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ALIGNMENT OF COMMUNITY PREFERENCES, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
GOALS, AND POLICY: CONSIDERING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOALS,
THEIR EXPRESSION, AND THEIR EXECUTION IN ECONOMICALLY
STRUGGLING COMMUNITIES

A Dissertation Presented

by

REBECCA L. MORYL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2010

Public Policy Program

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ABSTRACT

ALIGNMENT OF COMMUNITY PREFERENCES, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOALS, AND POLICY: CONSIDERING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOALS, THEIR EXPRESSION, AND THEIR EXECUTION IN ECONOMICALLY STRUGGLING COMMUNITIES

December 2010

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Across the U.S., and particularly in the Northeast, cities known as former "mill towns" have been largely unsuccessful in attempts to revive their economic vigor. States and cities invest millions each year in efforts to reinvigorate these cities through economic development policies. Debates about the effectiveness of such policies in generating economic growth outcomes are prevalent in the literature. This thesis takes a different focus by considering the alignment of economic development goals and actions among citizens and government professionals. I consider, compare, contrast, and draw lessons from three Massachusetts cities of similar government structure. Each of these cities has the potential to implement and benefit from the same federal and state policies,

yet has its own unique experience with the economic development process and outcomes.

The central analysis addresses four questions of alignment:

1) What preferences have citizens revealed for their communities in the area of economic development?

2) To what extent do the stated goals of economic development officials/offices align with revealed community wants?

3) To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?

4) Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

The primarily qualitative analysis draws on the disciplines of political science, public policy, and economics. The examination of these questions in each city-setting will illuminate the opportunities and obstacles that citizens and communities face in articulating their goals to economic development agents/offices. The findings provide an opportunity for citizens and economic development agents/offices to consider their communication pathways, their stated goals and objectives, and the alignment between economic development goals and actions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Across the U.S., and particularly in the Northeast, cities known as former "mill towns" have been largely unsuccessful in attempts to revive their economic vigor. States and cities invest millions each year in efforts to reinvigorate these cities through economic development policies. There is much debate about the effectiveness of such policies in generating economic growth outcomes. This study takes a different focus by considering the alignment of economic development goals and actions among citizens and government professionals.

This study considers a sample of three Massachusetts municipalities: Leominster, Pittsfield, and Worcester. Each of these cities has been recognized as persistently struggling economically. Each has the potential to implement and benefit from the same federal and state policies, yet has its own unique experience with the economic development process and outcomes. The central analysis will address four questions of alignment.

Research Questions

I. What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?

Citizens reveal their preferences for economic development perhaps most often through indirect means, such as voting for an elected official with an economic development plank in his/her platform, participating in the development of town zoning laws, participating in community meetings, responding to municipal surveys, voting on special referenda, and contributing to local newspapers, as well as any formal communication pathways set out by individual economic development offices. This study seeks to understand and discover the ways that preferences are revealed in each municipality, and to use these sources to develop an understanding of general community preferences for each municipality.

II. To what extent do the stated goals of economic development officials/offices align with revealed community wants?

Economic development offices and officials reveal their economic development goals through articulations of mission statements, in descriptions of office responsibilities, and in stipulated goals and objectives. This study determines (a) the stated goals of the economic development office in each municipality and (b) the sources/origins/influences of these goals. The data from question I and question II will allow for a comparison of the alignment among citizen preferences and economic development office goals.

III. To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?

This study creates a comprehensive menu of economic development activities undertaken by each municipality. I then compare each municipality's stated goals and community preferences to its actions to determine alignment.

IV. Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

At the root of these questions is a desire to understand whether preferences, goals, and actions align, and if not, why not. By focusing on the misalignments, and seeking to understand the policy factors that drive the actions/expenditures that do not align with goals, we can consider reasons for the misalignments. This study seeks to understand the motivations and policies that drive "unpreferred" actions, and the obstacles to preferred actions.

Importance of Study

Massachusetts state and local economic development policy is a frequent focus of study by researchers and academics in the region (see list of studies considered in Appendix). In 2007, the policy research center MassINC focused on traditional mill towns in the state that have continued to struggle economically even as the state and many regions within it grew and thrived. The authors noted that the cities studied held potential assets for the state to leverage for economic growth, and, furthermore, that the persistent economic lag of these cities was a serious problem that could "threaten the

state's economic competitiveness" (MassINC, 2007, p. 6). A 1998 MassINC study placed a similar emphasis on the importance to the state to address the issue of struggling cities, noting, "the Commonwealth simply cannot afford the economic cost of allowing anyone or anyplace to fall through the cracks (MassINC, 1998, p. 5).

Expenditure of state funds on economic development policies is also a frequent and significant occurrence. In 2004, a report by the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center focused on Massachusetts' efforts to use tax expenditures to promote economic growth and foster job creation. The authors projected that in FY 2004, tax expenditures to promote economic development in the Commonwealth would total \$1.3 billion, representing 12.8% of that year's total state tax expenditures (Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, 2004).

The persistence of the economic struggles of these cities, the frequency with which the situation draws the attention and resources of researchers, and the amount of state expenditures directed at addressing the problem all combine to support the policy relevance of this study.

By examining the proposed research questions in each city-setting, this project seeks to:

- illuminate the opportunities and obstacles that citizens and communities face in articulating their goals to economic development agents/offices;
- uncover what portion of available resources are directed toward citizen goals, and what toward office goals (which may be the same or different); and
- consider reasons for differences in apportionment and alignment.

The research is designed to contribute to the professional and citizen knowledge about economic development by:

- revealing existing communication pathways and barriers between citizens and professionals;
- uncovering the alignment/misalignment of economic development office goals and actions; and
- identifying the motivational, policy, and structural factors that are sources of this alignment/misalignment.

Below, I set out the community-specific policy implications as well as the more significant, broader implications of each of the research questions.

Policy Relevance of Each Research Question

I. What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?

Citizens reveal their preferences for economic development perhaps most often through indirect means, such as voting for an elected official with an economic development plank in his/her platform; participating in the development of town zoning laws, participating in community meetings, responding to municipal surveys, voting on special referenda, and contributing to local newspapers, as well as any formal communication pathways set out by individual economic development offices. This study seeks to understand and discover the ways that preferences are revealed in each municipality, and to use these sources to develop a general community preference for each municipality.

Community-specific policy implications:

- Provides those communities studied an understanding of current communication pathways.
- Provides the communities a profile of revealed community preferences for economic development.

Broader policy implications:

- Illuminates the opportunities and obstacles that citizens and communities face in articulating their goals to economic development offices.

II. To what extent do the stated goals of economic development officials/offices align with revealed community wants?

Economic development offices and officials reveal their economic development goals through articulations of mission statements, in descriptions of office responsibilities, and in stipulated goals and objectives. This project seeks to determine (a) the stated goals of the economic development office in each municipality and (b) the sources/origins/influences of these goals. The data from research questions I and II allow for a comparison of the alignment between citizen preferences and economic development office goals.

Community-specific policy implications:

- Provides those communities studied with a summary of revealed community preferences and economic development office preferences and their alignment.

Broader policy implications:

- Provides a window into the state of alignment between revealed community preferences and economic development office preferences.

III. To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?

This project creates a comprehensive menu of economic development activities undertaken by each municipality. The use of the schema presented above then allows a comparison of each municipality's stated goals to its actions to determine alignment of the two, and then a similar assessment of the alignment of citizen preferences and actions.

Community-specific policy implications:

- Provides those communities studied with an assessment of the alignment of goals and policy actions.
- Provides the communities with an assessment of the alignment of preferences and policy actions.

Broader policy implications:

- Provides a window into the alignment of preferences, goals, and actions.

IV. Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

At the root of these questions is a desire to understand whether preferences, goals and actions align, and if not, why not. By focusing on the misalignments, and seeking to understand the policy factors that drive the actions/expenditures that do not align with goals, we can consider reasons for the misalignments. This study seeks to understand the

motivations and policies that drive "unpreferred" actions, as well as the obstacles to preferred actions.

Community-specific policy implications:

→ Provides those communities studied with an assessment of the drivers of alignment/misalignment in their community.

Broader policy implications:

→ Provides insight into the factors (motivational factors, policy factors, structural factors) that result in misalignment.

→ Provides a new view into the implications of economic development policies at the local, state, and perhaps federal level.

Scope of Study

This study is a multi-case analysis of three Massachusetts cities that are recognized as economically struggling: Leominster, Pittsfield, and Worcester. The unit of analysis for these cases is the offices/individuals who are the economic development policymakers and policy implementers in each municipality. The focus is thus primarily the economic development office (as my research questions suggest). Data from and interviews with representatives of other agencies/individuals outside of government provided context and insight to the understanding of the economic development policy of each municipality, but they are not the focus of the research questions posed here. Data for each municipality covers the 1998–2009 time period. Data availability limitations, specifically access to detailed municipal records and newspaper archives across all municipalities, limited the scope to this time period.

Why Focus on Cities?

I first determined to focus this study on cities because the economic growth and strength of cities, as regional urban centers, are a critical aspect of strategic state economic development plans and policies (Haughwout, 1999). Second, I determined to focus only on cities within one state because sampling cities within one state alleviates the challenge of defining and assessing tax incentive policies across states (Tannenwald, 1997). I selected Massachusetts because of my geographic location and experience studying and living in the state. Third, focusing on cities within one bounded geographic region, which all have theoretical access to similar state economic development policies, allowed for a consideration of intraregional business location choice.

With a case study such as this, the generalizability that is hoped for has its source not in the sampling of populations but in the thoughtful application of theory, which will be an integral part of this case study design. This purposive sample of three Massachusetts municipalities—Leominster, Pittsfield, and Worcester—was guided by Miles and Huberman (1994) and their criteria to form a case study sample that is comprised of "comparable" and "politically important" cases.

Comparability.

These municipalities are comparable in several important ways that are relevant to Miles and Huberman's (1994) definition of comparable cases as having "the same relevant characteristics over time" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 28). First, they are recognized as being "economically challenged." I define this recognition by their inclusion in at least two regional studies of the economic character or development of

Massachusetts municipalities that are deemed to be challenged by the study authors (see Appendix D: Picking Cities). Second, none of these municipalities falls within the inner core of the Boston metropolitan area as defined by the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC). Third, each of these municipalities has an economic development office as part of their government structure.

Political importance.

These municipalities meet Miles and Huberman's (1994) definition of politically important cases, particularly those that attract desirable political attention, because they are recognized as economically challenged. This is evidenced by the attention each has received from (a) researchers concerned with economically challenged municipalities and (b) state economic development authorities. First, each selected municipality was both a focus of the Massachusetts Economic Assessment and Analysis Project study and in at least one other study of economically challenged areas in Massachusetts. Additionally, each of these four municipalities received state-level political attention when they received Economic Opportunity Area designations from the Massachusetts Executive Office of Economic Development in January 2008 (EOHED, 2008).

These sampling strategies are only two among several possible frameworks that could be used. The limited time and resources that I could dedicate to this project as dissertation work suggested the use of comparable cases, as I would not be able to gather data on the number of cases required to make comparison in a valid and generalizable fashion. Given that limitation, and my background and interest in researching

economically challenged municipalities, selecting politically important cases strengthens the applicability of the findings.

The choice of these cases is based on *conceptual* rather than representative grounds. The selection strategy focused on relevance to the research questions and conceptual framework. The concept is to look at "perpetually" struggling cities that are at present receiving particular help/attention from the state. Here we have three such municipalities. None of them is in the Greater Boston "inner core" as defined by MAPC; none is drawing directly on its relative location to Boston.

Table 1

Brief Three-City Contextual Background

	<u>Leominster</u>		<u>Pittsfield</u>		<u>Worcester</u>	
Background data	2000	2008	2000	2008	2000	2008
1. Form of government ^a	Strong mayor		Strong mayor		Council-manager	
2. Population 25 years old and above ^b	27,797	28,641	32,063	32,283	108,769	105,826
<i>Comparing municipality to the state: Ratios of municipal to state data</i>						
3. High school degree or higher	.96	.98	1.00	1.00	.90	.95
4. Bachelor's degree or higher	.66	.58	.62	.67	.70	.75
5. In labor force	1.00	.99	.94	.95	.92	.94
6. Median household income	.73	.88	.58	.67	.58	.69
7. Per capita income	.73	.81	.69	.78	.62	.73
8. Families below poverty level	1.07	1.21	1.33	1.75	2.10	2.08
9. Individuals below the poverty level	1.02	1.09	1.23	1.62	1.92	1.75
10. Unemployment rate	1.15	1.21	1.19	1.00	1.15	1.19

Note. Row 1 presents the form of government for each municipality, row 2, the size of the population aged 25 years and above; row 3, a ratio of the percentage of the municipal population that has a high school degree or higher to the percentage of the state population that meet that criterion; row 4, a ratio of the percentage of the municipal population that has a bachelor's degree or higher to the percentage of the state population that meets that criterion; row 5, a ratio of the percentage of the municipal population 16 years of age and older in the labor force to the percentage of the state population that meets that criterion; row 6, a ratio of the municipal median household income to the state median household income; row 7, a ratio of the municipal per capita income to the state per capita income; row 8, a ratio of the percentage of municipal families below the poverty level to the percentage of state families below that level; row 9, a ratio of the percentage of municipal individuals below the poverty level to the percentage of state individuals below that level; and row 10, a ratio of the municipal unemployment rate to the state unemployment rate. Data sources: Row 1: municipal website and charter; rows 2–9: U.S. Census Bureau American FactFinder, <http://www.factfinder.census.gov>; row 10: Massachusetts Labor and Workforce Development Department, retrieved from http://lmi2.detma.org/lmi/lmi_lur_a.asp July 5, 2010.

^a A strong mayor "gives the elected mayor substantial control over the workings of city departments" (Ross & Levine 2006, p.143). In a council-manager situation, "City council appoints a professionally trained manager who is given responsibility for running the daily affairs of the city" (p. 146).

^b The 2008 figures are the American Community Survey three-year estimates for 06-08. See <http://factfinder.census.gov>.

Table 1 presents the form of government for each of the municipalities in the study; the population in 2000 and 2008; and economic development–related data ratios comparing each municipality to the state as a whole in 2000 and 2008. This data provides a context for the consideration of the case studies presented below. Note that due to Census data availability the comparison years here are 2000 (rather than 1998, when case study data begins) and 2008. Rows 3–10 give a ratio of each municipality's data for that variable as a ratio to the state data for that same variable. Thus, under the column for Leominster in 2000, row 3, .96 indicates that Leominster's population holding a high school or higher degree is 96% of the state average for that characteristic.

There are several observations of note here. Worcester is the only city whose population aged 25 and above shrank over the period; there is a general upward trend in educational achievement compared to the Massachusetts base, except for holders of bachelor's degree or higher in Leominster across the period; income levels increased across all three municipalities compared to the Massachusetts base; poverty rates increased in Leominster and Pittsfield but decreased in Worcester compared to the Massachusetts base; and the unemployment rate increased for Worcester and Leominster but decreased for Pittsfield compared to the Massachusetts base.

Table 2

Brief Three-City Demographic Dynamics

	<u>Leominster</u>		<u>Pittsfield</u>		<u>Worcester</u>	
Demographic data (% of population)	2000	2008	2000	2008	2000	2008
Foreign-born	10.7	12.7	3.9	5.2	14.5	19.9
White	87.1	87	92.6	90.3	77.1	74.3
Black or African American	3.7	4.1	4.2	3.7	6.9	12.3
Asian	2.4	2.7	1.4	1.2	4.9	4.4
Hispanic or Latino	11	10.5	3.5	2	15.1	15.1

Note. Data source: U.S. Census Bureau American FactFinder <http://www.factfinder.census.gov>

Table 2 presents demographic data for each of the municipalities in the study.

This data provides further context for the consideration of the case studies presented below. Note that while there is certainly variability across the cities in terms of demographics, the percentage of nonwhite or foreign-born population in each case is relatively small. Also of note: The percentage of foreign-born residents increased across all three municipalities; the percentage of Black or African American residents increased in both Leominster and Worcester but decreased in Pittsfield; the percentage of Asian residents increased in Leominster while decreasing in both Pittsfield and Worcester; and the Hispanic/Latino population decreased in both Leominster and Pittsfield but remained unchanged in Worcester across the period.

While this research does not specifically address issues of demographics or demographic diversity, the evidence of change in the population structure of each municipality is important in the consideration of community preferences and how they may change across time. This dynamics of demographics and its implications is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Definition of Terms

Consideration of these research questions in a systematic method requires a clear definition of several key terms used throughout this study.

Revealed community preference.

In order to consider what communities want in the way of economic development, I need to consider what is meant by "community." This question has long been a stumbling block, and sometimes an ignored hurdle, for researchers of economic and community development. The term "community" means different things to different people—citizens, politicians, economic elites (Jones & Bachelor, 1986). It also holds different meanings across time and space (Raco, 2000; Wiewel, Teitz, & Giloth, 1993). Wiewel et al. (1993) point to Wellman (1976) as defining a turning point in the definition of community from a geographic-based unit to a network of psychographically similar, or "like-minded," individuals to whom geography may or may not be relevant.

The spatial challenge of defining community for this study comes not only from the diminishing relative importance of geography to the definition, but also from the fact that multiple geographic boundaries could be considered relevant. Economic development faces the challenge that politically defined boundaries, which create legal municipalities, can cut across recognized "communities" of various kinds—economic, demographic, psychographic. Where these communities do align, there can be municipalities with a well-developed, coherent sense of community, potentially leading to community goals. Even where this sense of community does exist within a municipality, however, it is not necessarily a "good." A sense of community within a

municipality can lead to exclusionary practices to keep out projects (NIMBYism) or individuals and groups (Raco, 2000).

Raco (2000) further points out that where a cohesive community exists within a municipality, or where a representative of the "community" is integrated into the economic development process, this can serve merely to legitimize decisions made by existing business or government structures. One way this can occur is if community representatives become captured by the process. Another is if community representatives lack power in the decision-making process (Jones & Bachelor, 1986).

Wiewel et al. (1993) recognize these caveats to defining "community" and to participation of community in economic development actions. Yet they note that "a notion of community goals retains a strong hold on the imaginations and perceptions" of those involved in development (Wiewel et al., 1993, p. 97). Similarly, in this study I recognize the challenge as well as the desire to understand the community and its goals, and will proceed with caution.

This study seeks to consider the preferences that citizens have revealed for their communities in the way of economic development. As such, I focus on preferences that are observable to economic development offices, including those expressed through votes, through the media, and through surveys or other mechanisms of soliciting opinion. I look for evidence of consensus among these expressions.

Stated economic development goals.

"Stated economic development goals" are those statements of economic development-related goals and objectives by economic development officials or political

community leaders (such as the mayor). These statements are observed in public speeches, media reports, printed materials, and municipal websites, and through key informant interviews conducted for this study.

Alignment.

For the purposes of this study, "alignment" means having a harmony in purpose among community preference, stated goal, and/or economic development policy. Alignment is not causality. The idea is that many of the economic development–related goals and policies will cause jobs to be created, businesses to thrive, or the tax base to grow, but this hoped for, intended, or even studied outcome is not what is meant by alignment. Alignment is a more specific sameness in purpose, such as a goal to market a city and a policy to have a website promoting the city to potential businesses. As an illustrative metaphor, imagine you are attending a conference on economic development, and are there specifically to learn more about marketing as a particular strategy. There might be several specific panels offered that align with that interest—that would tell you more about marketing. There are likely also many more panels that concern economic development and pursuing business attraction, retention, jobs, and such, but do *not* focus on your particular interest in marketing. For the purpose of this analysis, those panels that have to do with marketing-type issues are in alignment with your interest; the other general economic development panels are not.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review addresses several areas of relevance to the research questions to be considered. Section IIA considers the relevant definition of economic development. Section IIB considers the model of business location selection that underlies the practice of economic development at the municipal level. Section IIC considers models of interjurisdictional competition and the role of market failures in such competitive strategies. Section IID presents a schema for considering the economic development policies and practices available to municipalities and the research on their respective effectiveness. Finally, Section IIE considers the motivations of and mechanisms available to citizens and economic development offices/officials.

IIA: Defining "Economic Development"

In order to address research questions that consider the alignment of economic development goals and practices, one must first consider what is meant by "economic development." Bingham and Mier's 1993 effort to uncover a cohesive theory of economic

development from across different disciplines results not in a singular vision, but in seven metaphors for thinking of economic development:

1. Economic development as problem-solving.
2. Economic development as running a business.
3. Economic development as building a growth machine.
4. Economic development as preserving nature and place.
5. Economic development as releasing human potential.
6. Economic development as exerting leadership.
7. Economic development as a quest for social justice.

Bingham and Mier (1993) themselves began their review of economic development perspectives from across various discipline by considering the definition of economic development used by the American Economic Development Council (set out initially in 1984), which defines it as "the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of human, financial, capital, physical and natural resources to generate marketable goods and services" (Glover, 2008). Bingham and Mier give credit to this definition, but stipulate that the role of the public sector within that definition must be further specified. They suggest:

It is the role of the public sector to facilitate and promote the creation of jobs and wealth by the private sector, *and to ensure that it does so in a way that serves the short- and long-run interests of the broad population.* (1993, p. vii)

This links the public sector to the private sector, adding the responsibility to the interests of the population.

Having reviewed their collected theories of economic development, Bingham and Mier strive to work beyond their metaphors into an understanding of economic development as it is used today. They suggest that the label economic indicates an activity that is *not* political—separating the institutions and mechanisms of economic development from the political sphere, though they recognize the roles of political motivations discussed below in Section IIB. They recognize the focus of economic development practices on capital rather than jobs, pointing to both (a) the separation of institutions of economic development and institutions of job training and employment, and (b) the empirical evidence of economic development agencies' focus on investment over jobs and, where jobs are addressed, a lack of attention to job quality or persistence.

Considering further the evidence of actual economic development practices by government agencies, Bingham and Mier conclude that while there has been a shift, . . . until only recently, the emphasis of U.S. economic development policy was wholly on growth—more jobs, more businesses, larger businesses, higher per capita incomes—rather than on what is commonly meant by development—the enhancement of the capacity to act and to innovate. (Bingham & Mier, 1993, p. 271).

This recent shift refers to increasing attention to entrepreneurship, technological capacity of business, and education—with the caveat that these new foci are solidly within the tradition of businesses (not individuals or structural institutions) as the target.

To begin to construct a frame for what vision of economic development will be relevant to this study, I next reviewed the mission, goal, or defining statements that self-

professed economic development agencies in New England and Massachusetts (with which the municipalities considered here likely work) use to describe their economic development work.

- The Northeastern Economic Developers Association states that it is dedicated to helping its members "strengthen their local and regional economics and enhance overall quality of life." Its mission, it states, is "to improve the economic prosperity of communities" (NEDA, 2008).
- The Massachusetts Economic Development Council states its "primary objective" is "the promotion and development of the economic welfare of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts through industrial and economic development" (MEDC, 2006).
- The Massachusetts Alliance for Economic Development states that it emerged from a recognition of "the need for a private-public partnership to promote Massachusetts as a place to do business," and that its "overriding objective" is "to encourage the expansion and retention of business within the Commonwealth" (MAED, n.d.).
- The Massachusetts state Department of Business Development states it is responsible for "working with businesses and citizens to strengthen the economy in Massachusetts through job creation" (MOBD, n.d.). And the Executive Office of Housing and Economic Development states that its mission is "the creation of. . . jobs in the Commonwealth" and that it works "to keep our economic position strong" (Massachusetts Office of Housing and Economic Development, 2008).
- Finally, MassDevelopment states that it works in order to "stimulate economic growth across the state of Massachusetts" (MassDevelopment, n.d.).

From these statements emerges a common thread of promoting economic growth and welfare, expanding and retaining business, and maintaining a strong economic position. This suggests that Bingham and Mier's metaphor of "economic development as building a growth machine" is most applicable to this study.

Drawing from these statements suggests an underlying logic model for economic development agencies in the state that is along these lines:

Activities	Outputs	Outcomes	Impacts
Various economic development office policies and practices	Businesses locate, remain, and expand within the region; economic growth in number, type, and size of business	Growth in number of jobs; growth in per capita income; growth in tax base	Achieve/sustain strong/prosperous economic position for region

Figure 1. Logic Model for Economic Development Agencies.

The statements of these New England/Massachusetts economic development agencies seem to emerge from an operational theory parallel to that set out in Bingham and Mier (1993) as they describe current economic development practice in the U.S.: "Without investors, there is no employment" (Bingham & Mier, 1993, p. 270). I will be looking at efforts to sustain and promote economic growth (logical impact) through the promotion of business establishment, retention, and growth (outputs) via a variety of policies and practices.

What are "economic development policies"?

For the purposes of this research, I must further delineate which policies undertaken by municipalities will be considered "economic development policies." In this research, I have observed among the municipalities this same separation of institutions of

economic development and those of job training and employment observed by Bingham and Mier (1993). The structural separation within municipalities ranges from separation of entire entities (municipal economic development agencies and state or regional employment agencies) to different substructures within one department (e.g., an economic development division and two external workforce development programs in Worcester).

Additional research regarding what policies are considered "economic development" shows inconsistency in whether to include jobs/training or not. Reese (1993) conducted a review of U.S. city economic development policy based on a 1989 economic development survey by the International City/County Management Association. This attempt to develop consistent categories of economic development policies was unsuccessful—finding uniform application of categories across different cities problematic—but this survey does help to address this question of what is economic development.

Reese (1993) lists the following elements:

- Marketing, including brochures, site availability inventory and promotion, visits to prospective firms, liaison to businesses, special events, trade shows, videos;
- Financial incentives, including tax abatement/deferral, loan incentives (guarantees, subsidies, and direct loans), sale/lease of property, shared equity in projects, business incubators;

- Land incentives, including preparing/clearing land, provision of water and/or sewer, rehabilitation of sites/buildings, property management, city-owned business parks, enterprise zones; and
- Government/infrastructure, including preservation (façade and historic), transportation improvements (parking, flow, pedestrian ways, amenities), services (safety, garbage collection, street cleaning, recreation), red tape reduction (building inspection, zoning).

Note that she does not include job training or housing in this categorization.

A review of a more recent, 1999 edition of the Economic Development Survey by the International City/County Management Association does question respondents about "business incentives" related to employee screening and training support, as well as "programs to promote or support economic development," including affordable housing and job training (Feiock, 16). This suggests that any answer to the question of "what is economic development" retains blurry boundaries.

Despite this lack of clarity, for the sake of a consistent and clear methodology and robust findings for this study, it is necessary to specify what policies will be included in each case. Thus, guided by Bingham and Mier's thoughtful considerations and the structures present in the municipalities themselves, I do not include job/employment training or housing among the policies of the economic development office, as in these municipalities they are not policies conducted by the economic development agency.

Simultaneously, however, given the municipal data for this study and the blurry definition of economic development, I take a broader view in considering the community

preferences and municipal stated goals as they relate to economic development.

Economic development preferences of communities are revealed often in contexts that do not split so finely. Preferences come from surveys, focus groups, election debates, and master planning programs, where economic development is among the items discussed, and preferences that touch on that area can be identified (as I have done) but are not finely drawn. Thus there is overlap into areas that might be termed more "support" policies, such as quality of life (housing, education).

Similarly, while there are distinct economic development personnel or divisions within the municipalities, they function within a larger whole (sometimes a larger department, or a clumped-together division, depending on the municipal organizational structure). Thus the economic development goals are often framed within this larger context, and, as with the preferences, it would require assumptions on my part as a researcher to pull them apart. These are assumptions that I do not think I can make in a way that adds to the research.

Thus, guided by Bingham and Mier's considerations and the structures present in the municipalities themselves, I do not include job/employment training or housing among the *policies* of the economic development office, although I do keep them (as appropriate) as stated *goals* of the office or a preference of the community programs, as these may be relevant outcomes to successful economic development policies or they may be among the goals of the broader department within which economic development resides structurally in the municipality.

Because I am interested here in the alignment of the goals and actions of these offices, I take the activities of the municipal economic development offices to be "economic development" policies and practices by definition. The fact they are considered to be such by the offices themselves will be sufficient to identify these policies and practices as being of interest in considering alignment of goals with actions.

IIB: The Model of Business Location Selection

Economic development incentives, whether in the form of tax incentives or public service provision, are designed to impact the location decisions of business firms. This is based on a model of business choice that assumes businesses take such municipal characteristics into account when making decisions to stay in a city or to move there from another place. Thus we should consider this model of business location selection.

Ady (1997) describes the business location selection process from the perspective of an executive consultant for business relocation. Ady describes the process of one as elimination, consisting of three stages: (a) initial screening, where the business broadly identifies regions and states of interest; (b) community selection, where the business evaluates the potential locations within the search area defined paying particular attention to operating costs; and (c) final selection, where the business engages in a "direct and thorough comparison of the three to five locations that offer the greatest advantages and the fewest disadvantages for the proposal project" (p. 79). Ady states that at each stage the business is considering location criteria that fall within three basic categories: (a) operating costs, including labor costs, utility costs, tax costs and transportation costs; (b) operating conditions, including work force quality, dependability of utilities, and attitude

of local officials; and (c) quality of life, including educational capabilities, housing availability and cost, and cultural and sporting opportunities. Each of these categories represents a potential policy lever for municipal economic development offices trying to compete for business location preference. Ady cautions, however, that each business considers unique criteria for each location, creating a diversity of sought-after and avoided characteristics that complicate attempts to determine causal relationships among location criteria and business decisions, and thus economic growth.

Given that caution, Ady reports that tax incentives are relevant at the second decision stage, community selection, where businesses focus on operating costs. However, an analysis of Ady's business location selection projects indicates that taxes represent only 4–5% of the geographic cost factor that businesses consider. Ady indicates that tax incentives are again relevant at the third and final selection stage, as are public services. Ady reports that for his clients, "education has been found to be the single most important service, with highway adequacy a distant second, followed by public safety, and then infrastructure" (Ady, 1997, p. 79).

This ranking of relative importance of categories of public service provided to business location selection differs from those of Fisher (1997), who, in a review of the literature of the effect of state and local public services on economic development, found transportation as a category and highways as a particular feature to have the strongest impact on business location decision, with public safety second and education last. Fisher suggests that the source of the weak link to education lies in its nature as human capital investment, with delay between the investment and the production of workforce; and in

the mobility of individuals, which results in spillover from and to other cities, diluting the value of education spending on economic development. In regards to the study proposed here, it is worth noting that the importance placed on highways links to state-level economic development strategies rather than city-level.

Soule, Fitzgerald, and Bluestone (2004) tie the potential of cities to influence the business location selection process to the particular challenges of the struggling Massachusetts cities considered here. They note that the challenges these struggling cities face are real but that firms are willing to consider these cities with all their obstacles if municipal and state officials work as a team to communicate the opportunities and to solve problems.

Economic development incentives and business location selection.

