Master's Thesis

Engaging Anchor Institutions in the 21st Century: An Analysis of Strategies for Sustainable Economic Growth and Health Equity

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Building Sustainable Healthy Urban Communities

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METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of anchor institutions in the 21st Century. In this paper I aim:

1. To examine the role of anchor institutions as engines of sustainable economic development.

2. To examine the socioeconomic impact of anchor institutions on regional development.

3. To examine the case studies of eds & meds anchor institution as a model for less traditional (corporate) anchor institutions and innovation districts.

4. To examine the role of anchor institutions in addressing the multicausal problem of health inequity.

This thesis seeks to understand how anchor institutions can operate as drivers us sustainable economic development and champions of health equity. Specifically, it seeks to identify a successful outline for strategies, programs, and policies to connect economic activity and health outcomes to the success of institutions.

The research will consist of case studies of traditional eds & meds anchor institutions, the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, Columbia University, and the University of Miami. It will also consider new models of anchor institutions, such as Facebook and Amazon, to understand what they can learn from eds & meds anchor institutions in inclusive and equitable development.

The case studies were selected after thorough research of cities with traditional eds & meds anchor institutions, consideration of my familiarity with the region, and a legacy of successful and sustainable community engagement and economic development programs targeted to benefit

low-income communities. Each case study illustrates mutually beneficial impacts to both the institution itself and the surrounding neighborhoods.

The case studies were analyzed using secondary research and census data collection. The outcome of this research was to create a feasible outline for how to create a successful and sustainable engagement initiative for future anchor institutions to follow for building sustainable, healthy and equitable communities and cities. I used scholarly research, institutional economic impact reports, city health department and census data, and I interviewed staff from Columbia University's Office of Community and Government Affairs as well as economic development analysts.

BACKGROUND ON THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT & HEALTH:

The built environment and health are inextricably linked. Whereas knowledge is necessary factor to support health, information alone is not sufficient. Several key determinants of health must align to support the application of health knowledge; the built environment among the most influential yet often overlooked factors. Historically public health and urban planning worked together to prevent the spread of disease; but today these professions rarely interact to shape our built environment. To efficaciously address today's most intractable public health problems, public health and urban planning must work in tandem.

In America, urban planning was born in response to 20th Century public health problems. The spread of disease in cities was linked directly to inadequate housing, lack of sanitation, and pollution. The notion that living conditions conducive to good health, such as sanitation, safe housing, drinkable water, is not new to public health and human rights. Zoning and land use management regulate healthy urban spaces through ordinances that separate neighborhoods into residential, business or industrial use. In addition to zoning and land use management, safe housing became regulate with limits on residential density and mandates for lighting and air quality to support public health.

Over the years, urban planning and public health professions have diverged. As our cities grow it is vital that we bring planning back to its roots in public health with coordinated policy efforts between planners and public health experts. The decisions made by planners in the last century have directly affected our country's health through pedestrian neglect which fosters obesity, transportation affecting air quality, and environmental toxicants associated with cancer.

Today, we must continue to study the influence of the built environment on health outcomes, whereas previous efforts focused on preventing the spread of communicable diseases, the current

emphasis is on fostering healthy lifestyles and behaviors. Urban activist Jane Jacobs, one of the most influential people in modern urban planning, argued for "healthy urban design" in the 1960s. Jacobs urged cities to utilize urban design initiatives such as reclaiming streets and sidewalks as public space to promote healthy activity, giving birth to the "Healthy Cities" movement. We cannot adequately address today's leading health problems and health inequities without considering the physical environment. Consider today's public health concerns such as heart disease and obesity: urban design initiatives can help to promote healthy living and physical activity by prioritizing pedestrians over automobiles, creating bike lanes, giving access to greenway trails, reducing sprawl, and the designing engaging landscapes. While the suggestion to alter the physical environment to manipulate human behavior and health outcomes may seem paternalistic in nature, it's more a gentle nudge to people to encourage self-efficacy in healthier behaviors. Every individual has a right to health and we must both respect and strive to fulfill that right.

Even in the 21st Century public health and urban planning must continue to tackle ongoing exposure to lead and the far-reaching impact lead poisoning has on urban pollutants, notably neurological disorders and learning disabilities which contribute to disease states and school failure. The current lead epidemic in American cities is extremely relevant in both the space of urban planning and public health policy. It is an infrastructure and policy problem which is affecting the health of children (and adults) across the country. Although we have housing and environmental protection policies aimed at mitigating lead poisoning, it is still plaguing many urban communities in America. Coordinated policies will combat the chronic health issues and inequities to improve urban living conditions.

Planning departments and institutions (such as universities) must include health impact assessments in their comprehensive (or master) plans as a means of disease prevention and community health advocacy. The American Planning Association's Planning and Community Health Center has joined these forces in an effort to encourage health based planning approaches in a Center for Disease Control funded program, Plan4Health, which works with local municipalities to coordinate planning and health efforts in their master plans. Plan4Health's innovative application of public health, urban policy, and collaborative efforts of government, anchor institutions, and social organizations are the most efficacious means of addressing many of today's most intractable public health problems, particularly those which plague urban communities.

By leveraging the interdisciplinary nature of public health and planning in urban reform we can prevent disease. Planning and public health departments need to combine efforts to make more informed policy and development decisions. In raising awareness of the shared values of institutions and communities, urban development research benefits from the collective knowledge of other institutions. Furthermore, public health and urban planning academic programs need to create more interdisciplinary courses and studies to change the discourse of public health/urban planning and redirect attention to the role of the built environment on health outcomes. Invigorating our urban communities is vital to building a more sustainable, democratic, equitable, and just society.

LAND USE, ZONING & HEALTH:

Because the built environment and health are so inextricably linked, land use and zoning policies (which were first created as ordinances to separate the use of neighborhoods into residential, business or industrial use in order to control the health effects of spaces) have been used as

exclusionary policies which have further exacerbated health disparities in our cities. These restrictive zoning laws and codes have been used as exclusionary "not in my back yard" (NIMBY) policies which have deepened racial and economic segregation in our country. NIMBY localism reinforces inequitable exclusion. While discriminating against race is unconstitutional, discriminating based on class is not, making class-based discrimination the de facto racial discrimination.[1] This has reinforced economic subordination and residential segregation.[2] In doing so, there is no surprise then that we have unequal distributions of services and fundamental resources such as clean air and water. These policies allow wealthy Americans to maintain the advantageous lives and cache resources: good schools, parks, healthcare, healthy foods and other goods and services.

The current lead epidemic plaguing this country is disproportionately affecting poor and predominantly black neighborhoods.[3] Similarly, asthma morbidity rates are highest in predominantly black neighborhoods which has been affiliated with an increased presence of rodents, cockroaches and environmental hazards which trigger and exacerbate this problem.[4,5] The increased presence of rodents, cockroaches and environmental hazards are the direct result of NIMBY zoning policies which have brought undesirable sites such as airports and waste disposal facilities to these neighborhoods.[6] Just as white, wealthy communities secure and concentrate worthy resources, such as parks, they use protect themselves from less desirable regional developments, such as highways. Developing a highway through a community would lower property values, create pollution, produce an eye sore and would be noisy. NIMBY communities have protected themselves from such developments. American cities such as Atlanta, Syracuse, and Chicago have used highways as physical markers of neighborhood segregation. These developments have displaced residents and isolated neighborhoods. These

practices of residential segregation have further exacerbated chronic disease disparities in urban communities (such as asthma, diabetes, hypertension, obesity, etc.).[7]

Inclusionary zoning policies have been created in a concerted effort to "correct" the race-based inequalities in neighborhoods. However, the best approach has yet to be established: Do we change individual resources so people have the capacity to live in better neighborhoods, or do we make a concerted effort to change the context in which they live? Furthermore, how we can encourage integration, economic growth and revitalization without threatening the inherent culture of a community? What is indisputable is that invigorating our urban communities is vital to building a more sustainable, democratic, equitable and just society.

ADDRESSING THE DISAPRITIES:

In an article entitled, "Move Up or Move Out? Confronting Compounding Deprivation," Robert J. Sampson, Professor of Social Sciences at Harvard University and Director of Boston Area Research Initiative, discusses people based, place based, and people and place based policy approaches.[8] Sampson argues that people and place based interventions would allow for more sustainable community development.[8] In order to revitalize disadvantaged communities, policy makers, local leaders and private investors need to intervene at the community level and get involved with the individuals who make up that very community.[8] In essence, rather than forcing people within disadvantaged communities to "move out" to "better" communities (less crime, better access to jobs and social services, etc.), we should work with the disadvantaged neighborhoods to create durable investments and help those within the communities to "move up".[8] By investing in not only these communities, but also the individuals who make up these communities (through both financial investment and through projects and jobs creation), we can create sustainable urban development projects.

