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Urban Universities on Contested Terrain: Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion

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Urban Universities on Contested Terrain:

Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Education

by

Lauren Ashley Mariano Ilano

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Urban Universities on Contested Terrain:

Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion

by

Lauren Ashley Mariano Ilano

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Walter R. Allen, Chair

The ascendance of the global knowledge economy has led many research universities to heighten their focus on attracting stellar applicants, luring super-star faculty, and attaining world-class status, leaving many unanswered questions about how university efforts are affecting local communities. Universities are expanding their geographic footprint to create new research facilities and accommodate increasing enrollment. These expansion efforts can damage their public reputations, as adjacent communities feel disenfranchised and immobilized by a powerful institution. This dissertation analyzes the East Baltimore redevelopment project (EBDI) neighboring Johns Hopkins Medical campus to illuminate how academic capitalism shapes university-community relations in the new economy. I argue universities driven by an academic capitalist impetus to expand and gentrify local communities—uprooting residents from their homes for the sake of improved facilities to accommodate students, faculty, and donors.

Critical race counterstories give voice to predominantly Black university-adjacent neighborhood residents, who are literally at the margins of Hopkins and the larger system of White Supremacy. Qualitative interviews and document analysis confirmed that Middle East neighborhood residents did not see themselves reflected in the lifestyle amenities prioritized by the redevelopment plan. Residents expressed a lack of accountability from the "corporate" university and its complicity with the municipal government to disenfranchise undesirable communities (read: Communities of Color).

Geo-statistical analyses of economic indicators from the US Census were used to test for gentrification. A spatio-temporal difference-in-differences approach explored how median income, educational attainment rates, and racial demographics were affected by expansion for census tracts within one-mile of the university, compared to similar census tracts across Baltimore. Spatial Regression models confirmed that post-expansion, areas in the EBDI footprint experienced changes in median income, rent, and percent White population beyond the rate of change elsewhere in Baltimore. University-driven redevelopment in East Baltimore clearly contributed to gentrification.

This study highlights tensions to be reconciled as White, elite, urban universities encroach upon poor communities of color, e.g., global ambition and local impact, marketization and the public good, and questions of race and class. Rather than a simple redevelopment process in an economically distressed community, the EBDI project illuminated complex legacies of racial segregation, exploitation by Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes, forced decay through land-banking and vacancies, and historical governmental failures to redevelop the Middle East neighborhood. These combined processes of racial subordination inform and are perpetuated by EBDI expansion.

The dissertation of Lauren Ashley Mariano Ilano is approved.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBA	Community Benefits Agreement
EBDI	East Baltimore Development, Inc.
EBHL	East Baltimore Historical Library
EBMC	Empower Baltimore Management Corporation
HEBCAC	Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
JHMI	Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes
JHU	Johns Hopkins University
LNYW	Live Near Your Work
SMEAC	Save Middle East Action Coalition
UMB	University of Maryland, Baltimore

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Just beyond the healing gardens in the center of the newly renovated Johns Hopkins hospital are the makeshift atriums of half-demolished houses—greenery beginning to grow in the absence of a roof. A far cry from the $1.8 Billion-dollar redevelopment project in the Middle East neighborhood introduced in 2001, the 900-block of North Bradford Street is the site of some of the 17,000 row houses slated for demolition in the backyard of one of the most prestigious research universities in the United States. The sharp lines and colorful glass mosaic adorning the new hospital draw the eyes upward, over the jagged edges of decrepit houses slated for demolition. This study seeks to understand the origins of this jangling discord—the contradictory sights and sites of racial capitalism—by centering the role of Johns Hopkins University expansion in amplifying the dispossession of the Black community in Middle East Baltimore.

The stark disparities between the Johns Hopkins University Medical Institutes East Baltimore campus and its surrounding neighborhood are rooted in histories of economic underdevelopment and legacies of racial violence and mistreatment. As recent as 2010, it was discovered that doctors from the Johns Hopkins hospital took the cervical cancer cells of Henrietta Lacks for use in future research without her knowledge or consent (Skloot, 2010). Reflecting on the demolition slated to occur in East Baltimore and the illegal use of Henrietta Lacks' cells, Baltimore resident Mike Saunders assessed, "They just do to African Americans in East Baltimore whatever they want to, always have" (qtd. in Hendrix, 2017b).