Overall evidence of the question whether state and local economic development policies impact business location decisions is "at best murky and complex" (Enrich, 1997, p.144). Evidence is most clear at the intraregional level, where businesses are choosing among potential locations within a state, within a metropolitan region, or within a city itself. Research indicates that tax incentives have a more significant impact on intraregional, particularly intrametro, location decisions (Bradbury, Kodrzycki, & Tannenwald, 1997). In a review of the empirical literature, Wasylenko (1997) finds that intraregional estimates of tax elasticities for economic development are four times larger than those for interregional studies. In an analysis of economic development in enterprise zones, Fisher and Peters (1997) find that incentives with specific geographic (i.e., single- or multi-city level) targets are more effective at promoting economic growth than those

with a broader (i.e., state-level) target because tax differentials are more significant to locational choice within a region than across regions.

Luce (1994) reviews the economic development literature to consider the impact that tax rates and provision of public services have on the location decisions of firms and households selecting among cities within a metropolitan area. He finds fairly consistent evidence that municipal property tax rates impact intrametro location decisions. However, he finds some discrepancies in the impact across different employment sectors. Luce also finds that public service provision does have important effects on intrametro location decisions. He stresses, however, that tax and service provisions are *among* the characteristics considered by business but not necessarily the deciding factor. In Ady's consideration of the role of public services in business location selection, he reports that his experience indicated that "differences among communities, even within the same state, are greater than differences among the states" (Ady, 1997, p. 80).

IIC: Interjurisdictional Competition: Economic Development Incentives

The economic literature on economic development includes several models for the practice and outcome of interjurisdictional competition (competition among municipalities in our case) for business location based on the provision of economic development incentives. Kenyon (1997) begins her review of these alternative theories of competition by setting out the preconditions for interjurisdictional competition. These include a fragmented governance structure with many authorities and a "high level of local autonomy which encourages innovation and diversity" (Kenyon, 1997, p. 718). Kenyon suggests that the level of competition increases if local authorities can draw upon

local sources of revenue. The Massachusetts cities to be considered here exist in a framework of both fragmented governance structure with many authorities at the federal, state, local, and even regional level (if we consider regional planning authorities) and of a high level of local autonomy, particularly in a state where home-rule is the tradition. Therefore, despite largely lacking the ability to draw on local revenues, these municipalities have met Kenyon's (1997) necessary preconditions to engage in interjurisdictional competition.

Models of interjurisdictional competition.

A consideration of the models of interjurisdictional competition begins with Tiebout's model of economic actors—citizens and firms—making locational choice decisions by "voting with their feet." Tiebout's model creates a vision of competition among governmental jurisdictions for mobile citizens and firms (Reschovsky, 1997).

From Tiebout's model of citizens and, more relevantly here, firms seeking out the jurisdiction that best meets their costs and benefits in a rational decision-making process, emerges the vision of municipalities competing for businesses to locate, remain, and grow within their boundaries. While there are other models of interjurisdictional competition more relevant to interjurisdictional competition at the state level, including the destructive competition model (McGuire, 1991) and the Besley-Case model of yardstick competition (Kenyon, 1997), Tiebout's model and those in its tradition remain a primary categories of models relevant to interjurisdictional competition at the local government level. The other category I will consider includes models based in game theory analysis.

Tiebout models and perfect competition.

Oates and Schwab (1991) continue in the Tiebout tradition, considering a model relevant to local jurisdictions competing for mobile capital. Their analysis results in two insights significant to this paper. First, that interjurisdictional competition on the local level results in local taxes becoming equivalent to benefit taxes, or user fees for consumers and firms; this implies a setting of "perfect competition." Taken to the next step, they conclude that local jurisdictions cannot extract economic rent from businesses because mobile capital will relocate to another jurisdiction. Furthermore, they note that in this model, subsidies to attract business investment would produce less benefit than they would cost. Thus, local municipalities should avoid subsidies and tax business only for the purpose of imposing user fees for public services. Second, as a model of perfect competition, where local governments act as perfectly competitive firms providing public goods to firms (and households), local interjurisdictional competition results in economic efficiency (given that the federal government fulfills the redistributive function).

Reschovsky (1997) offers one criticism to this model as he considers the actual behavior of local governments. He highlights the lack of perfect information—a required assumption for perfectly competitive markets—in the real-world interactions of interjurisdictional competition. Reschovsky points to the information asymmetry between businesses and local governments, stating, "governments generally do not know how important public education, and even police and fire services are to individual firms" (Reschovsky, 1997, p. 147). This asymmetry violates the "price taker" analogy of firms in perfect competition because of this murky revelation of willingness to pay by firms to

governments. Furthermore, firms can complicate the assumptions of perfect competition by threatening to move when the incentives would not actually drive them to do so. Firms can also influence the political decision-making process by making campaign contributions and financing election campaigns, further muddying the "perfect" waters.

Reschovsky also notes that the mobility of capital is not perfect in the real world. Netzer (1991) furthers this idea of imperfectly mobile capital by identifying the concept of inertia as a hindrance to firm relocation. He writes that the cost to a firm of moving resources reduces the mobility of capital. Wood (1993) makes a similar point about inertia, pointing not to financial cost but to the social cost of what he terms "local dependence" on a specific location based on the cost and benefits of social capital already established there.

Game theory models.

Another category of models for understanding interjurisdictional competition is based in game theory. Wolkoff (1992) presents such a model, suggesting that economic development subsidies made by municipalities influence the behavior of other firms—increasing the likelihood that they will demand subsidies. Wolkoff comes to this conclusion by asking why—despite the predictions of a perfectly competitive model—municipalities offer subsidies to firms to remain in or relocate to their jurisdictions. Wolkoff concludes that because of the information asymmetry that disadvantages the municipalities, a municipality's best strategy is to offer a base level of subsidies to all firms. The innovation of this type of model is to consider the motivations, mechanisms,

and strategic behavior of firms and municipalities in the interjurisdictional competition for businesses.

Noto (1991) draws a similar conclusion about the strategic behavior of municipalities. In her "early bird model," Noto argues that economic development benefits may indeed come to (or be most effective for) those municipalities that are early movers toward subsidies (for instance) and thus able to capture the return from the first firms who respond. Thus, in this model, municipalities who can get out in front of their competitors may benefit. Noto cautions, however, that a problem remains: the competition that immediately follows likely eliminates the economic return to all players.

Competing by addressing failures in the perfectly competitive market.

Many of these models of interjurisdictional competition are based on the assumptions of a perfectly competitive market (Bradbury et al., 1997). However, as the critiques posed above suggest, in the real world such assumptions do not hold. These market failures, particularly that of incomplete information, create an opportunity for economic development incentives that improve the workings of the market and the relative competitiveness of those municipalities that attempt efforts of redress. Thus, in addition to tax policy and public service provision as characteristics on which municipalities can build economic development incentives, we can add efforts that attempt to overcome challenges of incomplete information in the market.

Bartik (2002) suggests that it is the presence of market failures that justify local economic development policies. Felsenstein and Fleisher (2002) make a more specific point that there are multiple sources of market failure around economic development,

particularly the presence of asymmetric information in capital markets, which hinders the provision of financing to small firms. This asymmetry of information provides another potential opening for economic development offices to address and improve their municipal position. Such policies could include provision of information about the municipality, or provision of capital, each of which could be lacking due to asymmetry issues.

Weiler, Scorsone, and Pullman (2000) in fact point to asymmetric or incomplete information and its adverse effect on the availability of capital and the business location selection process as an opportunity to enhance local economic development policies by providing information about those locales to firms and entrepreneurs. Regarding the business location process, the authors point out that the time and resources required to gather and assess information about potential locations for business are fixed, sunk costs, "being specific to a particular region, timeframe and set of assets" (Weiler et al., 2000, p. 370). Weiler et. al. suggest further that the path-dependence these factors create could partially explain gaps between economic performances of different regions; thus, this issue could be of particular interest to our struggling cities. Soule et al. (2004) make a recommendation to economically challenged Massachusetts cities along this line, categorizing persistent poor perceptions of a city, and lack of information about the industry and what it needs to know about the city, as "deal-breakers" for successful business location opportunities.

IID: Schema for Considering Types of Economic Development Incentives and Evidence of Their Impact/Effectiveness

I have so far considered three categories of economic development incentives that municipalities can use to compete for selection by businesses: tax incentives, public service provision, and efforts to address information asymmetry. In order to address the third research question, "to what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals," I developed a schema that considers the intended outcome of the various policies and practices in which our cities could engage as well as—to the degree possible given the murkiness of the findings to date—the effectiveness of these policies/practices.

Table 3 below provides the current economic development policy expected outcome schema, hereafter referred to as "the schema," that I have developed by drawing on the economic development principles as well as the available effectiveness research. For each category of intended/expected policy outcome, the table provides a list of economic development policies/practices (relevant to local municipalities) and a corresponding summary of the available research on effectiveness for each policy/practice. Policies/practices for which no effectiveness research have been uncovered are indicated with a question mark.

The use of the schema as a tool in the analysis of research findings allows a comparison of each municipality's stated goals with its actions to determine alignment of the two, as detailed in Chapter 3, Section IIIB.

Table 3

<i>Economic Policy Outcome Expected Schema</i>		
Intention	Policy/practice	Effective?
Assist firms to boost total revenue	Direct purchases of firm's product or service by local or state municipality.	?
	Lobby federal government for federal contracting of local firms.	?
Assist firms to reduce capital costs	State issuance of tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds; proceeds provide low-interest loans to private firms.	Mixed: yes for plant relocation but negative impact for existing plant growth (Ady, 1997); no for employment (Hoyt, Jepsen, & Toske, 2008)
	State provision of venture capital to new start-up firms.	Yes (Lerner, 1999; Leleux & Surlemont, 2003)
	Small business development supports in general.	Yes (Strother, 2007)
Assist firms to reduce labor costs	Tax increment financing.	Mixed, most yes ^a
	State and local investment in education.	Yes (Ady)
	State subsidies for specialized training for individual firms or industries.	Yes: for small and medium business (Bartik, 2002); at border locations (Hoyt et al.)
Public service provision	Public service provision <i>in general</i> .	Yes (Luce, 1994; Ady; Fisher, 1997)
	Local provision: water and sewer.	Somewhat (Ady, but ranked last)
	Local provision: amenities	No (Gottlieb, 1994; Dula, 2008)
	Local investment: transportation in general.	Yes (Ady; Fisher); less at local levels (Berechman, Ozmen, & Ozbay, 2006)

Intention	Policy/practice	Effective?
Reduce state and local taxes	Local investment: airports.	Yes (Brueckner, 2003)
	Reduction in state and local taxes <i>in general</i> .	Somewhat—influential, but not deciding factor (Soule et al.; Wasylenko, 1997); yes, at intraregional/metro levels (Bradbury et al., 1997; Fisher & Peters, 1997); yes, at state border locations (Lee, 2004; Hoyt et al.)
Address information asymmetry; increase awareness of municipality		
Streamline regulations	Market municipality to attract new firms.	No (Wood, 1993)
	Permitting; zoning; streamlining in general.	Yes (Soule et al., 2004)
	Enterprise/empowerment zones in economically distressed areas with lower tax/regulatory burden.	No (Bartik; Elvery, 2004); yes, if geographically targeted (Fisher & Peters); mixed—no on attracting firms, yes on employment (Billings, 2007)

^a Various case study analyses (Davis, 1989; Forgey, 1993; Huddleston, 1984; Ritter & Oldfield, 1990; Stinson, 1992) show that TIFs are effective. Econometric analyses reveal mixed results—likely due to the variety of dependent variables used. Several suggest that, yes, TIFs are effective: Anderson, 1990 (dependent variable: property value); Man, 1999 (local employment); Man and Rosentraub, 1998 (property value); Smith, 2009 (market interest in area); Wassmer, 1994 (retail sales). Only Dye and Merriman, 2000 (property value growth) indicate that TIFs are not effective.

IIE: Motivations and Mechanisms of Citizens and Economic Development Officials

Another key element to the framework for this study is the actors in local government and their motivations and mechanisms for action. In particular, given the proposed research questions, I am interested in citizens and economic development officials. I will discuss the role of each group in turn.

Role of citizens.

What are the motivations of citizens, and what are their mechanisms for revealing their economic development preferences to officials?

Motivations.

For citizens, the primary economic development policy–related motivations would seem likely to originate from their roles as homeowners and as workers.

Citizens' motivations as homeowners.

Fischel (2001) argues that the driving motivation of citizens with regard to economic development is as homeowners who seek to retain and increase the value of their homes. Thus, citizens view economic development policy through the lens of a property owner, seeking neighborhood and municipal amenities that add value to the home and avoiding those that might detract from that value. While one might argue that not all citizens of a municipality are homeowners, Fischel contends that "in the places where most people live—suburbs, towns, and small cities—homeowners have become the dominant political force" (2001, p. 15). Fischel explains municipal zoning policy and the phenomena of NIMBYism with this motivation as the driver.

Fischel's theory also contributes to an explanation of "inertia" (discussed above in reference to firms) as it applies to workers/job seekers. He proposes that investments in public services reduce mobility because home value is tied to these features.

Homeowners are committed to improving and maintaining these service amenities because they sustain/increase the value of their home. Should public services decline, homes lose their value—making it difficult for a homeowner to sell their now lower-

valued house and move elsewhere to seek a job. As Fischel writes, "once you have made the purchase, your only protection against community decline is watchfulness and activism. No one sells insurance against the risk of community decline" (2001, p. 75).

Fischel sees a combination of this inertia with high rates of homeownership as an explanation of unemployment (particularly persistent unemployment), both because of the home-value related inertia, and also because a community with high rates of homeownership is not attractive to job seekers from outside the region as there is a lack of shorter-term housing available for the job-seeking and initial trial periods. He cites research by Dunn indicating that "permanently laid off textile workers in a rural town would accept a wage 14 percent lower in their town rather than move for work in another city" (Dunn, 1979, as cited in Fischel, 2001, p. 87).

Fischel's model indicates that homeowners drive economic policy, and that property-value related incentives push them to remain in the municipality where their home investment is located to seek improvements to economic development as protections for their investment. This—similar to Netzer's critical observation of inertia in firms—is opposite to the Tiebout model suggestion that citizens will "vote with their feet" and leave an area where public services do not meet their needs. If Fischel's theory were correct, we would expect to see homeowners (more than non-homeowner citizens) striving to make known their economic development preferences.

Citizens' motivations as workers.

Noto (1991) also considers the phenomena of inertia in her "immobility model," which suggests that in the boom-and-bust cycle of local economies labor is relatively

immobile during the bust portion of the cycle. She writes that citizens of a locality are willing to "accept a lower standard of living to protect a way of life" (Noto, 1991, p. 253). This view sees citizens' driving motivation for economic development as protecting sources of labor income, thus characterizing citizens as workers/labor. Noto (1991) suggests that citizens view, for instance, the economic loss of a major employer not only as a negative on their home value but also as a loss of a major source of income. With this additional motivator of economic development as a protector of labor/income opportunity, local economic development incentives can be viewed as a "demonstration of loyalty" (Noto, 1991, p. 253) to a locale.

It is likely that for my purposes, it is the role of citizens as homeowners that will be most relevant to the motivations of their participation in economic development policies. Due to the impact on their financial asset, I expect to find the primary and strongest motivation for citizens acting to make their economic development preferences known to be as homeowners.

Mechanisms.

The mechanisms through which citizens can communicate their preferences to economic development officials are formal municipal government structures and informal practices. Formal government structures can include:

- voting in municipal elections where economic development policy is at issue;
- participating in zoning board meetings;
- attending town meetings where economic development policy is at issue; and

- petitioning economic development officials directly or as part of a citizen group or other organization.

Informal structures can include:

- writing to a local newspaper on an economic development issue;
- posting on a community website.

As discussed in Chapter 3 (see Table 4), mechanisms that economic development officials could observe are reviewed to answer Research Question I. What preferences have citizens revealed for their communities in the area of economic development?

Role of economic development officials.

The economic development mechanisms that officials can utilize are those outlined in the schema in Section IID above. Their motivations, however, are also important to consider.

Motivations.

Bartik and Bingham (1997) suggest that a primary motivation for economic development officials is fear of political consequences, which they say stems from two lines of thinking. First is the prevalent assumption—"conventional wisdom"—that government cannot do anything right. Second is the belief that if one advocates a particular economic development policy or innovation, one should not press to have it tested for fear that it might come up short, and the related concern that programs that are seen to "stumble" will be terminated. Furthermore, Noto (1991) suggests that not only do officials fear the adverse consequences of failure (perhaps losing an election for making a mistake in not offering incentives), they fear a success where their actions might be

criticized as wasteful—for example, if economic incentives for a firm are determined to have represented unnecessary, wasteful spending.

Bradbury et al. assign additional motivations to economic development officials, including "an equitable distribution of income and the even handed treatment of different business activities" (1997, p. 2).

Government structure may also play a role in the motivations of economic development officials. Kwon, Berry, and Feiock (2009) find that the presence of a council manager form of government increases the likelihood of a city utilizing strategic economic development planning.

The presence of economic development professionals also seems to influence the economic development choices of municipalities. Kwon et al. (2009) also find a statistically significant positive relationship between the number of professional economic development officials on a city staff and the use of strategic economic development planning. Berry and Wechsler (1995) find that the professional networks of these staff members help spread policy innovations from city to city. These networks can also be a source of competition among cities (Kwon, Berry, & Feiock, 2004).

Others suggest that media attention, publicity, and political capital are important motivating factors. Bartik (1996) suggests that if media attention motivates an official, this might result in he or she favoring incentives to attract a large plant or well-recognized corporation that does not benefit the municipality or its residents. Similarly, Blair and Premus (1993) suggest that officials motivated by the potential for political capital that can result from acquisition of a new employer are in an inferior bargaining

position as they negotiate economic development policies with the potential new employer. Further evidence of the role of media attention comes from Clingermayer and Feiock (1995), who suggest that attentive coverage of development policies by the media can diminish the targeting of benefits to special interests or those with political capital to "spend." This potential misalignment of goals, actions, and outcomes is what I hope to consider with the final research question, which asks: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur, and what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

Mechanisms.

For a list of relevant economic development mechanisms available to offices and officials, consider the schema set out in Table 3 above.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

The first three of this study's research questions explore the experiences of communities and economic development officials engaging in municipal economic development policy. As such, they are open-ended, exploratory questions to drive initial research and do not generate initial hypotheses.

- RQI: What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?
- RQII: To what extent do the stated goals of economic development officials/offices align with revealed community wants?
- RQIII: To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?

It is worthwhile to note that research questions two and three implicitly assume that "alignment" between community preference and municipal actions is desirable. This premise that alignment here is good builds upon the Tiebout model (discussed in Chapter 2) that citizens vote with their feet in seeking out communities that best meet their needs.

The fourth research question seeks to generate theories explaining the causes of any misalignments observed in consideration of the first three research questions.

- RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

Thus hypotheses can be set out for research question four at the outset of the study. However, given the qualitative, grounded theory nature of this study, additional hypotheses arise during the research itself, some of which are testable within the scope of this study, others which generate questions for future research.

Hypotheses for Research Question IV

The initial hypotheses for research question four are as follows:

H1: Misalignments between revealed community preferences and stated goals occur because economic development offices/officials do not know what the community wants.

Nevan (2002) indicates than one obstacle to feasible implementation of goals (mission statements) is knowing what the community (customer) wants. Lack of this knowledge could serve as a source of misalignment.

H2: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because goal statements are weak "public relations" tools.

Wright (2002) presents the development of mission statements primarily for "public relations purposes" as a possible reason that goal statements may not align with

actions. Goal statements that are generated for public relations purposes could serve as a source of misalignment.

H3: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of linkage between goal statements and the policy decision-making process.

Schepers and Sethi (2003) suggest that misalignment could come from organizations not using goal statements in their policy/practice implementation and decision-making. A lack of linkage between statement and action could serve as a source of misalignment.

H4: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of funding.

A lack of funding to support policies that align with stated goals or community preferences could serve as a source of misalignment.

H5: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because performance is assessed on measures that do not align with goal statements/preferences.

The fifth potential source of misalignment stems from the possibility that employee or department performance assessments might reward or measure actions and outcomes that differ from the stated economic development office goals/community preferences. A lack of linkage between stated goals and performance measures could be a source of misalignment.

Methodological Process to Test Hypotheses

This project requires a multiple case-study analysis, which allows for the in-depth, qualitative data gathering necessary to provide useful insight. This section describes the methodology used for this case analysis. Section IIIA describes the data gathering strategy. Section IIIB describes the data analysis strategy. Section IIIC describes efforts to ensure validity and utilizable findings. Section IIID discusses the ethical considerations of this study.

IIIA: Data-gathering strategy.

Table 4 below sets out the research question alongside the relevant variables of interest to that question, and data sources for each.

This case study incorporates three major data-gathering segments: document review, quantitative and qualitative indicators data gathering, and, finally, key informant interviews.

Table 4

Sources of Data Collection and Evidence

<u>Research Question</u>	<u>Variable of Interest</u>	<u>Data Source</u>
I. What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?		
How can/do they articulate their wants?	Governance structure and community communication methods for each municipality	Municipal reports/bylaws/state reports
Representative government: voting for platforms of elected officials	Election platforms, pledges, promises	Newspaper articles, inauguration/initially in office speeches, website postings, etc.
Zoning laws	Opportunity for community input; result of those zoning laws	Existing zoning laws and the stipulated practice of establishing them

<u>Research Question</u>	<u>Variable of Interest</u>	<u>Data Source</u>
Other outlets? Community meetings on potential development projects?	Revealed citizen preference	Municipal reports, field observations, meeting schedules and minutes, municipal surveys, etc.
II. To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with articulated/revealed community wants?		
What are the stated goals of economic development offices?	Municipal economic development goals	Printed mission statement, stated goals in annual report, website, office manual, strategic plan, etc.
What are the source/origin of these stated goals? What influences/determines them?	Origins of goals	Interviews with econ dev office officials
III. To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?		
What are the policies/practices/programs in place?	Economic development policies and programs	Review of website, printed materials, interviews, department performance review protocol, field observations
What is the anticipated outcome of these policies/practices/programs?		Interviews, printed materials, newspaper articles
IV. Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?		
Why were policies/programs in place pursued/chosen?	Motivating factors driving actions	Interviews
Why were other policies (those that might better align with stated goals) not pursued?	Motivating factors driving actions	Interviews

Document review.

Much of the in-depth and new information from this case study emerged from key interviews with economic development officials. In order to prepare for and make best use of those interviews, I began with a review of the available relevant documents. The goal of this document review was to develop a deep understanding of the documented

goals, budget, policies, and economic development activities in place, as well as to develop additional lines of inquiry for the subsequent interviews. Materials reviewed included online websites and documents; printed materials, including annual reports; meeting minutes; and newspaper articles.

This document review also determined both the ways in which citizens can reveal their preferences to economic development offices, and the actual preferences for economic development that these communities have revealed. For a complete list of materials reviewed see Appendix C.

Key informant interviews.

Once I had gathered as much background information on each municipality as possible from the document review and data gathering, I prepared questions for key informants from each municipality in order to engage in thoughtfully guided conversations (Yin, 2003, p. 89). These focused largely on stated goals and their origins, the specifics of economic development–related practices, and the prioritizing among practices, which could not be ascertained from the document review or from the initial data gathering.

Informants were identified within and outside of each economic development office in an effort to pursue "conceptually driven sequential sampling" where "the initial choices of informants lead you to similar and different ones" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 29). In each municipality I interviewed all economic development–focused personnel in each office.

Additionally, in order to gain an understanding of the community wants regarding economic development, I also sought out and interviewed other policy stakeholders, or initiators; in general, those groups or individuals outside the municipal government that take a strong interest and action in shaping economic development policy. These informants included representatives of community organizations, business and citizen groups, economic development–related municipal board members, etc. These interview data served to inform the context of each municipality as well as to add support and/or counter facts to the data gathered on the economic development officials and offices within municipal government.

Field observations.

I also took the opportunity, while observing meetings and reviewing municipal records, to make observations of the economic development office itself—both the condition and climate of the facility, and the informal interactions. Yin (2003) notes that such observations can indicate the status of individuals within an organization, or of the organization's place within the larger whole. This process helped to deepen my understanding of the role of individuals within the offices, the interaction with the community, and the practices of the office.

IIIB: Data analysis.

Another aspect of data gathering and assessment of the alignment of goals and actions is determining whether to consider a time lag from mission implementation to potentially aligned action.

Most of the research on mission statements and performance that I have reviewed are contemporaneous analyses of the mission and action/performance as they are found (Desmidt & Heene 2006; Householder & Boser, 1991; Schepers & Sethi, 2003; Van Wart 1995). Some among those reported that the mission statements had been in place for a length of time prior to the study; others did not indicate the rationale for this contemporaneous strategy. Only one study (Weiss & Piderit, 1999) specifically considered performance at the one- and two-year mark after mission statements were implemented. This may have been their strategy because their data set consisted of more than 300 public schools that were mandated to simultaneously implement mission statements. In this case of three municipalities across a little more than a decade, such a strategy was not feasible. In several cases the origins of mission statements were unclear even following document and key informant interview reviews. In this study I determined a lag was not appropriate.

The data analysis strategy to address each of my research questions proceeded as follows.

RQI data analysis strategy.

To determine "what economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities," I created a tally of revealed community preferences and their sources as observed in the data gathering process. Recall that my focus is on "revealed preference"—those community priorities that could easily be observed by economic development officials.

Research Question 2 data analysis strategy.

To determine "to what extent do economic development official/offices stated goals align with articulated/revealed community wants," I implemented a two-stage strategy. Stage one focused on assessing the content, readability, and connection to the mission statements of the stated goals. Stage two focused on comparing the revealed preferences of each community to their stated municipal goals.

In the first stage, I sought to assess the mission statements themselves, considering (a) how focused is the content of the mission statements? (b) how readable are they for the economic development staff and community who need to understand and build on these statements? and (c) what do the mission statements reveal about the "ownership" and connectedness of the offices/officials to the goals, as well about the degree of action and future orientation of the statements?

Assess the content of the stated goals.

I assessed the content of the stated goals using an adaptation of the methodology employed by Weiss and Piderit (1999) to assess the content and style of mission statements. In brief, the assessment proceeded as follows:

1. Identify the level of focus of the goal statements (mission statements, development objectives, etc.). This consists of first identifying consistent substantive subthemes that are present across the stated goals within and across municipalities, then coding each goal statement for the presence of the various subthemes. Goal statements and municipalities that include fewer subthemes are considered more focused in their identification of a goal.

2. Identify the clarity of the stated goals to determine their readability and, thus, usability. As suggested by Weiss and Piderit (1999), I used the Gunning Fog Index as adapted from Gunning and Mueller (1981), which captures sentence length and frequency of multisyllabic words, among other assessments of clarity. As this index is noted as frequently used for both corporate and public agencies, I implemented this same analysis.

To be thorough, I ran each mission statement through an online utility that assesses clarity using not only the Gunning Fog Index but four other measures of clarity.¹ I then ranked each statement on its performance on each clarity measure in comparison to the other mission statements from that municipality. I combined these rankings to develop an average ranking of clarity for each statement within each municipality. These average rankings are used as a basis for one measure of cross-municipality comparison. Mission statements were not ranked separately across municipalities.

Identify and classify the tone of the stated goals.

This step consists of coding each mission statement for use of voice, tense, and person using the following assumptions:

1. Voice (active or passive): The assumption that statements written in an active voice are more likely to indicate a need for action (Weiss and Piderit, 1999)

2. Tense: If the statement is written in the present tense it identifies/describes the status quo situation, whereas if it is written in the future tense it sets the tone of an agenda for next steps.

¹ Other tools for clarity assessment used: Coleman-Liau Index, Flesch/Flesch-Kincaid tests, SMOG formula, and the Automated Readability Index. All were described and measured using the utility at http://www.online-utility.org/english/readability_test_and_improve.jsp on March 31, 2009.

3. First versus third person: If the statement is written in the first person, it is seen as more likely to promote employee identification with the goal than those written in the third person.

I then ranked each aspect of the tone of the stated goals to create a scale; i.e., a scale of 1–3, for each aspect (passive, present, and third person) considered. In each case, 1 represents the least desirable quality of aspect (such as passive tense), 3 represents the most desirable quality (such as active tense), and 2 represents a degree in between (such as a statement with both active and passive tense). The score for each of the three aspects can then be summed to provide an overall measure of tone for each statement.

In the second stage, I compared the tally of revealed community preferences assembled under Research Question I to the stated goals. This revealed levels of alignment between revealed community preferences and stated economic development office goals.² Given the definition of alignment set out for this study in Chapter 1, I looked here for alignment among community wants and office intentions. Some alignments are direct: A preference for attracting/supporting business aligns directly with a stated goal to attract/support business. Some alignments are indirect: A stated goal of establishing planning and zoning practices that identify and remove barriers to business aligns with a preference to foster commercial success and attract industry. Finally, some alignments have an intervening factor: A goal to build/support community and neighborhoods

² In all cases where I am making comparison to consider alignment, I draw on Hyndman and Eden (2000) and their call to "be generous" (p. 180) in providing opportunity for alignment. Thus the intent is not to hunt out small misalignments or variations, but to identify consistent misalignment and thus to highlight persistent sources of such misalignments.

contributes to quality of life, which then aligns with a preference to attract/support business.³

RQIII data analysis strategy.

To determine "to what extent do economic development office policies, practices, and programs align with community wants and/or stated goals," I began by detailing the economic development policies, programs, and practices in place in each municipality as revealed in the data-gathering stage.

It is at this point that it is important to adhere closely to the definition of economic development set out for this study, which allows specificity about which policies to include as economic development. As detailed in Chapter 2, I am following Bingham and Mier (1993), Reese (1993), and the structure of the municipal governments themselves. Thus, for example, policies to exclusively support "neighborhood development" are not policies I consider, as they originate in a department or division separate from "economic development." I considered only policies that come out of the economic development office/division/staff, however it is named.

³ Quality of life is included in the business selection model (Ady, 1997; Love & Crompton, 1999), Ady states that at each stage the business is considering location criteria that fall within three basic categories, one of which is quality of life, including educational capabilities, housing availability and cost, and cultural and sporting opportunities. While it is clear that quality of life matters to business (re)location decisions, empirical evidence indicates that it is low on the hierarchy of factors that do matter, falling behind labor, cost issues, and daily living concerns such as safety (Love & Crompton, 1999). Quality of life matters most in location decisions to smaller firms that are footloose and employ mostly professionals. It is particularly important to firms whose location decision-maker moves with the company. Further diminishing the role of quality of life in business location decisions is that those quality of life factors that matter most are environmental quality- and climate-related, which are mostly out of the control of municipal policy makers (Love & Crompton, 1999). The methodology of this study considers only policies that come out of the economic development office; policies relating to quality of life that do not originate from the economic development office are not considered here. Quality-of-life considerations can, however, contribute to the determination of alignment between community preferences and stated economic development goals as an intervening factor. Alignments between community preferences and stated economic development goals based on quality of life are present in the assessment of all three municipalities. See Appendix B, Alignment Explanations, for details.

