

# NEW ECONOMY TRANSFORMATION



*Building a Policy Agenda*

Dēmos

ILSR  
INSTITUTE FOR  
Local Self-Reliance



## WELCOME!



n behalf of Dēmos and the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, we are very happy to welcome you to our Convening on **New Economy Transformation: Building a Policy Movement**. To all of the members of this convening, coming from nearly every major region of our country, we thank you for coming! We especially want to thank you for making the time for this discussion amid all of your important ongoing work and commitments. We are honored to be here with you, and eager to begin. A special thanks goes to the Rockefeller Foundation for generously hosting us in their facilities.

In putting together this special convening, Dēmos and ILSR welcome your participation in collectively forging what we hope will be a new phase of policy development and policy campaigning toward the goal of achieving a more equitable, inclusive, and community-sustaining economy—what might best be described as “economic democracy.” Through this process, we seek to find common ground on high-impact policy priorities, particularly at the state and local level, and to help lay the groundwork for effective policy campaigns in multiple states and cities. In the service of these goals, we wish to acknowledge the partnership of Business Alliance for Local Living Economies and its Fellows Program, which has helped us orient this discussion, in part, around the potentially significant role of business and localist leaders in achieving economic democracy in and across our communities, and in our country as a whole.

The diverse and far-reaching expertise, talents, and experiences represented in this group are surely auspicious for such a future, and we hope our time together will be a catalyst not only for new thinking but for new relationships, commitments, and alignments for change. May our good fortune in being here together bear such fruit!

Thank you!

**Heather McGhee**

*President, Dēmos*

**Stacy Mitchell**

*Co-Director, Institute for Local Self-Reliance*

## About Dēmos

Dēmos is a public policy organization working for an America where we all have an equal say in our democracy and an equal chance in our economy.

Our name means “the people.” It is the root word of democracy, and it reminds us that in America, the true source of our greatness is the diversity of our people. Our nation’s highest challenge is to create a democracy that truly empowers people of all backgrounds, so that we all have a say in setting the policies that shape opportunity and provide for our common future. To help America meet that challenge, Dēmos is working to reduce both political and economic inequality, deploying original research, advocacy, litigation, and strategic communications to create the America the people deserve.

Dēmos’ work is guided by three overarching commitments:

1. Achieving true democracy by reducing the role of money in politics and guaranteeing the freedom to vote,
2. Creating pathways to ensure a diverse, expanded middle class in a new, sustainable economy, and
3. Transforming the public narrative to elevate the values of community and racial equity.

## About The Institute for Local Self-Reliance

The Institute for Local Self-Reliance (ILSR) is a national organization that provides research, thought leadership, and policy models to enable communities to take charge of their local economies and build a more equitable and environmentally sound future. With a focus on several pivotal sectors of the economy — including energy, telecommunications, banking, retail, and waste — ILSR challenges concentrated market power and works alongside labor, small business, government, and community leaders to bring about systemic change. ILSR combines in-depth technical assistance with replicable alternative economic models and legislative advocacy to transform the federal, state, and local policies that underpin our economy.

## About the Meeting

The convening on **New Economy Transformation: Building a Policy Movement** is scheduled for September 15-17, 2014, in New York City. The meeting is hosted by the Rockefeller Foundation at 420 Fifth Avenue between 37<sup>th</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> streets.

## Goals for the Convening

- Build sense of shared vision
- Assess & prioritize high-impact policy ideas—core and new
- Address major challenges in the movement: job creation, worker justice, racial inclusion
- Start serious discussion about coordinating policy work and developing policy campaigns

Many stakeholders now self-identify as working toward a new economic paradigm or a “new economy” transformation, where economic power is fundamentally reorganized to serve communities and common needs. At the core of this, new models of investment, enterprise, and economic development are taking hold in many communities, with an emphasis on local ownership, democratic control of capital, economic inclusion across racial divides, and sustainable economic growth. Yet, most leaders in the field also recognize significant barriers to scale in this movement, which can only be addressed through public policy. In this light, many recognize the need for developing a robust policy platform and policy movement, particularly at the state and municipal level.

We hope this will be a galvanizing opportunity to assess and prioritize high-impact policy ideas, and to initiate strategic planning for developing coordinated campaigns around key policy priorities in multiple states and cities. Just as important, the convening will also provide an opportunity to assess major substantive and strategic challenges for this growing movement, particularly around issues such as racial equity, worker justice, and job creation. With these challenges before us, we hope this conversation will be a starting point for multi-year work together that includes the development of detailed policy proposals and effective policy campaigns in states and cities, as well as sophisticated communications strategies.

