

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

LESSONS FROM THE EAST BALTIMORE
REVITALIZATION INITIATIVE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ore than a dozen years ago, city, state and private-sector leaders launched a major initiative to revitalize an economically distressed neighborhood in East Baltimore bordering the world-renowned Johns Hopkins medical campus. Local residents had seen the area suffer from disinvestment over many years, and the neighborhood was plagued by high rates of unemployment and poverty and a large number of vacant or abandoned buildings. The East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative began in 2002 as a \$1.8 billion effort to create biotechnology research space, new mixed-income housing, commercial development and other amenities in a rejuvenated community. Among the key partners were the city of Baltimore, state of Maryland, the Johns Hopkins University and other institutions, including the Annie E. Casey Foundation. Over time, the plans for the initiative expanded to involve, among other things, a new K-8 school and early childhood education center.

Although the Great Recession slowed the project, development activity on the 88-acre site has advanced. The project has created new and rehabbed homes; the new Elmer A. Henderson: A Johns Hopkins Partnership School, which



has a family resource center and community amenities such as an auditorium and gymnasium; the Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Early Childhood Center; a biotechnology research building; a state public health laboratory; a high-rise building for student housing; and retail space. Plans are in place for additional lab and office space, more mixed-income housing, a hotel and a community park.

Along with the physical redevelopment, the initiative made it a priority to foster economic inclusion, which involves using various strategies to help low-income residents of the area and the entire city get jobs and to assist minority- and womenowned enterprises in obtaining contracts generated by the project. Led by a special-purpose nonprofit, East Baltimore Development Inc. (EBDI), the project has implemented many of its economic inclusion goals and has achieved strong results, though it has fallen far short of early estimates for the number of jobs it would create.

Tim Parrish, chief executive officer of Unlimited Trucking and a native East Baltimorean, was one of the minority contractors who benefited from the East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative's economic inclusion efforts.

This report reviews the initiative's economic inclusion efforts, achievements and challenges. It examines the placement of local residents in construction jobs and the workforce pipeline that has trained and placed East Baltimore residents in jobs generated by the new development or elsewhere in the city, while also noting the complexity of creating project-related employment. It also reviews how EBDI and its partners connected minority-owned businesses to the project and supported their growth. For context and comparison, this report cites examples of similar initiatives around the country. Finally, it offers various lessons learned over the course of the project to date. This report serves to inform and assist a range of people and institutions, including government leaders, businesses and nonprofits interested in economic inclusion.

The work in East Baltimore suggests that efforts focused on economic inclusion should incorporate:

- collaborative leadership and accountability measures among all stakeholders and a joint commitment to the shared goal of economic inclusion;
- dedicated resources to sustain necessary activities, such as workforce development and support for minority- and women-owned businesses;
- transparent and effective processes for collecting information, planning, making decisions, providing oversight, reporting, ensuring continuous improvement and engaging with the broader community; and
- program innovation that meets the needs of a wide range of residents and deploys effective practices from around the country.

These lessons should be valuable beyond East Baltimore, as the fundamental issues of economic inclusion are similar in cities across the nation. As cities foster development projects that will generate good jobs and strengthen their economies, they will reap dividends by linking their investments in new buildings and businesses with an equally strong commitment to the futures of their residents and the health of local communities.

A NATIONAL FOCUS

ON CREATING OPPORTUNITIES IN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES

A national dialogue is underway about the increasing divide between the most affluent and those on the lower steps of the income ladder. Research shows the enormous challenge facing low-income individuals attempting to move up that ladder.¹

e are also seeing increased attention to racial inequities in income, employment and opportunity. The statistics are stark. For decades, the unemployment rate for African Americans has remained persistently higher than that for whites. In early 2014, the unemployment rate for African Americans was 12.1 percent, compared with 5.7 percent for whites. Black household income continues to be significantly lower than that of white households.2 African-American families are three times more likely to live in poverty than white families, and nearly four out of 10 black children live in poverty. The wealth gap between black and white families grew even larger during the Great Recession.

Similarly, minority-owned enterprises lag in terms of their share of the economy, are more likely to fail than white-owned businesses and often struggle to obtain vital capital to sustain and expand their operations.

These statistics highlight an economic imperative: As a nation, we

cannot wholly succeed when so many people are unable to build financial stability and contribute fully to our economy.

During the past decade, an increasing number of local governments, institutions and nonprofits have recognized the need to tackle these gaps and adopted new practices to create equitable economic opportunity for all residents and businesses, especially as part of new economic development projects. At a time when jobs are in high demand and city economic development resources are strained, ensuring the promises of employment for local residents are realized during such projects has become a top priority.

Cities and institutions around the country have taken different approaches, but a common principle among many has been that large development projects that require extensive public and institutional investment and regulation have a responsibility to generate economic opportunities for local residents. The city of San Francisco, for example, passed a groundbreaking ordinance to require — rather than simply encourage — local hiring on major city construction jobs, with specific hiring requirements for low-income workers. In Boston, local organizations set goals for the hiring of residents, people of color and women and for generating subcontracting work for minority- and women-owned enterprises in the construction of the Salvation Army Kroc Center of Boston. And in Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania has stressed incorporating economic inclusion³ in its community revitalization efforts; the university now purchases more than \$80 million annually in materials from minority suppliers, and 15 percent of its staff members are local residents.

In Baltimore and at the state level, important steps have been taken in recent years to promote economic inclusion. In 2013, the city passed an ordinance that requires companies with city contracts of \$300,000 or more and entities that receive more than \$5 million in assistance for city-subsidized projects to fill 51 percent of the jobs they create with local residents.

In addition, Maryland's Employment Advancement Right Now Act has led to new funding for worker training in 2013 and 2014. Former Gov. Martin O'Malley also issued

an executive order directing state agencies to promote apprenticeship programs and hiring in areas with high unemployment. The order encourages state agencies to award credit in the procurement process to contractors that agree to participate in registered apprenticeship programs, and it calls for contractors to submit voluntary plans for community outreach and hiring. Moreover, the state sets aside a share of federal transportation funding to pay for constructionrelated training with a focus on lower-income job seekers.

