in the largely poor, brown capital city of Hartford, Connecticut. The biggest college town in the country anchors chapter 3, as Columbia and NYU manipulate the levers of city governance to reshape New York City. We then travel to the Midwestern metropolis of Chicago for chapter 4, to focus on UChicago's dominion over South Side neighborhoods through a dual power of campus policing and campus building. Chapter 5 moves to the Southwest and charts Arizona State University's rise as one of the most powerful real estate developers in greater Phoenix. The epilogue centers on the University of Winnipeg, offering a vision for equitable and just partnerships between cities and their schools.

Because I am a professor seated behind the walls of a campus, it may seem quite the hypocrisy for me to offer this critique of universities. However, it is precisely my place in higher education that compels me to push this conversation forward. I am hard on city schools because I expect colleges and universities to be a source of public good, which requires being honest about the full reach and implications of our actions. We often see caricatures of colleges and universities as ivory tower bastions for tenured radicals and young "snowflakes," both out of touch with reality.

But higher education's footprint across the nation's cities tells a different story. How do flourishing urban colleges and universities act in the public good when the very people we pass on campus (and pass on the way to campus) are paying the cost of the school's prosperity? The very notion of a university's public good has been used as justification to underwrite multimillion-dollar tax-exempt endowments. Higher education has made way for a massive contingent of low-wage labor, increased racial profiling, and the elimination of affordable housing, retail, and health care in campus neighborhoods. But that's not the only story. Activists, residents, and students have fought hard against these changes and pulled progressive university administrators along to model alternative ways of relating to their cities. It is my hope that readers, whether they are part of the ivory tower or in its shadows, will grapple with these new challenges. The future of urban America depends on it.

CHAPTER ONE

WHEN UNIVERSITIES SWALLOW CITIES

Yale University often gets credit for "saving" the once beat-down city of New Haven, making it safer while attracting new industry and development. But the truth is much more complicated. In March 2016, New Haven was struggling to balance its shrinking budget. And then-mayor Toni Harp joined local politicians and labor unions to set their sights on Yale. They called for a state senate bill to help fine-tune the university's property tax-exempt status, an area where the school's prosperity was directly tied to the city's despair.

Universities and their medical centers are registered with the Internal Revenue Service as 501(c)(3) charitable nonprofits. Because of the public services that higher education institutions ostensibly provide to surrounding communities, their property holdings are exempt from taxation in all fifty states. But New Haven officials said Yale's multimillion-dollar tax exemption actually contributed to the budget deficit of the city. The

Connecticut bill, SB 414, would have allowed the state to tax university properties that generate $6,000 or more in annual income.[1]

At a city hall press conference, Harp immediately acknowledged the need to uphold the tax protections for nonprofit organizations, including Yale. She celebrated the university's undeniable role "in the city's transformation." Over the past forty years, Yale had become the single largest commercial power in New Haven. But Harp also warned that although cities rely "more and more on eds and meds," New Haven leaders must "be clear . . . about the fiscal impact of this transition." The mayor reminded listeners that "we still have to run a city." Yale offered, as a compromise, an annual $8 million "payment in lieu of taxes," or PILOT. By 2019, that payment jumped to more than $12 million. These contributions are voluntary, however, and are a fraction of the taxes Yale would pay based on the assessed value of its properties. But Yale didn't have to worry; SB 414 did not pass, and the city of New Haven still struggles while its largest local economic entity remains exempt from property taxes.[2]

Yale's financial dominance in New Haven is tied to the meteoric ascendancy of the knowledge economy. Here, academic research is used to create profitable, commercial goods or patents in a range of fields, from the pharmaceutical industries and software products to military defense weaponry.[3] Yale, in particular, has cultivated relationships with a number of biotech firms to produce new jobs and draw commercial revenue to the university and its host city. But this partnership between private industry and academic research has also created a property-tax "gray area" where profitable research produced for private companies is conducted in educational buildings that are not on the tax rolls.

Yale's revenues from patent licenses grew from just more than $5 million in 1996 to more than $45 million in 2000.[4] And it has also been difficult for New Haven to attract investors to this unlevel playing field. New businesses must pay taxes, and they struggle to coexist with competitors in the same market that are affiliated with the tax-exempt behemoth of Yale. Local politicians such as Harp simply wanted the university to contribute its fair share to the broader community.

But Yale's financial position in New Haven is the result of more than just biotech. The school also oversees a lucrative portfolio of commercial

and residential assets managed by its University Properties. Both students and alumni marvel at the transformation of the area from what was once dingy and even a bit dangerous. Now, when walking through the blocks surrounding the campus, they enjoy a new range of restaurants, shops, and housing options. By 2014, Yale's more than four hundred downtown properties totaled roughly $2.44 billion in value.

However, the city sees only a small portion of the estimated $102 million in property taxes that, if Yale wasn't tax-exempt, would come from the school or the additional $31 million that would come from Yale–New Haven Hospital (YNHH). The combined assessed value of properties held by the school and hospital reached $8.47 billion in 2019. Yale's focus on student rentals has also driven housing prices far above the means of local residents. And commercial tenants have been pushed out in favor of more trendy shops to satisfy the desires of students, such as Abercrombie & Fitch and Shake Shack.[5]

Yale's overwhelming footprint not only makes the university one of the city's largest landlords but, with fourteen hundred employees, also its largest single employer. New Haven was a factory town in the 1960s, most known for the rifle maker Winchester Repeating Arms. The steady relocation of manufacturing to the "global South" in the 1980s helped create a hollowed-out urban core, except for Yale. Even now, one in four New Haven residents lives at or below the poverty line. The city has struggled, in some part because the state failed on its promise to compensate New Haven for the taxes lost to large nonprofits such as Yale. By 1995, there were almost twice as many jobs at Yale as at all of the city's factories combined.[6] But hardly any of the well-paying jobs went to the increasingly brown and poor neighborhoods that surround the campus.

A number of political alliances took shape to fight against the unjust conditions for those living in the shadows of Yale's ivory towers. New Haven Rising emerged in 2012 to help temper what it considered the heavy hand of Yale–New Haven Hospital. Administrators at the medical center, which built a moneymaking cancer center, blocked union drives and aggressively pursued debt collection on low-income, local patients, which included pursuing liens on homes. Yale never conceded to all of these charges, but New Haven Rising activists pushed the university to enter an agreement

for youth programs, a local hiring mandate, and the lowering of medical debt, especially because the hospital's tax-exempt status was predicated on providing care to indigent patients.[7]

In 2014 Unidad Latina en Accion (ULA) rallied against Gourmet Heaven, a deli and convenience store located on Yale property, where workers toiled for long hours and made less than minimum wage with no overtime pay. Although that store is no longer in business, the owner was charged with wage theft and had to pay back workers. And local activism forced Yale to say it would not renew the lease of any tenant that failed to comply with labor laws.[8] In August 2019, after years of local organizing and protest, Yale signed a new agreement to create job training and apprenticeship programs for residents of New Haven. The university also agreed to hire three hundred new full-time employees from local "neighborhoods of need," the largely working-class, Black, and Latinx areas of the city.[9] The walls of the ivory tower were slowly coming down.

Still, even for those well-placed behind Yale's formidable campus walls, membership can come with a high cost. Consider the story of Brian. He wasn't a low-wage university worker. Brian wasn't even a New Haven local. He came to Yale on scholarship in its prestigious Graduate School of Nursing. But Brian also suffered from severe clinical depression, a condition that he did not want to make public at a university that was notorious for what many perceived as a draconian forced-withdrawal policy for medical reasons. If the university ever pushed him out, Brian would lose his nursing scholarship.

Yale students sometimes refuse to seek out help with mental-health issues precisely because they fear they will be forced to withdraw or will be hospitalized. According to Yale regulations, students can be withdrawn if they pose "a danger to self or others because of a serious medical problem."[10] In a recent study, Yale scored an *F* for its policies regarding students with mental illness.[11] While on a clinical rotation, Brian saw a student who refused to take medication. He believed that this student was then forced into compliance by the threat of informing the academic program, despite state and federal laws protecting patient privacy. And, of course, there was the devastating 2015 case of a Yale student jumping from the Golden Gate Bridge to her death after posting a Facebook status describing her fear of seeking treatment because it might trigger a forced withdrawal.[12] Still, the consequences of Yale's forced withdrawal remained pretty theoretical for Brian, until October 2018.

One evening Brian went to the Emergency Department at Yale–New Haven Hospital after feeling urges to overdose on prescribed sleep medication. It was in that moment that he experienced, firsthand, the overwhelming dominance of Yale in the region. As a health-care professional in training, Brian had watched Yale take over health treatment services along the Connecticut shoreline. Now that Brian sought help with his own depression, where would he go without running into a colleague or instructor? And how would his privacy be maintained? Yale Psychiatric Health was Brian's outpatient provider, YaleHealth was the insurance provider *and* pharmacy, and Yale School of Nursing was his academic home. Brian said that he was finally admitted to Yale Psychiatric against his own wishes: "I cringed as I was pushed through a hallway where former supervisors were stationed." He felt forced to sign "release of information" forms for his nursing faculty. One of his own professors/clinical coordinators was assigned to him as a provider. Yale Psychiatric Health reached out to Brian's academic advisor to assess his academic and clinical performance. He says that whenever he disagreed with treatment, they suggested an involuntary leave with what Brian saw as the cryptic threat that "it wouldn't look good" to the university if he didn't comply.

Brian ultimately returned to classes and finished the program but calls himself "lucky" because of his comprehensive understanding of the mental-health system. Still, he was left totally disillusioned by Yale's forced-withdrawal policy coupled with the university's monopoly on health-care services in New Haven and throughout the region, which, in his mind, allowed the school to flout standard medical practices. For Brian, the hospital constantly coerced his consent by threatening his academic standing. As a student, patient, and employee, "the conflicts of interest are staggering," he said. And Brian believed that the university cared more about depressed students as a threat to Yale's image than his well-being or even his consent: "My privacy was doomed from the start. This is avoidable if other facilities are available but not when your school owns them all."

