

CASE STUDY

DEVELOPMENT IN CLEVELAND THROUGH THE MULTI-ANCHOR MODEL

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The evolution of the Greater University Circle Initiative (GUCI) in Cleveland merits careful analysis, as the successes and limitations of its model may provide guidance for the future economy of the United States. The GUCI is a multi-anchor economic development model that networks neighboring anchor institutions with community organizations and other local actors. The purpose of this network is to facilitate the efficient mobilization of anchor institution hiring and purchasing resources to most benefit the local population and economy. Projects of the GUCI include the nationally known Evergreen Cooperatives and several other projects designed to create employment opportunities through job creation and training programs. Most of these projects are targeted towards benefiting residents of the Greater University Circle –some of the most impoverished neighborhoods in Cleveland characterized by high unemployment and crime.

This case study evaluates the success of the GUCI in meeting its goals using the Future Economy Analytical Framework developed by the E3 Network. Through personal interviews and secondary research, we have evaluated whether the GUCI has the potential to create a new, more equitable and more sustainable way to localize work and life. A network analysis was implemented to aid us in the study of power dynamics between the organizations comprising the GUCI. All of these methods allow us to draw conclusions about the resilience and replicability of the GUCI and about the achievements and limitations of the multi-anchor model as it has been implemented in Cleveland.

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About E3 Network's Future Economy Initiative

In communities across the US, new economic institutions are emerging to challenge business-as-usual. These bold innovations respond to rising inequality, environmental degradation, and economic decline. They may forge the foundation for a more resilient and equitable economy of the future. Despite their potential significance, there is a general lack of awareness of these innovations and their impacts and there has been little systematic economic analysis of these innovations and their contribution to a potential future economy.

The Future Economy Initiative¹ is bringing rigorous economic analysis to these emerging innovations. Our goals are to document and study their social, economic, and environmental impacts and identify factors which contribute to their emergence, success, and limitations. We assembled a team of researchers to design a framework for analyzing future economy innovations and awarded grants to teams of researchers across the country to apply the framework to varied case studies. This case study report is one of seven presenting results of those efforts. We encourage you to explore the other completed case studies and to apply the framework in your own research and share your findings

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¹ The Future Economy Initiative is a program of Economics for Equity and the Environment Network (E3 Network), a national network of economists developing new and better arguments for protecting people and the planet. Through applied research and public engagement, we seek to improve decision making and further understanding of the relationship between economy and ecology. More information available online at: <http://www.e3network.org/future-economy-initiative.html>.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cleveland, Ohio has captured the attention of policymakers, developers, and participants in the “future economy” as large institutions have been working together to promote local development. The city has long epitomized the tragedy of the rustbelt: lost industry with few new opportunities to support a declining population. Even before the Great Recession of 2008, a need for systemic changes in Cleveland was necessary if the city was to break from its trajectory of increasing poverty and urban decay. In 2005 a new model of development began to emerge, attracting national attention and providing reasons for optimism about the city’s future. This report is a case study of the Greater University Circle Initiative (GUCI), an attempt to incubate, attract, and promote a new way of doing business in Cleveland. The GUCI is a multi-anchor model for development that sits at the crest of a wave of innovative development initiatives designed to revitalize struggling regions. It stands apart from other anchor-based efforts by weaving poverty alleviation, community enhancement and green business design into its mission of long-term systemic economic growth.

This case study attempts to paint this initiative’s portrait while also providing an assessment of how scalable and/or replicable it is for others interested in the model as a building block for a future economy where equitable and environmentally sustainable growth are intrinsic to the system. The first section of this report defines the anchor-based model and describes the GUCI as a specific example of this model. It includes an overview of the history and context of the initiative, concluding with the methodology of this research. The second section presents an in-depth evaluation of the model, emphasizing how and to what degree it achieves its mission. The final section of this report discusses the replicability and scalability of the GUCI as a model of economic development.

1.1. Anchor-Based Development

An anchor-based model is a development strategy centered on a place-based institution called ‘anchor’ (Democracy Collaborative). The anchor is an institution, often non-profit but not necessarily so, that is geographically situated and represents significant purchasing and hiring power. Tied to their geographies, they have a stake in the health of the communities around them. The anchor institutions play two vital and unique roles in the model. First, they set the agenda by shaping the goals and mission of the organization. Second, they provide the resources to attain those goals by creating job opportunities that may be filled with local residents and by purchasing goods and services that may be sourced from the local economy. Thus, the anchors’ participation in this model directs their spending and hiring to avenues where those resources potentially promote wealth and development of the surrounding community and region.

Most of the anchor-based models located across the United States are designed to address urban issues similar to those that Cleveland faces. These initiatives are primarily efforts by old, established medical and educational anchor institutions who are re-inventing their identity as leaders for their local communities. Some examples are: University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), Harvard University: Allston Campus (Boston), Henry Ford Hospital (Detroit), and the Mayo Clinic (Rochester, Minnesota). Each initiative varies in regard to what extent and in what ways it leverages its economic power. Most focus on facilities expansions in economically depressed areas, while others focus more on local sourcing of food and other service procurement that stimulate local growth. What distinguishes the multi-anchor model from this more common anchor-based model, as the name suggests, is the networking of several anchors together under a unified mission. There is no single anchor which dominates the network through connections, leadership, or control of the mission. This increases the impact potential of the model as each additional anchor brings its resources, though the model’s complexity grows exponentially as well.

1.2. The Greater University Circle Initiative

The GUCI not only represents the multi-anchor model but is an initiative on the forefront of the model’s evolution as its core members are “truly ‘writing the next chapter’ in anchor-based economic development” (Hexter, Austrian and Clouse 24). The initiative started in 2005 as a collaborative effort between the Cleveland Foundation and three anchor institutions to address the “invisible divide” between the wealth of the institutions in University Circle and the poverty of the surrounding neighborhoods

(Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative 8). Since this time, the composition of the GUCI programs and shareholders has changed dramatically, though the basic multi-anchor structure has endured. The overarching goal of promoting economic development in the Greater University Circle area through the deliberate allocation of anchor resources has thus remained the core objective of the project. More recent efforts have involved a growing number of stakeholders as community and development organizations are recruited (or created) to better fulfill the mission of the GUCI. These changes have allowed the GUCI to address a wider range of issues while bringing a new set of challenges. Such successes and shortcomings of the model in its various stages is a core theme of this case study.

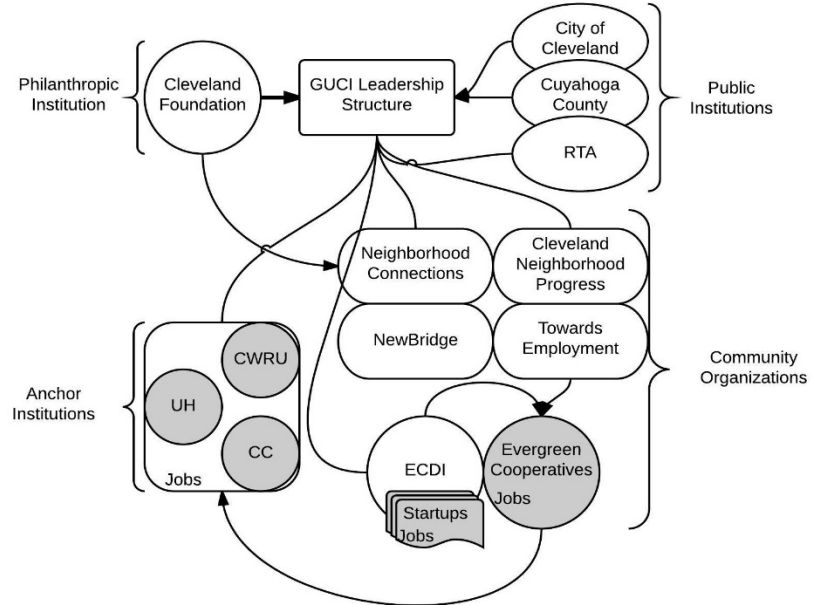
The mission of the GUCI evolved as the organization matured. The initial mission grew out of the need for anchor institutions to be situated in desirable locales to attract and retain employees and students. This effort reflected a social justice mission as desired development coincided with poverty alleviation goals. The GUCI does not have a stated mission, though the initial strategies have been characterized as: Institutional partnership (between core anchors and University Circle institutions), physical development, economic inclusion, and community engagement. Initially, physical development was emphasized, with a transition over time to emphasize economic inclusion (Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative). This transition illustrates a shift in priority from development of the immediate area around the anchors to a more holistic, multifaceted approach to development that benefits residents of impoverished neighborhoods and Cleveland overall. Since 2012, the primary goals of the GUCI had been restated to reflect this change in direction, now titled simply: "Buy Local," "Hire Local," and "Live Local." These categories have become important in understanding the programs of the GUCI, and thus are worth a closer look.

The four priorities of the GUCI each embody a goal for the anchors that would have a desired impact in the University Circle or the surrounding area. The "Buy local" priority indicates an effort by anchor institutions to direct increasing percentages of their purchasing to local businesses, thus promoting the establishment and expansion of local producers and service providers. This effort includes the promotion of current providers relocating to Cleveland as well as the creation of new local businesses as there are few providers able to supply the quantities needed at present. The "Hire local" priority specifically targets residents of neighborhoods surrounding the anchors to fill entry level positions at the anchor institutions. It also includes the development of the Health Tech Corridor, an early project of the GUCI that branched off to become its own initiative. The "Live local" priority addresses the population decline in Cleveland and the segregation of low income residents in East Cleveland neighborhoods contrasted against wealthy employees and patrons of University Circle institutions residing primarily in the suburbs. The original rendition of the Live Local priority included "Connect" which embodied the ideal of fostering community among current local residents (Austrian, Hexter and Baboornian). It also addressed an initial impetus for the project of breaking down the "invisible divide" between local residents and the anchors, replacing the rift with a relationship of reciprocity and shared identity (Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative). The mission of the GUCI has thus always reflected multiple overlapping priorities. Lillian Kuri, Program Director for Architecture, Urban Design, and Sustainable Development at Cleveland Foundation, described the multifaceted mission in a recent interview:

"It is important to understand that this is a comprehensive approach that includes community engagement, housing, jobs, workforce and hiring. It isn't any one of them that's going to make a change, but it's actually keeping the partnership that is working going so that we can make a difference. That's why we can keep all these parts moving so we don't get bogged down on any one thing, but we change by doing all these different initiatives." (Lillian Kuri, personal interview)

There are several different categories of organizations in the GUCI network, each with a unique agenda that informs the relationship held between individual organizations and the rest of the GUCI. Member organizations, or agents as we refer to them, identified through our research are: anchor institutions, philanthropic institutions, community organizations, public institutions, financial organizations, other private organizations/contractors, and, though not technically a part of the GUCI, the residents of GUC neighborhoods. The diagram to the right illustrates the connections between the primary agent groups and principal members of the network. It is a slight simplification as ECDI and Evergreen are not community organizations per se, though have been classified as such here as they do work directly with residents. A definition and examples of each agent follows.

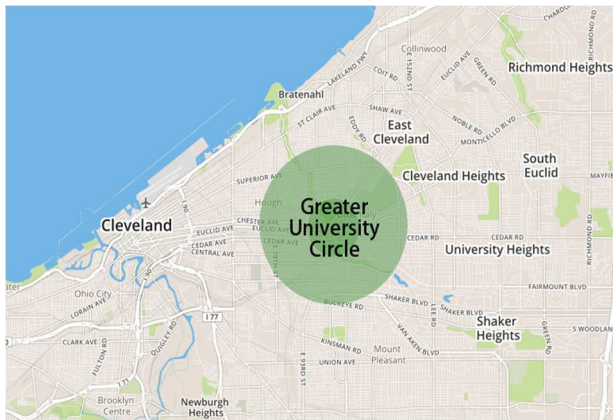
Figure 1.



The three primary anchors are: University Hospitals (UH), Case Western Reserve University (CWRU), and the Cleveland Clinic (CC). We have mapped out their location in Figure 3 below (UH is located on the east side, CWRU in the middle, and CC is on the west side). All three are world renowned institutions with considerable hiring and purchasing capacities. UH is a non-profit University network that is the second largest private sector employer in Northeast Ohio, employing more than 24,000 individuals (University Hospitals). It includes several specialty hospitals and medical centers, some that are for-profit affiliates of CWRU. The non-profit sector of UH employed 14,359 people in 2012, paying \$997.6 million in total salaries and benefits with almost \$2 billion in total expenses (Internal Revenue Service). CWRU is a private medical university established in 1826. They had 10,771 students in 2013/14 with a total staff of 6262 people (CWRU). Their total operating expenses reached one billion dollars in that year (CWRU). The CC is also a nonprofit organization that includes medical clinics, hospitals, and research/education facilities. It is the main local competitor for UH though its Cleveland campus is quite a bit smaller. CC does have several satellite locations nationally and internationally. As an agent group in the GUCI, the anchors include the employees and students at each of the institutions. These individuals will generally share the agendas set forth by their affiliate institutions as their happiness is a necessary component of each institutions' mission.