I then reviewed the municipal data to determine the internally anticipated outcomes of each policy/program. I also used the schema that I developed (see Chapter 2, Table 3) to determine what the literature predicted about the likely outcomes and effectiveness of each of the policies, programs, and practices in place for each municipality. I also reviewed the data to determine what outcome of the policy was anticipated by the municipality itself. Each of these anticipated outcomes (from the literature, or from the municipal data) could be a source for alignment or misalignment.

I next compared those anticipated policy outcomes with (a) the revealed community preferences identified under the Research Question I data analysis strategy and (b) the stated goals of economic development offices as identified under the Research Question II data analysis strategy. This identified the alignments and misalignments between policies and revealed preferences and between policies and stated goals.

This methodology allowed a full consideration of preferences of the community and goals of the municipality—allowing the broadest scope for alignments. It also specified a defined boundary into the areas that were explicitly economic development policy, allowing me to set aside as not "misalignments" occasions where, for example, there was a preference for "safety," but no economic development policy that supported this. This preference could be supported elsewhere in the community, although it was not supported by economic development policy.

Research Question 4 data analysis strategy.

To determine "where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the

economic development offices," I begin by considering the misalignments of economic development offices actions with community wants as revealed in Research Question III.

RQIV step 1: Misalignment between community preferences and stated goals.

H1: Misalignments between revealed community preferences and stated goals occur because economic development offices/officials do not know what the community wants.

Nevan (2002) indicates than one obstacle to feasible implementation of goals (mission statements) is not knowing what the community (customer) wants. Van Wart (1995) identifies five strategies that economic development offices could be using to assess citizen preferences:

1. Customer identification/stakeholder analysis
2. Citizen surveys
3. Citizen focus groups
4. Citizen complaint resolution
5. Community visioning

I considered whether each municipality was implementing any or all of these efforts in order to understand and/or respond to citizen preferences. If none or few of these efforts are in place, it is possible that the misalignment between community preferences and economic development office actions is driven by not knowing what the community wants.

RQIV step 2: Misalignment between economic development preferences/stated goals and policies.

I then considered the misalignments of the economic development office's own goals and their actions. I identified four possible drivers of such misalignment:

1. H2: Misalignments between economic development stated goals and policies occur because goal statements are weak "public relations" tools.

Wright (2002) indicates three of the possible reasons that goal statements are not aligned with actions. His first potential source of misalignment stems from mission statements being developed only for "public relations purposes." If key informants reveal little familiarity with published goal statements, it is possible that misalignment between economic development office goals/community preferences and actions are driven by weak goal statements.

2. H3: Misalignments between economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of linkage between goal statements and the policy decision-making process.

Another potential source of misalignment—related to Nevan's first possible reason—stems from organizations not using goal statements in their policy/practice decision. Schepers and Sethi (2003) consider the link of mission statements to actions of socially responsible investment funds by focusing on the alignment of the criteria the funds used to choose the companies in which they invested with their mission statements. Similarly, I considered how/if economic development office goal statements and citizens' revealed preferences were incorporated into selection attributes used in the consideration of which economic development opportunities municipalities would pursue.

Similarly, Hyndman and Eden (2000) look for "rationale linkages" among mission statements to strategic/business plans. They identified the mission, objectives, and key targets in the respective plans to look for the clarity and tightness of linkages among the goals and their activation through targets. This process requires two documentation strategies for consistency: (a) setting out definitions to ensure that terms, such as "mission statement" and "objectives," are applied consistently across municipalities; and (b) setting out rules of classification so that they can be used consistently to deal with common aspects and challenges of analysis. Hyndman and Eden note that their strategy is "to be generous in identifying links, even if the links were somewhat tenuous" (2000, p. 180). If the municipalities considered here have strategic/business plans or other statements of specific objectives and key targets, I could also employ this strategy to assess links with office goals and community preferences.

If data from key informant interviews and economic development office policies and procedural documents indicate a lack of connection here, it is possible that misalignment between economic development office goals/community preferences and actions are driven by missing links between goal statements and decision-making policies/practices.

3. H4: Misalignments between economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of funding.

A third potential source of misalignment stems from lack of funding. I initially set out to consider the municipal budgets and data from key informant interviews to determine whether there were funds available that could be directed toward the economic

development office goal statements. If I observed a lack of funds that could be targeted to achieve those goals, it is possible that the misalignment between economic development office goals/community preferences and actions is driven by lack of funds.

However, budget data at the municipal level proved insufficient for this analysis. First, the municipalities had little, if any, municipal funds dedicated to economic development. Most money was from state or federal grant programs. Second, the available budget data was not sufficiently detailed to use in the way that I intended to identify lack of funds available for specific goals, preferences, or policies. Thus, I was unable to test this initial hypotheses.

It is worth noting that the decision of the municipalities not to direct their own funds toward economic development, or to do so in a limited fashion, is a revelation of preference in itself. Budget priorities represent a choice on the part of the municipal government, and ideally—under the framework of this study—a choice that represents community preferences.

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, data from key informant interviews and other sources did point toward lack of funds as a source of misalignment.

4. H5: Misalignments between economic development stated goals and policies occur because performance is assessed on measures that do not align with goal statements/preferences.

The fourth potential source of misalignment stems from employee or department performance assessments that drive actions and outcomes different from the stated economic development office goals/community preferences. I sought to review the

employee performance review protocols and department performance review protocols for each municipality, but was unable to attain them. Thus I was unable to test this hypothesis of misalignment for these municipalities.

Cross-case analysis.

An additional aspect of my analysis, which enhances the generalizability of the research findings (discussed further in Section IIIC below), is the cross-case analysis. I implemented a replication strategy (Yin, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994) relying on the theoretical framework to first conduct a thorough study of each individual municipality. Only when the dynamics of each individual case were considered did I then look across the cases for patterns among the variables of interest and practices of each municipality.

IIIC: Efforts to ensure valid and utilizable findings.

Yin (2003) outlines four tests to measure the quality of case studies: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Miles and Huberman (1994) add another test, "pragmatic validity," asking, "do the findings stimulate "working hypotheses on the part of the reader as guidance for future action. . . do the findings have a catalyzing effect leading to specific actions?" (p.146). Following these recommendations, I implemented several tactics in an effort to ensure the validity of the case study in each of these four areas.

Construct validity.

As described in the previous section, I used multiple sources of evidence to identify and to assess the alignment of the economic development goals and activities of the municipalities in question. Each method provided another source of evidence.

Wherever possible, I also gathered data from multiple sources within each segment of the case study research in order to increase validity through triangulation.

One potential threat to construct validity is the use of revealed community preference as defined in Chapter 1. Furthermore, this research considers 10 years of data for these communities, a period of time in which, as Table 2 illustrates (and as we would expect), the demographic profile of these communities changed. This data indicates the changing nature of these communities. As discussed above, there is a challenge inherent even in defining a static community, a challenge that makes discerning the preferences of a community one of the hurdles of this research. Those challenges could be heightened by the dynamic nature of the population structure of these communities.⁴

Recognizing this possible threat to validity, I implemented tactics to support construct validity: first through the use of multiple sources of evidence, providing the triangulation of data; second by building a chain of evidence through the use of consistent, documented procedures (see appendices); through the citation of source materials (see Appendix C); and through the use of a case study database.

Throughout the case study process, I built an Nvivo database of documents reviewed, data and sources, and recordings and notes of interviews, focus groups, etc. This database stands in support of my final report and allows for verification of the process as well as the reporting of findings. Through detailed organization and recording in a systematic and verifiable process, this database provides the needed chain of evidence to support the validity of the methodology and the findings. It also provides

⁴ See the discussion section of Chapter 5 for a more detailed consideration of the limitations of using "revealed preference."

indication that I considered all of the evidence in building my final case findings and report.

Internal validity.

In order to support the findings of the case study, I have detailed the process through which conclusions are reached. This began with a continuous effort to tie the existing research and theory to the method and the analysis of the case study, as with the review of the literature listed in this study's initial proposal. I also consciously implemented an iterative explanation-building process, which provided a check of the data and theories as they emerge as well as of the existing research into economic development policies.

External validity.

Starting this case study research with a review of the existing literature review ensured that the analysis was based in theory, a critical component to ensuring external validity for case studies. Furthermore, by adding to that literature background during the document review and data-gathering process, I have continued to build the theory and support the external validity of the case.

Reliability.

Another element to test case study validity, reliability, is enhanced in this case by developing the database described above, as well as following the other case study protocols described in this section, as designed to ensure validity throughout.

Generalizability and within-case sampling.

Regarding the generalizability of findings from using these cases, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that the generalizability comes not from application to, in this case, all municipalities that are economically struggling, but from application of existing or new theories of how economic development processes function (p. 27). Furthermore, I believe that the unifying factor that all of these municipalities have been recently designated Economic Opportunity Areas suggests that they are facing similar challenges, and the potential for state-provided information will add to the believability and triangulation of data.

As mentioned in Section IIIA above, I implemented conceptually driven sequential sampling as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994). Additionally, within-case sampling was *theoretically* driven. Choices of informants, episodes, and interactions to consider in the case were driven by a conceptual question, not by a concern for "representativeness." As Miles and Huberman write, "the prime concern is with the *conditions* under which the construct or theory operates, not with the generalization of the findings to other settings" (1994, p. 29).

IIID: Ethical considerations.

Concern for ethics required that I obtain the informed consent of informants prior to their participation in my research. For this case in particular, the issue of confidentiality is an ethical concern. One particular issue is whether the case study informants' identity should be (or can be) disguised. Yin (2003) indicates that the "most desirable option is to disclose" (p. 157) their identity. In this case, where the number of

official staff and key players is small and well known to one another, the idea of informants being identified with their feedback may have impacted informant responses. All informants signed informed consent documents to participate.⁵ Whenever informants indicated their wish that a comment or entire interview remain anonymous or confidential, this was documented and those data properly treated in this final report.

This study does not directly benefit participants. Hoped-for broader benefits from this study for the municipalities studied, for economic development practitioners and researchers, and for the public policy literature in general, are discussed in Chapter 1. Risks for the participants are minimal, as set out by 45 CRF 46.102(I).

In cases where concerns of confidentiality led to denial of permission to audio-record sessions, I completed reflection memos immediately following the interview/observation but kept the comments anonymous, indicating only the broad role of the participant (economic development office staff, municipal policymaker, advocacy group member, etc.) in my notes and in this report.

Certain key informants expressed a willingness to participate in the study, but a desire not to be quoted in this report. Thus, while there is a complete list of all key informants and their general contribution to the key elements of this study in Appendix C, I do not quote or cite individual informants from any of the municipalities, referring only to "key informant interviews" as data sources.

⁵ Documents are on file with the UMass Boston Institutional Review Board.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section details the findings for each of the three municipal cases—Leominster, Pittsfield, and Worcester—as well as a cross-case analysis of the findings.

Leominster Analysis

RQI: What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?

Revealed economic development–related community preferences (termed "community preference" hereafter) emerged from: review of data (newspaper articles, meeting minutes, project reports, research survey) and asking key informants how they thought community preferences were revealed. A review of this data began with 12 preferences, which I consolidated down to six categories listed in Table 5. I retain all six categories, even when there is only one source (count) for that preference, as preferences resulting in one "count" often emerged from reports that consolidated broader public opinion.

Column 1 (community preference) of Table 5 lists the categories of preference following my consolidation. Column 2 (source) provides the sources of observation of

preferences. Column 3 (count) sums the total number of observations of each preference. Note that the count of occurrences for each preference should be considered carefully, as, for example, one key informant interview comment, reflecting the preferences of some community group, would reveal one count of that preference; while another revelation of preference could come from a comprehensive master planning session incorporating community response to surveys, focus groups, etc., which would also reveal one count for that preference.

Table 5

Leominster Community Preferences

Community Preference	Source	Count
Density/speed of growth/sprawl/open space/environmental quality/traffic	City council 98–2001 News '00 to 2004 (7)	8
Improve housing stock	Comb and carriage News '00 to 2004 (2) Pioneer survey	4
Commercial success/attract industry	Pioneer survey News '00 to 2004 (3)	3
Safe and walkable environment/reduce crime	Comb and carriage (2)	2
Reuse for old industrial buildings	Comb and carriage	1
Downtown revitalization	News '00 to 2004—from charrette meeting	1

We can see that the bulk of preferences revealed focus more on limiting—as expressed through concerns about density and traffic—rather than expanding growth. Feiock (2002) suggests that communities that are relatively more economically

prosperous,⁶ as Leominster is in comparison to our other focus cities, turn to concerns about growth limitation, or more targeted growth (such as Leominster's focus on attracting industry in particular rather than all development in general). It is interesting to note here that there is no community preference here specifically for jobs. This may also relate to community feelings of prosperity relative to other cities considered.

Finally, it is important to note as we proceed that both preferences for "reducing crime" and "improving housing stock" may be supported by the government in ways that will not be observed in this study of economic development. Thus a lack of economic development alignment here may not mean overall community lack of alignment.

RQII: To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with revealed community wants?

The stated goals of Leominster.

Stated goals—not limited to specific mission statements, which are a focus of the cross-case analysis section below—emerged from review of data (newspaper articles, meeting minutes, project reports) and asking key informants what they viewed as the economic development goals of the city. As with community preference, I undertook to group these stated goals as appropriate, but with an eye to not losing specificity or imposing judgment on which statements of goals were important. Table 6 below presents the stated goals that resulted. Column 1 (stated goal) lists the goals as they emerged from the grouping process. Column 2 (source) indicates the data source(s) from which each goal emerged; parenthetical numbers indicate multiple occurrences of the goal within

⁶ Refer for details to Table 1, which indicates that Leominster had higher median household and per capita incomes in both 2000 and 2008, as well as fewer families and individuals in poverty in those same years.

each source. Column 3 (count) indicates the number of times that goal was mentioned in the data. As with the consideration of community preferences above, the counts must be considered thoughtfully, yet a count of 14 when compared to the counts of the other goals suggests a strong priority on the goal of planning strategies and policies that minimize the location/expansion process for businesses.

Table 6

Leominster Stated Goals

Goal	Source	Count
Identify barriers/ease location expansion process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse)	Comb and carriage News 6/00 to 2004 (5) Charge of SBED Zoning hearing 11/16 News '98 to 2000 (3) Special health overlay meeting Key informant interviews (2)	14
Enhance natural beauty/open space/environmental protection	Planning office website Leominster news 6/00 to 2004 (2) News '98 to 2000 Zoning ordinance purpose (4) Charge of SBED	9
Create jobs and retain jobs	Key informant interview Key informant interviews (4) City council meeting minutes News 6/00 to 2004 (2) News '98 to 2000	8
Attract/retain business—industry in particular	News 6/00 to 2004 (5) News '98 to 2000 (2)	7
Downtown improvements	News 6/00 to 2004 (3) News '98 to 2000 (2)	5
Build/support neighborhoods/community	Planning board mission statement Key informant interviews (2) News 6/00 to 2004	4
Attract/retain business	News 6/00 to 2004 (3)	3

Goal	Source	Count
Improve housing stock	Comb and carriage News '98 to 2000 Zoning ordinance purpose	3
Infrastructure	News '98 to 2000 (2) Zoning ordinance purpose	3
Address buildings in poor condition/re-use opportunities	Comb and carriage (2)	2
Recreational opportunities	Comb and carriage News '98 to 2000	2
Safety (reduce crime, etc)	Comb and carriage Zoning ordinance purpose	2
Support small business	Key informant interview News '98 to 2000	2
Traffic management	News 6/00 to 2004 Zoning ordinance purpose	2
Tax revenue	News 6/00 to 2004 Zoning ordinance purpose	2
Improve quality of life	Planning office website	1
Mix of business	Key informant interview	1

Comparing Leominster stated goals with community preferences.

The next step is to compare the preferences of the community with the stated goals of the economic development officials, as set out in Table 7 below. Column 1 (stated goal) lists the stated goals. Beside each stated goal is a parenthetical ranking of its importance based on the number of times (count in the table above) that each goal was mentioned in the data. As with the consideration of community preferences above, these count-based ranks must be considered thoughtfully. In this case those goals ranked 1–3 emerged from counts numbering at least twice those ranked 7–9. Multiple goals with the same rank indicate a tie in the counts of occurrences. Columns 2–6 list the preferences for

the community as described above. Similarly, these preferences are ranked by parenthetical numbers based on the counts of the occurrences in the data.⁷

Figure 2 below details the different labels used to indicate alignment throughout this report. The "X" code is used only to indicate alignment between a community preference and a stated goal. The other codes represent the various sources for alignment between either a community preference or a stated goal and a policy. This alignment with policies is more complicated, because in order to determine alignment with either community preferences or stated goals I must consider the anticipated outcome of the policy. I consider three possible sources of anticipated outcomes: the economic development literature (indicated by √); the statements regarding the anticipated outcomes found in the data for each municipality (indicated by *); and the name of the policy itself (such as the obvious intention of a "rezoning policy" to address zoning issues) even if it is not explicitly stated in the data (indicated by A). See for example Table 9 and its explanation.

⁷ See Appendix B: Alignment Explanations, for detailed explanation of each alignment counted throughout this report.

Alignment of Community Preferences and Stated Goals	
X	alignment between stated goal and preference
Alignment of Community Preferences or Stated Goals and Policies	
√	alignment between a stated goal or community preference and the anticipated outcome <i>as reported in the literature</i> of a particular economic development policy
*	alignment between a stated goal or community preference and the anticipated outcome <i>as reported in the data</i> of a particular economic development policy
A	explicit match between the intent/name of a policy and stated goal

Figure 2: Alignment coding key.

The table below uses only the "X" code, but each of the other codes for alignment appears in the case report for each municipality.

Table 7

Comparing Leominster Community Preferences and Stated Goals

Stated goal (rank of importance)	Community Preference (rank of importance)					
	Density, speed of growth, open space, traffic management, environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success/attract industry (3)	Safe and walkable environment (4)	Reuse for old industrial buildings (5)	Downtown revitalization (5)
Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse) (1)	X		X			
Enhance natural beauty/open space/environmental protection (2)	X					
Create and retain jobs (3)			X			
Attract/retain business—industry in particular (4)			X			
Downtown improvements (5)						X

Community Preference (rank of importance)						
Stated goal (rank of importance)	Density, speed of growth, open space, traffic management, environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success/attract industry (3)	Safe and walkable environment (4)	Reuse for old industrial buildings (5)	Downtown revitalization (5)
Build/support neighborhoods/community (6)			X			
Attract/retain business (7)			X			
Improve housing stock (7)		X				
Infrastructure (7)			X			
Address buildings in poor condition/reuse opportunities (8)			X		X	
Recreational opportunities (8)			X			
Safety (reduce crime, etc.) (8)			X	X		
Support small business (8)			X			X

Stated goal (rank of importance)	Community Preference (rank of importance)					
	Density, speed of growth, open space, traffic management, environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success/attract industry (3)	Safe and walkable environment (4)	Reuse for old industrial buildings (5)	Downtown revitalization (5)
Traffic management (8)	X					
Tax revenue (8)						
Improve quality of life (9)			X	X		
Mix of business (9)			X			

If the economic development office is aware of and seeking to support community preferences, we will see alignment between preferences and goals. Thus, the first question to consider is which community preferences are supported by stated goals and to what degree. The degree or intensity of alignment is relevant in two ways. First, community preferences or stated goals can align with one another or with economic development policies on only one point or on multiple points. In general, preferences or goals with many more points of alignment to policies, for example, suggest a higher intensity of alignment than those with alignment on only one point to a policy. This recognition of different levels of intensity of alignment is important when the relative ranking of community preferences and stated goals of each community are considered. A municipality where there is a high intensity of alignment among highly ranked preferences, goals, and policies would be considered a better example of alignment than one where there is alignment among these variables, but, for instance, there is a lesser intensity of alignment among the more highly ranked preferences and goals than some of the lower-ranked ones.

In this case of Leominster, there is no community preference that is not supported by at least one stated goal, indicating strong alignment between the goals of the office and the preferences of the community. There are some matches where the content of the community preference and the stated goal are identical, including "attract and retain business," "improve housing stock," "traffic management," "safety," "reuse for old buildings," "downtown improvements/revitalization," and "open space." The preference with far and away the most aligned goals supporting it is for "commercial success/attract

business," ranked 3. Other preferences with multiple points of alignment with stated goals are "density/open space/sprawl (1)," "safe and walkable environment (4)," and "downtown improvements (5)." The remaining preferences have one point of alignment, but it should be noted that the counts of alignment must be considered thoughtfully. One stated goal could indicate the work of a full department, whereas another stated goal could be one among many activities pursued by an individual, each indicating varied levels of investment and action behind the goal.

While we are looking here for economic development offices' support of community preference as an indication of their connection to community wants, it is worth also considering the overall alignment, and whether there are any stated goals that do not support a particular community preference, at least not directly. Here we see that the stated goal for tax revenue does not directly support any community preferences, but could be seen to support many community preferences indirectly.

RQIII: To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community preferences and/or stated goals?

To begin the assessment of the alignment between economic development policies in Leominster with the community preferences and stated goals, first consider the policies in place. Table 8 below presents each economic development policy (column 1), its description (column 2), the intention of the policy according to the economic development literature as detailed in the schema (column 3), and its effectiveness according to the schema (column 4).

Table 8

Assessment of Leominster Policies, Intention, and Effectiveness

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Business assistance	Staff person and programs intended to "assist entrepreneurs starting new business" as well as to support existing businesses. Source: http://www.leominster-ma.gov/planning_department_business_development.htm	Streamline regulations	Yes
Expedited permitting	Chapter 43D program establishes an inventory of Priority Development Sites located throughout the state on which the municipality offers a maximum of 180-day local permitting. The program provides cities and towns with planning grants to assist with implementation and site readiness. Source: http://leominster43d.info/	Streamline regulations	Yes
Business park development	Projects on Tanzio Road (Leominster Business Park) and South Gate Business Park.	Public service provision	Yes
Business tours	Visits to existing businesses to network and facilitate communication.	Streamline regulations	Yes
Tax-free day in February	"Participating establishments agree to take 5 percent off of their prices, which is equivalent to the state's sales tax, for the entire month of February. You would theoretically be absorbing the loss in exchange for better name recognition and, hopefully, an increase in customers. "All participants will be listed (including name, address, phone, and website) in the newspaper, on the Mayor's show, LATV, the Mayor's Newsletter, and the City's website."	Boosting total revenue	Yes
Hospital overlay	Zoning district to facilitate growth of the hospital.	Streamline regulations	Yes

Factory renovations (business support)	Partnership with property owners to seek government funds and other program support (such as brownfields remediation) to assist in the redevelopment of former factory and warehouse sites (example of Comb and Carriage neighborhood).	Reduce firm capital costs	Yes
TIFs (various businesses)	Standard tax increment financing programs.	Reduce firm capital costs	Yes
Rezoning	Review and updating of the zoning ordinance. Source: http://www.vhb.com/project.asp?pagename=prj_30723_LeominsterZoning&serviceTitle=Northeast	Streamline regulations	Yes
Small business conference	Networking and informational meetings provided by the city for local business to build recognition and clientele, and learn about funding/program opportunities.	Boosting total revenue	Yes
Marketing and branding	Visiting trade shows, brochure for prospective businesses.	Addressing information asymmetry	No
Website	Listing of businesses on city website. http://www.leominster-ma.gov/planning_department_business_development.htm ^a	Addressing information asymmetry	No
Revitalize downtown	Support and develop small business; traffic reorganization (interviews).	Streamline regulations; public service provision	Yes
Single tax rate	Leominster maintains a single tax rate for commercial and residential.	Reduction in local taxes	Yes
Storefront improvement	Façade improvements under CDBG. Source: http://www.leominster-ma.gov/planning_department_cdbg.htm	Reduce capital costs	Yes

^a Note that in May and June 2010 the link to businesses was nonfunctioning.

Alignment of anticipated policy outcomes with community preferences.

In order to evaluate the alignment of these policies and programs with community preferences and stated goals, we first must consider the anticipated outcome of each

policy. Table 9 below presents that anticipated outcomes measured two ways: (a) as indicated in the data analysis (designated by *) and (b) as determined in the literature (designated by √). Per the advice of Hyndman and Eden (2000) to "be generous" (p. 180) in providing opportunity for alignment, I have included likely outcomes for policies even where the literature has not assessed effectiveness, or where evidence is mixed. However, if the literature indicates that a policy is likely to be ineffective, that is not included as alignment (√). In this case, while most policies employed in Leominster have been shown to be effective, both marketing and branding have been shown not to be effective. Note that, while both the sales tax holiday and the small business conference would fall under the category of policies with the intention of boosting a firm's total revenue, I have not found relevant empirical research for these types of policies. To be generous, however, and since these policies are unique to Leominster among those considered in this study, I include alignment below.

Table 9

Comparing Leominster Community Preferences and Policies

Policy	<u>Community Preferences</u>					
	Density, sprawl, environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success/attract industry (3)	Safe, walkable environment; reduce crime (4)	Reuse for old industrial building (5)	Downtown (5)
Business assistance			√		*	
Expedited permitting			√ *		√ *	
Business parks development			√ *			
Business tours			√ *			

<u>Community Preferences</u>						
Policy	Density, sprawl, environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success/attract industry (3)	Safe, walkable environment; reduce crime (4)	Reuse for old industrial building (5)	Downtown (5)
Tax-free day in February			√ *			
Hospital overlay			√			
Factory renovations (business support)			√		*	
TIFs (various businesses)			√		*	
Rezoning	*		√			
Small business conference			√ *			
Marketing/branding			Not effective			
Website			Not effective*			
Revitalize downtown			√ *			*
Single tax rate			√ *			
Storefront improvement			√			

First, consider the alignment indicated by the literature regarding policy effectiveness (√). Nearly all the municipal policies support the community preference for "commercial success/attract industry "except for "marketing/branding" and the "website," which the literature does not consider effective. The policy for "expedited permitting" also supports the community preference for "reuse for old industrial buildings." No other preferences are supported by the policies according to the literature.

Second, considering the alignment indicated by the anticipated outcomes reported in the data, the community preference for "commercial success/attract business," priority ranked 2, is again the most supported by anticipated outcomes of policies. The preference for "reuse old industrial buildings" is the second-most supported, with four of the remaining preferences each having specifically targeted policies that are aligned in terms of anticipated outcomes per the data.

The preferences for "density/sprawl/environmental quality (1)" and "downtown improvements (5)" each align with one policy according to the anticipated outcomes reported in the data. The preference for "improve housing stock (2)" is not anticipated to align with any of these economic development policies either by the literature or by the anticipated outcomes as reported in the data; however, other municipal policies may support this preference.⁸ The preference for "safe and walkable environment/reduce crime (4)" also has no alignment with the economic development policies expected by either the literature, or the reported anticipated outcomes.

Both policies for "marketing/branding" and "website" have no alignment with preferences according to the literature. While the data may indicate an anticipated outcome of "attracting business" for the "website" policy, the literature finds these efforts to be ineffective.

Comparison of anticipated policy outcomes with stated goals.

Next we consider the alignment of the policies in place in Leominster with the stated goals of the city, again using the anticipated outcomes as reported by the city

⁸ In the case of Leominster, there is a designated staff person assigned to "Housing Rehabilitation" funded through the HUD program. See details at http://www.leominster-ma.gov/planning_department_index.htm

(through informant interviews and other data analysis). This allows us to consider the extent to which the municipally anticipated outcomes of these policies support the stated goals of the city. Column 1 in the table below lists the economic development policies of the city of Leominster. The rest of the columns (2–17) list the stated goals of the city with their parenthetical rank of priority (as explained above).

Table 10

Comparing Leominster Stated Goals and Policies

Stated goals	Policy/Program						
	Business assistance	Expedited permitting	Business parks	Business tours	Tax-free day	Hospital overlay	Factory renovations
1) Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse)							
2) Enhance natural beauty, open space/ environmental protection							
3) Create and retain jobs	*		*	*		*	*
4) Attract/retain business—industry in particular	√	*√	*√	*	*√	√	√
5) Downtown improvements							
6) Support neighborhoods/community							
7) Improve housing stock							
7) Infrastructure			*				
8) Address buildings in poor condition	*	*√		√			A
8) Recreational opportunities							
8) Safety (reduce crime)							
8) Support small business							
8) Traffic management							
8) Generate tax revenue							
9) Improve quality of life						*	
9) Support a mix of business							

Stated goals	<u>Policy/Program</u>							
	TIFs	Rezoning	Small biz conferences	Marketing	Website	Revitalize downtown	Single tax rate	Storefront improvements
1) Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse)		A						
2) Enhance natural beauty, open space/environmental protection		*						
3) Create and retain jobs	*	*						
4) Attract/retain business—industry in particular	* √	√	*		*	*	* √	* √
5) Downtown improvements						A		
6) Support neighborhoods/community								
7) Improve housing stock								
7) Infrastructure								
8) Address buildings in poor condition								
8) Recreational opportunities								
8) Safety (reduce crime)								
8) Support small business			A					
8) Traffic management								
8) Generate tax revenue								
9) Improve quality of life		*						
9) Support a mix of businesses								

Many policies align with stated goals. Only the policy of "marketing" has no points of alignment with stated goals. However, there are several stated goals that do not have any policies with anticipated outcomes to support them. These include "support neighborhoods/community (6)," "improve housing stock (7)," "recreational opportunities (8)," "safety (reduce crime) (8)," "traffic management (8)," and "generate tax revenue (8)." Among the goals, several, including "support neighborhood/community," "improve housing stock," "safety (reduce crime)," and "recreational opportunities," could have policies supporting them in areas other than economic development (such as the police department). However, the goals of "generate tax revenue" and "traffic management" could be supported by economic development policies yet are not here.

It is possible that the new zoning policies will support the goal of "traffic management," though this was not reported as an anticipated outcome of that policy. Additionally, the goal of "generate tax revenue" may likely be served by the intermediary goals, such as those that attract new business.

RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

At the root of these questions is a desire to understand whether preferences, goals, and actions align, and if not, why not. By focusing on the misalignments, and seeking to understand the policy factors that drive the actions and expenditures that do not align with goals, we can consider reasons for the misalignments. This study seeks to

understand the motivations and policies that drive "unpreferred" actions, and the obstacles to preferred actions.

Leominster misalignments.

In the case of Leominster, misalignments come not between community preferences and stated goals, but between anticipated policy outcomes and both community preferences and stated goals. Actions/expenditures that do not align with community preferences are the policies for "marketing/branding" and the municipal "website," which are not anticipated to support any community preferences. Similarly the policy for "marketing/branding" is not anticipated to support any stated goals.