While calling on the financial and technical resources of federal and/or private industries, communities may feel the realities of their needs relative to their culture are not being addressed. Civic identity – our associations and common experiences – is economically, geographically and physically based. In order to create sustainable community development, partners must learn to collaborate with those in power and use the resources of the community as well in order to maintain civic interest. Political tensions among community development groups/organizations and "outsiders" involved in these community development initiatives remains a heavy issue. The most inherent problem is the lack of attention to civic identity. Many policy makers and private investors fail to recognize the importance of civic identity and community culture in their interventions.

The advantages to "gentrification" and urban revitalization, such as better public amenities, improvements in infrastructure, better educational opportunities and more efficient transportation services; however, all of this means nothing if they come at the cost of a community's inherent identity. Policy makers need to rethink and readjust their approach to urban revitalization. Urban renewal has led to the commodification of public spaces, threatening community culture and identity and while there are benefits to the profits being made from such renewal projects, they are often driven by external resulting in "Disneyfication" of neighborhoods. The big box stores and other retail ventures often don't speak to the cultural fabric of these gentrifying communities.

Famous urban activist, Jane Jacobs, used NIMBYsm to stop a highway through New York City's Greenwich Village and saved Washington Square Park. This was an example of heroic NIMBYsm. Jane Jacobs strongly believed in the idea of a "Healthy City" for all and worked to reclaim streets and sidewalks as public space. Communities at risk of being negatively affected

by undesirable developments often lack the resources – both financial and knowledge —to protect themselves from such misfortunes. New York City, in particular, has neither a formal nor an explicit planning process guiding zoning; consequently, many considerations become undervalued as the process works in favor to those with the most power and money. The enduring reality of power and money will not disappear, but that does not mean the balance of interests and voices cannot be shifted to ensure citizens and their neighborhood concerns are meaningfully heard and included in the process.

One possible solution would be to call on anchor institutions as investors. Anchor institutions can have a powerful impact on urban development initiatives. These institutions are magnets for economic development; they encourage urban reinvention, civic pride and are hubs of attraction for people outside of the physical boundaries of the city. Rooted in their community, there is an entrenched social responsibility and civic engagement. The fate of such institutions is closely tied to the health and wellbeing of the surrounding neighborhood and city. Fostering collaboration between silos of government (planning and public health), anchor institutions, and communities can be a highly effective solution for urban economic development and community sustainability. There is serious potential for collaborative innovation by government, educational or corporate institutions, and community organizations as a successful model for urban revitalization and healthy communities. New collaborative efforts combined with innovative urban policy strategies are needed if we are to make meaningful progress in the battle to enhance city life. Buying local, building local and using their own procurement dollars has not proved to be enough. Anchor institutions are engines of equitable economic development and have true potential to serve as long-term models for sustainable development. The challenge is for

governments to make the most of these locally rooted institutions who have a genuine interest in

not just the financial return, but also in building a safe, healthy and vibrant communities.

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY #1: UNIVERISTY OF PENNSYLVANIA

INTRODUCTION

An example of a traditional "meds and eds" anchor institution, The University of Pennsylvania's (Penn) postwar expansion into West Philadelphia led to troubled relations between the university and the neighboring community. Penn's expansion (and the general expansion of the University City Business District) displaced thousands of residents and has led to increases in rents and real estate taxes. Penn used the power of eminent domain (declaring large portions of West Philadelphia "blighted") to demolish areas of West Philadelphia, similar to what Columbia University has done in their Manhattanville Campus expansion. However, in an effort to reduce the tension and proactively engage with the community, Penn collaborated with local organizations to initiate programs and create investments focused on community development, including affordable housing, community schools, and employment opportunities. Penn's efforts to build an integrated, collaborative campus with an active urban layer has not only brought about positive change to the wider community, it has enabled the University to advance its broader academic mission as well. Futhermore, it is important to note that Penn was the country's first University: that is, it was not merely a liberal arts college, but a broad network of professional schools with diverse offerings. The director of Penn's Netter Center for Community Partnerships, Dr. Ira Harkavy, led the university to adopt policies which increase local purchasing, injecting billions into West Philadelphia's economy, transforming the landscape and nurturing community revival. Penn's vision for university-community partnerships remains an influential model.

TROUBLED HISTORY

Following deindustrialization and suburbanization, many white families fled the city. As white families left, African Americans became a larger proportion of the overall population in West Philadelphia.[9] The change in demographics deemed these neighborhoods "undesirable" under the practice of redlining, declaring entire communities "blighted" and "hazardous". Taking advantage of urban renewal federal slum clearance programs in its 1948 master plan, Penn aggressively expanded in West Philadelphia to meet its growing student population following World War II and the GI Bill. The Housing Act of 1949 and an influx of government funded research funding allowed Penn to build in West Philadelphia using federal dollars, reconfiguring an entire neighborhood and forcing many local residents from their homes. Philadelphia used "university-centered real estate development to eliminate poor and black areas and create physical barrier between the white, professional community of scholars and the working class, black West Philadelphia."[10]

It is important to recognize Penn's imminent need for more housing and facilities. Penn had outgrown its facilities and facing a housing shortage, it was largely seen as a commuter school. It was losing prospective students to other more competitive institutions, such as Harvard, Yale and Princeton. The City Planning Commission reported:

> University expansion is of great interest and importance to the city
> both economically and culturally. It is certainly to our advantage to
> have the University, a growing institution of increasing prominence
> and reputation, attracting visiting leaders in all fields, and extending
> the name and credit of the city in which it is located. [11]

Philadelphia, in general, was facing a crisis in housing conditions after World War II: "70,000 dwellings lacked a bath or were dilapidated, and overcrowding affected a huge proportion of the inner-city housing supply"[12] while at the same time the city saw a sharp percentage increase in the number of residents in overcrowded living conditions.[13] This was justification enough for

slum clearance. Though the use of the Pennsylvania Urban Redevelopment Act of 1945 and the Federal Urban Redevelopment Act of 1963 provided a legal basis for Penn's expansion, the process by which Penn obtained the land was done so without local community engagement. And while the expansion was necessary and Penn continued to enhance the wealth of Philadelphia's economy, its inability to engage in inclusive development and its willful engagement in racially discriminatory land procurement practices brought about a new era of issues for the university.

Relations between the university and West Philadelphia residents grew tense. Robberies and assaults on and around campus were not uncommon. Public safety was a major concern for Penn. Faculty and students were shot by West Philadelphia residents on campus and the university closed the SEPTA trolley stops on campus, moving the trolley path underground, changing the dynamic between the university and the community. Penn's Planning Commission suggested in a confidential report that the trolleys be rerouted in order to address public safety (both in pedestrian-trolley accidents and bringing crime to campus).[11] Streetcars were buried in 1956 and the university closed the roads to unify the campus in a more pedestrian-friendly design and making way for the Historic Locust Walk. While Penn's campus is fairly urban in nature and more open than most, the deliberate decision to suspend above ground trolley service between 30th Street and 44th Street benefited Penn in allowing it the freedom to develop a concentrated campus without trolley lines or road interruptions. This project was largely funded with taxpayer dollars.

Today, Penn students rely on PennTransit buses to get around campus or to get to Center City Philadelphia and the University City District's LUCY (Loop Through University City) line to get around. Philadelphia public transportation is rarely taken by students and gives further isolates

the university from adjacent West Philadelphia neighborhoods. Philadelphia is currently working on redesigning a trolley stop at 40th Street near Baltimore and Woodland Avenues to include park space and a restaurant, which will hopefully encourage more engagement between students, faculty and residents.