## THE AGENDA

### Monday, September 15

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**7:00pm** Dinner together at Dēmos, 220 Fifth Avenue at 26<sup>th</sup> Street, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor

### Tuesday, September 16

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Rockefeller Foundation, Trustee Dining Room

**8:30** Breakfast

**9:00** Welcome

**9:15 Kickoff Discussion**

*Building a movement for economic democracy at scale: possibilities of our time, challenges in our midst*

**10:15** Break

**10:30 A New Economy for All?**

*Challenges for Progressive Convergence*

- Aligning a small business and worker justice agenda
- Answering the need for job creation at scale
- Localism, ownership, and racial equity

**12:00** Lunch

**1:00 Core New Economy Policy Ideas:**  
*Status updates and future pathways*

- Public Banking and other Financial Alternatives
- Alternative Ownership and Democratizing Corporate Governance
- Harnessing the Public Economy and Transforming Economic Development

**3:30** Break

**3:45 New Policy Ideas**

- Financial Transactions Tax for Sustainability Infrastructures
- Community Energy
- Franchise Law Reform and Worker Justice

**5:00 Roundtable:** *Other New Ideas*

**6:00** Dinner on your own

**Wednesday, September 17**

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Rockefeller Foundation, Trustee Dining Room

**8:15** Breakfast

**8:45 Reflections from Day One and Perspectives from Local Leaders**

**10:00 Politics and Power for Economic Democracy: *New Directions***

- Small Business Mobilization
- Urban Power Building
- New Economy Coalition Building and Young People
- Government Leadership for Economic Democracy

**11:30** Lunch

**12:30 Building Toward Policy Action: *Policy Priorities, Building Campaigns, Next Steps Together***

**3:00** Close of meeting

## MEMBERS OF THE CONVENING



**Amanda Ballantyne** is the National Director of the Main Street Alliance, a national network of state-based small business organiza-

tions. The Main Street Alliance works with partners and affiliates in states throughout the country to engage and mobilize small business owners on a range of issues, advancing a small business values frame that links the interests of business owners to the needs of the communities that sustain and support them. The Main Street Alliance has built a network of committed business leaders whose words and actions are shaping public debates and impacting policy in key arenas including health care, job quality, responsible taxes, immigration reform and money in politics. Ballantyne joined the network as National Director in 2013, bringing more than a decade of organizing, policy, and legal experience. She graduated from Smith College and earned her law degree from the University of Washington.



**Aaron Bartley** is the co-founder of People United for Sustainable Housing (PUSH Buffalo), which mobilizes residents to create

sustainable neighborhoods with quality affordable housing, green jobs and next generation infrastructure. PUSH's Green Development Zone, which combines green housing, job training, storm water management and urban agriculture in a district on Buffalo's West Side, was named the winner of the global Sustainable Housing competition sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Brazilian Ministry of Cities, and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Aaron grew up in Buffalo and attended Buffalo Public Schools. He is a graduate of Swarthmore College and Harvard Law School, where he co-founded the Harvard Living Wage Campaign, which resulted in \$10 million in annual wage and benefit increases for the low-income campus workers it represented. In 2011, Aaron was appointed by Governor Andrew Cuomo to the Western New York Regional Economic Development Council, which is now charged with investing \$1 billion in state funds to revitalize Buffalo's economy. Aaron writes a column on cities and community organizing at the *Huffington Post*.





**Saqib Bhatti** is a fellow at the Roosevelt Institute and the director of the ReFund America Project. He works on campaigns to

rebalance the relationship between Wall Street and local communities by advancing solutions to fix inefficiencies in our municipal finance system that cost taxpayers billions of dollars each year. He was previously a fellow at the Nathan Cummings Foundation. Prior to that, he spent several years working on Wall Street accountability at the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), where he developed strategic campaigns to hold banks accountable for their role in creating and profiting off the economic crisis, with a particular focus on municipal finance and housing and foreclosure issues. He works closely with unions and community organizations across the country, building alliances and coalitions that are based on a populist critique of the banking industry that is informed by his research. Saqib previously worked for the Culinary Workers Union in Las Vegas. He graduated from Yale University in 2004.



**Abigail Carlton** joined the Rockefeller Foundation in 2009. As Associate Director, Secure Livelihoods, Ms. Carlton develops

and implements initiatives focused on expanding opportunity and creating inclusive markets in the changing global economy. Prior to joining the Rockefeller Foundation, Ms. Carlton was a researcher and project manager at New York University's Institute for Education and Social Policy. Her previous experience also includes positions in the U.S. Department of Labor's International Labor Affairs Bureau, the Georgetown Public Policy Institute, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, and the law firm Cravath, Swaine & Moore, LLP. Ms. Carlton serves on the board of Start Small Think Big, a non-profit organization that promotes small business development in New York City's most underserved communities. Ms. Carlton received a bachelor's degree from the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University and a master's degree in Public Policy from Georgetown University.