See Baltimore's Expanded Focus on Economic Opportunities (p. 6) for other examples of how institutions have taken steps to increase access to opportunities in low-income communities.



The initiative's workforce pipeline has worked with effective customized training programs in health services and biotechnology to place East Baltimore residents in jobs with career advancement opportunities that require technical training. Above: A class at the BioTechnical Institute of Maryland.

several recent baltimore efforts have sought to better connect low-

income residents to the regional economy. These approaches have focused on education, training and workforce development, culminating in policy and practice changes to advance economic inclusion.

Most prominent has been the Baltimore Integration Partnership (BIP), which began in 2011 as a multipronged initiative to bring new economic opportunities to three targeted areas of the city, including the area that is part of the East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative. BIP received major operating and investment capital from Living Cities, a national network of major foundations and financial institutions.

In its first three years, BIP focused on making investments that strengthened inner-core neighborhoods, improved the work-force system and connected low-income residents to jobs and careers. BIP worked through The Reinvestment Fund (TRF), a Philadelphia-based community development financial institution, to those ends. As of early 2014, TRF financed I3 community development projects in BIP's three target areas, leveraging more than \$148 million in new investment.

BIP worked on several fronts to improve Baltimore workers' readiness for jobs and connect employers with good job candidates. BIP and its partners helped more than 1,380 residents access job-training services, provided grants to pay for training for about 500 individuals and assisted more than 835 Baltimore residents in securing jobs.

BIP's second phase, which began in 2014, brings together key anchor institutions, including Johns Hopkins and other major universities and hospitals, committed to strengthening their economic inclusion efforts. Hopkins has recently demonstrated that commitment in several projects. For example, Johns Hopkins Hospital required general contractors to include economic inclusion plans in their submissions for the construction of its new \$994 million clinical building, which opened in 2012 and comprises the Charlotte R. Bloomberg Children's Center and the Sheikh Zayed Tower. The hospital also took several steps to better verify how successful its contractors have been in meeting inclusion goals and launched economic inclusion efforts in routine capital projects, which number as many as 500 annually.

Another Hopkins project, the \$78 million Robert H. and Clarice Smith Building of the Wilmer Eye Institute, included tracking of its economic inclusion achievements. This smaller project, which allowed for more opportunities for minority- and womenowned enterprises, exceeded its inclusion goals by more than 45 percent and generated nearly \$23 million for minority-owned, women-owned and local businesses.

Near its Homewood campus, the Johns Hopkins University and the community recently launched the Homewood Community Partners Initiative, a collaboration that aims to strengthen the neighborhoods around the university and includes a commitment to local hiring, contracting and purchasing. And another Baltimore higher-education anchor, the Maryland Institute College of Art, recently set a goal of having 15 percent of its construction contracting go to local workers or contractors.

A SPOTLIGHT ON

EAST BALTIMORE

The East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative is the largest urban redevelopment project in the city since the Inner Harbor was redeveloped in the late 1970s. The initiative has confronted a challenge facing cities across the country: reinvigorating the real estate market in communities burdened with vacant buildings and land, making them better places to live for current and future residents.

he initiative seeks to transform an economically challenged neighborhood north of the world-renowned Johns Hopkins medical campus, which includes the Johns Hopkins Hospital. By 2001, much of the area around the campus had deteriorated, suffering from a lack of investment and social problems, including high unemployment and crime. The initiative aims to transform an 88-acre area in the neighborhood into a mixed-income community, with new homes and retail businesses, improved schools and safety, more engaged residents and a larger employment base.

Leading the initiative is a nonprofit entity established to manage the project, East Baltimore Development Inc. (EBDI), which is governed by a board that has included representatives from the community, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Johns Hopkins institutions (university and medical campus), the city of Baltimore, the state of Maryland and other local and national philanthropies.

Initial plans called for the construction of roughly 2,200 new and rehabilitated homes for buyers and renters with a range of incomes; research and other commercial space focused on the biotechnology and medical sectors; retail establishments; and new recreational spaces.

The project required the partial clearing of the 88-acre site, with many properties demolished and 742 households relocated. A key focus for the Casey Foundation was ensuring this relocation would benefit those required to move. Casey also stressed the importance of resident involvement in the development and implementation of the relocation plan and worked deliberately to see that community voices were heard by project leaders throughout the process.

Originally expected to take up to 20 years to complete, the project was slowed considerably by the Great Recession. Still, as of spring 2014, it had met some of its original goals. The project has created a 275,000-square-foot research and laboratory building, 249 new or

rehabbed homes and about 18,000 square feet of new retail space. A school and early childhood education center opened in 2014, while a hotel and community park are under development. And under a revised master plan, the development will include 1.8 million square feet of office space and an additional 100,000 square feet of retail space.

A COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC INCLUSION

While the initiative resembled in some ways a traditional redevelopment project — its use of public authority and funds to acquire and demolish homes, for example — it also has invested significant resources to provide a range of services to support community residents and enterprises that is unusual in redevelopment. Indeed, nationally, few if any such initiatives have set such an ambitious focus on promoting family stability and economic inclusion — that is, creating new job opportunities for local residents, women and people of color and ensuring minorityand women-owned businesses gain some of the work generated by the project in their community.

The project's commitment to economic inclusion was a reaction to the widespread economic inequality

that plagues Baltimore. Household income for African Americans in Baltimore City averaged \$33,260 in 2010. By comparison, white household income was 64 percent higher — \$54,531, according to data compiled by The Reinvestment Fund's Policy Map project. Similarly, 14.6 percent of whites in Baltimore lived in poverty in 2010, compared with 24 percent of African Americans. And unemployment rates for African-American residents, especially young men, have persistently been higher than those for white residents.