What used to be a trolley line that ran through campus connecting West Philadelphia and Center City Philadelphia. This traffic corridor is now closed to foot traffic only through Penn's campus. This trolley line still runs, though underground and with fewer stops. Source: Rachael Rizzo, photos.
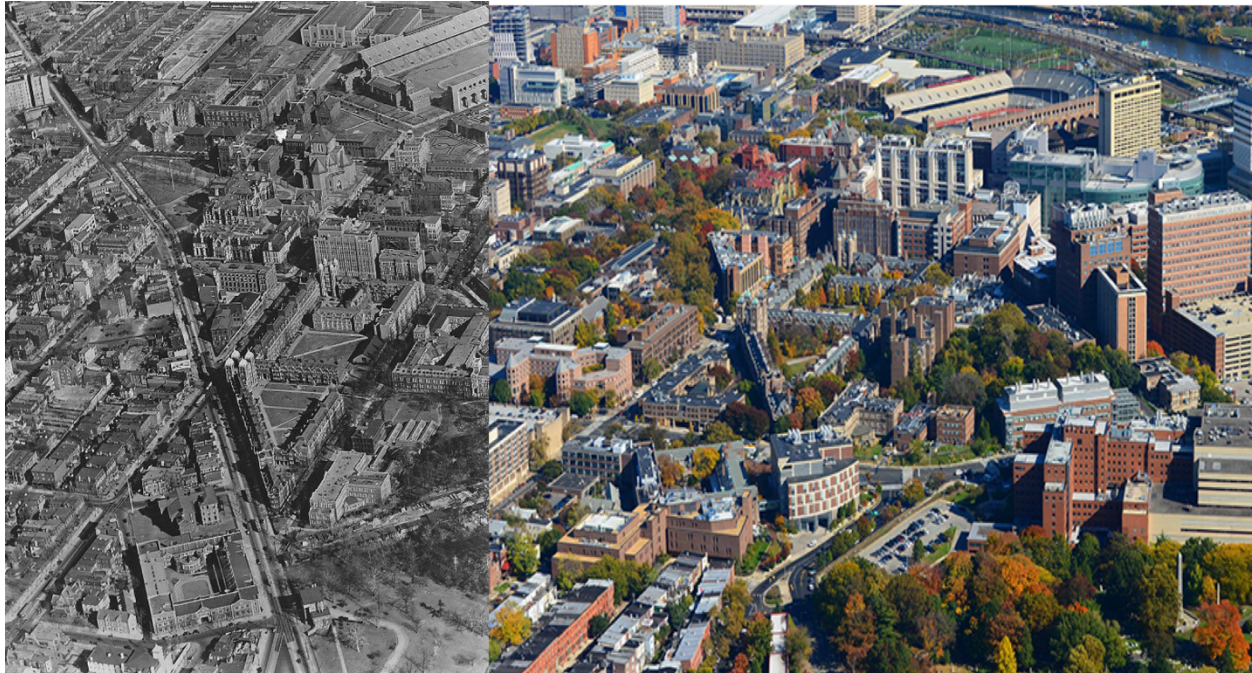
LEFT: University of Pennsylvania 1930[14]

RIGHT: University of Pennsylvania, 2015

Following Penn's involvement in the creation of the University City Science Center (UCSC) in

1963, construction was planned Southwest of Penn's campus in a renewal area dubbed

"University City Urban Renewal Area Unit No. 3". The location of this proposed campus was in

a low predominantly black low-income community: 77.6% of the population being displaced by

the UCSC development was non-white.[15] The Citizens Committee for University City Area 3

fought to take charge of their own urban renewal plans for their neighborhood, stating:

> We believe that we have both the right and the responsibility to
> participate in the decision-making process at all levels of our city
> government and most certainly in these crucial decisions affecting
> our lives and our properties.[16]

The Citizens Committee reorganized as the University City Citizens Development Corporation

(UCCDC), worked feverously to garner federal funding for their rehabilitation plans. However,

the Philadelphia School Board swooped in and condemned the properties in the area to create a new math and science high school, leveraging the resources of UCSC and Penn. UCSC and Penn supported this new high school. Although the RDA had publicly supported UCCDC's redevelopment plans, the change in plans to give the land to the School Board, who had close ties with Penn and UCSC, angered the residents. Residents continued to feel threatened by displacement and race riots broke out in Philadelphia. Eventually, HUD forced the RDA and the School Board to give up some of the land they had obtained and to develop residential buildings. The new school, University City High School, was built. The curriculum was designed by Penn faculty and they were heavily involved in the school design.

Penn Students protested UCSC, attacking the university for furthering the agenda of the Vietnam War and for the administration's role in displacing local West Philadelphia residents. Although the protest did not stop UCSC, it resulted in Penn agreeing to establish a $10M USD community development fund for the Renewal Housing Inc. (RHI).

Presidents of Penn (President Harnwell), MIT, University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard and Yale met to discuss how to improve the environment surrounding their schools by putting theory to practice in community outreach programs. President Harnwell worked in Mantua and other West Philadelphia schools to create recreation and academic assistance programs for youth. In his 1962 "Integrated Development Plan" for the university, President Harnwell addresses the relevance of the university's nonprofit tax status to its public objectives:

> [There is] almost no difference can be discerned between the nature of the educational performance of our outstanding private universities, such as Pennsylvania, and of those universities directly responsible through the structure of government to the voters of a state or municipality…

> The City of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the United States Government all contribute in varying degrees to the educational programs at the University. Individuals, corporations, societies, and foundations likewise provide to differing extents the resources that are require to objectives that have been set. [17]

In his plan, President Harnwell stresses the importance of Penn's "urban setting" and illustrates both the opportunities and obstacles such a location poses.[17] He describes the university as having an obligation to the greater community, whether it be through advisory services, consulting for schools, etc.[17] The engagement of students and faculty with the greater community is vital not only in terms of community development, but is an invaluable learning opportunity. In the year prior to the report, 50,000 local elementary school children from Philadelphia visited the Penn Museum, which President Harnwell points out is an important academic, social and promotional resource for the university and the city.[17] President Harnwell later established a Task Force of students, administration, Penn faculty, and Trustees to conduct a study and analysis for recommendations on the University governance and community affairs. Penn's neighboring urban communities "[present] unusual opportunities for teaching and research… thus helping to enlarge and fulfill the educational objectives of the University."[18]

The 1970 Report of the Task Force recommends a position for the Office of the Assistant to the President for External Affairs to "be responsible for maintaining contact with the University's neighbors and shall have cognizance of all University-community programs" and a Committee on Relations with the Neighboring Community to advise "on the appropriateness and degree of university involvement" in community affairs.[18] This report notes:

> The responsiveness of the University to its neighboring community presents special problems and opportunities. The University must be more sensitive than it has been in the past to the costs imposed upon its neighbors by its expansion, and to the measures taken by

governmental entities that may benefit the University but affect the local community adversely.[18]

The report is explicit in the altruistic role of such programs, stating that community programs which produce a social benefit must dually serve an educational purpose: "For example, a neighborhood health clinic financed and staffed by the University may serve as an educational purpose in the training of young physicians while, at the same time, providing a distinct community benefit."[18] Among the recommendations for University-community programs is an expansion of community schools, such as the West Philadelphia Community Free School.[18]

UNIVERSITY CITY DISTRICT

Philadelphia is very much a city of neighborhoods. "Center City", as it is known, is surrounded by the bounds of two major rivers, The Schuylkill River on the Western boundary and The Delaware River on the East. Penn's campus is just West of Center City across the Schuylkill River. The area between Center City and the West Philadelphia neighborhoods is known as "University City". Referring to the neighborhood as "University City" was a way for Penn and neighboring institutions to distinguish themselves from West Philadelphia.[19] University City is the eastern most part of West Philadelphia. In 1997 Penn and other local institutions, such as nearby Drexel University, formally established University City District (UCD) in an effort to provide the neighborhood with community resources, safety, a clean environment, marketing services and coordination efforts with other district initiatives.

Source: University City District, website.

In Spring 2016, UCD published The State of University City 2016 to illustrate the area's anchor institution-driven development. This organization is very much a way to integrate the campuses of the area with the neighborhood and to provide community-level resources, not just resources and services for the institutions themselves.

University City has a history of strained town and gown relations wherein many of the residents feel the university development threatens to undermine the stability of their communities. Penn itself played an integral role in the creation of the University City District and determines the boundaries of the district itself, leading many to believe Penn's actions are further dividing the community. Because Penn can determine the boundaries of the district, it means that only those homes within Penn's definition of the boundaries can benefit from the developments, such as schools, community facilities, and the mortgage programs.

URBAN HEALTH LAB

In tandem with the environmental science division and Penn School of Design, Penn established the Urban Health Lab. The Urban Health Lab has partnered with such important government organizations such as the Center for Disease Control (CDC), the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and local government offices to research and implement real urban development and

design projects, promoting safer and healthier communities and cities. Their projects have illustrated how even the addition of murals or greening of vacant lots can affect real change in communities, and furthermore have provided evidence for the power of anchor institutions as tools for urban development. These institutions serve as a source of local employment, have enormous purchasing power, and can influence crime prevention and provide educational support to nearby communities.

