

LOOKING FOR PROGRESS IN AMERICA'S SMALLER LEGACY CITIES: A REPORT FOR PLACE-BASED FUNDERS



A JOINT PUBLICATION OF THE FUNDERS' NETWORK FOR SMART GROWTH
AND LIVABLE COMMUNITIES, ITS MEMBERS, AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE
BANKS OF ATLANTA, BOSTON, CHICAGO, AND NEW YORK

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Grand Rapids Community Foundation; Rochester Area Community Foundation.*

PREFACE

The research presented in this report represents a unique partnership between place-based funders and regional Federal Reserve Banks committed to the rejuvenation of smaller, so-called “legacy” cities that have struggled in the post-industrial economy. The collaboration is a project of the Funders’ Network-Federal Reserve Philanthropy Initiative, which convenes funders and the community development function of regional Federal Reserve banks under the auspices of the Restoring Prosperity in Older Industrial Cities working group of the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities. This report grows out of both the significant existing research on smaller cities produced by the Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Atlanta Federal Reserve Banks, and a hunger among funders of smaller legacy cities for greater engagement around issues of economic recovery.

To be sure, legacy cities of all sizes face daunting challenges in moving beyond their industrial heritage and establishing their relevance within a 21st century economy. Complex issues of fiscal decline, deterioration of the physical and natural environment, and entrenched poverty present formidable barriers to progress in legacy cities both big and small. However, smaller places often confront these obstacles in relative isolation and without the visibility and access to financial and other resources available to their larger counterparts. Moreover, examples of successful economic turnaround in smaller places often go unheralded, and remain unknown to the audiences that can most benefit from them.

As our research progressed we also recognized the practical benefit of an intentional focus on cities in the range of 50,000 to 250,000 residents due to the outsize influence place-based funders can exert upon the growth trajectory of cities at this scale. In the cities studied for this report, place-based funders were often central – or at least had access – to key discussions concerning planned revitalization efforts. Hence, while the findings of this report may also speak to funders in cities of greater size, we hope they have special relevance to funders working in smaller places.

The “Understanding Progress” study tour that became the basis for this report responded to funders’ desire to learn first-hand from success. Over a period of eight months, the tour brought together 27 funders, regional Federal Reserve Bank representatives, and related partner organizations

to conduct site visits in four cities that had demonstrated progress along various indicators of economic dynamism. Prior research by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and others emphasized the central importance of collaborative – and particularly cross-sectoral – leadership in driving economic development strategies toward renewed community vitality. Building on these findings, but also delving deeper, the study group sought to understand the structure and substance of successful cities’ resurgence. Organized around the metaphor of an “arc” of revitalization, the group asked local leaders where the arc of change began in each of their respective cities and how it had been sustained; what major barriers impeded each city’s turnaround and how leaders had overcome them; and, most important, how successful these efforts had been in distributing the benefits of growth to low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. What we discovered in following these arcs is the subject of the report that follows.

Perhaps equally as important as the report’s findings is the model of collaborative, group-based research that was forged through this project. Although Federal Reserve researchers are accustomed to being the producers of information that is then used by funders, this project deliberately altered those roles, insisting that both groups take responsibility for the design and execution of the study tour and for contributing content that would inform the final report. Regional Reserve banks and funders traveled together to selected cities to develop the content for each site visit, shared responsibility for moderating site visit interview panels, and submitted written reflections on their insights from each city. Funders and Federal Reserve participants also teamed up to outline and draft the final report. The net result for participants was a rich mix of intensive engagement with local leaders and practitioners in each city, balanced by opportunities for group reflection and sense-making. Our hope is that this participatory and deliberative approach yields a product that offers both useful observations and practical guidance to funders and local partners seeking to apply philanthropic resources to best effect wherever their particular city falls along the revitalization arc.

This project could not have been accomplished without generous assistance from our local hosts in each focal city – the Lyndhurst Foundation in Chattanooga, TN; the Greater Cedar Rapids Community Foundation in Cedar

Rapids, IA; the Rochester Area Community Foundation, the Farash Foundation, and the United Way of Greater Rochester, all in Rochester, NY; and the Grand Rapids Community Foundation in Grand Rapids, MI. Executives and staff members from these organizations were indispensable in helping the group forge connections with prospective interviewees, host meetings, and facilitate receptions to ensure the group also had a chance to meet and engage with emerging leaders in each community. We thank each of our hosts and we hope that this report proves worthy of their kind collegiality.

Our greatest debt is to the many community leaders who took time from working on the front lines of community change to meet with us – in some cases multiple times – to share their achievements, challenges, and missteps on the path to greater community prosperity. Talented, thoughtful, and forward-looking local practitioners who commit to the difficult work of reversing deep economic distress are the true heroes of community turnaround stories. We dedicate this report to them.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Place-based funders can play an important role in connecting economic growth to economic opportunity. This paper describes a study tour undertaken by representatives from four Federal Reserve Banks and more than two dozen place-based funders, under the auspices of the Funders' Network-Federal Reserve Philanthropy Initiative. What began as an inquiry into four small legacy cities – Chattanooga, TN; Cedar Rapids, IA; Rochester, NY; and Grand Rapids, MI – that appeared to have experienced some measure of revitalization in the post Great Recession environment evolved into an understanding that revitalization in these places is moving along two distinct paths: an “arc of growth” and an “arc of opportunity.” In the context of these small legacy cities, growth and opportunity is unfolding separately along these two long-term “arcs,” leading to the conclusion that broad community prosperity lies in: 1) recognizing that growth alone does not naturally lead to opportunity; and 2) advancing deliberate policies, investments, and programs that connect growth to opportunity. Tour participants observed that without the action of organizations like place-based funders, that connection rarely occurs.

Given the common narratives emerging from the study tour and the dual arcs framework for evaluating place-based revitalization, participants in the tour put forward a short, non-exhaustive, list of conclusions for funders.

Patient capital builds local capacity. The time horizons of community revitalization require capital that seeks both social impact and financial return over a longer term. Place based funders are uniquely positioned to address the long time horizon that this work dictates, and the resources they control may be critical aspects in its acceleration or deceleration.

State policy often limits the flexibility and authority of local leaders to connect the arcs of growth and opportunity. Funders can take an active role in identifying those policy bottlenecks or opportunities that facilitate more positive local action toward connecting growth to opportunity. Place-based funders can be catalytic change agents for both policy and practice without engaging in lobbying.

Jurisdictional authorities dictate policy to connect the growth and opportunity arcs. The levers of power and

resource allocations accorded to any number of public or pseudo-public authorities have a significant, often negative, impact on the efficacy of efforts to connect the dual arcs. Funders can take an active role in helping to identify and break down or circumnavigate local jurisdictional boundaries that prevent positive action and facilitate alignment toward common goals.

Effective marketing and communication advances positive momentum. Maintaining a steady cadence on the long-term mission of community revitalization often falls to place-based leaders. In most cases we examined, the local community foundation or another place-based funder had a role in funding or otherwise supporting the narrative of a community's recovery, articulating a common, inclusive vision of what is possible.

Accountability for distribution of benefits from growth is the linchpin for connecting the arcs. Cities around the country (including the four visited) have revitalized in various ways over the last several decades. But, outcomes of that growth have left many behind. Place-based funders should be strategic in holding local stakeholders accountable for connecting the growth and opportunity arcs.

Despite the challenges of connecting the arcs, local place-based foundations in the four cities studied played a lead role as a funder, convener or ‘steward’ of revitalization efforts that employed a variety of approaches or “tools” to bridge growth and opportunity, which may be valuable to other communities. These tools were observed within a local context, and were often part of a broadly articulated plan or vision, suggesting that while tools are helpful, the environment in which they are most likely to succeed is also important.