Determined to address such inequalities, key parties at the beginning of the initiative entered into a minority inclusion agreement, which was signed in 2002 by the mayor and city council, the Johns Hopkins University, Johns Hopkins Health System Corporation and EBDI.

The agreement set goals for a share of the work to go to minority- and women-owned enterprises. It stipulated that requirements for minority inclusion apply to EBDI itself, its requests for proposals, agreements and contracts and its developers, contractors and subcontractors. It also promoted minority ownership stakes in the entities involved in the development. Although the original Minority Inclusion Agreement did

not set specific goals for minority or local hiring, EBDI adopted policies to set and enforce such goals.

The agreement also called for the creation of a business incubator to help minority-owned firms get started and grow and a community reinvestment fund to generate resources for workforce development and other efforts to promote economic inclusion. The agreement called for 3 percent of all eligible public funds to be used to make equity investments in businesses related to the project, with the investments managed by a minority-owned entity. And it called for a portion of the project's net income to be used to develop local community institutions, commercial or residential developments or infrastructure improvements. Although those revenue sources did not materialize, EBDI is now exploring how best to structure such a fund after receiving its first contribution from the newest development in the project area (see p. 16 for more about the fund).

In 2005, EBDI established an Economic Inclusion Advisory Committee to oversee implementation of the economic inclusion goals, review monitoring reports and recommend policies for the implementation and advancement of the Minority Inclusion Agreement. East Baltimore residents serve on the committee, and the meetings are open to the public.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN

To help implement certain portions of the Minority Inclusion Agreement, EBDI created in 2006 its Economic Opportunity Plan and Procurement Policy (referred to in this report as the Economic Opportunity Plan), which provided greater specificity on achieving objectives in the agreement. For example, the policy described the importance of minority contracting and of joint ventures between nonminority and minority-owned firms. It also established specific employment targets for people of color, women and East Baltimore residents.

Since 2006, EBDI has made several revisions to the Economic Opportunity Plan. The most recent version (February 2013) includes stronger and more specific goals and requirements for contracting and hiring. (See Appendix for details on the plan's goals and the original agreement.)

Perhaps most notably, local hiring goals of 15–20 percent were established in 2011 (later increased to 23–25 percent), and the plan

Since 2002, the Casey Foundation has played a leading role in the East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative. The Foundation joined the initiative to help ensure it protected the interests of the area's low-income residents and took steps to minimize the negative effects of relocation and create positive opportunities for families living in the project area. In addition, Casey emphasized the importance of involving residents in developing a relocation policy and made sure they had meaningful input throughout the process.

The Foundation has used its resources in multiple ways, including making program-related investments, supporting efforts to engage residents in the design and implementation of the project, providing operating support for EBDI and supplying grants for family advocacy, workforce development and economic inclusion on behalf of minority-owned businesses. Casey also has provided technical assistance to EBDI, supported research and evaluation, deployed staff members to work on the initiative and had senior leaders serve on EBDI's board.

In sum, the Foundation and its partners have committed to ensuring the project is not just focused on physical improvements but also on increasing opportunities for residents of the area. This expanded focus distinguishes the endeavor from many other large-scale urban renewal initiatives.

redefined what constituted local hiring.⁴

The Economic Opportunity Plan is incorporated into all contracts for services, procurement or construction on the site. Bidders must include an economic inclusion plan and a workforce plan in their bids to show how they intend to reach the economic inclusion goals.

EBDI and third-party verification partners work together to monitor contractors' compliance. The third-party agencies monitor and verify contractors' compliance with specific requirements for contracting with minority-owned, womenowned and local businesses, as well as hiring people of color, women and local residents. EBDI works

closely with the developers and contractors to ensure they can meet subcontracting and hiring goals by connecting minority- and womenowned businesses with training and technical assistance and helping them with bonding and other business requirements.

It is important to note that the Economic Opportunity Plan outlines EBDI's role in ensuring contractors and subcontractors fulfill their economic inclusion responsibilities under the Minority Inclusion Agreement. But that agreement extends far beyond EBDI and its contractors and subcontractors; it also has inclusion commitments from the city of Baltimore and affiliated businesses and institutional partners.

Finally, the project still maintains its goals of bringing in minority retailers and establishing a community reinvestment fund. Plans are underway to establish an entity near the area to serve as an incubator for start-up food-production businesses and to provide job training, which could advance the Minority Inclusion Agreement's goals.

WORKFORCE PIPELINE

Another focus of EBDI and its partners has been workforce development. In 2007, EBDI started a workforce pipeline to connect area residents to services and training programs in the public and nonprofit sectors, with a focus on

the east baltimore project's Minority Inclusion Agreement includes nine objectives:

- I. Overall Development. Increase contracting and procurement dollars spent with minority-owned businesses.
- 2. Equity Ownership. Increase opportunities for minority equity participation in real estate and businesses.
- 3. Organizational Diversity. Include diversity throughout EBDI's organizational structure.
- 4. Contracting. Engage people of color in all aspects of contracting, construction, professional services, commodities, manufacturing and services.
- 5. Retail and Business. Increase the number of minority-owned businesses in retail, high technology and biotechnology.
- 6. Developing a Technical Workforce. Provide high-tech employment opportunities for Baltimore residents and workforce development training.
- 7. Incubator and Laboratory Space for Start-Ups. Create a laboratory and office incubator space for minority start-ups.
- 8. Outreach. Work proactively with entrepreneurs of color to help them take advantage of economic development opportunities.
- 9. Community Reinvestment. Commit funds generated by the project to support ongoing benefits to the surrounding community.

meeting the needs of employers and residents. The pipeline was designed to improve the skills of residents relocated by the project, as well as residents of the larger East Baltimore community, to prepare them for jobs created by the redevelopment or in other areas of the city and region.

