

Urban Faith-Based Organizations and Community Economic Development:
Understanding the Characteristics and Context of a Movement

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A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban Planning

University of Washington

2022

Committee:

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Program authorized to offer degree:

Urban Design and Planning

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Abstract

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Faith-based organizations (FBOs) have historically served as key providers of social services to the homeless, elderly, and poor. Since the 1980s, some FBOs have taken on capital-intensive community economic development (CED) projects to revitalize inner-city urban neighborhoods. This thesis utilizes a systematic literature review method to analyze the types of FBOs that have done CED, the activities they have done, how they achieved it, and how these methods have changed over time. Results indicated that the cases of Black Protestant congregations in low-income communities are more likely to participate in CED activities than cases from other communities. These findings are placed in the context of national demographics for congregations and relevant public policy. Conclusions include key lessons for FBOs considering initiating a CED program, as well as recommendations for future research opportunities.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Overview.....	1
1.2 Research Problem	2
1.3 Research Purpose & Question	3
Chapter 2. PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1 Faith-Based Organizations as Community Service Providers	5
2.2 The Community Economic Development Movement	6
2.2.1 The Community Development Corporation Model.....	8
2.3 Faith-based Organizations’ Community Development Initiatives	9
Chapter 3. METHODS.....	13
3.1 Overview.....	13
3.1.1 Defining Terms	13
3.2 Systematic Literature Review	14
3.3 Data Collection	15
3.3.1 Sampling Universe.....	15
3.3.2 Sampling Process	16
3.3.3 Publication Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria	17
3.3.4 Case Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria.....	18

3.3.5	Case Study Coding and Follow-Up Research.....	20
3.4	Data Analysis and Characterization.....	20
3.4.1	Case Coding.....	20
3.4.2	Code Analysis.....	21
3.5	Limitations.....	22
Chapter 4.	Results.....	26
4.1	Systematic Literature Review and Case Selection.....	26
4.2	Preliminary Analysis of Themes.....	27
4.2.1	Congregational Themes Analysis.....	27
4.2.2	Community Economic Development Themes Analysis.....	30
4.3	Analysis of Co-occurring CED Activities.....	33
4.4	Cross-tabulation of Themes.....	34
4.4.1	Demographics Cross-tabulation Analysis.....	35
4.4.2	CED Structure Cross-tabulation Analysis.....	35
4.4.3	CED Activities Cross-tabulation Analysis.....	37
Chapter 5.	Discussion.....	39
5.1	The National Context of Congregational Demographics.....	39
5.2	The Impact of Charitable Choice.....	42
5.3	Research Bias or Representative Sample?.....	47
5.4	Is Efficiency Relevant to Faith-Based Nonprofits?.....	49

5.5	A Characterization of FBOs in CED	52
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....		54
6.1	Summary.....	54
6.2	Lessons for FBOs Considering CED Programs.....	54
6.2.1	Leadership and Specialists.....	54
6.2.2	Incorporating as a Nonprofit.....	55
6.2.3	Making a Program Plan	56
6.3	Opportunities for Future Research.....	57
6.4	Policy and Planning Reflections	58
References.....		60
Appendix A. Codebook		70
Appendix B. Systematic Literature Review Results and Analysis.....		73
Appendix C. Preliminary Analysis		74
Appendix D. Detailed Analysis of Co-occurring CED Activities		76
Appendix E. CED Cross-tabulation Analysis.....		77

Dedication

For my partner,
who gives me hope for a bright and beautiful future.

For my mother,
who inspires me to reach deeper and aim higher every day.

For my father,
Dr. Bruce L Tempel
April 21st, 1956 – September 11th, 2021
who was proud of me even when he couldn't say the words anymore,
when he couldn't remember why anymore, when he only knew my voice and my hand in his.
Walking to the end of the road with you has been the pride of my life,
as I was the pride of yours.

Acknowledgements

As I come to the end of my academic career, there are so many people who have made this thesis, and the past few years in general, possible. Most of them will never read this, but all the same, I wish to recognize them here with my utmost thanks:

To my thesis committee, Branden Born and Joaquin Herranz Jr, who were overwhelmingly patient, generous, and supportive as I fumbled my way to the finish line. Words cannot express how grateful I am for your kindness.

To the board members of the Mt. Baker Hub Alliance and my colleagues at Essential Southeast Seattle, who supported me personally and professionally every step of the way. I am so lucky to work with each of you.

To the women who have mentored and supported me, especially Eve and Kris, you have given me the gift of an unshakeable support system. Knowing you're there for me is priceless.

To the friends of my father, Carol, Valerie, and many more, who were there for him. You asked about my education every time you saw me and gave Dad an opportunity to be proud when he couldn't say it to me anymore. I look back on his smiles with so much joy. Thank you.

To my grandparents, for their unconditional love and support in every way.

To my mother, who made the time to listen, gave the best advice, and believed in me when I couldn't believe in myself. We made it through the most awful circumstances with joy, humor, and healing, and we flourished too. I think I am as proud of you as you are of me.

Finally, to my partner. No words will ever express how grateful I am for your love and commitment throughout the last nine years. You put up with me at my worst, pushed me to keep going when the path was rough, and have remained my light at the end of the tunnel. In everything, you're the one who doesn't get enough credit. Thank you for being you, always.

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

Historically, faith-based organizations have been crucial providers of services to their communities. In the United States, churches and other religious institutions have been recognized as key service providers throughout the 20th century (Adkins et al., 2010). Faith-based organizations (FBOs) have worked side by side with secular nonprofits and local governments to help the homeless, elderly, and poor. As the century closed and the new millennium began, this role became increasingly government sanctioned as seen in the creation of the Religious Organizations Initiative in the Office of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in 1993 (Cisneros, 1996), followed by charitable choice language in 1996 welfare reforms (Bartkowski & Regis, 2003), and culminating in the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in 2001. These changes allowed faith-based organizations to be considered equally when applying for government funding to provide social services (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001).

Faith-based organizations are most well-known for providing basic needs services to those who cannot afford them, including free meals and food banks, clothing and other basic resources, and temporary shelter for the homeless. However, since the 1980s an increasing number of FBOs have pursued capital-intensive community economic development projects to revitalize inner city urban neighborhoods that had been the victims of disinvestment caused by “white flight” and the rise of the suburbs (Cisneros, 1996). These projects have included everything from workforce development and community businesses to housing initiatives to rehabilitate existing homes or build new affordable housing for communities. Congregations of

every denomination, size, and capacity have found both success and failure in projects with wide ranges of models, funding sources, and target audiences (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001; Reese, 2004). As inner-city urban neighborhoods have become desirable again in the 2000s, these projects have found new purposes: to provide for who are displaced or at risk of being displaced.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

In the existing literature, there is an overrepresentation of research on FBO's capital-intensive community economic development projects and programs from the 1990s and early 2000s as the government increased funding and support for FBOs to expand their capacity for social service delivery. Projects before and after this era tend to be poorly documented, particularly those of FBOs that began operating in response to the crisis in inner cities in the 1980s, prior to receiving government support. In addition, there has not been significant new research in the 2010s, following the George W. Bush administration (2001-2009) and the Great Recession (2007-2009). Thus, the documentation of FBO's community economic development projects is incomplete; it lacks the context of the beginnings of this movement in the 1980s and of the current state of the movement, from the 2010s to present.

This gap is particularly problematic because the literature that does exist primarily reflects the period from 1993 to 2001 when government policies supportive of FBOs were initiated and expanded. These policies increased social service programs offered through FBOs during the removal or reform of government welfare policies. Throughout this literature, the issue of these policy changes is mentioned but not fully addressed. Without an understanding of the state of FBO community economic development prior to these governmental policy changes, it is challenging to understand how the changes impacted trends in FBO community economic

development. Similarly, the lack of more recent research (since 1980) limits assessments of the long-term impact of these policies and ignores new policies that may have changed the FBO community development landscape for organizations working from the 2010s to the present and beyond. Finally, adjacent development trends, such as secular development movements including community development corporations, have also been primarily ignored in the existing research, even though growth and change in these movements has had a significant influence and impact on the FBO community economic development movement.

1.3 RESEARCH PURPOSE & QUESTION

The purpose of this research is to examine the existing literature to better understand how community economic development initiatives of faith-based organizations can be characterized, and how have these initiatives have changed from the 1980s to the present. The characterization was focused and guided by four sub-questions:

1. What are the characteristics of FBOs that have engaged in CED?
2. What CED activities have FBOs been engaged in?
3. How did the FBOs engage in CED activities?
4. How did FBOs and the CED activities they engaged in change over time?

Similar questions were asked by researchers at the beginning of the Bush administration (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001), but have not been considered since (Adkins et al., 2010).

In addition, this thesis documents FBOs' initiatives and projects across four decades, from 1980 to 2020, to understand the character and history of FBO community economic development initiatives within the context of changing public policy. Specifically, this thesis discusses the effect of changing policies, such as welfare reform, and community development

movements, such as Community Development Corporations, on FBO's community economic development initiatives. Finally, this concludes with a characterization of the FBOs engaged in community economic development, allowing for identification of ongoing trends, changes, and lessons for FBOs considering pursuing capital-intensive community economic development projects in the future.

Chapter 2. PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review serves to provide background context for the following research. Given that a systematic literature review is one of the primary methods of this thesis, this *preliminary* review is composed of topics that provide historical and clarifying information prior to engaging with the literature in the systematic review. Key issues raised in this chapter will be engaged with in the discussion section, where they will be placed in conversation with the results of the analysis.

2.1 FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AS COMMUNITY SERVICE PROVIDERS

Within the theologies of every major religion are teachings on helping the needy, and for centuries this was the role of organized religion before the advent of the modern nation-state (Adkins, 2010). Although the United States is now home to myriad religious traditions, the historical role of Christianity in the founding and culture of this country cannot be avoided. Throughout this research, Christianity is the primary lens through which faith-based organizations are viewed due to its overwhelming dominance among worship communities in the United States; it is therefore worthwhile to establish the history of Christian congregations as community service providers from its origin in Europe to its present in the US.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church owned one third of the land in Europe and had accumulated significant wealth. With these resources, the monks and nuns living in its monasteries and convents provided much of what we today consider social services – feeding the hungry, clothing the poor, sheltering the homeless – as well as the majority of formal educational facilities and hospitals. In the Protestant Reformation the Church lost vast

tracts of land and significant wealth, reducing its ability to provide these social services. The gaps were not filled by the newly formed Protestant churches, nor by the monarchs who had confiscated the Churches wealth and property. This led to a significant enrichment of the nobility, while the new Protestant denominations increasingly viewed poverty as an individual or familial pathology, rather than a societal problem. (Adkins, 2010)

As the territory that later became the United States was colonized by strict Protestant denominations, this was the prevailing ethos of what “charity” entailed. The combination of Protestant individualism, industrial progress, and Constitutional separation of church and state led to congregations in the 18th and 19th centuries being limited primarily to community services activities on behalf of those deemed “the worthy poor,” i.e. the biblical “widows and orphans.” This continued to be the case until the Social Gospel movement emerged at the end of the 19th century to challenge this perspective. The Social Gospel movement asserted that poverty was the result of societal forces, rather than individual failings, and led to the establishment of many “parachurch” nonprofit organizations, or what would today be called faith-based organizations (Adkins, 2010). These early FBOs tended to address the needs of the urban poor by focusing on humanitarian aid like emergency food and shelter, employment assistance, and health clinics. Prominent examples of this work include the founding of the Salvation Army and the urban settlement house movement, which became a pillar of the Progressive Era.

2.2 THE COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT

The origins of the community economic development movement can be traced back to the Progressive Era at the turn of the 20th century. According to Green and Haines (2016), the Progressive Era was distinguished by a “resistance to individualistic explanations of poverty and

social disorganization” (p. 33). Rather, progressives believed in comprehensive social intervention, collaboration between experts and community, and citizen participation. These values were characterized by their support for the settlement house movement and the community center movement, both of which aimed to integrate individuals into society. The Progressive Era was followed by the New Deal in the 1930s and 1940s, which provided federal support for community interventions and became the foundation for the following decades of community economic development (p. 35). In the 1950s, increased car usage, the G.I. Bill, and redlining policies led to white flight to the growing suburbs, leaving minority communities in the underfunded, decaying inner cities. As conditions in urban centers grew worse, attempts at urban renewal were made, beginning in 1964 with the “war on poverty.” Legislation that emerged during this time emphasized local participation through initiatives like the Community Action Program, but local politicians were often reluctant and unprepared to engage with poor communities (p. 38). Although the war on poverty programs were relatively unsuccessful, several important policies emerged from this period, including the food stamp program, Medicare, and Medicaid. The community economic development programs of this time “recognized the role of place-based development efforts and participation in effectively addressing issues of poverty” (p. 40).