**Lew Daly** is Director of Policy and Research at Dēmos, helping to plan and manage research and policy development across

the organization. He also currently leads Dēmos' Beyond GDP project, a multi-year campaign to advance alternative indicators of well-being and sustainability in federal and state-level governance in the United States. He is the author of numerous Dēmos reports, including (with Stephen Posner) *Beyond GDP: New Measures for a New Economy* and *What is our Public GDP? Valuing Government in the Twenty-First Century Economy*. Lew is a member of the expert advisory committee for the Santa Monica well-being index, and he works internationally on these issues as a member of the Global Well-Being Lab and as an advisor to the Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation in South Africa.

In addition to his program work, Lew has published extensively on issues of distributive justice, religion and social policy, and comparative welfare state development. His recent books include (with Gar Alperovitz) *Unjust Deserts: How the Rich are Taking our Common Inheritance* (The New Press), which proposes a new theory of distributive justice for the era of the knowledge economy, and *God's Economy: Faith-Based Initiatives and the Caring State* (University of Chicago Press), a comparative study of religion and welfare-state development in Europe and the United States. Lew's many articles, reviews, and commentaries have

appeared in publications including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *The New Republic*, *Newsweek*, *Democracy*, and *Policy Review*, and his work has been covered in the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Financial Times*, *Bloomberg News*, and *The Weekly Standard*, among other publications. He was previously a senior fellow of the Schumann Center for Media & Democracy and a research fellow of the Democracy Collaborative.



**Tamara Draut**, is the Vice President of Policy and Research at Dēmos, responsible for developing and advancing the organization's goals

through research, idea generation and policy development. Tamara is a member of the Dēmos Executive Team helping to develop and drive the strategic direction of the organization. A member of the Dēmos team since 2001, Tamara developed the organization's groundbreaking work on household indebtedness, middle class insecurity and the economic challenges facing young people. She is the author of *Strapped: Why America's 20- and 30-Somethings Can't Get Ahead* published by Doubleday in 2006, and the author of numerous Dēmos research reports and policy briefs. She is currently writing a book on the new working class to be published by Doubleday in early 2016.

Tamara's research has been covered by dozens of newspapers and magazines including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, *BusinessWeek*, *Chicago*

*Tribune*, *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. Her writing has appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The American Prospect*, *The Boston Globe* and *The Boston Review*. She is a frequent television commentator and has appeared on the Colbert Report, Today Show, CNN, Fox News and MSNBC and many others.



**Steve Dubb** is the Research Director at the Democracy Collaborative, where he has led the development of the Community-Wealth.

org web-based information portal and has been lead author or co-author of a number of publications including *Building Wealth: The New Asset-Based Approach to Solving Social and Economic Problems* (Aspen, 2005), *Linking Colleges to Communities: Engaging the University for Community Development* (2007), *Growing a Green Economy for All: From Green Jobs to Green Ownership* (2010) and *The Road Half Traveled: University Engagement at a Crossroads* (2012). With Ted Howard, Dubb has also worked on the development of community wealth building strategies in a number of cities, including Cleveland, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, and Washington, DC. Previously, Dubb was Executive Director of the North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO), a U.S. and Canadian non-profit association that provides education and technical assistance to university and community-based housing and retail cooperatives. Dubb received his

Masters and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, San Diego and his Bachelor's in Economics (with honors) and Spanish from the University of California, Berkeley.



**Richard Eidlin** is the Vice President of Policy and Campaigns and a Co-Founder of the American Sustainable Business

Council (ASBC), a national coalition of business networks and businesses committed to building a vibrant and sustainable economy. He directs ASBC's diverse set of issue and advocacy campaigns, spending time supporting the Council's state based partners and traveling to Washington, D.C, where he works with and represents the Council's members on Capitol Hill, at the White House and to a range of regulatory agencies. Richard has worked in the sustainable business field and on triple bottom line and social entrepreneurship issues for over thirty years. He currently serves as an adjunct faculty at the University of Denver, teaching Environmental Policy and Sustainability and is a board member of the Rocky Mountain Employee Ownership Center.

Richard served as the national Business Outreach Director for the Apollo Alliance from 2005 to 2009. He consulted the UN Environment Programme for several years in the early 1990s on sustainable development programs and attended the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Richard worked

in the solar (PV) energy industry for ten years, focused on promoting state base legislation and regulations that helped to create new markets for solar electric systems. Richard co-directed the Colorado chapter of the Clean Tech for 2008 Obama campaign and advised gubernatorial candidate Bill Ritter on renewable energy issues. He earned a Master's in Public Policy from the University of Wisconsin and lives in Denver with his wife, Heather.