Residents who entered the pipeline worked with EBDI's workforce advocates to assess their educational level and employment history and received one-on-one counseling to ensure they were prepared to work and had a personal career path. The advocates referred residents to educational services or occupational training, and EBDI worked with the Mayor's Office of Employment Development to identify qualified local candidates for job openings.

Pipeline participants faced a number of challenges in preparing for and obtaining jobs, including a lack of adequate math, reading and interview skills; low educational attainment; and unstable housing situations.

A key complement to workforce development has been the housing assistance that EBDI provided to relocated residents, coupled with relocation benefits that were more extensive than the minimum required by law. EBDI's team

provided hands-on housing support services for up to five years to help residents find new homes and overcome challenges that threaten their housing stability.

In 2014, EBDI refocused its work on physical development and less on human-service efforts, in large measure because the relocation process for residents of the area had been completed. Other nonprofit partners, including Humanim and the Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition, have assumed many of the humanservice programs with which EBDI had been involved. Key initiative partners are identifying a mechanism for sustaining these activities in the years ahead. EBDI will continue to monitor economic inclusion within the initiative.

ECONOMIC INCLUSION RESULTS TO DATE

Local and Minority Hiring

The economic inclusion goals updated in February 2013 call for local workers to perform 23 percent of work hours on commercial projects and 25 percent on residential projects in the East Baltimore initiative area. For residential and commercial projects, 12 percent of work hours are to be performed by East Baltimore workers in particular.

Although all the projects monitored to date began before the adoption of the updated goals, they have been able to meet many of them, with 30 percent of work hours on residential projects and 28 percent on commercial projects going to local workers of color and women. For residential projects, 12.5 percent of work hours went to East Baltimore workers, exceeding the 12 percent goal.

In all, 4,692 construction workers have been hired since 2006; of those, 641 are from East Baltimore. As one example, construction of the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's Public Health Laboratory in East Baltimore employed 127 local residents, including 118 who went through the EBDI pipeline, according to compliance reports filed for the project.

EBDI's pipeline has been effective, helping 270 local residents get hired in the project area, including 18 relocated residents. Almost all the construction workers who have come through the pipeline are working in entry-level positions as laborers. Between November 2007 and September 2012, of the 355 individuals placed in jobs in and outside the project area through the pipeline, 66 were relocated residents. The other 289 were from elsewhere in East Baltimore.

Although fewer relocated residents are using the pipeline, it appears to be effectively providing services for segments of the population. Of the 270 local residents hired in the project area through the pipeline, a majority have criminal records, which often poses a significant obstacle to finding employment. The pipeline also has worked with effective customized training programs in health services and biotechnology to place East Baltimore residents in jobs with career advancement opportunities that require technical training. Almost half of the job placements have been in construction, with health care, manufacturing, hospitality and tourism making up most of the remainder.

Subcontracting and Procurement

EBDI's economic inclusion goals established separate minority-owned, women-owned and local business goals for construction; design, architecture and engineering; and professional services. Overall, the project has met or exceeded the local contracting goals and met many of those for minority- and women-owned businesses, while it has come close to its goals for minority firms in design, architectural, engineering and professional services (see Table 1).

To meet these goals, EBDI staff members have worked with the master developer and general contractors to ensure joint ventures are subcontracting with minority- and women-owned businesses. Requests for proposals outline detailed goals and expectations for contractors, and they must submit an economic inclusion plan that details how they will meet the project's minority- and women-owned business participation goals.

PERMANENT JOBS

Projections from 2003 estimated the project would create 8,000 permanent office and lab jobs.⁷ A 2009 report supported these early estimates and included an additional estimated 1,000 permanent jobs that would be created in the retail, restaurant and hotel development in the area. However, changes in the master plan and development schedule have led to the creation of fewer permanent jobs than anticipated and will likely result in fewer jobs when the project is completed.

According to the best available information, roughly 950 permanent jobs have been created since the project began, far less than the 3,000 jobs estimated by 2013.8 This includes roughly 650 jobs at the Rangos research building on the site. It also includes 214 jobs created by EBDI to manage the project and deliver services, 88 of which went to East Baltimore residents.

About 135 additional jobs were created in security and janitorial services and through hiring at the new community school.

Changes in the economy and market considerations led to a revised master plan for the project, which reduces the size of its office, lab and retail space and increases the amount of green space. New estimates indicate that the project could create between 4,920 and 5,270 permanent jobs in offices and labs. In the retail field, the project is expected to create about 340 permanent jobs, compared to an initial estimate of 540.9

Table I. Contracting and Procurement Goals and Attainment (Percentage)

	MBE GOAL	MBE ACTUAL	WBE GOAL	WBE ACTUAL	LOCAL GOAL	LOCAL ACTUAL
CONSTRUCTION	27	35.7	8	6.7	20	32.4
D/A/E	21	19.4	13	17.7	20	27.4
PROFESSIONAL	17	14.3	9	22.4	20	52.6

Note: MBE = minority business enterprise; WBE = women's business enterprise; D/A/E = Design, architecture and engineering.

Source: 2011 and 2013 Economic Opportunity Plan (goal did not change), Economic Inclusion Third-Party Monitoring and Compliance Verification, March 2014.

NATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

EXAMPLES

The work in Baltimore shares similarities with efforts around the country focused on promoting and expanding economic opportunities to address local inequities. To provide context for the East Baltimore initiative's activities, this section summarizes several examples in hiring, contracting, supporting minority business development and community redevelopment funding. These examples — from cities, regions and states — highlight the diversity of approaches that government and anchor institutions such as universities and hospitals use to advance economic inclusion.

HIRING GOALS

As with the East Baltimore initiative, many cities, as well as some state agencies, have adopted a range of hiring policies to concentrate their energy and resources in neighborhoods most in need.