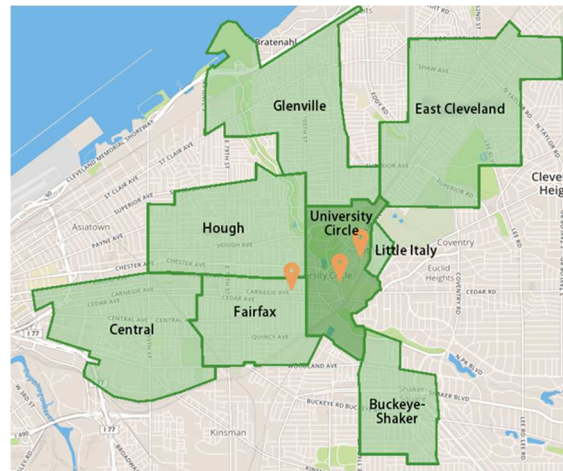
All of the anchors are located in a circular neighborhood called the University Circle in eastern Cleveland. Figure 2 below situates the Greater University Circle in Cleveland while Figure 3 is a detailed view of the same area. The University Circle is approximately one mile in diameter and is occupied by several other institutions including art museums, universities, music venues, and the like. It is surrounded by the Greater University Circle (GUC) neighborhoods that are the target of the initiative.

Figure 2. Greater University Circle



Source: Mapbox.com

Figure 3. Greater University Circle neighborhoods



Source: mapbox.com

There are several organizations whose primary relationship to the GUCI is that of a donor. These philanthropic institutions are local foundations and banks in Cleveland that share the agenda of generating development that will spur long term economic activity in the city and thus help ensure their healthy futures. This category of agents includes the Cleveland Foundation and the Living Cities Initiative although they differ from other philanthropic organizations in that they exert a considerable amount of influence within the GUCI and provide most of the financial resources that sustain its activity. The pervasive role of the Cleveland Foundation in particular separates the GUCI from other anchor-based models. The Cleveland Foundation is an elite nonprofit community foundation started in 1914 as the first of its kind. With reported total assets of \$1.8 billion at the end of 2013 (Internal Revenue Service), the Cleveland Foundation is able to fund the growing GUCI network as one of its many projects. From 2005 to 2013, the Cleveland Foundation funded 22.82 percent of the entire GUCI (including the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative, discussed later). Some consider the Cleveland Foundation an anchor institution because it is tied to Cleveland by definition and plays the role of convener in the GUCI in addition to providing significant ongoing financial support. However, it is not an anchor by our relatively conservative definition as it does not have significant hiring or purchasing power. This was an intentional distinction made to emphasize the unique roles that the three anchors play. Our definition is also more applicable to other anchor models that do not benefit from a funding institution. Thus, the Cleveland Foundation can be understood as a prominent, even semi-anchor stakeholder in the GUCI network thus leaving the primary definition of the GUCI as a multi-anchor model.

Another agent group of the GUCI, community organizations, can be defined as organizations who work directly with current residents of the seven GUC neighborhoods² adjacent to the University Circle. Their primary role is to conduct outreach within the GUC neighborhoods and provide residents with training, education, and other resources that will enable them to take advantage of opportunities available through the anchor institutions and other members of the GUCI. Community organizations can be understood as the bridges between anchor institutions and GUC residents as they carry out the poverty alleviation aspect of the mission. Other agents within the GUCI are Public, Financial, and Private/Contractual organizations. These are broader categories that encompass the many actors involved this network.³ These institutions primarily existed before the GUCI and have become involved with specific parts or projects of the larger initiative. The projects and the relationships between these entities will be discussed in greater detail throughout the report.

² Hough, Fairfax, Little Italy, Central, Glenville, East Cleveland and Buckeye Shaker

³Notable examples of each are:

Public organizations: Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA), City of Cleveland

Financial institutions: Economic Community Development institute (ECDI), National Development Council (NDC), NextStep

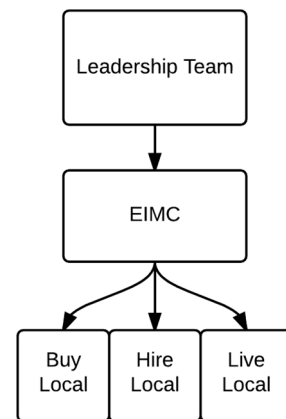
Other Private Organizations/Contractors: Democracy Collaborative, BioEnterprise, Evergreen Cooperative Initiative

An important group that has yet to be discussed is the residents of GUC neighborhoods. Many of the programs and goals of the GUCI directly target these individuals or their neighborhoods. The residents are the designated recipients of microfinance loans, employment and job training efforts, and are the invitees to neighborhood social gatherings and job fairs organized by the GUCI. Neighborhood Connections works with community groups and intentionally works to enable the residents to have a voice. NewBridge and Towards Employment work with residents through training and job placement. Cleveland Neighborhood Progress works with residents and in neighborhoods through various housing and land projects. A fifth organization, the Economic Community Development Initiative (ECDI), works with qualifying residents to develop business concepts with training and access to microfinance. It does some outreach, though the nature of its involvement has put it into the Finance category. For these reasons, we consider the GUC residents important stakeholders but not a central agent group in the GUCI network.

The GUCI has a formal structure designed to facilitate collaboration between the agents of the network. It takes the form of two organizational committees, or “tables.” The Leadership Team was established first to form a network between the anchors. This committee gathers executives from the anchor institutions as well as leaders from foundations, the public sector and other non-profit organizations to direct the vision and the mission of the GUCI. The second table is the Economic Inclusion Management Committee (EIMC), created in 2011 in an effort to expand the scope and leadership of the GUCI. It is comprised of representatives from GUCI organizations (some of whom serve on the Leadership Team as well) and is a more hands-on committee that makes plans and solves problems as they come. The EIMC has three subcommittees, or “nested tables”, for each of the primary goals discussed previously (Ibid). Neighborhood Connections plays a notable role in the structure as it is the “connective tissue” providing a channel of communication between the GUC residents and the EIMC. The Cleveland Foundation initially provided the chair of the Leadership Team, though this policy was changed to redistribute positions of significant influence. It does have representatives sitting on both tables (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter).

Figure 4.

GUCI Organizational Structure



Two projects intimately connected to the GUCI are Evergreen Cooperative Initiative and the Health Tech Corridor (HTC). Both of these entities are complex networks that were initiated as projects under the GUCI but have evolved into their own organizations. They remain interlocked with the GUCI through funding, mission, and individuals involved. The Health Tech Corridor (HTC) is a three mile, 1600 acre strip connecting the University Circle to Downtown Cleveland. The HTC project primarily overseen by BioEnterprise, an initiative aimed at creating and incubating businesses, especially in the HTC where it is based. For the GUCI, the HTC project is important because it is aimed at creating a localized model of business in which the supply chains of the anchor institutions are locally situated. The idea is to create an environment in which Clevelanders can “live, work, learn, dine and play” (Health Tech Corridor). The Health Tech Corridor is home to eight business incubators which offer lab space, clinical resources and business expertise. It is also home to the ‘Healthline’, a bus line run by the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority which provides Clevelanders a direct transit line between downtown and University Circle.

The Evergreen Cooperative Initiative, or simply Evergreen, is a tightknit network of businesses designed to funnel the purchasing resources of the anchor institutions to residents of the GUC neighborhoods by employing the residents in cooperatives created to meet the needs of the anchors. The concept originated at a roundtable in 2006 organized by the Democracy Collaborative and the Ohio Employee Ownership Center and sponsored by the Cleveland Foundation, the Gund Foundation, and the Sisters of Charity (Ted Howard, personal interview). The vision they shared started to solidify with funding from the Cleveland Foundation and work done by the Democracy Collaborative. Both organizations were central to the initial planning and ongoing evolution of Evergreen. Its innovative design and multifaceted mission

received national and international attention from proponents of worker cooperatives. Ted Howard, the Executive Director of the Democracy Collaborative, has been an important figure in the Evergreen project from the first visions hashed out during the 2006 roundtables through today. He described Evergreen as “a model of how you link a coop to a larger community building strategy so it’s not just about the workers but the whole community; we are a model of building worker-owned companies that are legitimately the greenest in their sector” (personal interview).

The structure of Evergreen can be understood as a stakeholder model, where there is a business that consults agents in its community as they represent stakeholders in its mission and success. It is a network of enterprises owned by and connected through a holding company called the Evergreen Cooperative Corporation (ECC). The ECC was “designed to make entire system work, the keeper of the mission and vision” (Ted Howard, personal interview) by being the logistical, financial, and decision making center of the model. Goals of Evergreen include creating green businesses that promote environmentally conscientious production methods. These businesses were to be cooperatively owned by their employees while still legally and functionally connected to the overall Evergreen network. The ECC provides start up and emergency capital as well as being responsible for appointing the Chief Executive Officer of each cooperative. It receives 20 percent of profit generated by each cooperative which it uses as an emergency fund for the network and to invest in new cooperatives (Ted Howard, personal interview). Evergreen Business Solutions and Evergreen Cooperatives Development Fund are for profit businesses also a part of the network. The former is a contracting company that handles human resources and accounting needs of the cooperatives while that latter is a financial institution that helps manage a revolving loan fund. The original idea was that the anchors would source from the cooperatives in the Evergreen network, thereby allowing the anchors to purchase locally while ensuring consistent demand for Evergreen products and services.

1.3. History and Context

Cleveland evolved into a center for durable goods production around the turn of the 20th century. Standard Oil Corp and the booming steel industry fed a high level of growth from 1890 to 1915 which drew thousands of international and domestic immigrants to Cleveland. Prior to this mass migration, Cleveland was a relatively racially integrated city with upper and middle class skilled laborers from both Black and White populations. Building racism during the mass migration pushed Black families to relocate to the Central neighborhood, resulting in an almost entirely racially segregated city by 1930. During this period, the White population relocated to suburbs while the Black population expanded into contiguous neighborhoods to the east and north of Central. Overt racism of industrial employers and labor unions prevented the growing Black community from economically benefiting from the rapid growth of industry in Cleveland (Kusmer). The racial geography established during this time continues to describe Cleveland’s neighborhoods today.

The 1970’s brought along a downturn in manufacturing all across the great-lakes region as companies moved to take advantage of cheaper and non-unionized labor in the Sunbelt or foreign markets. Cleveland saw a dramatic decrease in manufacturing jobs from 1979 to 1994 which granted it the nickname the “mistake on the lake.” Low income neighborhoods were the most affected by the economic downturn. In the mid-1970s Cleveland was ranked as one of the worst in terms of poverty, unemployment, poor housing, violence and municipal debt. The poverty rate in Cleveland rose from 27 percent in 1980 to 40 percent in 1987 (Warf and Holly). This continued until an economic revitalization in the 1990’s as automotive plants and the chemical industry reindustrialized the region. The improvement in these industries was paired with several development projects in the downtown area, including investments in retail, entertainment and multi-use spaces. Despite these advancements, only a margin of Cleveland’s population benefited from the growth. The primarily Black neighborhoods in the urban core continued to decline in terms of poverty, unemployment and property values. In the 2000’s the overall population of the city declined as many of the few industries and businesses relocated to the suburbs to reflect their White employees and patrons. This story of isolated successes mainly benefiting White residents has continued, thus deepening the rift between Black and White, impoverished and wealthy.

To understand the history of segregation in Cleveland through another perspective, census data has been used to generate measures of segregation for metro areas. A 2011 report indicates that Cleveland-

Elyria-Mentor area is the eighth most segregated city in the United States in 2010 (Logan and Stults). The Index of Dissimilarity was used to generate this list, giving Cleveland a score of 72.6 percent, compared to 85.8 percent in 1980. Thus, in order for there to be an even residential pattern across census tracts in the Cleveland, 72.6 percent of either Black or White residents must move their homes assuming 2010 dispersion. Even more demonstrative of Cleveland’s racial segregation are the neighborhood populations by race as reported on the 2010 general census. These numbers can be found in Table 1 below (NEO CANDO). Notice the difference between GUC neighborhoods and the University Circle (“University”).

Table 1. 2010 Census Percent Population by Race

	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Total
Buckeye-Shaker	3.42	81.81	1.43	14.03	0.74	12470
Central	0.20	94.73	1.67	4.44	0.64	12306
East Cleveland	0.22	93.25	1.00	4.58	1.95	17843
Fairfax	0.82	96.11	0.59	2.56	0.51	6239
Glenville	0.17	97.76	0.74	1.70	0.38	27267
Hough	0.32	96.14	1.32	2.71	0.83	11475
Little Italy	Data Unavailable for this Neighborhood					
University	18.26	23.70	2.26	57.30	0.74	7920

The Cleveland Foundation and the anchor institutions have each implemented independent programs in attempts to address the deepening poverty, population loss, and segregation in the Cleveland area before participation in the GUCI. The most notable project of an anchor was the University Hospital’s “UH Difference: Vision 2010”, a strategic five year plan which included building the Seidman Cancer Center. Few of the efforts to revitalize Cleveland targeted the GUC despite the poverty present in those neighborhoods (Eric Diamond, personal interview). The GUCI represented an evolution of their efforts as well as the first collaborative effort between all four of the primary anchors and the Cleveland Foundation (Cleveland’s Greater University Circle Initiative 11). Ronald Richard, CEO of the Cleveland Foundation as of 2003, organized a meeting of the heads of CWRU, UH and CC to address these issues (Z. Austrian, K. Hexter and C. Clouse). This meeting is the principal event that can be singled out as the origin of the GUCI. Its significance comes both from being the meeting in which the Leadership Group was initiated and because the severe competition between UH and CC was momentarily quelled for the sake of the project. Key accomplishments from the initial five years of the GUCI were the establishment of shared master plans by the anchor institutions, the creation of a shared development investment fund, transit station improvements and beautification projects in the surrounding area. Key programs implemented during these years were the Greater Circle Living housing program, the ECC and first two Evergreen cooperatives, NewBridge Cleveland Center for Arts and Technology as well as Neighborhood Voice and Neighborhood Connections. The development of the HTC began during this time as well.