**Denise Fairchild** is the inaugural President of Emerald Cities Collaborative (ECC), a national non-profit organiza-

tion based in Washington, D.C. with affiliates in major urban centers across the United States. Dr. Fairchild was recruited in 2010 to launch ECC, a coalition of labor, business and community-based organizations organized to accelerate the growth and distributive benefits of the emerging green economy. She develops and supports local coalitions, policies and programs dedicated to building sustainable economies that protect the environment and promote social equity. Dr. Fairchild has dedicated over 30 years to strengthening housing, jobs, businesses and economic opportunities for low-income residents and communities of color domestically and internationally. In 1995 she founded and directed the Community and Economic Development Department at Los Angeles Trade-Technical College, as well as an affiliated non-profit

community development research and technical assistance organization, CDTech. She helped launch the Regional Economic Development Institute, an initiative of Los Angeles Trade-Technical College to provide inner city residents with career and technical education for high growth/high demand jobs in the L.A. region, with a focus on the green economy. From 1989-1994, Dr. Fairchild directed the L.A. office of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and is credited with raising over \$100 million in equity, grants, and loans for community-based housing and commercial development projects and, generally, with building the non-profit housing and community development industry in the L.A. region. Her previous political and civic appointment included the California Commission on Regionalism, the California Economic Strategy Panel, the California Local Economic Development Association, the Urban Land Institute National Inner City Advisor, the Coalition for Women's Economic Development, the Los Angeles Environmental Quality Board, and Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa's special advisor for South L.A. Investments. Dr. Fairchild is an urban planner by profession with advanced degrees from UCLA and the University of Pennsylvania.



**John Farrell** is the Director of Democratic Energy at the Institute for Local Self-Reliance and is best known for his vivid illustrations of

the economic and environmental benefits of local ownership of decentralized renewable energy. His work appears most regularly on Energy Self-Reliant States, a blog with timely and compelling analysis of current energy discussions and policy. The posts are frequently enriched by charts, translating the complex economics of energy into tools for advancing local energy ownership, and they are regularly syndicated at *Grist*, *CleanTechnica*, and *Renewable Energy World*. Reach John on Twitter @johnffarrell or by email at jfarrell@ilsr.org.



**Anthony Flaccavento** is an organic farmer and small business owner near Abingdon, Virginia, in the heart of

Central Appalachia. He has been working on community environmental and economic development in the region and around the nation for the past 29 years. In 1995, he founded Appalachian Sustainable Development (ASD), which became a regional and national leader in sustainable economic development, launching innovative enterprises in food aggregation and distribution, food access for lower income people, sustainable forestry and wood products, and more. ASD's Appalachian Harvest, begun in 1999, was among the first community food hubs in the nation. In 2009, Anthony founded SCALE, Inc, a private consulting business dedicated to catalyzing and supporting ecologically healthy regional economies and food

systems. Anthony speaks and writes about sustainable development, economics, food systems and rural development issues extensively. He has appeared on radio and TV from Maryland to California. His articles and opinion pieces have been published widely, including in the *Washington Post*, *The Huffington Post* and *Solutions Journal*. He is the author of *Healthy Food Systems: A Toolkit for Building Value Chains*. In 2012, Anthony was the Democratic candidate for the US Congress in Virginia's 9<sup>th</sup> District.



**José A. García** has been a Program Officer in the Strong Local Economies program at the Surdna Foundation since February

2013. As part of the Strong Local Economies Program, José and the rest of the team aim to support the development of robust and sustainable economies that increase access to quality jobs. José manages the Business Development and Acceleration line of work and is part of the Living Cities Capital Innovation Advisory Committee. Prior to joining the Surdna Foundation, José worked as a Policy Fellow at the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) in the Wealth Building Policy Project, where he was responsible for evaluating, analyzing and advising the NCLR on relevant housing and banking public policies that affected the Latino community. During his tenure, he coauthored the book *Foreclosure to Fair Lending: Advocacy, Organizing, Occupy, and the*

*Pursuit of Equitable Credit.* Shortly before his time at NCLR, Jose deviated from his career path to help assist his family's small business during a period of transition where he was able to see firsthand how economic policies affect mom and pop shops.

José has dedicated much of his career to public policy analysis and implementation on issues related to household credit and debt, youth economics, voting rights, census advocacy, and social-demographic analysis. As the Associate Director for the Economic Opportunity Program at Dēmos, he authored dozens of reports on household economic insecurity and co-authored the book *Up to Our Eyeballs: How Shady Lenders and Failed Economic Policies are Drowning Americans in Debt.* Mr. García's work has been covered by numerous media outlets including in *The Boston Globe*, *BusinessWeek*, *USA Today*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Fox Business News*, *Shelter Force*, *Univision*, and *El Diario*.



**Jared Gardner** is a policy advisor for the Oregon Working Families Party. He began advocating for economic justice and alternatives to

Wall Street dominance in 2007. Building upon his background in commercial and mortgage banking, Jared has worked with legislators, treasurers, community bankers, and community organizers on policy campaigns in five states, with successes at the city, county and state levels. He has helped draft and shape policies and their

implementation in the areas of economic development for family farmers and small businesses, divestment/investment policies, and state bank campaigns. He and his wife run Nehalem River Ranch, a 100-acre grass-fed beef, pastured pork and poultry and vegetable farm on the North Coast of Oregon.



