

Economic Development Policy Making Networks in the Cleveland and Detroit Regions

By:

Sarah V. Ficenec

Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration

George Washington University

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Abstract

Both the Cleveland and Detroit regions have faced the decline of their manufacturing sectors. While neither has undergone a successful transformation, the Cleveland region has, by most accounts, been more active over a longer period of time in putting in place institutions, strategies, and policies to bring about regional economic development than has the Detroit region. This difference is often attributed to the presence of networks and partnerships among various public and, especially, private actors in the Cleveland region, while Detroit's continued struggles have been attributed to, in part, the lack of an effective network for collaboration. While cooperation and networks have both been shown to contribute to policy making, there have been few investigations into the composition and characteristics of networks for regional economic development, especially within the Rust Belt.

This paper advances that literature by comparing the reputational networks among influential economic development policy makers in the Detroit and Cleveland regions. Individuals were surveyed with regard to their participation in the regional economic development policy making network, and a formal network analysis was conducted. The properties of the resulting two networks offer evidence that the two regional economic development policy making networks differ – while both networks have approximately the same level of connectedness, different types of actors hold power and importance in the two regions, which may have consequences for the types of economic development policies pursued.

Collaboration and Networks in Regional Economic Development Policy Making

Both formal and informal networks play a large role in discussions of urban governance and economic development policy making because of the wide variety of organizations – both public and private – that have knowledge about the city and the capacity to move development efforts forward (Bartik, 2003; McGuire, 2000). Networks in an urban area develop for a variety of reasons: to access multiple sources of knowledge, money, and skills; when like-minded individuals or organizations come together in order to change or stabilize local conditions (Cox & Mair, 2011); when parties realize they are unable to solve a particular problem alone (Mandell, 1999); or to reduce duplication of effort. Through these networks, policy makers can overcome or limit the effects of free riders, duplication of effort, resource constraints, and other challenges.

An important component of the role of networks in economic development policy making is the fact that, while some development efforts may be open to all interested parties or else are structured deliberately to bring in specific groups or individuals, many networks are built on preexisting relationships (Smith-Doerr & Powell, 2005). Huxham and Vangen (1996) suggest that “In practice few community collaborations seem to be convened in any sort of thoughtful way; instead membership tends to be created out of existing contacts and evolves in a rather unplanned way as new issues suggest new partners or new contacts become drawn in” (p. 12). Successful network relationships can also lead to future cooperative efforts as trust among the parties is built (Feoick, Tao & Johnson, 2004), although other studies have found that public officials with experience working regionally do not always favor such arrangements for new development efforts (Goetz & Kayser, 1993; Gerber & Loh, 2010).

Increased communication is one of the most frequently cited benefits for organizations and individuals participating in networks, since past relationships and non-hierarchical information flows offer access to different information that standard operating environments such as markets or corporate structure may provide (Powell, 1990; Smith-Doerr & Powell, 2005). In turn, this increased communication can lead to new policy ideas, organizations, resources, or structures for implementation. Saxenian (1990), for example, observes that informal interpersonal networks present in Silicon Valley in the 1980s allowed new semiconductor-producing companies to form and be competitive with existing manufacturers, both in the region and internationally, because individuals were able to share information about the technology and development sources and also to develop new manufacturing ventures.

Research on Networks

Networks are increasingly being studied as a tool in public policy formation, implementation, and evaluation (Agranoff & McGuire, 1999; Hecllo, 1978; Knoke, 1990; O'Toole, 1997; Powell, 1990). A number of literatures both within urban policy and the broader field of public policy and public administration detail the importance of networks, and the focus of these studies is moving from formal, rigid networks to a more fluid and open conceptualization regarding both formal and informal relationships. This change in the literature acknowledges that policy cannot be made simply through hierarchical bureaucratic structures – there are lines of communication and discussion outside such structures that bring in new actors and ideas that otherwise may have gone ignored or unknown, but these new actors also may have their own interests and policy goals (Hecllo, 1978; Powell, 1990; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984). Research on policy networks, collaboration, and cooperation are often related to theories of social capital and interpersonal relations (Feiock, Tao & Johnson, 2004; Hawkins, 2010; Henry, Lubell & McCoy, 2010; Park & Feiock, 2007), transaction cost economics (Williamson, 1994; Feiock, Steinacker & Park, 2009; Shrestha, 2010), and institutional collective action (Ostrom, 1990; Feiock & Scholz, 2010; Kwon & Feiock, 2010), among others.