Saunders' resigned attitude about the treatment of community members by the university directly contrasts with their stated commitment to the neighborhood "based on the simple truth that the health and well-being of the university is inextricably tied to the physical, social, and economic well-being of [Baltimore]" ("Hopkins in the Community," n.d.). Saunders' comments

cannot be understood outside the context of the racial tensions in Baltimore that have flared since the 2015 death of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old African American man who died while in Baltimore police custody. Protests erupted around Baltimore, renewing conversations about racial and economic disparities in Johns Hopkins' backyard. In the midst of reinvigorating the economically depressed East Baltimore neighborhood through community investment, Ron Daniels, President of Johns Hopkins, has admitted that the civic unrest "force[d] a redoubling of effort around how we thought about our engagement with the city" (Morgan, 2017). It is clear to Daniels that universities engaged in community projects should consider racial enmity and economic disparities. However, building trust in communities where residents see the university as an adversary seems like a Sisyphean task. Furthermore, large expansion projects can breed animosity by accentuating racial and economic inequality.

Johns Hopkins is not alone in its billion-dollar renovation initiatives. Large-scale university expansion projects of stadiums, hospitals, student housing are taking place across the United States in Kansas City, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Seattle, Los Angeles and other major metropolitan areas (Herstik, 2017; Mitchell, 2018; Quinton, 2018; Reuter, 2018; Tucker, 2017). In all of these urban areas, the disparities in university-adjacent neighborhoods have become palpable—harkening back to the notion of two Americas (Kerner Report). As Martin Luther King Jr. stated in a 1968 speech:

> Every city in our country has this kind of dualism, this schizophrenia, split at so many parts and so every city ends up being two cities rather than one.

This duality is clearly seen in the expansion of universities and ultimately, a greater understanding of the university, as an actor within urban areas, is gravely needed. The case of Baltimore demonstrates the theme at issue in this dissertation: how university expansion is informed by and perpetuates legacies of racial and economic inequality.

During a moment when economic policies are further marginalizing the working-class poor within urban areas, the public good mission of the university seems more crucial than ever. Unfortunately, the same force undergirding the staggering economic inequality in our country, neoliberalism, is also changing the mission and behavior of universities. In particular, expansion efforts are becoming more popular as universities seek to expand their applicant pool, recruit faculty, and enhance their amenities for their "consumers." Within this new economic and political context, this dissertation seeks to explore how the relationship between the university and its neighbors is changing. How do community members make sense of university expansion? More importantly, how are university activities changing the urban dynamics of their neighborhoods?

A commitment to local communities has more traditionally been associated with public institutions, but as Johns Hopkins demonstrates, private universities are becoming more invested and engaged (Daniels, 2016). The development of organizational units solely dedicated to community relations within universities has solidified this turn. While universities may have good intentions in terms of promoting positive economic outcomes through expansion initiatives or community partnerships, a lack of mutuality may undermine such initiatives. By mutuality, I refer to the community service ideal in which community actors play a significant role in defining social problems and developing appropriate strategies to address them in conjunction with university agents (Rhoads, 1997, p. 128).

The rest of this chapter provides contextual information about academic and social transformations facing higher education, the shifting nature of values central to universities, and the role of trust in higher education. Together, these shifts help explain the current context in which contemporary university-community partnerships have emerged. By exploring how

university actors engage and respond to community concerns and the organizational and neighborhood characteristics that influence community reception, this study hopes to aid urban university leadership to more successfully navigate community relations, particularly in the context of expansion.

Neoliberalism and the Shifting University

According to Dr. King, the creation of two Americas, or two university-adjacent neighborhoods in this dissertation, is rooted in an economic problem with vast racial consequences. The other America is wrought by challenges at the intersection of race and class—and to King (1968), the most critical problem in the other America is an economic problem. Given that the university does not exist within a vacuum, the political economic context that has contributed to urban inequality (discussed in more depth in Chapter 3) has also diffused into the university's moral fibers. In the United States, the social safety net has been systematically eradicated over the past 40 years because of conservative economic policy shifts under the umbrella of what critics term "neoliberalism" (Brown, 2006; Fraser, 1993; Giroux, 2005; Lipman, 2011). At the heart of neoliberalism is the replacement of social equality in favor of economic growth. The famous countenance that "a rising tide lifts all boats" captures the sentiment of its proponents nicely, but unfortunately, many economic analyses have proven that neoliberal policies have served only to line the pockets of the wealthy and increase inequality.