San Francisco Local Hire Ordinance

The city of San Francisco passed a groundbreaking ordinance in 2010 that required certain contractors to hire workers locally. The change in the law came after a report documented how a voluntary local hire ordinance was not resulting in job opportunities for San Francisco residents. 10 The ordinance applied to all construction labor on cityfunded projects that cost at least \$400,000 and mandated that local residents perform 20 percent of all project hours within each trade, with those requirements increasing by five percentage points annually until reaching 50 percent in 2017.

It also required economically disadvantaged workers to perform at least 10 percent of all project work hours within each trade, eventually rising to 25 percent.

Community organizations, unions and training programs have collaborated to create a workforce pipeline for city residents to move into training and jobs. Since the law's passage, local hiring on city-funded projects is up 70 percent, with increases across all departments and nearly every trade. Compared with local hire outcomes prior to the ordinance, more than 10,000 additional work hours went to local residents, nearly two-thirds of whom live in one of the city's five lowest-income zip codes.¹¹ The city has actively engaged with the nonprofit sector and unions to build the capacity of training programs to prepare local residents for upcoming job opportunities.

Salvation Army Kroc Center of Boston

In 2006, the Dudley community in Boston was selected to have a new \$70 million Ray and Joan Kroc community facility built. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative worked closely with the Salvation Army and other partners to ensure the construction iobs would benefit local residents. women and people of color. They set a hire goal of 51 percent local, 51 percent minority and 15 percent women workers. The partners established a workforce committee to ensure these goals were met and held weekly public meetings. In the end, 45 percent of the workers were local, 44 percent were minority and 8 percent were women. While the effort did not fully achieve its goals, the regular meetings helped to engage community residents in the process and to identify several problems and corrective measures that led to improved outcomes.

Missouri Department of Transportation Workforce Development Program

In St. Louis, local community groups worked with the Missouri Department of Transportation to create a new workforce development program as part of a \$500 million interstate highway project. The program aimed to have 14.7 percent of the workforce be people



of color and 6.9 percent women, with 20 percent of workforce hours going to on-the-job trainees. The participation goals for people of color and women were based on the U.S. Department of Labor's goals for federal construction contractors. ¹² The agreement also included

dedicating 0.5 percent of the total project funds (\$2.5 million) to job training. Actual participation was 19.8 percent people of color and 6.7 percent women, with 11.5 percent of hours going to on-the-job trainees. ¹³ Having met its goals, the program has been replicated by agencies across the country.

CONTRACTING

The East Baltimore initiative has achieved many of its contracting goals for local and minority- or women-owned businesses. Other cities and areas have used various strategies to pursue similar goals.

The City of New Orleans Office of Supplier Diversity

The city of New Orleans runs its effective Office of Supplier Diversity with ambitious goals of having 50 percent of public spending go to local businesses and 35 percent to disadvantaged business enterprises (DBEs). This includes procurement and construction for all projects that use public support or incentives. They offer small-business training in partnership with local nonprofit entrepreneurship development organizations through a grant with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Tracking shows the participation rate of DBEs was 34 percent for 2012. 14 The city only recently began tracking local contracting and does not yet have public information available on actual participation. To meet their goals, city staff expanded their outreach to minority-owned businesses and doubled their list of certified DBEs eligible for city contracts.

Los Angeles Alameda Corridor Disadvantaged Business Enterprise Program

In Los Angeles, the Alameda Corridor Transportation Authority adopted a disadvantaged business enterprise program for the construction of the \$2.4 billion Alameda Corridor project, a 20-mile rail line, which required that at least 22 percent of professional-service work (e.g., engineering and design) and construction work be subcontracted to DBEs. The transportation authority also established a business outreach program to improve the ability of disadvantaged businesses to compete for these contracts. The program staff helped DBEs with bonding and connected them with non-DBE contractors to facilitate compliance with program goals.

Of the total contract awards, 22 percent went to DBEs. Twenty-nine percent of professional-service contracts were awarded to DBEs, as

well as 36 percent of constructionmanagement contracts and 20 percent of construction-service contracts. This translated into \$289 million worth of contracts for 155 companies.¹⁵

SUPPORTING MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

East Baltimore's Minority Inclusion Agreement called for the creation of a business incubator for minority start-up ventures. Today, efforts are underway to create a Baltimore Food Hub near the EBDI project area to support entrepreneurs in food-related businesses.

Below are examples of other programs designed to start new minority businesses, accelerate the growth of existing ones and connect with anchor institutions to support local small and minority business development.

The Neighborhood Development Center in St. Paul, Minn.

The Neighborhood Development Center (NDC) in St. Paul helps emerging entrepreneurs from low-income communities of color start their own businesses and contribute to the economic revitalization of their neighborhoods. Since 1993, NDC has helped more than 4,000

residents receive training, loans and ongoing support to grow and create new jobs. More than 500 graduates operate businesses, sustaining 2,200 jobs and returning \$64 million to their communities in payroll, taxes and rent each year.

This model is being adapted in Detroit in neighborhoods with African-American, Middle Eastern, South Asian and Latino populations. The common thread is that instructors, curricula and support systems are culturally specific to each group and delivered by trusted local trainers.

Henry Ford Health System and Other Anchors in Midtown Detroit

In Detroit, the Henry Ford Health System runs a supplier development program to increase minority purchasing and contracting. To make it easier for small local businesses to contract with the hospital, Henry Ford pays them one month in advance. Henry Ford also has a transparent sourcing policy requiring that all bids of \$20,000 or more involve minority- and women-owned businesses. Local foundations are supporting the Detroit Economic Growth Council to create a detailed database and system of connections between all of Detroit's anchors and local minority-owned suppliers of goods

and services. In addition, the health system incentivizes local hiring and links 7 percent of executives' bonuses to meeting diversity goals.

COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT FUNDS

In East Baltimore, the Minority Inclusion Agreement called for establishing a vehicle to support ongoing community reinvestment and minority business development. Although the revenue originally envisioned to support such a fund has not materialized, EBDI recently received its first contribution to the fund from the newest development in the project area and anticipates future development projects to contribute similarly. EBDI is now exploring the best way to structure the fund using those new resources. This section highlights such funds in other areas that have been established using revenues tied to project construction costs to foster economic inclusion.