The literature on the relationship between network structures and economic development outcomes is limited, likely due to the difficulty of measuring both networks and economic development as well as concerns about the time necessary for outcomes of economic development policies to become apparent (for example, revitalization efforts may take a decade or more to come to fruition and change economic conditions) and causality (i.e., if networks affect economic development, economic development affects networks, or both). Of the few authors to study this subject, Olberding (2009) finds that regional partnerships for economic

development have a significant positive effect on employment and an insignificant positive effect on per capita income. Ha, Lee, and Feiock (2010), meanwhile, look at how different types of networks (either single sector or mixed) influence economic development; they find that networks with either only private organizations or with both public and private organizations have a positive, statistically significant effect.

Social network analysis

Social network analysis can contribute to the understanding of the role of networks in policy making and economic development. Rather than simply focusing on the attributes of policy makers, the relationships between people and how they interact with one another are the core of social network analysis, which first developed in sociology and anthropology but has spread to other fields including public policy (Freeman, 2004; Scott, 2000). The theory underlying the contribution of social network analysis is that, as Indergaard (1996) notes, “Networks build on social relationships, identities, and norms” (p. 176), and social network analysis emphasizes the “properties of social systems that cannot be measured by simply aggregating the attributes of individual members” (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982, p. 11; see also Knoke & Yang, 2008). Network analysis can be directly extended to studies of networks in metropolitan regions, since, as Pflieger and Rozenblat (2010) argue, “The cohesion of cities is generated by the cohesion of their social networks, which are created through face-to-face meetings and supported by extant means of transport and communication” (p. 2728). Bartik (1994) also contends that personal relationships among those working in the field directly contribute to urban economic development efforts.

Social network analysis examines the depth and breadth of personal relationships in a network through both visual representations as well as quantitative investigation. Although the terminology sometimes differs, there are a number of generally recognized concepts in social network analysis.¹ Each actor in the network is a node; the lines connecting the actors are known as links or edges and represent the connections between the individuals. Relationships within the network can be either directed, in which a relationship between two actors may be of different intensity or show the flow of information or power, or undirected, which means that the direction of the relationship does not matter.

There are several ways to quantitatively describe relationships using social network analysis. Density, a measure of the general linkages among the actors in the network, is a popular measure of network connectedness. Density is a ratio of the actual number of links within a network to the total possible number of links – with values ranging from zero to one, the lower the density, the less connected the network. Another method of calculating the importance of various nodes is through measures of centralization (Freeman, 1979) – two common measures are degree and betweenness centrality, which each gauge importance differently. The first, degree centrality, simply determines which actor has the most ties to others in the network, which is valuable since highly connected actors may have resources (e.g., money or political influence) that they can devote to economic development policy making or that others may want to access. In a directed network, indegree centrality refers to the communications directed at a specific actor, while outdegree centrality identifies the communications an actor directs toward others. The second measure, betweenness centrality, identifies which actors sit on the greatest

¹ For more information on social network analysis methodology, see Scott, 2000 or Wasserman and Faust, 2009.

number of shortest pathways between the other actors, which allows them to withhold or provide a conduit of information to others in the network.

There have been a few previous social network analyses of economic development policy makers in the Rust Belt. Perhaps the most prominent work is Safford's (2009) study of the history and board interlocks in Youngstown and Allentown. Safford collected the membership lists for the leading business and civic organizations in both cities in 1950 and 1970, when policymakers dealt with major turning points in the cities' declining industries. By reviewing the history of the two cities and inspecting how the economic and civic networks of major organizations differed and overlapped, he concluded that civic ties can connect actors otherwise not linked economically, allowing for the diffusion of ideas among those who otherwise might not communicate; in addition, dense and interconnected networks linking the same individuals in the same ways may limit the transmission of new ideas. He argued that, while he cannot attribute causality to the different economic development outcomes in Allentown and Youngstown, differences in networks in the two cities might explain the differing trajectories of the two cities in the post-industrial era.