- Addressing concentrated poverty by place: Interventions in this category were geographically targeted, but multi-faceted and cross-generational. Distressed neighborhoods that were located near resources – for example transportation or a good school – were seen as good places to start.
- Addressing concentrated poverty through policy: Interventions in this category were explicit in channeling more gains from growth to opportunity through local policy, either by removing barriers or being prescriptive in the intentional distribution of benefits.

- Revitalizing downtown with greater attention to preserving and increasing affordable housing: Investments in making communities more attractive by building downtown entertainment or “innovation” districts and increasing desirable amenities, raised property values but also increased living costs. Funders and other local partners recognized the need for more affordable, family friendly housing options near emerging employment opportunities.
- Business recruitment led by business retention: Community economic growth strategies focused on strengthening existing businesses by recruiting businesses in their supply chain, placing retention and success of existing business as a higher priority than traditional recruitment, alone. Coordinated workforce development was often key to this strategy.
- Developing leaders: Concern about where the next two generations of leaders will come from and how they will support broad-based collaborative efforts prompted attention to formal and informal leadership development efforts. Strong leaders in business, government, and nonprofits are critical to building a regional approach to both arcs.
- Evidence-based decision making: Data has played an important role in many of the cities visited. Data should be publicly available and granular enough to support neighborhood level understanding, as well as robust enough to present an aggregated, comprehensive city – or MSA-wide – profile.

While local dynamics dictate the timing, sequence, and particularities of the interplay between growth and opportunity strategies, this study concludes that revitalization efforts that recognize the dual arcs of growth and opportunity and plan for their meaningful integration are more likely to yield robust and lasting long-term results. Because place-based funders are so integrally linked to the history and prospects of the communities they serve, they have unique roles and responsibilities not only as funders, but as local institutions and innovators to make these linkages across place and time.

INTRODUCTION

Place-based funders – whether they be community, health conversion, corporate, or family foundations – can play an important role in connecting economic growth to opportunity. This was the key insight of a joint study tour conducted by members of the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities and representatives from four regional Federal Reserve Banks. The small legacy city study tour team began an inquiry of four small legacy cities that appeared to have experienced some mea-

sure of revitalization in the post Great Recession environment. But what, really, is successful revitalization?

Participants in the study tour observed the critical importance of connecting economic growth (often seen as the purview of business, economic development commissions, or chambers of commerce, with the support of government) and economic opportunity (often seen as the responsibility of workforce development, K-12 educational systems, with the support of social service organizations).

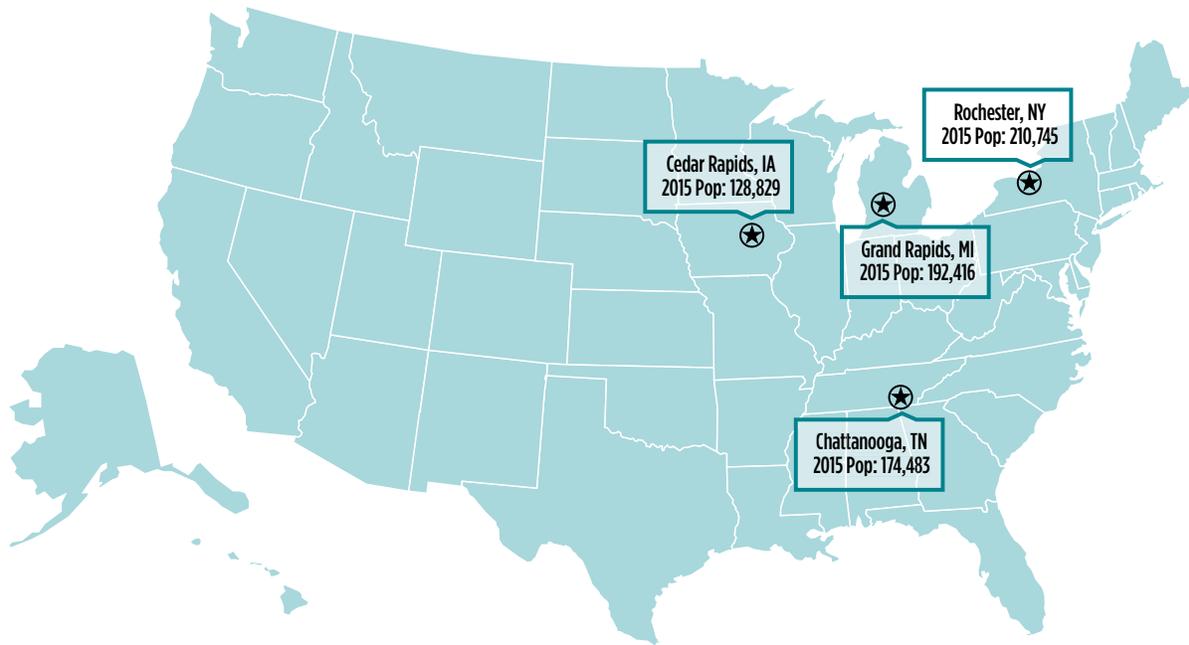
The major understanding emerging from this study tour was that small legacy cities recovering from economic decline are moving along two distinct paths: an “arc of growth” and an “arc of opportunity.” Many assume that growth begets opportunity. But in the context of these small legacy cities, we found evidence that growth and opportunity unfold simultaneously along two long-term and distinct “arcs” or pathways. Our team came to understand that broad community prosperity lies in: 1) recognizing that growth alone does not naturally lead to opportunity; and 2) advancing deliberate policies, investments, and programs that connect growth to opportunity.

In the four communities visited, we saw evidence of growth benefiting some, but not all. In all four communities, we saw an uneven distribution of opportunity, as measured by factors like racial segregation, citizenship status, socioeconomic status, and neighborhood of residency. In all four communities we saw efforts to expand growth and opportunity, but we saw only hints of the two approaches being intentionally connected. There is no question that growth is necessary to increase prosperity. But by itself, it is not sufficient if the goal is inclusive community prosperity.

A lack of growth will mean that communities fall further behind, potentially spiraling downward. The inequitable distribution of opportunity serves as an economic and social brake on the entire community, not just the poor. Going forward, we believe communities must avoid an “either-or” approach, instead undertaking “both-and” strategies. Place-based funders are well positioned to lead this change in approach. Place-based funders can play a critical role in connecting the two arcs.

The trajectory of these arcs will look different from place to place. However, in our observation the challenges of shaping and connecting them are similar, as described below. Although the results of our inquiry did not allow us to draw conclusions about how funders should deploy resources to address these challenges, this report sheds light on the practices involved in connecting growth and opportunity, and highlights a set of principles that can guide the design of interventions based on examples from the four cities we visited.

Map and population of study tour cities



Source: Base map is from Wikimedia and is licensed for commercial re-use. Data are taken from the 2011-2015 5-year American Community Survey.

SITE SELECTION AND PROCESS

Four cities were selected for the study tour: Chattanooga, Cedar Rapids, Rochester, and Grand Rapids.

Cities were selected based on these rough criteria:

- following a significant loss of population and economic activity, some level of post-recession revitalization as reflected in population, jobs, building permits, firm creation, household income, and/or educational attainment (see table 1);¹
- an economy dominated previously by a single company or closely tied industrial sector that has declined;

- existing research, media or documentation available to support a narrative of recent economic revitalization; and
- hosts in the community to assist in facilitating visits and provide background information.²

Hosts were asked to organize interviews and small group/panel discussions to enable candid conversations about the arc of each city's revitalization, the fits and starts, and the ramifications – both positive and negative – of decisions that were made along the way. Site visits were roughly similar and included meetings with elected officials; city planning officials; community groups; philanthropic,

Table 1. Post-recession economic revitalization trends in select cities³

	Cedar Rapids, IA	Chattanooga, TN	Grand Rapids, MI	Rochester, NY
Population	3%	5%	4%	0%
Jobs	2%	5%	10%	2%
Building permits	1%	9%	26%	6%
New firms	1%	3%	1%	2%
Median household income	11%	6%	1%	1%
Educational attainment	4%	8%	7%	2%

business, and civic leaders; emerging leaders; and off-the-record discussions with media, community colleges, and regional planning agencies. Site visits were short (36 hours) and admittedly provided only a snapshot that was not intended to result in understanding a ‘complete’ city, but to provide a comparative baseline across communities. An interview protocol, informed by the work of Alan Mallach, was developed to guide local conversations.⁴ City profiles were developed after each visit to document reflections on each individual site and to lay a foundation of insights from which to develop this report. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to convey the full nuance and detail of each city’s journey toward recovery, the profiles provide deeper context for the study’s analysis and offer a sense of the distinctive character of recovery in each of the cities.