One community preference not supported by policy is the preference for "safe and walkable environment/reduce crime (4)," which has no policy alignment by either the literature or reported anticipated outcomes. There are several stated goals that do not have economic development policies supporting them: "support neighborhoods/community (6)," "recreational opportunities (8)," "improve housing stock (7)," "generate tax revenue (6)" "safety/reduce crime (5)" and "traffic management (8)." Both the "generate tax revenue" and "management" goals fall within the realm of economic development policies as defined here, yet do not have economic development policies anticipated to support them here. However, in a spirit of our intent to be "generous" per Hyndman and Eden, I recognize that the policy to "generate tax revenue" could be achieved via other policies present in the city. Thus we consider the misalignment between economic development policies and stated goals to be primarily the lack of policy support for the goal for "traffic management."

Sources of misalignment between policy outcomes and community preferences or stated goals.

As outlined in Chapter 3 above, there are several theories that provide possible explanations for these misalignments. The data suggest that some of these theories are at work in Leominster. First, consider sources for misalignment between economic development policies (actions) and community preferences.

Potential source, H2: Misalignment between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because goal statements are weak "public relations" tools.

As Wright (2002) indicates, a lack of office familiarity with published goal statements may be a source for misalignment. In the Leominster data, none of the key informants among the office staff referred to the mission statement in response to questions about the economic development goals of the city. When queried about a mission statement, three officials indicated no knowledge of a statement; only one knew that it existed, indicating it was only generated recently at the request of the mayor. This suggests that the mission statements here are what Wright terms "weak," existing primarily for public relations purposes, making lack of familiarity with published goal statements a likely source of misalignment between policies and goals and/or preferences.

Potential source, H3: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of linkage between goal statements and policy decision-making practices.

As Nevan (2002) indicates, a lack of linkages between goal statements and policy decision-making practices can be a source for misalignment. In the case of Leominster, there is not a citywide strategic plan that could provide opportunity and evidence for this type of linkage. The data that is available, a review of the measures of success in economic development as reported by informants, and a review of the broader data, indicates a connection to the CDBG goals when policies are generated and decisions considered. This seems likely because staff positions are funded by the CDBG, including the Economic Development Coordinator position, which was audited in recent years due to a lack of connection to those goals.

Other measures of success as reported are more vague. These included measuring success by: (a) comparing Leominster to the neighboring mill town Fitchburg, which is struggling even more economically; (b) making sure that the economic development offices are "offering the business community everything they have" to offer; and (c) getting feedback from businesses following promotional events. Others suggested measuring success through more process-oriented assessments that focus on, for instance: (a) "offering" services and (b) whether officials or the office "get anything done," rather than measures connected to the stated goals. This suggests a lack of linkages of practices to goals, making this a likely source of misalignment between policies and goals/preferences.

Potential source, H4: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development goals and policies occur because there is a lack of funding

In all three municipalities considered in this study, the available budget data is relatively general, making assessment of availability and use of funds challenging. In this case, however, it is clear that funding comes from federal grants so policies are limited to those the federal government supports. Additional evidence from the data suggests that funding is an obstacle to pursuing stated goals including infrastructure improvements, such as to business parks; building rehabilitation for industry development; and marketing and marketing events (though these last are found in the literature to be ineffective). This suggests that a lack of funding may be a likely source of misalignment between policies and goals and/or preferences.

Additional obstacles to economic development: Emergent hypotheses.

As part of the data gathering, I inquired as to the obstacles to economic development that the city of Leominster faced. From those obstacles reported, three categories of emergent hypotheses developed: (a) state government, (b) politics, and (c) concerns common to "built-out" cities.

Among the state government–related obstacles to economic development reported relative to Leominster, the data reveal the following specific concerns (listed in no particular order): regulation that obstructs or slows business, such as environmental restrictions, data-breach requirements, and state-level obstacles to permitting; staffing in the state economic development office, with concerns that the positions are often based on political patronage, setting Massachusetts at a disadvantage to states that have professional planners at the helm of such agencies; a focus on Boston, or at least cities within the Route 495 belt, leaving those beyond ignored and underserved by

transportation policy (e.g., commuter rail); a lack of incentives to business in comparison to other states, in particular a complaint against the state's decision to focus what policy and incentive energies there are on redevelopment of neighboring Devens; and, finally, general statewide challenges such as cost of utilities, housing, and health care, which the state government does not or cannot adequately address to allow the city to compete for business to locate.

Among the politics-related obstacles to economic development reported relative to Leominster, the data reveal the following specific concerns: the strength of the mayor and his length of term in office, in particular his lack of focus on education relative to other areas;⁹ and the pull of short-term election cycles on the mayor and city councilors, as well as state officials and (a) the impact that has on the ability (or resultant inability) to stick to an economic development vision, resulting in the city reacting to what comes rather than seeking out the best opportunity to suit a longer-term vision, as well as (b) the focus elected officials put on vocal constituent needs rather than understanding what makes good economic development policy, and (c) the fear of the political consequences of being perceived as anti-business.

Finally, among the concerns common to built-out cities that are obstacles to economic development reported relative to Leominster, the data reveal the lack of undeveloped space in the city to suit business needs as well as the related presence of old industrial buildings that either need to be renovated to suit, or simply do not suit the needs of new business opportunities.

⁹ Note that the strength and qualities of the mayor were reported as opportunities for the city as well.

Summary of Leominster sources of misalignment and obstacles to economic development.

In summary, three of the initial hypotheses for sources of misalignment between policies and community preferences and/or stated goals seem to hold up for Leominster: a lack of familiarity with published goal statements (H2), a lack of linkages of decision-making practices to goals (H3), and a lack of funding (H4). Additionally, three new categories of emerging hypotheses for sources of misalignment developed from the data: (a) state government, (b) politics, and (c) concerns common to "built-out" cities.

Pittsfield Analysis

RQ1: What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?

A review of data (newspaper articles, meeting minutes, project reports, reports to HUD, Master Plan) produced an initial list of Pittsfield's community preferences for economic development. A review of this data began with 14 preferences, which I consolidated down to four categories listed in the table below.

Column 1 (community preference) of Table 11 lists the categories of preference following my consolidation. Column 2 (source) provides the sources for those preferences. Column 3 (count) sums the total number of observations of each preference.

Table 11

Pittsfield Community Preferences

Community preference	Sources	Count
Attract business	Media 2000 (2), Media 2001 (city council) (2), Media 2002, Media 2004, Media 2005 (2), PEDAs website, Pioneer Institute report	10
Downtown revitalization	Downtown Inc. Forum (5), Media 2002, Media 2005	7
Jobs	PEDA Site, CDBG survey, Master Plan, Media 2002 (2), Media 2003, Media 2005	7
Attract tourists	Downtown Inc. Forum, Media 2001, Media 2002, Media 2003 (city council), Media 2005, Media 2008	6

We can see that all four preference categories focus on economic development and growth. The focus on attracting tourists by the community is worth noting because it is possible that this preference may be supported by the government in ways that will not be observed in this study of economic development. Thus a lack of economic development alignment here may not mean overall community lack of alignment.

RQII: To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with revealed community wants?

In general, data analysis reveals that Pittsfield has engaged in efforts to outreach to the community to develop the Master Plan vision and goal statements. These goal statements are integrated into the community development process of both the Community Development Board (Pittsfield's version of a planning board) and the Zoning Board. Both boards refer to the goal statements in their documentation and in their meeting sessions. The statements are used as a guideline in determining the approval of

projects and plans. Key officials revealed familiarity with the mission statements—in the case of the Department of Community Development, the mission statement hung on the wall in the office. As with Leominster, the department's mission statement reflects the goals of HUD's CDBG, but it also reflects the variety of services that have been grouped under that department umbrella in recent years.

The stated goals of Pittsfield.

Stated goals emerged from review of data (newspaper articles, meeting minutes, Master Plan) and asking key informants what they viewed as the economic development goals of the city. Table 12 below presents the stated goals that resulted. Column 1 (stated goal) lists the goals as emerged from the grouping process. Column 2 (source) indicates the data source(s) from which each goal emerged; parenthetical numbers indicate multiple occurrences of the goal within each source. Column 3 indicated the number of times (count) that goal was mentioned in the data.

Table 12

Pittsfield Stated Goals

Goal	Source	Count
Business attraction/expansion	Key informant interviews Master Plan	6
Jobs	Key informant interviews Master Plan	5
Improve housing	Key informant interview CDBG report Master Plan	5
Vibrant/sustainable economy/cultural economy	Key informant interviews	3
Downtown (also traffic flow)	Key informant interview Master Plan	3
Best development mix for city	Key informant interview Master Plan (2)	3
Tax base	Key informant interviews (2)	2
Education	Master Plan	2
Open space and recreation	Master Plan	2
Help public understand development process	Key informant interview	1
Mixed-use zoning	CDBG report	1
Sustainable development practices	Master Plan	1
Revise/streamline zoning and procedures	Master Plan	1
Walkability	Master Plan	1

Comparing Pittsfield stated goals with community preferences.

The next step is to compare the community preferences of the community with the stated goals of the economic development officials, as set out in Table 13 below.

Column 1 lists the stated goals. Beside each stated goal is a parenthetical ranking of its

importance based on the number of times that each goal was mentioned in the data.

Columns 2–4 list the community preferences for the community as described above.

Similarly, these preferences are ranked by parenthetical numbers based on the counts of the occurrences in the data.

Table 13

Comparing Pittsfield Community Preferences and Stated Goals

Stated goal (rank of importance)	Community preference (rank of importance)			
	Attract business (1)	Downtown revitalization (2)	Jobs (2)	Attract tourists (3)
Business attraction/expansion (1)	X			
Jobs (2)			X	
Improve housing (diversity, stock, affordability) (2)	X			
Vibrant/sustainable/cultural economy (3)				X
Downtown (also traffic flow) (4)		X		X
Best development mix for city (4)	X		X	
Tax base (5)	X		X	
Education (primary and secondary); links to university (5)	X		X	
Open space and recreation (5)	X			
Help public understand development process (6)				
Mixed-use zoning (6)	X	X		
Sustainable development practices (6)	X			
Revise/streamline zoning and procedures (6)	X			
Walkability (6)	X			X

If the economic development office is aware of and seeking to support community preferences, we will see alignment between the goals and preferences. Thus, the first question to consider is which community preferences are supported by stated goals and to

what degree. There is no community preference that is not supported by at least one stated goal, indicating strong connection between the goals of the office and the preferences of the community. There are some matches where the content of the community preference and the stated goal are identical, including the preference to "attract business" with the goal of "business attraction/expansion," the preference for "downtown revitalization" with the goal to improve "downtown," and the preference and stated goal for "jobs." The preference with the most aligned goals supporting it is "attract business," which is the number-one priority community preference and stated goal. There is also significant alignment for the preference for "jobs," which is the number-two priority community preference and goal. There is less support for the preference for "downtown revitalization (2)" and only one alignment with the preference for "attract tourists (3)." It must again be noted that the counts of alignment must be considered thoughtfully. One stated goal could indicate the work of a full department, where another stated goal could be one among many activities pursued by an individual, each indicating varied levels of investment and action behind the goal.

While we are looking here for economic development offices' support of community preference as an indication of their connection to community wants, it is worth also considering the overall alignment, and whether there are any stated goals that do not support a particular community preference, at least not directly. Here we see that the stated goal for "Help public understand development process (6)" does not directly support any community preferences, but could be seen to aid in achieving many of the community preferences.

**RQIII: To what extent do economic development office
policies/practices/programs align with community preferences and/or stated goals?**

Table 14 below presents each economic development policy, its description, the intention of the policy according to the economic development literature, and its effectiveness according to the schema.

Table 14

'Assessment of Pittsfield Policies, Intention, and Effectiveness

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Colonial Theatre	Support for redevelopment of the theater through the city's GE Economic Development Fund and state/federal grants.	Reduce capital costs ^a	Yes
Pittsfield Enterprise Center	Berkshire Enterprises administers a small business incubator in downtown Pittsfield. The Pittsfield Enterprise Center offers furnished interim office space for businesses looking for a supportive place to grow, focusing on supporting businesses, providing low-cost space, high-speed internet connection, business consulting, and shared services. An application process is required for all occupants. Shared services include: Ongoing consulting, high-speed internet service, shared fax and copy machine, at a moderate cost. Source: http://www.berkshireenterprises.com/resources.htm	Reduce capital costs	Yes
TIF to business	Standard tax increment financing program.	Reduce capital costs	Yes
PEDA biz park	The William Stanley Business Park is a ready-to-build business redevelopment project situated on 52 acres in the heart of Pittsfield—Berkshire County's largest city. The project is a brownfield redevelopment of a former manufacturing site owned by GE, the area's largest employer for nearly a century. The site itself boasts a multitude of inherent advantages from lakefront locations to rail access. Source: http://www.williamstanleybusinesspark.com/	Public service provision	Yes
Cinema Center	Restoration and redevelopment of existing property downtown into six-screen cinema	Reduce capital costs	Yes

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Downtown Arts Overlay	Previous city zoning included regulations that limited many downtown buildings to only commercial purposes and prohibited residential housing on upper floors. Since the approval of the new Arts Overlay District, projects developing new downtown residences have blossomed in the form of new apartments and condominiums, and in turn, businesses looking to cater to the increase in foot traffic the projects are creating. Source: http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/mayor.asp?ID=466	Streamline regulations	Yes
Barrington Stage	Mayor Ruberto's efforts to revitalize the downtown with the arts paved the way for the Barrington Stage Company, the Tony Award–winning regional theater company, to relocate to the city after a decade in southern Berkshire. Ruberto helped broker the deal that made the former Berkshire Music Hall on Union Street the new home of Barrington. Source: http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/mayor.asp?ID=466	Reduce capital costs ^b	Yes
Berkshire Museum	Support for enhancements of the museum through the City's GE Economic Development Fund. ^c	Reduce capital costs	Yes
Downtown parking	Provision of parking on streets adjacent to the main thoroughfare in the city to support area restaurants and businesses.	Public service provision	Yes
Creative economy	An economy that includes the finest in the cultural arts; goal to promote, support, and initiate cultural activities in the City of Pittsfield to contribute to the health of the city's economy and community. Sources: http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/mayor.asp?ID=467 and http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/subpage.asp?ID=27	Target attraction of certain businesses	In itself no; as implemented through the Downtown Arts Overlay, yes.
Airport	Physical improvements to airport to meet FAA mandate. Source: http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/subpage.asp?ID=249	Public service provision	Yes

^a Reducing capital costs is the intention of the impact *on the theater company*; however, the intention of the theater company is to support the creative economy/cultural tourism. There is no literature to support the effectiveness of that intention.

^b Same as note a.

^c See endnote xi.

Alignment of anticipated policy outcomes with community preferences.

In order to evaluate the alignment of policies and programs with community preferences and stated goals, we first must consider the anticipated outcome of each policy. Table 15 below presents that anticipated outcomes measured two ways: (a) as indicated in the data analysis (designated by *) and (b) as determined in the literature, using the economic development policy expected outcome schema developed in Chapter 2 (designated by √). As with Leominster, I have included likely outcomes for policies even where the literature has not assessed effectiveness, or where evidence is mixed. However, if the literature indicates that a policy is likely to be ineffective, such as the airport here, that is not included as alignment.

Table 15

Comparing Pittsfield Community Preferences and Policies

Policy/Program	Community Preferences			
	Attract business (1)	Revitalize downtown (2)	Jobs (2)	Attract tourists (3)
Colonial Theatre	*	*	*	*
TIF to business	√		*	
PEDA biz park	√ *	*	√ *	
Cinema Center	√ *	*	*	
Downtown Arts Overlay	√	*		
Barrington Stage	√ *	*	*	*
Berkshire Museum	√ *	*		*
Pittsfield Enterprise Center	√		*	
Downtown parking	√	*		*
Creative economy	*	*		*
Airport	√ *			

First consider the alignment indicated by the literature regarding policy effectiveness (indicated by √). Considering this, nearly all of the municipal policies support the community preference for "attract business (1)" except for support for the Colonial Theatre project, which is not considered in the literature as a direct support for economic development. Note that the economic development literature does not identify policies likely to "attract tourists (3)," so lack of alignment with literature there is to be expected. The other community preference that does have alignment with policies per the literature is that of "downtown revitalization (2)."

Second, considering the alignment indicated by the anticipated outcomes reported in the data, community preferences seem equally supported by anticipated outcomes of the policies. There is no policy without reported anticipated outcomes that align with at least one preference.

Comparison of anticipated policy outcomes with stated goals.

Next we consider the alignment of the policies in place in Pittsfield with the stated goals of the city, again using the anticipated outcomes as reported by the city (through informant interviews and other data analysis). This allows us to consider the extent to which the municipally anticipated outcomes of these policies align with the stated goals of the city. Column 1 in Table 16 lists the economic development policies of the city of Pittsfield. The rest of the columns (2–17) list the stated goals of the city with their parenthetical rank.

Table 16

Comparing Pittsfield Stated Goals and Policies

Stated Goals	Policy/Program					
	Colonial Theatre	TIF to business	PEDA biz park	Cinema Center	Downtown Arts Overlay	Barrington Stage
1) Business attraction/expansion	*	√	√	* √	√	* √
2) Improve housing						
2) Jobs	*	*	*	*		*
3) Vibrant/creative economy					*	
4) Downtown revitalization	*			*	*	*
4) Best development mix for city						
5) Education						
5) Open space						
5) Tax base	*					
6) Help public understand dev. process						
6) Improved/mixed-use zoning					*	
6) Sustainable development						
6) Revise/streamline zoning						
6) Walkability						

Stated goals	<u>Policy/Program</u>				
	Berkshire Museum	Pittsfield Enterprise Center	Downtown parking	Creative Economy	Airport
1) Business attraction/expansion	* √	√	√	*	*
2) Improve housing					
2) Jobs		*			
3) Vibrant/creative economy				A	
4) Downtown revitalization	*		*	*	
4) Best development mix for city					
5) Education					
5) Open space					
5) Tax base					
6) Help public understand dev. process					
6) Improved/mixed-use zoning					
6) Sustainable development					
6) Revise/streamline zoning					
6) Walkability					

All the policies here align with at least one stated goal. From the other comparison perspective, there are several stated goals with no economic development policies supporting them. Among those, "education (5)" is clearly pursued by the Pittsfield school department. "Open space (5)," "improve zoning (6)," and "sustainable development (6)" all fall under the purview of economic development policies, yet there are no policies here anticipated to support these goals. While it is possible that these goals may be pursued as part of Pittsfield's currently ongoing zoning ordinance overhaul, which was just being undertaken as this research was ending, there were no policies that supported these goals during the period of this research. It is possible that "walkability (6)" will also be addressed by that zoning ordinance overhaul, but similarly there were no policies to support this during the period of this research. "Best development mix for the city (4)" and "help the public understand the process (6)" are also goals that are not supported by policies here. Though office observations and interviews indicate that at least one effort to increase public awareness and understanding of the process was being undertaken, the data also revealed that such projects were not a priority within the office.

The three stated goals with the most policy support are "business attraction (1)," "jobs (2)," and "downtown revitalization (4)."

RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

Pittsfield misalignments.

As with the case of Leominster, in Pittsfield misalignments come not between community preferences and stated goals, but between anticipated policy outcomes and stated goals. There are several stated goals that do not have economic development policies supporting them, some of which I believe to be supported elsewhere ("education," "improve housing"). The rest include "open space," "improve zoning," "sustainable development," "walkability,"¹⁰ "best development mix for the city," and "help the public understand the process."

Sources of misalignment between policy outcomes and community preferences or stated goals.

As outlined in Chapter 3, there are several theories that provide possible explanations for these misalignments. The data suggest that some of these theories are at work in Pittsfield.

Potential source, H2: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because goal statements are weak "public relations" tools.

As mentioned above, Pittsfield officials showed a great familiarity with mission statements, making this an unlikely source for misalignment.

Potential source, H3: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of linkages between goal statements and policy decision-making practices.

¹⁰ Again, while it is possible that these goals will be supported by policies coming out of the zoning ordinance overhaul, there were no policies to support these goals during the period of this research.

In the case of Pittsfield, data reveal the explicit application of Master Plan goal statements in Zoning and Community Development board practices, as well as in the determination of uses for the GE funds.¹¹ In addition, a review of the measures of success that key informants reported showed a strong alignment with the stated goals, particularly to generate jobs (mentioned by all but three of the nine informants) as well as to generate and expand business, support community vitality, and expand the tax base. Thus lack of linkages here is an unlikely source for misalignment.

Potential source, H4: Misalignments between community preference/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of funding.

In all three municipalities considered in this study, the available budget data is relatively general, making assessment of availability and use of funds challenging. In this case, however, it is clear that funding comes from federal grants so policies are limited to those the federal government supports. Additional evidence from the data suggests that funding is an obstacle to pursuing stated goals, suggesting that a lack of funding may be a likely source of misalignment between policies and goals and/or preferences.

Additional obstacles to economic development: Emerging hypotheses.

As part of the data gathering, I asked about the obstacles to economic development that the City of Pittsfield faced. From those obstacles reported, two categories emerged: (a) competing municipal goals and (b) disparities between economic and political boundaries.

¹¹ The GE funds were part of a settlement to the city of Pittsfield as part of the former GE superfund site.

Among the politics-related obstacles to economic development reported relative to Pittsfield, the data reveal the following specific concerns: the pull of short-term elections cycles on the mayor and city councilors, and (a) its impact on the ability (or resultant inability) to stick to a long-range, sustainable economic development vision, as well as (b) the fear of the political consequences of being perceived as anti-business.

Among the obstacles to economic development of Pittsfield relating to disparities between economic and political boundaries, the data reveal specific concerns relating to both (a) statewide policies and issues that would be better presented or considered in a regional (multi-state) context, such as utility costs and zero-sum interstate competition for business, and (b) the economic pull Pittsfield feels toward Albany opposing its political dependence on Boston.

Summary of Pittsfield sources of misalignment and obstacles to economic development.

In summary, only the initial hypothesis related to a lack of funding (H4) seems to hold up to explain misalignment between policies and community preferences and/or stated goals in Pittsfield. Two categories of emerging hypotheses for misalignment developed from the data: (a) politics, which we also saw as an obstacle in Leominster, and (b) disparities between economic and political boundaries.

Worcester Analysis

RQI: What economic development preferences have citizens revealed for their communities?

A review of the Worcester data resulted in an initial list of 24 preferences, which I consolidated down to 11 categories (see Table 17). I retain all 11 categories, even when there is only one source (count) for that preference, as preferences often emerged from reports that consolidate broader public opinion.

Table 17

Worcester Community Preferences

Revealed preference	Source	Count
Downtown revitalization, broadly (safety, property use and maintenance, retail environment, mixed-use/market rate housing, traffic flow, colleges downtown, affordable downtown parking, sales tax zone, sidewalks/infrastructure)	Media 1998 (12), media 1999, Media 2000 (23), 2000 five-year plan (5), Media 2001 (4), Media 2003 (6), Media 2005, Media 2006 (2), WRRB ComNet (10), 2001 strategic plan (1), East Side CDC, Main South CDC, Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan 2002–2003 (4), key informant interview	52
Business attraction/retention incl. business parks (Media 2003 [2]) and small business (Media 1998 [2])	WRRB CAC (1), Media 1998 (3), 2001 strategic plan, Media 2003, Media 2004, Media 2005, East Side CDC, Main South CDC	10
Transportation	WRRB CAC (1), key informant interview, Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan 2002–2003 (1), 2001 strategic plan, media 2003, Media 2004 (2)	7
Market the city	Media 1998 (4), Media 2001	5
Brownfields cleanup	Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan 2002–2003 (1), Media 2001, 2001 strategic plan, Media 2003	4
Reduce commercial tax rate/single tax rate	Media 1998 (2) Media 1999, Media 2001	4
Streamline permitting	Media 1998 (2)	2
Quality education/employment training	WRRB CAC (1), 2001 strategic plan	2
Center of innovation, excitement, and culture	Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan 2002–2003 (1)	1

Most notable is the degree to which the first-ranked preference for "downtown revitalization" is more preferred than any of the others, by 42 counts. Even the second preference, for "business attraction/retention" has a significant focus (6 out of 10 counts) for businesses in the downtown area. Additionally, compared to the prior municipalities, Worcester has the highest number of preferences, which could be a diversity of preferences stemming from the size of the city compared to the others: In 2000, it had 3.9 times the population of Leominster and 3.4 times that of Pittsfield.

RQII: To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with revealed community wants?

The stated goals of Worcester.

As with community preference, I undertook to group these stated goals as appropriate, but with an eye to not losing specificity or imposing judgment on which statements of goals are important (see Table 18). As seen with the community preferences list, Worcester has a larger diversity of goals than the other municipalities considered in this study.

Table 18

Worcester Stated Goals

Goal	Source	Count
Attract and retain business	Choose Worcester, Worcester Economic Development Division homepage, Worcester Marketing Corporation marketing plan, City Manager 1998 Goals and Objectives, Chief Development Officer 1998, City Manager Hoover 1998 (<i>Worcester Telegram & Gazette</i>), City Council 2000 (<i>Telegram</i>), council campaign 2001 (<i>Telegram</i>) (2), city council campaign 2003 (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Action Agenda 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>), city council campaign 2005 (<i>Telegram</i>), Grow Worcester 2005, City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, Worcester MicroLoan program, city manager 2009 self eval, key informant interviews (3)	19
Revitalize/downtown	City manager homepage, City Manager 1998 Goals and Objectives, Chief Development Officer 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>) (2), City Council 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>), Hoover 2000 objectives (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Action Agenda 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>) (3), manager O'Brien 2005 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, City Council Agenda: econ dev 00–01, city manager Hoover 1998 (<i>Telegram</i>) (2) Worcester Economic Development Division Homepage, key informant interviews (2), City Council retreat 2009, master plan arts district	19
Marketing ^a	Worcester Economic Development Division homepage, City Manager 1998 Goals and Objectives, Worcester Economic Development Council 2000, council campaign 2001 (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Cultural Coalition 2002 (<i>Telegram</i>), Grow Worcester 2005, City Council Agenda: econ dev 00-01, Wayfinding, Worcester action agenda, Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan, city council campaign 2003 (<i>Telegram</i>), key informant interview	12
Demolition/reuse structures/brownfields	WRA (2), WRRB What's Up with Downtown, City Council 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Council 2000, Benchmarking Worcester 2001–06 strategic plan (<i>Telegram</i>), city council agenda 02-03 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council agenda: econ dev 00-01, Master Plan Arts District, zoning ordinance, East Side CDC	11
Rail service	City Manager homepage, <i>Telegram</i> 2000, Murray Mayor 2001 campaign (<i>Telegram</i>), Murray Mayor 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>), Mayor Lukes Inauguration 2008 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, City Council Agenda: econ dev 00–01, City Council Eco Dev Committee 2008 goals, City Council retreat 2009, Worcester Action Agenda	10

Goal	Source	Count
Job creation and retention	City manager 2009 self eval, key informant interview (2), Worcester Economic Development Council 2000, UniverCity Partnership 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>), manager O'Brien 2008 goals (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, City Council retreat 2009, WRRB Citizen Case	9
Transportation (not rail-specific)/infrastructure/parking downtown	City Council 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>), master plan arts district, zoning ordinance (2), Hoover 1999 review in <i>Telegram</i> , city council agenda 02–03 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, City Council Eco Dev Committee 2008 goals, City Council agenda: econ dev 00–01	9
Housing downtown/mixed-use	City Council 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Development Officer 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Council 2000 (<i>Telegram</i>), Murray mayor 2001 campaign (<i>Telegram</i>) (2), City Council 2003 (<i>Telegram</i>), <i>Telegram</i> 2004	7
Reduce corporate tax rate/provide tax incentives/financing to business	City Manager Hoover 1999 (<i>Telegram</i>) (2), council campaign 2001 (<i>Telegram</i>), Benchmarking Worcester 2001–06 strategic plan (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Council 2000, 2001 mayoral candidates—both—2001 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002	7
Quality of life	City Manager Homepage, neighborhood housing and development homepage, master plan arts district, Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan, Main South CDC	5
Tax base	City manager 2009 self eval, UniverCity Partnership 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>), manager O'Brien 2008 goals (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002, WRRB Citizen Case	5
Tourism (regional)	Master plan arts district, key informant interview, Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan, Master Plan Arts District 2003 (<i>Telegram</i>), Worcester Economic Development Action Agenda 2004 (<i>Telegram</i>)	5
Workforce development; attraction	Key informant interview (2), Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan, Benchmarking Worcester 2001–06 strategic plan (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002	5
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality	Zoning ordinance (5)	5
Streamline permitting	City Council 2000 (<i>Telegram</i>), mayor 2001 (<i>Telegram</i>), O'Brien manager 2005 (<i>Telegram</i>), City Council Economic Development Goal 2002	4
Safety	Zoning ordinance, Master Plan Arts District	2
Historic preservation	Zoning ordinance	1
Revitalize neighborhoods	Manager O'Brien 2008 goals (<i>Telegram</i>)	1

^a There is a clear delineation in the data between the goal of "marketing," which aims primarily at attracting business and secondarily at attracting citizens; and "tourism," which aims to bring customers into retail areas, and tourists in general as well as "cultural tourists" in particular to patronize cultural and historic amenities, etc., in Worcester.

Here we see that although there is a diversity of stated goals, there is none that stands out in priority well above the others, as we saw with the community preferences.

Comparing Worcester stated goals with community preferences.

The next step is to compare the community preferences with the stated goals of the economic development officials as set out in Table 19.

Table 19

Comparing Worcester Community Preferences and Stated Goals

Stated Goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community Preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brownfields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of education/ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
Attract and retain business (1)		X							
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)	X								X
Marketing (2)		X		X					
Demolish/reuse structures/ brownfields (3)		X			X				
Rail service (4)			X						
Job creation and retention (5)		X							
Transportation/infrastructure/ downtown parking (5)	X	X	X						
Housing downtown/mixed- use (6)	X								
Tax incentives/finance new business/reduce tax rate (6)		X				X			
Quality of life (7)		X							X
Tax base (7)									

Stated Goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community Preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brownfields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of education/ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
Tourism (regional) (7)									
Workforce development; attraction (7)		X						X	
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7)					X				
Streamline permitting (8)		X					X		
Safety (9)		X							
Historic preservation (10)	X								X
Revitalize neighborhoods (10)		X							

First, observe that there are no community preferences without stated goals that align with them. This suggests an awareness of community preferences and effort to represent them in goal setting. There are, however, stated goals that are not aligned with any community preferences, including "tourism" and "tax base." As with the misalignment of tax revenue and community preferences in Leominster, in Worcester, the goal of expanding the tax base does not directly support any community preferences, but could be seen to support many preferences indirectly. The goal of "tourism," however, is shown by the data to be different from the preference to market the city, which is aligned with the goal for "marketing," ranked 2. Thus there appears to be a misalignment related to the goal of tourism.

RQIII: To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals?

Table 20 presents each economic development policy, its description, the intention of the policy according to the economic development literature, and its effectiveness according to the schema.