However, during the Nixon and Reagan administrations, the way that federal funds were distributed to localities was changed greatly (Green & Haines, 2016, p. 40). In community economic development, the best example of this change was the implementation of Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) in 1974. CDBGs replaced seven categorical grant programs to address poverty with a revenue sharing model that gave states more autonomy in how they spent the funds. While governors argued that they could better direct the funds to

needy communities, evidence now suggests that their ability to do so “varies considerably in their capacity and will to target these funds to the most distressed communities” (p. 42). The CDBG program currently is one of the largest federal grant programs and is a reliable source of development funding for municipalities and states. In the 1990s, the Clinton administration continued the trend towards reducing direct government funding and increasing the provision of services by community-based organizations (p. 43). Today, these organizations have developed into several models to facilitate development activities and service provision.

2.2.1 The Community Development Corporation Model

While there are several models for community economic development, the most prominent model utilized for developing housing and businesses is that of Community Development Corporations (CDCs). A CDC is defined by the National Congress for Community Economic Development as “a private nonprofit entity, serving a low-income community, governed by a community-based board, and serving as an ongoing producer in housing, commercial-industrial development, or business development” (Green & Haines, 2016, p. 113). The CDC model grew out of business and workforce development projects, as well as housing initiatives, during the war on poverty in the 1960s. In the 1970s, CDCs grew in prominence, with several hundred located across the United States, and transitioned to being primarily focused on housing, becoming more specialized as the model matured. By the 1980s and 1990s, CDCs had become professional housing organizations rather than activist-oriented organizations and grew to over 2,000 organizations. One criticism of the CDC model is that, as CDCs have institutionalized, they have become less willing to fight for structural changes around how the government interacts with poor communities, preferring to work within the system (p. 119). In

addition, CDCs were intended to be community-controlled institutions, and most strive to have a board of directors that reflects the community, but as organizations become more professional and technical, community-based board members may feel that they are not qualified to be decision makers (p. 115).

Whether a Community Development Corporation continues to be community-based and activist-oriented, or moves toward professionalization, may depend on the “logic” they structure themselves around, argues Kirkpatrick (2007). He theorizes that some CDCs have a community-oriented interest and hold a social logic of "use-values," while other CDCs have a market-oriented interest and hold an economic logic of "exchange-values". These two forms can significantly influence the outcomes of a CDC project, with case studies suggesting that community-oriented use-value projects tend to be more successful at achieving goals of supporting local communities and reducing displacement by utilizing smaller funders, staying accountable to community members, and prioritizing local alternatives over corporate partners.

2.3 FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS’ COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

In 1993, the Clinton administration’s Director of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, established the Religious Organizations Initiative. “The mission of this initiative is to provide extensive outreach to the faith community and to engage religious institutions as partners,” Cisneros wrote in 1996. He described the reasons for partnering with faith-based organizations (FBOs) as fourfold, “four features that they alone combine” (Cisneros, 1996).

1. FBOs are often physically still present in their communities because they usually own their historic properties.

2. “Community is central to the mission of charity,” leading to a broader commitment to both material and spiritual charity.
3. Faith communities have access to resources beyond immediate financial resources, including experienced leadership.
4. “Faith communities touch the soul,” which Cisneros describes as the values and structure that FBOs can offer those in need.

Under Cisneros’ leadership, FBOs were encouraged to increase their provision of social services. At the beginning of the George W. Bush administration in 2001, the White House established the Office of Faith Based and Community Initiatives, furthering the push to increase the capacity of FBOs to provide federally funded social services.

These measures were specifically aimed at congregations, who had previously been barred from competing for government funding due to their pervasively sectarian nature. Prior to the passage of President Clinton’s welfare reform bill, Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA), many religiously affiliated organizations received money from the government. For example, in 1992, “75 percent of the annual budget of the New York Roman Catholic archdiocese – some \$1.75 billion – [came] from government sources” (Monsma, 1996, p. 10). These funds went to Medicare and Medicaid payments to Catholic medical facilities, foster care, day care, and other social services. How was this possible, given the separation between church and state?

In 1947, the Supreme Court’s decision in *Everson v. Board of Education* established two important legal principles for the government funding of FBOs. First, no government aid can be given in support of religion. However, secondly, funds may go to support services not directly related to the religious mission of the religious organization. In this case, a New Jersey state

program to aid transportation to schools, both public and religious private schools, was found to not support religion and was, therefore, legal (Monsma, 1996, p. 31). Following this case, other legal principles emerged. Of particular interest is the “pervasively sectarian” principle, that is, that when organizations are pervasively sectarian, it is nearly impossible to separate the sectarian practices from the secular so that aid can be given only to the secular activities. Religious organizations that pursued federal funding prior to charitable choice often had to change their programs, spaces, and other practices to satisfy the “pervasively sectarian” limitation, creating distrust of the government. Congregations, clearly, were pervasively sectarian organizations. To access funding, they typically had to create a separate nonprofit to host secular activities. Charitable choice was designed to lift these barriers, allowing them to compete for funding without reducing their sectarian character as long as funds continued to go to secular activities. The Clinton administration and Republican congresspeople believed that these measures would create opportunities for many FBOs, particularly congregations, to provide social services as the federal government stepped back from providing welfare.

However, when charitable choice was enacted, concerns emerged about the capacity of FBOs to support this increased role in social service provision, particularly related to CED activities. Smith (2004) illustrates how an FBO may face a variety of potential roles when considering a housing development, including that of sponsor, developer, joint venture partner, investor, lender, project manager, or property manager. However, FBOs can run into financial and legal trouble if they choose to overlap the roles without adequate expertise or manpower to implement them. Reese (2004) states that capacity for an FBO to support local economic development is about more than monetary resources. Rather, the engagement of skilled lay members and pastoral staff is highly correlated with involvement in economic development

activities, with organizations that have a high attendance rate at services being more likely to operate businesses, engage in housing development, and offer job training and placement services. This supports Smith's theory that expertise and manpower is a key to the successful implementation of an economic development ministry. In addition, research suggests that neighborhood-based congregations are more likely to be actively engaged, perhaps because they are more attached to their proximate neighborhoods (Reese, 2004).

McRoberts (2001), counters the claim that proximity is key, drawing from the history of Black churches in America to suggest that, while some well publicized examples of FBO Community Development have come from individual well-financed churches, most churches do not fit these descriptors. Particularly in the 21st century, churches tend to draw people together based on a shared identity, with many people driving significant distances to attend their church of choice. This is particularly true for Black churches in neighborhoods that have experienced displacement. Thus, churches that "fail to respond to calls for neighborhood-based community development may simply be placing a priority on the immediate concerns of congregation members or communities of interest that transcend the neighborhood" (McRoberts, 2001). While these concerns may overlap with those of the neighborhood they are situated in, not all congregations will identify with the neighborhood. Other churches are part of disparate networks, identifying with many areas. McRoberts suggests that this need not be a barrier to community economic development; rather, churches have the potential to create development strategies that span multiple neighborhoods and serve a broader range of individuals.

Chapter 3. METHODS

3.1 OVERVIEW

To understand the community economic development (CED) activities of faith-based organizations (FBOs), I utilized a systematic literature review method to gather academic and practitioner publications that included case studies or qualitative data on specific congregation CED activities. Following the systematic literature review process, these individual congregation cases were coded and analyzed to characterize the CED activities of FBOs in urban areas of the United States.

3.1.1 *Defining Terms*

Faith-based organizations (FBOs): although this term has become popular over time, it typically lacks a clear definition (Botchwey, 2007). I use this term to describe both congregations and nonprofits that are religiously affiliated. To differentiate, congregations will often be used when discussing specific cases or types of cases, as it is typically the preferred term for referring to worship communities regardless of religious tradition (i.e. churches, synagogues, mosques, etc.). When speaking about the legal structure through which activities are conducted in a specific case, the structure itself will often be stated; all cases in this thesis are FBOs.

Community economic development (CED): although community economic development is also a commonly used term, different authors utilize different definitions. Similar to Reese and Shields (1999), I use a relatively broad definition: if an activity did more than provide for immediate needs, helped recipients to further their opportunities, or included an enterprise that returned revenue to the FBO to conduct further CED activities, it was considered CED. Four

broad categories dominate: housing services, business services, workforce development, and financial activities. However, unlike Reese and Shields and many other authors, I have excluded daycare services as well as general education; although these services may return some revenue to the FBO, provide jobs for teachers, and further the education of children, these programs are typically motivated by desires to provide better, more, or religious schooling for children, rather than to improve the economic outcomes for the community in the present.

3.2 SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

A systematic literature review is a method for “making sense of large volumes of information” (Pittaway, 2008). This method is guided by eight principles: transparency, clarity, focus, integration, equality, accessibility, coverage, and synthesis. These principles reflect the intent of the review to be replicable, to be multidisciplinary, and to create an evidence base to inform future research or policy (Pittaway, 2008). Systematic literature reviews are frequently used in quantitative research to identify gaps in the literature and suggest options for closing them; in this study, this method was used qualitatively, and therefore took a broader view of the sampling universe.

In particular, I included practitioner publications in this review, which expanded the variety of cases utilized in the characterization. In the systematic literature review process, my initial read through of the literature identified publications from which the case studies would be taken for the characterization. A typology of publications quickly became clear: practitioner publications tended to include a broader range of examples, likely to provide a range of ideas and suggestions to FBOs considering expanding into CED work, whereas academic research fell into two broad categories, location-based or issue-based. Location-based articles included a wide

variety of types of FBOs and CED activities located in a specific study area, such as a city or neighborhood, while issue-based research utilized examples that addressed the research question without significant consideration of location. In general, broadening the traditional systematic literature review to include practitioner publications led to a wider variety of FBOs and types of CED activities being included in the characterization. There was not a significant difference in the quality of the different types of publications; the intent of the author, regardless of background, played a more significant role in the usability of publications for this thesis.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 *Sampling Universe*

A traditional, narrow systematic literature review utilizes a restrictive sampling universe limited to relevant academic journals to identify applicable peer-reviewed research. To conduct a broad, multidisciplinary systematic literature review, I instead defined a sampling universe that provided relevant boundaries on the field and topics for the literature search, without being restrictive. I accepted a wide variety of literature formats, included peer-reviewed articles, chapters in books, and book-length research from academia, while government publications, brochures, and books of case studies, among others, were accepted from practitioners. To reduce confusion or bias, I refer to all the literature as publications. Informal sources, such as newspaper articles or websites, were not used for identifying cases. A preliminary list of relevant fields and topics included:

- Urban policy
- Urban planning
- Community economic development

- Housing development
- Faith-based organization management and practices
- Faith-based social services

This sampling universe was designed to structure the literature search, but not to limit it. Given that relevant research is highly dispersed across a variety of disciplines, this allowed the literature review to encompass a broader scope of community economic development initiatives from the perspective of a range of background fields.

3.3.2 Sampling Process

In addition to limiting fields, traditional literature reviews tend to utilize strict search parameters to locate academic publications. I utilized some pre-defined search terms to begin locating sources, followed by a chain-sampling, or snowball, method. The initial search was exclusively conducted through the online University of Washington library database. The preliminary list of search terms included the following phrases in various combinations:

- Faith-based organizations
- Black churches
- Community economic development
- Affordable housing development
- Community development corporations
- Faith-based housing
- Faith-based development
- Workforce development
- Business development

These search terms identified initial key academic resources and practitioner publications. From these, additional publications were found through chain sampling via the reference list of each publication. When the specific publication cited was not available, other publications by the author were sought. Similarly, the bodies of work of authors who were frequently cited were searched for relevant publications, particularly if the original work cited was no longer available. Given that this area of research encompasses both academia and professional practice, this provided information on additional resources that were not accessible through a traditional academic search, while also providing evidence of reaching saturation in the sources as the same references appeared repeatedly.

3.3.3 Publication Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

In alignment with standard systematic literature review methods, this study utilized inclusion and exclusion criteria to ensure that the selection method for the sample was standardized and replicable. Within the sampling universe established through the search terms and chain-sampling method, many potential publications were identified. To be included, the publication had to meet the following criteria:

- Focused on faith-based organizations, such as congregations, nonprofits or community development corporations (CDCs) started by a congregation, and nonprofits or CDCs associated with a group of congregations or clergy members.
- Focused on community economic development services, defined as housing services, business services, workforce development, or financial activities, rather than social services in general.

- Included case studies or, for larger scale research, descriptions of the CED activities of the FBOs included in the sample.
- Focused on FBOs and CED projects located in the United States.