Yale's relentless control of New Haven doesn't stop at health care, land, and labor. The growing campus footprint is secured by a private police force extending its influence across the entire city. On April 16, 2019, Stephanie Washington and Paul Witherspoon, who are Black, were parked near the Yale campus. Cell-phone footage showed them singing love songs to each other. Then, Hampden (a suburb of New Haven) Police Officer Devin Eaton and Yale Police Officer Terrance Pollock approached the car and shot more than fifteen rounds at the couple. Washington suffered a nonfatal bullet wound to the face; remarkably, Witherspoon was unharmed. This unarmed Black couple posed no threat, but police had received a false report that their red Honda Civic had been involved in an attempted armed robbery.[13] The shooting infuriated Black residents who had endured decades of racial profiling in the city and especially around the campus.

Pollock was not arrested or charged because the Yale officer fired in response to Eaton's actions and because none of his bullets caused injury. He was suspended without pay for thirty days, and after a university review, Pollock returned to the force in a position that does not require a gun or a uniform.[14]

But Pollock's presence on the scene raised a critical question: Why was a campus police officer firing his weapon a mile away from campus? Immediately following the shooting, students and residents stormed the streets. With chants of "Who do you protect? Who do you serve?" protestors called for the disarming of all Yale police officers, a restricted police jurisdiction around the campus area, and changes to the university's labor practices. The university has announced it will partner with the consulting firm 21CP Solutions to improve police services. But many residents of New Haven believe that piecemeal reforms fail to address the scope of the university's power. Yale PD is seen as the front line that protects the elite, white, billion-dollar ivory tower from the poor brown poverty that surrounds it on all sides. Some even call the area "Yale Haven."[15]

Yale's supremacy over New Haven might seem extreme, but this story illuminates the growing and multilayered points of influence that higher education institutions exert on our cities across the country. How did colleges and universities come to significantly dictate the terms of urban living,

from a city's housing costs and wage ceilings to its health-care standards and even policing practices? The growing dominance of higher education has been transformative for cities. And the roots of this story can be traced to social and economic conditions that have been taking shape for at least the past century.

The profit motive driving higher education goes as far back as the Atlantic slave trade, as historian Craig Steven Wilder has illustrated in his book *Ebony and Ivy*. History students at UChicago recently discovered that their school's massive $7 billion endowment derived from an initial ten acres of land donated by the politician Stephen Douglas, land that was purchased with his slave plantation profits. The university denies any explicit financial or legal relationship between today's University of Chicago and the "first" University of Chicago, which collapsed in a state of debt and foreclosure in 1886. However, activists point to the work of university historian John Boyer, who argues that an overlapping network of donors and faculty cements a clear inheritance between the two campuses. Even in controversy, universities across the country are being forced to reckon with their varying but unavoidable role in facilitating the country's dominant economic systems, including slavery.[16]

During the Civil War the federal government explicitly turned to universities as a key driver of economic growth and urban development. The Morrill Land Grant Acts of 1862 and 1890 helped fund public universities to support agricultural research; the applied sciences, such as engineering; and general education for a growing population. Most accounts have celebrated the Morrill Act for democratizing higher education but have downplayed its true economic focus: to retrain workers for a new urban industrial economy. And until recently there was no discussion of the policy's origins in American colonialism or its role in reinforcing Jim Crow segregation.[17]

The Morrill Act first distributed public-domain lands to states that could then be used or sold to build the financial endowments of universities. However, the 10.7 million acres for this project were actually indigenous lands, confiscated through seizure or suspect land treaties. The money

made from land sales still sit on the books of these universities, and at least twelve states continue to hold title to unsold acres and profit from associated mineral rights. Most land-grant institutions are in rural areas or small towns, but even city schools, from Massachusetts Institute of Technology to the University of Minnesota, built their endowments on this seizure of indigenous land. We have failed to fully engage with what education studies scholar Sharon Stein calls "the material entanglement of higher education with colonialism."[18]

The 1890 version of the act extended land grants to the former Confederate states but through direct cash payments. To their credit, lawmakers included a clause prohibiting racial discrimination in admissions. However, instead of enforcing the integration of land-grant schools, the act provided additional monies to southern states so they could build separate and underfunded historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). With that decision, the federal government used higher education policy to help reinforce racial segregation, even through city schools in Tallahassee, New Orleans, and Dover, Delaware. And this government-funded Jim Crow university system emerged six years before the "separate but equal doctrine" of *Plessy v. Ferguson* became the law of the land.[19] But higher education's impact on urban segregation didn't stop at the Mason-Dixon Line.

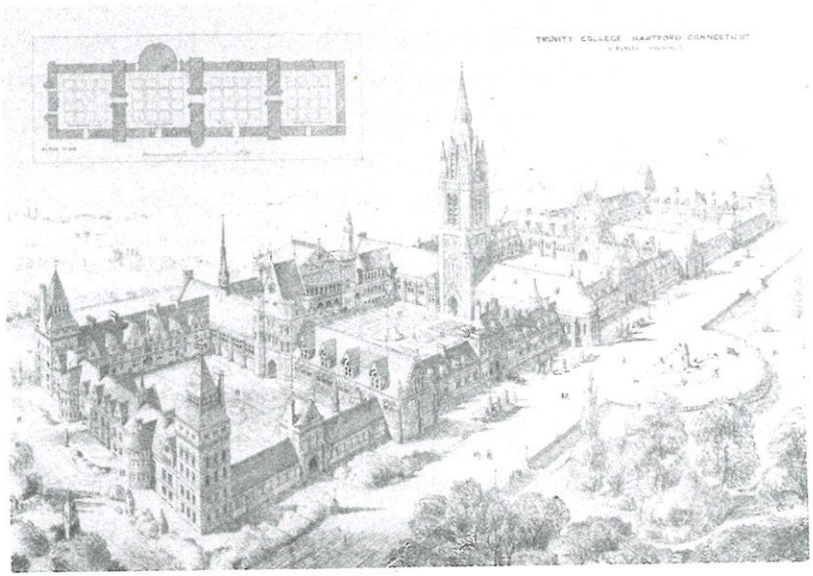
Since American colonial times, the placement and design of college campuses reflected a clear antagonism toward urban life and the kind of social diversity that cities engendered.[20] In fact, higher education acquired greater value as a pastoral retreat when city life continued to take hold. The word *campus* even means "field" in Latin. These lush, green campuses were further ensconced in at least quasi-rural environments, where the fresh air and open space were meant to serve as a balm from the foul smell and so-called dangerous ethnic amalgams found in cities. Many of today's urban schools sat on what once were the fringes of their cities, including Harvard (Cambridge), Columbia (Harlem), and UChicago (Hyde Park).

Trinity first moved from its original downtown Hartford "Capitol Hill" campus to relocate atop Gallows Hill in 1878. This new rural location, outside the city, gave the school a physical profile that reinforced its place alongside other prestigious New England colleges. Trinity existed among a cohort of schools that were later nicknamed the "Little Ivies" and included

Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, and Colby. Like students at traditional Ivy League colleges and universities, the young men at Trinity didn't enroll to learn a trade or acquire professional development. Higher education was a sort of "finishing school," meant to develop the character and enhance the networks of male students already well-positioned in families of power and influence.[21] The campus setting of rural retreat helped reinforce a status of racial and class distinction.

If Trinity's rural location wasn't enough to signal retreat, the college also modeled its architecture on the Victorian design of Oxford University and Trinity College in Scotland. Renderings depict opulent campus quadrangles surrounded by brick facades on all sides with spires atop tall towers on each corner of the quads. Visitors had to breach imposing outer walls on Summit Street to even witness campus life. The architecture screamed exclusivity and prestige. Trinity never finalized all of the walls needed to complete this design, but its plans became the model for UChicago's notorious quadrangle fortress dressed in stone gargoyles.[22]

Beyond the explicit fortress imagery of the quadrangle, UChicago grounded its vision of affluent retreat in an economic strategy of land



Burges's Plan of Trinity College (1874), William Burges Drawings, Watkinson Library, Trinity College.

control. Before the first building cornerstone was laid on its second campus in 1892, UChicago raised a large portion of its start-up capital through real estate donations to the school in the surrounding Hyde Park neighborhood. Residential development generated revenue, especially during the economic recession of 1890, when university donors could more easily offer property rather than liquid assets.[23] This growing portfolio of real estate assets encouraged the university to manage land development in Hyde Park.

Rising property values on or around university holdings translated into a bigger endowment. Securing this financial wealth in property turned UChicago into a major landlord in the area. The university razed many of the World's Fair–related tenements that housed commercial laborers from the then "undesirable" races of Irish, Swede, Greek, and German origins. Many of these buildings were replaced with new structures rented out to faculty, students, and other professionals in the neighborhood. By subsidizing rents for its employees, UChicago inflated the property values that served as a primary economic base for the university. This economic boundary of high land value also provided a virtual wall from the slowly encroaching city.[24]

By the 1920s, these colleges and universities, which once rested on the urban margins, were awash in the striking transformations that came with urbanization. Even in the small capital of Hartford, city growth advanced toward Trinity's "Rocky Ridge" campus in ways that threatened to compromise the pastoral ethos of this elite, small liberal arts college. The school now sat in the middle of an immigrant city. Hartford was home to industrial giants, including Colt's firearms, Pope's bicycles, and Weed's sewing machines before the city became an international capital of insurance and finance. These factories beckoned working-class immigrants warehoused in dense, poorly built tenements just blocks from campus.[25]

As the city changed, Trinity also attracted local students. By 1918, about 50 percent of the student body came from Hartford. This demographic shift posed a direct challenge to the more "gentleman's country club" profile of the college. Becoming a commuter school endangered Trinity's desire to maintain the prestige of its liberal arts peers. Some were especially alarmed by the 15 percent Jewish population in the 1920s, believing that

these students undermined college culture and could even corrupt the curriculum with "foreign" socialist ideas.[26] Especially for students and alumni, the college had to do something.

The student senate marked the college's one-hundredth anniversary with a resolution that it called the "Student Movement for Americanization at Trinity." This new edict required all undergraduates to live in buildings "owned or controlled by the college." A residency requirement seems rather innocuous on the surface, but it was specifically designed to protect the pastoral campus from urban influences. This requirement served a dual purpose: it created an economic barrier for the working-class families who couldn't afford to attend school *and* live on campus. And for the immigrants who could still come, the policy separated them from their local environment. A coalition of students, faculty, alumni, and trustees called this approach a "necessity" for Trinity to "Americanize the country's foreign-born population." The alumni also established a 20 percent cap on Hartford students.[27] Trinity's Americanization policy lasted only two years, but it reflected higher education's continued desire to maintain an elite status by keeping the changing city at arm's length.

