

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM:
URBAN POLITICS AND THE PRACTICE OF NEIGHBORHOOD
REDEVELOPMENT IN TWO AMERICAN CITIES
FROM THE 1960s TO THE 1990s

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THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM: URBAN POLITICS AND THE
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The interplay of urban politics and neighborhood redevelopment in American cities are examined through a case study research investigation of community development systems in Cleveland and Minneapolis from the 1960s through the 1990s. The study documents the emergence and evolution of nonprofit community development organizations, commonly known as Community Development Corporations. The study analyzes the development of the institutional support system for community development that integrates neighborhood interests with broader urban institutions, including local government, the private sector and religious establishments. Specific attention is paid to the role of supporting institutions in shaping the neighborhood redevelopment strategies of community development organizations. The role of community development organizations in urban politics is also examined from an urban regime theory perspective. The study determines that inter-organizational networks allow supporting institutions to play a significant role in shaping the neighborhood redevelopment strategies of community development organizations. Additionally, the study concludes that community development organizations play a central role in stabilizing urban governance through their redevelopment activities, allowing community development organizations to play an increasingly influential role in urban regimes.

CHAPTER 5

The Community Development Experience in Cleveland, 1967-1997

The emergence of the community development industry system has not only fostered increased neighborhood revitalization activity at the local level, but it has also had a demonstrated influence on the patterns of interaction among traditional urban institutions and interest groups. In Cleveland, this emergence is characterized by the transition of urban social movements to community based development organizations, and the emergence of cooperation among previously antagonistic entities. The case study treats this 30-year history in three stages: (1) the genesis of CDCs in Cleveland as they matured from neighborhood social movements, to formal organizations, to a citywide partnership up to 1987, (2) a phase of rapid industry system development occurring between 1987 and 1993 as traditional urban institutions increased resources available for community development efforts and became involved in the everyday operations those efforts, and (3) a period of re-evaluation from 1993 to the present in which the industry system has coped with instabilities brought on by rapid growth and conflicting ideologies.

Housing Poor Families by Networking, 1967-1987

Through the 1950s and 1960s, Cleveland experienced the traumas of suburbanization that affected cities throughout the industrial rust belt. As federal housing programs, including those of the FHA and VA, spurred the expansion of the metropolitan area, Cleveland's African-American community was largely anchored to the declining city. Furthermore, Cleveland's urban renewal plans of the 1960s displaced the poorest African-American populations into increasingly racially isolated and impoverished neighborhoods on the city's east side. Coupled with industrial

decline within the city limits, Cleveland's east side neighborhoods were described as "pressurized ghettos of misery...ready to explode" (Swanstrom, 1985, p.100).

In the Hough neighborhood, a majority African-American neighborhood on the east side (see Figure 5.1), the despair would boil over into urban disorder on July 18, 1965, and last for eight days. The Hough uprising was just one of many incidents in a series of urban outbursts nationwide during that summer that brought attention to the harsh poverty and racial isolation present in many of the nation's cities. The Hough neighborhood received national attention and inspired the mayoral election in 1967 of Carl Stokes, the first African-American mayor of a major US city. Additionally, the uprising of that summer prompted a response that would become the cornerstone for community-based development in Cleveland.

The Famicos Foundation arose from the Hough neighborhood in 1970 through the efforts of a nun stationed at a neighborhood church. The group's initial efforts were intended to encourage the spirit of citizens and to provide immediate relief from the most desperate conditions, such as the lack of adequate food and clothing ("Henrietta, Sister." 1987). In its early years, the organization received support from the local Roman Catholic diocese and solicited contributions from charitable organizations and local banks. These efforts at ecumenical charity quickly turned toward more elaborate community development efforts in the Hough neighborhood.

Famicos was a path-breaking organization in that it identified housing as an issue fundamental to neighborhood revitalization. Bob Wolf, the long-time volunteer director of Famicos, wrote: "It was determined after considerable study that a basic building block in a program to set the lives of the destitute on a course of recovery was the provision of adequate housing" (1990, p.1). In its early housing activities, Famicos developed a model of non-profit housing finance that came to be known as the "lease-purchase" model. In this approach, the non-profit organization purchased