De Socio (2010) similarly collected the 2007 board membership lists for Akron and Cleveland's largest public firms, civic organizations, and business policy institutions. The network structures he found showed that emerging sectors were better represented on the boards of civic organizations in both cities and, therefore, may be able to direct economic development to better serve their industries' interests, while traditional manufacturers were marginalized in the cities' urban regime networks. Both Safford and de Socio, however, are only studying the potential linkages that occur when individuals serve on the multiple boards of directors, since

there is no way of knowing if these individuals actually do interact with one another in any capacity, let alone with regard to the region's economic development.

In contrast, Reid and Smith (2009) identify people officially engaged in economic development (such as elected officials or those at the local Chamber of Commerce or universities) in the Toledo Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and ask each to identify which of the others they collaborated with during the past year and to provide names of any individuals not included. Their work shows that there is little regional interaction within the Toledo MSA and that many of the people identified were not the heads of their organizations.

Collaboration and Networks in Detroit and Cleveland

Both the Cleveland and Detroit regions belong to the "Rust Belt," a swath of states in the country's northeast and midwest that were the locus of industrialization and manufacturing in the United States through the middle of the 20th century. With the decline of traditional manufacturing, both regions faced extreme difficulty transitioning to a post-industrialization economy. Manufacturing remains an important economic driver in each of these regions, but public and private sector policy makers are also trying to diversify the local economy into new types of manufacturing (e.g., green technologies) and other industries (e.g., health).

While there is a history of some animosity among different factions in both regions, this legacy seems much more pronounced and emphasized in the Detroit region, where there is a widespread perception of distrust between the city and the suburbs, between the different races, and between unions and management. Both Orr and Stoker (1994) and Eisinger (2003) contend that a lack of cohesion and divisive interests has negatively impacted efforts to revitalize the city. One reason the city has been unable to redevelop itself, Eisinger argues, is because "the city's

political and business leaders do not self-consciously speak with one voice, nor do they accord city government or any particular private actor or group preeminence in fashioning a vision” (p. 91).

While there is still evidence of independent action in the region (for example, the city and each county have their own economic development departments or agencies), there are numerous other examples of recent cooperative efforts in addition to traditional local collaborations such as those run by or through, for example, the Detroit Regional Chamber of Commerce or the United Way for Southeastern Michigan. Recent joint economic development projects include: an initiative funded by ten private foundations and focused on increasing the prosperity of the region and its citizens by transitioning to a knowledge-based economy and an effort led by one of the region’s largest foundations to rationalize the work of multiple organizations in diverse sectors to limit duplication of effort with regard to different development objectives. Participants in these and other collaborations include for-profit businesses, wealthy individuals, nonprofit organizations and operating foundations whose missions range from focusing solely on economic development to wider, more community-focused goals, hospitals, universities and community colleges, and the public sector.

There seems to be a greater emphasis on regional cohesion in Cleveland than in Detroit, although this collaboration is typically considered a feature of the private sector (including nonprofit organizations as well as for-profit businesses) with some animosity among jurisdictions in the region contributing to difficulty in enacting public sector cooperation. Adams and Parr (1997), for example, call Cleveland the “partnership city” and show how leading figures joined together in the wake of the city’s bankruptcy in the late 1970s – which, Swanstrom (1995) argues, was itself a negative result of interlocking relationships and collaboration among the

city's elites –to recruit a specific mayoral candidate, who agreed to run only if these business leaders would help turn around the city if he was elected (see also Magnet, 1989/1995). As part of the result of this agreement, Cleveland Tomorrow was formed, which provided a formal organization for local CEOs to work together on finding solutions to the region's problems (ibid.).² A Cleveland State University professor interviewed by Adams and Parr (1997) said that “Clevelanders are used to suburbanites sticking their noses in the city's business, and they accept it” (p. 63). This contrasts with interviews conducted by this author in the Detroit region in late 2009 and early 2010, when multiple interviewees cited tension between the city and its suburban jurisdictions as one of the impediments to regional economic resilience.