CITY PROFILES

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Cedar Rapids is a city of 128,000 residents in the eastern part of Iowa. The city is situated in the Corn Belt, in the center of the country, on a major waterway, the Cedar River. It had early access to rail and later the interstate highway system, and also benefitted from the presence of the Eastern Iowa Airport. These factors ensured the city became a hub for agricultural processing and manufacturing, such as meatpacking and cereal production, as well as transportation and logistics. Over the past three decades, Cedar Rapids has outpaced many of its Rust Belt peers in terms of economic growth. Even over the course of the 2008-2009 recession, unemployment held steady at between 4 and 5.5 percent, and labor force participation at approximately 70 percent. Civic leaders attribute the city’s recent growth to two main strategies. First, proactive efforts to diversify the local economy; and second, recovery efforts from a devastating flood in 2008, both of which created opportunities for reinvention and investment in the city’s downtown area.

In the 1980s, an agricultural crisis and declines in manufacturing employment created urgency for economic diversification. Local business leadership organized as the Committee of 100, later named ‘Priority One,’ pursued an aggressive recruitment-based economic development strategy. A collaboration between business leaders and local government successfully attracted employers like Nordstrom, Toyota Financial Services, GE Capital, and PMX Industries. A merger between Priority One, the Cedar Rapids Area Chamber of Commerce, and the Cedar Rapids Downtown District created the Cedar Rapids Metro Economic Alliance, which has carried economic development efforts forward with a unified focus and voice. More recently, the city’s strategy has shifted from local recruitment toward regionalism and programming to generate local talent and entrepreneurs. The city has also

adopted some development friendly practices, such as a centralized development function, and ‘listening session’ site visits to employers in the area.

In 2005, Cedar Rapids transitioned from a commission-based to a council-manager system of government. This reform, which according to many enabled stronger local government leadership to emerge, came about somewhat fortuitously in advance of a devastating 2008 flood. In total, flooding inflicted over \$6 billion in damage and destroyed 1,200 homes. In its wake, federal stimulus dollars combined with state and local government funding resulted in \$307 million in investment over the next five years into the city’s downtown area and neighborhoods. Notably, the city allocated \$3 million for small businesses awaiting proceeds from insurance. Recovery efforts received private sector support as well from local businesses like Quaker Oats, which stated its intent to stay in Cedar Rapids immediately following the flood; CRST (a transportation and logistics firm), which invested in a new downtown headquarters; and Rockwell Collins, which moved 400 jobs downtown.

The city has a longstanding culture of civic and cultural engagement, as exemplified by the activities of the Hall-Perrine Foundation and Greater Cedar Rapids Community Foundation. Other important community organizations like the United Way of East Central Iowa, Four Oaks (a child and family services organization), and Matthew 25 (a neighborhood ministry) have been instrumental in aiding post-flood recovery and revitalization of neighborhoods. Kirkwood, a highly rated community college, is an important partner in local workforce development efforts with strong connections to the local business community.

Although Cedar Rapids has achieved some level of success in its economic diversification and post-flood revitalization efforts, challenges remain. Minority communities in Cedar Rapids largely have not shared in the growth of recent years. Though these groups increasingly have a seat at the table in conversations with local leadership, educational improvements are needed to better connect minority students with the needs of local businesses. Additionally, local leaders fear a shortage of skilled tradespeople, and see the need for additional downtown housing and amenities to make the city more attractive to younger, high-skilled workers.

Chattanooga, Tennessee

With a city population of 175,000 situated within a metro area of 550,000 in a growing region of the US, Chattanooga has been a recent beneficiary of national demographic trends and industrial relocations to the South. The city has a temperate climate with many natural assets, a downtown riverfront, proximity to state and national forests, and easy access to major markets like

Atlanta, Nashville, and Charlotte. But the city's prospects were not always positive. Designated the most polluted city in America in 1969, and having been long reliant on manufacturing for employment and tax base, Chattanooga was hit hard by the decline of "dirty" industry. In the 1980s, local philanthropic leadership, led by Jack Lupton (former chairman of the Lyndhurst Foundation), convened a group of civic-minded business leaders who together decided to invest heavily in the revitalization of the city's downtown area through a series of public-private partnerships. Lupton's role as a leader and convener, and his willingness to take on the risks associated with these investments, is a crucial part of the city's turnaround story.

Vision 2000, a collaborative visioning process developed with significant public input, identified high-impact interventions for local philanthropy. Early implementation efforts created a private nonprofit development entity (River City Company) to facilitate redevelopment projects, and another private nonprofit that focused on improving housing options and conditions (Chattanooga Neighborhood Enterprise). Early philanthropic investments included the waterfront and several parks, which emphasized the city's natural assets, as well as downtown attractions like a new stadium and aquarium.

The visibility and success of these early initiatives created optimism and a reenergized commitment to community pride, civic culture, and public-private cooperation, which residents refer to as the "Chattanooga Way," and which underpins the city's identity and branding efforts. Chattanooga now touts and markets this openness and quality of life as a way to attract high-skill millennials and tech entrepreneurs. To this end, the city designated an innovation district and supported the creation of "The Enterprise Center," an incubator space meant to encourage an entrepreneurial ecosystem. In addition, Electric Power Board (EPB), the city-owned utility company, installed a community-wide fiber optic network that delivers high-speed Internet service, with speeds up to a gigabyte per second, to the entire city (the Gig). While there is some anecdotal evidence, the data have yet to show a significant increase in entrepreneurialism and small-tech startups.

Still, despite a sense of optimism, Chattanooga faces an uneven revitalization. The benefits and growth resulting from the city's downtown development and innovation focus have not reached many of the low-income and minority residents on the city's geographic and economic margins. In particular, educational attainment in Chattanooga lags behind state and peer city averages, particularly among minority students, yet a county school board leaves city officials with limited influence on the local school system and few options for redressing systemic problems.

Shortcomings in local schools create challenges for attracting and retaining high-skilled individuals to the city's bur-

geoning tech sector. Additionally, downtown development has contributed to rising property values and affordable housing development has not kept pace. City government is planning to expand affordable housing mandates to address this issue. In both housing and education, the city faces a widening racial and socio-economic divide. Further, the city lacks an effective public transit system to link low-income workers with employment hubs, including the connection between the city and the local University, the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Finally, it remains unclear how the new generation of tech entrepreneurs will replace a generation of philanthropic leadership that has been instrumental in investing in the city's community and economic development.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Grand Rapids' recent economic growth derives from a diverse economy dominated by small- and medium-size, family-owned businesses, a growing healthcare sector, and the expansion of Grand Valley State University. Motivated by an 11 percent unemployment rate, a group of 14 local business leaders led by Jay Van Andel, one of the founders of the Amway Corporation, gathered in 1985 to design an economic development strategy. This led to the founding of The Right Place, which has successfully focused on business recruitment, foreign direct investment, and collaboration among the local business community. Additionally, local philanthropic leaders made large investments in downtown projects, which acted as a catalyst for downtown revitalization.