These criteria, particularly the requirement for case studies, significantly narrowed the publications found through the sampling process. To provide additional clarity, a publication was excluded if it met any of the following criteria:

- Focused on general social service programs rather than CED activities.
- Focused on leadership, government partnerships, or other tangential technical aspects of FBO CED activities, rather than the activities themselves. This was primarily included to ensure that sufficient information was available for case studies.
- Focused on CED activities that operate primarily as referral programs from the FBO to other service providers.
- Does not include case studies or, for larger scale research, does not include descriptions of the CED activities of the FBOs included in the sample.
- Focused on FBOs outside of the United States or had a global charity focus

3.3.4 Case Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The inclusion/exclusion criteria above provided a group of publications from which to draw case studies for characterization. An additional list of inclusion/exclusion criteria was created to select the case studies. To be included, the case had to meet the following criteria:

- The FBO was named, the CED activities were clearly described, and some expression of the success or failure of these activities at the time of publication was included in the analysis or discussion of the case.

- The FBO had a clear historical connection to a local congregation, group of local congregations, or group of local clergy members.
- The FBO served urban areas as defined by the Census Bureau.
- The themes of Race, Structure, and Activities were all able to be coded; this criterion was implemented to ensure that sufficient data was available for all cases to be included in the analysis.

A case study was excluded if:

- The FBO was only named as an example, but not described.
- The FBO was a scale outlier, i.e. a highly successful and professionalized organization that was faith-based but not inherently tied to a single locality via a congregation, group of congregations, or group of clergy members. Examples include Habitat for Humanity, Mercy Housing, and Salvation Army.
- The FBO was located outside of an urban area as defined by the Census Bureau.
- One or more of the themes of Race, Structure, and Activities were unable to be coded.
- The CED activities were primarily pastoral care programs; this criterion was implemented to remove cases where the CED activities being offered by the congregation are explicitly tied to religious counseling or other forms of explicitly sectarian services (e.g.: a workforce development program that *required* participation in bible studies).
- The CED activities were limited to serving members of the FBO (e.g.: housing opportunities were intentionally provided to congregation members only).

These criteria led to some case studies being excluded, while other cases from the same publication were included.

3.3.5 *Case Study Coding and Follow-Up Research*

Finally, FBOs and CED programs that were selected as case studies were researched using general internet searches. This provided additional information for coding case studies and for gathering information on the outcome of projects. Information on FBOs and their activities was generally limited to what was available on their websites, but for some cases additional information was provided by alternative sources such as news articles and local government documentation. Unsurprisingly, not every FBO or CED program had a website or other information source available online; many of the older projects and smaller organizations lacked any online presence. In these cases, the information provided in the publication was the only source.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND CHARACTERIZATION

3.4.1 *Case Coding*

Following the identification of cases through the inclusion and exclusion criteria, the cases were coded to create the data for a characterization of the CED activities of FBOs. The codebook was initially created deductively by the author based on key publications included in the characterization. During the coding process, additional inductively derived codes were added, while deductive codes were modified as needed. See Appendix A for full codebook. Themes and codes are also described in the follow chapter.

Most initial themes and codes were deductively derived from academic research that was included in the characterization or by questions from the National Congregations Study (NCS). Codes that were not drawn directly from these sources were developed to provide alternative ways to analyze topics where data may have been harder to access. For example, some

researchers utilized “pledge units” to quantify FBO size and income (Reese & Shields, 1999). Pledge units are typically the number of families that donate to the FBO each year; given the vast differences in the number of people and level of financial support a pledge unit might represent, this analysis instead sought accurate numbers of members of an FBO and used two themes to address the wealth of a congregation: income and class. Income is a question included in the NCS but was rarely available for cases. Therefore, the real, perceived, or relative class of a congregation or the neighborhood in which the congregation was located was used as an alternative way to qualitatively understand the relative wealth of the congregation. The NCS achieved similar data by identifying congregations where at least 30% of the population was below the poverty line in their census tract. I decided this would not work for this sample of cases because some served a broader area, served as part of a collaborative, or were located in an area that was gentrifying. Utilizing a more qualitative understanding of “class” allowed for an assessment that considered the community’s history, relative income of the area, and different service areas.

3.4.2 Code Analysis

All coding and analyses were done using Microsoft Excel. Upon the completion of coding, three initial analyses were conducted to quantify the results of the coding process. First, a raw count of cases was conducted for each theme, yielding a percentage breakdown by code for each theme. Second, a separate analysis of the CED Activity theme was conducted. For most themes, only one code was applied to each case, making quantifying those themes straightforward. However, for the Activity theme, multiple codes could be applied because FBOs performed multiple activities in the majority of cases. This created a complicated array of co-

occurring activities in myriad combinations that required a separate analysis to break down into useful groups. Finally, cross-tabulations were utilized to illustrate the relationships between themes and were analyzed with a chi-squared test for independence.

3.5 LIMITATIONS

Building a characterization of faith-based community economic development activities from case studies included in academic and practitioner literature is inherently limited to what has been included in these publications. This raises key questions about why these cases were selected, what the original author's intent was, and how the overarching research community framed discussion of the subject.

A second limitation related to consistent patterns in missing information or potential biased information in the source material. As stated in section 3.2, a typology of publications became clear early in the research process, and each type had unique benefits and limitations. In brief, the typology of publications were practitioner publications, issue-based academic publications, and location-based academic publications. Practitioner publications tended to include case studies that represented a broad variety of types of community economic development activities and organizational structures. Some publications were explicitly promotional and highlighted cases that had been exceptionally successful. Others accurately represented the challenges of pursuing CED work, but very few included actual failures. Practitioner publications were surprisingly sparse on technical resources; they frequently recommended getting professional help to successfully execute CED projects but provided limited advice on technical issues or practical tips for building a successful CED program. Detailed technical information about the CED activities or about the FBOs themselves was rare.

Issue-based academic publications often featured case studies that were representative of the issue and were known to the author either due to proximity or reputation. Many issue-based publications utilized high-profile case studies that were prominently known for comparison to local or unique case studies. Issue-based research may use a specific location, but the issue being studied was the defining feature of the research, whereas the location was more of an afterthought or matter of convenience for the author. These publications frequently addressed specific challenges related to CED activity but were not focused on the CED activities themselves. Therefore, only case studies that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria related to the level of detail that the researcher provided were included, while anecdotal or briefly mentioned cases were excluded.

Location-based academic publications were generally studies that focused on the CED activities of FBOs in moderately sized study areas, typically a city, or more specifically serving an urban center or inner city. This led to an over-representation of FBOs in specific cities where location-based research was done, as well as some prominent examples of successful FBOs being utilized in both academic and practitioner publications. In this study, New York, Detroit, Baltimore, and Los Angeles are particularly over-represented due to research focused on these locations in combination with prominent cases located in these areas. The results from these cities are unlikely to be significantly different from what other cities would experience; it is likely that they were chosen due to ease of access, specific issues effecting these cities, or historical prominence of FBOs. Location-based research tended to provide the most comprehensive information on the cases included due to the nature of the research, but also tended to feature FBOs that were very small and otherwise unknown, making them challenging to conduct follow-up research on.

In addition to the limitations of source material, FBOs and nonprofits in general were challenging to find follow-up information on. FBOs are not required to file tax returns with the Internal Revenue Service if they do not make significant income from non-religious activity. It is also highly uncommon for an FBO to publicize details of their organization online, such as congregational attendance or budget, which limited the efficiency of follow-up research. Similarly, very small FBO-affiliated nonprofits had limited information available online, either due to being inactive since the research was conducted, having merged or changed names, or because their gross revenue was under \$50,000 per year, allowing them to submit 990-N forms to the IRS which do not record additional information and are frequently unavailable online. FBOs in general have been slow to implement websites; 2012 was the first year the National Congregations Study found that over 50% had a website (NCS). Creating and maintaining a website requires financial resources, expertise, and time that many small FBOs and even small nonprofits cannot justify spending. For FBOs that appear to no longer exist, they may have never had a website or removed it after closing the organization.

These limitations are frustrating for detailed and representative research. A mechanism like the National Congregations Study (NCS) could provide some additional data if it were to begin collecting data about FBO-affiliated nonprofits and their activities. Currently, the NCS records information about the activities done from *within* the congregation only and asks if the FBO has started a nonprofit for social services in the past two years. This misses any long-running affiliated nonprofits and the activities that operate through an affiliated nonprofit. For example, the researchers could add a section asking about FBO-affiliated or supported nonprofits, followed by questions about what services those nonprofits provide. However, it seems unlikely that a detailed survey of the nonprofits themselves will ever be undertaken; the

partnership structures are simply too numerous and complex for a true census of these organizations to be conducted without referrals or primary informants from FBOs. Therefore, at the moment, characterizing the CED activities of FBOs is only possible through a secondary source method.

To mitigate these limitations, the results from this analysis will be considered in the context of the National Congregations Study data in the discussion section, which is known to use a representative sample of congregations and has been in existence for 20 years. By placing the results of this study in the context of a long-running census of congregations, major biases due to relying on existing literature can be identified and addressed.

Chapter 4. Results

4.1 SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW AND CASE SELECTION

Through the systematic literature review, I found 22 publications that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria out of 70 identified, primarily through chain referral. By the end of the general search and chain referral process, I had assessed every citation in the publications sample and saturation was reached, with very few new articles and no new authors being found in the reference lists. Among the 22 publications, two authors doing location-based research had multiple articles or book chapters. One author used the same data set for two articles, while the other used the same group of cases in four publications over 20 years. Therefore, these linked publications were treated as single occurrences, yielding a final sample of 18 publications. For more details on the results of the systematic literature review, see Appendix B.

From these 18 publications, I identified 63 faith-based organizations or partnerships as cases that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria. This ranged from only one case per publication up to 16. One third of publications included over eight case studies, while the remaining yielded five or fewer cases each. The majority of cases were featured in only one publication, but 18 cases were included in more than one. Of these, eight were included in three or more publications and are highly publicized cases. Of note, Greater Allen AME in Queens, New York is one of the largest African American congregations in the country and its Development Corporation was included in six publications, while FAME Corporations, the CDC of First AME in Los Angeles, was included in five publications. Five of the remaining six highly publicized cases were located in New York City, reflecting a culture of CDC creation in the boroughs of New York from 1980 to 1995.

4.2 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THEMES

To begin analyzing the coding data, each theme was assessed with an initial count and percentage break down by code. This process led to some codes being identified as having insufficient information to be useful for later cross-tabulation of themes, while the issue of co-occurring Activity codes became clear. Case information, which was not included in the codebook, was also broken down to facilitate understanding the sample of cases. While informative, these were not generally useful for cross-tabulation. The exception was the year that community economic development activities were established, which was used in cross-tabulation to compare the effect of the growing CDC movement and growing government support for faith-based initiatives to the CED activities and structure (see section 4.4). For the full analysis tables, see Appendix C.

4.2.1 *Congregational Themes Analysis*

The congregational themes were created to collect data related to the specific congregation or group of congregations that founded, operate, or are otherwise affiliated with the community economic development activities.

- The Denomination theme described groupings of congregational denominations based on major trends in the USA and included six possible codes: Roman Catholic, White conservative, Black Protestant, White liberal, Non-Christian, and Not Applicable.
- The Race theme described the majority racial or ethnic identity of congregation members or community at the start of the project and included five possible codes: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Mixed.

- The Class theme described real, perceived, or relative class or income level of the congregation or the neighborhood served and included 4 possible codes: Poor/low income, Middle class, Upper class, and Not Applicable.
- The Age theme describe the age of the congregation based on the date it was founded and included five possible codes: before 1900, 1900-1949, 1950-1989, after 1990, and Not Applicable.
- The Size theme described the number of people involved in the congregation, including children, and included six possible codes: Under 50, 51-100, 101-250, 251-1000, Over 1000, and Not Applicable.
- The Income theme described the total income of the congregation and included five possible codes: Under \$100k, \$100k-\$250k, \$250k-\$500k, Over \$500k, and Not Applicable.

Some CED cases have separated from the congregation they were originally affiliated with or they were created as coalition-based organizations. In these cases, the congregational themes for Race and Class were used to illustrate the community being served by the CED organization; themes such as Denomination, Age, Size, or Income were typically coded as Not Applicable to these cases since they pertain to a congregation. In combination with the data collection issues described in section 3.5, this resulted in these themes being largely ineffective for analysis. For example, for the theme of Income, information was available for only two cases involving very large congregations.

The theme of majority Race of the community, defined as either the community being served or the congregation itself, was required data for the case to be included. To manage the challenges with coding organizations that were not connected to a specific congregation, some variability was built into the Mixed code. While most cases were located in a specific location or community with a clear demographic history, some organizations had a broader service area covering multiple demographic communities, while others were located in neighborhoods where demographics were changing. Specifically, several traditionally white liberal congregations were coded as Mixed either due to changes in their congregational demographics or due to changes in the demographics of the neighborhood their affiliated CED activities served. Finally, many of the collaborative cases were coded as mixed for the Race theme because they included a variety of entities, such as partnerships between an Episcopal church and a Jewish temple or between a Hispanic Catholic church and a tri-lingual Presbyterian church. The results of the Race theme showed that 56% of FBOs were majority Black, while another third were Mixed. None of the congregations were majority Asian, but Reese and Shields (1999) noted in their study of Detroit congregations that “most of the ‘mixed’ congregations also have fairly high representation of Asian Americans” (p. 179). Finally, five congregations in this analysis were majority Hispanic and only two were confirmed to be majority white. (See Table 1, right.)