Penn Park post development. Source: Penn Real Estate & Facilities

Figure 6b. shows what used to be a vacant brownfield, a before image of Penn Park. Source: Penn Current.

Figure 3. Penn Alexander School Catchment, Philadelphia, PA. Source: Penn Alexander School.
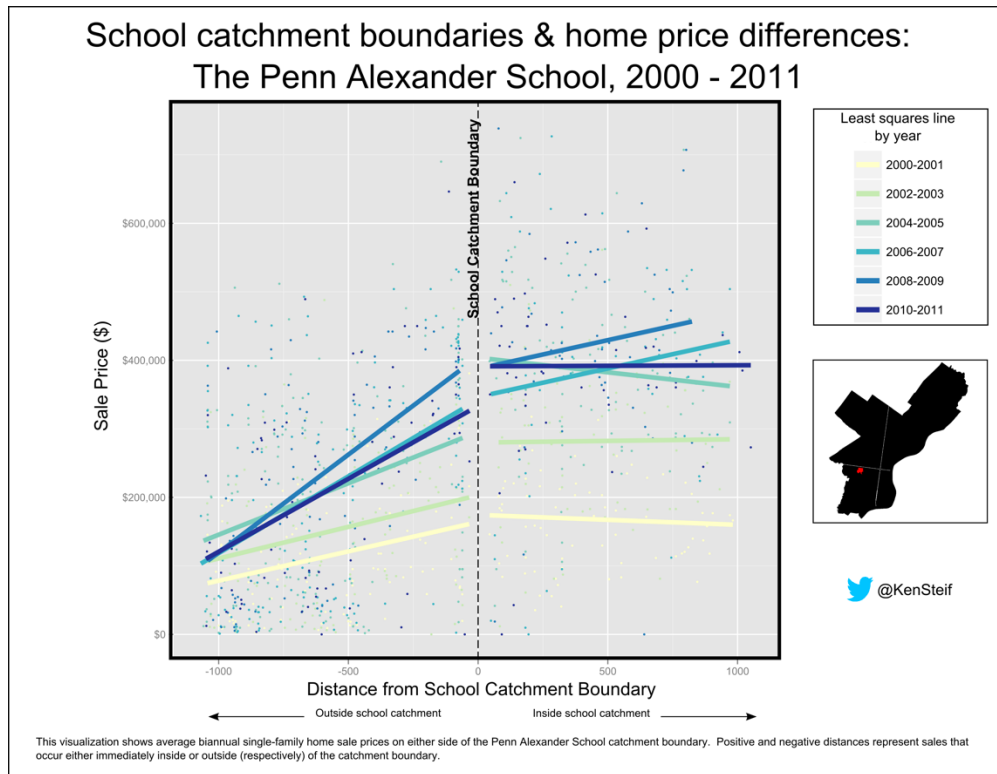
Figure 4. Penn Alexander School catchment home values. Source: Penn Institute of Urban Research.

The data is pleasing, objectively speaking: The population in University City District has increased by 3%, but by 10% in the Penn Alexander School catchment; Poverty rates have decreased by 10% in University City District as a whole, but have gone down by 22% in the Penn Alexander School neighborhood; Crime rates in University City have decreased 50%; Commercial development is up 37%; and local business makes up 25% of construction and contract expenditures within the district.[20] In the 1990s when Penn was deciding how to respond to the public school issue of its surrounding West Philadelphia community, many community members were calling for Penn to do something with the existing failing schools (namely, Alexander Wilson Elementary School and Henry Lea Elementary School). Wilson and Lea were the public schools in the Penn residential community. Instead of revamping these schools, Penn decided to build Penn Alexander School. The University did partner with Lea and Wilson through The Netter Center for Community Partnerships. While the community school programs

at these schools have been a great supplemental resource to the communities, Alexander Wilson recently shut its doors and merged with Lea. In response to advocacy of the community and parents, Penn now provides full-time support to Lea. However, Penn Alexander and Lea are two different models: one was built as a partnership school by the university for this purpose, the other an intervention response. The School District of Philadelphia is struggling and has been forced to dismiss much of its labor force: schools share librarians and school nurses and the arts programs are being cut. It's not enough to throw money at the schools, they need resources as well. Penn's partnership with Lea has brought in resources desperately needed: new librarians, social workers and a music program. Lea, though located only four blocks West, has proficiency levels far below those of Penn Alexander.

While the use of big data has often been used as propaganda for institutions and organizations to show objective snapshots of the economic growth and integration demographics of a neighborhood, I would argue that we could use this data to develop new intervention efforts as planners. This figure is a visual data representation of the home price values in the Penn Alexander School catchment boundaries as created by a Penn Doctoral student, Ken Steif. His studies of Penn's neighborhood changes have illustrated the potential use of data for policy intervention in combatting residential displacement. Penn has succeeded in creating a successful public school, increasing home values and adding new neighborhood amenities. However, many have been priced out of the market and the concern is affordability. Within the boundaries of the Penn Alexander School catchment, home values have appreciated 211.5% between 1998 and 2011.

Penn needs to respond to an appreciating neighborhood; the university no longer needs to incentivize people to move to the area and home values are unfortunately pricing some residents

out of the market. In response to this, Penn has been working in tandem with the City of Philadelphia in their Comprehensive Plan for 2035 to develop rezoning initiatives for the surrounding neighborhoods to support residential growth and make sure families are not being displaced with multifamily homes, etc.

Universities have a moral and ethical responsibility to their surrounding communities as civic leaders. They can serve as a source of local employment, have enormous purchasing power, can influence crime prevention and provide educational support to nearby communities. Under the leadership of President Judith Rodin, Penn established the West Philadelphia Initiatives, a program intended to promote economic development and stability to Penn's neighbors. President Rodin built upon President Harnwell's community engagement initiatives. As part of the program Penn pledged the following: to invest in public education; promote a safe, clean environment; establish employee housing programs; economic inclusion; and to create engaging commercial development.

Universities are like amusement parks: they encourage visitors and bring in outside dollars to the local economy. According to Penn's Economic Impact Report from 2010, Penn students are spending $200 million within in Philadelphia and $209 million within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.[21] This report also states that visitors to the university are spending $7 million locally, not including the $11 million visitors spend locally by attending Penn Events such as athletic games and the Penn Relay Carnival.[21] Penn's Economic Impact Report claims it is directly responsible for $3.8 billion in earnings for Philadelphia and $5.5 billion in earnings for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.[21] Sponsored funding from the federal government attracts more than $900 million annually and their capital investments yield a statewide impact of $1.12 billion.[21] As convincing as these numbers are, I would hesitate to take this report at face value as

economic theory would suggest it is difficult to measure the value of marginal production of any

given entity. Nonetheless, it is undeniable: Penn is a powerful economic engine directly and

indirectly responsible for the growth of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania at large.

DREXEL UNIVERSITY

Other nearby universities are taking notice: Drexel University recently hired John Fry, the former Director of Penn's Facilities and Real Estate Services where he was largely responsible for Penn's master planning. Since taking his position at Drexel, President Fry has opened up the campus through retail and real estate developments which are open to the greater public and has integrated the campus with neighboring West Powelton and Mantua communities.

Being a real estate professional at heart, President Fry has used this to his advantage in transforming Drexel University and the surrounding areas. Drexel has worked closely with Philadelphia to increase the University's footprint, but also to increase connectivity between Drexel and the rest of Philadelphia.

Although there are no physical gates on the campus, the welcoming to campus is in close proximity to Philadelphia's 30th Street Station. However, the corridor connecting 30th Street to the University City District is unengaging and has poor pedestrian foot traffic. It would be in the best interest of the University and the City of Philadelphia to create a safe and engaging corridor, so as to increase the use of public transportation and encourage pedestrian engagement with ground-level businesses and landmarks.

During his time at Penn, President Fry worked under former Penn President Judith Rodin and worked closely with Rodin in the early days of the West Philadelphia Initiative and the Penn Alexander development in which he was instrumental in community engagement initiatives fostering relationships among local businesses, residents and the university. He is not your typical university president: he was an accountant who began working in management consulting for universities. His work impressed his client (Penn) so much so that they hired him. After some time at Penn, he accepted a position as the President of Franklin & Marshall College before

taking his position at Drexel. It was not a typical career track for university presidents, but he proved himself a powerful tool for universities as a visionary in community engagement driven planning. Though not his professional status or training, he is very much an urban planner and it is his success as such that has brought him success as a university president.