In 1991, some 50 business leaders convened by Richard DeVos (Amway's other founder) ensured hundreds of millions of dollars of civic investment (very patient capital) in large downtown projects, such as the Van Andel Arena, a performance hall, a conference center, a civic theatre, and a downtown market. Additionally, investments were made in a medical research institute and Michigan State University's medical school. This led to a cluster of medical technology companies and institutions in the heart of the city, the 'Medical Mile.' All told, these 'Grand Action' projects generated approximately \$420m in total investment, \$128m of which was from private sources. Much of the land was donated from the city or county or Downtown Development Authority. Finally, the city's income tax levy created a broader tax base that allowed for large-scale property tax incentives for downtown development. The large projects, aided by the city's sound fiscal infrastructure, created momentum that spurred further private sector investment.

With 3 percent unemployment, a productive connection between local universities and companies, and a vibrant downtown that offers entertainment and housing options, the city is able to attract and retain skilled workers. However, the positive overall economic numbers obscure pockets of deep poverty and high unemployment,

particularly in the city's minority communities. Certain leaders in Grand Rapids have long recognized structural racism as an issue the community needs to address, even to the degree that an "Institute for Healing Racism" was established at the Chamber of Commerce in 1997. However, the results of its work are difficult to quantify, and the benefits of downtown revitalization have not reached all city residents, leading one leader to caution: "Don't be fooled by all the cranes." Nonprofit efforts are attempting to combat education disparities. The Grand Rapids Community Foundation offers scholarships to disadvantaged students to attend a four-year or community college, but persistent quality problems remain in the public school system, and there appears to be a lack of contact and cooperation between local schools and employers, a pattern observed in other places, as well. Additionally, there exists a lack of affordable housing options, to the point that single-family houses are being rented out by the room to students, displacing lower-income families.

With the private sector assuming further development of the downtown area, local philanthropy and government leaders are transitioning their focus from physical to human capital investments. According to the mayor, "In the past we spent time on built infrastructure and on how the community looks, but now we're shifting to focus on the capital inside: people." The 'old guard' appears to increasingly understand the necessity for this shift, and a number of local companies have made changes like 'banning the box,' stopping drug-testing, adopting more inclusive HR practices, or collaborating to create a ride-share transit system for employees to address transit problems. Even with efforts by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and the Community Foundation that focus on more equitable growth, it is still unclear when the next generation of philanthropic leaders will take over, whether they will be as invested in the city, and if they will represent a broader subset of the population.

Rochester, New York

The city of Rochester had been losing population rapidly since the 1980s. But, from 2010 to 2014, the rate of loss leveled and, with 210,000 residents remaining in the city, officials have some confidence that the tide has been stemmed. Rochester's economic revitalization narrative is one that begins with the loss of the "Big Three" (Bausch & Lomb, Kodak, and Xerox) in the 1980s and continuing through the '90s, which has slowly and, to a certain extent incompletely, been replaced by "eds and meds." The University of Rochester, Rochester Regional Health System, and Wegmans grocery store chain are now the city's largest employers, while 97 percent of local businesses employ fewer than 100 employees.

Rochester's local leadership is focused on downtown redevelopment and targeted neighborhood poverty reduction programs. These include corporate leaders

from Wegmans, to the University of Rochester, to local philanthropy. While the downtown efforts seem to be creating new economic momentum, there are concerns about whether the anti-poverty efforts will match the severity and persistence of the city's struggles. And there's a degree of concern that the gains of a revitalized downtown are unlikely to benefit all city residents. Civic leaders refer to Rochester as "A Tale of Two Cities:" downtown is booming while underneath the downtown revitalization, Rochester faces racial and socioeconomic divides within the city proper, as well as between city (home to more underserved communities) and suburbs (home to more well-educated, wealthy inhabitants). Challenges in the city include concentrated poverty, income and racial stratification, failing schools, and very low graduation rates, with corresponding economic immobility.

Rochester's central anti-poverty initiative is the Rochester-Monroe Anti-Poverty Initiative (RMAPI), administered at the United Way of Greater Rochester. The program is beginning with targeted interventions in three "tipping point" neighborhoods, and includes a comprehensive series of economic indicators (such as minority graduation rates, household income increases, and a focus on early childhood supports). RMAPI was designed explicitly to address structural racism and the results of growing up in conditions of severe economic and social distress. Nonetheless, this program may need more support from business leaders and engagement from the school system in order to achieve its goals related to collective impact.

Revitalization is a long process and Rochester's progress towards broad-based economic recovery may be in early stages. Nonetheless, a few themes surfaced throughout the commentary. The development of downtown is expected to improve walkability and public safety, as well as increase parking, retail, and other amenities for the city's residents. Despite an aggressive partnership between the University of Rochester and the city's largest public high school, city officials and civic leaders recognize that the entire local school system needs reform. Early efforts are underway, some led out of the mayor's office, to insert greater city authority and resources into the school system. Finally, as part of RMAPI, civic leaders recognize that capacity building in youth and neighborhood organizations will be necessary to cultivate greater involvement among those who will ultimately determine Rochester's fate.

SIMILAR NARRATIVES OF RECOVERY ACROSS FOUR SMALL LEGACY CITIES

Each city on the study tour had its own distinct character and defining history. Two were midwestern, one distinctly more rural than the other. One city was northeastern and came to prominence early in the country's history. And, one was southern, carrying a legacy of race that was

somewhat unique compared to the others – although not completely unique, as will be discussed. All remain places of regional significance, though none are within the commuting shadow of a major metro. But in many ways, these four cities were similar, especially in relation to their respective narratives of economic recovery.

Similar observations were made across all four cities. Each place had a catalytic event, a “wake-up call,” or an acute crisis significant enough to motivate leadership in the communities to act. Often the catalytic event was economic, most frequently a sudden, dramatic loss of jobs and industry. The local response in each city included new strategies, investments, and cross-sector partnerships aimed at reversing course and, importantly, reorienting behavior away from the way things had always been done.

Each place’s strategies for initial revitalization were typical of 1980s and ‘90s community economic development: business recruitment; downtown real estate redevelopment; and public infrastructure development, including convention centers, concert venues, museums, greenways, and parking lots – investments that could be measured easily by counting new jobs, tax base expansion, and occupied square footage, and which sent a signal to residents and potential investors of a “new day” in the community. Leadership was uniformly white, male, wealthy, and business-oriented, with the capacity and dedication to mobilize resources during the economic crises of the 1980s. Their contributions are embodied in the built environment and their impact can often be measured according to metrics of growth. Each place’s initial strategies for community revitalization were subsidized, to a very large and consistent extent, by public resources alongside significant, private local wealth with a long and patient time horizon for returns. In some cases, this helped to literally (re)build a city’s downtown, but often had little success reaching marginalized neighborhoods and often overlooked the “soft” infrastructures of educational, workforce, and social service systems that drive equity and access.

As a result, while each place has recovered from their respective low-points across many dimensions, there is a growing recognition that residents and neighborhoods within each city have not recovered (and, in some cases, have fallen further behind), threatening the city’s long-term prospects and competitiveness. There is increasing awareness among community leaders that economic growth is necessary but not sufficient to create broad prosperity. A paradigm that is about ‘opportunity’ and ‘inclusion,’ for which the metrics are innovation, human capital growth, racial equity, and systems reform is emerging. However, observable impacts are remote and still being defined.