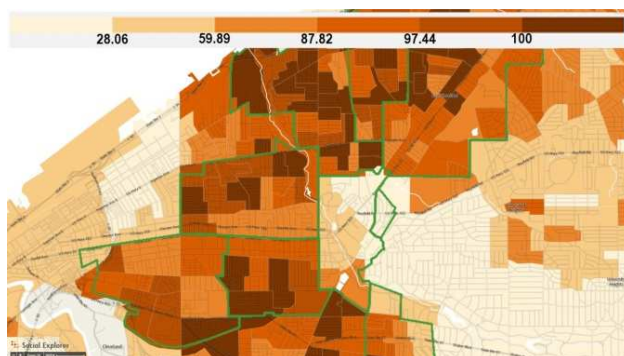
In 2011 the Living Cities Initiative awarded the GUCI a grant as a part of its three year multi-city project, The Integration Initiative (TII). The Living Cities is a national organization with the mission of “harness[ing] the collective power of philanthropy and financial institutions to improve the lives of low-income people and the cities where they live” (Living Cities). Participation in TII has had a catalytic influence on the formalization of the model as a requisite of the grant. This effort included the establishment of a two table leadership structure (Leadership table and EIMC) which has been touted as one of the most influential and valued outcomes from participation in the TII (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter). It has also induced the formation of a more precise mission statement which reflected the stronger social justice vision of Living Cities. The relationship is a symbiotic one as the Living Cities has learned from the Cleveland experience and is working to replicate the model in Detroit and Baltimore. It is difficult to say what impact the end of the TII grant will have on the GUCI, though many employees of member organizations felt assured that the Cleveland Foundation would step in to replace lost funds.

The evolution of the multi-anchor model thus reflected the increase in resources and level of participation that occurred as the GUCI matured. Early successes of HTC and Evergreen drew national attention from disparate development groups. HTC brought health technology corporations to Cleveland, becoming a nationally recognized region of growth in the industry. Evergreen, appealing more to those concerned with inequality, was widely touted as the new model for democratic and environmentally sustainable development. With its early emphasis on worker-ownership and innate connection to the anchors, it was thought to be a method for wealth distribution that was beneficial for both the anchors as well as low income Cleveland residents. Both of these initiatives have remained influential actors in Cleveland's development, though not always as predicted. Overall, the GUCI always revolved around the anchors though Cleveland Foundation and TII funds have allowed it to evolve into an organization comprised of many influential stakeholders. The influence of the anchors has thus been diluted somewhat though they are still the source of employment opportunities and purchasing power that many GUCI programs aim to distribute locally.

The GUCI represents an innovative approach to addressing these deeply seeded issues that differs from traditional urban economic development efforts. Firstly, the initiative is primarily driven by the private sector. Additionally it targets specific neighborhoods, rather than targeting broad metropolitan industrial recruitment. Urban renewal and retention efforts have become more common in the area of urban economic development, but have generally focused on commercial and residential development without addressing issues regarding low income housing. Urban residential development has often resulted in gentrification. These efforts have been conducted in silos and have not involved the cooperation and coordination of stakeholders to find creative and multi-dimensional solutions to complex issues. With the lack of engagement of urban neighborhoods, these places of the city have been neglected (Leigh and Blakely).

Despite the efforts of the GUCI organizations, many things in Cleveland have not changed. Poverty in the GUC neighborhoods remains at devastating levels with few employment opportunities for residents. These neighborhoods had a median household income of \$18,500 in 2012 (Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative). The estimated percent of individuals living below the poverty rate for 2010 was almost 70 percent in Central and between 30-40 percent in the other GUC neighborhoods (NEO CANDO). Figure 5 shows the estimated percentage of Black population in the eastern part of Cleveland. The darkest tone shows census block-groups where 100 percent of households are of Black individuals while lighter tones show lower Black populations. Figure 6 displays how the GUCI targets many of the most low income neighborhoods in the city. The darkest tones show block-groups that have a median household income below \$14,000 while the lightest tones show median household income above \$54,000.

Figure 5. Percent Black individuals (ACS 2006-2010: 5 Year Estimates)



Source: socialexplorer.com

Figure 6. Median household income (In 2012 Inflation adj. dollars) ACS 2008-2012: 5 Year Est.



Source: socialexplorer.com

Beyond the bleak statistics that describe the neighborhoods, the racism that is embedded in the geography of Cleveland remains oppressive and divisive. Comparing Figure 5 and Figure 6 shows a general correlation between race and income, thus illustrating the segregation of the city that results in primarily Black neighborhoods where there is a concentration of poverty. Since industry has not returned

to the urban core, there remains little opportunity for employment for the primarily Black residents. Low income urban neighborhoods have little to contribute to the tax base which results in poorly funded public schools, deepening the divide between inner city and suburb. Racism is the “elephant in the room” and is not addressed directly by any GUCI programs. However, the initiative is taking steps to correct the problem of disconnection and lack of communication between these neighborhood residents and the surrounding institutions.

1.4. Methodology

For this case study, we have chosen to combine interviews with secondary sources to gain a holistic perspective of the initiative. Each major arm of the GUCI was contacted for interviews though not all were receptive. The Cleveland Clinic is the notable organization missing from our list, as are the GUC residents and Worker-Members of Evergreen. A complete list of interviews can be found in Appendix A. We met with 15 individuals representing nine organizations. The goal of these interviews was to capture a picture of the GUCI from the individuals who carried out its work. How did they view the leadership structure? What were their concerns or areas of particular success in their eyes? We sought the attitude and perspective of the big players to hear different angles on the GUCI and to determine if those from the anchor or philanthropic organizations felt differently than those working directly with GUC residents. Ultimately, this interview process was designed to answer the question: Is the GUCI successful in accomplishing its mission?

Secondary sources have also been integrated into our description and analysis. These sources provided specific data on the programs as well as a method for the verification of information gathered during interviews. Participation in the TII by the GUCI included the contracting of researchers at the Cleveland State University Levin College of Urban Affairs in a series of reports published over the course of the grant period. A considerable amount of the financial and structural information presented in this case study is a result of this meticulous research. Other secondary sources we drew upon included public documents, census data compiled by CWRU’s Northeast Ohio Community and Neighborhood Data for Organizing (NEO CANDO), and the several internally generated case studies on the initiative.

For our analysis, we followed the Future Economy framework created by the E3 Network.⁴ Using this framework to present and analyze the case study propounds important questions about the environmental, social justice, and economic impacts of the GUCI. To assess the social relationship and power hierarchy of the network, we implement a social network analysis. This method is relatively technical as it quantifies the institutional influence held by organizations and their employees. We have used it to answer specific questions about whether the GUCI maintains or reduces hierarchies and leads to the empowerment of GUC residents.

2. EVALUATION

The value of this model largely depends on how effective it is at achieving its mission of equitable and environmentally conscientious economic development. For this section, we seek to evaluate its success by assessing the impact it has had on the communities and region within which it is imbedded. We are also interested in the level of participation and dissemination of power within the organization to assess how representative it is of the community it serves. We examine these impacts in respect to two broad areas: Economic and Social Impacts, and Empowerment and Social Relations.

2.1. Economic and Social Impact

While it is too soon to tell if the GUCI meets the need for long-term economic sustainability for the east side of Cleveland, there are positive signs that it is headed in that direction. Indicators show improvement in these neighborhoods and anchor institutions. Job growth and creation is slow, but is increasing for residents of GUC both from local hiring programs by the anchors as well as new business startups. The GUCI housing program draws anchor employees to relocate into the GUC area. The anchors have made

⁴ Available online at: <http://www.e3network.org/future-economy-framework.html>

some shifts in their procurements and hiring practices now doing more purchasing from local businesses and hiring local people. This section will elaborate on GUCI programs addressing these concerns.

2.1.1. Employment and Entrepreneurship

Generating employment and job creation that directly impacts the livelihoods of GUC residents is a priority of the GUCI. This goal is furthered through several complimentary programs, some of which facilitate job creation while others target hiring of GUC residents through job training and recruitment programs. The anchors also increase the number of jobs in the region by directing their sourcing to the local economy, though this is less geographically targeted than job training programs. While the net cost of this effort is incalculable, the amount of philanthropic funds required by the below programs is impressive (discussed in section 2.2.2). However, all of these programs have trained and placed individuals with low employment potential, which is a significant accomplishment and progress toward a less economically (and racially) segregated city.

In 2013, UH and CC hired more than 500 people from GUC neighborhoods in less than one year. This was far beyond the initial expectations of the Hire Local subcommittee and the Step-up-to-UH program staff who had established a goal of hiring 500 people in 10 years. Now the Hire Local subcommittee is committed to establishing data driven goals (Ziona Austrian, personal interview). A pilot phase of the Step-up-to-UH program was conducted during the second half of 2013 and successfully hired 28 people. It is a UH program that partners with community organizations to specifically target hiring of GUC residents. In the fall of 2014 the program moved on to a second stage and hopes to hire six cohorts with about 10 people per cohort. UH is the first of the anchors to establish a formal local hiring program (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter). Both CWRU and CC are not involved in this pilot program, but are in the process of developing similar programs (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter 26). Numbers for new GUC resident hires from these two anchors have not been made available.

Anchors are also coordinating with community organizations that train and equip residents to be competitive candidates for open positions at each of the anchors. NewBridge's adult program trains participants to be pharmacy and phlebotomy technicians. This program has served 108 adults from 2011-2014 with 62 successfully completing the program. Of those who graduated, 68 percent have accepted job offers. Most of the placements have been within the two medical anchors. An important aspect of NewBridge's goal for the adult program is to place their graduates in skilled and higher paying jobs. The average graduate makes \$27,123 annually. While specific data is not available, most of the participants of the NewBridge adult program are residents of the GUC. They also have a number of participants who are residents of other neighborhoods around the county. Their goal for the adult program is to connect underserved people with jobs that allow them to escape the cycle of poverty. Since the goal of this program differs slightly from that of the GUCI, the target population is broader (Karen Thompson-Shaheen, personal interview).

Towards Employment (TE) is a non-profit organization that provides job training and placement for low-income and disadvantaged people, specializing in helping ex-offenders. TE has partnered with UH through a Pathway to Patient Care Assistant program funded by the Living Cities TII. This program successfully placed 10 entry-level employees at UH and a second group of trainees has been approved as of the fall of 2014. Another way TE has been involved in the GUCI has been through its partnership with the Evergreen Cooperatives (Jill Rizika, personal interview). Separate from the anchors hiring, two other elements of the GUCI have created jobs for neighborhood residents. First, the Evergreen Cooperatives have created 81 new low skill jobs. Of those, 17 people hired came from GUC neighborhoods and 15 additional employees live within two miles of the GUC boundaries. TE helped in placing 10 people at Evergreen Cooperative Laundry, six at Evergreen Energy Solutions and three people at Green City Growers. Employment by one of the Evergreen cooperatives presents better opportunities for employees than can be found in the area as the average annual salary for workers from the three cooperatives is \$23,839, almost 52 percent increase from the minimum wage for the same year. These positions also include job and cooperative work training and full benefits (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter). Workers in the cooperatives also have partial ownership of the business, thus providing wealth building opportunities. As of 2013, 23 out of the total 67 workers at all of the cooperatives combined have

partial ownership (Z. Austrian, K. Hexter and C. Clouse). Full membership is purchased over time, so many of those who are not partial owners currently may become so in the future.

The GUCI has also created jobs through the ECDI. While ECDI works with business startups throughout Cleveland, it has helped three different small businesses start in GUC neighborhoods as a part of the GUCI. A café, a restaurant and a composting company have employed a total of 10 people. Initial efforts to promote small business entrepreneurship in the GUC neighborhoods were largely unsuccessful because the average education levels of residents were lower than the prerequisites of already established ECDI programs. Thus, the ECDI developed the Cleveland Culinary Launch and Kitchen Business Incubator program. This program has helped 75 people find jobs with new startups (Eric Diamond, personal interview).

These programs have cumulatively trained 91 individuals, placed 528 people in existing jobs and created 156 new jobs. These numbers are not insignificant, though they only represent only 0.78 percent of total residents in GUC neighborhoods as of 2010 and include individuals from other areas. Given that these programs are aimed at training and employing individuals who have impediments to employment such as low formal education levels and criminal records, this low figure represents a greater achievement than appears at first glance. Long term growth is not an easy task and with the growth of industry in the area there will likely be a large influx of new entry level positions. Such development has a greater potential to impact the local community. Ziona Austrian, the Director at the Center for Economic Development at the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, commented on this issue, noting the uncertainty of the situation: “It has great potential, but time will tell” because “if it continues to grow there will be more opportunities for entry level work” but “if the hospitals decline, there will be a big loss” (Ziona Austrian, personal interview).