During the first wave of the Great Migration in Chicago, African Americans moved to the near northwest of the UChicago campus in the 1920s and 1930s. The actions of university administrators suggested that these new arrivals posed a significant threat to property values in the campus neighborhood. In fact, scholars from the famed "Chicago School" of social science helped provide a pseudoscientific justification for Jim Crow zoning policies across the country with academic theories that described racial segregation in cities as a product of nature. UChicago administrators followed suit by underwriting racially restrictive housing covenants for the notorious Hyde Park and Kenwood neighborhood associations. These were legally binding agreements to prevent the sale, lease, or occupation of property to a targeted racial group. In this case it was African Americans. The university has never officially acknowledged its role in racial segregation. But Black Chicagoans called these covenants "the University of Chicago Agreement to get rid of Negroes."[28]

The migration filled the South Side's segregated "Black Belt" neighborhood beyond capacity in the 1930s and 1940s. And citywide covenants

prevented African Americans from living anywhere else. But the local decision of *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940) set the tone for the landmark 1948 *Shelly v. Kramer* case, which rendered restrictive covenants unenforceable by law. This decision opened the proverbial floodgates on Black community expansion south into the Hyde Park campus neighborhood. The plaintiff in the Chicago case was the father of writer Lorraine Hansberry, who would dramatize this time of her childhood in the award-winning 1959 Broadway play *A Raisin in the Sun*.[29] These legal cases weakened the ability of the university to sponsor neighborhood groups that upheld residential segregation. UChicago responded to this setback by purchasing and demolishing buildings that could potentially face racial integration. The school also increased the rent levels of subsidized faculty and employee housing to help "maintain the white population" around the campus.[30] But such strategies failed to deter African Americans who could still afford to purchase or rent Hyde Park properties.

By the 1950s, the Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference shifted its strategy from complete racial exclusion to "community preservation." With the growing threat of Black neighbors, the conference pushed to build an "interracial community of high standards."[31] Hyde Park boosters began to focus on the economic status of potential middle-class Black residents as a way to control property values. But such efforts failed to stave off panic selling by white residents.

The South East Chicago Commission (SECC) stepped in as "the political action arm of the University."[32] UChicago officials and alumni took full control of urban development on the South Side. They helped to write the Urban Community Conservation Act of 1953, where any areas that were simply close to Black neighborhood expansion were targeted for eminent domain and slum clearance. Ultimately, white-occupied Hyde Park blocks that were physically deteriorating got marked for rehabilitation. At the same time, majority-Black areas (from 55th to 56th between Cottage Grove and Woodlawn Avenues) became the sites targeted for clearance and university acquisition, even if the homes and streets were well-maintained. The Hyde Park–Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan of 1958 coordinated the massive displacement of African Americans and rezoned 80 percent of Hyde Park's commercial districts for residential use, in the process securing land

values for the campus community. Instead of urban renewal, local African American residents renamed this process "Negro Removal."[33]

The ability to target well-kept Black neighborhoods for urban renewal is rooted in the politics of eminent domain and the racially charged urban designation of "blight." Eminent domain signals the legal right of a government to compensate a private owner after seizing the land for public use, such as roads and public utilities. However, a property or neighborhood must be deemed "blighted" before a state authority can invoke eminent domain for urban renewal. The term *blight*, which has its origins in the study of plant disease, is now vaguely used to describe any perceived decay that may turn what are deemed healthy neighborhoods into slums. The *perception* of decay, as urban historians have shown, is often tied to an area's racial or ethnic composition. African American neighborhoods, regardless of their physical conditions, were often the ones deemed blighted to justify the demolition of areas that made way for highways, hospitals, public housing, etc.[34] Universities couldn't profit from this designation on their own. UChicago worked with the city of Chicago to wield the racially charged weapon of blight in ways that further bolstered the school's dominance over the late-twentieth-century city.

The Hyde Park efforts to uphold residential segregation would set a national urban trend where universities served the function of a "parastate"—a proxy role of governance—in the areas of policy making and economic development.[35] They also benefited from the federal government's infusion of capital and resources into Cold War universities that supplied academic research for military applications. UChicago's Met Lab, for instance, conducted research for the Manhattan Project. Since World War II, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has generated millions as the largest university defense contractor in the country. Stanford used the defense contract system to propel itself from a regional school into a science and technology powerhouse.[36] In 1967 Senator J. William Fulbright delivered two speeches at Stanford railing against the new intimacy between the government, the defense industry, and university life, or what he called the "Military-Industrial-Academic Complex."[37]

Beyond military research, the federal government standardized higher education's power to manage the economic development of increasingly

multiracial cities. Historian Arnold Hirsch points out that the US shared a similar approach to cold war threats on the world stage and the home front: containment.[38] Millions of African Americans continued to flood into cities during the second postwar phase of the Great Migration, and Latinx migrants soon followed. They were forced into already cramped neighborhoods filled with deteriorating buildings, what most called slums. At the same time, white residents fled the cities following industry and a massive government infusion of capital into what became the suburbs. The twin forces of brown poverty and so-called "white flight" signaled a nationwide "urban crisis."[39] Landlocked city colleges and universities believed that they had to stand and fight, working with both local and federal authorities to keep brown residents out and white students and faculty coming onto campus. As one of the few major institutions forced to remain in struggling cities, universities fought to hold the line on neighborhood integration and helped shape the future of urban life.[40]

Universities became the friendly face of urban renewal, masking ruthless policies that bolstered racial segregation. In Chicago, Executive Director of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) Julian Levi saw slums surrounding the Hyde Park campus. He wanted to clear away conditions that "will attract lower class Whites and Negroes." Levi gained a national reputation as "Slum Fighter Levi" when he joined forces with UChicago Chancellor and SECC President Lawrence Kimpton.[41] Kimpton sat on the boards of the American Council of Education and the Association of American Universities. In 1959 Kimpton and Levi coordinated fourteen urban universities into a lobbying force that successfully pushed for a significant change in the Federal Housing Act of 1949.

Dubbed the "Section 112 credits program," this initiative triggered a two-to-one federal matching grant for any urban renewal project on or near a college or university up to five years before the project even began. Moreover, the aid was "transferrable to urban renewal projects anywhere in the city."[42] Municipal leaders clamored to make their schools the showpiece of an urban renewal scheme that could generate so much federal aid. Of course, colleges and universities were happy to let city and federal governments pay for development that kept the growing urban poor at bay. The double barrel of eminent domain and the Section 112 credits helped city

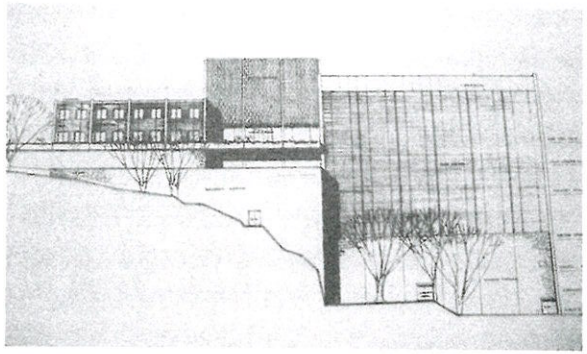
schools such as Case Western Reserve and the University of Alabama at Birmingham turn their campuses into largely barricaded zones of learning to stem the tide of African American and Latinx residents living nearby.[43] By 1964, there were 154 projects supported by the 112 credits program that involved 120 colleges and universities and 75 hospitals.[44]

However, not everyone agreed with the consequences of this university-related urban renewal. Some even resisted. Outraged students became urban activists and joined residents to protest how the renewal efforts of their schools helped modernize racial segregation. In the battles over university-based development, New York City stood at the center.

Karla Spurlock-Evans came to Barnard—Columbia University's women's college—as a freshman in 1968. That April, she went to hear a student band called the Soul Syndicate on the Columbia campus across the street. Spurlock-Evans ended up occupying that building for a week as part of a student uprising that drew attention from all over the world. The Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Afro-American Society joined forces to protest Columbia's involvement in military weapons research. But what really drew the attention of Black students such as Spurlock-Evans was the university's efforts to place a private gymnasium in the middle of nearby Morningside Park.

Both students and residents would be able to use the facility, but protestors charged "Gym Crow" when they learned that the building would have separate entrances for the largely white school at the top of the hill and the predominantly Black Harlem down below, with limited hours of community access.[45] Spurlock-Evans quickly shifted from partying to protest on behalf of those Black people who didn't share her privileges of sitting behind Columbia's gates: "I wanted to have a voice and stand on the right side of history regarding Columbia's encroachment on community property."

The student occupation of Columbia erupted within a perfect storm of larger events. Students were angered by the US war effort in Vietnam and inspired by a recent student takeover of Howard University in Washington, D.C. Many worried that Harlem would explode after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. just three weeks earlier. Nearly a thousand



Plan for Morningside Park Gym, 1968. Photo by Tao Tan, Wikimedia Commons.

students occupied five buildings on campus. But Hamilton Hall remained the center of the world, especially for Black students and the surrounding Harlem community. Spurlock-Evans remembers a stream of people entering through the week, churches picketing outside, and plates of soul food handed through the windows while messages went out to worried parents. Black militant leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael visited the protestors. Even China's Chairman Mao sent a telegram pledging solidarity with the Black students of Hamilton Hall. Ultimately, police removed protestors in one of the largest mass arrests in New York City history. Still, Columbia canceled all weapons research, plans for the gym came to a screeching halt, and the world was forced to confront the broader implications when universities become selfish agents of urban development.[46] Spurlock-Evans remains transformed: "Cute guys brought me into the building, but cute guys didn't keep me."

