topic. With the introduction of an issue of contention, the conflict begins to emerge and then the framing of the issues begins. As long as there is community development, these kinds of conflicts will occur. As the conflict emerges, interest groups will form and begin to frame the issues from their particular perspectives.

Limitations of the Study

This research is based on case studies. Case studies can be useful as indicators of the reasons that a particular decision was made. It can however be difficult to recreate an identical case, surrounding the next development proposal that a community is faced with. This case study examines these two communities on this one particular issue. What happened in these communities concerning the stockyards may

not represent the actions or decisions of other communities, or may not represent Woodford and Lincoln Counties, if the proposal were of a different nature.

The knowledge of the community response to this proposal and the outcomes are based on nonprobability sampling. By using a nonprobability sample, the evidence that has been presented may not represent the entire population of the respective communities. It is also important for practitioners to remain objective, which was a challenge for me personally, since I come from a cattle producing family and continue to be in the cattle producing industry.

Implications for Community Development and Community Development Practitioners

The results of this study show that there is often more to community development than what meets the eye. If we were to take only the economic cost and benefits of this proposal both, of the communities would be home to new livestock facilities. If we only looked at the social aspects as a whole, Lincoln County would still have the new facility and Woodford County would also have a new facility and an occupied industrial park, which we know is not the case. This study shows how a few people, with abundant resources have the ability to alter the development that goes on in their area. They are

able to use their available resources to shape the way others in their community frame the issues that give meaning and context to a development proposal.

One key implication of this study is that it is important for decision makers to understand the complexity of concerns and interpretations that different sectors of the community may attach to a development proposal. They must be able to incorporate the economic, political, and social aspects of any proposal. Familiarity with the communities being examined is a critical part of the process when looking at any type of community development. In Lincoln County, this was not a problem because the majority of the population was involved in agriculture and there was agreement among the members that they both supported agriculture and wanted to keep agriculture as an important part of the community. Lincoln County not only did not have a problem with being known as the home of the stockyards, they also saw it as an asset that they could use to further future development.

It is important for practitioners to remember that the networks and alliances are not exclusive or explicit. This is evident in Woodford County as members of different interest groups made their own plans about how to get more support for their side of the argument. In the planning and zoning meetings, some people chose to speak as

individuals rather than as a spokesperson for a particular community group. This was a strategy designed to provide more opportunities for their side to present their views. These people met before the actual meeting so that they could decide who should say what, so that all points were made. But at the meeting, they did not sit as a group or speak as group, but rather just as individual members of the community. As a community developer, one must be able to distinguish what the members of a particular community want, rather than a select few who have the financial means or the know how to get things their way. It is important for a development practitioner to look out for the overall good of the community, not just be influenced by a powerful few, financially or intellectually.

We are able to gain a better understanding about the conflict involved in this development and future development proposals, by incorporating the Urban regime and Growth Theories. In Woodford County the community had several debates that display the machine in action, since there was not a representative of Bluegrass Stockyards at these meetings. The respective citizen groups had taken over the control of the process. In Lincoln County the facility was used as a way to get the machine to move at a faster pace and to urbanize, or modernize the community.

Woodford County, was marked by a more complex presentation of the issues involved in the development proposal. This community was more diverse, and would require a community development practitioner to do a much more thorough analysis of the community and its members. Different groups within the community framed the issues differently and then tried to promote their beliefs as the wants and beliefs of the entire community. It is the job of the community development practitioner to understand the development process and take a deeper look at what is going on in the community and to work for the good of the community both socially, and economically. It is not the job or role of the practitioner to accommodate the more elite members of a community. The more resources that a member uses to persuade others to take their side, can be seen as more community support but, no amount of financial support means that a given proposal has the support of the majority of the community members.

Appendix A

IRB Forms

Form B Nonmedical IRD Research Description

1. **Background:** For my master's thesis I looked at the economic side of the locations of stockyards across the state of Kentucky. My research suggested that Bluegrass was the highest place for a producer to sell animals at. At this same time the facility was beginning the relocation process. From an economic standpoint everyone should want the facility in their area but this is not the case. There has been a considerable amount of controversy over the relocation process. This controversy has been over social issues, which is what I would like to research. In order to do this I will perform a case study of the two communities that had to decide on the same proposal from Bluegrass Stockyards. The outcome was not the same, even though the proposal was. I would like to figure out why the outcomes were different.

2. **Objectives:**

Learn what each of the communities saw as the major issues when addressing the relocation process.

Learn how each of the two communities framed the issues that they deemed important

3. **Study Design:**

I will be interviewing people from each of the two communities involved in the relocation of the facility as well as using the snowball effect to learn of others in each of the communities that I should interview.

4. **Study Population:**

The study population will be people who influenced the outcome of the relocation process. These will be extension agents and elected officials. After these initial interviews I will ask the respondents for suggestions of who else they feel should be interviewed. I will use these people because they have the most knowledge about the relocation process and how it affects the community.