President Fry understands that the neighboring communities are not a part of the university and thus have unique needs. In fulfilling his vision for Drexel, President created the Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships in 2012 which engages stakeholders from Drexel, the Mantua neighborhood, and Powelton Village in planning and community development plans grounded in economic and social justice. They work closely with neighborhood residents and community stakeholders to collaborate on building a sustainable community. According to the Dornsife Center website, the purpose of engaging local stakeholders is to "identify common ground for a shared action plan."[22] Planning stakeholders and advisory council members include community groups, local residents from Mantua and Powelton Village, business owners, Drexel students and faculty, and nonprofits.

[22]

As the website notes, universities have a history of sharing research-based solutions with their neighbors, such as agricultural research shared with practitioners or continuing education for community members; similarly, this collaborative initiative is aimed at improving urban life in West Philadelphia.[22]

The Dornsife Center was made possible with a $10M USD donation from philanthropists, David and Dana Dornsife.[22] Community-based partnerships are designed by the stakeholders in an effort to create the most targeted programs to meet real community needs. Though much of the current neighborhood health and wellness programming offered through Dornsife is reminiscent of other university programs (nutrition programming, community meals, and exercise classes), unique to their initiative are the Community Wellness Hub and the UConnect program. The Community Wellness Hub is offered through Drexel's College of Nursing and Health Professions (CNHP) to work with local residents in supporting chronic and behavioral health conditions.[22] UConnect is a referral and follow-up program aimed at connecting West Philadelphia residents to health and wellness resources free of charge. [22] UConnect offers a crucial service to low-income residents in need of guidance in navigating the health system.[22]

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Columbia University is extremely powerful as an anchor institution, particularly as a purchaser. With a $9.6B endowment, powerful research resources, strong political influence and an eager student body, it is a recipe for success. Columbia is the 7th largest non-government employer in New York City and does support a large number of public investments. This is an opportunity for Columbia to work with local vendors and strengthen ties with local business communities; these local vendors can provide expedited and reliable services. It is in the best interest of both Columbia and the surrounding neighborhoods. Columbia can leverage their resources and power as an anchor institution to mutually benefit local community health outcomes. Many of the programming and community development initiatives do not require a substantial financial investment, many of the resources are provided by the existing resources of the university (students, faculty, facilities). These programs can be successfully implemented into existing structures and programs within New York City, including a number of existing city government programs.

Most recently, Columbia acquired 17-acres in the Manhattanville neighborhood of Manhattan, just north of its Morningside Heights campus. They have partnered with the city and the state of New York, giving them the power of eminent domain. Their goal is to create a campus with an active urban layer. They want to make the new campus publicly accessible. The new campus design is an attempt to preserve the current urban community and allow development with a goal of attracting both community and university residents through the addition of ground-floor retail and publicly accessible open space. Residents still fear, however, that the new campus will overwhelm the neighborhood. In an attempt to collaborate with the community and invest in community development, Columbia University has established programs and investments in the

neighborhood in a community benefits agreement (CBA) to set goals to employ local residents, establish scholarships for local students, and transit improvements. However, these goals are informal at this stage. Still, the Manhattanville expansion is a great example of a university's attempt to integrate itself into the neighborhood, rather than just being located in the neighborhood.

The Manhattanville expansion's collaborative partnership with the Harlem community is a stark departure from Columbia's historic relationship with its neighbors. Columbia has engaged in more exclusionary development, historically having little engagement with the black, Puerto Rican and Dominican neighbors in Morningside Heights and Harlem. In 1968, Columbia sought to build a gymnasium in Morningside Park, public land at the footsteps of campus. Students and local residents protested the "Gym Crow" project at the development site and occupied administrative buildings; the administration responded by calling in the police. More than 700 protestors were arrested and many were injured, resulting in a strike that shut down Columbia University and held staff members hostage. Students and community members came together to raise their concerns about the university taking public land for private use and the troubled relationship between the institution and its neighbors, overall. The university eventually ended construction on the gymnasium in Morningside Heights.

It is no surprise local communities mistrust the university. However, the Columbia has made a concerted effort in increasing its planning transparency and engaging with its neighbors. Current Columbia University President, Lee C. Bollinger graduated from Columbia Law School in 1971, arriving to Morningside Heights only a few months after the 1968 campus protests. Acutely aware of the troubled relationship between Columbia and its neighbors and pressed to find space to meet Columbia's growing needs in Manhattan, President Bollinger began engaging with local

community organizations in Harlem. In order to achieve a rezoning in Harlem, President

Bollinger knew it was vital to engage community based organizations and groups.[23] Maxine

Griffith, Senior Advisor to the President of Columbia University and formerly the Executive

Vice President of the University's Office of Government and Community Affairs, is a Harlem

native.[23] In an interview conducted for this paper, Griffith commended President Bollinger's

stakeholder engagement initiative in the rezoning process.[23] President Bollinger had been

meeting with the Harlem Chamber of Commerce, with black ministers, with the community

board, with community based organizations, and with block associations prior to Griffith's

hiring.[23] Griffith recounts a breakfast President Bollinger hosted with black and Latino leaders

from Harlem where he and a minister had a "lively exchange" after which the minister,

impressed by President Bollinger, said, "Wow, he stayed for the whole thing!" [23]

Building on President Bollinger's stakeholder engagement process, Griffith began speaking with

friends and associates living in Harlem to engage in the development planning. In explaining

why institutions, such as Columbia, engage with local communities, Griffith said:

> "These are mostly nonprofit institutions, not entities driven purely
> on profit. They don't have a board of directors driving them to do
> something that would only garner funding. Reputational risk tends
> to be important… and for whatever reason, they tend to want the
> environment in which they exist to thrive. Either, and sometimes
> it's a blended thing because they are the ones who have to walk to
> the subway and go to the restaurants, or because they are
> concerned the communities near them thrive and they want to be
> responsible players. And also of course they tend to generate
> economic development just by existing. They buy things. They buy
> food. They buy services. The folks who work at these institutions
> drop off their things at the dry cleaners, go out to lunch, even if it
> is not intentional, they are supporting economic development in the
> neighborhood."[23]

Penn, Griffith asserts, is a "hybrid" campus that has developed into the surrounding

neighborhoods of Philadelphia, compared to Columbia campuses "with discrete delineation".

She argues that a more confined and inward development strategy lessens the gentrifying pressures.[23] Though it is precisely the gated town-gown delineation which has plagued Columbia's reputation in Morningside Heights. This new, integrated urban campus presents new challenges to Harlem residents and business owners. In order to address community concerns and maintain transparency in the planning process, Columbia held seventy-two meetings with Harlem residents and community organizations *in addition* to the state prescribed thirty-two meetings necessary during the Uniformed Land Use Review Process (ULURP).[23] Griffith admitted they received criticism that some people who wanted to be heard did not feel comfortable with public speaking and felt alienated during the group meetings.[23] In an effort to address this, Columbia held drop-in sessions on the Morningside Heights campus as well as in an historic building Columbia owns in Harlem with the consultants, architect, planners, and university staff to allow for one-on-one question and answer hearings.[23]

Griffith describes her primary role in the process as "a translator for both sides" (the Harlem community members and groups as well as on the development side). She listened to community concerns, big and small: concerns about shadows being cast on playgrounds to construction dust polluting apartments through windows. Often Griffith listened to community concerns and had to relay them to the architect, Renzo Piano, whom she described as "an old-style-gentleman". She'd ask Renzo to meet with them and "do a simple drawing for a lay person to see and read", and it was a lot of back and forth. The transparency was important to them and out of this came compromises: pledging to build no building roofs higher than any of the existing buildings in Harlem, and purchasing air conditioners for every window facing the construction site at 3333 Broadway. There were, however, some things to which the development team had to say "no" to requests. For example, one community group wanted an education center in the middle of the

new campus to be run by community organizations and not by Columbia. The university said no, but out of this dialogue came a number of programs such as a community scholars program, a program for undergraduate civic engagement work, and a community school run by Teacher's College. "We deconstructed what they wanted out of that community education center and developed ways we hoped would meet those objectives," Griffith said.