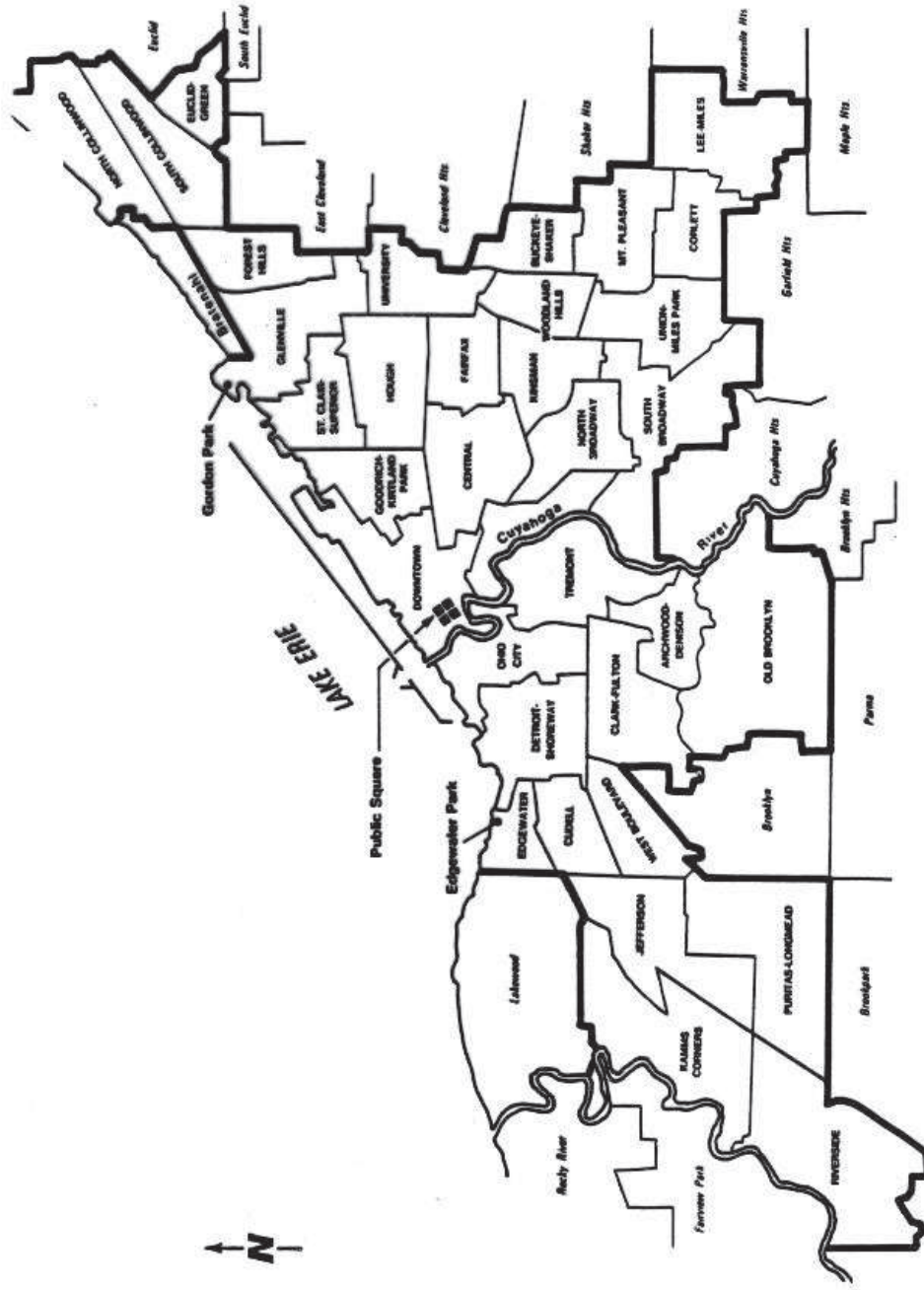


FIGURE 5.1: Map of Cleveland Neighborhoods

vacant, abandoned, or condemned homes for rehabilitation and leased them to poor families with the intent of enabling the tenants to purchase the home after a 15-year residency.

Through 1980, Famicos, with the assistance of the local Roman Catholic diocese and financial help from charitable organizations and banks, had rehabilitated 200 units and built 10 new homes (Famicos Foundation, 1989) in the Hough neighborhood. Furthermore, the word of Famicos' success in both rehabilitating derelict properties and providing homeownership opportunities for the poor had spread to other Cleveland neighborhoods. During the early 1970s, the lease-purchase model was exported to nascent neighborhood organizations in the Tremont, St. Clair, Glenville, Broadway, and Near West Side neighborhoods, and the lease-purchase model became a major feature of Cleveland's emerging community development movement (Famicos Foundation, 1989; Warren, 1995).

Another initiative that emerged in Hough during this time was the Hough Area Development Corporation (HADC), one of the first CDCs in the US, which Perry described as an "early social invention" in community development that was "self-initiated and independent" (Perry, 1987, pp.17-19). HADC incorporated as a not-for-profit in 1968 and was one of the CDCs supported by the US Office of Economic Opportunity's "community capitalism" program that also gave rise to the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation. HADC received an initial federal grant of \$1.6 million and proceeded to implement programs that focused on low-income housing and community-controlled enterprise. Between 1968 and 1984, HADC produced over 600 units of low-income housing, a major mixed-use community center and a manufacturing subsidiary that employed as many as 100 people. Despite its many accomplishments, HADC ceased operation in 1984 shortly after its federal funding ending. Because of its special status as a recipient of direct federal funding, the

organization does not appear to have greatly influenced other community development efforts in Cleveland.

An aspect of neighborhood affairs that also began in the late 1960s was the neighborhood organizing mission of the Commission on Catholic Community Action (CCCA). The CCCA organizing effort was aggressive in both scope and substance, employing a modified version of the Alinsky model of organizing (Fagan, 1979). The CCCA helped establish neighborhood-based advocacy groups throughout the city, and by 1974 there were at least 10 neighborhood-based advocacy organizations, including the Buckeye-Woodland Community Congress, the St. Clair-Superior Coalition, Citizens to Bring Back Broadway, Near West Neighbors in Action and the Woodland East Community Organization (Clavel, 1986). The CCCA received substantial support from the Catholic diocese and the Cleveland-based Gund Foundation. By the mid-1970s, the CCCA employed 75 full-time organizers and had a budget of nearly \$1 million (Krumholz & Forester, 1990).

Complementary to the CCCA organizing effort, the Cleveland Planning Commission took an active role in neighborhood affairs. Under the direction of Norman Krumholz, the planners argued aggressively that more attention be given to Cleveland's poor neighborhoods and proposed that the decisions of local government "provide more choices for those who have few" (Swanstrom, 1985). The Commission's 1975 Cleveland Policy Planning Report presented a detailed analysis of the city's neighborhoods, and a number of planners took on assignments providing technical assistance to neighborhood organizations (Krumholz & Forester 1990).

The wave of organizing and planning activity that swept through Cleveland's neighborhoods and into the mayoral election of 1977 was one of the factors that brought about the election of urban populist Dennis Kucinich as mayor (see Swanstrom, 1985). The 1977 election focused on three key issues: the salvation of the

municipally owned power company, tax abatement for downtown office development, and the concentration of city resources in the downtown rather than the neighborhoods. The individual neighborhood organizations, as well as the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, were involved in protests and actions around these issues, and the shift in attention to the neighborhoods provided a populist base enabling Kucinich's election (Clavel, 1986). As Kucinich took office, the neighborhood organizations were primed to take a greater role in the affairs of the city. In fact, one neighborhood organizer reported that Kucinich made it a point to go to a Buckeye-Woodland Community Congress meeting on the night of his election, where he told the group, "Whatever it is you want, you've got it" (Cunningham, 1992, p.11).

However, the Kucinich administration was unable to articulate a progressive approach to city government that institutionalized the neighborhood advocacy constituency that supported his election (Clavel, 1986). Contrary to expectations, the Kucinich administration employed a modified version of ward politics that alienated the community-based advocacy groups that provided the climate for his election (Clavel, 1986; Swanstrom, 1985). During his tenure, a major community summit ended in a brawl between administration supporters and community activists (Swanstrom, 1985; Tittle, 1992), and three neighborhood organizations -- Citizens to Bring Back Broadway, St. Clair Superior Coalition, and the Buckeye Woodland Community Congress -- were told that city hall was "off-limits" (Swanstrom 1985, 194). Ultimately, Kucinich's reputation with the electorate deteriorated quickly and although he narrowly survived a recall vote in 1978, the City's famous default of 1979, brought on by a coalition of five banks that chose not to refinance the City's debt, all but destroyed the mayor's chances for re-election. In the election of 1979, Republican fiscal conservative George Voinovich, backed by an aggressive corporate

coalition, took office promising downtown redevelopment and a new image for the city.

Into the early 1980s, community organizing was still a focus of many organizations, although housing rehabilitation was becoming increasingly popular and limited funding from the local foundations was available - until the spring of 1982. Throughout the 1970s, neighborhood organizing had received substantial support from Standard Oil Co. of Ohio (SOHIO) oil company (which had its headquarters in Cleveland) and local philanthropy, including the Gund and Cleveland Foundations. SOHIO, later known as British Petroleum, was a key player in the city's new downtown plan, with its skyscraper headquarters the centerpiece of the Public Square redevelopment. In 1980 and 1981, SOHIO reaped record profits due to the opening of the Alaskan oil pipeline. The profits angered many local and national advocacy groups that felt that poor and elderly people were being adversely affected by energy costs. One weekend in spring 1982, activists from a number of Cleveland organizations, with outside assistance from the Chicago-based National People's Action, disrupted the annual SOHIO shareholders meeting, picketed at the home of SOHIO's president, and stormed the chairman's lunch at a suburban country club.