In 1960s Morningside Heights, like Chicago's Hyde Park, Columbia had sought ways to contain the influx of Black and brown residents before they encroached on the campus. Instead of investing in the surrounding community, the university purchased properties and displaced residents, most of whom were African American or Puerto Rican.[47] In 1961 the New York City Commission on Human Rights issued a letter to Columbia, calling on the school to end its "reliance on tenant removal as a solution to social problems in the neighborhood." Columbia responded that its first responsibility is to create a desirable neighborhood where its students will

feel safe.[48] Not much had changed by the time Spurlock-Evans came to campus. In fact, the efforts at building Gym Crow can be seen as the logical extension of the school's forced evictions from years before.

Just a year after the dust settled at Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn) announced its desire to build a massive science center in West Philadelphia. Administrators argued that such a complex would instigate residential, retail, and school improvements, and attract the research units of major technology industries to "University City." UPenn students followed the lead of Columbia with their own six-day sit-in to protest. But the university moved forward, using the funding power of the 112 credits urban renewal program to build its University City Science Center. It became the nation's first inner-city urban research park. The University Archives & Records Center commissioned a 1999 exhibit confirming that approximately six hundred low-income and African American families were displaced in the process.[49]

Peter Dougherty saw the entire UPenn drama unfold from his family's bar at South 40th, right near the university. Although he is white, Dougherty also maintained an ambivalent relationship to the university, where he said the town-gown distinctions were stark. Dougherty lamented what he saw as UPenn's wide-ranging actions to level most of West Philadelphia: neighborhoods, schools, homes, and small businesses. Dougherty said the messaging from the university was simple: "We don't want you!" Working-class whites rode the early white-flight wave out to the suburbs while his Black neighbors got corralled into public housing at 46th and Market.

Even city leaders in Denver used the 112 credits program to build their Auraria campus by displacing 250 businesses and 330 households from an African American and largely Latinx community. It was only because of historic-preservation activists and neighborhood residents that developers provided relocation funds and repurposed important community landmarks for educational purposes. Community opposition couldn't stop the campus from opening in 1974, but it sparked a robust Chicano movement around the broader issues of housing rights, health care, and police violence.[50]

The displacement caused by elite universities helped spark critical student and community-led activism, but nothing compared to the role that

local city colleges played in creating new relationships between town and gown in a changing urban landscape. Urban junior or community colleges largely hearken back to the Progressive Era, as a public-good effort of spreading the liberal arts to working-class children in rapidly industrializing cities. The idea was to place educational outposts in white ethnic communities as a form of public service. These schools were also meant to instill the conventional values of American culture or "civilization" in the children of immigrants.[51]

UChicago President William Raney Harper, who served from 1891 to 1906, became one of the most vocal advocates for the community college. But his motives weren't altruistic. Harper believed that by placing the first two years of basic undergraduate education (junior college) in the high schools or by creating two-year preliminary schools, he could preserve the university as a place of advanced instruction and research. Chicago's Joliet High School first adopted the new model in 1901; by 1917, there were 170 junior colleges across the country.[52] Despite Harper's gatekeeping ambitions, urban community colleges helped democratize higher education and cultivate civic engagement. The four-year City College of New York was dubbed "Harvard of the Proletariat" in the 1930s, a hotbed of intellectual debate and political agitation for working-class, urban youths.

After World War II, the very notion of the "community" described by the community college model underwent drastic transformation when African American and Latinx migrants occupied the neighborhoods once held by white ethnic families. The now largely Black and brown student bodies demanded that city schools serve the new community. Merritt College became an educational extension of North Oakland's Black community: reading groups, cafeteria conversations, street speaking, and sponsored tours to Cuba helped lay the groundwork for what became the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in 1966. Black students on Chicago's West Side seized control of Crane Junior College and renamed it Malcolm X Community College in 1968. What was once a school that failed to transition its Black students to four-year colleges became an institution of community service with increased student aid programs and a "prison annex" to educate incarcerated residents. Students also helped rethink campus safety

by pushing to hire unarmed workers from a Black-owned security firm in place of Chicago Police Department officers.[53]

In 1969 Black students led their Puerto Rican and white allies in a massive protest at New York's Brooklyn College and City College, demanding the admission of more students of color. These students insisted the city's tuition-free colleges should help correct for a segregated and inferior school system by providing the bridge instruction to prepare a broader range of taxpaying citizens for social mobility. This political action set the stage for a landmark 1970 open-admissions policy, with support services, for the next three decades. But then the early forays into neoliberal urban policy instigated a wholesale shift of public resources into private accounts. We now look askance at the dysfunction of public services without talking about the full-scale divestment and retreat from a community-controlled public good. But the history of community colleges is a valuable, if forgotten, model for building a people-powered relationship between cities and their schools.[54]

By the 1970s, most elite universities had become islands of wealth amid a sea of poverty. Outside of investing in private research schools, it seemed America had turned its back on cities, instead embracing suburban sprawl as the future. With a massive influx of Black and brown migrants, along with the exodus of not only white people but also public resources and private industry, cities were left to die. Then, starting in the 1990s, young professionals and empty nesters grew weary of suburban homogeneity and isolation, gradually electing to seek out a more urbane lifestyle. They were especially drawn to cities because municipal leaders reorganized urban areas to make them more attractive, advertising the shorter commutes and cultural amenities that came with urban living. But the real pull came from the public subsidies that underwrote higher-paying knowledge, tech, and creative industries while clearing out the poor from prime real estate with ruthless eviction and policing tactics.[55]

The back-to-the-city movement found municipal politicians and real estate developers scrambling to prepare a table for the potential economic windfall brought by a renewed urban interest. These "growth coalitions" in different cities began competing with one another to capture the lucrative tax base from new residents, shoppers, and investors. And with the decline

in manufacturing, the "bell towers" of higher education were targeted as the new "smokestacks": the signals of a thriving urban economy after the fall of factories.[56]

A trendy catchphrase emerged to describe city schools. They were deemed "anchor institutions," perfectly placed to help bring economic stabilization to urban areas and possibly even rebuild successful communities. Revived campus rebellions around a broad range of issues and the fight for scarce public resources found higher education looking for new ways to explain its value as a public good. University presidents created Campus Compact to solidify an institutional commitment to civic education and community outreach. The Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities touted the university as an "anchor" for rebuilding communities. Finally, in 1994 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) created the Office of University Partnerships to provide grants and sponsored research that encouraged a better integration between schools and their cities.[57]

Henry Taylor and Ira Harkavy were both early advocates in the struggle for the anchor idea. Taylor was an urban planner and community activist who moved to the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY Buffalo) to lead community engagement efforts in 1987. Harkavy started as a student activist at UPenn in the 1960s, eventually steering the school's community partnership projects throughout the 1980s and 1990s. They, like many others at the time, shared a desire for neighborhood revitalization; they differed only in what they emphasized. An older cadre of activists and educators looked to urban schools as a beacon for enlivening the values of civic engagement. The classroom and the research center, they believed, could be reoriented to address the needs of the city. Meanwhile, a growing class of administrators, coming out of the corporate world, identified universities as central command posts for generating needed profits in new research and real estate markets.

Both groups used the language of anchor institutions and shared interests in crime reduction and neighborhood improvement. However, fissures began to fester even within the same university about whose interests should dictate community partnerships. A school's chief financial officer doesn't discuss real estate investments with the Office of Community Learning. Yet both groups are engaging with the same urban neighborhood. And the failure to reconcile what have become parallel approaches to revitalization continues to shape how university-driven development is done in our cities.

SUNY Buffalo recruited Taylor from Ohio State in 1987 to build stronger connections between the school and the city. But the university had moved its undergraduate education to the suburban town of Amherst in the early 1970s, and its "South campus" now looked abandoned. They asked Taylor to develop a comprehensive plan using the school's original urban location to help stimulate the deteriorating University Heights neighborhood. The area was in the middle of transition with a still largely white population, a small Black middle class, and a growing spate of unkempt predatory rental facilities packing in as many students as possible to increase profits.

But Taylor made sure to remind me that this campus neighborhood had not faced the crisis that rocked many urban universities. Still, SUNY Buffalo needed to service a broader public good. As he explained, "The university was beginning to understand they had to prove to the legislature that they could have positive impacts in urban areas to generate funding and support." The main campus was in the suburbs, so the immediate survival of the university wasn't at stake. Urban engagement became an opportunity to brand SUNY Buffalo as a school interested in helping a largely industrial city struggling with massive out-migration to the suburbs. The workforce that remained scrambled for fewer jobs while lacking the training for a world without factories. University Heights became the laboratory for proving the school's worth in changing times.

Taylor dove headfirst into the task, working closely with the president, meeting with local politicians, and developing more than ten research designs to bolster the university's community initiative. His vision was broad and bold. Taylor imagined turning the entire South campus into a "commons," a porous space where the university serviced the needs of the city. Anyone living in the area could get an ID card and access all university resources. SUNY Buffalo would also create mixed housing for faculty and staff to meet different income levels and revitalize the commercial corridor.

The goal was to build institutions that broke down racial and class barriers. "For the university, that was a bit much," he laughed. Taylor said administrators immediately bought into the cosmetic labors of landscaping and partnering with developers on the residential and retail pieces. But they drastically scaled down the plan and only focused on faculty housing, higher-end shopping, and community access to university gym memberships. Administrators quickly discarded the broader commons plan: "It just gradually became a nice little neighborhood to live in and invest in. I try to separate myself from it now." Taylor laments how these celebrated bits and pieces were extracted from his larger vision of community development.

The impasse over building out the South campus made Taylor confront a fundamental difference in his approach to university community partnerships: "I made choices without regard for university interests. I placed Black people's interests first, and that was incompatible with how the university wanted to operate." He eventually broke ties with such top-down university projects and moved directly into community work to better serve Buffalo's Black neighborhoods. But no matter where he went in the city, the university was always nearby . . . and always building.

Taylor also looks back at that time with a profound sense of dismay about his inability to see the university as a mechanism of power within the city's political economy, as a function of urban capitalism.[58] As he says, "They were always with outside consultants helping them plot. There were all of these shadowy relationships with industry and land development." The university celebrated faculty activities in the community while the real work was taking place in the cover of night. Taylor described the disparity like a watch: "We were the shit on top that everybody got excited about. While the invisible mechanisms were doing other things in a different way." He chuckles now, but the role that his urban outreach played in serving the university's economic interests stays with Taylor: "You know, I'm a Black Marxist. I'm looking for all this shit. And the stuff is right under my nose, and I didn't see it. That's how good these people are."