Systems changes are evident through the procurement processes as the anchors are actively engaged with the Buy Local Subcommittee which directs purchasing resources locally. As of 2012, UH procured 43 percent of its total purchasing from vendors in Cuyahoga County, similarly CWRU and CC procured over 24 percent (Austrian, Hexter and Baboomian). The cultural change in anchors is also having an impact on their non-local suppliers. Sodexo, a large food supplier for UH has recently begun to purchase some produce from Green City Growers (Aparna Bole, personal interview). Another large supplier for UH, Owen and Minor, has moved from the suburbs to an urban area close to the HTC because of UH shifting its procurement to be more local (Ziona Austrian, personal interview).

Evergreen has been showing internal signs of cultural shifts as well. The role of the workers in each Evergreen cooperative has undergone a significant transition from the initial group of Worker-Owners hired at the launch of each cooperative to the Worker-Members that are running the cooperatives today (Austrian, Hexter and Baboomian). It is unclear from current public documents if this change indicates a restructuring to reflect a transition to a different business model or some other shift in the role of the workers. The cooperatives each have their own Chief Executive Officer and board of directors, chosen by the ECC save for Worker-Member representatives on each board who are chosen by their peers (Ted Howard, personal interview). There were growing pains associated with the hiring of Chief Executive Officers for the cooperatives, which caused several management shifts in the cooperatives. There has been a shift to hiring more business minded individuals in this position as opposed to people who, while undoubtedly qualified in other ways as well, were chosen primarily because of their dedication to the ideological mission of Evergreen (Z. Austrian, K. Hexter and C. Clouse).

2.1.2. Housing and Wealth Building

Long term goals of the GUCI include increasing property values for current residents as well as enticing anchor institution employees to live in the GUC area. Employees are offered housing and wealth building benefits through three GUCI programs: Greater Circle Living program, the Evergreen Housing Program and Drive to Succeed program. The Greater Circle Living program, as a part of the Live Local subcommittee, provides forgivable loans for the purchase of a new home, forgivable loans and matching funds for repairs to currently owned homes, and subsidies for rental assistance. The overarching goal of the program is to populate the GUC neighborhoods with employees of the anchors, thereby reducing poverty in the GUC and bridging the divide between those neighborhoods and the University Circle

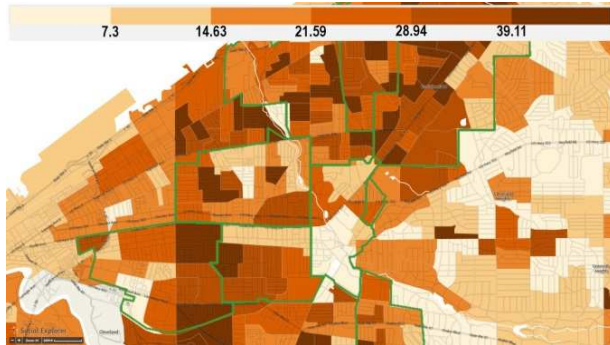
institutions. Employees of the anchors or non-profits in the University Circle are qualified to participate and can obtain up to \$20,000. Employees of the anchor institutions who have an annual household income lower than \$150,000 can obtain up to \$30,000 (Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation). From 2008 through 2013, 178 people have participated in the program. A total of 31 people relocated within GUC, and an additional 21 from within GUC took part in the repairs and renovation part of the program. The remaining 126 people who participated in the program relocated from outside the GUC, some from within Cleveland and some from places outside of Cleveland (Clouse, Austrian and Hexter). This program effectively incentivizes people working in the University Circle to live close to work, though the number of individuals who have participated is quite small compared to the number of employees at the anchors.

Enabling housing and car ownership for employees in the GUC neighborhoods has been ventured by the Evergreen Housing Program, which provides housing to qualified employees of any of the Evergreen cooperatives. The program partners with Cleveland Housing Network to find low-cost homes, typically up to \$15,000, and provides 4-5 year term zero-interest monthly mortgage of \$500 or less (Neighborhood Voice). The program also includes a cooperative aspect through “barn-raising.” This part of the program involves cooperative members helping one another repair, update and maintain their homes. 12 current or former Evergreen employees have participated in the program through 2013. Eight employees were at various stages of the process in the fall of 2014 (Ibid). As for car ownership, Drive to Succeed is a program of the Cleveland Foundation and the Collection Auto Group’s Nissan of Middleburg Heights store. The program aims to solve the problem of lack of transportation that many new employees face while building participant’s wealth. The program offers low-cost new cars for nine monthly payments of \$200 to employees of Evergreen cooperatives or graduates of NewBridge. In addition to paying up to \$150 in insurance fees per month, the monthly payments go towards the down payment to purchase the car. Thus far seven NewBridge graduates and three Evergreen employees have participated in the program (Karen Thompson-Shaheen, personal interview).

The Greater Circle Living Program was designed to incentivize people working in the University Circle to live close to work. It makes available zero interest forgivable loans towards down payment and closing costs associated with the purchase of a residential, owner-occupied property in the GUC. Employees of the three anchors can obtain up to \$20,000. Employees of the anchor institutions who have an annual household income lower than \$150,000 can obtain up to \$30,000. (Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation, Greater Circle Living Program Website).

Interviewees from Neighborhood Connections and NewBridge have expressed concern about the possibility of gentrification. They are concerned that developments in the Greater University Circle may have the possible side effect of displacing residents on account of rising property values which may incentivize them to sell their properties to wealthier individuals and move out. “We want to go in with our eyes open in terms of the threat of gentrification and be mindful that it can happen.” Avoiding gentrification, Danielle Price, the Program Coordinator for Community Engagement at Neighborhood Connections, continues, will require GUCI leaders to be “really proactive in thinking about the policies that need to be in place and how to involve residents at all levels” (personal interview). Greater Circle Living enables people working in the University Circle to live in the GUC. Since it offers larger incentives to low income households, one can hope that it can indeed make it possible for low income households to live in the GUC. However, for households who are not working in nonprofit institutions situated in the University Circle, there may still be an incentive to sell their property and move out as the initiative continues. Interviewees from Neighborhood Progress however, are not as concerned about the possibility of gentrification. According to them, the “problem isn’t that the market is heating up too much, but that in specific areas there is no market.” This is because there are 10,000 vacant houses in Cleveland, and thus “there is very little likelihood of meaningful displacement over the next 25 years” (Joel Ratner, personal interview). As can be seen in the below figures, there is a continued decrease in population and increase in vacant lots for large swaths of land in all of the GUC neighborhoods. Figure 7 shows the percentage of vacant units for block-groups in the GUC neighborhoods. Darker shaded areas indicate higher levels of vacancy. Figure 8 shows the percent change in population from 2000 to 2010 where darker tones indicate higher percentage of population decline.

Figure 7. Housing Units: Percentage Vacant (ACS 2006-2010: 5 Year Est.)



Source: socialexplorer.com

Figure 8. Total population percentage change (Census 2010 – PL94 Redistricting Data)



Source: socialexplorer.com

2.1.3. Community Resources

GUCI also enhances people's opportunities to access community resources over and above jobs and housing, such as art projects, urban greening, and public participation. For instance, Neighborhood Voice has given residents the opportunity to voice their opinions about their community. Neighborhood Connections has been involved in funding several community arts projects. In the spring of 2014 Neighborhood Connections, in partnership with Cuyahoga Arts and Culture, approved \$341,892 in grants to fund 100 different neighborhood arts and culture projects. These projects gave many an opportunity to express their creativity through a variety of arts projects. NewBridge's youth program also promotes giving new opportunities to youth in regard to the arts. NewBridge has served 503 9th-12th graders from 2010-2013. While specific data is not available regarding where each youth lives, a large number of participants are residents of the GUCI neighborhoods (Karen Thompson-Shaheen, personal interview).

Urban greening also gives many residents opportunities for greater access to green space. While Neighborhood Progress' Re-Imaging Cleveland is not exclusively a GUCI project, there were two projects within the GUC neighborhoods in the fall of 2014. The Circle North Streetedge/Sideyard Project will involve the transfer of empty lots to adjacent stable owner-occupants. This will increase property values in these depressed neighborhoods while putting vacant lots to good use. The second project is the Lucia Greens Pathway Park. This project is managed by the Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation and will provide neighborhood stability and beautification through the creation of a pathway park. The pathway park will connect the Fairfax Elderly Homes complex with the Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation. Neighborhood Progress provided \$50,000 for the Circle North Streetedge/Sideyard project and \$35,000 for the Lucia Greens Pathway Project (Cleveland Neighborhood Progress).

Despite the anchor institutions being education and medical facilities, the GUCI does not directly address resident's access to healthcare and education. These are known problems in the GUC area as Price informed us that "these neighborhoods in GUC have high distress levels on health and it's embarrassing that they are in walking distance from these hospitals and you have third world country rates" while "the hospitals are sitting right there in the neighborhoods!" (personal interview). The NewBridge adult and youth programs do serve to provide a degree of educational support to disadvantaged residents, however this is supplemental to the issues facing public schools in Cleveland that are similar in many ways to those that are seen across many U.S. metropolitan areas.

2.1.4. Environment

Cleveland has a notorious history in regard to environmental issues. The burning of the Cuyahoga River gained world attention to Cleveland in 1969, becoming an iconic image of industrial pollution. The anchor institutions and the City of Cleveland have been working to overcome this embarrassing legacy with sustainability and pollution reduction projects. For example, in 2009 the City of Cleveland started an initiative called Sustainable Cleveland 2019 with the goal of "building a thriving green city on a blue lake." UH also has a sustainability initiative, "Greening UH," that it has been pursuing. These two institutions are important players in the GUCI, and their attention to environmentalism has influenced the values of the

network despite the lack of any explicit environmental goals in the GUCI's mission. The development of the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative is the prime example of this change in direction and the main avenue through which GUCI is addressing environmentalism.

The three Evergreen cooperatives have all been designed to meet the needs of the anchor institutions in an environmentally conscientious way. Ohio Solar and the Evergreen Laundry, the first two Evergreen cooperatives, were launched in 2009. A year later the third cooperative, Green City Growers, Inc., was launched. Ohio Solar later became Evergreen Energy Solutions in response to lowered profitability, expanding their services to include solar panel installation, building energy use assessments, insulation installment, and other building improvements to reduce energy use. Evergreen Energy Solutions has installed solar panels on the rooftops of each of the anchors as well as provided solar installations for a large one MW solar array for the Medical Center Company that is a non-profit district provider (Aparna Bole, personal interview).

Evergreen Laundry is a commercial laundry facility that uses green technology to reduce water and energy use. The laundry facility is LEED Silver certified and uses advanced resource saving technology. Their washers use 70 percent less water than conventional methods. Currently this business has contracts with mainly hotels and elder care facilities and is running far below its 10-12 million pounds of laundry capacity. Details are being negotiated for two contracts in the fall of 2014 with the Veteran's Hospital and with UH for a portion of their laundry service (Capital Institute).

Green City Growers, Inc. is a 3.25 acre greenhouse growing leafy greens for restaurants and food service companies. Innovative green solutions include 210,000 gallons worth of water storage for collected rainwater and melted snow. Currently three types of lettuce, basil and watercress are being grown using hydroponic techniques. The indoor facility ensures plants are clean and insects controlled for year-round growing. Green City Growers markets to a local farmers market as well as each of the anchors (O'Malley). As of the fall of 2014 the large amount of lettuce demanded and existing contracts with other providers has prevented Green City Growers from being the sole provider of lettuce for the anchors (Aparna Bole, personal interview).

The Evergreen cooperatives, and the associated businesses, originally represented an opportunity to increase local hiring and purchasing. While they have done that to some extent, one of the most influential aspects of Evergreen was to promote the philosophy of green business practices, a culture that has now spread beyond the GUCI. There are several other important environmental efforts being undertaken by organizations involved in the GUCI, though these projects are either partially funded by the GUCI or only tangentially related by being initiatives of organizations involved in the GUCI for other reasons. Greening UH is one of these projects and is a comprehensive program developed by UH that strives for sustainability through a number of different avenues. Initial aspects of the program included lighting and water retrofits to reduce consumption, solar panel installations, creative waste disposal including composting and recycling, and storm water management. Recent developments of the program hope to instill sustainability as a corporate value at all levels of the organization. Employees are actively engaged through education and employee programs that foster green lifestyles (Aparna Bole, personal interview).

Another way that the GUCI promotes environmentalism is through its leadership in renovating and updating the public transit system. Increasing the ability for more people to use public transportation will reduce city congestion and pollution. Two RTA station upgrades are part of this \$44 million project. The Cedar Hill Rapid Station will receive a desperately needed facelift that will increase access and rider safety. The Mayfield Road Rapid Station will be moved to a more central location of the Uptown district in the northern part of University Circle (Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative).

The GUCI is working in parallel with the efforts of the city as well as internal programs of the anchors. Cleveland has come a long way from burning river to where they are now, but there is certainly more that can be done in regard to environmental sustainability. While the GUCI does not have specific programs that protect or restore habitat or core ecosystems in the Cleveland area nor does it promote or provide

increased access of disadvantaged people to environmental goods and services, indirectly, through new green businesses and new attitudes toward the environment, change is occurring for the better.