Table 20

Worcester Policies, Intentions, and Effectiveness

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
CitySquare	CitySquare is a 2.1-million-square-foot mixed-use project on 20.2 acres in downtown Worcester that will include upscale urban residences; state-of-the-art medical, life sciences, and professional office space; retail shops; and restaurants, clubs, and entertainment venues. With an estimated project cost of \$563 million, CitySquare is the largest public/private development project in Massachusetts history outside of the City of Boston. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/citysquare	Reduce capital costs	Yes
Gateway Business Park	Gateway Park is a joint venture of Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) and the Worcester Business Development Corporation (WBDC). Located in Worcester near the intersection of I-190 and I-290, Gateway Park is designed as a 12-acre, mixed-use destination for life sciences and biotech companies and the people who work for them. Source: http://www.gatewayparkworchester.com/	Public service provision	Yes
South Worcester Industrial Park	SWIP is an 11-acre brownfield site. Through tax title, the City currently owns approximately eight acres within the redevelopment area. The SWIP project consists of infrastructure improvements, demolition, and environmental remediation to create pad-ready parcels for clean, light-manufacturing and industrial use. Located one half mile from the Port of Worcester, SWIP has excellent access to freight rail, interstate highways (I-290, I-90, Route 146), and downtown. The goals for the SWIP project are to create new development sites, eliminate blight, promote sustainable development, create employment opportunities and business growth, and increase tax revenue. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/south-worcester-industrial-park	Public service provision	Yes

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Downtown revitalization	Zoning to support business/arts; streetscaping and façade programs; development of key projects; linking projects.	Streamline regulations (zoning, parking, etc) Public service provision	Yes Yes for parking, roads; no for amenities
Expedited permitting	State expedited permitting based on zoning. Source: http://www.massdevelopment.com/real-estate-development/real-estate-services/expedited-permitting-43d/	Streamline regulations	Yes
Infrastructure	Water, sewer, service provision.	Public service provision	Yes
Publicizing /promoting Worcester Business assistance program	Online, paper, in-person efforts to market the city to businesses, visitors and residents. While actively recruiting new industry, the Economic Development Division fully recognizes and believes in the importance of assisting existing businesses to grow and prosper in Worcester. With our extensive contacts within the local real estate market, we work closely with existing businesses looking to expand or relocate within the city. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/business-development/business-retention-program	Address information asymmetry Assist firms to reduce capital costs	no Yes
TIFs	A TIF agreement may allow relief from new taxes attributable to the increment generated by the private investment, or a special property tax assessment schedule ranging from 0% to 100% of the total valuation. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/land-development-in-worcester/economic-development-incentive-program-edip	Assist firms to reduce capital costs	Yes
Transportation	Highways, roads, bus service (rail treated below—Union Station trains).	Public service provision	Yes
Airport	Revitalization/growth of Worcester Regional Airport.	Public service provision—amenities	No

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Union Station	Union Station, one of the Commonwealth's most beautiful structures, underwent a magnificent restoration in 1998–1999. Today it serves as an intermodal hub, hosting Amtrak, MBTA commuter rail service to Boston, taxi service, as well as both intra- and inter-city bus services. . . development initiatives in the area surrounding Union Station continue to move forward. The construction of the new 500-space Union Station parking garage was completed July 2008 and the MassHighway Washington Square roundabout project was completed in Spring 2009. Source: http://www.worcesterma.gov/development/economic-development/union-station	Public service provision—amenity	No
Union Station trains	Commuter rail train service to and from Boston.	Public service provision	Yes
Union Station parking	See Union Station description.	Public service provision	Yes
Zoning	Zoning ordinance.	Streamline regulations	Yes
Arts district	The Arts District is a public/private project that makes the direct link between art and economic development. It is intended to serve some of the needs of our arts community and revitalize this disinvested area of the City by promoting the reuse of underused and vacant properties for artist live/work space, affordable housing, performance venues, galleries, and other creative commercial and retail enterprises. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/arts-culture-entertainment/arts-culture/worcester-arts-district	Streamline regulations	Yes
Restoration of common	Historic "common," memorial sites and downtown feature. Source: http://www.worcesterma.gov/city-clerk/history/general/worcester-common	Public service provision—amenities	No
Streetscape (Main St.)	Beautification of streets, sidewalks, pedestrian areas.	Public service provision—amenities	No
Downtown parking	Provision of parking infrastructure downtown.	Public service provision	Yes

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Hanover Theatre	Thomas W. Lamb, the Grand Palace Theatre, also known as the Loew's Poli Palace Theatre, was an ornate 3,000-seat venue that catered to Broadway and vaudeville. It evolved with Worcester's cultural environment, becoming a Showcase Cinema in 1967 and closing its doors in 1998. After its closure, the grand theater fell into disrepair with minimal maintenance. In 2002, the nonprofit Worcester Center for the Performing Arts (WCPA) was established to restore the theatre to its former glory, providing Worcester with a new cultural centerpiece for downtown. In true community partnership, the WCPA teamed up with the WBDC, the City of Worcester, the Hanover Insurance Group, area colleges, foundations, businesses, residents, and the federal and state legislative delegation to complete this restoration project. Source: http://www.worcesterbdc.com/palace.asp	Not a city policy, though received city support	
North Main Econ. Development	For decades, Lincoln Square has been viewed as one of the City's grand public places, boasting some of the City's most significant buildings and transportation corridors. The area is a cultural center (home of the Worcester Art Museum and Worcester War Memorial Auditorium, and the centerpiece for the annual First Night celebration), an academic center (site of the Worcester Technical High School and near Worcester Polytechnic Institute and Becker College), a law and order center (including the Worcester County Courthouse and the headquarters of the Worcester Police Department), and a business center (culminating in the recently opened Gateway Park). As the area continues to evolve, and public functions such as the courthouse and high school are relocated, the City of Worcester looks to explore the opportunities for reuse of existing buildings and parcels and the infrastructure changes necessary to prepare the area for the expanding economy. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/north-main-street	Only a plan	
Reduce commercial tax rate	Worcester has a dual tax rate policy to reduce the commercial/industrial rate Source: http://www.wrrb.org/documents/TheCaseforaSingleTaxRate.pdf	Reduce local taxes	Yes

Policy	Description	Intention	Effective?
Brownfield Cleanup Revolving Loan Fund	To reclaim abandoned and underutilized brownfield sites for productive reuse, provide additional job opportunities, increase the tax base, improve the quality of life for residents in surrounding neighborhoods, maximize leveraging opportunities from both the private and public sectors, and promote the program to private developers, lending institutions, the real estate community, and the nonprofit sector. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/land-development-in-worcester/brownfield-cleanup-revolving-loan-fund-bcrlf	Public service provision	Yes
Blackstone Canal Historic District	Plan; actions are amenities—bike path and pedestrian trails, relocate church to support Quinsigamond village area. Source: http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/worcester-blackstone-visitor-center	Public service provision—amenities	No
Streamline permitting	The Division of Building and Zoning continues its work to improve customer service, streamline permitting, and enhance technology. This division will now further focus activities on exemplary customer service-oriented building construction and code inspectional services. Source: http://www.worcesterma.gov/inspections/building-zoning	Streamline regulations	Yes
Parking overlay districts	Zoning policies to remove restrictions in certain areas, for certain purposes. Application: http://www.worcesterma.gov/uploads/76/12/7612cc54cc2b8a5b121172f98349d9ce/sp-parking-overlay.pdf	Streamline regulations/pub. service provision	Yes

The next step is to compare the likely outcomes of each policy as reported in the municipal data (indicated by a *), anticipated by the literature (indicated by a √), and indicated by the name or intent of the policy (indicated by an A).

Table 21

Comparing Worcester Community Preferences and Policies

Stated goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brownfields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of education/ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
CitySquare	*	√							
Gateway Business Park	*	√							*
South Worcester Industrial Park		√			*				
Downtown revitalization	*	√							*
Expedited permitting		√					A		
Infrastructure		√							
Publicize/promote city		* (not effective)			A (not effective)				
Business assistance program		√*							
TIFs		√*							
Transportation		√*							
Airport		√*							

Stated goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brownfields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of education/ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
Union Station		*							
Union Station trains	*	√	A						
Union Station parking		√*	A						
Zoning		√					A		
Arts district	*	√							*
Restoration of common	*								*
Streetscape (Main St.)	*								*
Downtown parking	A	√	A						
Hanover Theatre	*	*							
North Main Economic Development	*								
Reduce commercial tax rate		√*				A ^a			
Brownfield Cleanup Revolving Loan Fund		√			A				

Stated goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brownfields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of education/ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
Blackstone Canal Historic District									
UniverCity partnership		*							
Streamline permitting		√					A		
Parking overlay districts		√*	A ^b						

^a Note that commercial tax rate was reduced by vote of City Council in 1999, but that the city retains a dual tax rate. The WRRB, among others (e.g., Carpp interview) indicate the duality is the root of the problem.

^b Parking overlays are considered under "transportation" in categorization of economic development policy.

First considering the alignment indicated by the literature, nearly all of the policies support the preference for "business attraction (2)." There are two policies that are determined to be ineffective in the literature, "publicizing promoting" and "Union Station" (though the trains at Union Station themselves are anticipated to be effective), but that are anticipated by the municipality to support community preferences. Considering whether the policies support community preferences, the plan for the Blackstone Canal Historic District does not align with any community preference. All other policies align with at least one community preference.

Second, considering the alignment indicated by the anticipated outcomes reported in the data, the community preferences that are ranked 1 and 2 in priority are the most supported by far, indicating an intensity of alignment between preferences and policies. The only preference not supported by an economic development policy is that for "quality of education/training (7)"; however, Worcester does have a separate Office of Neighborhood and Workforce Development, where this preference is supported.

Comparison of anticipated policy outcomes with stated goals.

Next we consider the alignment of the policies in place in Worcester with the stated goals of the city, using the anticipated outcomes as reported by the city (through informant interviews and other data analysis). This allows us to consider the extent to which the anticipated outcome of these policies support the stated goals of the city.

Table 22

Comparing Worcester Stated Goals and Policies

Stated goals	<u>Policy</u>						
	City Square	Gateway Business Park	So. Worc. Industrial Park	Downtown revitalization	Expedite permits	Infra-structure	Publicize/promote city
Attract and retain business (1)	√	√	√	√	√	√	*
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)	*			A			
Marketing (2)							A
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)			*				
Rail service (4)							
Job creation and retention (5)	*	*		*			
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5)							
Housing downtown/mixed-use (6)	*	*		*			
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives/finance new biz (6)							
Quality of life (7)				*			
Tax base (7)				*			
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7–5)							
Streamline permits (8)							
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)							
Revitalize n'hoods (10)							

Stated goals	<u>Policy</u>						
	Biz assistance pgm	TIFs	Transportation	Airport	Union Station	Union Station trains	Union Station parking
Attract and retain business (1)	* √	* √	* √	*	*	√	* √
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)					*		
Marketing (2)							
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)							
Rail service (4)						A	
Job creation and retention (5)	*	*					
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5)							A
Housing downtown/ mixed-use (6)						*	
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives/ finance new biz (6)		A					
Quality of life (7)							
Tax base (7)							
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7-5)							
Streamline permits (8)							
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)							
Revitalize n'hoods (10)							

Stated goals	<u>Policy</u>						
	Zoning	Arts district	Restore common	Streetscape (Main St.)	Downtown parking	Hanover Theatre	North Main
Attract and retain business (1)		√			√	*	
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)			*	*		*	
Marketing (2)							
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)		*			*		
Rail service (4)							

Stated goals	Zoning	<u>Policy</u>					
		Arts district	Restore common	Streetscape (Main St.)	Downtown parking	Hanover Theatre	North Main
Job creation and retention (5)		*					
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5)					A		
Housing downtown/ mixed-use (6)		*	*				*
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives/ finance new biz (6)							
Quality of life (7)		*		*			
Tax base (7)		*	*	*			
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7-5)							
Streamline permits (8)	√						
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)							
Revitalize n'hoods (10)							

Stated goals	Lower biz tax rate	<u>Policy</u>				
		Brownfield	Blackstone Canal	UniverCity p'ship	Streamline permits	Parking overlays
Attract and retain business (1)	√ *	√		*	√	√ *
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)						
Marketing (2)						
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)		A				*
Rail service (4)						
Job creation and retention (5)				*		
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5)						
Housing downtown/ mixed-use (6)						

Stated goals	Policy					
	Lower biz tax rate	Brownfield	Blackstone Canal	UniverCity p'ship	Streamline permits	Parking overlays
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives/ finance new biz (6)	A					
Quality of life (7)						
Tax base (7)		*		*		
Tourism (regional) (7)						
Workforce development; attraction (7)						
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7-5)						
Streamline permits (8)					A	
Safety (9)						
Historic preservation (10)			*			
Revitalize n'hoods (10)			*			

Here we see overall a strong alignment between stated goals and policies.

Notably, the top-priority stated goal, "attract and retain business (1)," is the most supported by policies according to the literature. Other well-supported goals include "job creation and retention (5)," "tax base (7)," and "housing downtown/mixed-use (6)." There are also several goals and policies with explicit alignments (indicated by A in the table), including "revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)," "marketing (7)," "brownfield rehabilitation (3)," "rail service (4)," "transportation/infrastructure/parking (5)," "reduce commercial tax rate/tax incentives/financing new business (6)," and "streamline permitting (8)."

Two other stated goals that do not align with any economic development policies, "workforce development" and "safety," are likely supported elsewhere in the municipal government structure and so will not be considered misalignments in the analysis.

However, there are two stated goals that could be supported within our definition of economic development, but are not in the case of Worcester. Thus we will consider both the unsupported goals of "tourism" and "prevent overcrowding/density/environment" as misalignments.

RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

In the case of Worcester, misalignments come both between the stated goals and community preferences, and between economic development policies and both the stated goals and community preferences. Stated goals that do not align with any community preferences include "increased tax base" and "tourism." Two goals in particular have no economic development policies supporting them though they fall within the realm of economic development policy: "prevent overcrowding/density/environment" and "tourism."

Sources of misalignment between policy outcomes and community preferences or stated goals.

As outlined above, there are several theories that provide possible explanations for these misalignments. The data suggest that some of these theories are at work in Worcester. First, we consider sources for misalignment between stated economic development goals and community preferences.

Potential source, H1: Misalignments between revealed community preferences and stated goals occur because economic development offices/officials do not know what the community wants.

As Nevan (2002) suggests, lack of knowledge of what the community wants is an obstacle to implementation of goals that support those wants. There is indication of the City of Worcester seeking out community preferences. Worcester implements citizen surveys as part of its CDBG process. Focus groups are held, though they are typically associated with specific developments (charrette meetings). However, the City of Worcester has no citywide master plan. Master plans exist for several targeted neighborhoods, but not for the city as a whole. Additionally, a review of reported obstacles to economic development in the city (see below for details) indicates a recognition of this lack of the strategic plan as an obstacle to development in the city. Together these suggest that a lack of full understanding of what the community wants citywide may be a source of misalignment in Worcester.

Source of misalignment between economic development policy outcomes and community preferences or stated goals.

Potential source, H2: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because goal statements are weak " public relations" tools.

If economic development officials reveal little familiarity with published goal statements, it is possible that these weak goal statements are a source for the misalignment. However, the data reveals that staff members of the economic

development office were able to clearly identify and articulate their goal statements for economic development.

Potential source, H3: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of linkage between goal statements and policy decision-making practices.

In Worcester, there is no citywide strategic plan, which could provide opportunity and evidence for this type of linkage. The data that is available—a review of the measures of success and economic development as reported by informants and review of the broader data—indicates that goal statements are not expressly used in the evaluation or discussion of economic development opportunities (except for anticipated job and capital expenditure outlays associated with TIF application).

Other measures of success as reported include (in no particular order) jobs, private investment, tax base, and progress on specific projects. Among these, both jobs and tax base align specifically with stated economic development goals of the city (jobs is ranked 5 and tax base is ranked 7). However the success measures of progress on specific projects (indicated as a measure by City Council and staff of the Economic Development Division) and private investment (indicated as a measure by staff of the Economic Development Division, the City Council, and the general media) do not align with stated goals. This mismatch between stated goals and measures of success suggests that a lack of linkages between goal statements and policy decision-making practices is a likely source of misalignments.

Potential source, H4: Misalignments between community preferences/economic development stated goals and policies occur because there is a lack of funding.

In all three municipalities considered in the study, the available budget data is relatively general, making assessment of availability and use of funds challenging. In this case, however, it is clear that funding comes largely from federal grants so policies are limited to those the federal government supports. Additional evidence from the data suggest that funding is an obstacle to pursuing stated goals including provision of market rate housing, business retention, marketing, transportation, and financial incentives for new business. This suggests that a lack of funding may be a likely source of misalignment between policies and goals in Worcester.

Additional obstacles to economic development: Emerging hypotheses.

As part of the data gathering, I inquired as to the obstacles to economic development that the City of Worcester faced. From those obstacles reported, four categories emerged: (a) political, (b) downtown/built-out city, (c) tax rate, and (d) transportation.

Among the politics-related obstacles to economic development reported relative to Worcester, the data reveal the following specific concerns: political structure, multiple groups with differing missions, a lack of leadership, political turnover/economic development office turnover, and conflict between business and neighborhoods. The obstacles related to downtown reported relative to Worcester are similar to those concerns of a "built-out" city expressed in Leominster. These include the following

specific concerns: the city being built out and having brownfields, a lack of vitality downtown, and a lack of curb appeal downtown.

The obstacles related to transportation reported relative to Worcester include the following specific concerns: a lack of trains; the airport in general, specifically the lack of a serviceable road; a lack of parking downtown; and lack of access from the highway.

The obstacles related to the tax rate were generally focused on split assessment of property taxes on businesses compared to residences. The business rate is higher.

Summary of Worcester source of misalignment obstacle to economic development.

In summary, three of the initial hypotheses for sources of misalignment between policies and community preferences and/or stated goals seem to hold up for Worcester: (H1) a lack of knowledge of what the community wants, (H2) lack of linkages between goal statements and policy decision-making practices, and (H3) a lack of funding. Additionally, the five categories of emerging hypotheses for misalignments developed from the data are: (a) political, (b) downtown/built-out, (c) funding/capacity, (d) transportation, and (e) tax rate.

Cross-Case Analysis

Having considered each case separately, I now consider the generalizability of findings by conducting a cross-case analysis looking for patterns among the data and initial and emerging hypotheses.

Cross-case mission statement analysis.

The first step of this analysis is to assess the mission statements for focus, clarity, and tone. Economic development offices and officials reveal their economic development goals through articulations of mission statements, in descriptions of office responsibilities, and in stipulated goals and objectives. The method by which these goals are articulated is important as an indication of the degree to which the office is concentrating on certain aspects or efforts of economic development (focus), the ownership of those goals by the office and staff (tone), and the efforts to communicate those goals internally as well as externally to the community outside the office (clarity).

A cross-case comparison of mission statements will reveal: How focused is the content of the mission statements? How readable are they for the economic development staff and community who need to understand and build on these statements? And finally, what do the mission statements reveal about the "ownership" and connectedness of the offices/officials to the goals, as well about the degree of action and future orientation of the statements?

I assessed the content of the stated goals using an adaptation of the methodology employed by Weiss and Piderit (1999) to assess the content and style of mission statements. (See methodology for details). Table 23 presents the result¹² of the analysis of

¹² Measures of focus: (1) Number of subthemes across all statements of the municipality; here the preference is for fewer subthemes, indicating a focus of purpose. (2) Average number of subthemes among all statements within the municipality; again the preference is for a lower average number of subthemes. Measure of clarity (3) and (4) are determined by use of a series of readability indices, calculated using the online utility at http://www.online-utility.org/english/readability_test_and_improve.jsp In the case of the indices used here, a lower score is better. Each index measures the clarity of the mission statement. The clear presentation of goals assists with both internal (to the office) and external (to the community) communication. The (3) clarity score of any statement of the municipality presents the sum of all index

focus (rows 1 and 2), of clarity (rows 3 and 4), and of tone. Note that the analysis of tone did not reveal much differentiation among the municipalities. This is a result of the standard format of goal statements used across municipalities.¹³ The best score in each category of analysis is indicated with a * here.

scores for clarity, with the lowest total being the most clear (best). The (4) average clarity score is calculated by determining the average of the summed index measures for all of the mission statements across the municipality, again lowest indicates the most clarity. Finally (5) the tone score measures the ownership of and engagement with the goals by considering whether the statement is active versus passive, in the first versus third person, and in the present versus future tense. Here a higher score is better, but all municipalities measured the same in terms of tone across mission statements. Because of the inadequacy of this measure to determine meaningful difference across very similarly structured statements, I do not consider any further analysis of tone here.

¹³ Most statements followed the format of "The agency's goal is to. . . ." This nearly uniform format does not show strong action or ownership by the office/staff. The consistent format also does not allow for assessment of variation across municipalities.

Table 23

<i>Assessment of Mission Statements for Focus, Clarity, and Tone</i>			
Analysis category	Leominster	Pittsfield	Worcester
(1) Total number of subthemes across all statements within the municipality ^a	13 (*)	29 (26 municipal only)	17
(2) Average number of subthemes among all statements within the municipality	4 (*)	7.5 (8)	4.85 (5.75)
(3) Lowest (best) clarity score of any statement of the municipality	93.8	72.27	55.06 (*)
(4) Lowest average clarity score, based on all statements within the municipality	98.33	106.29	88.54 (*)
(5) Highest (best) tone score of any statement of the municipality	6	6	6

^a Weiss and Piderit (1999) find this measure of focus—the number of themes/subthemes—to be insignificant in their tests of the impact of mission statements on exam performance. However, it is still useful here as a measure of statement clarity, particularly as there is no link assumed here between clarity of expression and performance.

Leominster scores best in terms of focus (rows 1 and 2), indicating a concentration of statements around certain areas of economic development action. Worcester scores best in terms of clarity of expression of its mission (rows 3 and 4), indicating a strong ability to communicate within the economic development office and to the community the mission of programs and policies. All three municipalities are equal in terms of tone, which reflects ownership of and engagement with the goals by the office and staff.

Application of this type of clarity analysis to mission statements is uncommon in the literature, with only one analysis of corporate mission statements (Godkin, Valentine,

Boler, & Lambert, 2000), which uses the Flesch tests for Grade Level and Reading Ease (both of which help to comprise the clarity index used here); and one of public agency mission statements (Busch & Folaron, 2005).

In comparison to the analysis of corporate mission statements, all three municipal mission statements scored worse (a lower measure is better) on the grade level measure, indicating a general higher lack of clarity in these municipal mission statements. The median Flesch Grade Level score found by Godkin et al. in an analysis of 300 corporate mission statements was 12. The median for the mission statements in Leominster (19.17), Pittsfield (21.97), and Worcester (20.92) were all well above that. Only Worcester had one mission statement scoring better than the median reported by Godkin et al.

Busch and Folaron (2005) used the SMOG index, finding a median score of 15.1 among mission statements of child welfare agencies across the 50 states (as with Flesch, lower is better for this index). As Busch and Folaron's analysis is of public sector agencies, it is likely a better comparison than that of Godkin et al. In comparison to these state child welfare agencies, all three municipalities scored worse on the SMOG measure, again indicating a general lack of clarity in comparison to a wider public sector agency context. The median SMOG score found by Busch and Folaron was 15.1, while the median for mission statements in Leominster (18.96), Pittsfield (19.37), and Worcester (21.17) were all well above that.

Note that none of these mission statement analyses is a perfect comparison with the economic development agency statements of interest to this study. This information is provided as a comparative reference, and uses the best comparisons found. In general, we

can say that these municipal mission statements as a whole do not stand out in terms of readability and clarity. In specific, given that low bar, Leominster's statements are the most focused and Worcester's are the most clearly expressed.

Cross-case analysis of research question findings.

Looking across these three municipalities we begin to see the shape of answers to the three research questions here.

RQ1: What preferences have citizens revealed for their communities in the area of economic development?

Looking across the three cases here, we see the following preferences ranked in order of priority:

Leominster.

- (1) Density/speed of growth/sprawl/open space/environmental quality/traffic
- (2) Improve housing stock
- (3) Commercial success/attract industry
- (4) Safe and walkable environment/reduce crime
- (5) Reuse for old industrial buildings
- (5) Downtown revitalization

Pittsfield.

- (1) Attract business
- (2) Downtown revitalization
- (2) Jobs
- (3) Attract tourists

Worcester.

- (1) Downtown revitalization
- (2) Business attraction/retention
- (3) Transportation
- (4) Market the city
- (5) Brownfields cleanup
- (5) Reduce commercial tax rate/single tax rate
- (6) Streamline permitting
- (6) Quality of education/training
- (7) Center of innovation/excitement and culture

There is consensus around certain of these preferences, particularly a focus on downtown revitalization and business attraction/retention across all three municipalities.

RQII: To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with revealed community preferences?

In answer to this question it is important to first recognize that the data reveal a considerable amount of alignment. There are only two of the dozens of stated goals and community preferences that reveal misalignments. These misalignments in Worcester appear to occur, at least in part, as my initial hypothesis suggested, due to a lack of knowledge of the community's preferences, perhaps because there is no citywide strategic plan. This may be because with a city of this size and level of diversity there is less consensus across the community for what it prefers. Also a city of this size and level of diversity may reveal a greater hierarchy in whose preferences matter more, or whose

preferences are publicly served/fundable. Further discussion of the challenge of community preferences is presented in the next section.

RQIII: To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals? and RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

Here again it is important to note that while this is the area where the most misalignment exists, the weight of the data reveal alignment, sometimes alignment in priority as well (where the most support from policies is directed at the highest-priority goals and preferences).

Initial hypotheses.

However, it is this area where we find the most misalignment. The data suggests sources for the misalignments here stemming from our initially hypothesized sources:

H2: Lack of familiarity with published goal statements, suggesting they may be more "public relations" tools than policy prescriptions, was revealed as a source of misalignment from the data in both Leominster and Worcester;

H3: Lack of linkage between goal statements and policy decision-making practices was revealed as a source of misalignment from the data in both Leominster and Worcester; additionally

H4: Lack of funding, which although not testable as originally intended, emerged as a source of misalignment from the data in all three municipalities.

Emergent hypotheses.

In addition to those misalignments initially hypothesized, the data also revealed obstacles that emerged as additional possible sources of misalignment as research progressed. These include:¹⁴

1. Politics, which is an obstacle reported across all three municipalities. Mostly this was internal politics, but the data also revealed a subset here of political interactions between the city and the state and federal government (often related to funding, but not always).
 - a) For Leominster, this had to do with regional economic development planning and a lack of acknowledgement from Boston.
 - b) For Pittsfield the issue was specifically that the political and funding ties were linked to Boston and the Massachusetts delegation, but the economic pull was toward New York (Albany).
 - c) For Worcester this had to do with regional economic development planning, and a perception of lacking a voice (or lack of coordination with that voice) at the state level in particular.
2. Concerns unique to built-out cities (such as lack of downtown office space and presence of brownfield sites) are common to Leominster and Worcester.

¹⁴ Each city also reported obstacles unique to its situation, but largely these are historical (Worcester not having Massachusetts Turnpike access) or geographic, or reflected on the overarching Massachusetts economic development climate, which is not unique to any of these cities, and is part of why they were selected; thus it does not shed light on our larger questions in a general way.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, FUTURE RESEARCH

Discussion

These study findings require further discussion of their limitations, the hypotheses that have emerged from the research process, and some new ideas regarding the initial hypotheses that also emerged from the research process. This section considers each of these in turn.

Study limitation: Revealed community preference.

Before further discussing the findings that emerged from the data, as well as the overall implication of the results, certain limitations of this study should be noted. In particular the following limitations that result from the use of revealed community preference (as discussed in Chapter 2), should be recognized.

Assumption of uniformity.

Using revealed preference assumes that what emerges as observable represents a unified body of thought/preference, and thus may suppress any real diversity of alternate and/or opposition opinions (Cuthill & Fien 2005). This may be of more concern for the

municipality of Worcester, which has four times the population of Leominster or Pittsfield, because community size matters to the possibility of uniformity in preference. In larger, more diverse cities, revealed preference is less likely to be representative (Oliver, 2000).

Unvoiced/unheard preferences.

In addition to an assumption that the preferences revealed are uniformly held, use of revealed community preference may particularly overlook preferences that are either unvoiced, or voiced in private. Considering first the possibility of "unvoiced" preferences, Ross and Levine (2006) point out the role that differing levels of political power can play in determining whether all members of the community give voice to their preference. A strong business community, in particular, may limit the extent to which the preferences of non-business or anti-growth groups are solicited in economic development processes (MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999; Ross & Levine, 2006; Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). In general, even where there is not explicit use of political power by specific groups, the method through which community preferences are solicited or may be revealed matters (Mansuri & Rao, 2004).

Finally, while we may accurately observe the revealed preferences of the community, economic development officials (and others) may also find direction for their goal-setting and policy implementation from other less observable sources. While we may be able to observe community preferences, "backroom discussions" with property developers, corporate types, etc. may matter more in the shaping of policy—but are

unobserved here and perhaps unobservable (MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999), providing a further limitation to the use of revealed preference.

Even with these limitations, however, revealed community preference is the best data available to address the questions of this study. The findings from the cases indicate that even given these limitations we can observe alignment as well as misalignment between revealed community preference, stated goals, and economic development policy. In particular, the degree of alignment that is observed in this study suggests that revealed community preference at least plays a role in goal and policy setting. This suggests that the findings of this study are valid and useful despite these limitations.

General "messiness" of the community preference determination.

It is worth noting that while the detailed and theoretically based methodology of this research supports the validity of these findings, we should not underestimate the complicated workings of a community and its economic development office that are the focus of this research.

As noted in this discussion and elsewhere, there are limitations associated with the use of the concept of "revealed community preference." The structured methodology supporting this research and the resultant findings, which align to some degree with our expectations and generate new areas of research, should not obscure the substantial challenge of defining "community" and "community preference" that this research has not been able to overcome.

The use of revealed community preference allows us to focus on the community preferences that are observable to the economic development office. The economic

development offices face the same challenges to understanding community and community preference that are confronted by and limit this research.

Research and methodological innovations that could work to alleviate these limitations would be a significant next step for this area of inquiry. However, the use here of revealed community preference—limiting though it is—allows us to ask these research questions and gain some initial insights into these questions of alignment and obstacles, which is a worthy first step.

Emergent hypotheses.

Several hypotheses for sources of misalignment between community preferences, stated goals, and policies emerged from the research process of this study. One regarding the role of funding was an initial hypothesis of this study, but proved untestable as initially intended. However, the data continually provided evidence that lack of funding is an obstacle to economic development policies, which may be a source of the misalignments found here.

Other hypotheses that emerged centered on political issues faced by the municipalities. As this discussion will highlight, these areas of funding and politics are inextricably intertwined. This section considers the following aspects of the interplay of these forces and their possible role as a source of misalignment:

- state and municipal interactions;
- how funding is involved in that interaction;
- competing goals;
- challenges of regional economic development; and

- issues particularly heightened by the political border: the spillover effect and
- concerns of built-out cities.

State and municipal interactions.