Part of this shift is a transition to new leaders and new circumstances. The voices and faces of urban leadership

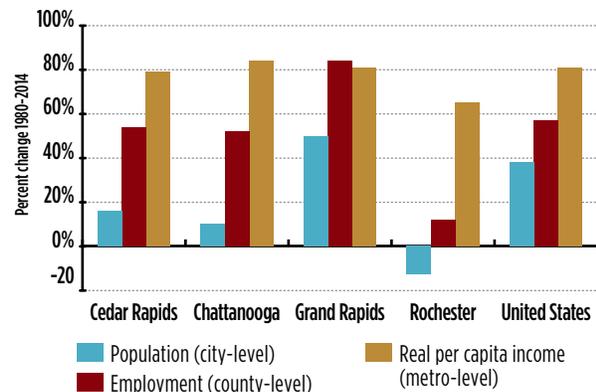
are becoming more diverse. Local fortunes amassed during the industrial age are arguably smaller relative to the problems that they are now called upon to solve, and connections to place are perhaps more tenuous than in previous generations. But the tendency towards a distributed (and therefore inclusive) leadership model, as can be created through the tools of technology and social media, is more pronounced. Conversations are less about financial returns than they are about community impact, without discounting the investments and commitments that went before.

Economic development strategies in these cities are being developed in a more regional context, leveraging workforce development resources and other competitive advantages to promote business attraction and retention. While placing local economic development in this regional context seems to benefit these cities, connecting historically excluded populations and communities to these broader strategies adds a new wrinkle to the challenges of connecting growth and opportunity.

Indeed, forging a link between these dual objectives should be viewed not only as a matter of fairness, but as the vanguard of sound economic development practice. As Emily Garr Pacetti, from The Fund for our Economic Future, highlights in *Growth and opportunity: A framework for stronger, more equitable local and regional economies*, a growing consensus of academic literature suggests that cultivating opportunity and greater equity among residents is fundamental to long-term economic prosperity at the metropolitan and regional levels.⁵ Researchers have found evidence not only that metropolitan areas with lower racial segregation and income inequality are better able to sustain economic growth over time, but that inequality in the United States has reached the point where it is slowing growth in jobs and incomes, in part because large segments of the population lack the means to develop the skills and talents that drive the economy forward. Amy Liu, from the Brookings Institution, highlights this very point in *Remaking economic development: The markets and civics of continuous growth and prosperity*. According to Liu, “Economic development that improves living standards for only the few undermines current and future human capital, depresses economic demand, and dampens a region’s overall competitiveness and potential for growth.”⁶

Place-based funders that recognize this inherent connection between growth and opportunity can leverage their standing and investments within their community to make both growth and opportunity strategies explicit within local and regional economic development planning and implementation. This is a particularly important function in legacy cities, where persistently high levels of poverty and joblessness will not be diminished without strong, intentional efforts to improve education, workforce training, and access to jobs.

Figure 1. Select growth metrics in study tour cities (1980-2014)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau: ACS and 1980 Decennial Census (IPUMS); Bureau of Labor Statistics: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages and the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Note: Figure 1 indicates that each city on the study tour largely improved across growth metrics from 1980 to 2014.

‘DUAL ARCS’ OF REVITALIZATION

The study tour began as an exploration of why some small legacy cities have rebounded from economic decline in the post Great Recession timeframe while others have not. It was informed by earlier work, which led us to ask: “Is there an ‘arc of recovery’ that can be observed across several cities that appear to be rebounding?” The concept of an arc was seen as being distinct from a formula as advocated by many in the period of urban renewal. The work began with an assumption that no single approach would lead to comprehensive community revitalization in every local setting. The metaphor of an ‘arc’ also allowed that different places could be at different points along a spectrum of revitalization.

Early on in the study tour, a divided pattern of progress became evident. We started with an assumption that an “arc of growth” – as measured by increasing population, jobs, building permits, firm creation, household income, and education attainment – was an appropriate construct through which to understand the overall trajectory of a community. Places that are moving along a trajectory with positive economic growth, we thought, should also be places where that growth translates into opportunity. We also assumed that a post Great Recession timeframe (changes in the local economy between approximately 2008 and 2014) was sufficient to assess revitalization for the purposes of selecting cities for this inquiry.

What we observed is that the broad indicators of growth – population, employment, income per capita – often fail to translate into improved opportunities for populations traditionally marginalized from the mainstream economy.

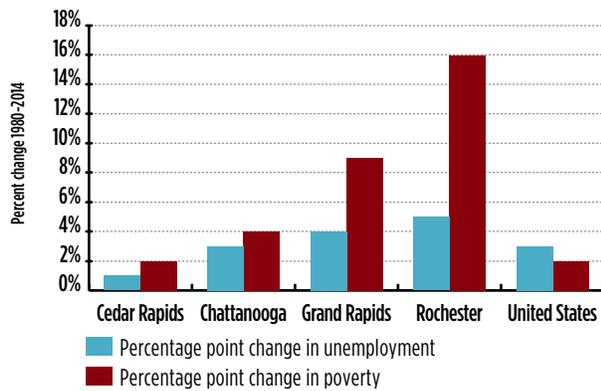
In fact, the economic trajectory of these small legacy cities seemed to progress more illustratively along two separate arcs. We also came to understand that assessing revitalization necessitated a much longer time horizon. Based on what we experienced in the visits, we came to speak of the ‘dual arcs’ of revitalization in terms of *economic growth and opportunity*, recognizing that economic growth is necessary but not sufficient for sustained, broad-based community revitalization.

While the study tour was not designed to produce a definitive set of metrics for each arc, the age-old metaphor of the “economic pie” seems to apply. The growth arc is manifest primarily by changes in the size of the pie, while the opportunity arc is represented by the size and distribution of its slices. The arc of growth might be measured by, among other things, the long-term trajectory of a place in terms of changes in population, employment, and personal income. While the magnitude of change may be different, figure 1 demonstrates that each city on the study tour largely improved across these growth metrics over the last 30 plus years.

On the other hand, the arc of opportunity could be assessed by examining factors such as housing affordability, poverty, and unemployment. Figures 2-5 are included for illustrative purposes to demonstrate the challenges of intersecting the arcs. For example, figure 2 indicates that while each city on the study tour and the US as a whole have experienced increases in unemployment (blue bars), the magnitude of the increases in poverty (red bars) suggests that something other than unemployment is affecting family poverty levels. Figure 3 offers another perspective: the disconnect between rising home values (red bars) and lagging incomes (blue bars) resonates nationwide. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the challenge through other lenses and indicate that increases in population can be challenging to correlate with increases in jobs, especially following an economic downturn. However, in the cities we visited, the divergence is more pronounced. As can be observed, while growth metrics have been largely positive, opportunity as measured by housing affordability and poverty have trended largely in a negative direction. To complete the metaphor, in these cities (and in many other parts of the United States), the pie has grown while its slices have been thinning for many parts of the community.

The most salient manifestation of the disconnect between the two arcs is a city with both increasing population and employment and increasing poverty levels; or increasing household income and an increasing share of residents who struggle to afford housing. In some parts of the cities on the study tour, civic leaders were heavily invested in creating an environment attractive to millennials and families alike, trying to stimulate economic growth with nightlife, grocery stores, bike lanes, and other sought-after amenities. In other parts of these same cities, long-term

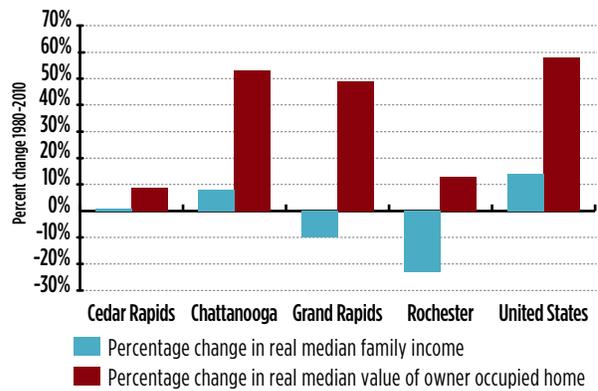
Figure 2. Change in unemployment / change in poverty (1980-2014)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, Five-Year Estimates 2010-2014. Historical data from U.S. Census Bureau via Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 11.0 [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2016. <http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V11.0>.