**Angela Glover Blackwell**, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, started PolicyLink in 1999 and continues to drive its mission of

advancing economic and social equity. Under Blackwell's leadership, PolicyLink has become a leading voice in the movement to use public policy to improve access and opportunity for all low-income people and communities of color, particularly in the areas of health, housing, transportation, education, and infrastructure. Prior to founding PolicyLink, Blackwell served as Senior Vice President at the Rockefeller Foundation, where she oversaw the foundation's Domestic and Cultural divisions. A lawyer by training, she gained national recognition as founder of the Oakland (CA) Urban Strategies Council, where she pioneered new approaches to neighborhood revitalization. From 1977 to 1987, Blackwell was a partner at Public Advocates, a nationally known public interest law firm.

As a leading voice in the movement for equity in America, Blackwell is a frequent commentator for some of the nation's top news organizations, including the *New*

*York Times*, *The Huffington Post*, the *Washington Post*, *Salon*, and *CNN*, and has appeared regularly on such shows as public radio's *Marketplace*, *The Tavis Smiley Show*, *Nightline*, and PBS's *Now*. Blackwell has also been a guest on the PBS series *Moyers & Company* and PBS's *NewsHour*. Blackwell appears in the sixth and final segment of the PBS six-part series *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross* with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., which aired in October and November, 2013.

Blackwell is the co-author of *Uncommon Common Ground: Race and America's Future* (W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), and contributed to *Ending Poverty in America: How to Restore the American Dream* (The New Press, 2007) and *The Covenant with Black America* (Third World Press, 2006). In 2013, Blackwell and PolicyLink collaborated with the Center for American Progress to write and release the report, *All In Nation: An America that Works for All*. Blackwell earned a bachelor's degree from Howard University and a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley. She serves on numerous boards and served as co-chair of the task force on poverty for the Center for American Progress. Blackwell currently serves on The President's Advisory Council on Faith-based and Neighborhood Partnerships.



**Daniel J. H. Greenwood** joined the Hofstra University School of Law in 2007 from the University of Utah's S.J. Quinney College

of Law, where he held the position of S.J. Quinney Professor of Law. A graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School, before entering the academy Greenwood clerked in the Southern District of New York and litigated for Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton. At Hofstra, Greenwood teaches corporate law, corporate finance, torts and other business courses. His research interests lie in the structure and rights of business organizations and other groups; problems of corporate governance; and the intersection of democratic theory and corporate law. His writing includes amicus briefs (in *Citizens United*, among other cases) and numerous law review articles, book chapters and popular opinion pieces on corporate law, corporate speech rights, and the role of corporations in politics, as well as on minority religious rights and related topics. His writing is available at <http://law.hofstra.edu/greenwood>.



**Jamee Haley** is a self-described localist and Executive Director of Lowcountry Local First. She has been at the helm of

Lowcountry Local First (LLF) since its inception in 2007. LLF is a non-profit

organization based in Charleston, South Carolina, with the mission to advocate the benefits of a local living economy by strengthening community support of local-independent businesses and farmers. Since 2007, Haley has been responsible for developing the Directory of Local Independent Businesses, has produced seven successful Buy Local and Eat Local annual campaigns, worked with municipalities to adopt a local preference option, launched the Sustainable Agriculture Initiative and created awareness throughout the community about the importance of supporting the Charleston economy and family farms. In 2012, Haley was named one of *Charlie Magazine's* "50 Most Progressive" people making a positive impact on the future of Charleston. In 2010, Haley was selected by the Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (BALLE) to participate in their two-year Community of Practice Immersion program. In 2014, the *Charleston Business Journal* named her one of the "Most Influential Women in Business." She finds that the most rewarding part of her role growing Lowcountry Local First into strong, sustainable organization is seeing Charleston businesses building relationships with each other and working together to drive prosperity within the community. Most recently, she launched Dirt Works, the first incubator farm in the state of South Carolina and Local Works a collaborative co-working facility for local entrepreneurs.



**Elissa Hillary** has served as the Executive Director of Local First, an entrepreneurial non-profit working to build a sustain-

able West Michigan economy, since 2007. Her energy and creativity have helped Local First quintuple its business membership, expand regionally, and develop programs that promote sustainable business development, reduce waste, and increase community vibrancy. Local First's work has been recognized in *Bloomberg Business Week*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and on Michigan Public Radio. Elissa was named Grand Rapids Young Non-Profit Professionals Exemplary Executive in 2010, one of *Grand Rapids Business Journal's* "Top 40 under 40" business leaders in 2010 and 2012, and "Non-profit Newsmaker of the Year" in 2014. She is a 2011 Business Alliance for Local Living Economies Fellow. In addition, she serves on the Grand Rapids Downtown Development Authority's Board of Directors. You can read more about "living local" in her monthly column in *Grand Rapids Magazine*. In her free time, Elissa enjoys traveling, hiking, running, and crafting delicious locally-sourced meals.