2.1.5. Public sector impact

Local government, both city and county, has played an important role in the GUCI. Their participation has been largely supportive rather than leading. Mayor Frank Jackson has shown public support of the GUCI as well the HTC (Cleveland's Greater University Circle Initiative). A positive sign regarding local government involvement has been that no particular public official or political party has claimed credit from these initiatives, thus divorcing the GUCI from the rise or fall of a political party. The City of Cleveland's Department of Economic Development has played a hands-on role and created a new position as part of Living Cities TII. This new special projects position was designed to focus new economic development on the HTC. Two internship positions were also created in the Department of Building and Housing during the first year of TII funding; these positions have helped streamline permit and financial systems as well as cooperating with the Department of Economic Development in finding new funding sources (Austrian, Hexter and Baboomian). The local government is also represented on both of the EIMC and GUCI tables, showing how representatives of local government are working with and coordinating with other stakeholders in the leadership and management of GUCI.

The public sector is also impacted by the outcomes of the GUCI. Maintaining and increasing a city's tax base is a central idea and outcome of urban economic development. An important impact of GUCI is to stem the population decline in GUC. The GUCI both encourages those who currently live in GUC to remain, as well as brings new residents in through the housing incentives of the anchors. While increases in property tax revenue may be minimal, the overall increase in economic activity is an important goal of the city and results in increases in tax revenue from various avenues.

2.1.6. Civic Engagement

Neighborhood Connections has worked with the GUC neighborhoods for over a decade and has established good relationships with many residents. The primary way in which civic engagement is conducted on the neighborhood level is through the monthly event entitled Neighbor Up. This ongoing event connects people and jointly empowers residents through a participatory, discussion-based format. People are asked to share something positive they have experienced. Events are started this way to encourage people to think positively and creatively. After this initial sharing, the group does "small conversations" to think through challenges together. Another activity that plays a similar role is "marketplace." People sit in smaller groups and make requests, offers or declarations. For example if one person has a pickup truck, they could offer to help others with anything they need. These gatherings provide a way for residents to connect to each-other (Danielle Price and Lila Mills, personal interview).

Neighborhood Connections also emphasizes participatory mapping exercises which gets residents to share their stories about how they ended up on the same street. This has proven to be a powerful exercise for enabling participants in community with each-other. On a second day of this exercise residents map community assets in their neighborhoods and evaluate what is working as well as what can be improved. On the third and final day, residents meet together and discuss what practical things can be achieved. Community arts projects are another priority of Neighborhood Connections. In the spring of 2014 they, in partnership with Cuyahoga Arts and Culture, approved \$341,892 in grants to fund 100 different neighborhood arts and culture projects. Projects that highlight the empowerment that neighborhood residents can achieve through these projects include The Cleveland Association of Black Storytellers in the Hough neighborhood, Djapo Cultural Arts Institute in Buckeye, and Project Grow in Glenville (Danielle Price and Lila Mills, personal interview).

2.2. Empowerment and Social Relations

Empowerment requires participation and agency to be meaningful. The GUCI aims to empower both GUC residents and anchor institutions through the development of stronger social relationships. There is some evidence that cooperation and sharing have increased dramatically within and across the agent groups of the GUCI. However, the levels of influence over the network tell a different story. To evaluate whether the GUCI leads to the empowerment of GUCI residents and community organizations working

directly with GUCI residents, we analyzed relationships within the network using a social network analysis method followed by a discussion of how the GUCI engages with the population it represents.

2.2.1. Cooperation and Sharing

The GUCI and EIMC teams are meant to promote cooperation and sharing both inside organizations and between organizations. They have supported Neighborhood Connections which interacts with residents directly and builds bridges and networks between them through sharing amongst neighbors. Moreover, the whole idea behind GUCI is to get institutions together to work on a shared mission and vision. Despite being competitors, the University Hospitals and Cleveland Clinic have come together to promote the joint development of the GUC. According to Eric Diamond, the Vice President of the Cleveland Market at ECDI, having leaders of the Cleveland Clinic and UH working together is “amazing” though spreading that same level of cooperation to the GUC neighborhoods is more difficult (personal interview).

Collaboration is fostered through the power of building bridges across organizations. For instance, the GUCI tables, the EIMC and “nested tables,” play a crucial role in fostering collaboration; Neighborhood Connections organizes people not around issues but around relationships. Danielle Price, Program Coordinator, and Lila Mills, Communications Manager, both from Neighborhood Connections, see communication as faster when relationships are stronger. They see their work as finding “opportunities to build bridges between anchors and find opportunities where we can work collaboratively.” They are doing this through a method that “in a nutshell is to organize around relationships and not issues” which “makes a difference in the information and opportunities you get and with relationship building, even if the issue changes and the relationship remains, it doesn’t matter.” This seems to have worked surprisingly well with the anchor institutions, to the point where individuals feel comfortable enough with each-other to “call a CEO at midnight for a signature to turn in for a grant.” This makes business matters run more smoothly and incentivizes continued collaboration. Such a level of sharing “can become norms in community and can create a culture that is more inclusive in GUC” (personal interview).

2.2.2. Participation and Reduction of Hierarchies

A good way to quantify whether or not there has been an increase in participation or a reduction in hierarchies is a social network analysis. A social network analysis views actors and their actions as interdependent rather than independent autonomous units. It also views relational ties between actors as channels for transfer or flow of resources. These can be material resources such as money flows, these can also be non-material for example, familial relationships, friendship or simply knowing each other (Wasserman and Faust). In our analysis, we find that not all actors are equally connected in the GUCI network. The influence of some extends only to the management committee but not to actual decision making in the leadership, similarly, not all actors in the leadership are involved in the actual running of projects and may not always be in the know. The power an actor may exercise may be correlated with the funding advanced for GUCI projects. If this is the case, then while the two-table structure of the GUCI brings community organizations together with the anchors and the large philanthropic foundations, it also maintains hierarchies. Moreover, it also implies that small community organizations who work directly with GUC residents and depend on the anchors and the foundations for their funds, may have limited agency in determining which decisions are made.

As previously mentioned, we consider “actors” or “agents” as organizations involved in the GUCI. These have been classified as Anchor, Philanthropic, Community, Public, Financial, Other Private/Contractors and residents of the GUC. Our network models have been built using all available data from the reports prepared by the team of independent evaluators led by Ziona Austrian (Austrian et al, 2011, 2013, and 2014). We have included in our analysis all organizations that have played any role in the GUCI –whether as a funder, or as a participating organization represented on EIMC tables or as a recipient of funds. Appendix B provides an overview of all actors.

We have analyzed the GUCI network in three types of models using UCINET (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman). First, we have traced relationships between the individuals on the EIMC and the GUCI. We have noted a relationship between individuals as present if they are on the EIMC together, if they are on the GUCI Leadership Team together or if they are from the same organization. Otherwise, a relationship between two individuals is noted as absent. The network diagrams (Appendix C and D) have two kinds of

actors; individuals and organizations. We have not defined relationships over organizations in these models but we deduce the relative connectedness of an organization on the basis of how connected its employees are within the network.

Second, we have studied fund flows from funders (funding organizations like the Cleveland Foundation) to recipients since the inception of the GUCI to the present. We have included all available data from Austrian et al (2011, 2013, and 2014) which reported fund flows over the 2005-13 period in an anecdotal manner. Sometimes we have had to add relevant data across years since Year 1 reports provide data until 2011 and Year 3 reports provide data from 2011 to 2013. We have checked our figures against the reports of all three years for inconsistencies. We have also included data from the websites of the Cleveland Foundation (Cleveland Foundation) and the Gund Foundation (Gund Foundation). Our conclusions are subject to the data we have and are the closest we can possibly get to accuracy given available information. We will be happy to change our conclusions subject to any new information.

Third, we have studied the number of employees of GUCI actors who serve on the boards of other GUCI actors. A relationship between Actor A and Actor B equals 2 if 2 employees of Actor A serve as board members of Actor B. This way, we can trace patterns of influence between GUCI actors and get an idea about the power dynamics of the GUCI model. However, this is not a complete picture as the data we have is from the websites of the relevant organizations. Not all of these organizations are non-profit organizations and therefore not all have revealed who the members of their boards of directors are.

The network diagrams for the first type of models are given in Appendix C and D.⁵ They map the relationships between i) individuals and ii) individuals and organizations for 2012 and 2013. The relationships between organizations have not been mapped. Instead, we will draw conclusions about the centrality of each organization from the centrality of its employees. We have used degree centrality, the simplest measure of centrality. The degree centrality of an individual is given by the number of relationships that the individual has divided by the number of actors in the network. In 2012, there were 62 individuals on the EIMC and GUCI tables. The degree centrality of individual A is given by the number of individuals A is connected to, divided by the total number of individuals in the network.

$$Degree\ Centrality_i = \frac{No.\ of\ individuals\ to\ whom\ i\ is\ connected}{No.\ of\ individuals}$$

The results for degree centrality by individual are given in Appendix E. Table 1 however, gives the average of degree centrality by individual for each organization.

Table 2. Average degree centrality by individual for each GUCI organization

	Classification	2012	2013
Cleveland Foundation	Philanthropic	85.282	75.233
University Hospitals	Anchor	78.571	67.825
Cleveland Clinic	Anchor	75.806	67.595
Case Western Reserve University	Anchor	69.758	60.467
City of Cleveland	Public Sector	72.177	57.766
Towards Employment	Community Organization	32.258	56.330
Neighborhood Connections	Community Organization	32.258	56.330
Neighborhood Progress	Community Organization	87.903	77.597
Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation	Community Organization	32.258	56.330
ECDI	Financial	32.258	56.330
Midtown Cleveland	Community Organization	32.258	56.330

National Development Council	Financial	32.258	56.330
BioEnterprise	Community Organization	32.258	56.330
Chapter One, Ohio	Financial	75.806	54.030
Early Stage Partners	Financial	75.806	54.030
George Gund Foundation	Philanthropic	75.806	54.030
Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority	Public Sector	75.806	54.030
Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation	Philanthropic	75.806	54.030
Kent H. Smith Charitable Trust	Philanthropic	75.806	54.030
State of Ohio	Public Sector	75.806	54.030
University Circle Inc.	Community Organization	75.806	56.329
Cuyahoga County	Public Sector	32.258	56.330

Source: Austrian et al (2011, 2013, and 2014).

From Table 1, we can see a clear pattern of centrality. The Cleveland Foundation is at the core of the network with an average degree centrality of 85 percent in 2012 and 75 percent in 2013. Employees of the Cleveland Foundation such as Lillian Kuri and India Pierce Lee are represented on both EIMC and GUCI tables and enjoy a higher degree centrality (Appendix E). Because there are at least eight individuals who are Cleveland Foundation employees or work from the Cleveland Foundation (Walter Wright is the director of Living Cities but he works from the Cleveland Foundation), each individual is also connected to each other. The Cleveland Foundation maintains its position in the network by having a significant number of representatives on both tables.

In Table 1 it appears that the average degree centrality of Cleveland Foundation is lower than that of Neighborhood Progress. In reality, this is probably because we have taken a simple average of degree centrality across individuals and the Cleveland Foundation has eight employees while the Neighborhood Progress has two and thus the denominator used to calculate the average degree centrality across individuals is larger for the Cleveland Foundation. If we compare the maximum degree centrality for any individual in each organization, it is 98.3 percent in 2012 for India Pierce Lee, Lillian Kuri and Walter Wright associated with the Cleveland Foundation and 98.3 percent for Joel Ratner associated with Neighborhood Progress (Appendix E). Neighborhood Progress also enjoys a central position but it is not more central than the Cleveland Foundation.

In 2012, the anchors, the philanthropic foundations, public sector and financial organizations enjoyed a significantly higher average degree centrality than community organizations like Neighborhood Connections. Financial organizations, like the ECDI and the National Development Council which have more to do with residents directly, seem condemned to a similarly lower degree centrality on average. This is not a happy situation as ECDI makes microfinance loans to residents directly and spurs entrepreneurship projects like the Cleveland Culinary Launch and Kitchen Business Incubator which serves as an incubator for small and cooperative businesses. Meanwhile, National Development Council manages the Evergreen Cooperatives Development Fund. Both ECDI and National Development Council have funded the initial startup costs of the latest Evergreen cooperative, Green City Growers.