The Class theme had similar issues with coding as the Race theme. It was intended to illustrate

Denomination	n = 63	
Roman Catholic	3	5%
White conservative	0	0%
Black Protestant	31	49%
White liberal	5	8%
Non- Christian	1	2%
N/A	23	37%
Race	n = 63	
White	2	3%
Black	35	56%
Hispanic	5	8%
Asian	0	0%
Mixed	21	33%
Class	n = 63	
Poor/low income	29	46%
Middle class	4	6%
Upper class	1	2%
N/A	29	46%

Table 1. Preliminary analysis of Denomination, Race, and Class themes.

the real, perceived, or relative class of the community, which could be either the congregation or the community being served by the CED activities. Due to challenges with identifying the changing demographics of congregations, the rate of commuting to the congregation, or the broad service area of some FBOs, nearly half of cases were coded as Not Applicable. The majority of those that could be coded with confidence were located in historically poor or low-income communities. This affirms that most faith-based organizations pursue community economic development in response to issues in their community. Five cases were coded as being in middle- or upper-class communities; this appears to be due to congregations remaining in neighborhoods that have gentrified significantly. For example, the one case located in an upper-class neighborhood is in Washington, D.C., where the CED activities were begun to support the area when it was a poor inner-city neighborhood in the 1970s, but which now provides low-income housing after the area gentrified and housing prices skyrocketed (Shook, 2012).

4.2.2 Community Economic Development Themes Analysis

The themes for community economic development were oriented around the practical issues of managing capital-intensive projects. They were coded from the perspective of the organization managing and/or operating the CED activities.

- The Structure theme described the management and/or legal structure of the CED activities or project and included six possible codes: Within congregation, Congregation nonprofit, Congregation CDC, Partner nonprofit, Partner CDC, and Other.
- The Driving Force theme described the party who was the driving force of starting the CED activities or project and included six possible codes: Clergy, Congregants, Community, Partnerships, Other, and Not Applicable.

- The Staff theme described the number of full time equivalent positions working on the CED activities or project and included five possible codes: 0 FTE, 3 FTE or less, 4-9 FTE, 10+ FTE, and Not Applicable.
- The Budget theme described the budget for the CED activities or specific project and included four possible codes: Under \$100k, \$100k-\$1M, Over \$1M, and Not Applicable.
- The Funding Source theme described the primary or key source of funding for the CED activities or project, especially during the start-up phase, and included six possible codes: Philanthropy, Budget of church, Federal Funding, City/State funding, Other/Mix, and Not Applicable.
- The Activity theme described the types of CED activities or project engaged in and included eight possible codes: Housing development, Housing rehab, Homeownership, Business operation, Business space, Business assistance, Workforce development, and Financial.
- The Intensity theme described the intensity of the CED activities or project for clients, and included four possible codes: No contact, Fleeting, Long-term, and Other.
- The Outcomes theme described the success or failure of the CED activities or project compared to the starting goal or mission and included five possible codes: Completely unsuccessful, Somewhat unsuccessful, Successful, Highly Successful, and Unknown.

Missing data was coded as Not applicable, Other, or Unknown, leading all themes to have an n of 63.

The six possible codes of the Structure theme typify the common options utilized by FBOs to begin offering CED activities. Following the passage of Charitable Choice in 1996, congregations were legally eligible for government funding alongside secular nonprofits without

establishing a separate nonprofit entity. The seven cases coded as Within congregation were all very early in the process of beginning their activities, including some from before 1996. Although no single structure dominates the cases, the combined congregational and partnership model Community Development Corporations (CDCs) totaled 60% of cases. This was followed by approximately a quarter of cases being managed through a general nonprofit, either exclusively affiliated with a congregation or through a partnership model. Finally, two cases were coded as Other: one opened a credit union (other FBOs that created a credit union were also participating in other activities, leading them to be coded as the structure used for those activities) and the second was a loan fund for supporting housing development, but was not engaging in the housing development itself. (See Table 2, right.)

Structure	n = 63	
Within congregation	7	11%
Congregation nonprofit	8	13%
Congregation CDC	23	37%
Partner nonprofit	8	13%
Partner CDC	15	24%
Other	2	3%
Activity	n = 63	
Housing development	53	84%
Housing rehab	14	22%
Homeownership	16	25%
Business operation	3	5%
Business space	13	21%
Business assistance	11	17%
Workforce development	22	35%
Financial	13	21%
Intensity	n = 63	
No contact	2	3%
Fleeting	4	6%
Long-term	43	68%
Other	14	22%
Outcomes	n = 63	
Completely unsuccessful	0	0%
Somewhat unsuccessful	5	8%
Successful	18	29%
Highly successful	11	17%
Unknown	29	46%

Table 2. Preliminary analysis of Structure, Activity, Intensity, and Outcomes themes.

The Activity theme was the only one to allow multiple codes per case. This theme is discussed in more detail in the following section, but an initial breakdown revealed that Housing development was clearly a major focus for authors, with 84% of cases participating in housing development. The next most prominent activity was Workforce development with 35% of cases, while incidence of the remaining activities ranged from 5% to 25% of cases.

Like the congregational themes, several CED themes did not include sufficient information to be useful in this initial analysis. These included the Driving force, Staff, Budget, and Funding source themes, all of which sought highly detailed information about the operation of the CED model. However, Intensity and Outcomes, the two most qualitative themes in the analysis, offered modest results. The Intensity theme aimed to capture whether the activity had a lasting influence on those it served, rather than a fleeting influence such as a short-term homeless shelter. Given that long-term housing services dominated the activities of the cases, it is not surprising that 68% of cases were found to be of Long-term intensity. Finally, the Outcomes theme attempted to assess whether the case reached its goal, exceeded it, or was less successful than planned. Given that these cases were included in publications, it unsurprising that no cases were reported as Completely Unsuccessful. Only five cases were reported as Somewhat Unsuccessful, usually indicating that follow-up research found that the CED had closed, merged, or otherwise ceased to operate. The high number of Unknown cases (46%) illustrated the lack of follow-up information available for many cases. This subject will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF CO-OCCURRING CED ACTIVITIES

The Activity theme was the only theme that allowed multiple codes, to reflect that many FBOs engage in multiple CED activities. To analyze the combinations, the Activity theme was searched using the UNIQUE function in Excel. Four of the activities were never engaged in alone, including Homeownership and all the business support codes (Business operation, Business space, and Business assistance). This resulted in a total of 34 activities and co-occurrences. See Appendix D for a detailed table of co-occurrences.

Housing support services were the most common type of activities with 38% of cases engaged exclusively in this theme, which included any combination of the codes Housing development, Housing rehab, and Homeownership. Organizations that participated in one form of Housing service, appeared to frequently offer additional Housing

CED Activity Co-occurrence Summary	n = 63	
Only Housing support activities	24	38%
Only Business support activities	0	0%
Only Workforce development	3	5%
Only Financial	2	3%
Housing & Business activities	9	14%
Housing & Workforce activities	8	13%
Housing & Financial activities	5	8%
Business & Workforce activities	1	2%
Housing, Business & Workforce activities	5	8%
Housing, Business & Financial activities	1	2%
Housing, Workforce & Financial activities	1	2%
All activity types	4	6%
Business & Financial activities	0	0%
Business, Workforce & Financial activities	0	0%

Table 3. Summary of Activity theme with co-occurring codes grouped by type.

services. The next most common co-occurrence was between Housing and Business services with 14%. Finally, Housing and Workforce activities co-occur in 13% of cases.

4.4 CROSS-TABULATION OF THEMES

To analyze the relationship between themes, cross-tabulations in various combinations were created. In general, three groups of cross-tabulations were created with different focus points: 1) demographic information, 2) CED structure, and 3) CED activities. These groupings included overlaps between the congregational themes and the CED themes to investigate the relationships between the congregation or community and the CED model utilized. For the complete cross-tabulation results, see Appendix E.

In addition, the cross-tabulations were analyzed using a chi-squared significance test for independence. This method was chosen as all the cross-tabulations represent categorical variables and are intended to illustrate the relationships between characteristics of the FBO cases.

The majority of the chi-squared results for the cross-tabulations were not found to be significant; those that are significant are described in this section. Chi-squared results are not included with the tables in Appendix E.

4.4.1 Demographics Cross-tabulation Analysis

The cross-tabulation analysis of demographic characteristics confirmed what was found in the preliminary analysis. The cross-tabulation between the themes of Race and Denomination revealed that 86% of FBOs located in or serving a majority Black community were affiliated with Black Protestant denominations; this table was found to be highly statistically significant ($\chi^2(6, N = 40) = 59.03, p = < .001$). In addition, 63% of majority Black FBOs were also located in poor/low-income neighborhoods. The majority of Mixed FBOs were coded as Not Applicable for denomination affiliation, indicating that this group likely included most of the collaborative cases. Interestingly, all cases affiliated with a White Liberal denomination were coded as Mixed as well, confirming that these cases represented congregations that were experiencing changing demographics. The five majority Hispanic cases were split with 40% being Roman Catholic congregations and 60% coded as Not Applicable, perhaps suggesting that majority Hispanic communities tended toward collaboration.

4.4.2 CED Structure Cross-tabulation Analysis

This analysis group seeks to understand the relationship between the structural themes for CED operation among FBOs. The CED Structure theme was one of the three required themes, and when placed in context with the required Race theme, a trend towards Congregation CDCs is clear for Black communities, with over 50% of cases in Black communities operating through

this model. In comparison, cases coded as Hispanic and Mixed tended to prefer partnership models (see Table 4, below). Stated differently, Black communities tended to operate independently rather than in collaboration with other organizations while other communities were more likely to function in partnerships. This result is explored more in the discussion.

CED Structure by Race of Community								
CED Structure	Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)							
	White n = 2		Black n = 34		Hispanic n = 5		Mixed n = 20	
Within congregation	0	0%	6	18%	0	0%	1	5%
Congregation nonprofit	1	50%	3	9%	0	0%	4	20%
Congregation CDC	0	0%	18	53%	1	20%	4	20%
Partner nonprofit	0	0%	1	3%	2	40%	5	25%
Partner CDC	1	50%	6	18%	2	40%	6	30%

$$\chi^2(12, N = 61) = 21.29, p = .046$$

Table 4. Cross-tabulation of CED Structure theme by Race theme.

Although most of the structural themes did not have sufficient information to be informative on their own, some of them provide additional context. For example, the connection between the themes of CED Staff and CED Budgets was evident and highly statistically significant, particularly because smaller organizations were more likely to lack complete information. For organizations with revenues over \$1 million, over 60% employed over 10 full time employees. In contrast, 27 cases were coded as Not Applicable for both Staff and Budget,

CED Staff by CED Budget								
CED Staff	CED Budget							
	Under \$100k n = 4		\$100k-\$1M n = 4		Over \$1M n = 18		N/A n = 37	
0 FTE	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	3%
3 FTE or less	0	0%	2	50%	2	11%	3	8%
4-9 FTE	0	0%	2	50%	2	11%	5	14%
10+ FTE	0	0%	0	0%	11	61%	1	3%
N/A	4	100%	0	0%	3	17%	27	73%

$$\chi^2(12, N = 63) = 45.46, p = <.001$$

Table 5. Cross-tabulation of CED Staff theme by CED Budget theme.

while 100% of cases with revenues under \$100,000 were coded Not Applicable for Staff. In general, smaller organizations were more likely to lack complete information (see Table 5, above).

In addition, the cross-tabulation for the themes of CED Structures and Year CED Established was found to be highly statistically significant ($\chi^2(15, N = 41) = 33.06, p = < .01$). A clear majority of Partnership models were established prior to 1990, while just over half (57%) of Congregation CDCs were established between 1990 and 1996. Finally, the cross-tabulation comparing the themes of CED Structure and CED Outcome indicated patterns. Outcomes for Congregation CDCs and Partner Nonprofits were able to be coded more consistently than other structural models, although no clear trends emerged between outcomes and the structural model. This suggests that these models have either been researched more deeply by authors or were more available for follow-up information. This issue will be engaged with in the discussion.