One neighborhood development activist recalls the protest and its implications for future organizing: "We hit the CEO's country club...and funding died immediately. I mean that was it, the beginning of the end of organizing. The money just dried up" (personal interview, August 12, 1992). Indeed, the Hunt Club incident, as it came to be known, brought a swift end to corporate funding for organizing and advocacy. Lance Buhl, SOHIO's director of philanthropic activities, stated, "Although the incidents permanently put an end to local philanthropic funding of neighborhood advocacy, they did not extinguish Standard Oil's newfound commitment to supporting neighborhood redevelopment" (Tittle, 1992, p.240). However, even before these

protests, there were signs that local philanthropy wanted to shift support for neighborhoods away from organizing. As the Cleveland Foundation's public affairs director, Steven Minter, stated at the time, "It had been pretty difficult to measure progress in supporting basic community organizing" (Tittle 1992, p.237).

Throughout the 1970s, several neighborhood groups had rehabilitated small numbers of housing units through the lease-purchase model and, as local philanthropy shifted its focus to neighborhood redevelopment, CDCs took advantage of this opportunity to bolster their housing rehabilitation efforts. In 1981, conversations among the groups that had spun out of the Famicos model and were involved with housing development evolved into a formal organization called the Cleveland Housing Network (CHN). CHN provided an umbrella organization to coordinate the complex financial details of financing and developing housing for its member CDCs, as described by its first director, Christopher Warren:

In 1981 the five neighborhood organizations and Famicos formalized their working relationship by creating the Cleveland Housing Network. The network represented the convergence of three goals: the production of reasonable homeownership opportunities for poor families, the preservation of the current housing stock, and, therefore, the stabilization of neighborhoods. What was started by Famicos as essentially a philanthropic effort in Hough was transformed into a multi-neighborhood redevelopment coalition. The three purposes of CHN were reflected in its mission statement: "CHN is organized to stabilize neighborhoods by saving housing and creating affordable homeownership opportunities and to promote neighborhood controlled development" (1995, p.355).

The Cleveland Foundation and the City of Cleveland provided initial funding for CHN, a first important step into community development partnerships. Also in 1981, SOHIO, with cooperation from the Cleveland and Gund Foundations, established a \$2.25 million fund for housing weatherization by community-based third parties. By 1981, there were at least 10 CDCs engaged in significant housing development, including the veteran Famicos Foundation; two influential housing groups -- the Broadway Area Housing Coalition and Near West Housing Corporation -- had spun off housing CDCs; and organizations from neighborhoods that had experimented with the lease-purchase model, such as the Tremont West Development Corporation and Glenville Development Corporation, (Keating, 1989).

In 1984, at the suggestion of Famicos' Robert Wolf, British Petroleum developed the groundwork for an innovative tax syndication program whereby corporations could invest a portion of their expected taxes in not-for-profit housing. The 1986 federal tax act authorizing low-income housing tax credits would make the program readily feasible, and by 1989, Cleveland corporations had dedicated nearly \$4 million toward the rehabilitation of over 400 units of housing. During the early 1980s, Cleveland also attracted the attention of national community development intermediaries as both the Enterprise Foundation and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) established branch offices in Cleveland to facilitate the increasing productivity of the city's CDCs. Further, the City of Cleveland signaled its support for neighborhood housing development by dedicating nearly \$9 million to housing non-profits through the Community Development Block Grant program between 1982 and 1987 (Keating, Krumholz & Metzger, 1991).

Into the mid-1980s, what had begun as anti-poverty efforts in the Hough neighborhood and the widespread community organizing efforts of the 1970s had matured into an increasingly important citywide community development sector.

Community-based development organizations were now in many of Cleveland's poorest neighborhoods implementing housing and commercial redevelopment programs with the support and cooperation of Cleveland's corporations and local government. This localization of the CDC funding arena and the growing importance of neighborhood development led to both dramatic growth and dramatic tensions in Cleveland's community development industry in the coming years.

The Rise of an Industry System in Cleveland, 1987-1993

During the 1980s and 1990s, Cleveland was probably better known for its aggressive downtown development efforts that pumped hundreds of millions of dollars of public funding into new downtown shopping malls, entertainment districts, office buildings, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and professional sports facilities rather than for its neighborhood development efforts (Keating, 1997). Into the early 1990s, the city's neighborhoods continued to experience desperate conditions as the poverty rate hovered near 40%; however, the efforts to revitalize the city's neighborhoods increased dramatically during this time, although not nearly at the scale of downtown redevelopment initiatives.

As the focus of the local foundations shifted from advocacy toward development, the local corporate philanthropy continued to search for a strategy for citywide neighborhood revitalization. Up to this point, the CDC funding process was still relatively informal, as illustrated by a local journalist's description of the era:

Life for community-based development organizations - advocacy groups, empowerment groups - was a lot looser than it is today. Directors wore turtlenecks and white tennis shoes to work and organized block clubs and safety programs. The more sophisticated groups rehabbed a handful of houses

every year and renovated a few storefronts. Directors shared personal relationships with program officers at the foundations, Sohio and the city; when they needed operating cash, neighborhood staff made the rounds with proposals under their arms. The process was informal and inefficient, but comfortable (Mihaly, 1993, p.26).

Through the remainder of the 1980s and into the 1990s, the community development sector in Cleveland matured as the corporate sector formalized its participation in neighborhood development. Moreover, the City of Cleveland saw a shift in political power that enabled a structured approach by local government to supporting neighborhood development. The entrance of corporate philanthropy and local government into the everyday operations of community-based development created numerous tensions for CDCs as they became incorporated into initiatives led by corporate philanthropy and local government.

In late 1985, the local foundations established the Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program (CNPP), which received major support from the Ford Foundation, Cleveland Foundation, Gund Foundation, British Petroleum, and the City of Cleveland (Tittle, 1992). This program served to consolidate the funds available to CDCs, although the funders continued to seek an encompassing strategy for neighborhood revitalization (Tittle, 1992). In its search for such a strategy, the Cleveland Foundation commissioned a study from James Pickman and Associates in November 1987. The report suggested that the foundation seek to stabilize the economies of the city's neighborhoods by developing programs that "promoted home ownership by the middle class, rather than the poor" and also by providing new commercial centers, "despite an estimated 50 percent oversupply of retail space" (Tittle, 1992, p.87). The intent of this strategy was to enhance the city's image as a

place for the location of business firms, and to attract middle-class households to live in the city in hopes of enhancing the city's income and property tax bases, and stimulating consumer expenditures within the city (Cleveland Tomorrow, 1988).

This economic strategy placed CDCs in a new role. For some time, the foundations had wanted the CDCs to become more productive and had been unsure of the role of not-for-profit third parties. This strategy laid out a role for CDCs that made sense to business leaders. CDCs would now need to function as efficient providers of market rate housing and as developers of new or improved commercial centers.

With some sense of a strategic vision in hand, the next step was to move toward a system for implementation. In late 1986, the Gund Foundation would suggested a consolidated venture on the part of both the foundations and the broader corporate community. Representatives from CNPP approached Cleveland Tomorrow, a philanthropic roundtable consisting of the 40-plus CEOs of Cleveland's Fortune 1000 companies. Cleveland Tomorrow responded favorably to the proposal and proposed a new organization intended to give the corporate and philanthropic efforts the administrative focus that had been lacking.