Harkavy was not a Black Marxist, yet he knew exactly what he was dealing with at the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn). A year after the Columbia protests against the Morningside gym, there was young Ira serving as what he describes as a "moderate" student voice, contesting the

University City Science Center project in West Philadelphia. Fast-forward twenty years, and the predominantly Black neighborhoods surrounding UPenn were rocked by crime and poverty. The headlines were filled with stories of rapes and robberies. A graduate student and an instructor were murdered in the street. Still, UPenn didn't want to become Columbia. It refused to shut the gates.

Activists had lost the Science Center battle, but Harkavy continued to believe that from inside the university he could grow the networks cultivated from his student days to serve the neighborhoods around UPenn. He remained a strategic player between school and city, compelling university leaders to embrace civic engagement as an institutional imperative. With all of the crime tarnishing the UPenn brand, Harkavy leveraged the importance of "enlightened self-interest." The fates of the city and school were linked.

Always the broker, Harkavy and his civic engagement efforts at UPenn also helped guide early national conversations about anchor institutions. In the 1990s he worked with Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros and other higher education leaders to shape public conversations, and he later served as one of the cofounders of the National Anchor Institute Task Force after the 2008 election of President Barack Obama. Harkavy's years of work around urban engagement culminated into his appointment as director of UPenn's Netter Center for Community Partnerships in 2007. The center has become the national model for university-based civic engagement.

Harkavy shares Taylor's strong insistence that urban institutions must be evaluated by the health of the neighborhoods that surround them. And he is not satisfied with the current realities: "I believe firmly that overall universities are not yet part of the solution to the tragic and inexcusable conditions in the poorer communities that are near them or have been moved out and remain relatively close. They contribute more to privilege and to sustaining the current situation than they do to change it." Unlike Taylor, Harkavy leaned in to the university's power to influence urban renewal. His Netter Center has made some amazing advances, but as a UPenn center for community partnerships, its initiatives are heavily shaped by trying to improve the university on its own terms.

With references to Sir Francis Bacon and John Dewey, the Netter Center appeals to the "service" roots of the research university. Harkavy endorses a relatively conventional understanding of higher education as a center of teaching and learning. According to this thinking, something like the Science Center represents a "betrayal" of the university's core values because it prizes corporate research over community engagement through teaching. The Netter Center then becomes UPenn's moral compass, built around a broad menu of credit-bearing service-learning courses and outreach projects. For Harkavy, the service-learning work of the Netter Center induces the university to be its best self: a cultivator of democratic citizenship.

Community engagement encourages status-hungry faculty to think beyond pure research. Students break down the false divides between the ivory tower and what's been called the "real world." The Netter Center works intimately with underserved neighborhood schools. It has even pushed UPenn to more seriously consider local residents for their employment databases and procurement programs when subcontracting for suppliers and services. Medical students conduct screenings at community centers; small businesses are incubated on campus; schoolteachers receive professional-development training in their specialty areas.

Harkavy is emphatic that all of his service-learning initiatives must cultivate "activities that benefit the community." However, the narrative of revival or return to the true university, represented by the Netter Center and other groups like it at elite institutions, fails to grapple with the multifaceted history of what universities have always done in cities beyond their educational mandate. Think about Henry Taylor's simile of the watch and all the things we don't see. In fact, urban planning scholar Harley Etienne takes UPenn to task precisely because of the dual nature of its revitalization efforts. University administrators were using Harkavy's language of civic engagement to bolster its profiteering in the neighborhoods. Etienne argues that the Netter Center couldn't have predicted how "various university-based stakeholders would adopt, and in some cases, adapt those principles for their own purposes."[59]

Etienne uses interviews with university employees to support his observation that the Netter Center was "deployed" to provide moral cover for UPenn's real estate office. The center encourages the university to serve as a good neighbor. In the realm of land management, however, being a "good neighbor" meant creating an investment environment to bank land for future research labs that will make lifesaving discoveries, building upscale retail on Fortieth Street, and underwriting employee home-ownership programs. These efforts all seem to help stabilize a struggling neighborhood. But they also raise both shopping and housing costs above the means of low-income residents while catering to the needs of students, faculty, and their families. Who becomes "the community" for university community partnerships amid this upscaling of the neighborhood?

Harkavy has primarily focused on getting the university to see the legitimacy of civic engagement so that it continues supporting his broad vision of service learning. It's better to have a moderate voice at UPenn than no voice at all. Therefore, he sees being deployed as part of "acceptable compromises" to preserve the greater good. Harkavy concedes that not everything went his way. But he remains committed to the integrity of community service, which, for him, means the Netter Center had to stay separate from what went on in the real estate office: "There were things that may have happened in real estate that I am not on top of. Well, I can only do so much. But we are now part of the conversation with those entities."

Well-meaning civic engagement programs talked about campus neighborhoods as sites of democratic citizenship. At the same time, city leaders and universities discussed the same places as investment environments. Higher education has advertised to the world its skill set as a developer as much or more than its service as an educational resource. Amid growing interests in urban life, universities became a powerful axis point for parceling and repackaging "blighted" areas into "destinations," and not just for the students. Along with a tax-exempt status, local and state authorities infused higher education with additional capital and governmental authority to help manage the renewed attraction to city life. But when the "the campus" becomes a planning model for the rest of the city, it's less clear where long-term urban residents fit in.



As UPenn and even SUNY Buffalo display, city schools offer far more than just classes. Universities and municipal leaders broker land deals, manage

labor relations, provide health care, and dictate policing in the build-out of "university districts" that power the political economy of today's cities.

And in the last two decades, colleges and universities have witnessed an explosive rise in the salaries for a growing administrative class running divisions tasked with accelerating campus expansion. Whether it's the real estate department, the university foundation, campus security, the development office, or the office of technology transfer, beefed-up executive units have grown to outsized proportions. These noneducational divisions are responsible for creating "anchor strategies" that turn urban planning into a key pathway for higher education's growing influence over land, labor, and commercial development.[60] For example, today's schools often cultivate tech communities or innovation districts, which have become dominant models for both the economic development and physical planning of cities.[61] The formerly suburban industrial parks and research parks are now the centerpiece of urban revitalization. These are often tax-free zones, and it's here that academic research and corporate partnerships meet real estate and retail.

Real estate developers like Wexford: Science + Technology, a group with projects across the US, focus exclusively on what they call "knowledge communities." Urban neighborhoods are being transformed to optimize "value capture," the conversion of city blocks into tech profits. Local governments, developers, and universities reap economic rewards by dressing spaces of academic/industry collaboration within a mix of luxury housing, storefronts, classrooms, and laboratories. Wexford has built a monied portfolio of university-affiliated projects such as Philadelphia's UCity Square, Converge Miami, and Cortex in St. Louis. Here, students, researchers, and other contingent workers perform labors that can secure lucrative patents or product licenses for the school and the corporate sponsor, while drawing new residents and investors to the city. Universities have received millions in gross royalty revenue from products that began as research in their laboratories, including Gatorade at the University of Florida, the antiepilepsy drug Lyrica at Northwestern, and Google at Stanford.[62]

Before the Bayh-Dole act passed in 1980, the patents for any research sponsored by federal funding were placed in the public domain and remained freely available to the public. The rise of the "technology-transfer" movement pushed to commercialize academic research by making its

licensing available to the private sector. Seven universities created the Society of University Patent Administrators, a private lobbying group that advised lawmakers to craft a bill allowing schools and their researchers to obtain the intellectual property rights for scientific academic discoveries that came from federal grant money.[63]

After passing Bayh-Dole, research universities jumped at the chance to secure patent and licensing arrangements with corporate sponsors. Schools such as Stanford, MIT, and Yale immediately created technology-transfer offices as important mechanisms for privatizing and profiting from tax-exempt, sponsored research. For example, Arizona State (ASU) has nurtured a voracious appetite for capturing the profits that might come from commercializing academic research. And the university's SkySong Innovation facility is its mission-command center for monetizing research.

The primary goal at SkySong is to generate profits by connecting global business partners with ASU for a range of services from leasing office space and licensing research technology to providing student labor. I sat down with Todd Hardy and Julia Rosen when they both worked as executives at the center, in the affluent haven of Scottsdale, where SkySong is located. Even this location was a moneymaking venture for ASU. They told me Scottsdale bought the land in a struggling part of town and rented it to the ASU foundation for ninety-eight years at one dollar per year.[64] In exchange, the Scottsdale City Council and the university use office space for free; there is a fee for the mostly modest businesses that rent out units in the complex. SkySong is especially profitable for ASU to incubate student-run entrepreneurship ventures and spin out patents from faculty research, of which the university gets 60 percent.

SkySong is wide-ranging in the ways it attempts to profit from controlling the intellectual property of faculty and student research. The Edge Program aids "industry-sponsored research," where ASU faculty offer their expertise on applied research with existing companies such as Honeywell. On capstone projects, students work on ventures brought to the university by private industry. In exchange for their labors, students receive academic credit but must sign over their rights to the intellectual property.

Hardy and Rosen told me during our conversation these various arrangements have been quite lucrative for the university, especially through

partnerships in the battery-storage, security, and defense industries. Although ASU's intellectual property provisions may have changed in the years since, SkySong reveals the extent of the school's use of academic research (and researchers) to maximize financial profits. Even still, ASU's innovation center lags far behind other metropolitan hubs that have fully reorganized cities to best capture the profits that come from partnerships between higher education and private industry. For that story, consider Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh is in the middle of a renaissance. Local stakeholders are happy to tell the story of their new "Tech Town" rising from the ashes of the once-dominant Steel City. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, the mills became hulking gravestones to commemorate a formerly great industrial past. Forty percent of the city's residents fled the city. Pittsburgh seemed all but dead. But now an old Nabisco cookie factory has been repurposed with Google's colorful logo, and self-driving vehicle prototypes are seen on local highways as part of Pittsburgh's broader shift toward the high-tech world. The University of Pittsburgh Medical Center is the largest employer in the area. Yet people love to celebrate "Roboburgh"—despite how awkward it sounds—to remind the world that Pittsburgh is still the place where things get made.[65] It was in Pittsburgh where Richard Florida first worked out his thesis regarding the creative class. If a steel-addicted company town like Pittsburgh could rise above the fog of its own comeback delusions and forge a new economic path, any deindustrialized city could.