4.4.3 CED Activities Cross-tabulation Analysis

The relationships between the CED Activity theme and the other themes are particularly interesting due to the co-occurrences of activities. However, the co-occurrences also prevented them from being statistically significant. In some cases, it is possible to group the relationships as Housing services, Business services, Workforce, and Financial, while in others, the results vary widely across these groups. The CED activities of cases in Black communities, for example, does not track with these groups; rather, there is a clear trend toward providing for the community through physical spaces (Housing development, Business space, and Business assistance are all over 50% located in Black communities) or through Financial support, with

Race of Community by CED Activity																
Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)															
	Housing development n = 53		Housing rehab n = 14		Homeownership n = 16		Business operation n = 3		Business space n = 13		Business assistance n = 11		Workforce development n = 22		Financial n = 13	
White	2	4%	0	0%	0	0%	1	33%	2	15%	1	9%	1	5%	0	0%
Black	29	55%	7	50%	7	44%	1	33%	8	62%	6	55%	10	45%	12	92%
Hispanic	5	9%	3	21%	3	19%	0	0%	1	8%	1	9%	3	14%	0	0%
Mixed	17	32%	4	29%	6	38%	1	33%	2	15%	3	27%	8	36%	1	8%

Table 6. Cross-tabulation of Race of Community theme by CED Activity theme.

92% of Financial cases located in Black communities (see Table 6, above). This reinforces the trend toward Black communities working to provide for themselves.

There was a surprising lack of differentiation in the relationship between the themes of CED Structure and CED Activities. This is likely due to the numerous co-occurrences of CED Activities. For example, an organization that may have initially been formed to provide housing may have been designated as a CDC but later expanded into more business support services. Similarly, an organization with a long-term plan to pursue a variety of activities may have begun as a general nonprofit, while organizations established with vague plans may have also pursued this route. Therefore, we can conclude that the structure that the CED activities operate under or through often adapts to the changing needs of the community or mission of the organization without changing the model.

Finally, a higher percentage of cases engaged in Housing services and Financial activities were able to have their CED Outcome theme coded, while Business services and Workforce development were the most challenging to find Outcome information for. This perhaps reflects that housing and financial services require more investment and reporting, leading to their outcomes being monitored in more depth and the information being available for follow-up. This issue will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter.

Chapter 5. Discussion

5.1 THE NATIONAL CONTEXT OF CONGREGATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS

While a profile of the type of faith-based organizations that are participating in community economic development activities could be drawn from the results of the coding process, this sample faces several limitations, which were described in section 3.5. Of particular importance is the fact that this sample was composed of cases that were included in academic and practitioner publications and, therefore, cannot be assumed to be representative sample of congregations in the United States. To place the results of this study in context with national congregational demographics, the publicly accessible data from the National Congregations Study (NCS) is ideal. The NCS has been conducted for over 20 years with four waves of data to track changes over time, in 1998, 2006, 2012, and 2018. This sample of congregations is conducted in conjunction with the General Social Survey; respondents who attended religious services were asked to name their congregation, which were then followed up with, thereby creating a nationally representative sample of congregations (National Congregations Study, 2019a).

From the results of my analysis, one would easily conclude that the majority of FBOs engaged in CED are Black Protestant congregation located in a low-income neighborhood. However, the demographic data from the National Congregations Study suggests that this trend is overstated in publications. Black Protestant congregations comprise about one-fifth of all congregations in the United States and they are typically small congregations, encompassing only 12% of the population who are regular attendees to church services. Conservative white, or Evangelical, congregations represent 43% of congregations, while liberal white, or Mainline,

Percentage of congregations and attendees in each religious group, 2018–19

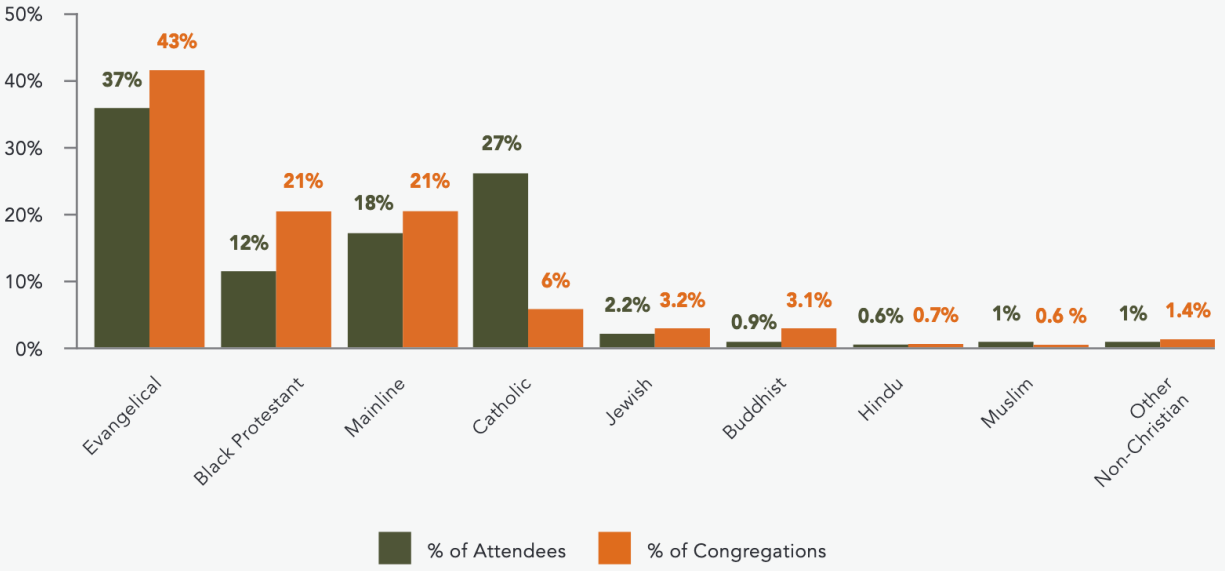


Table 7. Percent of congregations and attendees in each religious group, 2018-2019 (Chaves, et al., 2021, p.71)

congregations represent another one-fifth of congregations. Catholic parishes make up only 6% of congregations, but are typically larger, including 27% of attendees. (Table 7, above)

Although race appears to be a key factor in whether an FBO pursues CED activities, the NCS data reveals that this is not the case. In fact, the NCS found that Black Protestant congregations have some of the lowest rates of programs for housing programs, and that these

programs have decreased from their height in 1998 (Table 8, right). Similarly, Black Protestant congregations had the highest rate of workforce development programs in 1998, with 3.1% offering

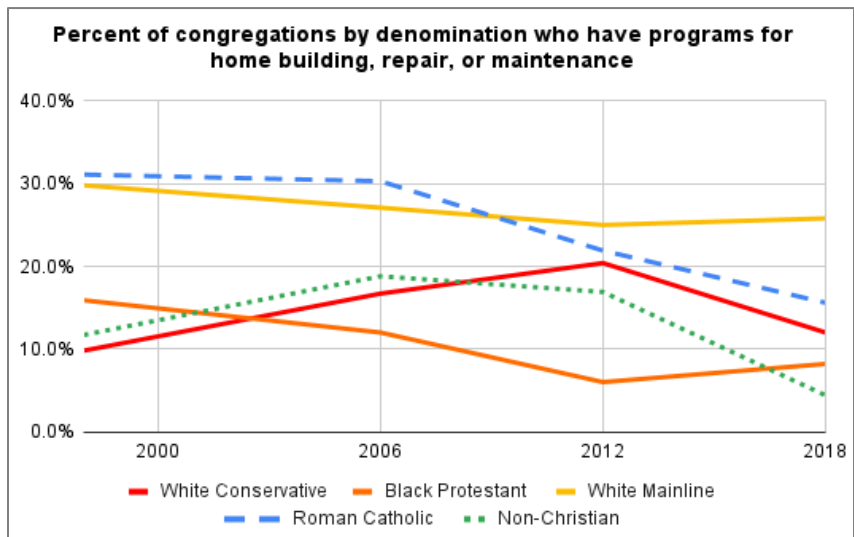


Table 8. Percent of congregations by denomination who have housing programs (National Congregations Study, 2019b)

programs to help people obtain jobs, but this fell steadily to just 0.7% of Black Protestant congregations in 2018. Given that most publications utilized in this study were written prior to 2000, as were all of the cases that were able to be dated, this could simply indicate that the height of CED growth occurred prior to the first wave of the NCS in 1998 or that it peaked around that time. In comparison, White liberal and Roman Catholic congregations were the most involved in housing activities and have also experienced declining rates of programs since 1998, while White conservative congregations increased their participation until 2012. For workforce development, White liberal congregations began offering more programs by 2006, followed by a jump in programs from Roman Catholic congregations in 2012, perhaps reflecting the growth in Hispanic communities during this time. (National Congregations Study, 2019b)

While NCS data does not support the idea that race itself is a factor in the decision to pursue CED activities, several other factors that are likely to coincide with Black communities do play a role whether congregations offer social services. Unfortunately, the NCS does not explicitly reference CED as a category, but the findings are still informative in that they indicate the motivations and values of congregations engaging in *any* community services. In particular, class is a key determinate of involvement in social services, but in complex ways. Congregations located in poor neighborhoods do more social services, presumably in response to the needs in their immediate community. According to the NCS, Black Protestant congregations are by far the most likely to be located in high-poverty communities, at 30%, compared to less than 15% for all other denominations (National Congregations Study, 2019b). However, congregations with more college-educated and professional-class members do more social services than those with primarily well-off or poor members. Together, these indicate that congregations located in poor neighborhoods, but drawing members who have achieved educational and professional

success will be the most likely to offer social services (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001, p. 673). In the context of Black communities, congregations have remained in their historic communities that have experienced disinvestment and continue to experience significant poverty, while their members have experienced increasing access to educational and professional opportunities. Many who may have moved out of the community after achieving financial success may continue to commute to their familial church and support their community.

Congregations are also more likely to offer social services if they have more resources. Members of larger congregations tend to be less generous in supporting their congregations, both financially and with their time, than members of small congregations (Chaves, et. al., 2021, p. 13). But the sheer scale of donations from thousands of members compared to the resources of very small congregations leads large congregations to be able to do more projects, hire more specialized staff, and have more capital to expend to stand up programs. In highly technical, capital-intensive projects like CED, these resources are key to successfully bringing the project to fruition. This likely explains the frequent citations of highly successful and publicized CED endeavors conducted by some of the largest Black Protestant congregations in the United States, including Greater Allen AME in Queens with over 23,000 members and First AME in Los Angeles with over 19,000 members, the two most highly cited cases included in this study.

5.2 THE IMPACT OF CHARITABLE CHOICE

The National Congregations Study began in 1998, shortly after the passage of “charitable choice” measures as a part of President Bill Clinton’s welfare reform act, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA). Inherent in this legislation was a return to an understanding of poverty as an individual moral failing, which is

illustrated in the name of the bill. It implemented a requirement to seek employment and a five-year lifetime limit on receiving welfare; the problem identified by the government was individuals' willingness to work, rather than systemic issues in the low-wage labor market. The role of charitable choice in this legislation was clear – as the government reduced its responsibility for providing social services to the poor, congregations were expected to fill the gap with services that were more holistic, “morally compelling,” and “transformative” than those secular nonprofits offered (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001, p. 662).

Including charitable choice in this legislation was based on the assumptions that congregations were sources of untapped human resources, that they would be interested in expanding their service programs, and that they would be able to do so with the assistance of government funding. The charitable choice measures reduced the barriers for congregations to apply for government grants without needing to create a separate nonprofit or to reduce the sectarian character of their organization, as long as no direct government funding went to religious activities. Since nonprofits first began seeking government contracts to provide social services, faith-based nonprofit organizations have been participating, including FBOs such as Catholic Charities, Lutheran Social Services, or Jewish Family Services. Therefore, the goals and measures of charitable choice were explicitly tailored to influencing congregations to expand their services as the ideal form for local, holistic, personal social service delivery.

However, the findings of the NCS suggest that most congregations were not interested in or able to pursue funding opportunities from the government. In 1998, 76.6% of congregations reported that they had not heard of legislation allowing them to contract with the government; Black Protestant congregations were the least informed, with only 20% having heard of charitable choice. However, Black Protestant congregations also received funds from the

government at a much higher rate than other denominations, with over 8% receiving government funding in 1998 compared to less than 4% for all other denominations (National Congregations Study, 2019b). When asked if they would pursue government funding, 68.6% of Black Protestant congregations reported that they would, compared to under half for all other denomination. Clearly, Black Protestants were much more enthusiastic about pursuing government funding opportunities than other denominations.

By 2012, the rate of congregations receiving government funding had significantly fallen. Only 1.6% of all congregations received funding, with Roman Catholic and White liberal, or Mainline, congregations receiving the most at 4.1% and 3.7%, respectively. Black Protestant congregations had already fallen to 6.6% in 2006, but only 1.4% were receiving government funding by 2012 (National Congregations Study, 2019b). What caused this decline after the enthusiastic engagement with government partners after the passage of charitable choice?

Research now shows that the government overestimated the barriers that congregations faced to increase their capacity to provide more services. Prior to the legislation, congregations tended to provide emergency services that were well-defined, bounded, and affordable, usually involving a small provision of volunteer labor on a periodic basis (Chaves & Tsitsos, 2001, p. 672). Examples include an annual children's clothing and school supplies drive, providing a Sunday lunch to the poor, or sending volunteers to projects in the community. Contact with needy people was generally fleeting, rather than holistic or transformative. To provide these services would require a significant increase in expertise and administrative infrastructure to secure and manage a government grant, let alone operate the program. Few congregations were able to overcome this barrier to begin serious initiatives in social service delivery (Chaves &

Wineburg, 2010, p. 345). The large, specialized social service FBOs that had already been involved in this work continued to pursue and win government contracts for these services.