5. **Subject Recruitment Methods and Privacy:** Previous research has identified people that have played an influential role in the relocation process. These are the people that will be contacted for possible interviews. At the end of the accepted interview the respondent will be asked if they could recommend any other influential parties that they feel should be included in the interview process.

6. **Informed Consent Process:** Before beginning the interview the respondents would be asked to read and sign the consent form.

7. **Research Procedures:** The research procedures include:

1. Contacting the party that would be interviewed if they accept the offer to be interviewed

2. Set up date and location for interview.

3. Conduct interview

8. **Resources:** Terry Lunsford will personally perform each of the interviews and then he will type and record the data that will be used for the project. These interviews will be conducted at meeting places that are convenient for the respondents.

9. **Potential Risks:** It is my opinion that there is minimal, if any risk to respondents for participating in an interview.

-Feelings about Bluegrass Stockyards relocating to the area.

-Cost/Benefits of Bluegrass Stockyards relocating to the area.

10. **Safety Precautions:** Not applicable

11. **Benefit vs. Risk:** The primary benefit to subjects for participating in this study is the satisfaction that comes from sharing their views about their community and contributing to a base of knowledge about their communities.

It is my professional opinion that there is no risk in participating. Each respondent has a choice of whether or not to answer any or all of the questions asked in the interview. Control is in the hands of the potential respondent.

12. **Available Alternative Treatment(s):** Not applicable

13. **Research Materials, Records, and Privacy:** Interviews will be conducted to gather the needed data. Names will not be included in the publishing of the data, only the respondents positions will be used.

14. **Confidentiality:** The data will be typed and stored on a jump drive that will be locked in the office of Terry Lunsford after it is collected. Terry Lunsford will be the only one with access to the data after it is collected. The data will only be used by Terry Lunsford and will be kept a minimum of six years after the study is completed.

15. **Payment:** Not applicable

16. **Costs to Subjects:** Time used in actual interview process. This cost will vary depending on how much each of the respondents has to say.
17. **Data and Safety Monitoring:** Not applicable
18. **Subject Complaints:** At any point during the study that a participant wants to be removed from the study, they can be by contacting Terry Lunsford.
19. **Research Involving Non-English Speaking Subjects or Subjects from a Foreign Culture:** Not applicable

20. **HIV/AIDS Research:** Not applicable

Letter to be sent to Key informants, asking for their participation

Dear _____

My name is Terry Lunsford a PhD student at The University of Kentucky and a local cattle producer. I have grown up raising beef cattle on my family's farm which has led me to the project that I am currently working on. I am researching the recent relocation process of Bluegrass Stockyards, which is the topic for my dissertation. My dissertation entitled; Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Uses: A Case study of Bluegrass Stockyards, plans to look at the relocation process of Bluegrass Stockyards.

Bluegrass Stockyards is a vital part of cattle production in the state of Kentucky. This facility tried to relocate into two small communities within Kentucky. One of the communities welcomed the facility while the other community spent a vast amount of resources on keeping the facility out of the community. Since the two proposals from Bluegrass Stockyards are the same, looking at this case will allow me to gain a better understanding of how these two communities function. By learning what influenced the outcome of this proposal, I will be better equipped to explain how similar proposals will be viewed by different types of communities.

You have been identified as an influential person within your community, regarding this relocation process. I would like to sit down and talk with you at your convenience about the proposal of the facility coming to your neighborhood. Upon agreeing to talk with me I will meet you and have a discussion about your role in the relocation process as well as how you feel about the relocation of the facility. Your responses will not only be used by myself. I will summarize your results with other influential parties and will not include your name in my published work. In order to help ensure your privacy I will also not refer to the specific community that I am referring to.

I look forward to hearing what you have to say on this issue. Please give me a call at 859-576-8433 so that we can setup an appropriate time and place to have this discussion. If I do not here from you I will follow up this letter with a phone call so that we will be able to discuss the issue further. If you choose not to participate in this study or have any questions, I will be more than glad to answer them at the same phone number or I can be emailed at tlluns0@uky.edu. Thank you in advance for your time.

Terry Lunsford
715 W.P. Garrigus

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Uses:

A Case Study of Bluegrass Stockyards

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. You are being invited to take part in this research study because of your relationship to the industry. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 40 people to do so.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Terry Lunsford of the University of Kentucky Department of Sociology. He is a student being guided in this research by Lori Garkovich. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to evaluate how communities evaluate development proposals.

By doing this study, we hope to learn why Stanford accepted the Bluegrass Stockyards proposal and Midway did not.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

If you are under the age of eighteen you will not be permitted to take part in this study.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research procedures will be conducted at various locations across Kentucky. You will be contacted 1-2 times during the study. Each of those visits will take about 45-60 minutes. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is 2-3 hours over the next year.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

You will be asked to answer open ended questions about the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. These questions will be asked in one visit, with the possibility of one follow up meeting if necessary.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

You should understand that it might be possible for someone reading this study who is familiar with this issue to become aware of your identity. This might occur even though I will be using customary practices to limit any such disclosure. In signing this form you agree that you understand that there is this possibility and believe that it represents no significant risk to you.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, some people have experienced a feeling of satisfaction when helping researchers understand their community. Your willingness to take part, however, may, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

We will make every effort to keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law. We may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from such organizations as the University of Kentucky.