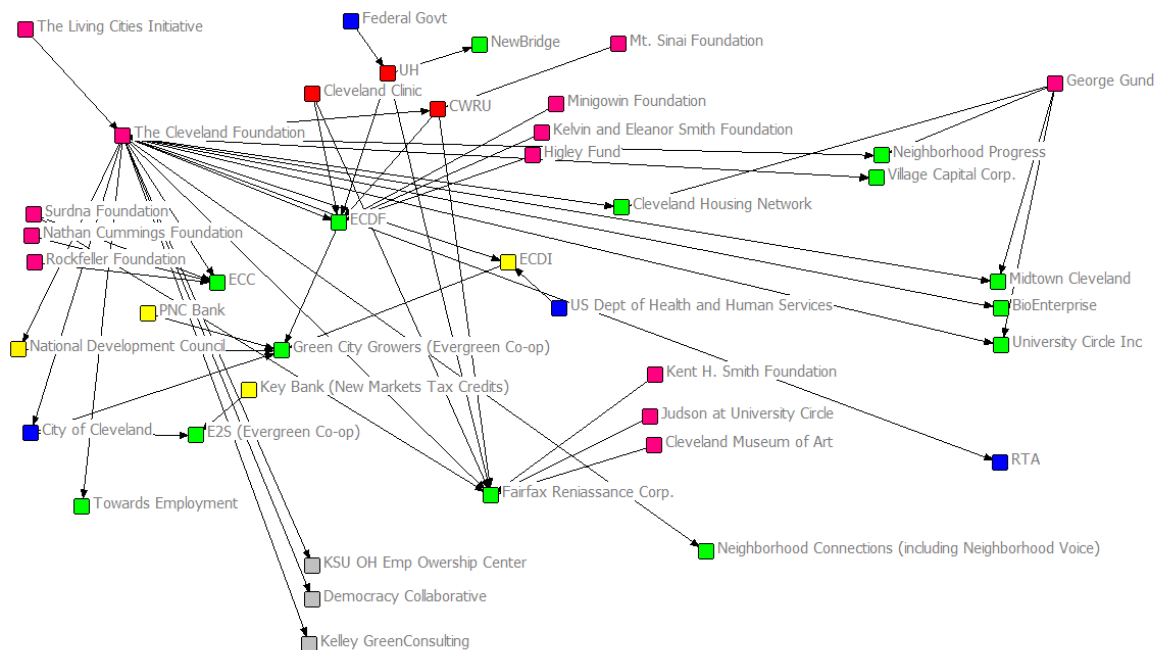
Between 2012 and 2013 the average degree centrality of the philanthropic and financial organizations has declined from approximately 75 to 55 percent. Meanwhile the average degree centrality of community organizations like Neighborhood Connections, Towards Employment, Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation and Midtown Cleveland has increased from 32 percent to approximately 57 percent. Similar increases were seen for financial organizations like the ECDI and the National Development Council. This progressive shift towards a more egalitarian pattern of connectedness has been managed through the enlargement in the size of the management committee, the EIMC. A similar change has not been seen for the Leadership Team.

However, even in 2013, a pattern of centrality persists with the Cleveland Foundation, Neighborhood Progress, and the anchors enjoying a higher level of connectedness and centrality than the other community organizations. Neighborhood Progress stands out perhaps because it is housed in the Cleveland Foundation. Low connectedness levels for community organizations are likely to be a problem for the empowerment of GUC residents and their participation in decision making as the community organizations that work more directly with them are less connected than the Cleveland Foundation and the anchors. Already, none of the GUC residents are actually represented in the EIMC and the GUCI tables directly except for representatives of the Cuyahoga County who may or may not have much connection to those communities.

The Evergreen cooperatives are not represented on the EIMC or Leadership tables. According to Austrian et al (2011), Ron Jones, a consultant for the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative was on the EIMC in 2011. However, by 2012, Evergreen had disappeared from the GUCI tables. Perhaps this is connected to the withdrawal of Living Cities' funding from Evergreen. After 2011, Living Cities chose not to fund the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative any further (Austrian, Hexter and Baboomian) as a result of a "shift in priorities" towards more "workforce based" programs "directed from above" (Ziona Austrian, personal interview). Nonetheless, it is a significant point of failure in the GUCI that Evergreen has been excluded from decision making. It is true that several of EIMC members are on the boards of Evergreen related institutions, for instance: Ronn Richard, Ted Howard, Lillian Kuri and India Lee of Cleveland Foundation or Steve Standley of UH, but no employee of the Evergreen Cooperatives has a voice on either the EIMC or the GUCI.

Our second type of model looks at fund flows between various GUCI organizations. Figure 9 provides a look at fund flows in the GUCI from 2005 to 2013. We can see that the Cleveland Foundation is the main sender of funds. The network diagram takes a star shape with the Cleveland Foundation in the center, providing funds to the organizations in the Evergreen Network (ECC and the ECDF) and to community organizations like Towards Employment, Neighborhood Progress, Midtown Cleveland, etc. The Cleveland Foundation is a recipient of \$3,008,300 from the Living Cities Initiative but it has allocated a total of \$22,395,886 on GUCI related projects. (Figures from Austrian et al combined with figures from grant making in the relevant years). Given its role as a "big daddy," it is hardly surprising that it is well represented on both the EIMC and the GUCI.

Figure 9. Fund flow in the GUCI network: 2005-2013



Color	Classification
Pink	Philanthropic Institution
Red	Anchor Institution
Yellow	Financial Organization
Green	Community Organization
Blue	Public Sector
Grey	Other Private Organization

The role of the anchors can be gleaned from Figure 9. They have jointly contributed to the Evergreen Cooperative Development Fund (ECDF) and to the Fairfax Renaissance Corporation for creating safe and affordable living spaces within the GUC for their employees. Anchors are playing a role in coming together to support local living and to support the Evergreen cooperatives but much of the funding for getting the Evergreen project on the ground came from philanthropic institutions. Similarly, Fairfax Renaissance Corporation has also received grants from philanthropic institutions.

Table 3 gives the outflows and inflows of funds for each actor. OutDegree refers to outflow and InDegree refers to inflow:

Table 3. Centrality measures for fund for each actor

	Organization	OutDegree	InDegree
1	BioEnterprise	0	1625000
2	City of Cleveland	10307200	325000
3	Cleveland Clinic	1250000	0
4	The Cleveland Foundation	22395886	3008300
5	Cleveland Housing Network	0	1080000
6	Cleveland Museum of Art	200000	0
7	CWRU	750000	20000000
8	Democracy Collaborative	0	50000
9	ECC	0	2210000
10	ECDF	1400000	5850000
11	ECDI	400000	1321000
12	E2S (Evergreen Co-op)	0	1200000
13	Fairfax Renaissance Corp.	0	3589735
14	Federal Government	13000000	0
15	George Gund	11327250	0
16	Green City Growers (Evergreen Co-op)	0	28407200
17	Higley Fund	50000	0
18	Judson at University Circle	50000	0
19	Kelley Green Consulting	0	25000
20	Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation	1000000	0
21	Kent H. Smith Foundation	200000	0
22	Key Bank (New Markets Tax Credits)	1000000	0
23	KSU OH Emp. Ownership Center	0	60000
24	The Living Cities Initiative	3008300	0
25	Midtown Cleveland	0	525000
26	Minigowin Foundation	900000	0
27	Mt. Sinai Foundation	10000000	0
28	Nathan Cummings Foundation	375000	0
29	National Development Council	8500000	150000
30	Neighborhood Connections (including Neighborhood Voice)	0	685000
31	Neighborhood Progress	0	8118000
32	NewBridge	0	1000000
33	PNC Bank	8000000	0
34	Towards Employment	0	221000
35	Rockefeller Foundation	650000	0
36	RTA	0	175000
37	Shorebank Enterprise Group Cleveland	0	170000
38	Surdna Foundation	600000	0
39	UH	2000000	13000000
40	University Circle Inc.	0	3154400
41	US Dept. of Health and Human Services	786000	0
42	Village Capital Corp.	0	2200000

From Table 2, we find that funds flows from the anchors are lower in volume than fund flows from the Cleveland Foundation. In fact, all the anchors taken together have spent \$4 million on GUCI projects as compared to \$22 million advanced by the Cleveland Foundation.

Looking at Figure 7 and Table 2, we see how the fund flows work in the Evergreen network. The ECDF is a net recipient of funds from the Cleveland Foundation, the three anchors as well as three other foundations: the Minigowin Foundation, the Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation and the Higley Fund. Between 2005 and 2013, the ECDF has received funds of \$5.85 million. These were used in part to set up the initial start-up costs for the Evergreen cooperatives. It also allocated \$1.4 million to the third Evergreen cooperative, the Green City Growers. The Evergreen Cooperatives Corporation is also a recipient of funds. It has received a total of \$2.2 million from the anchors and the Surdna, Nathan Cummings and Rockefeller Foundations over the years of 2005 to 2013 for the management costs of the Evergreen cooperatives (Austrian et al, 2011, 2013 and 2014).

In general, the net recipients of funds are community organizations like Evergreen, Towards Employment and NewBridge. All of these have a lower level of connectedness within the GUCI network. Their average degree centrality of connectedness was around 32 percent in 2012 and 56 percent in 2013 as opposed to 70-80 percent connectedness for the anchors and the Cleveland Foundation. Surprisingly, the anchors CWRU and UH are also net recipients of funds within the GUCI network. UH was given a grant from the Federal Government and CWRU was funded by the Cleveland Foundation to extend its campus to the low income neighborhoods in the East Side of Cleveland (Austrian, Hexter and Baboornian).

Finally, we can look at the limited information that is available as to the relationship between the boards of various organizations. Table 4 gives the number of employees of the organizations in the rows that are on the board of the organizations in the columns. We have included both, voting and nonvoting members as well as members on advisory boards.

Table 4. Flow of board members from senders to receivers

	ECC	NewBridge	Living Cities	VCC	Towards Employment	BioEnterprise	Neighborhood Progress	University Circle Inc.
Cleveland Foundation	5	1	1	1				
UH	2	2			1	1		
Neighborhood Progress				1				
Chapter One Ohio				1			1	
CWRU	1					2		1
Cleveland Clinic	1					1		
KeyBank	1			1				
Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation	1							
City of Cleveland	1						2	
National Development Council	1							
Cuyahoga county				1				
PNC Bank				1				

From Table 3, we see that the Cleveland Foundation has the largest number of employees serving as board members on various GUCI organizations. It is the Cleveland Foundation, therefore, which brings all the organizations together so as to make GUCI projects happen. It is the primary organization linking

together the financial, community and philanthropic organizations. All anchors have representatives on the board of the Evergreen Cooperatives Corporation.

To summarize, we learn from the network analysis that despite being a multi-anchor model, the GUCI is heavily reliant on one central player for funds, expertise, and its ability to bring different organizations together on the same platform, to meet a common set of goals. On one hand, it makes way for empowerment and social change as it brings community organizations in close connection with the anchors, foundations and financial institutions. It builds connections between stakeholders who work directly with GUC residents and the powerful institutions that hold sway in Cleveland. On the other hand, there is still a pattern of hierarchy in which community organizations are only on management and not on leadership committees and have a lower degree centrality of connectedness on average. Between 2012 and 2013 the EIMC was expanded to increase representation of community organizations. However, there is still no representation from Evergreen. Representatives from Cuyahoga County also have a lower level of connectedness than anchors, the Cleveland Foundation and some of the larger public sector organizations.

3. RESILIENCE, SCALABILITY, AND REPLICABILITY

This section examines the resilience and replicability of the GUCI. It puts the GUCI in the context of economic revitalization in Cleveland and studies the institutions that it relies upon. It examines the interaction of the GUCI with its legal, political and social environment and identifies its major vulnerabilities. The aim of this section is to evaluate whether the GUCI model is resilient and replicable.

3.1. Background of Economic Revitalization in Cleveland

The GUCI is embedded in a background of collaboration between various kinds of actors to spur the growth of small and cooperative businesses. It is a part of a culture of collaboration among institutions coming together to undertake projects. Most of the actors involved in the GUCI work both within and outside the GUC and therefore, the GUCI is both, influenced by developments outside the GUC and has indirect catalytic effects on these developments. This is a positive factor in the resilience of the GUCI model since it is a part of the proactive atmosphere in Cleveland and plays a role in reinforcing the creation of this atmosphere, the GUCI is likely to stay.

3.2. Reliance on Local Philanthropic Foundations

One of the strengths of Cleveland which may not be as easy to find in other cities is the power of its local philanthropic institutions. The existence of these wealthy philanthropic institutions with such enormous power and the will to push systemic change is a valuable characteristic that may not be common in other cities. This is especially so for the Cleveland Foundation which has considerable financial muscle and the will to push for systemic change. It perceives its own role as that of a convener. It shares the same concern as the anchors, that a more sustainable model of business is required in Cleveland otherwise it may lead to its own collapse since it cannot relocate from Cleveland without losing its identity. However, this goal cannot be achieved by one foundation alone. This is why the Cleveland Foundation brought together other actors on the same table. The idea was to tie the interests of the anchors to the interests of the community they are situated in. Without sustained and even deepened commitment from the anchors, the model will not succeed in creating real, structural change. The dedication seems to be there, though more time is necessary to determine if it is sufficient.

3.3. Interaction with the Legal, Political and Social Environment

GUCI's interactions with its legal, political and social environment have had both positive and negative impacts on its projects. One example mentioned in several interviews is that the "hire local" projects often come up against criticism within the Human Resources departments of the anchors for preferential treatment of GUC residents. Danielle Price and Lila Mills of Neighborhood Connections have implied that even legal concerns were voiced against the hiring of GUC residents when there are equally qualified candidates outside the GUC neighborhoods. Karen Thompson-Shaheen, Chief Program and Operations Officer at NewBridge, expressed the similar sentiment that it is hardly fair that low income students living in other parts of Cleveland are not receiving the same opportunities as GUC residents within the project.

This is a problem typical of a targeted development initiatives (personal interviews). On one hand, mobilizing anchors to stimulate the growth of their immediate neighborhood has an appeal; on the other hand, it privileges the development of only a few neighborhoods.

A positive feature of the GUCI is the involvement of the public sector. The City of Cleveland has played an important role in the Health Tech Corridor and it continues to remain an active participant on both GUCI Leadership tables. Mayor Franck Jackson has been a long-time proponent of the initiative, though the GUCI is not dependent on city government participation and thus is not likely to be seriously jeopardized if a less supportive mayor is elected in the future. The involvement of the Regional Transit Authority has been positive as improvements in the public transport system are likely to benefit all residents of Cleveland. As the system of public transport becomes safer and easier to use, it is possible that it will bring more people who work in Cleveland back into the city. Improvement in public transportation is also an incentive for business to locate inside the city, making Cleveland more attractive to suppliers of goods and services required by the anchors. Such features thus benefit residents while promoting Buy Local goals of the GUCI and reduce the environmental impact of purchasing from suppliers who must ship goods long distances.