Port of Oakland Social Justice Trust Fund

In 2004, the Port of Oakland, an independent agency of the city of Oakland, Calif., adopted a project labor agreement for a \$640 million port expansion project. As part of the agreement, private contractors

paid \$0.15 for every hour they worked into what was called the Social Justice Trust Fund. The fund is managed by a community foundation with oversight from a committee of appointees from labor and management. From the fund, the committee made grants totaling more than \$400,000 to support pre-apprenticeship training and other workforce programs focused on the construction industry.

Portland Community Benefits Agreement Funds

In 2012, the city of Portland, Ore., adopted a model community benefits agreement for city-funded projects. The agreement is now part of two water bureau projects totaling \$100 million and has led to the creation of three dedicated funds, paid into by the public owner and the contractors. A total of 0.75 percent of project costs go to a community construction fund to support training programs for people of color, women and low-income individuals to enter the construction trades; 0.5 percent of total project costs go to a technical assistance fund to support minority-owned, women-owned and disadvantaged businesses to secure bonding and support services; and 0.25 percent of total project costs fund monitoring and compliance.

The funds' oversight committees, now being established, will consist of an equal number of representatives from labor and community groups, the project owner and the prime contractor.

These examples highlight some of the many ways that local initiatives throughout the country are crafting economic inclusion policies and programs that respond to local issues and take advantage of available resources. These efforts are generally achieving many of their goals and creating significant new economic opportunities for marginalized communities and residents.

LESSONS

FOR THE FIELD

The East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative has a track record spanning more than a decade, and its partners have made ambitious and often unprecedented commitments to economic inclusion. This assessment comes at an opportune time in the project. A great deal of progress has been made, yet the community is not fully built. With the relocation process completed, EBDI has refocused on physical development, with partners providing more human services. The experience to date has yielded important lessons not only for partner organizations, residents and advocates associated with the initiative but also for other urban revitalization projects outside Baltimore.

he focus on economic inclusion arose as plans began for construction of a mixed-use neighborhood with high-tech laboratories, an elementary school, retail and housing. Giving local residents access to economic opportunity remains an ambitious goal. As the project matures, a key focus will be the permanent positions it is expected to create. Training and placing people in those positions requires a complex set of projectspecific links to citywide resources, such as customized job searches and skill-building programs for diverse workforce and educational backgrounds. Similarly, minorityowned, women-owned and local firms should have ongoing opportunities for contracting within the neighborhood.

The East Baltimore project incorporates two approaches to oversight and stakeholder engagement related to economic inclusion. First, the project tracks and reports progress on economic inclusion efforts,

documenting the race, gender and residency of people who are trained, hired, retained and promoted, as well as the size of contracts earned by local and minority- or women-owned firms. But it is just as important to assess and improve local systems focused on workforce development and urban revitalization so that they strive for equitable economic opportunity and inclusion in their everyday practices.

The work in Baltimore and the comparative examination of economic inclusion policies and programs elsewhere have generated lessons that can be useful for other projects. They suggest that four elements must be in place: collaborative leadership, dedicated resources, transparent and effective processes and program innovation. This section discusses each of those areas.

COLLABORATIVE LEADERSHIP

This report comes at a time when the East Baltimore development is entering its next phase. Enough building has taken place that new firms and institutions, such as the school, are taking root, yet a great deal of work lies ahead, both in construction and in fostering a new community. This is an important juncture for many projects of this type, when their leaders must renew and reformulate their commitment to economic inclusion. Five dimensions of collaborative leadership stand out as essential.

Identify a guarantor for all aspects of economic inclusion. An initiative focused on promoting economic opportunity and community improvement for residents must have a guarantor of economic inclusion, an entity that reflects the joint commitments of all the partners, including the local government, the anchor institution, the developers, local philanthropy and the broader community. This entity should have the authority and latitude to ensure that agreement goals are met and that economic inclusion activities, including workforce programs and human services, are effective. The guarantor sets policy for the project's partnership and must be able to represent the interests of the development partnership as well as the broader community. In East Baltimore, EBDI and the other signatories of the Minority

Inclusion Agreement have had this responsibility.

Create a support system for new and growing enterprises. Projects require an entity that can work with entrepreneurs and firms to lend money, strengthen their connections to other businesses, help them with planning and build their capacities to compete for work. A community development financial institution, a community development corporation or other types of financial and programmatic intermediaries could play this role. Activities should extend beyond assisting individual firms to include strengthening the broader entrepreneurial ecosystem in which new enterprises are created and grow. This work differs from more traditional business-support programs by having a direct interest in the jobs produced for local residents.

Develop a partnership for workforce development that links the neighborhood with the city and region. A workforce development pipeline, like the one created in East Baltimore, helps ensure local residents gain the skills, training and access to job opportunities created by the development. There also should be a partnership for workforce development with a range of responsibilities, including addressing the needs of the hardest-to-place individuals;

creating a planning and evaluation data system that tracks workers, job placements and the ability to maintain employment; and participating in citywide or regional initiatives that can bring benefits to the project area.

Build and sustain public and political support for economic inclusion. To become part of the standard values and practice of economic development, economic inclusion needs local and regional champions. In East Baltimore, those champions included elected officials and philanthropic leaders. Those who design, coordinate, implement and fund workforce programs should be engaged as vital stakeholders in any economic inclusion strategies. But the business case for equity and inclusion can also be effectively delivered by employers, developers and other private-sector leaders. These advocates should inform all parties who might benefit from and take advantage of institutional inclusion commitments and engage them in setting goals and developing plans.

Engage local anchor institutions. Anchor institutions can play a key role in any economic inclusion project. Johns Hopkins is, of course, that anchor for the East Baltimore project, and its experience has contributed to the university

and medical center rethinking and reordering their relationships with the community. Anchors must get commitments from their chief executives and boards so that economic inclusion becomes embedded in everyday operations.