For organizations conducting CED work specifically, arguably some of the most holistic and transformative services offered, the ability to grow their capacity has direct impacts on the success or failure of the projects, as seen in the results of this study. Larger organizations with more resources and specialization to be highly successful in executing CED projects were included in publications as inspiring and informative examples, but were not representative of what the average congregation faced. Congregations or partnerships considering expanding into CED work usually do not have the specialized resources that these organizations have built over time and they must develop them, often at their own expense, to get started. In the case of First Rock Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., the congregation “had no systems in place to monitor the process, which is how we ended up losing a lot of money and creating unnecessary tension within the church family” (Rev. Richard C. Corbin quoted in Walker, 2001). Like many congregations starting out, this case leaned on church members to provide technical assistance, which caused accountability and leadership issues, due to the congregation not knowing “what questions to ask” (Rev. Richard C. Corbin quoted in Walker, 2001). While receiving government funding for these services can seem like a convenient option, meeting government contracting and grant requirements is an additional administrative barrier that can take congregations by surprise. Overall, it is easy for a congregation or partnership to find themselves in over their heads with CED work; it is possible that congregations rushing to enter the field after the passage of charitable choice experienced losses, leading congregations over time to move away from government funding options and to return to the more tested territory of their previous ministries or into more formalized CED work through a nonprofit.

Indeed, the government might have underestimated the benefits of separate nonprofit status for conducting social service delivery, particularly for CED activities which require an additional level of technical expertise and complex capital management. The NCS data for all waves indicate that nearly 12% of Black Protestant congregations had started a nonprofit organization in the previous year to offer social services; the next highest was 8.4% of White liberal congregations (National Congregations Study, 2019b). Although charitable choice was explicitly intended to make creating a separate nonprofit unnecessary, it's possible that congregations and clergy feel more comfortable pursuing potentially risky projects with the additional protection that a nonprofit entity gives to the church.

Finally, the assumption of the charitable choice legislation that congregations were sources of untapped energy and human resources neglects the theology behind FBOs efforts to address the needs of the poor. Data from the NCS demonstrates that the theological tradition or perspective of congregations is a deciding factor in whether they offer social services. That is, self-described conservative congregations are significantly less likely to provide social services than self-described liberal congregations. Denominations encompass significant diversity in theological position: among Black Protestant congregations in 1998, 16.9% self-identified as liberal, the highest among Christian denominations (National Congregations Study, 2019b). Among these congregations, a small percent may feel the moral call to improve conditions for their community through CED activities; the theological influence cannot be overstated as a motivating force. Throughout case studies, the faith-based drive to address systemic community problems, even when resources seem impossibly limited, is well documented. While charitable choice opportunities may have provided more convenient options for funding, it is likely that these congregations would have found funding sources without those provisions, just as many

did prior to the enactment of this legislation. Interestingly, the NCS data shows that Black Protestant congregations have become increasingly conservative over time, with only 3% identifying as liberal in 2018 (National Congregations Study, 2019b). This trend toward conservatism could reflect aging demographics or political shifts, among other factors, and could be part of the reason that housing services declined over time.

5.3 RESEARCH BIAS OR REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE?

As noted in section 5.1, academic researchers and practitioners seem to over-represent Black congregations in research on community economic development. While the National Congregations Study data above shows that Black Protestant congregations were more likely to be involved in or inclined to social service delivery in 1998, the data collected over the past two decades demonstrates that this interest has tapered off. Therefore, what led researchers to focus so heavily on Black FBOs conducting CED activities, particularly housing, long after these trends appear to have tapered off?

Again, the NCS data described above is informative; this data confirms that the highly publicized cases as well as many of the smaller cases, are anomalies rather than the norm. While Black Protestant congregations comprised of educated, professional-class members and located in poor communities may be the *most likely* to participate in social services, including CED, the rate of participation in these activities is still very small because of the financial and technical barriers to conducting this work. Rather, the focus on these congregations in research probably stems from the same motivation as the congregations' activities – the plight of the inner cities, systemic racism, and the challenges of urban renewal are the subject of extensive research. The tendency to conduct research on Black congregations is, therefore, less of an issue of

representation or bias and more one of authorial intent. Most publications and authors are explicitly interested in social justice related to white flight, the decay of inner cities, urban renewal, and issues of displacement and gentrification. These issues lead them naturally to Black communities, Black congregations, and the CED work that is occurring to support these communities when governments are not.

Researchers also may have a bias towards specific types of projects. Community economic development is a complex field encompassing a variety of activities, all of which play key roles in fostering a thriving community. Housing is key; having sufficient residential units at prices that the community members can afford is the basis of the creation of the neighborhood. However, business opportunities and workforce development also play important roles in the development of a community. Local businesses provide amenities to residents, build communal wealth, and provide local jobs. Workforce development activities assist individuals with entering the job market or retraining to achieve new career opportunities, both of which support families to increase their wealth. Finally, financial activities can help communities to build wealth and to invest in local improvement projects.

However, researchers tend to focus most on housing activities, rather than business, workforce, or financial efforts. NCS data does show that congregations engage in housing support more than workforce development; 16% of Black Protestant congregations operated housing programs compared to 3% offering workforce programs in 1998. Researchers may also simply find it simpler to investigate housing activities than other CED programs. Housing is typically a significant physical presence, is relatively well documented due to the funding required, and usually has an easily described programmatic goal. Business, workforce, and financial programs are much more likely to be uniquely designed by a congregation in response

to specific community needs. They are more likely to be offered on site, such as classes or computer labs, and to be less publicly documented or publicized. In essence, these programs are more likely to fly under the radar and be more challenging to compare to other congregations' efforts.

Finally, research into FBOs and their CED activities is more likely to be conducted from the perspective of the fields of public administration, nonprofits, urban planning, and religious studies, whereas research done on FBO social services in general is most likely to be conducted from a social work, public health, public administration, and religious studies perspective. More representative cases might be found in these fields, where the questions are primarily focused on the differences between secular and sectarian social service delivery. Most of the research in these fields has a focus on the long-running work of large FBOs and congregations related to emergency services, health care, and education. In this body of research there is also a significant focus on efficiency (are FBOs able to deliver more transformative services than secular nonprofits or government?) and the outcomes of the charitable choice legislation. These questions are challenging to address and are also considered in the CED context, but they are less prominent overall.

5.4 IS EFFICIENCY RELEVANT TO FAITH-BASED NONPROFITS?

In this study, cases were coded for their outcomes based on either the description of the activity at the time of publication or from follow-up research. When beginning this research, outcomes were assumed as a key aspect of whether FBO CED was a smart investment for governments and communities. However, during the literature review process, researchers were clearly less interested in discussing the outcomes of projects compared to the intention and

process of developing CED activities. When placed in conversation with theological motivations for CED activities, does the efficiency of the program matter?

In short, yes – when considering significant capital investments, particularly utilizing government funding, efficiency should always be considered. However, efficiency in relation to CED activities becomes a complex issue of understanding the goals and outcomes that CED projects intend to bring to fruition. For FBOs, particularly congregations, the goals of CED activities may be significantly different from those of nonprofit organizations.

CED in general has a very different understanding of outcomes than other social service nonprofits. As an example, take the goals and units of measurement for a housing project in comparison to an emergency shelter. The goal for the housing project is to provide safe and affordable units for families who have been homeless, while the goal for the homeless shelter is to provide as many beds to as many people in need as possible. The units of measure for the housing project is, perhaps, the number of units built, the cost per unit, and the wrap-around services offered to the new residents. For the homeless shelter, measurements could include the number of beds available per night, the number of unique individuals sheltered per year, and the social services offered to and accepted by clients. While both include the resources available and utilized, the key difference is the emphasis on serving individuals in the short term versus providing units in the long term. Whereas a homeless shelter could, theoretically, have an entirely different population of clients each night, a unit of housing could be occupied by the same tenant for a single year, or a decade, or longer. That is, the outcome for housing projects is not the number of clients served, but the number of units created. Therefore, for a CED project, the relevant outcome is the completion of the project. Other important outcomes for the health of the program overall could include financial issues, such as debt incurred, the cost per unit, etc.,

but the creation of housing units is inherently the primary goal of housing CED projects. If the housing is built, occupied, and successfully managed, either by the FBO itself or by another entity, the project was successful.

Program success is somewhat more complex. Most FBOs pursuing housing services start out with a single project and hope to continue growing their CED program. If the initial project is unable to be completed, leads to significant financial losses that cannot be recouped, or simply exhausts the energies of the congregation, the FBO is much less likely to continue to pursue CED activities, leading them to never fully develop the technical and administrative capacity that is needed for highly successful programs. Of course, most FBOs who begin CED activities would like to continue to see their programs grow, but a program that completes only one project is not inherently less successful than an organization that continues to grow; they are simply different organizations with different goals and lifecycles.

For other types of CED projects that are focused on counselling or services, such as homeownership advising, business counselling, or workforce development, outcomes related to individuals served are more relevant to efficiency than for housing projects. However, most FBOs enacting these services are doing so as an additional service or as a small-scale project to help community members. They generally require far less funding to operate than capital projects such as housing development. Research also suggests that sectarian and secular organizations have similar outcomes for services like these, so the potential benefits of FBOs offering these services are intangible benefits such as “staff empathy, hope, optimism and emotional support with fewer client complaints” (Hula, et. al., 2007, p. 73).

5.5 A CHARACTERIZATION OF FBOs IN CED

Through placing the case coding results in context with the National Congregations Study and informed by research from the field, a portrait of a faith-based organization that is most likely to successfully participate in community economic development activities can be created. The characteristics considered in this portrait are aligned to the themes utilized in the case coding process.

The congregation that would be most likely to engage in CED activities would be an older Black Protestant congregation located in a historically Black urban neighborhood. This neighborhood experienced white flight in the 1950s, followed by disinvestment and urban renewal measures. The congregation is comprised of mostly educated, professional-class members and is relatively large, drawing a large funding stream from the donations of its congregants. Some members live in the community, but many commute to the church, attending only on Sundays or for occasional volunteering activities.

The congregation holds a liberal theological tradition. The reverend is very involved in the community and aware of the struggles of the community in the immediate vicinity. Although many members no longer live in the area, they still identify with it as “theirs” and feel a sense of responsibility to support it. Thus, the congregation decides to form a separate nonprofit to manage community economic development activities. The reverend is the president of the board and helps guide the organization, but qualified members of the congregation and local community members serve on the board as well. The congregation invests upfront in hiring individuals with technical experience in managing a development-oriented nonprofit.

The nonprofit starts out with a project to renovate a small apartment building. If this project is successful, the nonprofit now has a new revenue source that allows them to apply for

grants and seek additional donations to take on larger projects, such as building a new senior assisted living facility and an apartment building for low-income families. On the ground floor of the apartments, affordable business spaces are rented to community-owned businesses who received technical business assistance from businesspeople in the congregation. The nonprofit now has enough staff to also offer homeownership advising. Members of the congregation also begin donating their time to create a job counselling program, where interview skills and resume workshops are held for community members.

Alternatively, the congregation is rather small, but committed to engaging in CED activities. The reverend begins working with a coalition of other congregations, clergy, and/or secular nonprofits to collectively engage in CED activities. This partnership FBO utilizes funds invested by each congregation to launch their first projects. Similarly to the congregational portrait above, the partnership nonprofit is able to capitalize off of successful projects to pursue new opportunities, recouping the initial investment made by the individual congregations. Both of these models are common and can be highly successful.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1 SUMMARY

This thesis utilized a systematic literature review method to identify academic and practitioner publications containing case studies of faith-based organizations conducting community economic development activities. These case studies were narrowed down to 63 cases according to inclusion and exclusion criteria, then coded to analyze the characteristics of the organizations and their activities. The results of the analysis were then put into context through the data collected in the National Congregations Study and through research in the field. Finally, the characterization of the FBOs who are most likely to participate in CED activities was described.

6.2 LESSONS FOR FBOs CONSIDERING CED PROGRAMS

In the process of creating this characterization of the community economic development activities of faith-based organizations, recommendations for FBOs starting out in this field were repeated regularly. Academic research on leadership and nonprofit management detailed potential pitfalls for congregations, while practitioner publications provided accounts of lessons learned from successful FBOs. An FBO starting to develop a CED program may think that it is similar to any other social service ministry, but CED activities require a very different strategy than other common services that congregations offer.