**John Irons** joined The Rockefeller Foundation in 2012. As Managing Director, Foundation Initiatives, he leads much of the

Foundation's work in the United States, particularly initiatives on employment, and contributes more broadly to economic analysis of the Foundation's initiatives. His focus includes youth employment and inclusive economies. Prior to joining the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Irons was the Research Director at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. He was a tenure-track Assistant Professor of Economics at Amherst College, and has worked at the Federal Reserve Board of Governors and other DC-based think-tanks.

Dr. Irons has authored numerous reports and articles on a range of economic topics including tax and budget policy, labor markets, and macroeconomic policy. He has won several awards for his economics websites, including top-5 awards from *The Economist* and *Forbes*. Dr. Irons holds a bachelor's in economics with High Honors from Swarthmore College and a Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Irons was awarded a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, as well as a Graduate Fellowship from the Harvard/MIT Research Training Group in Positive Political Economy.



**Toni Johnson** is the vice president of the F.B. Heron Foundation's Knowledge & Influence team, where she is tasked with designing and

implementing the foundation's long-term public influence and engagement strategy. She is a former deputy editor and staff writer for the web site of the Council on Foreign Relations, at which she spent nearly six years focusing on energy, environment, religion, and global health. The rest of her journalism career has been devoted to covering U.S. policy. Toni spent four years as a reporter for Congressional Quarterly where she covered a range of legislation. Prior to that, she worked at Washington's Federal Paper covering the Education Department and small federal agencies. Toni received her undergraduate degree from Bard College at Simons Rock in arts and aesthetics and her masters in international journalism from American University.



**Leanne Krueger-Braneky** has received national attention for her work in economic development, program develop-

ment, and public policy. She has been invited to the White House Business Council on multiple occasions to advise them on the needs of local businesses. For eight years from 2004 to 2013, Leanne Krueger-Braneky served as the first Executive Director of the Sustainable Business Network of Greater Philadelphia (SBN), growing it into a 500+ member business organization working to build a just, green, and thriving economy in the five-county region. Under her leadership, SBN became a key player in the quest to make Philadelphia the most sustainable city in the country, helping to attract more federal green jobs funding to Philadelphia than any other city in the country by building relationships between diverse stakeholders. SBN's award-winning report, *Taking Care of Business: Improving Philadelphia's Small Business Climate*, showed that Philadelphia's 93,000 small businesses provide 65 percent of the jobs in the city, proving the essential role that local businesses play in job creation. Leanne's efforts to reshape economic development practices in Philadelphia were recognized when SBN was named Regional Economic Development Program of the Year by the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission in 2011. While at SBN, Leanne was chosen for a Business Alliance for Local Living

Economies (BALLE) Fellowship, the only fellowship program in the country dedicated to supporting local economy pioneers. In 2013, after completing the Fellowship program, Leanne was recruited to join the staff of BALLE as Director of Fellowship and Alumni. Leanne now helps to lead the BALLE Local Economy Fellowship, including design, recruitment, development, and alumni programming.



**Kimber Lanning** is an entrepreneur and economic specialist who works to cultivate strong, vibrant, creative communities and

inspire a higher quality of life across the state of Arizona. Lanning founded Local First Arizona, a statewide organization dedicated to raising public awareness of the economic and cultural benefits provided by locally owned businesses. Along with an advisory board of dedicated, local business owners and civic leaders, Lanning pursues the dual goal of establishing vibrant and culturally unique businesses at the forefront of the state's identity, as well as creating a sustainable and healthy region through the implementation of diverse and resilient local economies. She works to inform, educate, and motivate consumers and businesses to support independent enterprises, and encourages public policy that enables locally owned and operated businesses to thrive.



**Heather C. McGhee** is President of Dēmos. Previously, as Vice President of Policy and Outreach, McGhee led in the substan-

tive development of all of Dēmos' issue areas, in addition to overseeing the advocacy and communications strategies. In 2012 she helped spearhead Dēmos' strategic planning process, resulting in a new organizational structure, rebranding, and mission realignment. The process created a new communications framework and sharpened the organization's focus on four areas of work that examine the connections between political, economic and racial inequality.

McGhee is also an influential voice in the media and frequent contributor to MSNBC. Her opinions, writing and research have appeared in numerous outlets, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, National Public Radio, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*. She is the co-author of a chapter on retirement insecurity in the book *Inequality Matters: The Growing Economic Divide in America and its Poisonous Consequences* (New Press, 2005).

In 2009, she co-chaired a task force within Americans for Financial Reform that helped shape key provisions of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. In 2008, she served as the Deputy Policy Director in charge of Domestic and Economic Policy with the John Edwards for President Campaign, where she crafted a domestic policy platform that was widely praised for being the most ambitious and

detailed in that election cycle. She holds a B.A. in American Studies from Yale University and a J.D. from the University of California at Berkeley School of Law. She serves on the boards of Public Campaign, the Center for Working Families and Consumer Reports.