The GUCI is situated in a polarized social environment with three world-class, powerful, and wealthy institutions located in the center of low income neighborhoods with high unemployment, high crime, limited access to quality education and healthcare. Its resilience relies upon making the residents of the GUC neighborhoods feel involved in the project. In part, GUCI has been successful in this because of the bridge-building efforts of Neighborhood Connections. Also, the small grants and microfinance opportunities offered as part of the GUCI are giving residents opportunities for setting up small and cooperative businesses. The well-publicized Evergreen Project has brought in a limited number of jobs as has the Step up to UH program. However, these efforts may not be enough to make residents feel involved. Residents have to have agency by being represented on decision making bodies. Certain GUCI organizations like the ECDI or the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative have workers and GUC residents on the boards of their organizations. However, GUC residents are not directly represented on the “tables” of the EIMC and the GUCI Leadership Team where the decisions are made. Therefore the GUCI has had limited success in involving GUC residents which may have an adverse effect on its goal of creating a more stable social environment.

3.4. Role of Incentives, Sanctions and Reciprocity Motives

One of the most remarked upon success of the GUCI model is the collaboration of competing institutions. One motive for this cooperative behavior is the goodwill generated by being part of a joint project to revitalize the city and this is a powerful incentive for competitors to collaborate. Similarly, being seen as not adequately participative in the GUCI carries a social sanction. Danielle Price and Lila Mills have indicated that while Cleveland Clinic and CWRS have thought of initiating Step-up programs like Step-up to UH, they have been slow in implementing their plans. They are likely to lose goodwill unless they can match the efforts of UH in local purchase and hire.

To a limited extent, the residents of the GUC neighborhoods are incentivized in maintaining the GUCI. Participation in activities organized by Neighborhood Connections enables residents gain access to a plethora of resources mobilized by the GUCI. Reciprocity motives also play a role in the activities of Neighborhood Connections. The projects of Neighborhood Connections are designed to create a neighborly feeling based around relationships. Neighbors are encouraged to trade favors. Such reciprocal giving builds bonds within the community and is likely to create social stability. If Neighborhood Connections succeeds in its community-building activities, it will make the GUCI a more resilient model as the residents will also play a role in maintaining it through participation in its various programs. Similarly, while replicating the GUCI model in any other city, there is a need to enlist a community organization that has established ties with residents and has the potential to carry out bridge-building activities successfully.

3.5. Vulnerabilities of the GUCI

After nine years since GUCI began, it becomes possible to identify certain tendencies. Though there are many positive aspects, there are some that do not bode as well. One is the limited engagement of the

anchors. Though the anchors have contributed to the initial set up costs of GUCI programs, their contribution is a small percentage of the costs of these projects. This means that the anchors have had limited stake in the initiative and do not have a sense of ownership over the model. (UH is a rare exception, commended by several interviewees for its enthusiastic participation in GUCI programs.) Moreover, the mission of various GUCI programs does not directly benefit the anchors. Unless there is a cultural shift within each anchor and the commitment to the GUCI becomes a norm, there is a possible tendency for disengagement among the anchors.

Another is the perpetuation of hierarchies in the GUCI network. The Cleveland Foundation remains at the core of the model, providing funds and expertise. It is the most connected actor and plays an active role in bringing all other actors together. While this is an important role, it perpetuates a hierarchical structure in which other actors have less power in the network and a lower degree of connectedness. This may cause some actors to lose motivation and may discourage participation. There is no evidence that Evergreen is represented within the Leadership Tables at all. Similarly, the residents of the GUC neighborhoods who are the target population for several GUCI programs have not been represented on these tables. Ideally, there should have been representation by Worker-Owners of Evergreen, trainees of NewBridge and Towards Employment, and etc.

An important mission of the GUCI is employment generation for GUC residents. This is the vehicle through which segregation and inequality in Cleveland is being addressed as these new jobs were thought to be the source of an economic multiplier effect stimulating growth in the GUC. The jobs are being created though they are yet insufficient to cause much of a change in the GUC neighborhoods. Considering the amount of philanthropic and government dollars that have gone into the GUCI to date, it is unfortunate that there have not been more employment opportunities generated. An increase in employment targets by UH is promising, though is the only advancement regarding increased employment we have seen evidence of.

Evergreen, while one of the more innovative projects of the GUCI, faces certain vulnerabilities as several measures of its success have fallen short of predicted levels. The multi-anchor model approach requires local suppliers of the goods and services needed by the anchors, otherwise local purchasing goals will remain merely a vision. Evergreen's inception was thought to satisfy this requisite though unforeseen factors have prevented such a relationship from being established. As of 2011, Evergreen Laundry had no contract with a GUCI anchor as it was unable to offer competitive enough prices. Green City Growers has likewise had difficulties gaining supply contracts from the GUCI anchors because of noncompetitive prices. Evergreen Energy Solutions is the only cooperative to have secured contracts with all three of the anchor institutions. These are insufficient for profitability, so the cooperative provides services for other institutions, many of which are governmental. It is the only cooperative to have reached financial profitability, though Green City Growers is still in its early stages and thus is not expected to be as financially mature at this point (Austrian Z. , Hexter, Clouse, & Hrubey, 2011). The initial vision of Evergreen was to create 10 worker-owned cooperatives employing approximately 500 GUC residents (Howard, 2012). These targets have not been reached as a combined result of cooperatives needing to seek out a customer base without much purchasing from the anchor institutions, the Great Recession of 2008, and higher than industry standard prices. Fewer cooperatives means fewer jobs generated, and thus Evergreen is less able to promote the goal of economic inclusion that it was designed to do. Hopefully time and lessons learned will remedy this scant performance. Another characteristic of Evergreen that was a part of its original design is the partial ownership and management of the cooperatives. Evergreen cooperatives are designed as a wealth-building and democratic incubating network, though "decision making isn't nearly as democratic as other co-ops" because they are still young and "learning" (Ted Howard, personal interview). The change in titles previously discussed is evidence of this immaturity though a lack of transparency around this still evolving issue has left many questions lingering.

3.6. Is the GUCI Resilient, Replicable and Scalable?

The GUCI is not geographically scalable since it is by definition, a targeted model in which the resources of the anchors is leveraged to serve the interests of their immediate neighborhood. The scope of the project is scalable in the sense that more GUC residents may be employed by the anchors and a larger percentage of anchor purchasing could be done locally. Such advancement would improve the GUCI's

success which thus far has been limited because of the number of individuals reached by employment programs and the presence of local businesses from which anchors can source.

As far as resilience is concerned, the GUCI has a powerful ally. The Cleveland Foundation has a vested interest in the model's continuation beyond its own beyond financial investments. As a philanthropic institution that reallocates donations and grants to programs like the GUCI, the failure of the GUCI, it would seem, would draw credibility away from the philanthropic giant. Being the convener and initial designer of the initiative, this would impact the fulfillment of its mission and may deter future donors. And, unless the Cleveland Foundation withdraws support, the GUCI is unlikely to lose momentum.

The major precondition for the replicability of this model is the presence of an organization to play the central role of the Cleveland Foundation: it must have the funds and the power to spend them, it must have the ability to bring competing institutions together and it must have the will and the expertise to serve the needs of the community. In the words of Steve Dubb, Research Director of The Democracy Collaborative, the "most challenging piece is to have a champion" (personal interview). Without the existence of such a body, it will be a considerable challenge to mobilize the funds and the expertise to build some of these projects, though not impossible. The multi-anchor model has the potential to mobilize a considerable amount of resources which may prove sufficient to replicate this model even without a "big daddy." This would, however, require anchors willing to invest more resources than seen in Cleveland. Its replicability depends on how it is adapted to specific local contexts.

3.7. Conclusion

The Future Economy Analytical Framework we applied to the GUCI enabled our team to analyze how the multi-anchor model fits in the future economy. Cleveland, as with every locality, has a unique history and background that requires specific solutions to the specific challenges that it faces. The GUCI represents a challenge to business as usual as it reflects a cooperative approach to targeted urban development. While the leadership structure remains mostly top-down, the initiative strives to break down the "invisible divide" that exists between the wealthy University Circle and the low income surrounding neighborhoods. Evidence of achieving this goal is apparent in some regards while less visible in others. The number of job opportunities provided for neighborhood residents is a step in the right direction, especially as targets for local employment are being revised upwards. Existing job positions at anchors filled by GUCI residents is the primary form of new employment, while there are a number of businesses that have started because of the initiative. Wealth creation is also an important aspect of the GUCI. The creation of new businesses is the aim of the Evergreen Cooperative Initiative and ECDI as they provide loans for new startups. Housing programs also enable residents to build wealth and help repopulate the targeted neighborhoods. Community building activities led by Neighborhood Connections create a more participatory aspect of an otherwise top-down model. The network analysis of the GUCI enabled us to see how power is distributed through the initiative. It is evident that the initiative is heavily reliant on the Cleveland Foundation for both leadership and finance. There is some evidence of smaller community organizations gaining more influence through their involvement in the various leadership tables, which is a positive development.

Does the GUCI pave the way for what will be seen in the Future Economy? There are many aspects of the initiative that suggest longevity and replicability, but other aspects that may only reflect the particular context of Cleveland. The initiative promotes cooperation among anchor institutions, some within the same sector. It promotes finding common suppliers, employee training organizations and engaging with their common local context. Culture change within these institutions is occurring in different ways but reflects positive change. New cutting edge businesses that have emerged from the GUCI address the current climate and employment empowerment issues of our age. The Evergreen cooperatives continue to change and adapt to meet the requirements to be a successful business but also employ neighborhood residents who have had few employment opportunities. Thinking local is a key concept through each level, from the anchors to the small business startups. GUCI will likely continue to provide jobs, opportunities for wealth, homes, engagement and empowerment, and time will tell the final outcomes. The Cleveland Foundation, anchored in Cleveland, will also likely continue to be a central player in the initiative. These aspects of the GUCI promote the creation of a Future Economy where growth reflects a concern for environmental impact and an equitable distribution of resources.

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Appendix A. Interviews Conducted

Name	Organization	Title	Date
Dr. Steve Dubb*	Democracy Collaborative	Research Director	3/6/2013 & 7/3/2014
Dr. Ted Howard*	Democracy Collaborative	Executive Director	4/17/2013
Dr. Aparna Bole	University Hospitals	UH System Sustainability Manager	6/16/2014
Dr. Ziona Austrian	Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University	Director, Center for Economic Development	6/23/2014
Candi Clouse	Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University	Program Manager, Center for Economic Development	6/23/2014
Lila Mills	Neighborhood Connections	Communications Manager	6/23/2014
Danielle Price	Neighborhood Connections	Program Coordinator for Community Engagement	6/23/2014
Eric Diamond	Economic and Community Development Institute	Vice President - Cleveland Market	6/24/2014
Jill Rizika	Towards Employment	Executive Director	6/25/2014
Karen Thompson-Shaheen	NewBridge Cleveland Center for Arts and Technology	Chief Program & Operations Officer	6/25/2014
Debbi Perkul*	University Hospitals	Senior Workforce Development Professional	6/26/2014
Lillian Kuri*	Cleveland Foundation	Program Director for Architecture, Urban Design, and Sustainable Development	6/26/2014
India Pierce Lee*	Cleveland Foundation	Program Director for Neighborhoods, Housing, and Community Development	6/26/2014
Joel Ratner	Cleveland Neighborhood Progress	President & CEO	6/30/2014
Linda Warren	Cleveland Neighborhood Progress	Senior Vice President of Placemaking	6/30/2014