DEDICATED RESOURCES

Any major project should aim to have sufficient funding in place, over time, to successfully design, shape and implement economic inclusion activities. Sources of funding can include foundations — such as the support the Annie E. Casey Foundation provided for the workforce pipeline in East Baltimore — but must also involve public funding.

Tap into development projects to support inclusion. Each development project should provide funding to support the cost of monitoring economic inclusion; funding contributions should be based on project size, type and duration to ensure they fully cover monitoring costs.

Establish a sustainable funding source for economic inclusion programs. Any resources designated to pay for such programs must be sustainable and should leverage new funding sources, not simply redistribute funds already available for community purposes. The fund should support activities related to lending, guaranteeing loans or granting funds to local enterprises and administering technical support. Choosing a vehicle for these activities should happen through a widely trusted, transparent and efficient process.

Encourage high-road standards in funding support for businesses. Public funding for business expansion or relocation should incentivize good employer practices, including local hiring and sourcing and providing good pay and benefits. One way to ensure that good employers — whether based locally or from out of town — locate at the site is to establish a high-road policy that sets baseline standards on wages, benefits and hiring. The city of Baltimore's new local hire policy is an important step in this direction.

TRANSPARENT AND EFFECTIVE PROCESSES

Transparency can help large institutions build credibility in the community. Organizational partners in an endeavor like the East Baltimore initiative should embrace several activities to promote transparency about economic inclusion.

Establish a commitment to transparency before the project begins.

Providing transparency from the beginning, among the parties involved in a development project and with the general public, is key to establishing trust among local residents, public and private partners and stakeholders. Partners should establish a clearly defined mission for economic inclusion and agree on definitions and goals early. They should put in place standard operating procedures before projects start. They should create legal agreements early enough to allow the inclusion effort to be effective from the beginning of the project and establish clear targets and an action plan to meet inclusion objectives and set consistent, predictable goals that increase over time.

Report results often. Many institutions, including EBDI, routinely report their inclusion results to the public. Regular reports should be available at the project site and online in a clear, consistent and thorough format. The project information system should be designed to easily allow for producing regular reports. Case management systems often initially come up short when applied to more global planning and evaluation purposes, but this is a solvable problem. The reports should include certified payroll records for hiring as well as demographic information about new businesses.

Use a capable third-party monitor. An independent entity can play a critical role in monitoring economic inclusion efforts and results, and adequate resources must be in place for such monitoring. Selecting a respected local partner to monitor economic inclusion results, possibly in partnership with a monitor from outside the community, can add credibility to the process. In Baltimore, the initiative had to train a local monitoring entity, which worked with a more experienced organization from Philadelphia.

Evaluate and revise agreements when necessary. Ensure economic inclusion agreements reflect the project's status and expected progress, as demonstrated by refinements made by EBDI. Each revision also presents an opportunity to evaluate and adjust the agreement, such as establishing or increasing targets for hiring and contracting.

Align advance project planning with economic inclusion goals. Advance planning, such as land use plans, zoning codes or regional plans, should be written to support the success of the project's economic inclusion goals. For example, a project master plan could allocate space in the new development to serve as an incubator for local minority businesses. Transportation planning could consider the

geography of where residents live and work. Such planning should detail how the physical development and the policies surrounding it will promote the economic inclusion goals.

PROGRAM INNOVATION

Ultimately, the success of any economic inclusion strategy depends on the effectiveness of its programs. Major institutions can support the growth of minority- and womenowned contractors capable of taking on projects at those institutions. Anchor institutions can bolster the skills of potential workers, with the goal of diversifying their hires. Building a well-coordinated workforce pipeline that serves as a broker to develop training and match skilled workers with the needs of employers is critical to ensuring developers, contractors and employers can meet local hiring goals.

Streamline job-readiness services and bring them to scale. Residents require different levels of preparation and support to become employed, and it is a complex challenge to identify what it means to be prepared for a job. Standardizing the pre-employment programs of public and community-based job pipelines could lead to more residents being truly prepared to

work. Integrating job-readiness training with supportive services is often effective with hard-to-employ populations. Programs should provide financial support for individuals while they are in training and coaching focused on transitioning to employment.

For example, the Baltimore-based nonprofit Humanim works with individuals from the EBDI pipeline to prepare them for jobs. Humanim provides intensive support services while people are in training programs, such as work-readiness workshops and counseling on available public benefits and programs. Some may not have worked for a long time and may not know which training programs would be a good fit for them. This model recognizes that case management, including legal services and assistance getting access to a vehicle, will improve an individual's chances of completing a training program and being successful in a job. EBDI itself has provided transportation assistance in the form of bus tokens to help pipeline participants get to training, helped participants obtain a driver's license and provided financial education to residents.

Keep current workers employed on construction projects. Construction workers must have steady employment to earn a living, which means

they transition from one project to the next as projects are completed. An initiative should strive to keep targeted workers employed, either within a specific project or more broadly, to allow them to keep their skills up-to-date, maintain a steady income and advance in their construction careers. To accomplish this, pipeline coordinators must be included in advance planning efforts so that they know as early as possible what the workforce demand will be and can expand and adapt training programs accordingly.

Invest in local small businesses as employers. Local, minority-owned businesses can be more supportive places for newly hired workers. While not all jobs can be in residents' home neighborhoods, support for entrepreneurs, neighborhood commercial businesses and microenterprises can create jobs, potentially for those who do not fit the typical employment profile. Public assistance programs and other institutions could subsidize employment or otherwise support the hiring of such residents in small local establishments.

Engage employers from across institutions in training programs. Having a broader swath of employers invested in trainees' success can improve the potential pool of job



Mia Rogers, who owns a local cleaning business, and her team worked on the high-rise building for student housing in the project area.

openings for the program graduates and increase their likelihood of being able to apply their new skills. The BioTechnical Institute of Maryland, for example, continually broadens the number and nature of medical as well as biotechnology employers who can use the skills and talents of its graduates.