The Environmental Review process was one of the more challenging efforts, according to Griffith. Harlem, as she notes, is special and has a deep historical legacy of environmental advocacy groups, such as WE ACT (West Harlem Environmental Action). These groups were extremely knowledgeable and had a lot of very specific and relevant questions regarding the environmental impact of Manhattanville.[23] In response, Columbia held a meeting to address those concerns in depth.[23] The team was committed to working *with* the community and felt it was important to engage not just in formal meetings with community groups and residents, but also to attend subcommittee meetings, local gatherings, getting coffee with people after meetings to stay abreast of community affairs: they "wanted to hear the formal communication, but also the rumors, the chit-chat, the after-meeting conversations."[23]

When asked about the engagement of Morningside Heights and Columbia Medical Center in the new development, Griffith said "many administrations who had not been facing outward got comfortable with working outside of their silos with different departments and the community. They developed relationships and received inquiries from faculty who wanted to do service learning projects, some of whom had been too afraid to engage with the community." One example of this was a doctor from Columbia University Medical Center who wanted to work with the community on a sickle cell treatment development, but due to a long legacy of skepticism and distrust in medical research studies among communities of color, was unsure of

how to approach communities. Griffith said as their community outreach grew, faculty began

approaching Griffith and the administration with questions about community interest in projects,

research and programs:

> "'Well do you think there would be interest,' they'd ask. 'Come to
> our meeting, we'll introduce you to some people you can talk to.'
> And out of that did come a sickle cell study. It wasn't an
> unreasonable fear this man had. Not every academic or
> administrator is going to have that mindset, but I do think
> especially since it took a long time, people were able to expose
> themselves over a continuum of time to engage with the
> community on many different levels. It's a lot better than it was.
> And out of the CBA came a number of linkages, scholarships,
> community scholar programs, a whole range of built in
> relationships now as well as these new ad-hoc relationships."[23]

Learning to strike a balance between transparency and decision making was not an easy process

and Griffith recalls the original plans for the arts center being much larger than ended up being

possible, much to the chagrin of the community. After this, Griffith says "we were very careful

to only show what we were sure we could do and to be honest, sometimes brutally honest, about

what we could feasibly do."[23] She also recalls having to mediate "misunderstandings", even

going so far as to have the Vice Provost of Columbia talk to local residents to explain how to

establish a university course, what it takes to create a course, state authority regulations over the

university, the organization of the university and its many different colleges and departments.

Some faculty and administration believed community members only wanted "some sort of quid

pro quo" and Griffith and her team had to explain this is a community that sees development

opportunity and wants education for their kids and jobs for themselves, just like any other

community. Harlem, she notes, has not seen as much development as the rest of Manhattan, or

even as much as Brooklyn; other developments throughout New York City have fixed up

playgrounds or invested in infrastructure as a sort of quid pro quo for the disruption caused by

their project. "It was not an inappropriate assumption to make, that development in their neighborhood would mean the response and infrastructure they wanted," Griffith noted. "Creative tension," as Griffith refers to it, still exists among different Harlem community groups and among university departments. However, Griffith anecdotally noted that out of this came an increase in working groups among university staff, both formally and informally, and that she has made invaluable relationships with deans of Columbia schools which has made the university run much more equitably and in sync. "We're never going to be nor want to be a corporation where the President can tell someone what to do, it's a cooperative enterprise" in which individual schools within the university have a fair amount of autonomy.

It is not easy to balance the demands and needs of so many different communities: religious organizations, chambers of commerce, health advocates, public housing communities, etc. Meeting the needs of local Harlem residents and community members while coordinating among different Columbia offices and schools is no small feat. However, Griffith remains hopeful that the project will be a writ large benefit for the Harlem community.

Many of the existing civic engagement programs already existing with Columbia University and Columbia University Medical Center have a new home on the Manhattanville campus. The Zuckerman Institute will house a Wellness Center designed to provide health services such as cholesterol and blood screenings, and resources such as training programs for members of the local community to become health community-based health advocates. The Wellness Center will also house Dr. Sidney Hankerson's Mental Health First Aid (MHFA) program aimed at reducing racial inequities in mental health treatment. MHFA works with local faith leaders to train them in recognizing and responding to signs of depression, substance use disorders and other mental illnesses. The goal is to reduce health disparities, improve access to quality care and combat

stigma associated with mental health. It will also be home to technical and job skills training, as well as an initiative run by the Columbia-Harlem Small Business Development Center to support the growth of local businesses through technical assistance, peer learning, and counseling. Columbia committed to a Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) to provide financial and organizational support to meet community-identified needs. Despite having a poor track record of fulfilling CBAs, Columbia has provided a substantial amount of money and resources to the community since 2008, including $10M USD (of a $20M USD pledge) to an affordable housing fund, $400,000 (of $500,000) toward job training, $1.2M USD in housing legal assistance, and much more.

The Columbia Scholars program was established a part of the negotiations, allowing adults form surrounding neighborhoods to utilize Columbia's services and resources for online courses, course auditing, seminar attendance, library access and more. They are providing grant money to community-based organizations to provide job training, medical technician training, and career services to help residents from local community districts to advance their careers and find quality paying jobs.

Minority, women and local (MWL) construction contracting not only provides a direct source of revenue to the community, but also instills a sense of pride and ownership in the development. Being involved in the construction of this project allows local community members to take ownership of the project and to be invested in its success. There is potential for Columbia to establish itself as a leading anchor institution in the 21st Century.

HEALTH EQUITY

One of the biggest issues with institutional expansion is displacement of communities. This displacement, often referred to as "relocation", has immediate and long-term negative health effects.[24,25] As previously stated, our health is inextricably linked to the built environment. This extends beyond the influence of living conditions on health to the access to and distribution of resources. In the same way urban renewal "forced a small number of people to expend economic, social, and political capital on resettlement"[24], displacement due to institutional or private development has also resulted in a loss of resources. Furthermore, the relocation of these displaced families and individuals strained the receiving communities in terms of financial and social capital.[24] Such relocation presents a problem in housing capacity and resource distribution, such as the availability of space or funding for students in schools. Dr. Mindy Fullilove argues the relocation of African Americans through urban renewal negatively impacted the community:

> Prior to urban renewal, urban African American communities were improving steadily in the number and effectiveness of their social and political institutions. After displacement, the style of engagement was angrier and more individualistic. Instead of becoming stronger and more competent in politics, the communities became weaker and more heavily affected by negative forces, such as substance abuse and crime. The ethos of neighborliness faded. People remained helpful to their friends, fellow church members, and family, but withdrew from extending support to people whose only connection was that of geographic proximity, that is, they were neighbors.[24]

These disorganizing forces had severe health and social consequences on residents. It is important to note that this coincided with the ending of World War II (WWII).

More than one million African Americans enrolled in the US Army during WWII. African Americans benefited from many of the social welfare programs extended to veterans under the

GI Bill, such as college tuition and housing loans; however, they received far less assistance than their fellow white veterans.[26] Due to discriminatory federal housing policies, many African American veterans were denied housing loans. African American veterans were denied admission to universities: the University of Pennsylvania, for example, enrolled only forty-six black students in 1946 despite having a total student body of 9,000.[26] Historically Black Colleges and Universities were unable to keep up with the demand of returning black veterans due to lack of funding, resulting in twenty thousand eligible black veterans not receiving academic placements.[26]

During the war, many women and African Americans were able to capitalize on the labor shortages due to white men leaving for war, allowing them to take good-paying and skilled jobs.[26] This resulted in what scholars refer to as the "Second Great Migration", during which African Americans moved to industrial centers, such as Detroit and Chicago, to capitalize on the better paying factory jobs. [26] Despite the economic and social mobility of this era during which many black families were entering the middle class, white veterans were able to return to their jobs after the war. Furthermore, as many of the communities surrounding these industries grew to be urban black communities during WWII as economic opportunities prompted migration, the end of the war and subsequent end of economic opportunities for non-veteran African Americans resulted in an economic decline of these communities. This, paired with discriminatory redlining policies, urban disinvestment, and suburban growth, trapped African Americans in decaying cities.[26] Cue: urban renewal.

The Housing Act of 1954 authorized the dispersion of federal urban renewal funds to universities.[27] Anchor institutions capitalized on urban renewal slum clearance policies. Cities declared entire neighborhoods blighted and subject to clearance. This allowed cities to condemn

property and turn the land over to institutions for private use, displacing vulnerable communities and further segregating neighborhoods. Uprooting entire communities has profoundly negative consequences.

We have a socio-ecological relationship with our neighborhoods.[27] Dr. Fullilove refers to the trauma of forced-displacement "root-shock". These populations were already disproportionately burdened by health inequities, plagued by chronic stress, unhealthy and toxic environmental exposures, lack of access healthy foods and clean water, and few health resources. Deindustrialization and lack of employment opportunities led to an increase in crime, drug dealing, violence, and substance use (and subsequent spread of infectious disease).[25] Rather than intervening in the community to address these very serious socioeconomic issues, we moved, displaced and concentrated vulnerable populations. Compounded with the stress and trauma of forced displacement, these individuals are inflicted with emotional and psychological wounds.[24]

Having benefited directly from urban renewal policies and inflicting forced relocation on vulnerable communities, anchor institutions have an obligation to address health inequities. However, the historical legacy of unethical and racist medical research practices combined with the general mistrust of institutions due to town gown relations presents an obstacle from a health intervention perspective. This is why community engagement is important in the creation and implementation of such programs. Programs such as Columbia University's Wellness Center and MHFA program, specifically aimed at addressing racial health inequities and mental health concerns from a community health worker perspective. Institutions can engage with local communities to understand the obstacles in health care access and find effective ways to break those barriers. The community health worker model has been shown to be effective in that it

removes the fear of care provider bias among minority populations. Providing services is not effective in and of itself, it requires culturally relevant programming in order to be sustainable.