In summer 1987, Cleveland Tomorrow proposed an entity, to be called Neighborhood Progress Incorporated (NPI), to oversee the corporate efforts directed toward neighborhood development. The new organization was described as "a research and analysis unit that would be independent of CNPP's continuing effort to enhance the financial stability and technical expertise of neighborhood development organizations" (Tittle, 1992, p.91). Although CNPP would continue, its efforts would be conjoined with those of NPI. In September 1988, the Cleveland Foundation made an advance commitment of \$500,000 to the new partnership. Two other major sources of funding for CDCs also joined the NPI effort, when the Cleveland office of LISC

and the local branch of the Enterprise Foundation agreed to formal working relationships with NPI.

Hence, NPI emerged with the backing of all the major philanthropic and corporate interests in the city with an agreement that funding for CDCs would be controlled by an investment advisory subcommittee consisting of six neighborhood representatives, four representatives from local corporations and banks, two delegates from the local foundations, and one representative each assigned by the mayor and majority leader of the city council. This organization further consolidated the funding for CDCs and created a structure for the type of strategic involvement that the various corporate and philanthropic parties had been seeking. With the neighborhood economic strategy clearly articulated, NPI would go forward with its tasks of "building consensus for a city-wide strategy" and, as NPI's new director, Thomas Cox, put it, "to rebuild the neighborhoods [through]... the unleashing of money, experience, management and the expectation of profit - I call it guided greed" (Tittle, 1992, p.93).

Neighborhood Progress Incorporated hit the ground running, bringing with it a new and different vision of community development, including an organizationally efficient credo. The most significant aspect of the new NPI initiative was its market-oriented approach to understanding neighborhood development. The first director of NPI, Thomas Cox, had a clear philosophy on the matter:

We are expecting all participants in this activity to understand markets. I suspect that if there's one central change that we have introduced it is that if the neighborhood rebuilding activities are not grounded in the fundamental economics of the place we will never make significant progress, we will always be subsidizing occasional projects and not ever re-building, re-introducing market strength to leverage private

sector capital - which is the only source of money big enough to take on the agenda here...So we push markets. And we are in effect operating in such a way that we expect everyone else to grasp that reality and understand the reality of markets. Because in fact what is undoing Cleveland is the marketplace (T. Cox, personal interview, January 12, 1993).

Thus, the corporate revitalization effort emphasized real estate development as a key component in the neighborhood strategy. In this light, the appreciation of real estate values and the addition of new land uses were key measurements of success, according to Tom Cox:

We've come to believe that the ultimate measure - I'm only talking Cleveland now, I happen to think that this has happened to many other cities. I happen to believe that the ultimate measure of what people are doing are markets. The market value of someone's house is a direct, undiluted measure of how much somebody wants to be there. So the fact that you can buy lakefront properties for \$100,000 says that not many people want to be there. The fact that you can buy fine houses in nice neighborhoods for \$40,000 is a direct indication that nobody wants to be there. And I'm not being critical, but I'm just looking at what the marketplace is saying. So if you come to talk about things like public safety, block watches and all those things, ultimately we would like to know, aside from the anecdotal evidence of how many meetings you held or this, that, and the other little stories you can tell - what is the impact of how much people want to be there. And you will learn that

from tax measures, sales measures, rental rate measures - those kind of measures (T. Cox, personal interview, January 12, 1993).

These principles were articulated in neighborhood initiatives. NPI initiated a competitive application process for funding local CDCs on two-year funding cycles that distributed \$4.2 million in the 1989-1991 cycle and approximately \$7 million in the 1991-1993 cycle. The general criteria by which NPI awarded funding were (1) the manner in which the CDC's activities fit into the NPI developmental strategy, and (2) the extent to which the CDC was organized in what NPI viewed as a professional manner. In their 1991-1993 joint funding cycle, NPI and CNPP made their three largest allocations to two new upscale housing projects and a major neighborhood shopping center project.

CDCs faced significant challenges in meeting the new priorities of NPI, in particular the demand for CDCs to increase production and direct themselves toward market-oriented real estate development. For some CDCs, the NPI strategy was difficult to deduce as the organization had no formal mission statement, annual report, or published policy objectives during its first few years of operation. This lack of documentation led to a certain level of confusion among CDC practitioners, as one CDC director bemoaned to the media that: "they [NPI] fund 'projects of scale' - but what's that? No one has ever seen a definition. None of this is written down" (Mihaly, 1993, p.29). While the lack of some type of planning or policy document made it difficult to define specific objectives, there was an obvious trend in favor of upscale real estate projects.

While Cleveland's corporate sector was advancing support for community development towards re-establishing housing and real estate markets in the central city, the City of Cleveland also increased its commitment to community development

efforts and engaged in a shift in strategy that complemented the program staked out by NPI. In 1989, George Voinovich was elected governor of Ohio and Mike White, a Democratic African-American, won the Cleveland mayor's office. White had campaigned on a platform that emphasized both downtown development and neighborhood concerns. White appointed the director of the Cleveland Housing Network, Christopher Warren, as his new director of the Department of Community Development, a move that was viewed favorably by CDCs. The new programmatic focus of city programs would have significant implications for CDCs when the White administration made new housing for middle- and upper-income households a priority and CDCs became a crucial component of this strategy.

The rationale for the City's neighborhood development programs incorporated the notion that the city is engaged in competition with the surrounding suburbs (and other cities) for both the location of firms and households and for state and federal government spending, a sentiment expressed by Christopher Warren:

I think that the debate in Cleveland, this is one thing I've picked up since I've been here [as director], has been framed as a neighborhoods versus downtown [contest] within the city, as if the world stopped at these borders. Look at where the development dollars and the public subsidies have flowed. The development downtown is a drop in the bucket compared to Medina County, Lake County, Solon [etc.] if you add up the industrial, residential, office building, public infrastructure investments that have occurred there...The debate around resources flowing into downtown, whether that's tax subsidy or economic development dollars or that's infrastructure, is a debate worth having, [but] I think the challenge is whether or not we can get beyond that

debate to the debate about competing for, as a city, for public resources and compensatory investments by the public and private sectors in the core city (C. Warren, personal interview, January 14, 1993).

This perceived competition produced by intergovernmental federalism provided the foundation for the claim that cities must provide subsidies to mobile wealth. Given this competition, one possible conclusion is that if cities are to be economically and fiscally stable, they must remain constantly attractive to mobile wealth; therefore, development policy will lean toward programs that serve to attract outside resources or retain enterprises that might relocate.

The assumption that the economic stability of cities depends on the ability to attract capital enterprises leads to the role that neighborhoods play in the city's development strategy. Chris Warren observed:

The potential for the next step or the evolution of community-based development movement, or neighborhood movement, however you define it, in Cleveland is to take the emerging technical capacities around investment and lock it into a political strategy, an advocacy strategy, that argues for public and private investments made on the merits of those investments, not on a philanthropic attitude toward cities (C. Warren, personal interview, January 14, 1993).