Because of these conditions, one might expect the network in the Cleveland region to be denser, if individuals do work together closely and well on economic development policy making. Due to the traditional emphasis on manufacturing in both regions, there could also be an expectation that individuals from the traditional manufacturing companies, their suppliers, and the unions might play a role in economic development policy making; however, representation from the traditional manufacturing might be limited for a variety of reasons – in the Detroit region, for example, the Big Three auto manufacturers are multinational companies that have experienced enormous financial concerns recently (and in the extended past). The Cleveland region should also be expected to have more representatives in the economic development policy making network from the health care sector, due to that sector's strength there; strong representation by both the health care and education sectors in either region would

² In 2004, Cleveland Tomorrow merged with the Greater Cleveland Growth Association and Greater Cleveland Roundtable to create the Greater Cleveland Partnership, which continues to represent private sector interests in regional economic development.

also give support to the “eds and meds” economic development approach of emphasizing contributions from universities and health care.

Methodology

This paper uses reputational surveys and social network analysis to identify individuals within the Cleveland and Detroit regions who are influential in regional economic development policy making, then inquire into the relationships that exist among these people to determine the characteristics of the networks in those regions.

For both the Cleveland and Detroit regions, an academic with knowledge of and ties to the economic development policy making network in each region was asked to provide a multisectoral list of other similarly knowledgeable individuals (known hereafter as “key informants”) in his respective region. The academics used their own definition of “region,” neither of which conformed to the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget, since some MSAs may exclude jurisdictions that are viewed as important to the region’s economic health or may include jurisdictions that, conversely, do not seem to affect the region’s economy.³ Using the guidance provided by the academics, all other project participants (both the key informants identified by the academics as well as the survey respondents, both discussed below) were then encouraged to view the Cleveland region as

³ Identification of the “Detroit region” easily demonstrates this problem. During interviews with numerous economic development policymakers in the region conducted in 2009 and 2010, many cited the “region” as encompassing Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, and Washtenaw counties; however, the Detroit MSA includes three other counties that are seen as much less central to the region’s economy and does not include Washtenaw County (which contains Ann Arbor, an increasingly important jurisdiction for the region’s economic growth).

Carroll, Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Lorain, Medina, Portage, Summit, and Stark Counties and the Detroit region as Wayne, Washtenaw, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.⁴

The key informants identified by the academics were contacted by email and asked to provide a list of the names and organizations of 10-15 individuals whom they considered influential or important in their region's economic development policy making.⁵ These influential individuals were then sent an email with a link to an online survey on economic development. The survey included eight questions relating to economic development in the region. Survey participants were asked to indicate the frequency of their communications with the other influential individuals and identify whom on the list they considered among the ten most influential individuals in economic development policy making in their region; another question asked them to identify important individuals not included on the list. Additional questions concerned the respondents' views on economic development collaboration and cooperation in the region and their personal work experience in the field. Respondents were informed that their personal information would be kept confidential, and they would only be identified by their sector.

For both regions, two additional surveys were also conducted. Newly identified policymakers as well as those who did not respond in the previous round were asked to complete a survey structured as in the previous round but that included all the individuals identified by both the key informants and the previous respondents but without the question asking them to identify additional individuals. Previous respondents were asked only to indicate their frequency of contact with the newly identified individuals as well as who from the combined list of

⁴ The different geographical size of the two regions may affect the number of network members identified, but should not affect the analysis of the structure of those networks.

⁵ The data for this project were collected separately, with participants being asked only about the economic development policy making network in his or her own region. Data collection for the Detroit region was conducted from October 2010 to April 2011 and for the Cleveland region was conducted from July 2011 to June 2012.

policymakers they considered the most influential in economic development policymaking in the region.