Dr. Hansel Emory Tookes of the University of Miami spearheaded Miami's Syringe Exchange Program (SEP) after finding that: 62% of hospital admissions of Injection Drug Users (IDUs) were due to skin and soft tissue infections; 17% of patients had HIV; the total cost of treatment for patients was $1.4M; and 92% of patients were uninsured or on Medicare/Medicaid.[28] This study showed that the median charge for hospitalization for injection drug use-related infection at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami was $39,896 and was extremely costly to the state-funded Medicaid program and to the county taxpayer.[28] Ultimately, Dr. Tookes and his colleagues determined that they could save the state of Florida $124M with a needle-exchange program.[28] Many IDUs are not engaged with the health system and have limited access to primary care.[28] As a result, infections go untreated and diseases go undiagnosed, thus posing a danger to the individual and others.[28]

Dr. Tookes was able to leverage the resources of the University of Miami Health Systems to address an epidemic plaguing Miami, Florida, and the nation writ large. By conducting a study as a graduate student at the University of Miami illustrating the socioeconomic impacts of IDUs on the City, Dr. Tookes was able to lobby Florida State to get approval from Governor Rick Scott for SEPs contingent on a 5-year pilot program operated by the University of Miami Health Systems through the Infectious Disease Elimination Act (IDEA). The language of the legislation was such that it authorizes *any* University of Miami Health System entity to collect needles, distribute clean needles, and provide medical assistance to IDUs. Herein is an example of an institution taking responsibility for the health and wellbeing of its city and state. In a conservative administration, Dr. Tookes and his colleagues were able to leverage a network of

institutions and health professionals to collaborate on addressing this very serious health problem.

Similarly, Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, New York has created The Bronx Transitions Clinic (BTC) led by Dr. Aaron D. Fox, which works to connect recently incarcerated individuals with health services. Sixty five percent of inmates have a substance use disorder. Formerly incarcerated people in New York City are eight times more likely to die of drug-related causes during the first two weeks after release.[29] The rate of HIV infection among inmates if five times that of the general population, and one in three inmates has Hepatitis C Virus (HCV). Inmates and recently released persons are highly likely to have chronic health conditions requiring medical attention.[30] The Bronx in particular deals with high rates of diabetes, drug use, HIV rates, prison admission rates, and incarceration rates. Returning prisoners face significant barriers to healthcare and are burdened with chronic health conditions and infectious diseases.[3031] Furthermore, a 1999 The goal of the program is to link recently released prisoners with primary care within the first two weeks of release, which is a critical time period to engage with formerly incarcerated people.[3032] The median time from release to initial BTC visit is 10 days.[32] This is done through community health workers (CHW), many of whom are also formerly incarcerated and from the community. The CHW not only provides initial outreach to recently incarcerated people, but provides follow up services with appointment reminders and referrals for connecting patients with healthcare, social services, specialized health services (such as substance use treatment), transportation, and peer mentorship; the BTC describes CHWs as "trusted advocates for BTC patients" who help to "reduce fear of stigma or mistreatment during medical visits."[32] Primary care intervention programs have been shown to improve health conditions and reduce recidivism rates.[30] A 1999 study of a cohort of women incarcerated in Rhode Island found that a

primary care intervention program reduced recidivism rates; among those in the program, the recidivism rate was 5% at 3 months and 33% at 12 months, compared to 18.5% at 3 months and 45% at 12 months for those not receiving health interventions.[33] The BTC program is beneficial not only to the target population, but also to the Bronx Borough, the City of New York and the State of New York by lowering recidivism rates, reducing taxpayer spending on an inmate, and managing the spread of infectious disease.

Similar to the CHW model is the Advance Peace Project's Office of Neighborhood Safety (ONS), which hires former gang members as Neighborhood Change Agents (NHA) to interrupt urban gun violence in Richmond, California. Founded by University of California-Berkeley graduate, DeVone Boggan, ONS was a neighborhood-level community intervention. The NHAs role is similar to the concept of CHW, in which ex-felons are able to reach Richmond youth more effectively because there is a certain level of trust when dealing with an insider. UC Berkeley Professor Jason Corburn worked with the city to draft Richmond's first Health in All Policy (HiAP) Strategy and Ordinance as a means of generating "practical strategies the city could adopt [to] dismantle structural racism and privilege and mitigate the multiple toxic stressors faced by residents."[34] Dr. Corburn worked with community groups, city council, a number of other UC Berkeley people, and city staff members such as DeVone Boggan, to implement programs and policies to address health equity.[34]

Universities and private corporations more broadly can do more in their hiring and enrollment policies to encourage the inclusion of formerly incarcerated persons. The Bard Prison Initiative (BPI) provides a liberal arts college degree to inmates in state prison facilities. BPI was originally founded by Bard College undergraduates and eventually expanded to a nationwide network of twelve universities and colleges. Of the more than 450 graduates from BPI, 97.5%

left prison and did not return.[35] Dr. Robert Fullilove of Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health is the Senior Advisor to BPI's Public Health Program. Here is an example of an institution using its resources to create a new generation of public health professionals to improve health and reduce disparities, improving outcomes after release for inmates, and reducing recidivism rates.

A study of community violence conducted in Syracuse, NY surveyed neighborhood residents to screen for PTSD criteria: 52% of the respondents met the criteria for PTSD based on the Civilian PTSD checklist, compared to the 11-22% prevalence among veterans.[36] This study was done in part as an extension of a university-community collaboration in Syracuse between Syracuse University and community-based organizations. University faculty, community members and students work together to address the social inequities in the city of Syracuse. Out of this study came a broader study to analyze stressors of urban youth in cities across the United States as well as mindfulness programming in schools.

THE FUTURE OF ANCHOR INSTITUTIONS: URBAN ANCHORS

Despite universities' best efforts to build integrated, sustainable communities, there is still room for improvement in the realm of civil and social infrastructure, including greater integration efforts with a renewed sense of neighborliness, income generating strategies driven by social responsibility and integrated federal funding programs. Though moral responsibility cannot easily be adopted in policy, there is room for federal policies encouraging civic partnerships with institutions of higher education and mandating community engagement through planning efforts. It is not enough for anchor institutions to write checks to local schools and community organizations; resources and services need to be attached to the money in order for initiatives to succeed.

Anchor institutions have demonstrated their effectiveness in addressing economic and health inequities. Universities, such as Penn, have developed strategic plans to disseminate resources and create jobs and wealth in their neighboring communities. Today, we have new urban anchors, outside of the meds and eds institutions: high tech companies and real estate developers. While we ride this wave of urban revival, we must be careful to balance the wants of the developers and stakeholders with the needs of the existing community. Today we are facing major cutbacks in federal spending for housing, healthcare services, education, and environment. This leaves opportunity for anchors to work alongside local governments and community organizations to invest in urban development.

Businesses and residents are returning to our urban cores and revitalizing our cities and communities. Most notably, the technology giants anchored in Silicon Valley. The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the economic or technological breakthroughs which brought these

companies to urban centers, but to look at the social and economic impact these institutions have had on their neighbors and what their role as the "new" anchor institutions looks like. Many of these companies have developed "campuses" and entire districts for their institution and while they have brought with them an influx of new jobs and an entire new economy, the impact that these institutions are having on the greater city is of great concern. While the number of jobs is steadily increasing, the housing market cannot keep up. People are being priced out of their homes and many of these San Francisco and Silicon Valley companies are being accused of gentrification and the negative consequences of such.[37] Despite the good these institutions may bring (jobs, money, innovation), their successes are being overshadowed by the negative social impact they have had on their surrounding communities.