Carnegie Mellon is a beacon in the new Pittsburgh. Because CMU's School of Computer Science began "churning out" top young talent and pathbreaking research, tech companies such as Apple, Facebook, Google, and Uber all opened up offices in Pittsburgh. CMU Professor Luis von Ahn embodies what's possible when academic research meets an entrepreneurial spirit. This MacArthur "Genius" Award winner helped create the reCAPTCHA software to identify a human user online, as well as the language-learning platform Duolingo. The city got mentioned alongside Brooklyn and Portland as an urban hotspot for millennial creatives. Two decades ago, the unemployment rate was worse than in Detroit, but now Pittsburgh is being touted as one of the cities that can legitimately claim the title "Silicon Valley of the East."[66]

Yet Pittsburgh also foreshadows the pitfalls when higher education's profit motive takes such a dominant hand in rebuilding US cities. Pittsburgh reveals who got lost in the tech rush. And this UniverCity brings to light the dirty secrets of deep exploitation that underwrite prosperity in the new economy.

Steve was one of the millennials immediately drawn to this new Pittsburgh. In 2011 he was a PhD candidate in CMU's Electrical and Computer Engineering Department. Steve started working on the campus even before classes began. He specialized in high-end software engineering for the control systems on vehicles and other power networks. Steve received funding from Bombardier Transportation to work on self-driving vehicle research. It was clear that CMU recruited him to advance research that had potentially lucrative commercial applications.

The campus still buzzed with excitement because CMU had just settled a $750 million lawsuit for alleged patent infringement against Marvell Technology Group. A CMU professor and his graduate student had developed algorithms that allowed devices to sort through errors when retrieving digital data from increasingly smaller storage spaces. Marvell had made a fortune selling its products to data-storage giants like Seagate and Western Digital. Half of one of the largest patent infringements ever paid went to the inventors and the other half to the university.[67] This court settlement announced that CMU researchers were open for business and ready to license their research for technology innovations.

The lawsuit unfolded, and Steve knew that CMU had presented his expertise to Bombardier in the hopes that their graduate students could make more high-tech magic. After being immersed in the tech-transfer world, Steve saw the advantages for the industry sponsor and a potential windfall for the university. An industry sponsor such as General Motors or Bombardier makes gifts to CMU. Out of that fund the university buys equipment, pays the salary of the research principal investigator, and pays for the graduate fellowships of research students. Also, according to Steve, a huge chunk of money gets dumped into the murky category of "overhead" or "administrative costs" for the university. The industry sponsor benefits from getting important preliminary research from a deep talent pool of cheap and hardworking students while its financial contributions are a tax

write-off because the money is supporting education. Steve describes this arrangement as a "big-business transaction" under the cover of an educational partnership. He said for both the university and the industry sponsor, it's a "cheap way to make things happen." But what about the students?

Steve tells me that he could have gone directly to Bombardier with his bachelor's degree and earned about $60,000, and after a couple years of good research he could have earned up to $110,000: "But at CMU I am effectively a full-time researcher that gets $30,000 a year." Steve said it would be one thing if he worked twenty hours a week on graduate duties and twenty on sponsored research, but that is never the case: "In reality, a student works thirty hours a week on graduate stuff and thirty or forty hours a week on research stuff for their sponsor. And they still receive the same $30,000 stipend." Steve called these working conditions exploitative and explained that if he was producing graduate student research that might have a commercial application and could be sold, he would stop all development: "I am leaving."

He told me a story about a friend at CMU who was working on his own research while also a student. This friend worked up individual pieces of the research for different class projects, and then in his spare time he connected the dots. Right before the work became a cohesive product that could be sold, he left for California. Steve makes clear that this kind of clandestine work is extremely dangerous. Students can get kicked out of school or, worse, blacklisted within the high-tech community. But he also believes that students lose when they fail to see the school and industry sponsors as their adversaries.

Steve pointed out that it had been only five years since graduate students received maternity leave and could apply for a stipend continuation. In the past, if a woman gave birth and lost research time, she didn't officially get a break for that and would still be expected to complete her degree in the same number of years.[68] Steve disclosed that life is just as bad for international students. They come to CMU because the name is so prestigious, but if they find conditions to be unfair, they can't protest or leave and create a start-up in California. International students have to work for the university that arranged their visa: "They are starting off in a tremendous position

of weakness." Steve understands that it is a huge privilege to study at an elite institution like CMU. But the university and its industry sponsors hide behind the category of education and apprenticeship to exploit extremely talented student workers: "This is the city of unions, and one of the big demographics in Pittsburgh, as far as labor goes, is graduate students. And there is no union." The profound exploitation of student labor is a critical warning sign about what can happen when profit-driven higher education propels economic development in our cities.



A discussion of labor in the knowledge economy can be terrifying and also revealing. But a focus on graduate employees or faculty exploitation can blind us to the vast and varied ivory tower workforce that powers not just American higher education but our cities more broadly. Many of the residents who struggle to maintain their lives in the campus neighborhoods that become knowledge communities are also shunted into the low-wage sectors of the ivory tower labor force. Baltimore follows the patterns of so many deindustrialized cities, with growing enclaves of returning white wealth dotted among waves of Black and brown poverty. In the middle sits Johns Hopkins University as the largest private employer in a Baltimore economy that ranks among the worst in the nation for its poverty rate, median annual income, and job loss.

Kiva Robbins worked as an environmental services employee at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins Hospital, toiling away daily, cleaning rooms and mopping floors. By 2014, she had been there for twelve years but lost her apartment when rent kept rising, yet her salary wouldn't budge past $12.20 an hour. Kiva already relied on food stamps and other forms of public assistance just to scrape together a life for her and her two sons. Even with a full-time job, she ended up sharing a tiny apartment with a relative.[69] To make matters worse, Hopkins had just rejected health-care workers' demands for a $14 minimum wage. The hospital pointed to economic instability for its hesitance to raise wages. But a year earlier the CEO of the Johns Hopkins Health System Corporation earned a salary of $1.7 million.[70] All across the country, former manufacturing centers are now dominated by "meds and

eds." In Baltimore, like cities from Pittsburgh to Los Angeles, universities and their medical schools are the largest employers in the area. But this doesn't mean well-paying jobs with good benefits.

Usually, faculty, researchers, and administrators come to mind when we think about workers in today's knowledge economy. But knowledge-economy labor is in fact dominated by lower-wage workers like Kiva. It is the nurse's aides, custodians, clerical and security staff, and maintenance workers who largely keep colleges and universities running. And with such an outsized economic influence, higher education sets the nonprofessional wage ceiling for most cities in America. If Johns Hopkins offered Kiva a living wage—perhaps out of its reported $145 million operating surplus—other employers would have to be just as competitive to recruit and keep their workers in Baltimore.[71] Unfortunately, the gap is only widening between university endowments and administrative payouts on one hand and employee wages and health benefits on the other.

Just in terms of salary, most nonprofessional jobs in the "meds and eds" market pay below $50,000 annually in cities where it costs much more to live, especially with a family. At the same time, the salary doesn't even account for the range of ways that higher education maintains the gap between living and surviving for its most-marginalized workers. Most low-wage workers have to find another job in the summer, when campus operations are significantly scaled back. Seasonal downsizing can drastically affect the health benefits for workers and their families. Higher education labor is also increasingly outsourced to corporate subcontractors such as Aramark or Wolf.[72] Therefore, workers may receive lower wages or might be excluded from housing subsidies they would otherwise receive if directly employed by the university.

But university workers have begun to unionize, engage in work stoppages, and join community-based coalitions like New Haven Rising in order to rethink the terms of urban revitalization in their increasingly expensive cities. Harvard's food service workers went on strike in October 2016 to protest low wages and rising health-care costs at the same time that the university wielded a $38 billion endowment to continue rapid campus growth into the Allston Brighton neighborhood across the Charles River.

The food service workers won a new contract that includes summer pay while halting increased employee co-pays for health insurance.[73]

The new economy is firmly rooted in cities like Pittsburgh. But part of this success story evades the fact that good-paying union jobs that once existed there will not come back, at least not in the same form. The industrial working class has not been invited to the knowledge and high-tech boom party. At the same time, residents are struggling to hold on in university districts now overrun by pressed-juice bars, custom bike shops, and tech office buildings.[74] We are left wondering how these knowledge economies can attract talented new workers that will help revitalize our cities without pushing low-income residents out of the revitalized parts of urban America. The answers lie with deep and hard investigations into specific urban experiences where higher education takes control.

The history of higher education's role in cities has meant that more and more people are part of a university's ecosystem: people like Kiva, whose work foretells the labor conditions for us all. Or Brian, whose struggles for fair and adequate medical service at Yale could have threatened his career. Or Steve, who says he won't fully benefit from the work he put in on Carnegie Mellon's profitable scientific discoveries. Or, most urgently, people like Stephanie, whose very lives are at risk in the name of policing urban growth. Higher education sits at the center of our cities and their future. And it's the communities living in the shadows of these ivory towers, it's *their* stories, that must guide us on the path moving forward.

Duke University Press, 2019); Michelle Chen, "The Labor Abuse That Went into NYU's Abu Dhabi Campus," *Nation*, July 26, 2018.

28. As part of the larger scholarship, see, for example, Jeffrey Selingo, *College (Un)bound: The Future of Higher Education and What It Means for Students* (Seattle: Amazon, 2015); Goldie Blumenstyk, *American Higher Education in Crisis? What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford, 2014); Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Mark Bousquet, *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* (New York: NYU Press, 2008); Henry Giroux, *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2007); Jennifer Washburn, *University Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); Derek Bok, *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

29. LaDale Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Universities and Metropolitan Development in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Harley Etienne, *Pushing Back the Gates: Neighborhood Perspectives on University-Driven Revitalization in West Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012); Haar, *The City as Campus*; Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2005); John Gilderbloom and R. L. Mullins, *Promise and Betrayal: Universities and the Battle for Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005). See also "Town Meets Gown: Special Issue," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (February 2011); Brown et al., "The Rise of Anchor Institutions."