**Salvador Menjivar** is the Executive Director of Beneficial State Foundation, an organization affiliated with Beneficial State

Bank. Salvador has been in positions of leadership in the private and nonprofit sectors for over fifteen years. While attending school in New York he helped launch an import-export company brokering and selling organic foods from Latin America. He has also directed political campaigns on behalf of the California Democratic Party. Most recently he served as Executive Director of Hamilton Family Center in San Francisco. Salvador has also served on governmental commissions in the Cities of San Francisco and Berkeley. He has volunteered his time on many Boards of Directors in the Bay Area -including the Mission Area Federal Credit Union, as President and Treasurer. He holds a degree in Economics from New York based New School University and an M.B.A from the University of San Francisco. Salvador has recently received several awards, including a local award from the Full Circle Fund for innovation in the areas of affordable

housing, and a National Achievement Award from the National Alliance to End Homelessness for his work on ending homelessness for families and children. Salvador lives in Berkeley with his two children, Alejandro and Rafael.



**Stacy Mitchell** is the co-director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance and directs its Community-Scaled Economy Initiative.

Much of Stacy's work has focused on two pivotal sectors of the economy: retail and banking. Among the first to raise the alarm about the rise of mega-retailers in the 1990s, Stacy is a nationally recognized leader in the movement to counter their power, working closely with labor and economic justice allies. Her book, *Big-Box Swindle: The True Cost of Mega-Retailers and the Fight for America's Independent Businesses*, has appeared on several top-ten lists and was described by Bill McKibben as "the ultimate account of the single most important economic trend in our country." Stacy's research and writing on the advantages of devolving economic power have influenced decision-makers and helped guide grassroots strategies. She has been a policy advisor to many grassroots groups and has helped pass local and state legislation.

She has written for a wide range of publications, including *Business Week*, *Salon*, *The Nation*, *Grist*, and others. Described as "the Joan of Arc of the independent business movement" by national small business

leader Betsy Burton, Stacy has led collaborative efforts to build stronger organizing and advocacy networks among local businesses. She co-founded Advocates for Independent Business, a coalition of national small business organizations. She was also a founding board member of the American Independent Business Alliance, the New England Local Economy Network, and the Portland Independent Business & Community Alliance, and was on the founding advisory board for the Business Alliance for Local Living Economies. An engaging speaker, Stacy has been a featured presenter at many national conferences. In October 2012, she gave a provocative and widely discussed TEDx talk on "Why We Can't Shop Our Way to a Better Economy."



**Amy Morris** is a Program Officer in the Strong Local Economies program at the Surdna Foundation, where she focuses on support-

ing work to improve job quality in low wage sectors of the economy. Amy also served as Program Officer for Foundation Initiatives at Surdna where she focused on how to employ leadership development and organizing as tactics toward achieving mission-related goals. A long-time educator, Amy has worked to build the movement for social change through developing young people's leadership skills and knowledge of critical social issues. Just before coming to Surdna, Amy consulted with the New World Foundation on the COIN/Take Action

Initiative and a project titled “Civic Pathways out of Poverty and into Opportunity” both focused on youth civic engagement as a pathway to employment and higher education. She directed the Earlham College Border Studies Program in the US-Mexico borderlands region and New York Union Semester program at the City University of New York (CUNY). In other past lives, Amy served as a union researcher for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in Miami, Florida, a popular educator and policy monitor with Witness for Peace in Nicaragua and Colombia, and a high school Social Studies teacher in St. Paul, Minnesota. She holds a Masters in Public Policy with concentrations in Immigration and Human Rights and Global Policy from the University of Minnesota’s Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, and a B.A. in Latin American Studies and Urban Studies from Macalester College.



**James Mumm** is the Staff Director of National People’s Action. He leads NPA’s innovation and infrastructure work, aligning and

integrating NPA’s programs in order to advance NPA’s Long-Term Agenda for a New Economy. He got his start as an organizer as an intern with NPA in 1989 and has spent the last 25 years as an organizer and director of community organizing groups in Chicago and the Bronx before returning to NPA in 2008. James and his family live in Clinton Hill, Brooklyn. In an

alternate universe, James is a successful hard science fiction writer, marine biologist, and theoretical physicist.



**Yorman Nunez** is interested in playing a role in lifting people out of poverty through building significant economic infra-

structure that builds collective wealth and ownership in the Bronx. His commitment to designing systems to address the root causes of intergenerational poverty emerged out of his work as a community organizer with the Northwest Bronx Community and Clergy Coalition (NWBCCC), where he organized young people around issues of sustainable economic development, education, and voter education. It was during this time that Yorman co-founded the Urban Youth Collaborative, a citywide youth organization working on education reform. He moved on from NWBCCC to lead a career in electoral organizing, where he managed many political campaigns. He currently is leading the community engagement work at the Community Innovators Lab (CoLab) at M.I.T. Yorman spends most of his time coordinating the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative, a local effort in the Bronx that seeks to leverage local assets to drive economic development strategies targeted at building wealth and ownership among low-income residents. A lifelong resident of the Bronx, Yorman has taught both community organizing and spoken word at the high school level.