Figure 2 illustrates changes in the poverty rate since 1980 and changes in the unemployment rate over the same time period. The conclusion is that while unemployment (blue bars) has trended at or near national levels across the four cities, poverty (red bars) has trended significantly higher, indicating that job creation may not always be the only factor in alleviating persistent poverty.

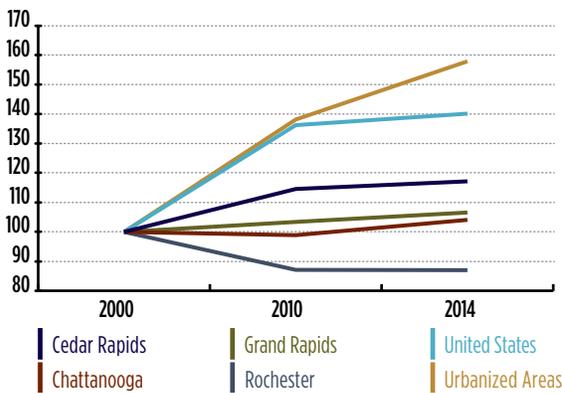
Figure 3. Change in median family income / change in home values (1980-2010)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, Five-Year Estimates 2010-2014. Historical data from U.S. Census Bureau via Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 11.0 [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2016. <http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V11.0>.

Figure 3 illustrates changes in median family incomes since 1980 and changes in median home values over the same time period. The conclusion is that changes in median family incomes (blue bars) have not kept pace with national levels, while changes in median family home values (red bars) varies widely, indicating affordability challenges in some places.

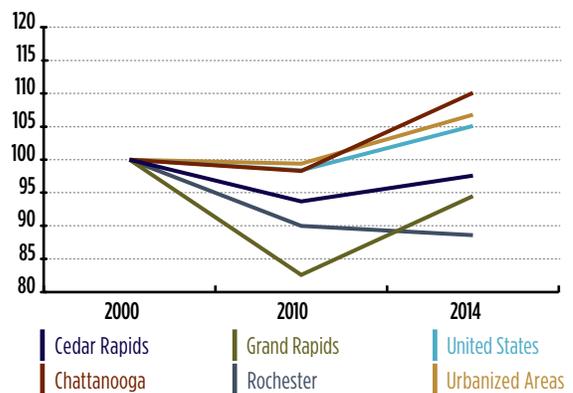
Figure 4. Population index (2000-2014)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau. American Community Survey, Five-Year Estimates 2010-2014. Historical data from U.S. Census Bureau via Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 11.0 [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2016. <http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V11.0>.

Figure 4 compares population growth since 2000 by indexing to 100. The trajectories of the four cities are featured, as are those of the United States as a whole, as well as “urbanized areas.” The graph illustrates how population growth trends in the four cities differ from the country as a whole, as well as other cities.

Figure 5. Jobs index (2000-2014)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau. County Business Patterns: 2014. Historical data from U.S. Census Bureau. County Business Patterns: 2010; and, U.S. Census Bureau. County Business Patterns: 2000.

Figure 5 compares job (number) growth since 2000 by indexing to 100. The trajectories of the four cities are featured, as are those of the United States as a whole, as well as “urbanized areas.” The graph illustrates how job growth trends across the four cities have followed both similar and divergent paths, and certainly have not followed population trends.

residents lived in virtual isolation from growth efforts, where aging housing and lagging schools foretold more of the same for their children. To be sure, these conditions are not unique to the four cities visited, but the dilemma resonated across residents and leaders alike. These are the paradoxes that the dual arc concept attempts to confront.

If communities are to prosper and that prosperity is to be broadly shared, the growth arc and the opportunity arc must be made to intersect. Leadership across the communities we visited presented differing views on the interplay of growth and opportunity. One perspective is that the benefits of growth will eventually extend to all residents. An opposing perspective is that the provision of opportunity must take precedence. The optimal approach most likely lies in striking a balance between the pursuit and creation of growth, with an eye towards the equitable, inclusive distribution of its benefits.

OBSERVATIONS FOR PLACE-BASED FUNDERS: CONNECTING THE ARCS

Given the common narratives emerging from the study tour and the dual arcs framework for evaluating place-based revitalization, we arrived at a short list of take-aways for funders.

Patient capital aimed at building local capacity seems to be a required ingredient for community revitalization. The time horizons of community revitalization are long and do not lend themselves to the rhythms of annual funding cycles, legislative sessions, or election cycles. These cities need capital that seeks both social impact and financial return over a longer-term. In the study tour cities, this capital came, one way or another, from “old money” wealth that was rooted in place. In each city, these “investments” typically did not seek immediate financial returns. In many cases, these investments leveraged significant public investment from the local, state, and federal governments over many years, if not decades. Place based funders are uniquely positioned to address the long time horizon that this work dictates, and the resources they control may be critical aspects in its acceleration or deceleration.

State policy often limits the flexibility and authority available to local leaders to act in ways that connect the arcs of growth and opportunity. For example, were a city interested in levying a new tax or development fee in order to assess the gains from real estate redevelopment to create affordable housing subsidy, in most states, state legislation would be required. This is especially true in transit funding. Funders can take a more active role in identifying those policy bottlenecks or opportunities that facilitate more positive local action toward connecting growth to opportunity. Place-based funders can be catalytic change agents for both policy and practice without engaging in lobbying.

Jurisdictional authorities dictate who can pull what policy lever within a local area to connect the growth and opportunity arcs. The levers of power and resource allocations accorded the municipal or county school board, economic development authority, community college, local university, and any number of other public or pseudo-public authorities have a significant, often negative impact on the efficacy of efforts to connect the dual arcs. This seems especially true with issues related to public education. When jurisdictional boundaries are clearly aligned toward common goals, then good things can happen. Funders can take an active role in helping to identify and break down or circumnavigate local jurisdictional boundaries that prevent positive action.

Marketing and communicating a sense of positive momentum is important in order to maintain a steady cadence on what is a very long-term mission of community revitalization. Each city on the study tour has been through fits and starts, ups and downs, and periods of malaise, along the path of recovery. What seems to have contributed, at least in part, to the ongoing forward momentum is the presence of a positive spin on the achievements and successes to date, as well as a common articulated vision of what is possible. In most of the cases studied here, the local community foundation or another place-based funder had a role in funding or otherwise supporting the narrative of a community’s recovery. As related to the dual arcs, it’s also imperative that funders consider the “for whom” question about where the benefits of recovery land.

Accountability for distribution of benefits from growth is the linchpin for connecting the arcs. Cities around the country (including the four we visited) have revitalized in various ways over the last several decades. But for a variety of reasons, benefits of that growth have left many behind. While local leaders rightly celebrate new businesses recruited, new properties developed, new schools built, new investments made into infrastructure, and so forth, local leaders, institutions, and residents must ultimately hold themselves and each other accountable for who benefits from growth in the local economy. And this is not easy. As one of our contacts in Rochester stated, “If you’re really doing your job well, it means you won’t have the same friends anymore.” This is a significant responsibility, but place-based funders should think deeply and strategically about their roles in holding local stakeholders accountable for bridging the gaps between the growth and opportunity arcs.

As these findings suggest, insuring inclusive community revitalization requires that funders extend far beyond a traditional charitable function into areas that are often unfamiliar and may be uncomfortable. Funders who commit to this difficult path for the long-term, speak the language of both growth and opportunity, and understand

their respective frameworks will be best positioned to lead their community toward a viable future in which all boats rise with the tide.

INTERVENTIONS TO CONSIDER

As we traveled across the four study tour cities, we encountered numerous tools or approaches to promoting opportunity that may be valuable to other communities. These tools were observed within a local context, and were often part of a broadly articulated plan or vision. While tools are helpful, the environment in which they are most likely to succeed is also important. Therefore, any given intervention should be seen as an approach that may or may not fit in a local community economic development toolkit.