6.2.1 *Leadership and Specialists*

Congregations frequently begin to pursue CED projects due to the advocacy of the head clergy or other leadership. In traditional social service delivery, the head clergy of the

congregation typically takes on a leadership role in launching the program and making key decisions. However, most CED projects benefit from specialized and experienced technical assistance, rather than relying too heavily on clerical leaders or members of the congregation. Particularly among communities of color, there is a tendency “to vest clerical leaders with tremendous authority” (Walker, 2001). Although ministers may have envisioned the CED activities, they have rarely received training in business administration, financial management, or nonprofit management. To be successful in CED activities, the congregation is best served by delegating some decision making, oversight, and administrative activities to a hired person or persons who has technical expertise in nonprofit and financial management.

For congregations considering projects like housing development, it is also important to establish norms around hiring qualified individuals for roles such as the architect, real estate advisor, and project manager. The natural inclination for many congregations is to find members of the congregation to take on these roles, often part-time or even on a volunteer basis. An FBO looking to be successful is better served by investing early in hiring qualified individuals for these roles. Those individuals may be found inside the congregation, but the leaders of the project must also be comfortable with choosing someone else; just because someone in the congregation is an architect, doesn't mean they are the right architect for the project. “At the end of the day, if the project is over budget or behind schedule, the congregation and the community get hurt, so it's best to do your due diligence” (CEO Colvin Grannum quoted in Walker, 2001).

6.2.2 Incorporating as a Nonprofit

Religious institutions in the United States operate without government interference, unlike other types of 501(c)3 nonprofits. When pursuing CED activities, the funding sources for

those activities might require levels of public disclosure that congregations are surprised by. For some government agencies and grants, this could even include personal financial and real estate information. Most congregations are better served by incorporating their CED activities as a separate nonprofit, such as a CDC. By doing so, the congregations remains separated from potential government oversight and may also be protected from some of the financial risks. However, these nonprofits must be managed very differently from the way a congregation is run; again, it is best to hire someone with business or nonprofit management experience early to help manage the technical aspects of becoming a separate nonprofit. The management of the nonprofit also offers opportunities for the head clergy to be in a leadership position with checks and balances from people with expertise through the nonprofit board mechanism. Most congregation-affiliated nonprofits have the head clergy as the board president while congregation and community members with technical expertise and passion serve as board members. (Walker, 2001)

6.2.3 Making a Program Plan

Getting started on CED activities often begins with one small project, but it can be helpful for a congregation or new nonprofit to take some time to consider their long-term goals.

It's important to consider the economic resources of the church, asking questions like:

- How much can they comfortably invest to get the work going?
- How will they recoup the advance investment?
- What funding sources are they comfortable working with?
- What private or public collaborators could they work with? (Walker, 2001)

Nonprofits frequently engage in strategic planning related to their mission and programming, ensuring that they avoid seeing their programs drift away from their original goals. FBOs should consider thinking about the goals of the CED program beyond the immediate project, including making plans for future steps toward the goals they want to achieve. Do they want to focus exclusively on housing, or should they consider business services as well? Perhaps the nonprofit can act as property manager for now, but will they need to hire more people if they build more rental properties? At the beginning they may not be able to offer many wrap-around service to tenants – how can they offer those in the future or are there organizations they could partner with? It may be a long time before the FBO reaches these goals but ensuring that everyone involved in the effort is envisioning the same structure and goals for the organization reduces conflict and improves decision making outcomes for leaders.

6.3 OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The limitations of this study are primarily due to a lack of recent research. The majority of research on FBOs working on CED activities was written in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when the conversation around charitable choice was at its height and Black congregations were deeply involved in CED efforts. There are two main gaps in the existing research that offer opportunities for future research.

First, the CED activities of congregations and their affiliated nonprofits have not been studied in depth since the mid 2000s. Most authors still working in this area are conducting long-term research on specific case studies. Research on a broader sample of nonprofits has not been done recently, and no large scale studies of FBOs engaged in CED has ever been attempted. The lack of data presents challenges for FBOs considering beginning work in on CED, as the

majority of research and practitioner publications are out of date. With the rise of email and other technology, it is likely that much of the conversations about these programs among congregations has simply changed the method of dissemination, away from printed pamphlets and books. It would be of interest to conduct new research on the current discourse around CED activities and nonprofits among FBOs today. How do congregations get started on CED today? What are the barriers and challenges?

Second, there is very little research that has been conducted into the effects of charitable choice. This is true for most fields, but is especially true for congregation-based FBOs and for activities like CED. For a meaningful analysis of charitable choice to be conducted, government, secular nonprofit, and sectarian service providers would need to be analyzed to understand the differences in outcomes, if any (Reese, 2004, p. 63). How much government funding has gone to FBOs compared to secular nonprofits? What are differences in costs and benefits for projects done by secular versus religious nonprofits? In addition, the impact of charitable choice on congregations has been underassessed; the National Congregations Study can offer some insights, but is limited due to the large scope of its ethnographic research. Charitable choice was intended to engage congregations in social service delivery, but to date, it is challenging to assess whether it has been at all successful.

6.4 POLICY AND PLANNING REFLECTIONS

In the context of this study, policymakers and urban planners can take away several insights. First, in the quarter century since charitable choice legislation was enacted, it has transitioned from a relatively controversial issue to an afterthought. Congregations and FBOs are allowed to apply for government contracts, but few can grow their capacity to begin pursuing

this funding unless they already have experience doing so. Although charitable choice appears to have made less of an impact on social service delivery than the United States government anticipated, it is now the norm. To revoke it would cause the small percent of FBOs who do seek that funding to need to look elsewhere. The fact that only a small group of FBO seek government funding should not take away from the many more who play an important community service role without that funding. Seeking ways to support these congregations outside of direct funding would help rebuild them as vital members of the community.

Within communities, congregations and their affiliated faith-based nonprofits are doing works that may go unseen. For urban planners, identifying this work and supporting it can create key partnerships to address challenges. These organizations are supporting housing development, sponsoring volunteerism in our parks, and providing resources for our businesses. Rather than viewing them as untapped human resources, as charitable choice did in 1996, there is now the potential to collaborate with them as key providers of community resources and to support the continued growth of the faith-based community economic development movement.

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Appendix A. Codebook

THEME	THEME DESCRIPTION	CODE	CODE DESCRIPTION (as needed)	
CONGREGATIONAL THEMES	Denomination	Broad groupings of denominations/ affiliations based on major trends in the USA (from NCS)	Roman Catholic	
			White conservative	White conservative, evangelical, or fundamentalist
			Black Protestant	
			White liberal	White liberal or moderate
			Non-Christian	Jewish, Muslim, etc.
			N/A	Not applicable to mixed denomination FBOs or information unavailable
	Race	Majority racial or ethnic identity of congregation members or community at the start of the project (from Reese & Shields)	White	
			Black	
			Hispanic	
			Asian	
			Mixed	
	Class	Real, perceived, or relative class/income level of congregation and/or neighborhood	Poor/low income	
			Middle class	
			Upper class	
			N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable
	Age	Age of the congregation based off date of founding (from NCS)	before 1900	
			1900-1949	
			1950-1989	
			after 1990	
			N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable
	Size	Number of people involved in the congregation in any way, including children (from NCS)	<50	
			51-100	
			101-250	
			251-1000	
>1000				
N/A			Not applicable or information unavailable	
Income	Total income of the congregation (from NCS)	<\$100k		
		\$100k-\$250k		
		\$250k-\$500k		
		>\$500k		
		N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable	

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY THEMES	Structure	Management and/or legal structure of CED activities or project	Within congregation	Directly managed and owned by the congregation
			Congregation nonprofit	A legally separate nonprofit led from within the congregation
			Congregation CDC	A nonprofit CDC led from within the congregation
			Partner nonprofit	A nonprofit created by a coalition of partner congregations and/or nonprofits
			Partner CDC	A CDC created by a coalition of partner congregations and/or nonprofits
			Other	
	Driving Force	The driving force of starting, managing, or creating CED activities or project (from Reese & Shields)	Clergy	Ex. pastor envisions project
			Congregants	Ex. committee envisions project
			Community	Ex. community expresses need and supports project
			Partnerships	Ex. partner congregations or nonprofits envision project, include congregation
			Other	
			N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable
	Staff	Number of FTEs working on CED activities or project	0 FTE	Volunteer only
			3 FTE or less	Very small
			4-9 FTE	Small to medium
			10+ FTE	Medium to large
			N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable
	Budget	Budget for CED activities or specific project	<\$100k	
			\$100k-\$1M	
			>\$1M	
			N/A	Not applicable or information unavailable
	Funding Source	Primary or key source of funding for CED activities or project, especially at start-up (from Reese & Shields)	Philanthropy	Fundraising campaign or private grants
			Budget of church	Tithes, donations, profits, etc.
			Federal funding	HUD grants, etc.
			City/state funding	Local funding programs
			Other/Mix	Mix of above or other source
N/A			Not applicable or information unavailable	

CED ACTIVITY THEMES (cont.)	Activity	Type of CED activities or project engaged in (from Reese & Shields)	Housing development	New housing opportunities created (may include renovated units)
			Housing rehab	Existing housing improved, residents able to stay in homes
			Homeownership	Homeownership assistance, training, etc.
			Business operation	Generate profit from own business(es)
			Business space	Small businesses provided with space
			Business assistance	Small business assistance, training, etc.
			Workforce development	Job training, referrals, classes, etc.
			Financial	Community financial supports, ex. credit union, loans
	Intensity	Intensity of CED activity or project for clients (from Chaves)	No contact	Ex. making donations
			Fleeting	I.e. meeting immediate needs; ex. weekly meal service
			Long-term	I.e. meeting personal needs; ex. housing
			Other	Mix of above or information unavailable
	Outcomes	Success or failure of CED activities or project compared to starting goal/mission	Completely unsuccessful	Ex. project failed, went bankrupt, etc.
			Somewhat unsuccessful	Ex. project completed but at a high cost
			Successful	Ex. project completed as expected
			Highly successful	Ex. project exceeded expectations
			Unknown	Unable to establish outcome

Appendix B. Systematic Literature Review Results and Analysis

Publication Details				
Author	# by Author	Type of Publication	# of Cases	
Cisneros (1996)	1	Practitioner	13	
Coates (1990)	1	Practitioner	5	
DePriest, Jones (1997)	1	Issue-based	4	
Fitzgerald (2009)	1	Issue-based	2	
Gite (1993)	1	Issue-based	5	
Harrison (2004)	1	Location-based	16	
Hula, Jackson, Orr (1997)	1	Issue-based	1	
Lacho, Parker, Carter (2005)	1	Location-based	1	
Lambert-Pennington, Pfromm (2010)	1	Issue-based	1	
Mares (1994)	1	Location-based	8	
Owens (2000, 2007, 2021)	3	Location-based	10	
Ramsay (1998)	1	Issue-based	2	
Reese & Shields (1999, 2000)	2	Location-based	11	
Rooney (1991)	1	Location-based	2	
Sherman (1995)	1	Issue-based	1	
Shook (2012)	1	Practitioner	4	
Walker (2001)	1	Practitioner	4	
Vidal (2001)	1	Practitioner	8	
TOTAL:	18	21	TOTAL:	98
Summary of Types			Case Co-occurrences	
Type of Publication	# of Authors	# of Cases	Case is in # of Publications	# of Cases
Practitioner	5	34	6	1
Issue-based	7	16	5	1
Location-based	6	48	4	4
TOTAL:	18	98	3	2
			2	10
			1	45
			TOTAL:	63

Appendix C. Preliminary Analysis

CASE INFORMATION DATA		
Year CED established	n = 63	
Before 1980	7	11%
1980-1989	16	25%
1990-1996	16	25%
1997-2001	2	3%
After 2001	0	0%
Unknown	22	35%
# of FBOs in CED case	n = 63	
1 (single FBO in CED)	42	67%
2 to 9	5	8%
10 or more	9	14%
N/A for CED case	7	11%
Regions & Major Cities	n = 63	
Northeast, including:	27	43%
New York City	10	16%
Baltimore	8	13%
Midwest, including:	21	33%
Detroit	14	22%
South	6	10%
West, including:	9	14%
Los Angeles	8	13%

CONGREGATIONAL DATA		
Denomination	n = 63	
Roman Catholic	3	5%
White conservative	0	0%
Black Protestant	31	49%
White liberal	5	8%
Non- Christian	1	2%
N/A	23	37%
Race	n = 63	
White	2	3%
Black	35	56%
Hispanic	5	8%
Asian	0	0%
Mixed	21	33%
Class	n = 63	
Poor/low income	29	46%
Middle class	4	6%
Upper class	1	2%
N/A	29	46%
Age	n = 63	
before 1900	18	29%
1900-1949	10	16%
1950-1989	2	3%
after 1990	0	0%
N/A	33	52%
Size	n = 63	
Under 50	0	0%
51-100	0	0%
101-250	1	2%
251-1000	2	3%
Over 1000	13	21%
N/A	47	75%
Income	n = 63	
Under \$100k	0	0%
\$100k-\$250k	0	0%
\$250k-\$500k	0	0%
Over \$500k	2	3%
N/A	61	97%