Information collected through these surveys was collected in Microsoft Excel for analysis using UCINET 6.0 (Borgatti, Everett & Freeman, 1999) and NetDraw. The response rate for the Cleveland region surveys was 43.3%, and for the Detroit region surveys was 51.4%.⁶

Findings

As shown in Table 1, the compositions of the economic development policy networks in the two regions were generally similar – in each region, approximately 25% of each network was represented by individuals from the public sector, another 25% from for-profit businesses (as employees of either a business or of a business advocacy or leadership organization), and another 25% from organizations with a mission focused on economic development (i.e., nonprofit organizations that run economic development programs such as networking events, business incubators or accelerators, or other programs focused on improving the business climate). A slightly greater percentage of individuals in the Detroit region were from educational institutions, as compared to the Cleveland region, while the Cleveland region had a slightly larger share from general nonprofit organizations (i.e., those focused on general health and/or welfare). Furthermore, the Cleveland region indeed had more individuals from health care organizations (both for- and nonprofit) than in the Detroit region (8.3% of network members in the Cleveland region versus 4.2% in the Detroit region). Among survey respondents in the Cleveland region, the general economic development sector was overrepresented and private businesses were underrepresented, while in the Detroit region the respondents generally mirrored the sector

⁶ The response rate includes individuals who responded to any portion of the survey process (excluding the key informants).

representation of the influential individuals, with the exception of those representing private businesses, which were underrepresented among respondents.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Surprisingly, the densities of the two networks are nearly similar (0.453 in the Detroit region compared to 0.434 in the Cleveland region).⁷ While this difference is slight, it is interesting in light of the generally more positive perception of collaboration and cooperation in the Cleveland region, which was also demonstrated in the results of this survey. As shown in Figure 1, respondents in the Cleveland region overwhelming agreed that organizations work well together with regard to economic development in the region, while a similar percentage in the Detroit region *disagreed* with that assertion. Further, a much greater percentage of respondents in the Detroit region than in the Cleveland region agreed that there were not enough opportunities to work collaboratively on economic development.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Which members of the network hold power and influence can be important for determining the goals and types of economic development policies pursued. Therefore, the measures of centrality as well as the results of the survey question on influence also identify important elements of this network. For each measure, the actors were ranked on each centrality

⁷ In a survey with nonrespondents, density can be calculated by either excluding nonrespondents (as given here), symmetrizing the data so that the value given by the respondent for his or her communications with the non-respondent is also used as the value for the non-respondent's communication with the respondent (which assumes that respondents accurately characterized their relationships), or coding all nonrespondents as having no relationships with the other members of the network, which would provide a minimum density for the network. Calculations were performed for all three methods of computing density, with the Detroit region having a slightly higher density than the Cleveland region on each.

score and influence, and the top quintile of each measure were compared, with the results in Table 2.⁸

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

It is on these measures of importance and power where the two networks begin to look different. In the Cleveland region, individuals from economic development organizations comprise the largest portion of the most powerful and influential actors on each measure, whereas in the Detroit region no one sector dominates any one measure or comprises the largest percentage of all the measures. Furthermore, individuals representing the public sector and private businesses in the Cleveland region comprise a smaller proportion of those considered influential as well as those being reached out to by survey respondents (as measured by indegree centrality), as compared to individuals in those sectors in the Detroit region. The public sector in the Cleveland region also comprises much smaller proportions of outdegree and betweenness centrality, as compared to the Detroit region; in contrast, individuals from economic development-focused organizations in the Cleveland region represent greater percentages of individuals with high rankings on those scores than in the Detroit region.

These results indicate that the different sectors may perform different roles in each of the regions. In general, the public sector, the traditional home of economic development policy making, appears to be more important in the Detroit region than it does in the Cleveland region. In contrast, nonprofit organizations, both those focused economic development and concentrating on general health and welfare, appear to play a more powerful role in the

⁸ For the influence and indegree centrality measures, percentages are of total number members (i.e., total number surveyed). Since outdegree and betweenness centrality scores cannot be computed for nonrespondents, percentages are only out of total respondents.

Cleveland region, especially with regard to the most connected individuals and those most likely to serve as conduits of information.

Importantly, the list of influential individuals in both regions offered a dramatic result with regard to their traditional manufacturing industries – only one individual connected to the Detroit region’s automotive industry (including the manufacturers, suppliers, and unions) was identified as important to the economic development network, and only two individuals from one manufacturing company in the Cleveland region were members of the network. Instead, the private sectors institutions tended to be from health care, finance, or new economy or green manufacturing, suggesting that, even as manufacturing remains important to these regional economies (and, indeed, to the nation as a whole), the industrial manufacturing firms of the past may have a limited role in designing the future fortunes of the cities they created (as also found by de Socio, 2010, and Hanson, et al., 2006).