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private.

This is a case study of two communities. Since the persons being interviewed have been identified as influential members of the community, their comments on the issue may be linked to their position.

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?

If you decide to take part in the study you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

The individuals conducting the study may need to withdraw you from the study. This may occur if you are not able to follow the directions they give you, if they find that your being in the study is more risk than benefit to you, or if the agency funding the study decides to stop the study early for a variety of scientific reasons.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Terry Lunsford at 859-576-8433. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428. We will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

WHAT ELSE DO YOU NEED TO KNOW?

Terry Lunsford is providing financial support and/or material for this study.

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent

Date

ASSENT FORM

Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Use: A Case Study of Bluegrass Stockyards

You are invited to be in a research study being done by Terry Lunsford from the University of Kentucky. You are invited because you have been identified as influential within the community.

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to answer questions about the relocation of Bluegrass Stockyards. There is no payment for participating in this study.

You can ask Terry Lunsford questions any time about anything in this study.

Signing this paper means that you have read this or had it read to you, and that you want to be in the study. If you do not want to be in the study, do not sign the paper. Being in the study is up to you, and no one will be mad if you do not sign this paper or even if you change your mind later. You agree that you have been told about this study and why it is being done and what to do.

Signature of Person Agreeing to be in the Study

Date Signed

Appendix B

Interview Prompts

1. How do you feel about Bluegrass Stockyards relocating their facility to the area?
2. Are you for or against the relocation?
3. What do you feel are the main issues or points of concern for this proposal?
4. Have these issues been addressed? If so by who?
5. Have you talked to community members about your concerns as well as your concerns? If so what where the concerns?
6. Do you think the community is for or against the proposal? Why?
7. What other information do you feel is important concerning this study?

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Vita

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Ph.D expected August 2011
Completed Qualifying Exam for Ph.D. in Sociology 2009

Graduate: Master of Economics, University of Kentucky, 2005
Master's Thesis: Characteristics of Beef Cattle that Determine the Price Difference Between Traditional and CPH Sales

Undergraduate: B.A. Agricultural Economics, University of Kentucky, 2002

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Associate Campus Dean, Strayer University, Spring 2011

Instructor University of Kentucky, Fall 2010
Soc 101 Introduction to Sociology

Adjunct Faculty, Midway College, Fall 2010
SOC 120 Principles of Sociology

Adjunct Faculty, Georgetown College, Spring2010
SOC 111 Principles of Sociology

Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, 2010-
Soc 360 Environmental Sociology (TA for Shaunna Scott)

Sociology Graduate Student Organization Treasurer, University of Kentucky, 2009-2010

Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, 2009-
SOC 340 Community Interaction (TA for Lori Garkovich)
SOC 420 Sociology of Communities (TA for Richard Maurer)
SOC 101 Introduction to Sociology (TA for Bill Edwards)
- Held weekly discussion sections

Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, 2008
SOC 305 Contemporary Sociological Theory (TA for Patricia Ahmed)
SOC 304 Classical Sociological Theory (TA for Patrick Mooney)

Research Assistant, University of Kentucky, 2008-2009
Try-It Program with Dr. Tanja Link

Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, 2002-2007
AEC 305 Food and Agricultural Marketing Principals (TA for Loys Mather 2002-2005)
AEC 305 Food and Agricultural Marketing Principals (TA for Roger Brown 2006-2007)

University of Kentucky, Community and Leadership Development, 2007
Worked with Dr. Richard Maurer and the Dairy Regulation services in order to complete a dairy producer survey.

Farm Operator/Manager 1994-

Approximately one thousand acres, requiring me to work with people in a rural area.

Jessamine County Substitute Teacher 2007-

Worked with students and other employees on a daily basis.

Deacon and Sunday School Teacher Nicholasville Christian Church 2000-

Work with young adults to further their Christian education.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Rural and community development, agricultural and environmental policy, rural sustainability

INSTRUCTIONAL INTERESTS

Introduction to Sociology, Environmental Sociology, Natural Resource Policy and Sustainability, Community Sociology, Social Science Research Methods, Social Theory

BOOKS

Lunsford, Terry L. Characteristics of Beef Cattle that Determine the Price Differences Between Traditional and CPH Sales, Beef Cattle Price Determinants. [STATE: PUBLISHER. DATE]
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PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Community Development Framing: A Look at the Relocation Process of Bluegrass Stockyards, Rural Sociological Society, August 12-15, 2010.

Factors Influencing Community Response to Locally Undesirable Land Uses: A Case Study of the Bluegrass Stockyards, Southern Rural Sociology Association annual meetings, Spring, 2010.