30. Florida, *Rise of the Creative Class*, 166.

31. Richard Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities Are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class—and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Basic Books, 2017). Even during the Great Recession, urban leaders across the country rushed to pay Florida's consulting firm Catalytix up to $250,000 for a "tactics and action plan" hoping to transform their cities. For a recent example of Florida continuing to capitalize on the "creative city" model, see Nancy Dahlberg, "Can Miami Rise from Being a Service Economy? There's Hope in the Numbers," *Miami Herald*, March 8, 2017. Critiques of Florida came fast and hard from the very beginning. See Susie Cagle, "Fallacy of the Creative Class: Why Richard Florida's 'Urban Renaissance' Won't Save U.S. Cities," *Grist*, February 11, 2013; Alec MacGillis, "The Ruse of the Creative Class," *American Prospect*, December 18, 2009; Murray Whyte, "Why Richard Florida's Honeymoon Is Over," *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2009.

32. Richard Florida, "The Extraordinary Value of Great Universities," *CityLab*, December 15, 2011.

Chapter 1: When Universities Swallow Cities

1. Markeshia Ricks, "Tax Yale Effort Revived," *New Haven Independent*, March 16, 2016; Martha Kessler, "Yale Property Tax Bill Dies in Connecticut," *Bloomberg*, May 6, 2016. See also Daphne A. Kenyon and Adam H. Langley, *Payments in Lieu of Taxes: Balancing Municipal and Nonprofit Interests* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2010).

2. Ricks, "Tax Yale Effort Revived"; Elaine Povich, "Short on Cash, Cities and States Consider Taxing Nonprofits," *Pew Charitable Trusts/Research & Analysis/Stateline*, October 4, 2016; Ellen Wexler, "Yale Fights Tax Bill," *Inside Higher Ed*, May 3, 2016.

3. Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *The Knowledge Economy* (London: Verso, 2019); Slaughter and Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy*.

4. Ricks, "Tax Yale Effort Revived"; Gordon Lafer, "Land and Labor in the Post-industrial University Town: Remaking Social Geography," *Political Geography* 22 (2003); Michelle Liu, "Yale Properties Remain Under Tax Scrutiny," *Yale Daily News*, April 5, 2016. One of the earliest meditations on the cold war university and what management consultant Peter Drucker coined the "knowledge industry" comes from Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 87-88.

5. "Who Pays?" *Yale Daily News*, February 21, 2014; Ed Stannard, "Yale's Tax-Exempt New Haven Property Worth $2.5 billion," *New Haven Register*, September 1, 2014.

6. J. Brian Charles, "For College Towns, Having a World-Famous University Is a Mixed Blessing," *Governing*, October 2018; Lafer, "Land and Labor in the Post-industrial University Town."

7. Jennifer Klein, "New Haven Rising," *Dissent*, Winter 2015; Michelle Chen, "When the Biggest Employer Isn't Employing the Town," *Nation*, February 5, 2016.

8. Camilla Brandfield-Harvey, "Gourmet Heaven to Close Both New Haven Locations," *Brown Daily Herald*, September 5, 2014; Elliot Lewis, "Wage War," *Yale Herald*, March 8, 2019; "Ex-owner of Gourmet Heaven in New Haven Has Multiple Wage Violations Dismissed," *New Haven Register*, December 7, 2016.

9. Thomas Breen, "Yale Unions Celebrate Jobs Pact," *New Haven Independent*, August 12, 2019; Henry Reichard, "The Jobs Yale Promised," *New Journal*, May 1, 2019; Christopher Peak, "Yale Slammed on Local Hiring Promise," *New Haven Independent*, February 22, 2019.

10. Ed Stannard, "Yale Grad Sues over Forced Withdrawal from School," *New Haven Register*, November 16, 2018.

11. Miriam Heyman, "The Ruderman White Paper on Mental Health in the Ivy League," *Ruderman Family Foundation*, December 2018; Jonathan Foiles, "Are Colleges Failing Students with Mental Illness?" *Psychology Today Australia*, January 28, 2019.

12. Andrew Giambrone, "When Mentally Ill Students Feel Alone," *Atlantic*, March 2, 2018; Esmé Weijun Wang, "Yale Will Not Save You," *Sewanee Review* (Winter 2019).

13. Eric Levenson, "Yale Police Shooting: Body Camera Footage Shows Moments Police Opened Fire," *CNN.com*, April 24, 2019; Bhvishya Patel and Matthew Wright, "Moment Cops Open Fire on Unarmed Black Couple Near Yale Campus as They Sat in Car Singing," *Daily Mail*, April 22, 2019; Sharon Otterman, "Police Shoot at a Black Couple Near Yale, Prompting a Week of Protests," *New York Times*, April 24, 2019.

14. Clare Dignan, "Hamden Fights Court Order That Halted Hearing for Officer Who Shot Woman," *CTInsider*, June 30, 2020; Sam Gurwitt, "Court Stalls Cop's Termination," *New Haven Independent*, December 6, 2019; Meera Shoaib, "Yale Concludes Pollock Review," *Yale Daily News*, December 26, 2019.

15. Nicholas Rondinone and Josh Kovner, "Protests Continue as New Haven Community Demands Swift Investigation of Police Shooting Involving Hamden, Yale Officers," *Hartford Courant*, April 18, 2019; Black Students for Disarmament at Yale, "Urgent Call to Disarm Yale Police Department," *Down*, April 20, 2019; Erik Ortiz, "Police Shooting

Near Yale Exposes Complex Racial Divide," *NBCnews.com*, April 24, 2019; Serena Lin, "Community Protests Officer-Involved Shooting," *Yale Daily News*, May 16, 2020. See also T. J. Grayson, "A Police Shooting at Yale Shows How Campus Police Have Fostered a Climate of Fear," *Slate*, April 29, 2019; Harry Zehner, "It's Time for Accountability and Disarmament at Yale," *Daily Campus*, April 24, 2019.

16. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); Caine Jordan, Guy Emerson Mount, and Kai Parker, "'A Disgrace to All Slaveholders': The University of Chicago's Founding Ties to Slavery and the Path to Reparations," *Journal of African American History* 103, nos. 1–2 (Winter/Spring 2018); John Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

17. John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Roger Williams, *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land-Grant College Movement* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991).

18. Sharon Stein, "A Colonial History of Higher Education Present: Rethinking Land-Grant Institutions Through Processes of Accumulation and Relations of Conquest," *Critical Studies in Education*, December 2017, 4; Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone, "Land Grab Universities," *High Country News*, March 30, 2020. See also Sharon Stein, "Confronting the Racial-Colonial Foundations of U.S. Higher Education," *Journal for the Study of Postsecondary and Tertiary Education* 3 (2018).

19. John Wennersten, "The Travail of Black Land-Grant Schools in the South, 1890-1917," *Agricultural History Society* 65, no. 2 (Spring 1991); Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1978).

20. Carol Severino, "Greenery vs. Concrete and Walls vs. Doors: Images and Metaphors Affecting an Urban Mission," *Metropolitan Universities* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1995); Peter Knapp, *Trinity College in the Twentieth Century: A History* (Hartford, CT: Trustees of Trinity College, 2000). See also Thomas Bender, *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

21. Glen Weaver, *The History of Trinity College*, vol. 1 (Hartford, CT: Trinity College Press, 1967).

22. Weaver, *The History of Trinity College*.

23. Robin Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 53-57. The "Old University of Chicago" was located on land donated from Stephen Douglas's slave plantation wealth in what became the Black neighborhood of Bronzeville until the school faced a mortgage foreclosure in 1886. See John Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

24. Bachin, *Building the South Side*.

25. Susan Campbell, *Frog Hollow: Stories of an American Neighborhood* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018); Xiangming Chen and Nick Bacon, *Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).

26. Knapp, *Trinity College in the Twentieth Century*.

27. "A Supplement to the Catalogue of Trinity College, for the Year 1918-1919," *Trinity College Bulletin, 1918-1919 Necrology*; Knapp, *Trinity College in the Twentieth Century*.

28. "Building Ghettoes," *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1937. On the Great Migration, see James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). On the "Chicago School," see Davarian L. Baldwin, "Chicago's 'Concentric Zones': Thinking Through the Material History of an Iconic Map," in *Many Voices, One Nation: Material Culture Reflections on Race and Migration in the United States of America*, ed. Margaret Salazar-Porzio and Joan Fragaszy Troyano (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press); Baldwin, "Black Belts and Ivory Towers: The Place of Race in US Social Thought," *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 2 (2004).

29. Web Behrens, "Raisin on the Run," *Time Out Chicago*, September 21-September 27, 2006; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 182-187.

30. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 148.

31. "The South East Chicago Commission," *Hyde Park Herald*, July 21, 2004. See also Muriel Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years: A History to Date* (Chicago: 1965), 10-13; Bruce Sagan, "The Major Story of the Last 50 Years: Urban Renewal," *Hyde Park Herald*, July 21, 2004; Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

32. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 144.

33. See LaDale Winling, "Students and the Second Ghetto: Federal Legislation, Urban Politics, and Campus Planning at the University of Chicago," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (2011). On commercial rezoning, see Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years*, 19-21; Bruce Sagan, "Harper Court: It Takes Determination and $100 Bonds," *Hyde Park Herald*, July 24, 2004.

34. See Brentin Mock, "The Meaning of Blight," *CityLab*, February 16, 2017; Wendell Pritchett, "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Use of Eminent Domain," *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21, no. 1 (2003); Yale Rabin, "Expulsive Zoning: The Inequitable Legacy of Euclid," in *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep*, ed. Claire Smrekar and Ellen Goldring (Chicago: Planners, 1989).

35. See Christopher Loss, *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). This concept is also discussed in Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower*, 5.

36. Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Rebecca Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Stuart Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military Industrial Complex at MIT and Stanford* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

37. "Defense Contracts Subvert University Services," *Stanford Daily*, January 31, 1968.

38. Arnold Hirsch, "'Containment' on the Home Front: Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War," *Journal of Urban History* 26, no. 2 (January 2000).

39. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower*, 82-90.

40. J. Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University and the Future of Our Cities* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); Kenneth Ashworth, "Urban Renewal and the University: A Tool for Campus Expansion and Neighborhood Improvement," *Journal of Higher Education* 35, no. 9 (1964); David Boroff, "The Case for the Asphalt Campus," *New York Times*

65. Jonathan Wander, "Cool Tech in Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh*, January 25, 2011; Glenn Thrush, "The Robots That Saved Pittsburgh," *Politico*, February 4, 2014.