First, as is important with the misalignments found in this study, it is important to recognize and highlight that the goals and objectives of states and municipalities largely do align and that there is much room for cooperation. The root of differences between them come from the "insularity" and intrajurisdictional competition of municipalities within states that mirrors that of states within the one country (Hanson, 1998). Municipalities, as observed in this study, set their own particular goals and visions for their economic development that may emphasize different outcomes, or certain subsets of outcomes preferred by the state. Furthermore, some municipal policies, such as TIFs and efforts to compete with other municipalities on the basis of tax rate, have a negative fiscal impact on the state.

State and municipal interactions: The role of funding.

Municipalities, however, are limited in their ability to pursue their goals by state (and federal) control of funding. Hanson (1998) presents a structure of four ways in which municipal governments fit into the framework of state economic development policy. Tellingly, this structure is largely based on the use of funds. According to Hanson, municipalities can be: (a) passive beneficiaries, receiving returns from the state's pursuit of policies not directed at particular cities, such as broad assistance to manufacturing firms, or provision of export assistance to firms; (b) pass-through conduits for state funds, where cities apply to the state for funds on behalf of firms within their borders; (c) junior

partners, working with the state to support efforts to court firms to relocate, perhaps offering municipal funds or resources in support of such efforts; and the only structure in which municipalities could pursue their individual goals, that of (d) "independent economic developer," where cities interact directly with firms providing the limited resources they do have without the involvement of the state (Hanson, 1998, p. 99). Thus the majority of the interactions between municipality and state around economic development find the municipality dependent on the state for funding, settling power squarely with the state (Ross & Levine, 2006).

This relationship, and the lack of resources for the municipality to act autonomously, results in several of the "common traps" in economic development strategy formation pointed out by Blakely and Leigh (2010), including the "traps" of leading strategy by pursuing grants (rather than clear goals), and allowing economic development tools made available to municipalities by the state (and federal government) to determine the strategy. This challenge of remaining true to municipally set goals rather than chasing funding opportunities was highlighted by key informants in this study as potential obstacles to economic development policy that achieves goals at the municipal level. Ross and Levine (2006) note that this funding relationship between states and municipalities means that "city councils are virtually forced to spend their precious funds not in their areas of greatest need, but in program areas that will generate generous federal matching grants" (p. 446). This strategy of pursuing grants rather than economic development goals/priorities is also linked to the issue of municipal capacity discussed below, as those cities who invest in the expertise of grantwriters may be more likely to

receive funding, as opposed to the communities that are most in line with the funding intentions, or most in need (Ross & Levine, 2006).

Competing municipal goals.

Not only do municipalities find their economic development goals in competition with those of higher levels of government: They can also be in competition with other goals of the municipality itself. For instance, Hall (2007) discusses the conflict that arises between economic development goals, which are mission-oriented, and transparency goals, which are process-oriented. In this case, Hall shows that the goal for economic growth has on occasion trumped goals for transparency in governmental process, particularly as it relates to the incentives offered to relocating firms. Municipalities do not wish to "show their hand" in the competition with other municipalities to "win" a firm to locate within their borders. Thus they set aside transparency goals in pursuit of economic development.

Another way in which competing goals could be a source for misalignment are the long-term goals of economic development competing with the short-term goals of elected officials. This emerged as a potential source for misalignment in Leominster and Pittsfield, both of the strong-mayor form of city government. Hanson (1998) highlights these competing goals, indicating that economic development programs can be viewed as "too hindered by long gestation periods to survive in a political environment keyed to the electoral cycle" (p. 101). Feiock, Jeong, and Kim (2003) further specify a paradox within these competing goals, suggesting that elected leaders who pursue these short-term political gains may deny themselves the long-run political gains that come from long-run

economic development strategies. Regardless of this paradox, it is clear that the political goal of reelection can compete with the longer-term goals required for economic development.

Even within this study, it is evident that some of the preferences and goals held within one municipality can be in competition with one another—such as a preference for both open space and attracting new business seen in Leominster. Hall (2007) suggests that the resolution of the outcome of these conflicts often falls to leadership, which in the case of economic development may come from the economic development office, the mayor (Judd, 2000), the city council, or other political actors.

Challenges of regional economic development.

Another way in which politics can be a source of misalignment is in the area of regional economic development, which was cited as a potential issue in both Leominster and Worcester. Regional development efforts as they affect municipalities are dictated by the state. In the case of these cities, regional sectors have been defined and redefined, and pushed to the forefront of state economic development policy to differing degrees by differing administrations.¹⁵ In some cases, participation in regional efforts was suggested to be a prerequisite for a municipality to receive state support.

Ross and Levine (2006) note two particularly relevant concerns regarding the politics of regional economic development, which could contribute to the misalignment found in this study. First, regional efforts do not align with political boundaries. Thus these efforts are not pursued in the traditional public sphere in a manner that is

¹⁵ Key informants, Leominster and Pittsfield.

accountable to citizens. This could lead to misalignment with community preferences. This first concern leads to the second: that, as they operate outside the political sphere, business actors often dominate the agenda of regional economic development, which is likely to "shift the regional agenda toward business concerns" (Ross & Levine, 2006, p. 443) and away from a broader sense of the community preference. In a state system that emphasizes regional economic development within its borders and largely controls funds available to the municipalities, regional economic development could be a source of the misalignments observed in this study.

Issues particularly heightened by the political border: Spillover effect.

Economic development spillover, in particular the transmission of positive externalities, resulting from one region's investment in economic development policy to another region has been empirically shown to occur (for transportation: Berechman, et al., 2006; for amenities, Tajibaeva, Haight, & Polasky, 2007). Spillover effects are also known to get larger as the geographic area of investment becomes smaller (Berechman et al., 2006). This spillover or dispersion of the investment of benefits from one region to another creates a disincentive for investment in economic development goods. In this case, where investment using either federal or state funds spills from one targeted municipality to another, the disincentive is minimized as the benefits generally are captured within the broader borders of the state (or country) that provided the funding.

However, in the case of a city whose economic region extends beyond the political borders of the state in which it is located, those benefits could spill into another state. In this case, the disincentive caused by the spillover would exist. This may be the

root cause of the suggestion in Pittsfield that state-local politics and funding are a source for misalignment. If, as key informants in Pittsfield suggest, much or even some of the economic sphere of Pittsfield spills over into New York (approximately eight miles west), this could be a disincentive for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to invest economic development funds in Pittsfield, which would further limit that municipalities' access to funds and the ability to pursue policies in line with its stated goals.

Concerns of built-out cities.

Finally, while the cities selected for this study were expressly chosen as formerly thriving, now often struggling cities; and as cities within a unique group with particular challenges and attentions; these particular challenges of built-out cities were not themselves initially identified as potential sources for misalignment. However, this particular character of both Leominster and Worcester was mentioned as a particular obstacle to economic development. Key informants indicated that the politics at the state level were such that economic development tools or policies that could be of particular use to these built-out cities, such as TIFs for redevelopment, politically must be offered to all the cities and towns in the state to respond to the demands of municipal leaders across the state. Furthermore, state politicians have not yet offered—even broadly to all municipalities—the types of tools that these built-out cities indicate they need, such as incentives for market-rate housing. Thus, it seems that these concerns of built-out cities are not themselves a potential source for misalignment, but that the politics behind them may again be a source for misalignment through limited capacity in tools and funds to achieve the stated goals of the municipalities.

Lack of link between goal statements and policy decision-making; lack of familiarity with goal statements.

These sources of misalignment identified in this study raise questions about the role and responsibility of the economic development office and their capacity to pursue their stated goals.

Role and responsibility of the economic development office.

Blakely and Leigh (2010) highlight that the challenge inherent in defining economic development (as discussed in Chapter 2) also applies to defining economic development actors and their achievements. "The flexibility characterizing economic development can be an asset" (p. 105); although officials have limited resources to meet their goals, the fact that numerous activities *could* fall under the banner of economic development makes it easier to claim activity and achievement in the arena. This same flexibility, however, means that "any government of local community group can (and sometimes does) merely change the name of its activity or the name on the door in order to label its activities as economic development" (p. 105).

Economic development officials are characterized as salespeople (Blakely & Leigh, 2010), as professionals, and as street-level bureaucrats (Ross & Levine, 2006). The sales-based activity includes the reported 85% of the time that economic development officials report spending on attracting and retaining businesses in their regions (Blakely & Leigh, 2010). This frame characterizes economic development officials as salespeople marketing the benefits of their region to firms, who are their customers. Key informants in this study made reference to this idea of serving their

customers.¹⁶ Cuthill and Fien (2005) indicate a problem with this customer service view, which may reveal it as a potential source of misalignment, particularly away from community preference. They note that "this customer service focus, alongside limited resources for developmental work with communities, has sidetracked governments from developing any real commitment to a more participatory democracy" (p. 67). If governments need to engage with the community to know its preferences, then this concept of customer service could be a source of misalignment. Cuthill and Fien (2005) further explain that "a service perspective generally looks at fixing problems 'for' the community" as opposed to a community-based perspective that looks to work "with communities" (p. 67). Thus defining a customer-service role for the economic development office/officials could be a source of misalignment.

The role of economic development officials is also described as professionals, which Ross and Levine (2006) set in opposition to a possible role as "street-level bureaucrats." For Ross and Levine, the term professional "implies that the administrator will adhere to an accepted code of conduct recognized by the profession. . . [and] place service to the community above his or her own self-interest" (p. 273). Within the U.S. there are professional associations for economic development specialists and for planners,¹⁷ and key informants indicate that membership in and shared knowledge from such associations is valued. If economic development officials have a role of "professionals" then their charge is to make policy and policy decisions (Ross & Levine,

¹⁶ Worcester key informants.

¹⁷ American Planning Association <http://www.planning.org/> and National Rural Economic Developers Association http://www.nreda.org/web/2006/03/about_nreda.aspx

2006) guided by their training and expertise. If their professional training indicates policies should be pursued that do not align with community preferences or stated goals, that could be a source of misalignment.

Blakely and Leigh (2010) put a slightly different twist on the role of the economic development official, indicating their responsibility to "*assist* the community to find the correct path" to reach their goals (emphasis added). Their charge for economic development officials is to use their professional skills and training, but with an emphasis on their role to assist the community to reach their goals. This would indicate a responsibility for the economic development officials to determine community preferences. Blakely and Leigh (2010) suggest, as does the premise of this study, that officials should be guided in their policy actions by the mission of the economic development organization they serve. They write, "that mission may be clear or fuzzy, but it forms the justification for the organization's existence and imposes a limitation on the authority of the ED practitioner" (p. 107). Thus they see the mission as setting out the goals to guide and to restrain (against the flexibility for wandering of which they warn) policy setting and action. Thus, as suggested by this study, economic development officials have a responsibility to know and to be guided by the stated goals of their office.

Capacity.

Lacking the capacity or resources to pursue economic development goals could be a source of misalignment. Capacity to act, however, may not be restricted only by lack of funds as set out above. For Blakely and Leigh (2010), "capacity" also means the ability of the economic development organization and the community it serves to identify and

develop leadership and to gain expertise. Bartik (2005) too notes that public participation in economic development requires expertise to share knowledge about what policies are effective. A lack of this type of capacity could prevent communities from awareness of or preference for economic development goals and policies that can achieve them. In this study, for instance, Leominster data indicate that the focus that elected officials put on vocal constituent demands without an understanding of what makes good economic development policy may be a source for misalignment. If communities had better understanding of economic development policies and their effectiveness, they might make different demands. If elected officials also had a better understanding of economic development policies and their effectiveness, they might pursue different policies. Thus a lack of this type of policy could be a source for misalignment.

Conclusions

In conclusion, a summary of the findings to each of the research questions:

RQ1: What preferences have citizens revealed for their communities in the area of economic development?

These three cases showed a consensus around certain community preferences, particularly a focus on downtown revitalization and business attraction/retention across all three municipalities. The focus on downtown revitalization is unsurprising given the history and characteristics of these municipalities. The focus on business attraction/retention shows a degree of shared understanding of what economic development means.

RQII: To what extent do economic development officials/offices stated goals align with revealed community wants?

Here the data showed a tremendous amount of alignment. Only one municipality, Worcester, showed two points of misalignment among the dozens of stated goals and community preferences considered. The data supported the initial hypothesis that such misalignments occur due to economic development offices not knowing community preferences.

RQIII: To what extent do economic development office policies/practices/programs align with community wants and/or stated goals? and RQIV: Where we observe misalignments of goals and actions, why do these occur; what policy factors motivate and shape the choice of actions by the economic development offices?

Again the data revealed significant alignment in concept and in priority of focus. However, this is the area where we find the most misalignment. The data supports our initial hypotheses of sources for these misalignments:

H2: Lack of familiarity with published goal statements, suggesting they may be more "public relations" tools than policy prescriptions was revealed as a source of misalignment from the data in both Leominster and Worcester.

H3: Lack of linkage between goal statements and policy decision-making practices was revealed as a source of misalignment from the data in both Leominster and Worcester, additionally.

H4: Lack of funding, although not testable as originally intended, emerged as a source of misalignment from the data in all three municipalities.

The data also revealed obstacles that emerged as additional possible sources of misalignment as research progressed. The first of these emergent hypotheses is that politics, which comes in various forms and is often linked to the other source of misalignment (funding) is a source of misalignment. Politics emerged as a source of misalignment in all three municipalities. The second emergent hypothesis is that concerns unique to built-out cities are a source of misalignment, found in both Leominster and Worcester.

Future Research

The testing of the emergent hypotheses resulting from this study is a primary direction of future research. While the data suggested evidence for these hypotheses, it was not sufficient to allow a robust test of these new potential sources of misalignment. Future research could gather additional data and develop methodology to further pursue these hypotheses.

Additionally, a concept that arose as important from the data is the role that government structure and leadership can play in the development of stated goals and the implementation of policies. This role could also be a source for misalignment. Consider, for example, the role that government structure may play in the misalignment of community preferences and stated goals in Worcester. Svava (1990) finds that the council-manager structure present in Worcester can create a division between the role of the council to set the mission and direction for the city, and the role of the manager to

implement that direction through policy. In this way the structure of municipal leadership could be another source of misalignment to be considered in future research.

Another area for future research, related to the discussion of capacity above, is the question whether citizens and economic development officials/offices are aware of, have access to, and use information from the literature about the effectiveness of economic development policies. In several instances in this study, municipalities pursued economic development policies that were either untested or proven to be ineffective. This leads to questions such as: Do citizens have information about what policies are effective? If so, do they trust/use this information in determining their community preferences? Do other community preferences conflict with and perhaps supercede economic development preferences (Clingermayer & Feiock, 1995)? Do economic development offices/officials have information about what policies are effective? If so, do they trust/use this information in determining their goals and policies?

Furthermore, this question leads to a consideration of the role of economic development offices/officials themselves. Do they intend to reflect the preferences of their community, as the Tiebout model suggests, or do they intend to bring their professional expertise to bear regardless of community preferences? If it is the latter, could it be that stated goals are "public relations" statements intended to appease communities, while the policies set are guided not by these goals but by professional guidelines and experience?

Future research into any of these areas could provide further insights into the broader policy implications of this study, including further identifying the opportunities

and obstacles that citizens and communities face in articulating their goals to economic development offices; providing additional insight into the factors (motivational factors, policy factors, structural factors) that result in misalignments uncovered here; and, finally, providing a clearer view into the implications of economic development policies at the local, state, and perhaps federal level.

APPENDIX A

ASSESSMENT OF MISSION STATEMENTS

First, we assess the mission statements for clarity and tone. Economic development offices and officials reveal their economic development goals through articulations of mission statements, in descriptions of office responsibilities, and in stipulated goals and objectives. These are termed "mission statements" here for clarity, even if they are not expressly labeled as such.

The method in which these mission statements are articulated is important as an indication of the clear understanding of economic development goals internally (clarity), the ownership of those goals by the office and staff (tone), and the efforts to communicate those goals to the community outside of the office (clarity). Assessment is based on the Weiss and Piderit (1999) and Gunning and Kallan (1994) techniques described in the methodology.

Leominster

Table A1 below details the findings of this analysis for Leominster. Column 1 (department) indicates the source of the mission statement. Column 2 (combined rank clarity and tone) indicates the ranking for each office's statement combining its performance on both clarity (readability, thus usability) and tone (verb tense and person indicating degree of ownership and action). Column 3 (combined rank clarity and tone) provides the rank resulting from the analysis. For comparison, the mission statement of the Small Business and Economic Development Committee uses future tense ("shall")

and forms statements around the action of the entity ("the committee shall"); whereas the statement of the CDBG per its goals and objectives uses a passive verb formulation and forms statements around the goals rather than the actors ("The goals of Community Development are"), indicating less ownership of the action. Note that these are relative measures, and are presented here as one of many indications of efforts to communicate clearly and of ownership of goals and actions to achieve them.

A second form of assessment considers the level of focus of mission statements. Mission statements that include fewer subthemes are considered more focused in their identification and pursuit of a goal. Column 4 (subthemes) indicates the different subthemes included in each mission statement. Inclusion of fewer subthemes indicates a more focused statement. Leominster lists 13 subthemes altogether, with an average of four subthemes across the mission statements here.

Table A1

Assessing Leominster's Mission Statements

Department	Mission statement	Combined rank, clarity, tone	Subthemes
Small Business and Economic Development Committee	The Small Business and Economic Development (SBED) Committee shall consist of three members. The SBED Committee shall ensure that all economic planning is objective. The SBED Committee shall strive to create a positive economic climate and opportunities to encourage economic growth. The Committee shall determine and recommend action to the Council on all matters dealing with economic growth and development, economic policy, planning strategies, and environmental protection.	1	Planning Economic climate Economic growth Economic policy Environment (physical)
Office of Planning and Development	The goal of the Department is to apply good planning practices and procedures and to create opportunities and proactive plans that foster economic development, improved housing stock, and social assistance.	2	Planning Economic development Housing stock Public service funding/social assistance
Community Development Office/CDBG Program per website	The Community Development Office/Community Development Block Grant Program's (CDBG) primary focus is to assist in building neighborhoods and an overall community that all Leominster residents can be proud to call home.	3	Neighborhoods Community
CDBG program per goals and objectives	The goals of Community Development are to provide service and outreach to the low/mod income population and neighborhoods of the City through public service funding, housing rehab, public facility improvements, and Economic Development/job creation and job retention.	4	Public services Low/mod income neighborhoods Housing stock Economic development Job creation/retention

In general, data analysis reveals that Leominster does not put a lot of emphasis on the creation or use of its mission statements in its economic development work. Key informants in the office indicate mission statements were developed in the last year or two, at the request of the mayor, and in general they mirror those of the CDBG funding statements and requirements from HUD. Furthermore, officials indicated that much of the policy and practice they implement is guided by the reports and recommendations of state and policy reports, such as those from the Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development and the International Economic Development Council. Thus, as it relates to the adoption of policy innovation and advancement (such as mission statement implementation and active use), Leominster appears to be a later adopter (Kwon et al., 2009), as would be expected in a mayor-council form of government responding to the lowered political risk as innovations become legitimized through diffusion of use.

Pittsfield

Table A2 below details the findings for Pittsfield. The Master Plan vision statement is ranked the best on clarity and tone.¹⁸ The statement originated not to drive an office, but to drive choices across the community, and it is used as such in zoning and community development board meetings. The mission statement of Downtown Inc., which is not strictly a city agency but received much of its funding and charge from the city, is ranked second. It has a statement that evolves as the office evolves. The DCD and

¹⁸ Note that the Master Plan vision statement is not linguistically well written, however, particularly the sentence "By encouraging appropriate growth and development, we will become economically stronger as well as a more attractive place to live, work, and visit." "We" cannot become an attractive place to live, work, or visit. This was not included in the ranking as it was not measured by any of the tools I used here.

PERC mission statements tie for third on clarity and tone. The DCD office statement is based on its role in CDBG administration, and was developed after the office was established, and not changed as the office has changed structure (incorporating the planning office). Finally, the PEDA mission statement ranks last; its mission statement was established at the time of the origin of PEDA. It is also worth noting a link in PEDA's mission to the management values shift of the 1990s to an "empowerment model," as evidenced by the emphasis on "commitment" and the number of agencies involved. Next, consider the level of focus of Pittsfield's mission statements. Pittsfield lists 29 subthemes altogether, with an average of 7.5 subthemes across the mission statements here.¹⁹

¹⁹ Given the nontraditional government agency connection of both Downtown Inc. and PEDA, I wanted to determine whether inclusion of those mission statements significantly altered the subthemes data for the city. Note, thus: The subthemes total reduces to 26 if we exclude these two agencies (removing civic growth, social growth, and redeveloping GE site), and the average number of subthemes increases to 8.

Table A2

Assessing Pittsfield's Mission Statements

Department	Mission statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
Master plan	<p>Goal 1: Grow and develop in a manner that reinforces and complements Pittsfield's urban and historic character.</p> <p>Goal 2: Promote sustainable practices in all development projects.</p> <p>Goal 3: Revise land use policies, regulations and procedures to make it easy for city officials, city residents and the private sector to achieve the community's vision.</p> <p>Goal 1: Create and preserve neighborhoods that attract new people to live in Pittsfield and retain current residents.</p> <p>Goal 2: Provide a diversity of affordable workforce housing for current and future residents.</p> <p>Goal 3: Provide a diversity of housing choices to attract people in all stages of life.</p> <p>Goal 4: Raise the quality of housing stock.</p> <p>Goal 1: Promote the growth and expansion of new and existing businesses that support the city's economic, environmental, and social vision.</p> <p>Goal 2: Pursue stable, high-paying jobs and long-term career paths.</p> <p>Goal 3: Transform the Pittsfield Public School System into a center of educational excellence.</p> <p>Goal 4: Expand/capitalize on Pittsfield's diverse cultural institutions and historic fabric.</p> <p>Goal 5: Foster the growth of continuing education and higher education in Pittsfield and throughout the region, including seeking out opportunities to partner with the Pittsfield Adult Learning Center, BCC, and/or MCLA to achieve shared community economic and educational goals.</p> <p>Goal 1: Manage the flow of traffic in and through the city.</p> <p>Goal 2: Enhance the walkability of the community as a whole—connecting activity centers to neighborhoods with bicycle and pedestrian connections as well as improving public</p>	1	<p>Economic growth</p> <p>Support urban/historic character</p> <p>Sustainable development</p> <p>Land use policies and procedures—</p> <p>ease of use</p> <p>Neighborhoods</p> <p>Housing</p> <p>Support business</p> <p>Support jobs</p> <p>School system</p> <p>Cultural climate</p> <p>Continuing/ higher ed</p> <p>Traffic</p> <p>Walkability</p> <p>Public infrastructure/ facilities</p> <p>Open</p>

Department	Mission statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
	transit. Goal 3: Provide public facilities and government operations that contribute to the city's economic and environmental vision as well as ensure a high quality of life for Pittsfield residents. Goal 1: Protect, preserve and maintain natural resources and ensure adequate funding for open space and park planning as necessary to provide a high quality of life for Pittsfield's residents as well as an adequate amount, variety, and distribution of open space and water resources. Goal 2: Provide opportunities, resources, accessibility, and quality facilities for both recreation and conservation uses to all citizens. Goal 3: Develop while preserving traditional land use patterns, decreasing sprawl, and protecting large open spaces.		space/sprawl Recreation
Downtown Inc.	To attract and encourage economic, cultural, civic, and social excellence and growth in downtown Pittsfield.	2	Economic growth Cultural growth Civic growth Social growth
Department of Community Dev'ment	The mission of the Department of Community Development is to enhance the viability of the community as a desirable place in which to live and work through sound urban planning practices; housing, human services, and economic development activities that will primarily benefit persons of low and moderate income; and by eliminating conditions of slum and blight.	3	Desirable place to live and work Planning practices Housing Human services Economic development Low/mod income Slum and blight

Department	Mission statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
Zoning board (from ordinance)	The purpose of this ordinance is to promote the health, safety, convenience, and welfare of the inhabitants of the City of Pittsfield. In the furtherance of this purpose, regulations and restrictions are designed to lessen congestion in the streets; to prevent overcrowding of the land; to secure safety from fire, panic, and other dangers; to avoid undue concentration of population; to provide adequate light and air; to facilitate the adequate provisions of transportation, water, sewerage, schools, parks, and other public requirements; to conserve the value of land and buildings; to encourage the most appropriate use of land throughout the city; to preserve and increase its amenities; and to provide reasonable consideration for the existing character of the various areas of Pittsfield.	4	Health Safety Traffic Open space/sprawl Transportation Public services/infrastru cture Recreation Housing/ building value Amenities Support historic/character
PERC	PERC's primary purpose is to further the economic development and social welfare of the City of Pittsfield and Berkshire County. Fostering increased employment opportunities and facilitate growth and development of small businesses.	3	Economic development Social welfare Employment Small businesses
PEDA	PEDA is an organization representing a significant commitment of financial and human resources by government, business and private parties dedicated to the redevelopment of the former 52-acre General Electric industrial site in Pittsfield and to the recruitment and support of industry and commercial businesses in order to foster job creation and economic growth.	5	Redevelop GE site Employment Economic growth Attract business

Worcester

Table A3 below details the findings for Worcester. The zoning ordinance is the clearest goal statement according to style, as ranked on clarity and tone. The statement originated not to drive an office, but to drive choices across the community, and it is used as such in zoning and community development board meetings. The Executive Office of Economic Neighborhood and Workforce Development is ranked second, and is a statement that evolves as the office evolves. The now defunct Choose Worcester ranks third, with the WRA and Economic Development Division, both of which function under the Executive Office, ranking fourth and fifth.

According to a measure of the focus of the statements, Choose Worcester had the most focused goal, followed by the Executive Office and its subsidiaries the Economic Development Division (ranked third) and the WRA (fourth). The zoning ordinance, as the most specific and detailed statement, ranked last according to the focus of the statement.

Table A3

Assessing Worcester's Mission Statements

Department	Statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
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Department	Statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
Purpose of the zoning ordinance	<p>The purposes of this Ordinance are declared to be:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to promote the public health, safety and welfare; 2. to contribute to the implementation of the Master Plan; 3. to encourage the most appropriate use of land; 4. to prevent overcrowding of land; 5. to conserve the value of land and buildings including the conservation of natural resources and the prevention of blight and pollution of the environment; 6. to lessen congestion of traffic; 7. to prevent undue concentration of population. 8. to provide for adequate light, air quality, and limitation of pollution; 9. to secure safety from fire, flood, panic, and other dangers; 10. to encourage decent housing for persons of all income levels; 11. to facilitate the adequate and economic provision of transportation, water, water supply, drainage, sewerage, schools, parks, open space, and other public requirements 12. To promote the development of the natural, scenic and aesthetic qualities of the community; 13. to promote historic preservation of historically and/or architecturally significant land uses and structures along with implementing architectural and ecological considerations for the betterment of the community; 14. to preserve and increase the amenities of the city by implementing regulations to satisfy these objectives; 15. to promote and encourage a positive environment for business and economic development and expansion. 	1	Public health/safety Planning practices Land use Slum and blight Traffic Density Environment protection Infrastructure Historic preservation Public improvements/ Amenities Business Economic growth
Worcester Executive Office of Economic, Neighborhood and Workforce Development homepage	<p>The City of Worcester's goal is to create an environment within Worcester conducive to both business and residential activity.</p>	2	Business Residents

Department	Statement	Comb. rank, clarity, tone	Substantive subthemes
Choose Worcester	To attract businesses to locate in Worcester, showcasing the City as a strategic business location on a regional, national and international level; to help retain and grow the businesses that already exist in the City.	3	Business
WRA	The goal of the Worcester Redevelopment Authority is to identify and implement Urban Renewal Area Plans and corresponding amendments in Worcester. Following State approval of a plan, designed to assist in the elimination of slums and blight, the WRA is responsible for urban renewal planning, land acquisition, business relocation, demolition of obsolete structures, site testing/preparation, and public improvements.	4	Planning practices Slum and blight Land acquisition Business Site preparation Public improvements/ amenities
Economic Development division homepage	The Economic Development Division's goal is to create an environment within Worcester conducive to both business and residential activity, in turn attracting and leveraging additional private investment.	5	Business Residents Investment

APPENDIX B

ALIGNMENT EXPLANATIONS

Leominster

The table below explains the alignments between community preferences and stated goals presented in the Leominster case. Each point of alignment is numbered.

Explanations for each numbered alignment are listed below the table.

Table B1

Comparing Leominster Community Preferences and Stated Goals

Stated goal (rank of importance)	<u>Community preference (rank of importance)</u>					
	Density, speed of growth, open space, traffic mgmt., environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success, attract industry (3)	Safe and walkable environment (4)	Reuse for old industrial buildings (5)	Downtown (5)
Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse) (1)	X 1		X 2			
Enhance natural beauty, open space, environmental protection (2)	X 3					
Create, retain jobs (3)			X 4			
Attract/retain business—industry in particular (4)			X 5			
Downtown improvements (5)						X 6

Stated goal (rank of importance)	Community preference (rank of importance)					
	Density, speed of growth, open space, traffic mgmt., environmental quality (1)	Improve housing stock (2)	Commercial success, attract industry (3)	Safe and walkable environment (4)	Reuse for old industrial buildings (5)	Downtown (5)
Build/support neighborhoods/community (6)			X (quality of life) 7			
Attract/retain business (7)			X 8			
Improve housing stock (7)		X 9				
Infrastructure (7)			X (public service provision) 10			
Address buildings in poor condition/reuse opportunities (8)			X (where reuse is industrial buildings) 11		X 12	
Recreational opportunities (8)			X (quality of life) 13			
Safety (reduce crime, etc.) (8)			X (quality of life) 14	X 15		
Support small business (8)			X 16			X (much of downtown is small business) 17
Traffic mgmt (8)	X 18					
Tax revenue (8)						
Improve quality of life (9)			X 19	X 20		
Mix of business (9)			X21 (to gain mix need to attract industry)			

Alignments:

- 1) The goal to have proper planning processes and zoning aligns with the preference to address issues of density, preserve open space, manage traffic, and preserve environmental quality.
- 2) The goal of establishing planning and zoning practices that identify and remove barriers to business aligns with the preference to foster commercial success and attract industry.
- 3) The goal to enhance natural beauty, preserve open space, and protect the environment aligns with the preference to address the speed of growth, preserve open space, and environmental quality.
- 4) The goal to create and retain jobs aligns with the goal to support existing and attract new businesses.
- 5) The goal to attract/retain business aligns with the preference to attract/support business.
- 6) The goal to make downtown improvements aligns with the preference for economic development downtown.
- 7) The goal to build/support community and neighborhoods contributes to the quality of life, which then aligns with the preference to attract/support business.
- 8) The goal to attract/retain business aligns with the preference to support/attract industry.
- 9) The goal to improve housing stock aligns with the preference to improve housing stock.