**Lenore Palladino** serves as the Vice President of Policy and Outreach at Dēmos, spearheading a campaign-oriented approach to Dēmos’

issue advocacy work. Prior to Dēmos, Lenore was the Organizing Director at MoveOn.org, leading all facets of the organization’s campaigning. She helped set MoveOn’s strategic priorities and mobilized millions of Americans to participate in campaigns on crucial issues, including voting rights and democracy reform, economic justice, the 2008, 2010, and 2012 election cycles, health care, and women’s rights. She has led multiple collaborations with organizations throughout the progressive movement. Her previous work experience includes leading successful union organizing drives with CSEA-AFSCME, community organizing with the Northwest Bronx Community and Clergy Coalition, and as National Director of United Students Against Sweatshops. Lenore’s research and writing background includes work on financial reform, labor rights, democracy reform, and fiscal and financial crises. Her dissertation focuses on the fiscal and financial effects of a financial transaction tax in New York. She has taught as an Adjunct Professor in the Economics Department at New York University. She is also a graduate of the Rockwood Yearlong Leadership Institute and a recipient of the Organizer of the Year Award from the Midwest Academy. Lenore is a graduate of the University of Chicago, holds a JD from Fordham Law School, and a Ph.D. in Economics from the New School University.



**Rachel Plattus** is Co-Director of Organizing at the New Economy Coalition. She coordinates NEC’s Youth and Student organizing and

community reinvestment efforts, and works to build community, organizational and funder engagement in the New Economy. Rachel is also Co-Editor of “Beautiful Solutions: A Toolbox for the Future” (in development), a web platform, in partnership with Naomi Klein and Avi Lewis’ *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate* book, and training program designed to give people the tools to create the world we want. Before coming to NEC, she worked in local government, in community health and health equity, and as an organizer at Occupy Boston. Rachel is active in climate justice work as a member of a Boston-based organizing collective, Simorgh, and hopes that today’s movements will be places where lots of people want to bring their friends. Through popular education, intersectional organizing and good facilitation, she helps to support community transformation in the face of interconnected economic and ecological crises. Someday she would like to be a heron or a whale. Rachel lives in Jamaica Plain, MA.



**Dr. D'Artagnan Scorza** is the Founder and Executive Director of the Social Justice Learning Institute as well as the Founder of Urban Scholar Advisors,

LLC in Inglewood, CA. Dr. Scorza is a US Navy Iraq War Veteran, obtained his Ph.D. in Education from the University of California, Los Angeles, served as a UC Regent from 2007-2009, was a 2010 Education Pioneers Fellow and is a 2013-2014 Business Alliance for Local Living Economies Fellow. He has a B.S. in Liberal Studies with a concentration in Business Management from National University and a B.A. in the Study of Religion. Dr. Scorza's expansive research and policy experience extends throughout the state having passed policies that established veteran service centers across UC campuses, prioritized \$160 million for student services, improved sustainability in Inglewood schools and expanded programs for boys and men of color throughout LA County. He served as the chair on the Measure GG campaign, securing \$90 million in school construction bonds as well as matching funds, bringing the total construction program to \$123 million. He is currently engaged in grassroots policy efforts through the Healthy and Sustainable Inglewood Collaborative, a group of more than 30 local stakeholders, to expand business opportunities through local economic development, improve health in the built environment, and improve outcomes for boys and men of color.



**Haeyoung Yoon** is a Deputy Program Director at the National Employment Law Project (NELP) in New York City. She co-directs NELP's Good Jobs,

a program area that develops strategic policies to create good jobs, enforce and strengthen workplace rights, and build ladders and upward mobility for low-wage and immigrant workers in the U.S. labor market. Over the course of her career, Haeyoung worked on low-wage and immigrant rights issues in the non-profit and academic sectors. At NELP, she works closely with national worker center alliances, unions, and community groups at the national, state, and local levels to develop innovative policies to address the changing nature of work, strengthen labor standards in the low-wage labor markets, and improve material conditions of workers' lives. Haeyoung also has extensive litigation experience. At the Urban Justice Center, Haeyoung represented low-wage and immigrant workers working in service industries, including domestic work, restaurant, and construction in wage and hour litigation. She was one of the lead counsel in *Iqbal v. Ashcroft*, a civil rights case on behalf of two South Asian and Arab immigrant men who were wrongfully detained and subjected to cruel and inhumane treatment and discrimination in a detention center in the aftermath of 9/11. Prior to joining NELP, she was Executive Director of CAAAV, Organizing Asian Communities. Haeyoung has taught at the New York University School of Law, co-directing its Immigrant Rights Clinic, and the Brooklyn Law School. She was awarded a Trial Lawyer of the Year Finalist by Public Justice in 2006 for *Iqbal v. Ashcroft*.

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