With this in mind, below is a set of various strategies in which a local place-based foundation played a lead role as a funder, convener, or ‘steward’ of an effort to connect growth with opportunity. Most of these initiatives are in early days and have yet to prove impact one way or another, but showed enough promise to deserve mention.

- Addressing concentrated poverty by place: Interventions in this category were geographically targeted, often to a select group of affected communities, fully recognizing that other communities will not receive services and benefits—yet. In selecting target communities, one leader described their selection process as including the “biggest fires near the most water.” Distressed neighborhoods that were located near resources – for example, transportation or a good school – were seen as good places to start. Because there is no one point of ‘entry’ to addressing the cycle of poverty, efforts were multi-faceted and multi-generational.
 - Addressing concentrated poverty through policy: Interventions in this category were explicit in channeling more gains from growth to opportunity, through local policy. For example, the RMAPI project in Rochester resulted in a requirement that companies receiving public incentives complete a poverty impact assessment report stating publicly what the recipient of the incentive would do to aid in the city’s efforts to address poverty. In Grand Rapids, local industry was reported to be moving toward policies such as “ban the box” (eliminating the requirement that applicants disclose criminal convictions) and more limited drug testing, which may help bring segments of the population back into the labor force.
 - Revitalizing downtown with greater attention to preserving and increasing affordable housing: All four cities have made significant investments in making their communities more attractive by building entertainment or “innovation” districts in their downtowns, including museums, convention centers, river or water fronts, and various innovation or incubator spaces. As the success of these projects has increased both property values and
- living costs downtown, cities are contemplating the need for more affordable housing options to achieve family friendly housing near the employment opportunities presented in these emerging urban job centers.
 - Business recruitment led by business retention: All four cities had elements of an economic growth strategy that placed retention and success of existing business as a higher priority than traditional recruitment alone. These communities saw opportunities to make existing businesses stronger, often on a regional basis, and to recruit businesses in the supply chain for the existing businesses. In some but not all of the four communities, business recruitment and retention is creating broad opportunities through intentional workforce development efforts. In Cedar Rapids, proactive business retention efforts led by the Cedar Rapids Metro Economic Alliance works in close collaboration with Kirkland Community College to anticipate and meet the talent needs of businesses already in the community. These intentional efforts are good examples of “both-and” initiatives.
 - Develop leaders: In all four communities, there is real concern about where the next two generations of leaders will come from and how they will support collaborative efforts, rather than the success of a single institution or company. In Chattanooga and Grand Rapids, young leadership seemed to be emerging and coalescing around a collection of disparate issues, some of which were place-based while others were more national or global. Each community is experimenting with new approaches to creating more diverse and cross-sectoral leadership. Global competition makes it harder for local companies to provide the leadership they once did. Competition among municipalities for limited resources may make it harder for government leaders to engage in regional approaches. But without strong leaders in business, government, and nonprofits, building a regional approach to both arcs will be problematic. Place-based funders may be in an especially good position to intentionally lead such efforts.
 - Evidence-based decision making: Data has played an important role in many of the cities visited. For example, in Rochester a report documenting the continuing existence of deep childhood poverty mobilized the community to develop the RMAPI initiative. Foundations have the capacity to support the provision, collection, and maintenance of data to inform community action. Data should be publicly available and granular enough to support neighborhood level understanding. Data should also be robust enough to present an aggregated, comprehensive city – or MSA-wide profile. Metrics should be meaningful, able to document long-term trends, as well as highlight incremental changes.

CONCLUSION

Although diverse, the four cities visited for this study are by no means unique. They share a common narrative of crisis and recovery, challenged by chronic socioeconomic distress but bolstered by a spirit of resilience and civic pride honed over decades. New leadership is still emerging in all four places, but demonstrates enthusiasm and innovation as it waits for the right time and space to make its mark. Each place also benefits profoundly from a ‘community champion’ in the form of a community or private foundation that works alongside and among an array of community partners.

As a result of the site visits summarized in this report and informed by prior work done by various Reserve Banks and the Fund for Our Economic Future in Northeast Ohio, it is the consensus opinion of the contributors to this report that, if communities continue to pursue the arcs of growth and opportunity as separate strategies, even if they do each better, they will continue to struggle to restore a broad-based prosperity in their communities. If the goal is to help these proud communities restore greater prosperity for their residents, we believe that place-based funders are uniquely positioned to help move their communities in the right direction by deliberately forcing the two arcs of growth and opportunity to intersect and interact more regularly and strategically.

This is not to suggest that funders undertaking the difficult work of revitalization must enact growth and opportunity strategies in equal measure along exactly the same timeline. Our study was not designed to determine how best to sequence growth and opportunity initiatives to maximize revitalization potential, if such a determination were even possible. As the experience of these and other legacy cities undergoing revitalization has demonstrated, an initial focus on downtown redevelopment can provide the needed momentum to both spur a virtuous cycle of reinvestment and to reshape the public mindset around a narrative of change and renewal. However, efforts that fail to incorporate inclusionary measures such as affordable housing provision and low-cost transit and mobility options, or that begin and end with physical redevelopment are unlikely to unlock the full potential of local and regional economic growth. Where the goal is resilient, long-term prosperity place-based revitalization requires intentional investment that connects education, workforce, and other strategies

designed to maximize the human capital in struggling cities with broader business and economic development initiatives. While the dynamics at play within any given community will dictate the timing, sequence, and particularities of the interplay between growth and opportunity strategies, the larger lesson of this study is that neither a growth nor an opportunity approach is likely to be successful in the absence of the other. Revitalization efforts that recognize these dual arcs of development and plan for their meaningful integration are more likely to yield robust and lasting long-term results.

Because place-based funders are so integrally linked to the history and prospects of the communities they serve, they have unique roles and responsibilities not only as funders, but as local institutions and innovators. In concluding this essay, we would like to call some of those out and urge place-based funders to the following:

1. To be patient and to help guide projects with a long-time horizon, potentially over decades rather than years.
2. To inform both questions and answers with data.
3. To stand strong behind difficult choices. There is never enough money to do everything. Place based funders must be resolute (and informed) in their commitments, and able to say, “not yet.”
4. To stay on message. In times of crisis (or not) place-based funders can be the keepers and articulators of a vision of possibility for their communities.
5. Finally, to continually ask “for whom?” and to ensure that leadership and decision-making bodies are truly representative of the entirety of the community served. In a global world within which cities compete on a regional level, philanthropies that often bear the names of the places they serve are uniquely positioned (and compelled) to “call the equity question,” ensuring that all residents share in the benefits of new opportunities.

Comprehensive community revitalization in economically distressed cities is a long undertaking that requires the vision and fortitude to unremittably bend the arcs of growth and opportunity toward one another. We hope that this report offers some measure of encouragement and support to funders to embrace the challenge of uniting these arcs for the betterment of the both the people and the places they serve.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF CONTACTS AND AFFILIATIONS

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Jasmine Almoayed, Economic Development Manager, City of Cedar Rapids
Dee Baird, President & CEO, Cedar Rapids Metro Economic Alliance
Kim Becicka, Vice President, Continuing Education and Training Services, Kirkwood Community College
Lois Buntz, President & CEO, United Way
Karl Cassell, President & CEO, Horizons
Ron Corbett, Mayor, Cedar Rapids
Sandi Fowler, Assistant City Manager, City of Cedar Rapids
Les Garner, Jr., President & CEO, Greater Cedar Rapids Community Foundation
Anne Gruenwald, President & CEO, Four Oaks
Nancy Kasperek, Regional President, US Bank
Marcel Kielkucki, Director of High School Completion Programs, Kirkwood Community College
John Lohman, President, Publisher and Co-Owner, Corridor Media Group
Caleb Mason, Economic Development Analyst, City of Cedar Rapids
Doug Neumann, Executive Vice President, Cedar Rapids Metro Economic Alliance
Jeff Pomeranz, City Manager, City of Cedar Rapids
Jennifer Pratt, Community Development and Planning Director, City of Cedar Rapids
Dorice Ramsey, Executive Director, Jane Boyd Community House
Chad Simmons, President & CEO, Diversity Focus
Clint Twedt-Ball, Executive Director, Matthew 25
Leslie Wright, Vice President, United Way of East Central Iowa