On one hand, the department introduced programs that generally increased the resources available to CDCs; however, these new programs also reflected a more refined developmental agenda. Between 1988 and 1991, the City allocated \$4.7 million in CDBG funds to nonprofit housing organizations, not including \$1.75

million that was used to initialize the Cleveland Housing Trust Fund (HTF) in 1991. The HTF quickly became a major policy tool for the local government to meet its developmental objectives with the cooperation of CDCs.

The Cleveland HTF was created in 1991 with initial funding of \$2.1 million, \$1.7 million of which was derived from the 1991-1992 federal CDBG allocation. Unlike traditional housing trust funds in which the source of revenue is usually a dedicated tax or user fee, such as the linkage agreements in San Diego and Boston (Calavita & Grimes, 1992), the Cleveland HTF was originally a partitioned CDBG fund with special allocation criteria to which CDCs and qualified private development submit proposals.

In 1993, the third year of the HTF program, the HTF provided \$4.4 million in funds toward the construction of approximately 720 housing units. Half of the funds (\$2.245 million) were dedicated to projects involving the construction of new single family housing for sale on the open market, while the remaining half of the 1993 HTF allocations were made for affordable housing rehabilitation and special needs housing projects. A more critical analysis of Cleveland's new housing development policy indicated that in a sample of 10 of 22 new housing development projects subsidized by the City of Cleveland between 1990 and 1992 and carried out by CDCs, the average housing unit had a sale price of \$105,000 and a local government subsidy of \$27,000 (Simons & Sharkey 1997).

As the efforts to engage CDCs in the establishment of a market-oriented real estate development program accelerated, CDC practitioners became increasingly aware that a major shift in development priorities was taking place, as expressed by a director of a CDC on Cleveland's west side:

I think its fair to say over the last twenty years, especially with the drying up of funds for advocacy there has been an emergence of an emphasis on physical development and the re-establishment of real estate values. Again, part of that twenty-year history deals with people getting fed up with funding advocacy groups and at the same time people having a realization that the city continues to decline (personal interview, January 13, 1993).

One organization that directly faced these pressures to increase production and develop market-oriented housing was the Cleveland Housing Network. The group's efforts were originally based on the lease-purchase housing model; however, in 1989, the group added the Homeward housing program to its activities. Through Homeward, housing units were rehabilitated for sale on the open market. This program quickly came to compete with the lease-purchase program in terms of production levels. In 1990, the Network membership of 10 CDCs produced 100 units through the lease-purchase program and 50 Homeward units. In 1991, the group rehabilitated 140 lease-purchase units and 80 Homeward houses, and established a 1992 production goal of 180 lease-purchase units and 100 Homeward units.

The expansion of activities to produce housing for middle- and upper-income households created a certain level of controversy (Krumholz, 1996), as indicated by a CHN-affiliated CDC director's comments on the issue:

There's some pressure on them [CHN] to decrease the number of low-income units that they produce and increase the Homeward program, for more bankable families, but Mark [McDermott, CHN's director] has been adamant that that's the individual neighborhood group's

decision and the board sets those goals and they're not going to be dictated to by the foundations (personal interview, January 13, 1993).

One fear was that CHN would either turn its back on the lease-purchase program or that some groups would concentrate only on the market-oriented Homeward program. In May 1992, several CHN trustees submitted a memo to the CHN board motioning that “[CHN] change the Homeward program to a self-supporting business and gradually transfer present subsidy to the overhead costs of low-income housing...reemphasizing the original objectives of the Network to provide increased support for the poor families in Cleveland.” Although the initiative was rejected and CHN has continued to develop housing through the Homeward program, the tension generated by balancing the demands of funders with broader concerns for the revitalization of impoverished communities was representative of the experience of most of Cleveland CDCs at the time.

The changes in program operation implemented by the philanthropic and government partners affected the general developmental objectives of community development. Moreover, there was also an effort to transform the organizational character of Cleveland CDCs through conditions placed on operating sources of funding. The entrance of NPI represented a significant change in Cleveland’s CDC industry system in that there was now a layer of hierarchy that was demanding organizational efficiency from CDCs on a day-to-day basis. The CHN arrangement was certainly bureaucratic in some regards, but it was generally a cooperative effort among CDCs. However, the new wisdom sought to treat CDCs in a more businesslike fashion, as indicated by the comments of a program officer for Cleveland Tomorrow involved in NPI’s efforts: "I don't think a neighborhood development corporation that

owns real estate should be treated any differently than the private sector" (Mihaly, 1993, p.29).

A key element of the NPI approach to community-based development was the encouragement of mergers among CDCs, based on an assumption that larger production units would be more effective. Tom Cox elaborated on NPI's organizational approach to the administration of CDCs:

We want more than communication. We want councils or some kind of structure that brings them [CDCs] together and forces them to deal with one another. Now, we're increasingly getting tougher about it and in some cases now we're beginning to force, not force, but find a way to make sure that mergers happen. And we believe that we do not need 30 or 40 CDCs. That is not a sustainable infrastructure. Probably what is sustainable both from financial and other points of view is somewhere in the neighborhood of 6, 10, 12 CDCs. Each neighborhood could maintain some kind of advocacy, planning, you know neighborhood thing (T. Cox, personal interview, January 12, 1993).

To many CDCs, the consolidation approach was threatening because it challenged the community-based approach of Cleveland CDCs. In one case during 1992 and 1993, the merger of three overlapping CDCs was encouraged over the protests of one of the CDCs. A Cleveland CDC director familiar with the merger, but not involved in it, described the situation:

NPI had encouraged the merger - they'll claim of course they had nothing to do with this, but they strongly encouraged [three community

development corporations] to merge. I think the idea that came out of a consultant's study, that everybody should have known what the result of the study was going to be before it was done, was that these groups should merge (personal interview, January 13, 1993).

The merger would have meant greater support from NPI and the expansion of some resources. However, the director of the dissenting CDC objected on the basis that the merger "would not benefit the organization," remarking that "NPI wanted middle-income homeowners, which is not a primary need of the neighborhood" and stating that his group would "prefer to concentrate on decent, affordable housing" for low-income families (personal interview, August 13, 1992). The consolidation also would have centralized many development functions to a somewhat wider geographic area and may have weakened the group's ability to connect with its neighborhood residents.

Complementing the shift in the tenor of philanthropic funding, the city's Department of Community Development modified its approach to providing operating support for CDCs. Through 1991, the method of providing funding to not-for-profit organizations was broad, and many funds were distributed through programs, such as the Technical Assistance Grant or Storefront Renovation Grant programs. Typically, under the generalist programs, once a group received a grant it was likely to be renewed in subsequent years.

In February 1992, the Department of Community Development announced that it was shifting funding decisions for a majority of third-party programs to a "competitive" basis, meaning that groups would be awarded funding based on their ability to produce physical redevelopment projects consistent with the department's strategic objectives (Kissling, 1992). Under the new competitive programs, CDCs

were encouraged to develop projects of scale, that is, either projects involving 25 or more housing units or the development of major commercial projects. Implicit in the scale objective was that funds would be awarded to fewer groups. Moreover the department expected that many CDCs would begin consolidating or, in the case of “less productive” CDCs, cease operations (Phillips, 1992, p.B1).