The logic undergirding governmental financial disinvestment in social services was largely cemented in the political culture under Ronald Reagan and George Bush Sr. wherein supplemental need was framed as un-deserved dependence arising from a pathological inability to be productive citizens (Fraser, 1993). This continued under Clinton, whose 1996 Welfare Reform Bill reduced welfare recipients from 12.6 million in 1996 to 4.6 million in 2012

(Ehrenfreund, 2016). Within higher education, the economic cuts have been more indirect, often occurring through state cuts to public higher education, but the impacts have been just as severe to the students and citizenry. Tierney (2012) explains:

> Tuition also has risen dramatically; the reason being is twofold. On the one hand, one need not be an economist to recognize that when fiscal support in one area drops… then the organization needs to generate revenue in another area, such as tuition. On the other hand, the sense that the collective as defined by state support should provide all of the necessary funds for individuals to attend college has come into disfavor. Once again, the idea of the public good has come into question. (Loc[1] 2%)

As education is increasingly seen as an individual benefit, the allocation of costs has followed suit (Johnstone, 2006). Higher education was once seen as predominantly a public good (Pusser, 2006), but its role is changing. For the purposes of this project, I understand neoliberalism not only as a dominant economic ideological paradigm but also as a cultural phenomenon. Beyond steering economic policy, it has augmented our cultural understandings by forcing a redoubling of how we conceptualize the public sphere and our relation to it (Giroux, 2002; Hursh, 2009). For higher education, this has meant that some of the core values have shifted as the agenda for higher education and other public sectors have been privatized. As Lipman (2011) states, "U.S. education policy has always juggled tensions between labor market preparation and democratic citizenship, but the neoliberal turn makes a sharp shift to 'human capital development' as the primary goal" (p. 14).

Neoliberalism undergirds the complex changes at issue in this dissertation, within both the community and the university. At the community level, neoliberalism has caused increasing inequality among the urban working class and state divestment from social services. At the level of the university, neoliberalism has led to an economized university wherein expansion becomes necessary to meet demand. Within urban communities of color that are already under financial

1 Loc refers to the location in an e-book.

strain, universities are experiencing their own struggle over neoliberalism: negotiating economic growth in terms of expansion while maintaining a public good mission.

The Enduring Significance of Race

The operations of capitalism cannot be analytically isolated from race. A rich tradition of political theory has shown the intertwined history between racism and capitalism. In *Black Reconstruction*, DuBois (1935), breaking from Marxist orthodoxy, argued that there were two proletariats, one White and the other Black slaves. The expansion of the entire democratic system of capitalism in the United States, according to Marable (1983):

> occurred not in spite of the exclusion of Blacks, but because of the brutal exploitation of Blacks as workers and consumers. Blacks have never been equal partners in the American Social Contract, because the system exists not to develop, but to underdevelop Black people. (p. 2)

To understand Marable is to understand that the other America of which MLK spoke was part of the state's investment in White supremacy. According to Lipsitz (2006), economic benefits have been unequally distributed along racial lines, to the advantage of White people:

> [Whiteness] accounts for advantages that come to individuals through profits made from housing secured in discriminatory markets, through unequal educational opportunities available to children of different races, through insider networks that channel employment opportunities to the relatives and friends of those who have profited most from present and past racial discrimination, and especially through intergenerational transfers of inherited wealth that pass on the spoils of discrimination to succeeding generations. (2006, p. vii)

The resulting economic gulf between Black and White people, referred to as a colorline by DuBois (1903), has determined each group's life chances. In an age of neoliberalism, race continues to be what Goldberg (2009) calls a "key structuring technology" of the late modern capital state formation. Disinvested urban areas of concentrated poverty continue to be disproportionately non-White due to histories of redlining and racially restrictive covenants

(Solorzano & Velez, 2015). Signs of what Wacquant (2008) refers to as advanced marginality—abandoned lots and crumbling infrastructure—have become part and parcel of the racial geography of opportunity.