- 10) The goal of infrastructure development aligns with the preference for commercial success/attract industry by way of public service provision.
- 11) The goal to restore/reuse buildings in poor condition aligns with the preference to attract/support business as many of the rehabilitations are of old industrial buildings designed for reuse needs.
- 12) The goal of restoring/reusing buildings aligns with the preferences for reuse of old buildings.
- 13) The goal of providing recreational opportunities contributes to the quality of life, which then aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 14) The goal of providing safety contributes to the quality of life, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 15) The goal to provide safety aligns with the preference for a safe and walkable environment.
- 16) The goal to support small business aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 17) The goal to support small business aligns with the preference for economic development downtown as many small businesses are located there.
- 18) The goal of traffic management aligns with the preference for traffic management.
- 19) The goal of improving the quality of life aligns with the preference for commercial success/attracting business.
- 20) The goal to improve the quality of life aligns with the preference for a safe and walkable environment, which is a contributor to quality of life.

21) The goal to have a mix of business aligns with the preference for commercial success/attracting industry, as in order to have a mix of business you need to have successful businesses and attract new businesses.

Policy alignments with community preferences and stated goals.

The tables below mirror those in the Leominster case summary. Each presents the anticipated outcomes of policies measured two ways: (a) as indicated in the data analysis (designated by *), and (b) as determined in the literature, using the (designated by √), sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. Indirect outcomes are indicated by the inclusion of parenthetical reference to the mode through which they may support the community preferences in parentheses. Each type of alignment (both * and √) is numbered. The alignments are listed by type and number and explained below the table.

Table B2

Alignment of Anticipated Policy Outcomes with Community Preferences: Leominster

Policy	Density, sprawl, environmental quality	Improve housing stock	<u>Community preferences</u>			Downtown
			Commercial success, attract industry	Safe and walkable environment, reduce crime	Reuse old industrial buildings	
Business assistance			√ 1 (by streamlining regulations)		* 1	
Expedited permitting			√ 2 (streamline regulations)		√ 3 (streamline regulations)	
			* 2		* 3	
Business parks development			√ 4 (public service provision)			
			* 4			

Policy	Density, sprawl, environmental quality	Improve housing stock	Community preferences			Downtown
			Commercial success, attract industry	Safe and walkable environment, reduce crime	Reuse old industrial buildings	
Business tours			√ 5 (streamline regulations) *5			
Tax-free day in February			√ 6 (boost total revenue) *6			
Hospital overlay			√ 7 (streamline regulations)			
Factory renovations (business support)			√ 8 (reduce firm capital costs)		*7	
TIFs (various businesses)			√ 9 (reduce firm capital costs)		* 8 (many are targeted to industry)	
Rezoning	*9		√ 10 (streamline regulations)			
Small business conference			√ 11 (boost total revenue) *10			
Marketing/branding			Not effective			
Website			Not effective *11			
Revitalize downtown			√ 12 (streamline regulations; public service provision) *12			*13
Single tax rate			√ 13 (reduction in taxes) *14			
Storefront improvement			√ 14 (reduce capital costs)			

Alignments—per literature outcomes (√)

- 1) The policy for providing business assistance serves to streamline the regulations and permits process for businesses, which aligns with the preference to support existing and attract new businesses.
- 2) The policy of expedited permitting serves to streamline regulations and permits process for business, which aligns with the preference to attract/support business.
- 3) The policy of expedited permitting is targeted to areas in need of economic development, including old factory buildings, which supports the preference for reuse of old industrial buildings.
- 4) The policy of business park development provides public services, such as water and sewer and other lot preparation services, which supports the preference to attract/support business.
- 5) The policy of touring existing businesses, which assist firms with their municipal-related needs and streamlines regulation/permitting, align with the preference to attract/support business.
- 6) The policy of promoting a tax-free day, where participating stores reduce their prices equivalent to the sales tax, is intended to increase customer base, and over the long term increase revenues. This aligns with the preference for commercial success/attract industry.
- 7) The hospital overlay, which streamlines zoning requirements for health care industry in that area, aligns with the preference to support/attract business.

- 8) The policy to support factory renovations for industrial location/relocation aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 9) The policy to provide tax increment financing, reducing the capital costs for firms, aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 10) The updating of the zoning ordinance, which sought to streamline the zoning process for business, aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 11) The policy of providing small business conferences for firms to network and learn about current issues helps to increase firms' total revenue, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 12) The policy to revitalize downtown includes efforts to streamline permitting/zoning for business in that area, as well as to provide public services there, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 13) The policy of a single tax rate for both residential and commercial business provides a low tax rate for businesses, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 14) The policy for storefront improvements works to reduce capital costs for firms, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.

Alignments per data reported anticipated outcomes (*)

- 1) The policy for business assistance is anticipated to have an outcome of facilitating businesses to locate/relocate/stay in old industrial buildings, thus aligning with the preference for reuse of such buildings.
- 2) The policy of expedited permitting is anticipated to attract businesses.

- 3) The policy of expedited permitting includes a focus on industrial building reuse, which aligns with the preference for reuse of industrial buildings.
- 4) The policy for business park development is anticipated to align with the preference for attracting business.
- 5) The policy for touring existing businesses is anticipated to identify and support the municipal needs of businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract/support business.
- 6) The policy of promoting a tax-free day, where participating stores reduce their prices equivalent to the sales tax, is expected to increase customer base, and over the long term increase revenues. This aligns with the preference for commercial success/attract industry.
- 7) The policy of supporting businesses engaging in factory renovations aligns with the preference for reuse of industrial buildings.
- 8) The policy of providing tax increment financing, which is often targeted for industrial businesses who will reuse old facilities, aligns with the preference for reuse of industrial buildings.
- 9) The policy of updating the zoning ordinance aligns with a preference for density/sprawl/environmental quality.
- 10) The policy of providing small business conferences is anticipated to support existing businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract/support business.

- 11) The website promoting Leominster and its welcoming message for business is anticipated to attract new businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract/support business.
- 12) The policy to revitalize downtown is anticipated to support business and attract new business, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.
- 13) The policy to revitalize downtown, where many old buildings remain, aligns with the preference to reuse old buildings.
- 14) The policy of a single tax rate is anticipated to provide a business friendly atmosphere, which aligns with the preference to support/attract business.

Table B3

Comparing Stated Goals of City and Anticipated Outcomes of Policies: Leominster

Stated goals	Policy/program						
	Business assistance	Expedited permitting	Business parks	Business tours	Tax-free day	Hospital overlay	Factory renovations
1) Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse)							
2) Enhance natural beauty open space/environmental protection							
3) Create and retain jobs	*1		X5	X8		X11	13
4) Attract/retain business—industry in particular	√1	* 3 √2	X6 √4	X9	X10√6	√7	
5) Downtown improvements							
6) Support neighborhoods/community							
7) Improve housing stock							
7) Infrastructure			X7				
8) Address buildings in poor condition	* 2	X4 √3		√5			
8) Recreational opportunities							
8) Safety (reduce crime)							
8) Support small business							
8) Traffic management							
8) Generate tax revenue							
9) Improve quality of life						X12	
9) Support a mix of business							

Stated goals	<u>Policy/program</u>							
	TIFs	Rezoning	Small biz conferences	Marketing	Website	Revitalize downtown	Single tax rate	Storefront improvements
1) Identify barriers/ease process for business/planning strategies/zoning (and multiuse)		A						
2) Enhance natural beauty open space/environmental protection		X16						
3) Create and retain jobs	X14	X17						
4) Attract/retain business—industry in particular	X15 √9	√10	X19		X20	X21	* 23 √11	X24 √12
5) Downtown improvements						A		
6) Support neighborhoods/community								
7) Improve housing stock								
7) Infrastructure								
8) Address buildings in poor condition								
8) Recreational opportunities								
8) Safety (reduce crime)								
8) Support small business			A					
8) Traffic management								
8) Generate tax revenue								
9) Improve quality of life		X18						
9) Support a mix of businesses						X22		

Alignment per the literature ✓

- 1) The policy of providing business assistance aligns with the goal of attract/retain business.
- 2) The policy of expedited permitting aligns with the goal of attract/retain business.
- 3) The policy of expedited permitting is often directed at generating old industrial building reuse, which aligns with the goal of addressing buildings in poor condition.
- 4) The policy of developing business parks in the city aligns with the goal of attract/retain business.
- 5) The policy of touring existing businesses intends to streamline permitting processes, which aligns with the goal of attract/retain business.
- 6) The policy to hold a tax-free day is anticipated to bring traffic to businesses, increasing their total revenue, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain businesses.
- 7) The hospital overlay policy intends to support the existing hospital and attract further health care growth, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 8) The policy to renovate/support the renovation of factories for reuse aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 9) The policy to provide tax increment financing aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

- 10) The policy to overhaul the zoning ordinance to streamline zoning and permitting aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 11) The single tax rate policy provides a lower local tax rate, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 12) The policy to support storefront improvements reduces capital costs for firms, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.

Alignment as reported in the data is marked with an "*".

- 1) The policy of providing business assistance is anticipated to support businesses and attract new ones, which aligns with the goal of creating and retaining jobs.
- 2) The policy of providing business assistance is anticipated to support business, including those seeking to open/relocate in old industrial buildings, which aligns with the goal of addressing buildings in poor condition.
- 3) The policy of expedited permitting is anticipated to support businesses and attract new ones, which aligns with the goal of attract/retain business.
- 4) The policy of expedited permitting is anticipated to anticipated to support business, particularly those seeking to open/relocate in old industrial buildings, which aligns with the goal of addressing buildings in poor condition.
- 5) The policy of developing business parks in the city is anticipated to attract businesses to locate there, which aligns with the goal to create and retain jobs.
- 6) The policy of developing business parks in the city is anticipated to attract businesses to locate there, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

- 7) The policy of developing business parks in the city is anticipated to attract businesses to locate there by providing land/lot preparation and public services, which aligns with the goal to provide infrastructure.
- 8) The policy to tour existing businesses is anticipated to support existing business, which aligns with the goal to create and retain jobs.
- 9) The policy to tour existing businesses is anticipated to support existing business, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 10) The policy to hold a tax-free day is anticipated to bring traffic to businesses, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain businesses.
- 11) The policy to provide a hospital overlay is anticipated to support the growth of the existing hospital and attract related business, which aligns with the goal to create and retain jobs.
- 12) The policy to provide a hospital overlay is anticipated to support the growth of the existing hospital, which is seen as an amenity to the town residents and businesses, which aligns with the goal to improve quality of life.
- 13) The policy to support factory renovations is anticipated to support existing and attract new businesses, which aligns with the goal to create and retain jobs.
- 14) The policy to provide tax increment financing is anticipated to support growth of existing and attract new business, which aligns with the goal to create and retain jobs.

- 15) The policy to provide tax increment financing is anticipated to support growth of existing and attract new business, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 16) The policy of updating/improving the zoning ordinance is anticipated to address the municipalities' desire for development in their city, which aligns with the preference to enhance natural beauty open space/environmental protection.
- 17) The policy of updating/improving the zoning ordinance is anticipated to streamline and clarify the permitting process for business, which aligns with the preference to create and retain jobs.
- 18) The policy of updating/improving the zoning ordinance is anticipated to address the municipalities' desire for development in their city, which aligns with the preference to enhance the quality of life.
- 19) The policy to provide small business conferences is anticipated to support existing business, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 20) The policy to provide a website to promote the city to prospective businesses, aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 21) The policy to revitalize downtown is anticipated to support existing businesses there as well as to attract new business, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.
- 22) The policy to revitalize downtown is anticipated to support existing businesses there as well as to attract new business, which aligns with the goal to support a mix of business.

23) The policy of a single tax rate is anticipated to provide a business-friendly environment, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.

24) The policy to support storefront improvements is anticipated to reduce capital costs for firms, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.

Pittsfield

The table below explains the alignments between community preferences and stated goals presented in the Pittsfield case. Each point of alignment is numbered.

Explanations for each numbered alignment are listed below the table.

Table B4

Comparing Pittsfield Stated Goals with Community Preferences

Stated goal (rank of importance)	Community preference (rank of importance)			
	Attract business (1)	Revitalize downtown (2)	Jobs (2)	Attract tourists (3)
Business attraction/expansion (1)	X1			
Jobs (2)			X2	
Improve housing (diversity, stock, affordability) (2)	X3 (quality of life)			
Vibrant/sustainable/cultural economy (3)				X4
Downtown (also traffic flow) (4)		X5		X6
Best development mix for city (4)	X7		X8	
Tax base (5)	X9		X10 (jobs attract citizens)	
Education (primary and secondary; links to university) (5)	X11 (quality of life)		X12 (workforce quality and fit)	
Open space and recreation (5)	X13 (quality of life)			
Help public understand development process (6)				
Mixed-use zoning (6)	X14	X15		
Sustainable development practices (6)	X 16 (quality of life)			
Revise/streamline zoning and procedures (6)	X17			
Walkability (6)	X18 (quality of life)			X19

Alignments

- 1) The goal for business attraction/expansion aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 2) The goal for jobs aligns with the preference for jobs.

- 3) The goal to improve housing can improve the quality of life in the city, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 4) The goal for having a vibrant/sustainable/cultural economy provides amenities that would align with the preference for attracting tourists.
- 5) The goal for economic development downtown aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 6) The goal for economic development downtown can revitalize downtown, which aligns with the preference for attracting tourists.
- 7) The goal to have the best development mix for the city aligns with the preference for attracting business, which will provide a mix of businesses.
- 8) The goal to have the best development mix for the city can bring businesses to meet the city's needs, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 9) The goal to grow the tax base aligns with the preference to attract business, which will generate tax revenue.
- 10) The goal to grow the tax base aligns with the preference for jobs, as the presence of jobs in the city can attract citizens to the city, which generates tax revenue.
- 11) The goal for education supports the quality of life, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 12) The goal for education aligns with the preference for jobs by providing workers the training for jobs.
- 13) The goal for open space and recreation supports the quality of life, which aligns with the preference to attract business.

- 14) The goal for mixed-use zoning supports growth of business, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 15) The goal for mixed-use zoning supports development of businesses and housing downtown, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 16) The goal for sustainable development practices supports quality of life, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 17) The goal to revise/streamline zoning procedures creates a business-friendly environment, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 18) The goal for walkability supports quality of life, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 19) The goal for walkability supports quality of life and a pedestrian friendly downtown, which aligns with the preference to attract tourists.

Alignment of policy outcomes with community preferences and stated goals.

Table B5 below presents that anticipated outcomes measured two ways: (a) as indicated in the data analysis (designated by *), and (b) as determined in the literature (designated by √), sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. Indirect outcomes are indicated by the inclusion of parenthetical reference to the mode through which they may support the community preferences in parentheses. Each type of alignment (* and √) is numbered. The alignments are listed by type and number and explained below the table.

Table B5

Alignment of Anticipated Policy Outcomes with Community Preferences: Pittsfield

Policy/program	<u>Community preferences</u>			
	Attract business (1)	Revitalize downtown (2)	Jobs (2)	Attract tourists (3)
Colonial Theatre	*1	*2	*3	*4
TIF to business	√1 (reduce capital costs)		*5	
PEDA biz park	√2 (public service provision) *6	*7	√3 *8	
Cinema Center	√4 (reduce capital costs) *9	*10	*11	
Downtown Arts Overlay	√5 (streamline regulations)	*12		
Barrington Stage	√6 (reduce capital costs) *13	*14	*15	*16
Berkshire Museum	√7 (reduce capital costs) *17	*18		*19
Pittsfield Enterprise Center	√8 (reduce capital costs)		*20	
Downtown parking	√9 (public service provision)	*21		*22
Creative economy	*23	*24		*25
Airport	√10 *26			

Alignment from the literature (√)

- 1) The policy of providing tax increment financing works to reduce the capital costs for businesses, including new businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 2) The policy of providing the PEDA business park creates lots ready for new business and the services to support them, which aligns with the preference to attract business.

- 3) The policy of providing the PEDDA business park creates lots ready for new business and the services to support them, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 4) The policy of supporting the Beacon Cinema Center downtown reduces the capital costs for the business to locate there, aligning with the preference to attract business. It also can serve to revitalize downtown, which improves the quality of life and can attract business.
- 5) The policy for the downtown arts overlay streamlines permitting and zoning process for arts-related businesses, which aligns with the preference for attracting business.
- 6) The support for the Barrington Stage Company reduced the capital costs for the business to locate there, aligning with the preference to attract business. It also can serve to revitalize downtown, which improves the quality of life and can attract business.
- 7) The policy to support the Berkshire Museum reduced the capital costs for the business to locate there, aligning with the preference to attract business. It also can serve to revitalize downtown, which improves the quality of life and can attract business.
- 8) The Pittsfield Enterprise Center incubates new business by helping to reduce their capital costs, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 9) The policy to provide downtown parking serves as a transportation enhancement to the area, which aligns with the preference to attract business.

- 10) A policy to rehabilitate the airport serves as a public service enhancement to the area, which aligns with a preference to attract business.

Alignment with anticipated outcomes from the data (*)

- 1) The policy of supporting renovation of the Colonial Theatre, anticipated to serve as a catalyst for downtown revitalization, aligns with the preference for attracting business
- 2) The policy of supporting renovation of the Colonial Theatre, located downtown, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 3) The policy of supporting renovation of the Colonial Theatre, anticipated to serve as a catalyst for downtown revitalization, aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 4) The policy of supporting renovation of the Colonial Theatre, anticipated to serve as a catalyst for downtown revitalization, aligns with the preference for attracting tourists.
- 5) The policy for tax increment financing is designed to support business, including the generation or retention of jobs, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 6) The policy for developing the PEDDA business park is anticipated to attract businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 7) The policy for developing the PEDDA business park is anticipated to attract businesses that will patronize downtown, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 8) The policy for developing the PEDDA business park is anticipated to attract businesses, which aligns with the preference for jobs.

- 9) The policy to support development of the Beacon Cinema Center supported the business to locate there, and is anticipated to attract complementary businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 10) The policy to support development of the Beacon Cinema Center, located downtown, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 11) The policy to support development of the Beacon Cinema Center supported the business to locate there, and is anticipated to attract complementary businesses, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 12) The downtown arts overlay policy is anticipated to spur downtown businesses and housing growth, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 13) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company was anticipated to attract not only that business, but other complementary businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 14) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company, which is located downtown, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 15) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company was anticipated to attract not only that business, but other complementary businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract jobs.
- 16) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company was anticipated to attract not only that business, but other complementary arts-related businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract tourists.

- 17) The policy to support the Berkshire Museum, was anticipated to spur downtown revitalization, attracting other businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 18) The policy to support the renovation/expansion of the Berkshire Museum, located downtown, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 19) The policy to support the Berkshire Museum was anticipated to attract other businesses, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 20) The Pittsfield Enterprise Center is anticipated to enhance the development of business and job opportunities, which aligns with the preference for jobs.
- 21) The policy to provide downtown parking is anticipated to support downtown business and housing, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 22) The policy to provide downtown parking is anticipated to support downtown business, which aligns with the preference for attracting tourists.
- 23) The policy to develop a creative economy was anticipated to support the development of downtown businesses, which aligns with the preference to attract business.
- 24) The policy to develop a creative economy was anticipated to support the development of downtown businesses, including arts features, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.

25) The policy to develop a creative economy was anticipated to support the development of downtown businesses, including arts features, which aligns with the preference to attract tourists.

26) The policy to support airport renovations is anticipated to support the needs of business, which aligns with the preference for attracting business.

Table B6

Comparing Pittsfield Stated Goals and Policies

Stated goals	<u>Policy/program</u>					
	Colonial Theatre	TIF to business	PEDA biz park	Cinema Center	Downtown Arts Overlay	Barrington Stage
1) Business attraction/expansion	*1	√1	√2	*7 √3	√4	*13 √5
2) Improve housing						
2) Jobs	*2	*5	*6	*8		*14
3) Vibrant/creative economy						
4) Downtown revitalization	*3			*9	*11	*15
4) Best development mix for city						
5) Education						
5) Open space						
5) Tax base	*4					
6) Help public understand dev. process						
6) Mixed-use zoning					*12	
6) Sustainable development						
6) Revise/streamline zoning						
6) Walkability						

Stated goals	<u>Policy/program</u>				
	Berkshire Museum	Pittsfield Enterprise Center	Downtown parking	Creative economy	Airport
1) Business attraction/expansion	*16 √6	√7	√8	*20	*22
2) Improve housing					
2) Jobs		*18			
3) Vibrant/creative economy					√ 9
4) Downtown revitalization	*17		*19	*21	
4) Best development mix for city					
5) Education					
5) Open space					
5) Tax base					
6) Help public understand dev. process					
6) Mixed-use zoning					
6) Sustainable development					
6) Revise/streamline zoning					
6) Walkability					

Alignment with the literature (√)

- 1) The policy to provide tax increment financing reduces capital costs for business, which aligns with the goal to attract/expand business.
- 2) The PEDAs business park provides prepared lots and public services to potential businesses, which aligns with the goal to attract/expand business.
- 3) The policy to support development of the Beacon Cinema Center reduced the capital costs for the cinema, which aligns with the goal to attract/expand business.
- 4) The downtown arts overlay policy streamlines permitting and regulations for business that meet the requirements, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.

- 5) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company reduced the capital cost for the organization, which aligns with the goal to attract business.
- 6) The policy to support the expansion/improvements of the Berkshire Museum reduced the capital costs, which aligns with the goal to attract business.
- 7) The Pittsfield Enterprise Center incubates growing businesses, reducing their capital costs, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.
- 8) The policy to provide downtown parking enhances the transportation infrastructure of the city, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.
- 9) The policy to rehabilitate the airport enhances the public service infrastructure, which aligns with the goal to attract/retain business.

Alignment with anticipated outcomes from data (*)

- 1) The policy to support the renovation of the Colonial Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the goal of business attraction/expansion.
- 2) The policy to support the renovation of the Colonial Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the goal of jobs.
- 3) The policy to support the renovation of the Colonial Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the goal of downtown revitalization.
- 4) The policy to support the renovation of the Colonial Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the goal of growing the tax base.

- 5) The policy of tax increment financing is anticipated to retain/attract businesses and create new jobs, which aligns with the goal for jobs.
- 6) The PEDDA business park is anticipated to attract new business, which aligns with the goal of jobs.
- 7) The policy to support the development of the Beacon Cinema Center is anticipated to both support that business and attract complementary businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal of business attraction/expansion.
- 8) The policy to support the development of the Beacon Cinema Center is anticipated to both support that business as well as attract complementary businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal of jobs.
- 9) The policy to support the development of the Beacon Cinema Center is anticipated to both support that business as well as attract complementary businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal of downtown revitalization.
- 10) The downtown arts overlay policy is anticipated to support business and housing development downtown, which aligns with the goal for a vibrant creative economy.
- 11) The downtown arts overlay policy is anticipated to support business and housing development downtown, which aligns with the goal for downtown revitalization.
- 12) The downtown arts overlay policy is anticipated to support business and housing development downtown, which aligns with the goal for mixed-use/zoning.

- 13) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company is anticipated to bring not only that business, but complementary arts-related businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal for business attraction/expansion.
- 14) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company is anticipated to bring not only that business, but complementary arts-related businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal for jobs.
- 15) The policy to support the Barrington Stage Company is anticipated to bring not only that business, but complementary arts-related businesses downtown, which aligns with the goal for downtown revitalization.
- 16) The policy to support the Berkshire Museum's renovation is anticipated to support the growth not only of that business, but of the business sector downtown, which aligns with the goal of business attraction/expansion.
- 17) The policy to support the Berkshire Museum's renovation is anticipated to support the growth not only of that business, but of the business sector downtown, which aligns with the goal of downtown revitalization.
- 18) The Pittsfield Enterprise Center supports the development of new businesses, which is anticipated to align with the goal of jobs.
- 19) The policy to provide downtown parking is anticipated to support business and housing growth downtown, which supports the goal of downtown revitalization.
- 20) The policy to develop a creative economy is anticipated to foster new creative-related business growth, which aligns with the goal of business attraction/expansion.

21) The policy to develop a creative economy is anticipated to foster new creative-related business growth, particularly downtown, which aligns with the goal of downtown revitalization.

22) The renovation of the airport is anticipated to support business, which aligns with the goal of business attraction/expansion.

Worcester

The table below explains the alignments between community preferences and stated goals presented in the Worcester case. Each point of alignment is numbered.

Explanations for each numbered alignment are listed below the table.

Table B7

Comparing Worcester Stated Goals with Community Preferences

Stated goal (rank—tally)	Community preference (rank of importance)								
	Revitalize downtown (1–52)	Attract biz (2– 10)	Transport (3–7)	Market city (4–5)	Clean brown- fields (5–4)	Lower biz tax/one tax rate (5–4)	Streamline permits (6–2)	Quality educ./ training (6–2)	Ctr of innovation, excitement, culture (7–1)
Attract, retain biz (1–19)		X1							
Revit./vibrant downtown (1–19)	X2								X3
Marketing (2–12)		X4		X5					
Demolish/reuse structures/ brownfields (3–11)		X6			X7				
Rail service (4–10)			X8						
Job creation/retention (5–9)		X9							
Transportation/infrastructure/ downtown parking (5–9)	X10	X11	X12						
Housing dntn/mixed-use (6–7)	X13								
Tax incentives/finance new biz/reduce tax rate (6–7)		X14				X15			
Quality of life (7–5)		X16							X17
Tax base (7–5)									
Tourism (regional) (7–5)									
Workforce development; attraction (7–5)		X18						X19	
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7–5)					X20				
Streamline permitting (8–4)		X21					X22		
Safety (9–2)	X23	X24 (qual. of life)							
Historic preservation (10–1)									X26
Revitalize neighborhoods (10–1)	X25	*27 (qual. of life)							

Alignment

- 1) The goal of attract/retain business aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 2) The goal to revitalize downtown aligns with the preference to revitalize downtown.
- 3) The goal to revitalize downtown includes renovation of arts entities and promotion of activities in the area. This aligns with the preference to become a center of innovation/excitement and culture.
- 4) The goal of marketing is designed to attract businesses, citizens, and tourists to the city, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.²⁰
- 5) The goal of marketing aligns with the preference to market the city.
- 6) The goal of demolition/reuse of structures/brownfields is designed to create sites ready for business use, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 7) The goal of demolition/reuse of structures/brownfields aligns with the preference for brownfield cleanup.
- 8) The goal of rail service aligns with the preference for transportation.
- 9) The goal of job creation requires having successful existing business or attracting new business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 10) The goal of transportation is intended to bring workers into the city on highways and rail, which in particular is focused downtown. This aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.

²⁰ Marketing is an ineffective policy according to the literature, but that does not preclude recognizing that there is alignment here.

- 11) The goal of transportation intends to support existing and attract new business by drawing workers and consumers to the city, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 12) The goal of transportation aligns with the preference for transportation.
- 13) The goal of downtown housing/mixed-use aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 14) The goal of tax incentives/financing new business/reduce tax rate aligns with the preference for attracting business.
- 15) The goal of tax incentives/financing new business/reduce tax rate aligns with the preference for reducing the commercial tax rate.
- 16) The goal for improving quality of life aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 17) The goal for improving quality of life, including amenities and activities, aligns with the preference to make the city a center of Innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 18) The goal of workforce development is intended to be attractive to business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 19) The goal of workforce development aligns with the preference for quality of education/training.
- 20) The goal of prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality aligns with the preference for brownfields cleanup, which involves remediating poor environmental areas.

- 21) The goal to streamline permitting aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 22) The goal to streamline permitting aligns with the preference for streamlining permitting.
- 23) The goal for safety aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization, which includes a preference for increased safety in that area.
- 24) The goal for safety would increase the quality of life in the city, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 25) The goal for historic preservation, which is often aimed at preserving/renovating downtown buildings, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 26) The goal for historic preservation, which can retain the historic appearance of buildings, thus creating cultural attractions, aligns with the preference to be a center of innovation/excitement and culture.
- 27) The goal to revitalize neighborhoods would increase the quality of life in the city, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.

Alignment of policy outcomes with community preferences and stated goals.

Table B8 below presents the anticipated outcomes measured two ways: (a) as indicated in the data analysis (designated by *), and (2) as determined in the literature (designated by √), sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. Indirect outcomes are indicated by the inclusion of parenthetical reference to the mode through which they may support the community preferences in parentheses. Each type of alignment (*) and (√) is numbered. The alignments are listed by type and number and explained below the table.

Table B8

Comparing Policy Outcomes with Community Preference: Worcester

Stated goal (rank—tally)	Community preference (rank of importance)								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brown-fields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of educ./ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
City Square	*1	√1 (reduce capital costs)							
Gateway Business Park	*2	√2 (pub svce provision)							*3
South Worcester Industrial Park		√3 (pub svce provision)			*4				
Downtown revitalization	*5	√4 (streamline regulation, pub svce provision)							*6
Expedited permitting		√5 (streamline regulation)					A		
Infrastructure		√6 (pub svce provision)							
Publicize/promote city		*7 (not effective)			A (not effective)				
Business assistance program		*8√7 (streamline regulation)							
TIFs		*9√8 (reduce capital costs)							
Transportation		*10√9 (pub svce provision)							
Airport		*11							
Union Station		*12							
Union Station trains	*13	√10 (pub svce provision)	A						

Stated goal (rank—tally)	<u>Community preference (rank of importance)</u>								
	Revitalize downtown (1)	Biz attraction (2)	Transport (3)	Market city (4)	Clean brown- fields (5)	Lower biz tax rate/ single tax rate (5)	Streamline permits (6)	Quality of educ./ training (6)	Center of innovation, excitement, culture (7)
Union Station parking		*14√11 (pub svce provision)	A						
Zoning		√12 (streamline regulation)					A		
Arts district	*15	√13 (streamline regulation)							*16
Restoration of common Streetscape (Main St.)	*17 *19								*18 *20
Downtown parking	A	√14 (pub svce provision)	A						
Hanover Theatre	*21	*22							*23
North Main Economic Development	*24								
Reduce commercial tax rate		*25√15 (reduce local taxes)				A ^a			
Brownfield Cleanup		√16 (pub svce provision)			A				
Revolving Loan Fund									
Blackstone Canal									
Historic District									
UniverCity partnership		*16							
Streamline permitting		A√17 (pub svce provision)					A		
Parking overlay districts		*27√18 (pub svce provision)	A ^b						

^a The commercial tax rate was reduced by vote of the City Council in 1999, but the city retains a dual tax rate, which the WRRB, among others indicate is the root of the problem.

^b Parking overlays are considered under "transportation" in categorization of economic development policy.

Alignments per literature (✓)

- 1) The policy to support redevelopment of City Square, which is intended to draw retail business to the facility, aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 2) The policy to support development of Gateway Business Park, which prepares lots for businesses, including provision of services, aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 3) The policy to support development of South Worcester Industrial Park, which prepares lots for businesses, including provision of services, aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 4) The policy for downtown revitalization includes streamlining regulation for targeted business and improving public service provision, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 5) The policy for expedited permitting aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 6) The policy to support infrastructure development aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 7) The business assistance program, which facilitates new and existing businesses through the permitting process, aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 8) The policy for tax increment financing reduces the cost of capital for firms, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 9) The policy to enhance transportation aligns with the preference for business attraction.