Implement and grow integrated learning innovations. Washington's

Integrated Basic Education and Skills Training (I-BEST) program has shown that having two teachers in the same classroom — one for the remedial subject and one for the main subject matter — significantly increases completion and advancement rates. Several Maryland community colleges piloted a replication of I-BEST, called MI-BEST, which has served several EBDI residents. MI-BEST teaches

basic math and literacy, including for English language learners, while providing occupational skills training for students working toward a GED. Graduates receive a certificate in building maintenance.

Build the capacity of local, minority- and women-owned contractors. These contractors often need mentoring, specialized training to help them obtain bonding or assistance with contract financing, proposal writing and bookkeeping. In Baltimore, EBDI, along with other organizations, provided support to such businesses, which contributed to the project's ability to achieve many subcontracting goals.

Develop strategies to create, attract and grow enterprises in the project site after construction is complete. Economic inclusion strategies should continue throughout the life of the project and include working with small, local and minority- and women-owned businesses to locate in the project area and to support their establishment and growth. The creation of an incubator or accelerator facility for local firms, with a deliberate focus on inclusion, could be valuable in such efforts.

CONCLUSION

These four categories of lessons and the strategies embodied in them should be valuable beyond East Baltimore, as the fundamental issues of economic inclusion are similar in cities around the country. As cities pursue development that will generate good jobs and improve their competitiveness, they can, and should, link their investments in new buildings and firms with an equally strong commitment to the futures of their residents and the health of surrounding neighborhoods.

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC INCLUSION GOALS IN EAST BALTIMORE

This table summarizes the East Baltimore Revitalization Initiative's main economic inclusion elements in the 2006, 2011 and 2013 versions of the Economic Opportunity Plan and Procurement Policy, as well as the original Minority Inclusion Agreement objectives in contracting, joint ventures and hiring.

	2002 MINORITY INCLUSION AGREEMENT	2006 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY	2011 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY	2013 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY
CONTRACTING	In all phases of the project, contracting goals are: • Planning 13.5% • Design and architecture 17% • Engineering 17% • Legal 13.5% • Accounting 13.5% • Real estate 13.5% • Financing 13.5% • Investments/Capital 13.5% • Project management 13.5% • Project management 13.5% • New construction 30.5% • New construction 30.5% • Property and equipment financing 13.5% • Some business attraction (biotech) 13.5% • Facilities management 13.5% • Property management 13.5% • Property management 13.5% • Lab and office supplies 9% • Disposition services 13.5% • Reprographics 13.5% • Reprographics 13.5% • Research and development 13.5% • Research and development 13.5% • Research and development 13.5% Minority participation will be given 20% scoring weight in requests for proposals.	Use of good-faith efforts to engage targeted businesses (minority-, women-, disabled- or resident-owned or locally based businesses) for EBDI construction and procurement contracts. Participation is set on a contract-by-contract basis and must meet or exceed the minimal levels articulated in the Minority Inclusion Agreement.	Subcontracting goals: Construction: 27% MBE; 8% WBE Design, architecture and engineering: 21% MBE; 13% WBE General services: 17% MBE; 9% WBE For all subcontracts, goal of 20% local businesses.	Same as 2011.

	2002 MINORITY INCLUSION AGREEMENT	2006 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY	2011 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY	2013 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PLAN AND PROCUREMENT POLICY
JOINT VENTURES	The city and other partners shall encourage minority participation and equity ownership in real estate and business ventures.	Bid preference for joint ventures with East Baltimore businesses or targeted businesses. (See above for list of targeted businesses.)	Bid preference for joint ventures with minority- owned, women-owned and local businesses.	Same as 2011.
HIRING	First source hiring of residents displaced by the development, through the Mayor's Office of Employment Development.	Employment goals of 25% minority, 2% women and 10% East Baltimore workers.	Commercial: 15% local minority and women work hours. Residential: 20% local minority and women work hours. First priority to EBDI residents, then East Baltimore, then Baltimore City. Contractors will be required to have specific goals for local minority and women new hires. Local minority and women hires in management, apprenticeships and internships are encouraged.	Commercial: 23% of total hours to local workers; 12% of total hours to East Baltimore workers. Residential: 25% of total hours to local workers; 12% of total hours to East Baltimore workers. Each project shall identify a number of local workers it will hire, based on EBDI's Talent Scout Report. New hires must work a minimum 3 months.

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ENDNOTES

- See, for example, the Equality of Opportunity Project: www.equality-ofopportunity.org.
- 2 See, for example, Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Census data: www. pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/18/ four-takeaways-from-tuesdays-censusincome-and-poverty-release.
- 3 In this report, economic inclusion is defined as creating new job opportunities for local residents and generating business for minority-owned, womenowned and local enterprises.
- 4 Under that revision, the first local preference is for residents who live or used to live in the project area, then for residents who live in an 11-zip-code area of East Baltimore and then for other Baltimore City residents. This change a response to resident concerns that a citywide focus was too broad was designed to more intentionally serve those most affected by the initiative.
- 5 DPN Group & Sage Policy Group, Inc. (2014). Economic Inclusion Third Party Monitoring & Compliance Verification: Summary of Achievement for Construction Projects. Baltimore, MD: Authors. In construction, one worker is often placed in more than one job over the life of a project, so the number of jobs may be higher than this figure.
- 6 It should be noted that construction jobs are more accessible to individuals with lower levels of education than many of the permanent jobs created, with the possible exception of those in retail. However, many entry-level construction occupations require basic literacy and numeracy skills, as well

- as additional vocational training or apprenticeships. Additionally, most construction sites require workers to provide their own tools, work clothes and transportation, and workers must pass a drug test. All of these requirements have been barriers to work for some East Baltimore residents.
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