However, claims that we now live in a colorblind society (especially after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968) tends to obscure the structural and historical roots of persistent racial inequality and the operations of capital that reproduce contemporary racial disparities (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Lipman, 2011). Under neoliberal logic, race becomes an antiquated concept—proponents of the free market and neoliberalism argue that racism can be transcended if we stop thinking about race. According to Davis (2012):

> The path toward the complete elimination of racism is represented in the neoliberalist discourse of "color-blindness" and the assertion that equality can only be achieved when the law, as well as individual subjects, become blind to race. This approach, however, fails to apprehend the material and ideological work that race continues to do. (p. 165)

Historical policies that prevented people of color from building wealth through enslavement, racially restrictive covenants in property ownership, employment restrictions, Jim Crow, and more have compounded racial disparities. While a few people of color may have enjoyed increased access to education and employment in the years since the Civil Rights Movement, “the vast majority bore the brunt of deindustrialization, cuts in social welfare, attacks on unions and intense policing” (Lipman, 2011, p. 13). As wealth and income inequality continue to grow under neoliberalism, people of color continue to be the most vulnerable.

The reduction in governmental aid to the working class and the eradication of the social safety net under neoliberalism is one example of the racism undergirding supposedly neutral economic policies. Social welfare programs were widely supported from the New Deal until 1968 when according to Glaude (2016), “the face of poverty turned Black and welfare became a

problem of government dependence" (p. 43). Indeed, mass media and news outlets did associate African Americans with undeserving poor (Gilens, 2003). Glaude's assertion is supported by an economic study conducted by Harvard economists that showed through a global comparative analysis of welfare systems that racial difference is a key reason why welfare is impaired in the United States (Alesina, Glaeser, & Sacerdote 2001).

The deadly combination of race and neoliberalism is evident in government handling of the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The slow and inefficient roll out of aid is a prime example of how neoliberal policy has excused the state of caring for its citizens, especially when those citizens are Black (Giroux, 2006). After Katrina, Tulane, a private and majority-White university, was able to reopen within a year. In contrast, majority-Black schools such as Dillard, Xavier, and Southern opened "considerably later and under much reduced conditions" (Goldberg, 2004, Loc. 1318).

As we continue to think about the urban university's role in its immediate neighborhood, race must be a central facet of the analysis. The contestations of neoliberalism in the university's neighborhood will undoubtedly impact the urban underclass, a majority of whom—due to racist legacies of exclusion and underdevelopment—are people of color.

Changing Values at the University

State and federal funding cuts to higher education, combined with ever-increasing enrollments, have forced public research institutions to diversify their income sources (Tierney, 2006). Accordingly, universities have become increasingly entrepreneurial as noted by the institutionalization of offices dedicated to chasing revenue, prioritizing fundraising, and engaging in strategic decision-making. The shift towards more marketized decision-making has been characterized by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) as "academic capitalism." As they argue,

academic capitalism "moves beyond thinking of the student as consumer to considering the institution as marketer" (p. 1). The theory of academic capitalism is novel because it frames the university not as a passive victim of a changing economy, but as an active player. In fact, many institutional behaviors seem to transform the university as the lines between the market and the ivory tower are blurred.

Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) argument was groundbreaking in many respects: it provides a cogent argument about the role of the university as an institutional actor and highlights the interplay between the environment and the university. However, as many have argued, the utility of business organizational models to predict resource allocation and spending is quite difficult to apply in the university context. While universities at their core are economic organizations that exist within the same market as for-profit firms, they differ significantly. As non-profit institutions, they are bound by a mandate to contribute to the public good and thus their resource allocation decisions are not a straightforward drive to amass profit and expand profit-generating activities. Massy (1981), an economist, has argued that instead of profit, universities seek to maximize "subjective value," which incorporates the multifaceted goals of higher education. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) acknowledge the tension between marketization and social responsibility by introducing what they call the public good knowledge regime that exists alongside academic capitalism. However, as their focus is on the neoliberal university's revenue-generating behaviors, they do not outline how the public good regime has changed in the current political and economic context. While they argue that the ascendance of academic capitalism knowledge/learning regime reduces "distinctive involvement in local communities" (p. 329), they also suggest that "rather than simply seeking to maximize external revenue generation, academic capitalism could seek to enhance the social benefits of intellectual property

and educational services" (p. 336). One aim of this study is to clarify universities' role in their local communities in an age of academic capitalism by exploring the environmental processes that undergird and guide academic capitalist organizational behavior.