Discussion

Interpersonal networks among local economic development policy makers can be utilized as one building block for developing regionally cooperative and collaborative policies. In this paper, information about the interpersonal networks of such actors in the Cleveland and Detroit regions – two archetypal Rust Belt cities that continue to have difficulty in transitioning their regional economies – was collected in order to see if the structure of these networks varied and if they conformed to the popular impressions regional collaboration is more difficult in Detroit and viewed more positively in Cleveland.

While survey respondents did view regional collaboration and cooperation for economic development policy making more positively in the Cleveland region than in the Detroit region,

thus supporting the findings in the literature, this does not translate into a significant difference in densities between the regions. Likewise, the networks also are generally similar with respect to the types of interests represented by the network members.

Where the networks differ most is in types of interests represented among the most important members of the network, which could lead to different types of economic development policies pursued in each region. With the Detroit region's network being more heavily weighted toward the interests of the private sector, as compared to the Cleveland region's network, there may be a greater tendency to pursue economic development policies that will benefit businesses, although the lack of representation from traditional manufacturing companies in both regions would likely lead to policies favoring businesses in other fields, such as finance, health, and green technologies. In contrast, there are higher proportions of individuals from nonprofit and education organizations among the most important network members in the Cleveland region, which may lead to economic development policies more focused on general welfare or “eds and meds.”

Economic development policy is an important concern for Rust Belt metropolitan regions, especially those still struggling to make the transition from industrial manufacturing to new industries and new types of manufacturing. Local jurisdictions will not be able to make this shift on their own. They need to work with both other jurisdictions in the region as well as with for-profit and nonprofit organizations in order to rebuild and revitalize local economies – the traditional model of local economic competition will result only in a zero-sum game, duplication of effort, and uncaptured spillovers. By effectively cooperating and collaborating with one another and understanding the interests represented in regional interpersonal networks, local

governments, for-profit businesses, and nonprofit organizations can more effectively harness local resources to improve economic conditions for their residents.

Tables and figures

Table 1 – Most important individuals in economic development

Sectoral interests	Cleveland		Detroit	
	Number identified (percentage of total network)	Number of respondents (percentage of total respondents)	Number identified (percentage of total network)	Number of respondents (percentage of total respondents)
Government	29 (24.2%)	12 (23.1%)	19 (26.4%)	11 (29.7%)
General economic development ⁹	28 (23.3%)	17 (32.7%)	17 (23.6%)	10 (27.0%)
Private businesses ¹⁰	29 (24.2%)	9 (17.3%)	17 (23.6%)	6 (16.2%)
General nonprofit organizations ¹¹	19 (15.8%)	9 (17.3%)	8 (11.1%)	4 (10.8%)
Education	15 (12.5%)	5 (9.6%)	11 (15.3%)	6 (16.2%)

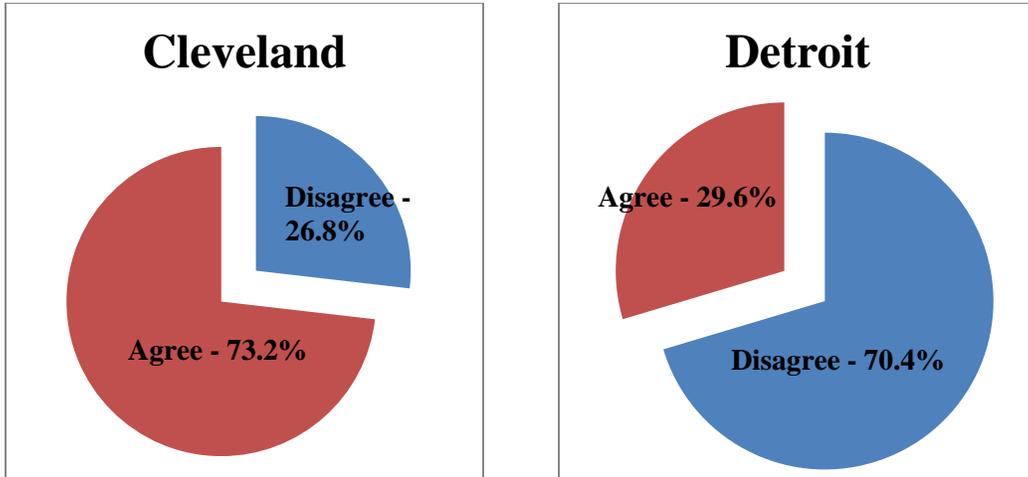
⁹ All nonprofit organizations with a mission heavily focused on general economic development concerns were included in this sector; such organizations may offer networking opportunities, entrepreneurial education or services, business services, or advocacy. In some cases, these organizations may receive most of their funding from a local or state government, but they do have some independence and obtain funding from other sources (e.g., foundations, program fees), which contribute to that independence.