The new system was approved by Cleveland’s city council in 1992. In 1993, the first full year of the CDC Competitive Grant Program, the Department of Community Development allocated \$1.9 million in operating support to 25 neighborhood CDCs and additional Citywide Development Assistance grants to several umbrella and citywide organizations, such as the Cleveland Housing Network and the Cleveland Neighborhood Development Corporation. By judging CDC operational support competitively, the City gained a means toward professionalizing CDCs.

In most respects, the Department of Community Development and NPI came to share a similar outlook on neighborhood revitalization - although such an alliance was never directly articulated - and their dual objectives of professionalizing CDCs and introducing a market-oriented approach to community development were very nearly congruent. This pressure to change from both the City and NPI was a source of frustration to many CDCs. As one CDC director commented to the local media, "The city and NPI work in concert. You can't separate them and you need both of them to get anything done" (Phillips, 1992).

However, the alleged team-up was frequently denied by both sides; instead, the new logic of community development was portrayed simply as a rational thing to do. DCD director Chris Warren stated at the time: "NPI is not dictating neighborhood strategy; it's insisting that there be a neighborhood strategy and that it be one that will

create economic self-sufficiency and a stable community. That's an appropriate dictate for any investor" (Mihaly, 1993, p.29).

The rapid increase in CDC production and the shift toward new modes of development and operations created a great deal of tension in Cleveland's community development industry. On one hand, many CDCs were able to accommodate the new market-oriented strategies as extensions of their traditional activities, while other CDCs faced a more difficult time as the dominant developmental approach was dissonant to their internal beliefs regarding neighborhood revitalization and empowerment. Ultimately, these tensions threatened the stability of the industry system in the early 1990s. A local journalist commented, "It's difficult to discern whether funders and prospective fundees are even on the same side, and the backwash is an environment that's anything but conducive to moving the city forward" (Mihaly, 1993, p.51).

Toward Industry System Cooperation, 1993-1997

In retrospect, the early 1990s were a time of great volatility for Cleveland's community development industry system. Despite obvious tensions along a number of dimensions, the system continued to mature and transform as new organizations serving new functions became part of the local industry system, and relationships between existing parties evened out somewhat as changes in practices and policies allowed for the dissipation of existing tensions.

Between 1990 and 1995, Cleveland's community development industry system invested over \$100 million in neighborhood revitalization programs (LISC 1997), a clear indication of the significance of Cleveland's community development movement. Since 1993, Cleveland's community development industry system has grown significantly. It now includes several new organizations and structures that

support community development. In 1994, Chicago-based Shorebank opened a full-scale branch in Cleveland called Shore Bank & Trust and the new organization focused its efforts primarily on Cleveland east side neighborhoods. The effort was supported by \$15 million in starting capital provided by Cleveland Tomorrow, Fannie Mae, the Ford Foundation, the Cleveland Foundation, and the Gund Foundation. The new community development financial institution also established real estate development and venture capital arms, ShorePlace Development Company and ShoreBridge Capital, respectively.

The National Community Development Initiative, administered by LISC and the Enterprise Foundation, provided increased capital and operating support for Cleveland's CDCs during both its 1991-1994 Phase I and its second 1994 commitment. In reaction to the second round of funding in 1994, the director of the Cleveland Foundation, Steven Minter, remarked, "Today we are not talking about a few houses here and there, but how we manage to get going...toward that goal of 2,000 new units a year" (Diemer & Chatman 1994, p.C1).

The Clinton administration made its presence felt in Cleveland through new federal programs. In late 1994, Cleveland was awarded a Supplemental Empowerment Zone (SEZ) by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) representing as much as \$180 million in new funding, tax credits and investment support for revitalization efforts (Vickers, 1995). The SEZ, which focuses on a number of east side neighborhoods, is centered around four CDCs (Bardoe, 1997). This has presented a number of difficult challenges for CDCs in the targeted neighborhoods, one of which had to confront its management capacity in order to prove its financial readiness to participate in the effort (McQueen, 1996). The Clinton administration's emerging Homeownership Zone policy has also had an impact in Cleveland. The Central Commons development was a prototype for the

program, which prescribes large-scale housing developments designated for homeownership with particular attention to projects that complement (or replace) existing public housing estates (HUD, 1996). Additionally, local technical support and training for CDCs was boosted with the joint designation by HUD of Case Western Reserve University and Cleveland State University as a Community Outreach Partnership Center.

Additionally, the scope of community development efforts are becoming more comprehensive to address issues beyond housing and retail development. Programs related to industrial retention and human capital development are expanding quickly through the effort of local programs, such as the City of Cleveland's Cleveland Industrial Retention Initiative (CIRI) for CDCs, and national support for locally initiated efforts, such as Cleveland's WIRE-NET industrial retention CDC.

The trauma of organizational change incurred during the 1990s has begun to subside as some level of consensus - or at least accommodation - has been reached regarding the developmental agenda, and some changes in practices have also leavened the situation. In general, there has been an acceptance of a mixed-income, market-oriented theory of community development on the part of CDCs. Moreover, new partners in the community development industry system have not deviated from this general market-oriented strategy. The comments made by ShorePlace Development Company's director regarding its first round of housing rehabilitations, which will sell on the open market for \$80,000 to \$144,000, illustrate this concordance:

People have come up to me and said, "Aren't these houses too expensive for the neighborhood?" I ask them, "Do you want to stay in this neighborhood?"

and they say, “Yeah!” So I say, “Well, when people move into these more expensive homes, it’ll bring your property values up” (Gitlin, 1997, p.39).

The City of Cleveland’s Housing Trust Fund and Competitive CDC Grant programs remain in place, although Christopher Warren eventually left the Department of Community Development to become director of the Department of Economic Development. As indicated in Table 5.1, the competitive operating support for CDCs has become somewhat less controversial as the City has funded 30 or so CDCs each year since 1993, thereby enabling most of the city’s 35 neighborhood planning areas to maintain a CDC. While the initial establishment of the Housing Trust Fund prompted uncertainty among CDCs, several CDCs have developed a consistent track record on winning trust fund awards to support their housing activities, as shown in Table 5.2. Furthermore, as new neighborhoods developed CDC capacity between 1990 and 1996, the new organizations were quickly integrated into the funding system. This contributed to a 30% increase in citywide CDC staff size which rose to about 200, not including umbrella and intermediary organization employment (Center for Neighborhood Development, 1990, 1996).