* Interview conducted by phone or email

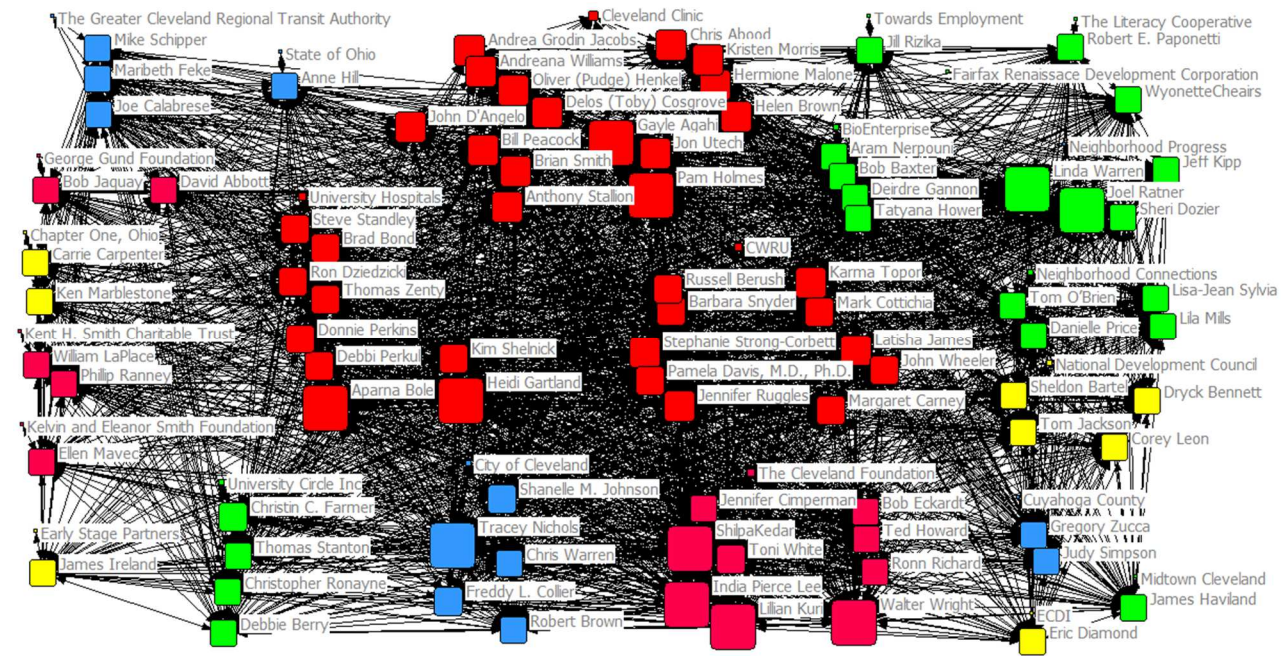
Appendix B. An overview of the actors

S. No.	Name of Organization	Classification	Role of the organization in the GUCI 05-13	As represented by (as of 2013)
1.	The Cleveland Foundation	Philanthropic	Provides funds, expertise and staff to GUCI projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ronn Richard • India Pierce Lee • Lilian Kuri • Bob Eckhardt • Jennifer Cimpermann • Shilpa Kedar • Toni White • Ted Howard (from the Democracy Collaborative, Steve Minter Fellow of Cleveland Foundation) • Walter Wright (from the Living Cities' Initiative, housed in the Cleveland Foundation)
2.	University Hospitals	Anchor	Supports community organizations and residents of the GUC through local hiring and purchasing commitments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Steve Standley • Aparna Bole • Heidi Gartland • Brad Bond • Ron Dziedzicki • Thomas Zenty • Donnie Perkins • Debbie Perkul • Kim Shelnick
3.	Cleveland Clinic	Anchor	Supports community organizations and residents of the GUC through local hiring and purchasing commitments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrea G Jacobs • Andreana Williams • Oliver Henkel • Delos Cosgrove • Chris Abood • Kristen Morris • Hermionie Malone • Helen Brown • Gayle Agahi • Jon Utech • Pam Holmes • John D'Angelo • Bill Peacock • Brian Smith • Anthony Stallion
4.	Case Western Reserve University	Anchor	Supports community organizations and residents of the GUC through local hiring and purchasing commitments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russell Berush • Barbara Snyder • Karma Topor • Mark Cottichia • Latisha James • Stephanie Strong Corbett • Pamela Davis • Jennifer Ruggles • Margaret Carney • John Wheeler
5.	Evergreen Cooperatives Corporation	Community organization/Other	Fund recipient, project of the GUCI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N.A.

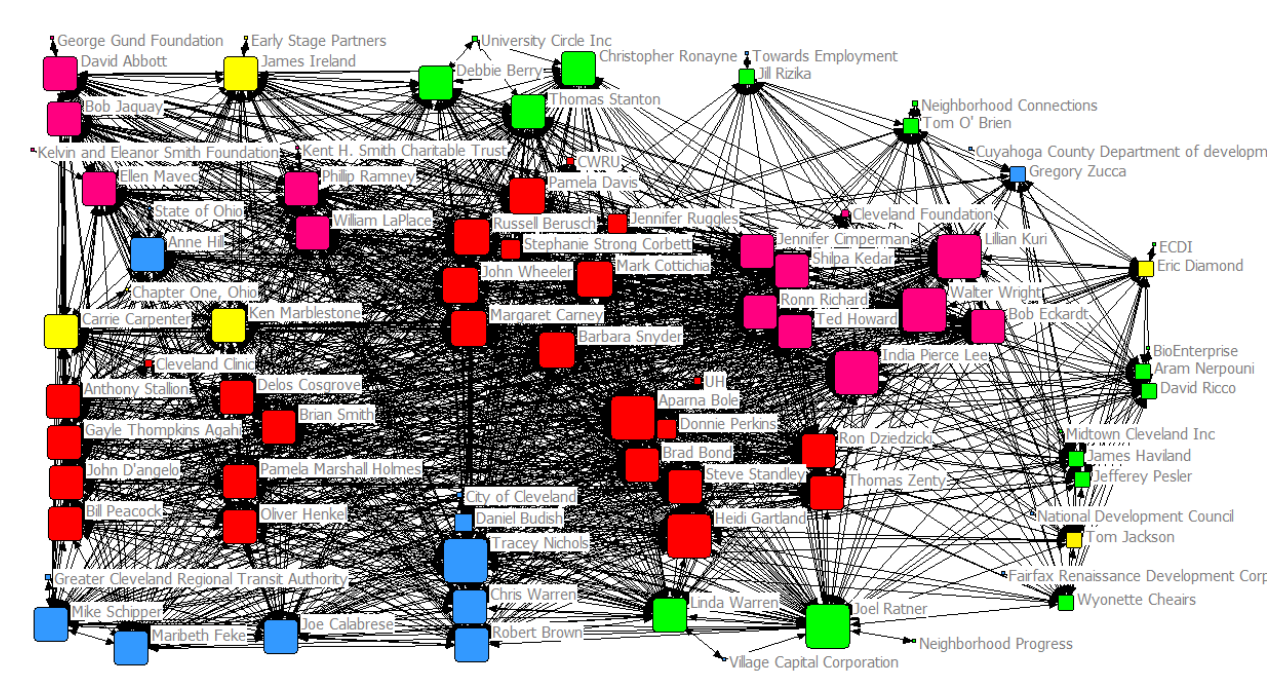
		Private Organization		
6.	Evergreen Cooperatives Development Fund	Community organization/Other Private Organization	Fund recipient, project of the GUCI, responsible for setting up the Evergreen cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N.A.
7.	The Evergreen Cooperatives	Community organization/Other Private Organization	Fund recipients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N.A.
8.	Neighborhood Connections	Community organization	Building bridges between residents, anchors, philanthropy and the public sector. Small grants to foster cooperatives and small businesses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tom O' Brien • Danielle Price • Lila Mills • Lisa Jean Sylvia
9.	City of Cleveland	Public sector	Provides public sector support to GUCI projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shanelle Johnson • Trace Nichols • Chris Warren • Freddie Collier • Robert Brown
10.	University Circle Inc.	Community Organization	Development and advocacy, organizes free events and brings residents together	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christin Farmer • Thomas Stanton • Christopher Ronayne • Debbie Berry
11.	Kent H. Smith Charitable Trust	Philanthropic	Funder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • William La Place • Phillip Ranney
12.	Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation	Philanthropic	Funder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ellen Mavec
13.	Early Stage Partners	Financial	Venture Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Ireland
14.	Chapter One, Ohio	Financial	Venture Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carrie Carpenter • Ken Marblestone
15.	George Gund Foundation	Philanthropic	Funder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bob Jacquay • David Abbott
16.	Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority	Public Sector	Built the Healthline connecting the University Circle to Downtown, engaged in other transit projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mike Schipper • Maribeth Feke • Joe Calabrese
17.	State of Ohio	Public Sector		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anne Hill
18.	Towards Employment	Community Organization	Provides training to hard to employ residents and helps place them in secure jobs in collaboration with the anchors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jill Rizika
19.	BioEnterprise	Community organization	Supporting start-up businesses and supply chains for anchors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aram Nerpouni • Bob Baxter • Deidre Gannon • Tatyana Hower
20.	The Literacy Cooperative	Community organization		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robert Paponetti
21.	Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation	Community organization	Greater Circle Living, making it possible for employees of the anchors to move into GUC neighborhoods and become part of the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wyonette Cheairs

22.	Neighborhood Progress	Community organization	Live local projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linda Warren • Jeff Kipp • Joel Ratner • Sheri Dozier
23.	National Development Council	Financial	Manages the Evergreen Cooperative Development Fund, Funded start-up costs for Evergreen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sheldon Bartel • Dryck Bennett • Tom Jackson • Corey Leon
24.	Cuyahoga County	Public sector		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gregory Zucca • Judy Simpson
25.	Midtown Cleveland Economic and Community development Institute	Community Organization	Fostering start-up businesses along the HTC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James Haviland
26.	KSU Employee Ownership Centre	Financial	Microfinance, support to Evergreen and a number of other small businesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eric Diamond
27.	Democracy Collaborative	Other Private/Contractors	Conceptualizing the Evergreen model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N.A.
28.	Kelley Green Consulting	Other Private/Contractors	Initial theory and praxis of the Evergreen Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ted Howard
29.		Other Private/Contractors	Preparing a database of local vendors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N.A.

Appendix C. GUCI Network 2012



Appendix D. GUCI Network 2013



Appendix E. Degree Centrality Measures by Individual

Organization	Name	Year 2	Year 3
Cleveland Foundation	India Lee	98.387	98.864
	Lillian Kuri	98.387	98.864
	Walter Wright	98.387	98.864
	Ronn Richard	77.419	55.18
	Ted Howard	77.419	55.18
	Jennifer Cimperman	77.419	55.18
	Bob Eckardt	77.419	55.18
	Shilpa Kedar	77.419	98.864
	Toni White	N.A.	60.928
	UH	Aparna Bole	98.387
Heidi Gartland		98.387	98.864
Donnie Perkins		38.71	60.928
Brad Bond		77.419	57.479
Ron Dziedzicki		79.032	57.479
Steve Standley		79.032	57.479
Thomas Zenty		79.032	57.479
Kim Shelnick		N.A.	60.928
Debbie Perkul		N.A.	60.928
Cleveland Clinic		Delos Cosgrove	75.806
	John D'angelo	75.806	62.077
	Oliver Henkel	75.806	62.077
	Pamela Marshall Holmes	75.806	98.864
	Bill Peacock	75.806	62.077
	Brian Smith	75.806	63.226
	Anthony Stallion	75.806	62.077
	Gayle Thompkins Agahi	75.806	98.864
	Andrea Grodin Jacobs	N.A.	63.226
	Andreana Williams	N.A.	63.226
	Jon Utech	N.A.	63.226
	Chris Abood	N.A.	63.226
	Kristen Morris	N.A.	63.226
	Hermionie Malone	N.A.	63.226
	Helen Brown	N.A.	63.226
CWRU	Stephanie Strong Corbett	41.935	63.226
	Russell Berusch	79.032	58.628
	Margaret Carney	79.032	58.628
	Mark Cotticha	79.032	58.628
	Pamela Davis	79.032	58.628
	Barbara Snyder	79.032	58.628
	Jennifer Ruggles	41.935	63.226
	John Wheeler	79.032	58.628
	Karma Topor	N.A.	63.226
City of Cleveland	Latisha James	N.A.	63.226
	Tracey Nichols	98.387	98.864

	Daniel Budish	35.484	N.A
	Robert Brown	77.419	56.33
	Chris Warren	77.419	56.33
	Shanelle Johnson		58.628
	Freddie Collier		59.778
Towards Employment	Jill Rizika	32.258	56.33
Neighborhood Connections	Tom O' Brien	32.258	56.33
	Danielle Price	N.A.	56.33
	Lila Mills	N.A.	56.33
	Lisa Jean Sylvia	N.A.	56.33
Neighborhood Progress	Joel Ratner	98.387	98.864
	Linda Warren	77.419	98.864
	Jeff Kipp	N.A.	56.33
	Sheri Dozier	N.A.	56.33
Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation	WyonetteCheairs	32.258	56.33
ECDI	Eric Diamond	32.258	56.33
Midtown Cleveland	James Haviland	32.258	56.33
	Jefferey Pesler	32.258	N.A
National Development Council	Tom Jackson	32.258	56.33
	Sheldon Bartell	N.A.	56.33
	Dryck Bennett	N.A.	56.33
	Corey Leone	N.A.	56.33
BioEnterprise	Aram Nerpouni	32.258	56.33
	David Ricco	32.258	N.A
	Bob Baxter	N.A.	56.33
	Tatyana Hower	N.A.	56.33
	Deidre Gannon	N.A.	56.33
Chapter One, Ohio	Carrie Carpenter	75.806	54.03
	Ken Marblestone	75.806	54.03
Early Stage Partners	James Ireland	75.806	54.03
George Gund Foundation	David Abbott	75.806	54.03
	Bob Jacquay	75.806	54.03
RTA	Joe Calbrese	75.806	54.03
	Maribeth Feke	75.806	54.03
	Mike Schipper	75.806	54.03
Kelvin and Eleanor Smith Foundation	Ellen Mavec	75.806	54.03
Kent H. Smith Charitable Trust	William La Place	75.806	54.030
	Phillip Ranney	75.806	54.030
State of Ohio	Anne Hill	75.806	54.030
UC Inc.	Debbie Berry	75.806	55.180
	Christopher Ronayne	75.806	55.180
	Thomas Stanton	75.806	55.180
	Christin Farmer	N.A.	59.778
Cuyahoga County Department of Development	Gregory Zucca	32.258	56.330
	Judy Simpson	N.A.	56.330