66. Steven Kurutz, "Pittsburgh Gets a Tech Makeover," *New York Times*, July 22, 2017; Thrush, "The Robots That Saved Pittsburgh"; Edward Helmore, "Pittsburgh's Thriving Tech Sector Brings New Life to Post-industrial City," *Guardian*, October 8, 2016.

67. Noah Brode, "CMU Settles Patent Lawsuit for $750M, to Be Shared with Inventors," *WESA.fm*, February 18, 2016; Mike Masnick, "Patent Trolling Carnegie Mellon Wins What Could Be Largest Patent Verdict Ever: $1.2 Billion," *Techdirt*, December 27, 2012.

68. Carnegie Mellon University, *Student Maternity Accommodation Protocol and Resources*, September 2015.

69. Shawn Gude and Rachel M. Cohen, "Baltimore Since Beth Steel: Hopkins Hospital Workers Fight for 15," *Dissent*, June 26, 2014.

70. Michael Sandler, "CEO Pay Soars at Top Not-for-Profits," *Modern Healthcare*, August 8, 2015.

71. Sandler, "CEO Pay Soars."

72. Jess Walsh, "Living Wage Campaigns Storm the Ivory Tower: Low Wage Workers on Campus," *New Labor Forum* 6 (Spring–Summer, 2000); Daphne T. Greenwood, *The Decision to Contract Out: Understanding the Full Economic and Social Impacts* (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs: Colorado Center for Policy Studies, 2014).

73. Danielle Douglas-Gabriel, "Harvard Dining Hall Workers End Strike," *Washington Post*, October 26, 2016; Luke O'Neil, "Harvard's Striking Workers Have a Secret Weapon," *Slate*, October 18, 2016; Brandon J. Dixon and Hannah Natanson, "Harvard Dining Services Picket in Historic Strike," *Harvard Crimson*, October 6, 2016. On Harvard's expansion, see Kyle Paoletta, "Is Harvard Destroying Allston or Saving It?" *Boston*, September 9, 2019; Hakeem Angulu, "How Harvard's Expansion Affects the Communities Around It," *Medium*, September 7, 2018; Michael Ryan, "Painting the Town Crimson," *Boston Globe*, October 24, 2004.

74. Max Graham, "Planning Commission Conditionally Approves Developments at Bakery Square," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 12, 2018; Todd Bishop, "University of Pittsburgh Chancellor on Amazon, Growth and the Tension over the City's Nonprofits," *GeekWire*, February 7, 2018.

Chapter 2: Rural College in a Capital City

1. Jim Barr, "Car Chase Ends in Crash on Vernon," *Trinity Tripod*, April 19, 1994.

2. Barr, "Car Chase Ends in Crash."

3. Mike McIntire, "By Altering Traffic, City Aims to Combat Street Crime," *Hartford Courant*, August 10, 1994.

4. McIntire, "By Altering Traffic."

5. McIntire.

6. Letter to the Editor, "Closed Street—Closed Minds," *Trinity Tripod*, September 20, 1994, quoted in Hunter Drews, "In the Shadows 'Neath the Elms': Mapping the Racial and Spatial Dynamics of Trinity College" (B.A. thesis, Trinity College, 2016); Caroline Maguire, "City Votes to Close Vernon St.," *Trinity Tripod*, September 13, 1994.

7. "C.A. Doxiadis to Theorize on City Plans," *Trinity Tripod*, March 1, 1966.

8. "Doxiadis Stresses Man, Not Form in City Plans," *Trinity Tripod*, March 8, 1966; "Doxiadis Sees Entopia Centered Around Man," *Trinity Tripod*, March 15, 1966.

9. *The Trinity Community: Feasibility Studies for Area Improvement Prepared for Trinity College, the Hartford Hospital, and the Institute of Living* (Hartford, CT: Doxiadis Associates, March 1967).

10. Administrators argued that the property purchases were not efforts to expand the campus but to fill out the "natural limits of the campus." But the notion of natural limits was never clearly defined. "Administration Denies Charges of Expansion," *Trinity Tripod*, October 3, 1969.

11. Campbell, *Frog Hollow*.

12. Stacy Metzler, "Trinity Aids in Revitalization of Hartford," *Trinity Tripod*, September 6, 1994.

13. *25th Anniversary Annual Report* (Hartford, CT: Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance, 2003); Melvyn Colon, "SINA—An Enduring Multi-anchor Partnership in Hartford," *Journal on Anchor Institutions and Communities* 1 (2016).

14. Art Feltman, *Tax Exemption of Private Colleges and Hospitals: A Hartford Case Study* (University of Connecticut School of Law, 1986); Robert Frahm, "Study Fuels Criticism of Trinity College," *Hartford Courant*, May 9, 1987; "Misreading Trinity's Mission," *Hartford Courant*, May 13, 1987. On Backer, see also Marie Shanahan, "Longtime Hartford Community Activist Retiring," *MetroHartford*, September 4, 1995; Ivan Backer, *My Train to Freedom* (New York: Skyhorse, 2016).

15. Katherine Farrish, "Trinity Forges Ties in Frog Hollow," *Hartford Courant*, August 29, 1994; Andrew Crawford, "In Your Backyard," *University Business Journal*, June 2001.

16. Steve Metcalf, "Raising Hackles in Academe," *Hartford Courant*, December 8, 1996.

17. Metcalf, "Raising Hackles in Academe."

18. Stacy Metzler, "Student/Hartford Resident Comments on Community," *Trinity Tripod*, September 13, 1994.

19. "Tito Puente to Star in Free Concert at Trinity," *Hartford Courant*, August 30, 1996.

20. Mike Swift and Rick Green, "A Grand Vision for Frog Hollow," *Hartford Courant*, January 14, 1996; "No Pie-in-the-Sky Fantasy," *Hartford Courant*, April 29, 1996.

21. Evan S. Dobelle, "A Bold Plan to Rescue a City Neighborhood," *Hartford Courant*, January 21, 1996; "Trinity Neighborhood Initiative to Create Community of Learning," *Trinity Reporter*, February 1996.

22. Swift and Green, "A Grand Vision for Frog Hollow"; "Boys and Girls Club Dedication Signals Momentum for Neighborhood Initiative," *Trinity Reporter*, Spring–Summer, 1998); Michael Kuczkowski, "Changing the Face of Frog Hollow," *Hartford Advocate*, March 20, 1997; Jane Gross, "Trinity College Leads Effort to Create Hartford Renewal," *New York Times*, April 4, 1997.

23. Farrish, "Trinity Forges Ties in Frog Hollow"; Gross, "Trinity College Leads Effort to Create Hartford Renewal." See also "Make the Undesirable Desirable," *Hartford Courant*, April 30, 1996.

24. Kuczkowski, "Changing the Face of Frog Hollow"; Swift and Green, "A Grand Vision for Frog Hollow."

25. Jack Dougherty, Jesse Wanzer, and Christina Ramsay, "*Sheff v. O'Neill*: Weak Desegregation Remedies and Strong Disincentives in Connecticut, 1996-2008," in *From the Courtroom to the Classroom: The Shifting Landscape of School Desegregation*, ed. Claire Smrekar and Ellen Goldring (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2009).

"Insightful, compelling, and timely. *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower* unveils a widely neglected aspect of American history: the role of higher education in shaping American cities. This book lays the groundwork for the role of universities in creating equitable and just cities."

—Ibram X. Kendi, National Book Award–winning author of *Stamped from the Beginning* and *How to Be an Antiracist*

"Classes with professors and students are now a minor side business on college and university campuses with the economic and political power to reshape cities. One of the nation's foremost urban historians, Davarian Baldwin reveals how these institutions have acquired massive financial and real estate holdings and leveraged them to displace vulnerable communities, control public access to essential services, define progress, and, even, command their own police forces. This brilliant study shows that higher education continues to thrive off the injustices that plague our society."

—Craig Steven Wilder, author of *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*

DAVARIAN L. BALDWIN

IN THE SHADOW OF THE IVORY TOWER

HOW UNIVERSITIES ARE PLUNDERING OUR CITIES

BOLD TYPE BOOKS
New York

Copyright © 2021 by Davarian L. Baldwin

Cover design by Pete Garceau
Cover image copyright © Shutterstock
Cover copyright © 2021 by Hachette Book Group, Inc.

Hachette Book Group supports the right to free expression and the value of copyright. The purpose of copyright is to encourage writers and artists to produce the creative works that enrich our culture.

The scanning, uploading, and distribution of this book without permission is a theft of the author's intellectual property. If you would like permission to use material from the book (other than for review purposes), please contact permissions@hbgusa.com. Thank you for your support of the author's rights.

Bold Type Books
116 East 16th Street, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003
www.boldtypebooks.org
@BoldTypeBooks

Printed in the United States of America

First Edition: March 2021

Published by Bold Type Books, an imprint of Perseus Books, LLC, a subsidiary of Hachette Book Group, Inc. Bold Type Books is a co-publishing venture of the Type Media Center and Perseus Books.

The Hachette Speakers Bureau provides a wide range of authors for speaking events. To find out more, go to www.hachettespeakersbureau.com or call (866) 376-6591.

The publisher is not responsible for websites (or their content) that are not owned by the publisher.

Print book interior design by Amy Quinn.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Baldwin, Davarian L., author.
Title: In the shadow of the ivory tower : how universities are plundering our cities / Davarian L. Baldwin.
Description: First edition. | New York, NY : Bold Type Books, [2021] | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020045203 | ISBN 9781568588926 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781568588919 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Community and college—United States. | Universities and colleges—United States—Economic aspects. | Universities and colleges—United States—Social aspects. | Education, Higher—United States—Economic aspects. | Community development, Urban—United States.
Classification: LCC LC238 .B35 2021 | DDC 378.1/03—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020045203

ISBNs: 978-1-56858-892-6 (hardcover), 978-1-56858-891-9 (e-book)

LSC-C

Printing 1, 2021

For Nylan, Noah, Ellison, and Bridgette
Always reminding me it's the grace of life, not the pace of life