NPI has held its place as an important funder and agenda-setter. While the monitoring system has actually become more systematic, it has also become less hostile to CDCs. Tom Cox left Cleveland in 1994 to become a deputy mayor in Pittsburgh in the Murphy administration (Fanzo 1994) and was replaced by a former Cleveland CDC director. The general tenor of NPI’s development objectives remain unchanged, as illustrated by the objectives given to CDCs in the request for proposals regarding NPI’s 1995-1998 CDC funding cycle. They called for CDCs to “affect a positive impact on the markets in their neighborhoods” and for “creating stronger organizations employing skilled staff”. Furthermore, NPI has strengthened its

TABLE 5.1: City of Cleveland, CDC Competitive Grant Awards, 1993-1996

	CDC Competitive Grant			
	1993	1994	1995	1996
Amistad Development Corp.		•	•	•
Bellaire Puritas Development Corp.		•	•	•
Black Economic Union of Ohio				
Broadway Area Housing Coalition	•	•	•	
Buckeye Area Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Burton, Bell, Carr Development Corp.		•	•	•
Clark-Metro/HANDS Development Corp.		•	•	•
Collinwood and Nottingham Villages Development Corp.				
Collinwood Community Services Center	•1	•1		•
Collinwood Village Development Corp.	•2	•2	•2	•
Crossroads Development Corp.				
Cudell Improvement, Inc.	•	•	•	
Detroit Shoreway Community Development Org.	•	•	•	•
Fairfax Renaissance Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Famicos Foundation				•
Flats Oxbow Association		•	•	•
Friends of Shaker Square	•3	•	•	•
Garrett Square Economic Development Corp.				
Glenville Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Historic Gateway Neighborhood Corp.				•
Historic Warehouse District Development Corp.	•	•	•	
Hough Area Partners in Progress	•	•	•	•
Kamms Corner Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Lakeside Area Development Corp.				
Lee Harvard Merchants and Redevelopment Association	•	•		
Little Italy 2000				•
Maingate Business Development Corp.				
Midtown Corridor, Inc.	•	•	•	•
Miles Ahead, Inc.	•	•	•	•
Mount Pleasant NOW Development Corp.	•	•	•	
Neighbors Organized for Action in Housing				
Nolasco Housing Corp.	•	•	•	•
Northeast Shores Development Corp.			•	•
Northeastern Neighborhood Development Corp.				•
Nouvelle Espoir Development Corp.				
Ohio City Near West Development Corp.			•	•
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (NWHC)	•	•		
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (OCDC)	•	•		
Old Brooklyn Community Development Corp.				•
Old Brooklyn United Service Agency	•4	•	•4	•
Slavic Village Broadway Development Corp.	•	•5	•	•
Southeast Improvement Association	•		•	•
Southwest Development Partnership	•6			

TABLE 5.1 (continued):

	CDC Competitive Grant			
	1993	1994	1995	1996
St. Clair-Superior Coalition	•	•	•	•
St. Clair Business Association				
Stockyard Area Development Association		•	•	
Tremont West Development Corp.		•	•	•
Union-Miles Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Uptown Cleveland Development Corp.				
West Town Community Development Corp.		•	•	•
Westside Industrial Retention & Expansion Network				
Total Number of CDCs Given Awards	25	31	30	31
Awards to Other Community Development Organizations				
Cleveland Housing Network	•	•	•	•
Cleveland Restoration Society				•
Cleveland Tenants Org.	•	•	•	•
Cleveland, Inc.		•	•	
Cleveland Neighborhood Development Corp.	•	•	•	•
Hispanic Business Association	•			•
Living in Cleveland Center	•	•	•	•
Lutheran Housing Corp.	•	•		•
New Village Corp.				
Neighborhood Housing Services of Cleveland	•			•
TOTAL ALLOCATION (\$M)	1.899	2.065	2.136	2.194

NOTE 1: 1993, 1994 CG with Collinwood Area Development Corp.

NOTE 2: 1993, 1995 CG with Waterloo Trade and Development Corp.; 1994 CG with Northeast Shores Development Corp.

NOTE 3: 1993 CG with Larchmere Development Association

NOTE 4: 1993 CG with Old Brooklyn's Bridge, Old Brooklyn CDC and Old Brooklyn NHS; 1995 CG with Old Brooklyn's Bridge

NOTE 5: 1994 CG with Southeast Improvements Association

NOTE 6: 1993 CG with ("and/or") Clark-Metro/HANDS Development Corp., Brooklyn Centre Development Corp., Stockyards Area Development Corp. and Tremont West Development Corp.

Source: The City Record (City of Cleveland).

TABLE 5.2: City of Cleveland, Housing Trust Fund Awards, 1992-1996

	Housing Trust Fund				
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Amistad Development Corp.			•	•	
Bellaire Puritas Development Corp.					
Black Economic Union of Ohio		•			
Broadway Area Housing Coalition	•	•	•	•	
Buckeye Area Development Corp.		•	•	•	•
Burton, Bell, Carr Development Corp.	•	• ¹	•	•	•
Clark-Metro/HANDS Development Corp.		•			•
Collinwood and Nottingham Villages Development Corp.					
Collinwood Community Services Center	•				
Collinwood Village Development Corp.					
Crossroads Development Corp.	•				
Cudell Improvement, Inc.					
Detroit Shoreway Community Development Org.	•	•	•	•	•
Fairfax Renaissance Development Corp.			•	•	•
Famicos Foundation		•	•	•	
Flats Oxbow Association					
Friends of Shaker Square		•			
Garrett Square Economic Development Corp.					
Glenville Development Corp.	•	•	•	•	•
Historic Gateway Neighborhood Corp.					
Historic Warehouse District Development Corp.					
Hough Area Partners in Progress	•	•	•	•	
Kamms Corner Development Corp.					
Lakeside Area Development Corp.					
Lee Harvard Merchants and Redevelopment Association					
Little Italy 2000					
Maingate Business Development Corp.					
Midtown Corridor, Inc.					
Miles Ahead, Inc.					
Mount Pleasant NOW Development Corp.	•		•	•	•
Neighbors Organized for Action in Housing					
Nolasco Housing Corp.	•				•
Northeast Shores Development Corp.					
Northeastern Neighborhood Development Corp.			•		•
Nouvelle Espoir Development Corp.		•			
Ohio City Near West Development Corp.				•	
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (NWHC)		•	•		
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (OCDC)			•		
Old Brooklyn Community Development Corp.					
Old Brooklyn United Service Agency					
Slavic Village Broadway Development Corp.					
Southeast Improvement Association					
Southwest Development Partnership			•	•	

TABLE 5.2 (continued):

	Housing Trust Fund				
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
St. Clair-Superior Coalition					
St. Clair Business Association					
Stockyard Area Development Association	•				
Tremont West Development Corp.		•		•	•
Union-Miles Development Corp.	•	•	•	•	
Uptown Cleveland Development Corp.					
West Town Community Development Corp.					
Westside Industrial Retention & Expansion Network					
Total Number of CDCs Given Awards	11	14	15	14	10
Number of Awards to Private Companies or Non-CDCs	11	11	5	4	9
Awards to Other Community Development Organizations					
Cleveland Housing Network				•	•
Cleveland Restoration Society					
Cleveland Tenants Org.					
Cleveland, Inc.					
Cleveland Neighborhood Development Corp.					
Hispanic Business Association					
Living in Cleveland Center					
Lutheran Housing Corp.				•	
New Village Corp.			•		
Neighborhood Housing Services of Cleveland					
TOTAL ALLOCATION (\$M)	3.975	4.400	5.240	8.280	4.950

NOTE 1: 1993 HTF for Central Nehemiah Development Partnership

Source: The City Record (City of Cleveland).

relationship with the other major private intermediaries, LISC and the Enterprise Foundation, as indicated by the comments of LISC's Cleveland program officer: "We've got a unified governing structure and more money than ever before" (Lubinger, 1996). As shown in table 5.3, NPI funding to CDCs remains relatively selective, with only 14 CDCs receiving CNPP funding in the 1996 funding cycle versus the 31 competitive operating support grants to CDCs made by the Department of Community Development. However, NPI's increased sensitivity to neighborhood autonomy and less punitive approach to management issues has helped ease the resistance to the market-oriented development strategy.