- 10) The policy to increase provision of trains at Union Station increases public service provision, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 11) The policy to provide parking at Union Station increases public service provision, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 12) The policy to update the zoning ordinance can streamline zoning processes for business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 13) The policy of creating an arts district that creates targeted zoning for certain businesses aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 14) The policy to provide downtown parking increases public service provision, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 15) The policy to reduce the commercial tax rate reduces the local tax rate for firms, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 16) The policy for brownfield cleanup prepares sites for business reuse, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 17) The policy to streamline permitting aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 18) The policy to create parking overlay districts where requirements for zoning permission are lessened aligns with the preference for business attraction.

Alignments per data reported anticipated outcomes (*)

- 1) The policy to redevelop CitySquare is anticipated to be a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.

- 2) The policy to support the Gateway Business Park, which is located at the end of Main Street, is anticipated to serve as a commercial "anchor" to downtown, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 3) The policy to support the Gateway Business Park, which highlights life sciences and biotech businesses, aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 4) The policy to support the South Worcester Industrial Park, which includes brownfields remediation, aligns with the preference for brownfield cleanup.
- 5) The policy of downtown revitalization aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 6) The policy of downtown revitalization is anticipated to bring vibrancy, arts organizations, and activities to downtown, which aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture,
- 7) The policy for publicizing/promoting Worcester is anticipated to attract new business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.²¹
- 8) The business assistance program, which intends to facilitate location and operation for business, aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 9) The policy for tax increment financing is anticipated to attract new business as well as encourage expansion of existing business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.

²¹ Same as note 22.

- 10) The policy to enhance transportation is anticipated to support business, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 11) The policy to revitalize the airport is anticipated to support business, which aligns with the preference for business expansion.
- 12) The policy to renovate Union Station is anticipated to serve as a catalyst for downtown development, which aligns with the preference for business expansion.
- 13) The policy to increase provision of trains at Union Station is anticipated to support business, which aligns with the preference for business expansion.
- 14) The policy to increase provision of parking at Union Station is anticipated to support business, which aligns with the preference for business expansion.
- 15) The policy to develop a downtown arts district is anticipated to generate business downtown, which aligns with the preference for business expansion.
- 16) The policy to develop a downtown arts district aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 17) The restoration of the common, located downtown, aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 18) The restoration of the common, anticipated to spark activities and recreational uses of the facility, aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 19) The streetscape policy for downtown aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.

- 20) The streetscape policy for downtown is anticipated to revitalize downtown, which aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 21) The policy to support renovation of the Hanover Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to development of downtown and the arts district, which aligns with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 22) The policy to support renovation of the Hanover Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to development of downtown and the arts district, which enhances the quality of life, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 23) The policy to support renovation of the Hanover Theatre is anticipated to serve as a catalyst to development of downtown and the arts district, which aligns with the preference for the city to be a center of innovation, excitement, and culture.
- 24) The policy to develop a North Main economic development plan is anticipated to align with the preference for downtown revitalization.
- 25) The policy to reduce the commercial tax rate is anticipated to reduce local tax costs for firms, which aligns with the goal of business attraction.
- 26) The UniverCity partnership is anticipated to result in job creation and new development, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.
- 27) The parking overlay districts policy is anticipated to remove some zoning requirements for businesses, which aligns with the preference for business attraction.

Table B9

Comparing Worcester Stated Goals and Policies

Goals alignment as measured by anticipated outcome(s)	Policy					
	CitySquare	Gateway Business Park	So. Worcester Industrial Park	Downtown revitalization	Expedited permitting	Infrastructure
Attract and retain business (1)	√ 1 (reduce capital costs)	√ 2 (pub svce provision)	√ 3 (pub svce provision)	√ 4 (pub svce provision, streamline reg)	√ 5 (streamline reg)	√ 6 (pub svce provision)
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)	*1			A		
Marketing (2)						
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)			*6			
Rail service (4)						
Job creation and retention (5)	*2	*4		*8		
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5–9)						
Housing downtown/ mixed- use (6–7)	*3	*5		*9		
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives (6)						
Quality of life (7)				*10		
Tax base (7)			*7	*11		
Tourism (regional) (7)						
Workforce development; attraction (7–5)						
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7)						
Streamline permits (8)						
Safety (9)						
Historic preservation (10)						
Revitalize n'hoods (10)						

Goals alignment as measured by anticipated outcome(s)	Publicize, promote city	Business assistance program	<u>Policy</u>				
			TIFs	Transportation	Airport	Union Station	Union Station trains
Attract and retain business (1)	*12	*3 √ 7 (reduce capital costs)	*15 √ 8 (reduce capital costs)	*17 √ 9 (pub. svce provision)	*20	*21	√ 10 (pub svce provision)
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)						*22	
Marketing (2)	A						
Demolish/reuse structures, brownfields (3)							
Rail service (4)							
Job creation and retention (5)		*14	*16				
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5–9)							
Housing downtown/ mixed-use (6–7)							3
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives (6)			A				
Quality of life (7)				*18			
Tax base (7)				*19			
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7–5)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7)							
Streamline permits (8)							
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)							
Revitalize n'hoods (10)							

Goals alignment as measured by anticipated outcome(s)	<u>Policy</u>						
	Union Station parking	Zoning	Arts district	Restoration of common	Streetscape (Main St.)	Downtown parking	Hanover Theatre
Attract and retain business (1)	* 24 √ 11 (pub svce provision)		√ 13 (streamline reg)			√ 14 (pub svce provision)	*37
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)				*30	*33		*38
Marketing (2)							
Demolish/reuse bldgs., brownfields (3)			*25			*36	
Rail service (4)							
Job creation and retention (5)			*26				
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5–9)	A					A	
Housing downtown/ mixed-use (6–7)			*27	*31			
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives (6)							
Quality of life (7)			*28		*34		
Tax base (7)			*29	*32	*35		
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7–5)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7)							
Streamline permits (8)		√ 12 (streamline reg)					
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)							
Revitalize n'hoods (10)							

Goals alignment as measured by anticipated outcome(s)	North Main Econ. Development	Reduce commercial tax rate	Brownfield	Policy Blackstone Canal Historic District	UniverCity Partnership	Streamline permitting	Parking overlay districts
Attract and retain business (1)		*40 √ 15 (reduce local taxes)	√ 16 (pub svce provision)		*44	√ 17 (streamline reg)	*47 √ 18 (pub svce provision, streamline reg)
Revitalize/vibrant downtown (1)							
Marketing (2)							
Demolish/reuse bldgs., brownfields (3)			A				*48
Rail service (4)							
Job creation and retention (5)					*45		
Transportation, infrastr., parking (5–9)							
Housing downtown/mixed-use (6–7)	*39						
Lower biz tax rate/tax incentives (6)		A					
Quality of life (7)							
Tax base (7)			*41		*46		
Tourism (regional) (7)							
Workforce development; attraction (7–5)							
Prevent overcrowding; density; environmental quality (7)							
Streamline permits (8)						A	
Safety (9)							
Historic preservation (10)				*42			
Revitalize n'hoods (10)				*43			

Note. The counts in the goals boxes reflect the number of times each anticipated outcome is mentioned for that policy/program.

Alignments per literature (✓)

- 1) The policy to redevelop CitySquare included efforts to reduce capital cost for firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 2) The policy to support the Gateway Business Park provides public services to firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 3) The policy to support the South Worcester Industrial Park provides public services to firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 4) The policy of downtown revitalization includes public service provision and streamlining of regulations, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 5) The policy of expedited permitting aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 6) The policy of infrastructure provision aligns with the goal to attract and retain business/
- 7) The business assistance program, which facilitates permitting, aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 8) The policy to provide tax increment financing aligns with the goal to attract and retain business
- 9) The policy to provide transportation enhancements aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 10) The policy to support trains at Union Station aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

- 11) The policy to provide parking at Union Station aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 12) The policy to update the zoning ordinance aligns with the goal to streamline permitting.
- 13) The policy to develop an arts district provides targeted zoning for certain business, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 14) The policy to provide downtown parking aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 15) The policy to reduce the commercial tax rate reduces local taxes for firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 16) The policy to support brownfield revitalization provides lots for new firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 17) The policy of streamlining permitting aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 18) The policy of providing parking overlay districts reduces zoning requirements for certain areas, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

Alignments per data reported anticipated outcomes (*)

- 1) The policy to redevelop CitySquare is anticipated to serve as a catalyst for downtown revitalization, which aligns with the goal for a revitalized/vibrant downtown.
- 2) A policy to redevelop CitySquare aligns with the goal for job creation and retention.

- 3) The policy to redevelop CitySquare includes development of mixed-use, which aligns with the goal for housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 4) The policy to support Gateway Business Park aligns with the goal of job creation and retention.
- 5) The policy to support Gateway Business Park aligns with the goal of housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 6) The policy to support the South Worcester Industrial Park aligns with the goal for demolition/reusing structures.
- 7) The policy to support the South Worcester Industrial Park is anticipated to increase tax revenues, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.
- 8) The policy of downtown revitalization aligns with the goal of job creation/retention.
- 9) The policy of downtown revitalization aligns with the goal of housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 10) The policy of downtown revitalization aligns with the goal of improving the quality of life.
- 11) The policy of downtown revitalization is anticipated to increase tax revenue, which aligns with the goal for the tax base.
- 12) The policy of publicizing/promoting Worcester is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 13) The business assistance program is anticipated to help retain business, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

- 14) The business assistance program aligns with the goal for job creation/retention.
- 15) The policy of providing tax increment financing aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 16) The policy of providing tax increment financing aligns with the goal for job creation and retention.
- 17) The policy of enhancing transportation provides public services to firms, which aligns with the goal to attract retain business.
- 18) The policy of enhancing transportation aligns with the goal to increase quality of life.
- 19) The policy of enhancing transportation is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.
- 20) The policy of renovating the airport aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 21) The policy of renovating Union Station is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 22) The policy of renovating Union Station is anticipated to be a catalyst to downtown development, which aligns with the goal to create a revitalized/vibrant downtown.
- 23) The policy to provide trains at Union Station aligns with the goal to provide transportation/infrastructure.
- 24) The policy to provide parking at Union Station is anticipated to support firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.

- 25) The policy to provide an arts district is anticipated to support the redevelopment of downtown, which aligns with the goal for demolition/reuse of structures.
- 26) The policy to provide an arts district is anticipated to support new business downtown, which aligns with the goal of job creation and retention.
- 27) The policy to provide an arts district downtown includes provisions for housing and mixed-use, which aligns with the goal for housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 28) The policy to provide arts district downtown is anticipated to align with the goal of quality of life.
- 29) The policy to provide arts district downtown is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.
- 30) The policy for restoration of the common aligns with the goal to create a revitalized/vibrant downtown.
- 31) The policy for restoration of the common is anticipated to revitalize downtown, which aligns with the goal of housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 32) The policy for restoration of the common is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.
- 33) The policy to provide streetscape improvements downtown aligns with the goal to create a revitalized/vibrant downtown.
- 34) The policy to provide streetscape improvements downtown aligns with the goal of quality of life.
- 35) The policy to provide streetscape improvements downtown is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.

- 36) The policy to provide downtown parking is anticipated to support reuse of old buildings, which aligns with the goal to demolish/reuse structures/brownfields.
- 37) The policy to support renovation of Hanover Theatre aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 38) The policy to support renovation of Hanover Theatre aligns with the goal to create a revitalized/vibrant downtown.
- 39) The policy to develop a plan for North Main economic development is anticipated to support housing development, which aligns with the goal for housing downtown/mixed-use.
- 40) The policy to reduce the commercial tax rate, which reduces local taxes for firms, aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 41) The policy to revitalize brownfields is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.
- 42) The policy to develop the Blackstone Canal historic district aligns with the goal for historic preservation.
- 43) The policy to develop the Blackstone Canal historic district aligns with the goal to revitalize neighborhoods.
- 44) The UniverCity partnership is anticipated to support business development, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 45) The UniverCity partnership aligns with the goal of job creation and retention.
- 46) The UniverCity partnership is anticipated to attract new firms, which aligns with the goal for increasing the tax base.

- 47) The policy to provide a parking overlay district is anticipated to support firms, which aligns with the goal to attract and retain business.
- 48) The policy to provide parking overlay district is anticipated to support firms, particularly in downtown, which aligns with the goal for demolition/reuse of structures and brownfields.

APPENDIX C
DATA SOURCES

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Leominster				
Leominster Planning Board Meeting 3/17 meeting notes	Observation			
Leominster Planning Board meeting agenda	Provided at meeting			
Leominster Planning Board updates	Notes from internal communications viewed in office			X
Leominster Planning Board meeting minutes, July 1998–December 2008	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Leominster City Council meeting 3/9/09	Observation			X
Leominster City Council meeting 2/9/09	Observation			X
Leominster City Council meeting 4/13/09	Observation			X
Leominster City Council Special Hearing Health Overlay 3/30/09	Observation	X		X
Leominster City Council Special Hearing Zoning Update 11/16/09	Observation			X
Leominster City Council meeting agendas 2004–2005	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Tax-free February Promotion	Leominster website			X
Planning Board mission statement	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X		
Leominster Office of Planning and Development website	http://www.leominster-ma.gov/planning_department_economic_development.htm	X		X
Leominster proposed new zoning districts	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X		X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Leominster Comb and Carriage plan	http://www.leominster-ma.gov/images/images_planning_dept/comb-carriage-plan.pdf		X	
Leominster CAPER reports to HUD 1998–2008	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Description of the Small Business and Economic Development Committee of the City Council	City Council meeting minutes	X		X
Interview with Jack McLaughlin, Planning Board member	October 23, 2009	X		X
Interview with Sandie Chacon, small business development coordinator	November 18, 2009	X		X
Interview, Lisa Vallee, economic development coordinator	October 19, 2009			X
Interview, Kate Griffin Brooks, director of planning	October 14, 2009			X
Interview, John Dombrowski, City Council	April 19, 2009			X
Interview, David Rowlands, City Council	April 17, 2009			X
Interview, David McKeehan, North Central Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce president	November 9, 2009			X
Interview, Andy Taylor, assistant director of planning and community development	November 13, 2009	X		X
Discussion with councilor Rowlands after Health Alliance special meeting	Memo of notes from personal observation			
Interview with David Duncan, corporate VP of facilities, Leominster Hospital/Health Alliance	April 29, 2009			
Leominster City Council meeting minutes	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X	X	X
<i>Leominster Telegram</i> newspaper archives 98–2008	ProQuest newspaper service	X	X	X
Pittsfield				
Pittsfield Economic Development Authority meeting 5/20/09	Observation	X		X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Pittsfield Community Development Board meeting minutes 1998–2008	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X		X
Pittsfield City Council meeting 5/12/09	Observation			X
Pittsfield Economic Revitalization Corporation annual meeting 4/24/09	Observation	X		X
Pittsfield Zoning Ordinance	http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/images/downloads/CompleteVersion-Nov08_1.pdf			X
Pittsfield Urban Center Revitalization Map	http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/images/downloads/Urban%20Center%20Revitalization%20Map.pdf			x
Pittsfield brochure press release 2/17/09	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Pittsfield 2002 Planning charrette summary	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X		X
PEDA mission statement	http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/images/downloads/Comm_Dev_Plan_2004.pdf	X		
Pittsfield Business Resource Center flyer	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Downtown Inc.. website	http://www.downtownpittsfield.com/	X		X
Downtown Inc. dineout brochure	Picked up in office			X
Downtown Inc. brochure	Picked up in office			X
PERC meeting 5/8/09	Observation			X
PERC report to Small Business Association 1999	Distributed at PERC annual meeting			X
Conversation with <i>Berkshire Eagle</i> reporter Tony Dombrowski	Notes from meeting May 20, 2009			
Interview, Yvonne Pearson, executive director, Downtown Inc.	June 17, 2009	X	X	X
Interview, Sean Calnan, Mass Development	May 12, 2009			X
Interview, Michael Supranowicz, CEO, Berkshire Chamber of Commerce	May 14, 2009	X		X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Interview, Michael Callahan, PEDAs board member	June 18, 2009	X		X
Interview, Lisa Haynes, Pittsfield city planner	June 18, 2009			X
Interview, Jason Ostrander, congressional aide to Congressman John Olver, first District	May 13, 2009			X
Pittsfield city councilor Jonathan Lothrop	May 13, 2009	X		X
Interview, Jay Anderson, president of PERC Board	May 8, 2009			X
Interview, Deanna Ruffer, Pittsfield community development director	May 13, 2009	X		X
Interview, David Rooney, president, Berkshire Economic Development Corporation	June 18, 2009	X		X
Interview, William Hines, executive director, PEDAs	June 17, 2009	X		X
Interview, Al Ingegneri, Zoning Board member, chair of Master Planning Commission	June 18, 2009	X		X
Interview, Anne Dobrowolski, Pittsfield community development specialist	May 12, 2009	X		X
Pittsfield Zoning Board meeting minutes 1998–2008	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X	X	X
PEDA meeting 5/20/09	Observation			X
Pittsfield Zoning Board minutes—Smart Growth Zoning District	Notes from public record documents viewed in office			X
Payment application (to state)				
Pittsfield Zoning Board minutes—Downtown Arts Overlay Ordinance	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X		X
Pittsfield City Council meetings minutes 1998–2009	Notes from public record documents viewed in office	X	X	X
<i>Berkshire Eagle</i> newspaper archives 1998–2008	ProQuest newspaper database		X	X
<i>New York Times</i> 2006 article	ProQuest newspaper Database			X
Worcester				

Source name	Accessed	Goals	Source for	
			Revealed preference	Policies
Worcester Arts District master plan	http://www.worcestermass.org/uploads/U0/e2/U0e2aC4MjSDft_-Sx92Lrw/ArtsDistrictMasterPlan.pdf	X		X
Worcester Action Agenda	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/document-center/city-manager/exec-summary.pdf	X		X
Worcester 2008 Year in Review	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records			
Worcester Neighborhood Cabinet 1/9/2001 memo from manager	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		
Gateway Park PDS designation memo 1/20/2009 from manager	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records			X
Wayfinding community presentation	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		
Executive Summary of the Master Plan for the Worcester Arts District	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		X
City of Worcester marketing package	Document picked up at Eco Dev Office			X
Worcester Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy document 2004	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		
Worcester Economic Development Framework (PPT excerpt)	Provided by Timothy McGourthy			X
Pioneer Institute Citizen Advisory Committees update September 18, 2009	http://www.wrrb.org/documents/WRRBPioneer.pdf retrieved November 16, 2009		x	
Worcester Regional Research Bureau's 2008 <i>Benchmarking Economic Development in Worcester</i> report ^a	http://www.wrrb.org/documents/2008-2009AnnualReport.pdf			
WRRB, <i>Measuring Downtown Worcester's Curb Appeal</i>	http://www.wrrb.org/documents/WRRB-08-09.pdf		X	

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
WRRB, <i>What's Up with Downtown</i>	http://www.wrrb.org/documents/WRRB-08-08.pdf		X	X
<i>Revisiting Worcester's Zoning Ordinance</i> , 1998	http://www.wrrb.org/reports/98-6zoning.pdf			X
Worcester City Council Standing Committee on Economic Development meeting observations 2/17/08, 12/23/08	Video available on city website	X		X
Worcester eco dev city council committee meeting notes 2001 to 2009	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records			
Worcester City Manager homepage	http://www.worcesterma.gov/city-manager	X		
Worcester Neighborhood and Housing Development Division homepage	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/development/neighborhood-housing retrieved February 1, 2010			
Gateway Cities Compact for Community and Economic Development	Worcester City Council document archives	X		X
Worcester 10-Step Startup Guide website	http://www.worcestermass.org/business-development/small-business-guide/10-step-start-up-guide retrieved January 27, 2010			X
Worcester Airport Master Plan March 2008	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/document-center/worcester-regional-airport/orh-executive-summary.pdf retrieved May 14, 2010			
Worcester Business Retention Program	http://www.worcestermass.org/business-development/business-retention-program retrieved January 27, 2010			X
Worcester city manager 2009 self-evaluation	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		
Worcester city manager 2008 self-evaluation ^b	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Worcester Commercial Area Revitalization District	http://www.worcestermass.org/business-development/commercial-area-revitalization-district-card retrieved January 27, 2010			
Economic Development division homepage	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/development/economic-development retrieved February 1, 2010	X		X
Worcester Executive Office of Economic, Neighborhood and Workforce Development homepage	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/development retrieved February 1, 2010	X		X
Worcester FY10 budget priorities 3/31/09	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/e-services/document-center/city-manager/fy10-budget-priorities.pdf			
Gateway Park website	http://www.gatewayparkworchester.com/			
Worcester Institute Park master plan December 2007	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/e-services/document-center/parks-rec/institute-master-plan.pdf retrieved May 14, 2010		X	
Worcester Marketing Corporation Marketing Plan 2002–3002	Provided by Olley Carp	X	X	X
<i>The Future of Worcester Regional Airport</i>	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/development/airport/master-plan-other-studies retrieved February 1, 2010	X		
Worcester Microloan Program	http://www.worcestermass.org/business-development/microloan-program retrieved January 27, 2010	X		
Worcester North Main Street	http://www.vhb.com/northmain/ retrieved February 1, 2010			

Source name	Accessed	Goals	Source for	
			Revealed preference	Policies
Worcester Regional Research Bureau, Citizen-Driven Government Performance case	http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~ncpp/cdgp/cases/worcester/worcester-brief.html retrieved November 16, 2009	X		
The Creative City: The Worcester Way	http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/the-creative-city-the-worcester-way retrieved February 1, 2010	X		
Worcester: Union Station	http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives/union-station retrieved January 27, 2010			
Worcester Zoning Ordinance 4/2/1991	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/e-services/document-center/city-clerk/zoning-ord-4291.pdf	X		
Worcester city initiatives	http://www.worcestermass.org/city-initiatives retrieved January 27, 2010	X		X
Worcester City Council meeting observation 3/24/09	Personal observation			
Worcester City Council meeting observation 3/31/09	Personal observation			
Worcester City Council meeting minutes 1999–2009	http://www.worcesterma.gov/e-services/search-public-records	X		X
Worcester City Council retreat 3/7/09	Personal observation	X	X	X
Worcester City Council Economic Development Standing Committee 12/23/08	Personal observation of video archive	X		X
Worcester City Council Economic Development Standing Committee 2/17/08	Personal observation of video archive			X
"Reaching high in City of Seven Hills: 'Second tier' Worcester thrives," <i>Boston Herald</i> 3/1/2009	http://www.bostonherald.com			X
"Selling Worcester," <i>Worcester Magazine</i> 2/17/2010	http://worcestermagazine.com/content/view/5109/			X
Waiting for CitySquare," <i>Worcester Magazine</i> 7/12/2007	http://worcestermagazine.com/content/view/1665/			X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
"Worcester bashing: Three reasons why it's so easy," Worcester Indymedia.com	http://worcester.indymedia.org/node?page=3			
<i>Worcester Telegram</i> archives 1998–2009	ProQuest MA Newsstand	X	X	X
Choose Worcester mission statement	Provided by Oley Carpp in meeting	X		
Worcester Redevelopment Authority mission statement	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/boards/profiles/wra.htm	X		
Planning Board description	http://www.worcesterma.gov/development/planning-regulatory/planning-board	X		
Zoning Board of Appeals description	http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/boards/profiles/zba.htm and http://www.ci.worcester.ma.us/cc/clerk/ordinances/zoningord4291.pdf	X		
WRRB, <i>Revisiting Worcester's Zoning Ordinance</i> 10/4/98				X
Interview, Timothy McGourthy, economic development director	October 30, 2009	X		X
Interview, Roberta Schaefer, executive director, Worcester Regional Research Bureau	November 20, 2010	X	X	X
Interview, Marge Purves, member, Neighborhood Advisory Council	April 20, 2009	X		X
Interview, Oley Carpp, executive director, Choose Worcester	January 6, 2009	X		X
Interview, Mark Bilotta, CEO, Colleges of Worcester Consortium	January 7, 2009		X	
Interview, Julie Jacobson, assistant city manager, Worcester	July 8, 2009	X	X	X
Interview, councilor Philip Palmieri	February 12, 2010	X	X	X
Worcester Zoning Board meeting observation	January 26, 2009			X
Worcester Planning Board meeting observation	March 18, 2009			X
Worcester City Manager's Neighborhood Council meeting observation	April 13, 2009			X
Worcester Neighborhood Advisory Cabinet documents	Provided by Marge Purves at meeting	X		X

Source name	Accessed	Source for		
		Goals	Revealed preference	Policies
Worcester Redevelopment Authority meetings: 2/10/09, 3/10/09, 6/23/09	Observation			X
Main South neighborhood CDC website	http://www.mainsouthcdc.org/ retrieved May 21, 2010	X	X	X
Oak Hill neighborhood CDC website	http://www.oakhillcdc.org/index.htm retrieved May 21, 2010	X	X	X
East Side neighborhood CDC website	http://eastsidecdc.com/default.aspx retrieved May 21, 2010	X	X	X

^a This series of 2001–2009 reports provides data assessing key economic indicators. The reports often detail recognized challenges/obstacles for Worcester that are identified elsewhere. No goals or preferences are stated.

^b 2008 was the first time this self-analysis was done by the City Manager, according to Moynihan, K. J.

(2008, July 9). Manager reversing the roles with City Council evaluation. *Worcester Telegram and Gazette*,

p. A9.

APPENDIX D

PICKING CITIES

The initial list of economically struggling Massachusetts cities that I began with was the sample for the Massachusetts Economic Assessment and Analysis Project (MEAPP) study considering the economic development policies in use in 19 municipalities selected by MEAPP and the interested Massachusetts government officials who sought the study.

I then sought to identify municipalities that were politically important as set out by Miles and Huberman (see Chapter 1) and comparable. I measured political importance by (a) their recognition by regional experts as economically challenged, and (b) their receipt of attention from state officials.

Politically Important

Economically challenged.

In order to develop a list of cities that were recognized as economically challenged in Massachusetts, I began by gathering research reports on struggling Massachusetts cities that were published within the prior 15 years. Recognition of economically challenged status by regional experts would serve as a validation that these cities were indeed economically challenged.

I uncovered four such studies: *New Business Creation and the Urban Economy* by the Pioneer Institute, 2008; *Revitalizing Weak Market Cities in the U.S.*, a presentation at

a 2006 Brookings Institution conference on small cities; *Reconnecting Massachusetts Gateway Cities: Lessons Learned and an Agenda for Renewal* by MassINC, 2007; and *The Rebirth of Older Industrial Cities: Exciting Opportunities for Private Sector Investment*, 2004.

This process of reviewing research reports revealed additional struggling cities, which the MEAPP study had not considered; these are also included in the table below. I then reduced the number of possible cities by including only those cities that were included in two or more research studies in an effort to increase their political importance. This left a list of 14 possible cities.

Recognized by state officials.

I next sought a way to select a smaller sample of cities that could be considered politically important. I wanted a relatively recent recognition of importance and found a January 2008 announcement from the Massachusetts Executive Office of Economic Development designating four of these cities (Lawrence, Leominster, Pittsfield, and Worcester) as Economic Opportunity Areas.

The Massachusetts Executive Office of Housing and Economic Development defines an Economic Opportunity Area (EOA) as "an area or several areas within a designated Economic Target Area (ETA) of particular need and priority for economic development" (1993). These areas are selected by the individual communities, and must "be wholly located within an ETA, comprised of one or more tax parcels, have durations of between 5 and 20 years and meet at least one of the following statutory criteria for designation:

1. Decadent Area: buildings need major repair, negative business conditions, etc.;
2. Substandard Area: overcrowding, dilapidation, faulty design, etc.;
3. Blighted Open Area: high development costs, 21E issues, ledge presence, etc.;
4. Plant closing or permanent layoff of 2,000 or more over previous four years;
5. Area contains a generation facility that was sold at less than 50% of book value.”

Given resource restrictions, I include three of these four potential cities within the scope of this study.

Comparable

I also wanted the sample of cities to be comparable. I knew from the MEAPP research that each of these cities has an economic development office, which would be critical to this research. I next focused on ensuring that none of the cities would be particularly influenced by the economically central city, Boston. None of these four cities is designated by the U.S. census as a principal city within the Boston Metropolitan Area. Additionally, none of the cities is part of the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) Core Cities, indicating that they are not considered among those cities most closely economically connected to the Boston region.

The table below sets out the process by which I considered cities and determined the sample of three that are considered in this thesis. Column 1 lists all the cities considered (from MEAPP and from the studies reviewed). Column 2 indicates the responsiveness of each city's economic development office to inquiries during the MEAPP research process (Y indicates provided data, N indicates nonresponsive, NA indicates city was not included in the MEAPP research). Column 3 tallies the number of

"economically challenged cities studies" in which each city was included (tally reported only for those 14 cities included in more than one study). Columns 4–8 indicate which of the studies in which each city was included. Column 9 indicates those cities that received the January 2008 designation of EOA from the state. Column 10 indicates those cities that are listed as falling within the MAPC Inner Core.²² Columns 11–14 provide selected 2000 Census data for each city.

²² MAPC website: http://www.mapc.org/metro_area/cities_towns.html

Table D1

Cities Considered for This Study

Considered	Resp. to MEAPP outreach	In 2 or more studies	Economically challenged cities studies ^a						MAPC inner core	Census profile (2000)			
			MEAPP	Pioneer Inst.	Brookings	CURP	Mass INC	State EOA		Per capita income	% fam. in poverty	N pop. in labor force (16+)	% pop. in labor force
Boston	Y	2	X			X			Y	23353	15.3	308395	63.6
Brockton	N	3	X	X			X			17,163	12.1	45,670	64.5
Chelsea	NA					X			Y	14,628	20.6	14212	53.8
Chicopee	NA			X						18,646	9.6	27298	62.4
Fall River	N	4	X	X	X		X			16,118	14.0	42,682	59.1
Fitchburg	Y	3	X	X			X			17,256	12.1	19142	63.5
Framingham	N	2	X				X			27758	6.0	37059	68.5
Haverhill	N		X							23280	7.0	30864	68.0
Holyoke	Y	4	X	X		X	X			15913	22.6	15965	54.5
Lawrence	N	4	X	X		X	X	X		13360	21.2	28148	54.9
Leominster	Y	2	X	X				X		21769	7.2	21127	66.4
Lowell	Y	2	X				X			17557	13.6	51142	64.2
Lynn	Y	2	X	X						17492	13.2	41847	61.7
New Bedford	SW	5	X	X	X	X	X			15602	17.3	42308	57.7
Pittsfield	Y	3	X	X			X	X		20549	8.9	22635	62.1
Quincy	Y		X						Y	26001	5.2	49590	66.8
Springfield	N	4	X	X	X		X			15232	19.3	66300	58.8
Taunton	NA			X						19899	8.0	29696	68.2
Worcester	Y	3	X	X			X	X		18614	14.1	82812	60.8

^a Friar, 2008; MassINC, 2007; Soule et al., 2004; Vey, 2006.

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