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DATA			
Structure	n = 63		
Within congregation	7	11%	
Congregation nonprofit	8	13%	
Congregation CDC	23	37%	
Partner nonprofit	8	13%	
Partner CDC	15	24%	
Other	2	3%	
Driving Force	n = 63		
Clergy	7	11%	
Congregants	0	0%	
Community	0	0%	
Partnerships	0	0%	
Other	0	0%	
N/A	56	89%	
Staff	n = 63		
0 FTE	1	2%	
3 FTE or less	7	11%	
4-9 FTE	9	14%	
10+ FTE	12	19%	
N/A	34	54%	
Budget	n = 63		
Under \$100k	4	6%	
\$100k-\$1M	4	6%	
Over \$1M	18	29%	
N/A	37	59%	
Funding Source	n = 63		
Philanthropy	4	6%	
Budget of church	4	6%	
Federal funding	4	6%	
City/state funding	0	0%	
Other/Mix	9	14%	
N/A	42	67%	
Activity	n = 63		
Housing development	53	84%	
Housing rehab	14	22%	
Homeownership	16	25%	
Business operation	3	5%	
Business space	13	21%	
Business assistance	11	17%	
Workforce development	22	35%	
Financial	13	21%	
Intensity	n = 63		
No contact	2	3%	
Fleeting	4	6%	
Long-term	43	68%	
Other	14	22%	
Outcomes	n = 63		
Completely unsuccessful	0	0%	
Somewhat unsuccessful	5	8%	
Successful	18	29%	
Highly successful	11	17%	
Unknown	29	46%	

Appendix D. Detailed Analysis of Co-occurring CED Activities

CED ACTIVITY CO-OCCURRENCE					
Summary	n = 63		Detail	n = 63	
Only Housing support activities	24	38%	Housing development	15	24%
			Housing rehab	1	2%
			Homeownership	0	0%
			Housing development, Housing rehab	4	6%
			Housing development, Homeownership	3	5%
			Housing development, Housing rehab, Homeownership	1	2%
Only Business support activities	0	0%	Business operation	0	0%
			Business space	0	0%
			Business assistance	0	0%
Only Workforce development	3	5%	Workforce development	3	5%
Only Financial	2	3%	Financial	2	3%
Housing & Business activities	9	14%	Housing development, Business operation	1	2%
			Housing development, Business space	4	6%
			Housing development, Homeownership, Business space	1	2%
			Housing development, Business space, Business assistance	2	3%
			Housing development, Homeownership, Business space, Business assistance	1	2%
Housing & Workforce activities	8	13%	Housing development, Workforce development	2	3%
			Housing rehab, Workforce development	1	2%
			Housing development, Housing rehab, Workforce development	1	2%
			Housing development, Homeownership, Workforce development	2	3%
			Housing development, Housing rehab, Homeownership, Workforce development	2	3%
Housing & Financial activities	5	8%	Housing development, Financial	4	6%
			Housing development, Housing rehab, Homeownership, Financial	1	2%
Business & Workforce activities	1	2%	Business space, Workforce development	1	2%
Housing, Business & Workforce activities	5	8%	Housing development, Business assistance, Workforce development	1	2%
			Homeownership, Business assistance, Workforce development	1	2%
			Housing development, Business operation, Business space, Workforce development	1	2%
			Housing development, Business space, Business assistance, Workforce development	1	2%
			Housing development, Homeownership, Business space, Business assistance, Workforce development	1	2%
Housing, Business & Financial activities	1	2%	Housing development, Housing rehab, Homeownership, Business assistance, Financial	1	2%
Housing, Workforce & Financial activities	1	2%	Housing rehab, Homeownership, Workforce development, Financial	1	2%
All activity types	4	6%	Housing development, Business assistance, Workforce development, Financial	2	3%
			Housing development, Homeownership, Business assistance, Workforce development, Financial	1	2%
			Housing development, Housing rehab, Business operation, Business space, Workforce development, Financial	1	2%
Business & Financial activities	0	0%			
Business, Workforce & Financial activities	0	0%			

Appendix E. CED Cross-tabulation Analysis

Denomination by Race of Community								
Denomination	Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)							
	White n = 2		Black n = 35		Hispanic n = 5		Mixed n = 21	
Roman Catholic	0	0%	1	3%	2	40%	0	0%
White conservative	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Black Protestant	0	0%	30	86%	0	0%	1	5%
White liberal	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	24%
Non- Christian	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
N/A	2	100%	4	11%	3	60%	14	67%

Denomination by Class of Community								
Denomination	Class of Community (congregation and/or CED neighborhood)							
	Poor/low income n = 29		Middle class n = 4		Upper class n = 1		N/A n = 29	
Roman Catholic	2	7%	0	0%	0	0%	1	3%
White conservative	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Black Protestant	20	69%	2	50%	0	0%	9	31%
White liberal	2	7%	1	25%	0	0%	2	7%
Non- Christian	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	3%
N/A	5	17%	1	25%	1	100%	16	55%

Class of Community by Race of Community								
Class of Community (congregation and/or CED neighborhood)	Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)							
	White n = 2		Black n = 35		Hispanic n = 5		Mixed n = 21	
Poor/low income	0	0%	22	63%	2	40%	5	24%
Middle class	0	0%	2	6%	0	0%	2	10%
Upper class	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
N/A	2	100%	11	31%	3	60%	13	62%

CED Structure by Race of Community								
CED Structure	Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)							
	White n = 2		Black n = 35		Hispanic n = 5		Mixed n = 21	
Within congregation	0	0%	6	17%	0	0%	1	5%
Congregation nonprofit	1	50%	3	9%	0	0%	4	19%
Congregation CDC	0	0%	18	51%	1	20%	4	19%
Partner nonprofit	0	0%	1	3%	2	40%	5	24%
Partner CDC	1	50%	6	17%	2	40%	6	29%
Other	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%	1	5%

CED Staff by CED Budget								
CED Staff	CED Budget							
	Under \$100k n = 4		\$100k-\$1M n = 4		Over \$1M n = 18		N/A n = 37	
0 FTE	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	3%
3 FTE or less	0	0%	2	50%	2	11%	3	8%
4-9 FTE	0	0%	2	50%	2	11%	5	14%
10+ FTE	0	0%	0	0%	11	61%	1	3%
N/A	4	100%	0	0%	3	17%	27	73%

CED Structure by CED Budget								
CED Structure	CED Budget							
	Under \$100k n = 4		\$100k-\$1M n = 4		Over \$1M n = 18		N/A n = 37	
Within congregation	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	7	19%
Congregation nonprofit	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	22%
Congregation CDC	3	75%	1	25%	9	50%	10	27%
Partner nonprofit	1	25%	2	50%	4	22%	1	3%
Partner CDC	0	0%	1	25%	5	28%	9	24%
Other	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	5%

CED Staff by CED Structure												
CED Staff	CED Structure											
	Within congregation n = 7		Congregation nonprofit n = 8		Congregation CDC n = 23		Partner nonprofit n = 8		Partner CDC n = 15		Other n = 2	
0 FTE	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
3 FTE or less	0	0%	2	25%	1	4%	2	25%	2	13%	0	0%
4-9 FTE	0	0%	3	38%	3	13%	0	0%	3	20%	0	0%
10+ FTE	0	0%	1	13%	5	22%	4	50%	2	13%	0	0%
N/A	7	100%	1	13%	14	61%	2	25%	8	53%	2	100%

Year CED Established by CED Structure												
Year CED Established	CED Structure											
	Within congregation n = 7		Congregation nonprofit n = 8		Congregation CDC n = 23		Partner nonprofit n = 8		Partner CDC n = 15		Other n = 2	
Before 1980	0	0%	1	13%	2	9%	2	25%	1	7%	1	50%
1980-1989	1	14%	0	0%	3	13%	5	63%	7	47%	0	0%
1990-1996	0	0%	0	0%	13	57%	1	13%	1	7%	1	50%
1997-2001	1	14%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
After 2001	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Unknown	5	71%	7	88%	4	17%	0	0%	6	40%	0	0%

CED Intensity by CED Structure												
CED Intensity	CED Structure											
	Within congregation n = 7		Congregation nonprofit n = 8		Congregation CDC n = 23		Partner nonprofit n = 8		Partner CDC n = 15		Other n = 2	
No contact	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%	1	50%
Fleeting	0	0%	3	38%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Long-term	5	71%	4	50%	16	70%	6	75%	11	73%	1	50%
Other	2	29%	1	13%	6	26%	2	25%	3	20%	0	0%

CED Outcomes by CED Structure												
CED Outcomes	CED Structure											
	Within congregation n = 7		Congregation nonprofit n = 8		Congregation CDC n = 23		Partner nonprofit n = 8		Partner CDC n = 15		Other n = 2	
Completely unsuccessful	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Somewhat unsuccessful	1	14%	0	0%	2	9%	0	0%	1	7%	1	50%
Successful	2	29%	1	13%	8	35%	4	50%	3	20%	0	0%
Highly successful	0	0%	0	0%	6	26%	3	38%	2	13%	0	0%
Unknown	4	57%	7	88%	7	30%	1	13%	9	60%	1	50%

Race of Community by CED Activity								
Race of Community (congregation members and/or CED clients)	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)							
	Housing development n = 53	Housing rehab n = 14	Homeownership n = 16	Business operation n = 3	Business space n = 13	Business assistance n = 11	Workforce development n = 22	Financial n = 13
White	2 4%	0 0%	0 0%	1 33%	2 15%	1 9%	1 5%	0 0%
Black	29 55%	7 50%	7 44%	1 33%	8 62%	6 55%	10 45%	12 92%
Hispanic	5 9%	3 21%	3 19%	0 0%	1 8%	1 9%	3 14%	0 0%
Mixed	17 32%	4 29%	6 38%	1 33%	2 15%	3 27%	8 36%	1 8%

CED Structure by CED Activity								
CED Structure	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)							
	Housing development n = 53	Housing rehab n = 14	Homeownership n = 16	Business operation n = 3	Business space n = 13	Business assistance n = 11	Workforce development n = 22	Financial n = 13
Within congregation	6 11%	1 7%	0 0%	0 0%	1 8%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Congregation nonprofit	4 8%	1 7%	0 0%	2 67%	1 8%	1 9%	6 27%	2 15%
Congregation CDC	21 40%	6 43%	7 44%	0 0%	4 31%	5 45%	7 32%	7 54%
Partner nonprofit	8 15%	2 14%	5 31%	0 0%	1 8%	1 9%	4 18%	0 0%
Partner CDC	13 25%	4 29%	4 25%	1 33%	6 46%	4 36%	5 23%	3 23%
Other	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 8%

CED Intensity by CED Activity								
CED Intensity	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)							
	Housing development n = 53	Housing rehab n = 14	Homeownership n = 16	Business operation n = 3	Business space n = 13	Business assistance n = 11	Workforce development n = 22	Financial n = 13
No contact	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 8%
Fleeting	1 2%	1 7%	1 6%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3 14%	0 0%
Long-term	38 72%	9 64%	13 81%	2 67%	11 85%	10 91%	15 68%	11 85%
Other	13 25%	4 29%	2 13%	1 33%	2 15%	1 9%	4 18%	1 8%

CED Outcomes by CED Activity								
CED Outcomes	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)							
	Housing development n = 53	Housing rehab n = 14	Homeownership n = 16	Business operation n = 3	Business space n = 13	Business assistance n = 11	Workforce development n = 22	Financial n = 13
Completely unsuccessful	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Somewhat unsuccessful	4 8%	1 7%	2 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 15%
Successful	17 32%	5 36%	6 38%	0 0%	3 23%	2 18%	6 27%	3 23%
Highly successful	11 21%	3 21%	5 31%	1 33%	3 23%	4 36%	5 23%	5 38%
Unknown	21 40%	5 36%	3 19%	2 67%	7 54%	5 45%	11 50%	3 23%

Year CED Established by CED Activity								
Year CED Established	CED Activity (includes co-occurrences)							
	Housing development n = 53	Housing rehab n = 14	Homeownership n = 16	Business operation n = 3	Business space n = 13	Business assistance n = 11	Workforce development n = 22	Financial n = 13
Before 1980	6 11%	2 14%	3 19%	1 33%	2 15%	1 9%	2 9%	3 23%
1980-1989	15 28%	4 29%	6 38%	0 0%	2 15%	2 18%	6 27%	1 8%
1990-1996	14 26%	3 21%	5 31%	0 0%	3 23%	4 36%	5 23%	5 38%
1997-2001	2 4%	1 7%	1 6%	0 0%	0 0%	1 9%	0 0%	1 8%
After 2001	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Unknown	16 30%	4 29%	1 6%	2 67%	6 46%	3 27%	9 41%	3 23%