Donald McNeill published an article entitled, "Governing a city of unicorns: technology capital and the urban politics of San Francisco", in which he details the vacuum in which the tech valley was created and the resulting unintended policy tensions. Companies, such as Google, who developed campuses in Silicon Valley created an incredible network of resources for their employees, including transportation shuttling. While many companies or developers seek to build near an existing transportation network, Google "solved" their employees' transportation issues by offering private buses for shuttling employees around the area. But for those who live in the region and who are being affected by rising rent and seeing little return to their businesses from the influx of these corporate giants, they were being leeched without return. While the campus does much to support and develop its employee capital, it has displaced many residents and local businesses and their privatized transportation has done little to connect or develop the greater community. Analysis has shown the tech boom in Silicon Valley has increased socio-spatial inequality in the region.[37]

Furthermore, as McNeill points out, these institutions have large purchasing power and enormous political influence; this allowed tech companies in the Bay Area to influence policy in ways that benefited their hiring practices and real estate development. Many of these companies have been able to hijack cities who want them for their economic attraction through tax incentives; as the area had seen many companies take a lot from the neighborhood without giving much back, in the case of Twitter, San Francisco got Twitter to keep its business in the city through tax incentives. In order to receive those benefits, Twitter had to sign a CBA to commit to civic engagement, volunteering and development of affordable housing in the area. Following Twitter's occupancy in the neighborhood, economic activity (in terms of real estate, job opportunities, and retail development) boomed. Property owners who previously could not attract buyers were fielding offers, and the retail landscape changed dramatically to attract new businesses. While much of this can be attributed to Twitter, without the City's efforts to revitalize the neighborhood through urban design improvements and marketing initiatives.[37] It was an innovative partnership, without which the neighborhood would most likely have remained stressed and property holders would have lost assets to bankruptcy.

It is important to note that urban innovation districts do differ from traditional anchor institutions in that they are private companies, not non-profit institutions. The two categories differ in their purpose, their demand, to whom they are accountable, their ownership structures, their location, their financial resources, their time horizons, development permitting, and stakeholders.[38] It can be broken down in the following structure:

	PRIVATE DEVELOPER	INSTITUTION
PURPOSE	Profit-driven	Mission-driven

DEMAND	Market-based	Need-based
ACCOUNTABILITY	Investors	Board and user community
OWNERSHIP	Multiple and complex	Single & simple
LOCATION	Diverse & market driven	Rooted & defined
FINANCIAL RESOURCES	Investors Banks Market debt	Endowment Donors Tax-exempt bonds
TIME HORIZON	Opportunistic	Long-term
PERMITTING	Parcel-by-parcel	Master plan
STAKEHOLDERS	Developer Investors/lenders Buyers/tenants	Governing board Alumni/Donors Administration/Staff Faculty Students

[38]

Nonprofit institutions, such as many universities and hospitals, receive benefits in the form of tax

exemptions. For example, although nonprofit medical institutions own over one-third of the

buildings in Boston, their payment in lieu of tax (PILOT) is less than 4% of what they would pay

in taxes to the City of Boston.[39] Northeastern University has been highly criticized for paying

less than half of one percent in PILOT payments of what they would otherwise pay in taxes.[39]

These institutions still benefit from municipal services funded by taxes such as fire, sanitation and police (many universities have their own police departments, but jurisdictional authority for many cases is still handled by city police). As such, these institutions have a unique responsibility to give back to the public. However, I would argue that companies and developers receiving generous tax breaks are similarly accountable to the public. This is why cities are increasingly requiring companies and developers to engage in public benefit projects and CBAs, but it is also why I see the bid race for the new Amazon headquarters to be a problematic race to the bottom. Rather than Amazon providing an offer of community benefits in exchange for development rights, cities are racing to offer incentives to the company in hopes it will spur economic growth. It is yet to be determined whether these incentive trade-offs are appropriate or cities are overpaying.

Though private companies are often not as anchored to their location as traditional eds & meds institutions, the creation of these urban campus developments requires an inclusive planning approach in order to be sustainable. It is precisely these collaborative frameworks that facilitate urban and economic growth, as Flaminio Squazzoni argues in his case study of Silicon Valley joint ventures, entitled "Social Entrepreneurship and Economic Development in Silicon Valley".[40] In his article, Squazzoni argues these institutions are responsible for responding to market and government failures in order to promote urban and economic development at the community level.[40] These interdisciplinary collaborations are the most effective means of addressing the economic and urban development challenges faced by a region. [40] Joint Venture: Silicon Valley Network (JVSVN) was a nonprofit organization aimed at doing just this: bringing together the power and resources of corporations and research institutions with local government and community members "to develop and strengthen intersector collaboration strategies to solve

complex collective problems affecting social and economic development of the region."[40] The JVSVN analyzed the socioeconomic conditions of the region and established calls to action by "cross fertilizing the best practices of economic entrepreneurship and the collaboration-based production of social goods."[40] These calls to action were modeled after historic examples of civically engaged entrepreneurs from the region in which philanthropic donations came in the form of "money, technology, knowledge and human resources."[40] Through these social entrepreneurship initiatives, institutions were able to leverage their resources to "blur the boundaries" between private and public sectors in order to solve collective problems through social initiatives.[40]

Squazzoni's definition of social entrepreneurs is akin to that of anchor institutions: "social entrepreneurs differ from traditional philanthropists, because they do not restrict their action to funding but actively participate in development initiatives, putting their time, commitment and skills continuously on the line, and not just money once and for all."[40] While Squazzoni's analysis demonstrates that these efforts promote socioeconomic growth in a region, what it is missing is an analysis of the preservation of or disregard for civic identity. Much is said regarding the growth of "social capital", his analysis looks only at the economic and creative growth of the region from a universal standpoint. It is clear that the JVSVN approach to civic engagement, while enriching, was created through the vision of the corporations themselves. While he describes these efforts as "bottom-up", collaborative efforts in which members of the community sat on the JVSVN board, the case study does not give an indication of the existing community's perspective. There is no description of the existing civic identity and what efforts were made to preserve that capital. Without such analysis, we are left to wonder if this is displacing existing residents and whether it was a move-out rather than move-up approach.

Universities are not only influential models of anchor institutions, but they are a large recruiting

tool for the plantation of other anchor institutions, such as the Silicon Valley technology

industry.[41] It is precisely the capital of these regions as produced by universities that enticed

these industries to establish themselves in the area (such has happened in San Francisco, San

Diego and Boston, all of which are major knowledge hubs).[41] In his article, "New technology

clusters and public policy: Three perspectives," Steven Casper argues that universities are what

anchor the regional clustering of these technology institutions.[41] There is an abundance of an

existing skilled workforce and knowledge capital in regions near universities and research

institutions, such as students and university faculty, who are naturally driven to the region by the

existing anchor institutions.[41] Some of these technology giants (such as Google) are "university

spin-offs" (as Casper refers to them). Universities often encourage staff and students in

entrepreneurial activities, offering the resources needed for the creation of a start-up in exchange

for equity.[41] Casper's analysis of the recruitment of new anchors by anchors demonstrates the

impact of anchor institutions on economic and regional growth, the study of these clusters looks

only at the framework of the growth of industry in terms of research and development, but does

not address the larger civic impact on nearby communities in terms of the housing market, local

business growth or labor market mobility.

It is important to note that anchor institutions, particularly eds & meds institutions, must remain

competitive with other universities and institutions and so attaining and developing housing

facilities, classroom space or campus facilities is vital to their mission, as well. I do not dispute

the need for land acquisition, urban development, or campus expansion, as it is important for the

institution's economic sustainability; however, there is a feasible inclusive growth approach.

Such examples of feasible inclusive growth approach include: the development of affordable

housing, as Harvard University and Facebook have done; providing much-needed community resources such as community health centers or community schools; the development and funding of public open space; creation of inclusive policies and programming such as internships, jobs training, local procurement and purchasing plans, etc.; and, of course, true community engagement.

It is true that private companies have highly internalized campuses with privatized resources, such as private transportation for employees, and there have been claims that internalized resources such as on-campus doctor's offices or coffee shops are detrimental to local businesses. To this, I would recommend local business support and incubation spaces on campuses. Drexel University, for example, has a student-run coffee shop on campus through their Co-Op program. Similarly, companies could expand local businesses by placing local coffee shops, restaurants and practice son their campus, in lieu of a franchise such as Starbucks. Facebook's new campus will have a grocery store and a pharmacy on its campus; in lieu of a Whole Foods or a CVS, Facebook can commit to expanding a local grocer and pharmacist. Companies can promote nearby local businesses and restaurants through delivery services and promotions. These corporations can also provide incubation space for local business startups as well as training programs for small business owners. Instead of having private transportation options for only campus employees, companies can commit to investing in public realm improvements in terms of public transportation, which will benefit employees, visitors, and local residents.

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