Chattanooga, Tennessee

Danna Bailey, Vice President Corporate Communication, EPB Electric Power
Andrew Berke, Mayor, City of Chattanooga
Cordell Carter, CEO, Tech Town Foundation
Bruz Clark, President, Lyndhurst Foundation
Elizabeth Crews, Executive Director, UnifiEd
David Eichenenthal, Executive Director, National Resource Network
Tom Griscom, Former Editor, Chattanooga Times Free Press
Ken Hayes, President & CEO, The Enterprise Center
Betsy McCright, Executive Director, Chattanooga Housing Authority
Sarah Morgan, President, Benwood Community Foundation
Donna Williams, Administrator, Economic and Community Development Department, City of Chattanooga

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Rosalynn Bliss, Mayor, City of Grand Rapids
Andrew Brower, Program Officer, W.K. Kellogg Foundation
Mindy Ysasi-Castanon, Executive Director, The Source
Rick Chapla, Vice President, The Right Place
Tracie Coffman, Executive Director, Essential Needs Task Force

David Frey, Chair, Frey Foundation
Mimi Fritz, President & CEO, Downtown Market Grand Rapids
Jorge Gonzalez, Executive Director, West Michigan Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
Elissa Sangalli-Hillary, President, Local First
Sonya Hughes, Vice President of Inclusion, Grand Rapids Chamber of Commerce
Fred Keller, Founder and Chair, Cascade Engineering
Birgit Klohs, President & CEO, The Right Place
Cris Kutzli, Challenge Scholars Co-Director, Grand Rapids Community Foundation
Kris Larson, President & CEO, Downtown Grand Rapids, Inc.
Jacob Maas, CEO, Area Community Services Employment and Training Council
Mike Morin, CEO, Start Garden
Teresa Weatherall Neal, Superintendent, Grand Rapids Public Schools
Julie Ridenour, President, Steelcase Foundation
Jamiel Robinson, Founder and CEO, Grand Rapids Area Black Businesses
Darel Ross II, Co-Executive Director, LINC UP
Suzanne Schultz, Managing Director of Design, Development and Community Engagement, City of Grand Rapids
Diana Sieger, President & CEO, Grand Rapids Community Foundation
Kevin Stotts, President, Talent 2025
Stacy Stout, Assistant to the City Manager, City of Grand Rapids
Carole Valade, Editor, Gemini Publications
Steve Wilson, President, Frey Foundation

Rochester, New York

Leonard Brock, Director, Rochester-Monroe Anti-Poverty Initiative (RMAPI)
Jeremy Cooney, Chief of Staff, City of Rochester
Robert J. Duffy, President & CEO, Greater Rochester Chamber of Commerce
Paul Ericson, Editor and Vice President, Rochester Business Journal
Henry Fitts, Director of Innovation, Mayor's Office of Innovation and Strategic Initiatives, City of Rochester
Andrew Gallina, Gallina Development Corporation
Anne Kress, President, Monroe Community College
Dolores Kruchten, Vice President, Eastman Business Park
Jennifer Leonard, President & CEO, Rochester Area Community Foundation
Joel Seligman, President & CEO, University of Rochester
LaShunda Leslie-Smith, Executive Director, Connected Communities, Inc.
Mark S. Peterson, President & CEO, Greater Rochester Enterprise
Mary Anna Towler, Editor and Co-Publisher, City Newspaper
Lovely Warren, Mayor, City of Rochester
Fran Weisberg, President & CEO, United Way of Greater Rochester
Joe Wesley, Director of Strategic Workforce Development, Wegmans Food Markets
Heidi Zimmer-Meyer, President, Rochester Downtown Development Corporation

APPENDIX B: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS BY STUDY VISIT

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Ivye Allen, Foundation for the Mid South
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Keith Burwell, Toledo Community Foundation
Mels de Zeeuw, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Kausar Hamdani, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
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Mike Kane, Community Foundation for the Alleghenies
Will Lambe, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Susan Longworth, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Kevin Murphy, Berks County Community Foundation
Patricia Overmeyer, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Carolyn Saxton, Legacy Foundation
Kristopher Smith, Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities
Karl Stauber, Danville Regional Foundation
Richard Walker, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Alicia Williams, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Marva Williams, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Heidi Williamson, Berks County Community Foundation

Chattanooga, Tennessee

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Richard Walker, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Mels de Zeeuw, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Ivye Allen, Foundation for the Mid South
Jeremiah Boyle, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
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Kristopher Smith, Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities
Karl Stauber, Danville Regional Foundation
Richard Walker, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Alicia Williams, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

Rochester, New York

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Mels de Zeeuw, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Laura Ducceschi, Scranton Area Foundation
Kausar Hamdani, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
Elyse Jardine, Danville Regional Foundation
Mike Kane, Community Foundation for the Alleghenies
Will Lambe, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Susan Longworth, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Jean McKeown, Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo
Patricia Overmeyer, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Edison Reyes, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
Carolyn Saxton, Legacy Foundation
Javier Silva, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
Kristopher Smith, Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities
Karl Stauber, Danville Regional Foundation
Richard Walker, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Alicia Williams, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Heidi Williamson, Berks County Community Foundation

NOTES

- 1 We note, however, that comparing data across places and across time masks intra-time highs and lows and does not allow for full consideration of place-specific events, such as the effects of the 2008 flood in Cedar Rapids, IA.
- 2 In each city selected for the study tour, a local host assisted with planning, organization, and logistics. Hosts included the Lyndhurst Foundation in Chattanooga, TN; the Greater Cedar Rapids Community Foundation in Cedar Rapids, IA; the Rochester Area Community Foundation, the Farash Foundation, and the United Way of Greater Rochester, all in Rochester, NY; and the Grand Rapids Community Foundation in Grand Rapids, MI.
- 3 Sources for table 1: Population growth in the city, 2010-2015 from the U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (PEP), and the 2010 Census of Population; job growth in the county, 2009-2014, measured as the number of paid employees in county on March 12 of year, all sectors and drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau, County Business Patterns; building permit growth in the county, 2010-2015 measured as the annual new privately-owned residential building permits, estimates with imputation from the U.S. Census Bureau, Construction Building Permits; establishment growth in the Metropolitan Statistical Area, 2009-2013, measured using the calculation $100 * (\text{estabs_entry at time } t \text{ divided by the average of estabs at } t \text{ and } t-1)$ from U.S. Census Bureau, Business Dynamics Statistics; median household income growth in the city (in 2014 dollars), 2009-2014 from the U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 5-year estimates; education attainment growth in the city, 2009-2014, measured as percent of population 25 or older with some college or more including associates, bachelors, and graduate degrees from U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 5-year estimates.
- 4 See, for example, Mallach, A., 2012, "In Philadelphia's Shadow: Small Cities in the Third Federal Reserve District, A Special Report by the Community Development Studies and Education Department," Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia; and Mallach, A., 2014, "Out of the Shadow: Strategies for Change in Small Postindustrial Cities, A Special Report by the Community Development Studies and Education Department," Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.
- 5 Garr-Pacetti, Emily, 2014, "Growth and opportunity: A framework for stronger, more equitable local and regional economies," available at http://www.thefundneo.org/sites/default/files/content-media/Framing%20Paper_FINAL%20hi%20res%20with%20hyperlinks.pdf.
- 6 Liu, Amy, 2016, "Remaking economic development: The markets and civics of continuous growth and prosperity," available at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/BMPP_RemakingEconomicDevelopment_Feb25LoRes-1.pdf.



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