One NPI initiative that fell by the wayside was the CDC consolidation strategy, perhaps both due to the general political demands for the representation of each neighborhood, as well as the refusal of many CDCs to join the partnerships. However, the Cleveland community development industry still gained a capacity to undertake large-scale development projects. Many of the city-wide organizations added special projects staff that were able to essentially fulfill the role envisioned for mega-CDCs. For example, when the Southwest Development Partnership disbanded, one staff member joined the City's Department of Community Development to manage new housing projects, and the former director joined New Village Corporation, NPI's in-house real estate development division. Similarly, the Cleveland Housing Network hired a former CDC director to manage its special projects and a Shorebank subsidiary hired another CDC director to oversee multi-neighborhood large-scale developments. By adding a capacity to do the "heavy-lifting" that allowed citywide organizations to execute projects of scale, a mechanism for executing larger projects was enabled without forcing CDC mergers.

Another factor that reduced tensions in the industry system was the realization that the push for production by the City of Cleveland and NPI had been both a

TABLE 5.3: NPI Program Participants and 1990-1996 CDC Staff Size

	1996 NPI Programs		Staff Size 1990	Staff Size 1996
	Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program	Quantum Leap Human Capital Initiative		
Amistad Development Corp.		F	na	4
Bellaire Puritas Development Corp.	S	A	na	4
Black Economic Union of Ohio			1	1
Broadway Area Housing Coalition	L	F	6	12
Buckeye Area Development Corp.	S	F	1	3
Burton, Bell, Carr Development Corp.		A	nd	nd
Clark-Metro/HANDS Development Corp.			3	4
Collinwood & Nottingham Villages Dev'l. Corp.			na	4
Collinwood Community Services Center			6	6
Collinwood Village Development Corp.			4	na
Crossroads Development Corp.			4	4
Cudell Improvement, Inc.			12	8
Detroit Shoreway Community Development Org.	L	F	9	14
Fairfax Renaissance Development Corp.			na	4
Famicos Foundation	S	F	10	7
Flats Oxbow Assoc.			3	2
Friends of Shaker Square	L	A	5	5
Garrett Square Economic Development Corp.			na	2
Glenville Development Corp.		A	6	9
Historic Gateway Neighborhood Corp.			na	2
Historic Warehouse District Development Corp.			3	4
Hough Area Partners in Progress			5	5
Kamms Corner Development Corp.		A	1	3
Lakeside Area Development Corp.			1	1
Lee Harvard Merchants and Redevelopment Assoc.			1	nd
Little Italy 2000			1	nd
Maingate Business Development Corp.			na	1
Midtown Corridor, Inc.		F	5	5
Miles Ahead, Inc.			3	2
Mount Pleasant NOW Development Corp.	L	F	5	12
Neighbors Organized for Action in Housing			7	7
Nolasco Housing Corp.			3	2
Northeast Shores Development Corp.	S	F	na	4
Northeastern Neighborhood Development Corp.	S	F	na	1
Nouvelle Espoir Development Corp.			3	1
Ohio City Near West Development Corp.	L	F	na	11
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (NWHC)			6	na
Ohio City Near West Development Corp. (OCDC)			4	na
Old Brooklyn Community Development Corp.			3	1
Old Brooklyn United Service Agency			na	7
Slavic Village Broadway Development Corp.	S	A	3	6
Southeast Improvement Assoc.			1	2
Southwest Development Partnership			na	3

TABLE 5.3 (continued):

	1996 NPI Programs		Staff Size 1990	Staff Size 1996
	Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program	Quantum Leap Human Capital Initiative		
St. Clair-Superior Coalition		A	4	6
St. Clair Business Assoc.			2	2
Stockyard Area Development Assoc.			5	5
Tremont West Development Corp.	S	A	6	5
Union-Miles Development Corp.	L	A	10	5
Uptown Cleveland Development Corp.			na	nd
West Town Community Development Corp.		A	na	6
Westside Industrial Retention & Expansion Network	S	F	3	5
Cleveland Housing Network		A		
Cleveland Neighborhood Development Corp.		A		

L - Large Grantees
S - Special Purpose Grantees
A - Associate Members
F - Full Members
na - CDC not active
nd - no data

Sources: Neighborhood Progress Incorporated and Cleveland State University's Directory of Neighborhood Based Organizations (1990, 1996 Editions).

blessing and a curse. On one hand, Cleveland's CDCs became extremely productive and cost effective developers of housing. In the Phase I evaluation of the NCDI national program, Cleveland's CDCs were not only the most productive but were also among the most cost-effective (OMG, 1995). However, the downside of this production emphasis was that the production focus exhausted CDC staff and created financial instability in the CDC sector as a number of CDCs expanded beyond their technical and financial means. In particular, a recent review of the finances of a number of Cleveland CDCs' indicated that many lacked the operating resources and management capacity to safeguard their development commitments.

In addressing the organizational problems prompted in part by overproduction, NPI came to adopt a reasonably constructive approach to encouraging CDC professionalization by expanding its programs to include human capital development of CDC staff, echoing a national trend. (National Congress for Community Economic Development, 1995). NPI's human capital program, called Quantum Leap and coordinated by a former administrator of Chicago's well-known Bethel New Life CDC, emphasizes a variety of management competencies, including financial management, program planning, and human resources. The initiative has staked out an integrative approach by tapping existing community development practitioners and participants to serve as in-culture educators in the effort - a marked contrast to previous technical assistance programs. To date, the Quantum Leap program has been well-received and, as indicated in Table 1, many CDCs that do not receive operating support from NPI are participating in the initiative - something that was unlikely to happen just a few years prior.

Events in recent years suggest that the community development industry system in Cleveland is moving away from the coercive and hierarchical mode that was manifest during the early 1990s. The industry system continues to be subject to a

market-oriented developmental agenda and it is maturing toward cooperative integration with existing traditional urban (and national) institutions. In many respects, Cleveland's community development industry system now resembles a citywide political coalition, rather than a forum for neighborhood social movements (Clavel, Pitt & Yin 1997). While this formation appears to provide a certain stability to the industry system, it is also a transformation of the community development corporation, suggesting that the new generation of CDCs will have to learn to respond to external forces as much as to internal constituencies.

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