¹⁰ The category of “private businesses” includes network members both from individual businesses as well as individuals from organizations that advocate for the interests of the for-profit business community. While these organizations (often structured as a nonprofit organization) may include members of the nonprofit community (e.g., from universities, hospitals, or largest welfare organizations), they typically retain a focus on the interests of the business community.

¹¹ “General nonprofit organizations” represent nonprofit organizations whose mission is not focused primarily on economic development, including private operating foundations and health-focused nonprofit organizations.

Figure 1 – Perceptions of regional collaboration and cooperation

Question: “Organizations work together well with regard to economic development in the region.”



Question: “There are not enough opportunities to work with other organizations in the region with regard to economic development.”

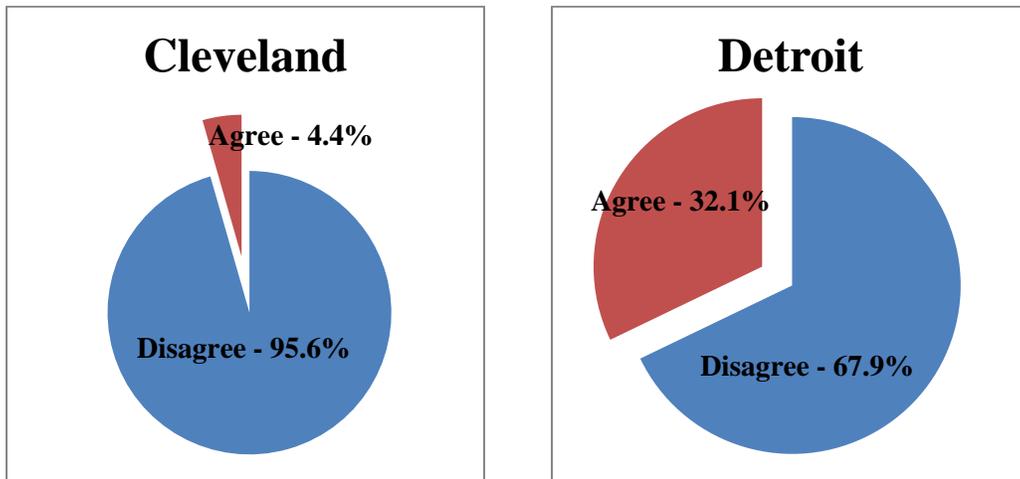


Table 2 - Percentage top quintile of importance by sector

Sectoral interests	Influence		Indegree centrality		Outdegree centrality		Betweenness centrality	
	Cleveland	Detroit	Cleveland	Detroit	Cleveland	Detroit	Cleveland	Detroit
Government	20.0%	29.4%	8.0%	26.3%	0%	37.5%	0%	37.5%
General economic development	26.7%	29.4%	36.0%	26.3%	63.6%	37.5%	72.7%	25.0%
Private businesses	13.3%	29.4%	16.0%	31.6%	9.1%	0%	0%	12.5%
General nonprofit organizations	20.0%	0%	20.0%	0%	18.2%	12.5%	18.2%	12.5%
Education	20.0%	11.7%	20.0%	15.8%	9.1%	12.5%	9.1%	12.5%

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