Among capitalist firms in the business realm, pressures levied by activist stakeholders regarding ethical business practices have been acknowledged and considered under the banner of "corporate social responsibility." The notion that capitalism can be made more humane by considering the ethical implications of business practice to workers (and even animals) has become increasingly popular, leading many corporate firms to engage in non-revenue generating charitable activities. This line of research points to the role of external accountability in forcing firms to adopt ethical practice, in spite of their profit-driven mission. As a non-profit social institution, higher education has always been required to provide services for the public good; however, the form of this service has changed over time. Historically, the focus has been on providing the state with research to boost the economy and education for the citizens and future workers. Yet with recent downturns in the economy and the increasing view of higher education as an academic capitalist entity with huge endowments that rival some corporations, people want to see institutions do more. The role of external stakeholders, namely neighborhood residents, in levying pressure on the university should be explored.

The Public Good amid Privatization

While the demands on the university have continued to grow since the 1990s, the expectation that universities continue to serve the public good persists. Today, all universities receiving federal financial aid funds, including private institutions, are being called to be more transparent, demonstrate their value, and ensure their students are equipped with labor market skills (Zumeta, 2011). While a public good mission has always been a requirement of the non-

profit status conferred to most universities, calls for public accountability have increased over the past 20 years. The increasing marketization of higher education services and operations has translated into the way outcomes are measured and the way students are viewed—increasingly as consumers (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Despite the additional market pressures, universities still adhere to a democratizing mission of service. According to Kezar (2004) "traditionally, higher education's . . . contribution to the public good has included educating citizens for democratic engagement, supporting local and regional communities, advancing knowledge through research, and broadening access to ensure a diverse democracy" (p. 430). Moreover, the university as a public sphere of dialogue and community exchange has been a fundamental aspect of its public mission in order to foster the establishment of shared civic values and democratic participation (Giroux, 2002; Guttmann, 1999; Pusser, 2006; Rhoads, 1997). Given the role the university has amassed as an institution promoting a strong civil society and public sphere, "community engagement is seen as an ideal mechanism for addressing the negative social impacts of neoliberal economic policies" (Dempsey, 2010, p. 361). Indeed, university expansion efforts have often been championed as urban revitalization projects (Rodin, 2007).

While it could be argued that these institutionally-initiated redevelopment endeavors address a void left by the retrenchment of social services and satisfy calls for increasing public accountability of influential universities, few studies have examined the latent effects of these efforts. In particular, it is unclear whether expansion represents an academic capitalist mutation of public good efforts of universities to contribute to society and their local neighborhoods

While many higher education scholars have pointed to universities' revenue-generating activities and cost-saving measures, few have explored what is happening to non-revenue generating activities. Within the context of neoliberalism, the advents of revenue generation and

public good activities are not necessarily detached. To meet the demands of an increasingly consumerist student body, urban universities are engaged in large scale building projects to provide more housing, recreation centers, retail options, and student service buildings. The expansion of the university physical plants harkens back to the notion of neoliberalism as "accumulation by dispossession" as elite urban universities encroach on affordable real estate. Unfortunately, low-income communities in urban areas are already feeling the strain of fewer affordable housing options, less welfare support, and wages that have remained stagnant in the face of inflation. In cities with elite universities, the growth imperative facilitated by academic capitalism to attract students, private donations, and star researchers has led to enormous visible disparities. Describing the neighborhood revitalization efforts of the University of Pennsylvania in West Philadelphia, former President Rodin (2007) states:

> The reality for urban universities whose infrastructures root them in densely populated areas, has been that growth could be achieved only through encroachment on, and often destruction of, surrounding neighborhoods. Yet, for urban institutions to thrive, room to grow remains a critical issue. (p. 24)

Encroachment on vulnerable neighborhoods to expand a university's physical plant diverges from a commitment to social responsibility and has led to growing pains. In the case of Penn's expansion into a historically Black community in Philadelphia, Rodin (2007) shows concern for residents' well-being, but believes that revitalization efforts will ultimately benefit them. Not all higher education scholars hold Rodin's view: Ziegler (1995) argues that teaching and research should be the primary expectations of the university and urban issues should be avoided given their complex nature. Despite the lack of consensus among scholars about the normative role of higher education within society, administrators continue to place high import on community relations as evidenced by the allocation of funding for university-community partnership offices.

The University and Public Trust

A growing body of literature suggests that higher education institutions have failed to meet the public service aspects of their mission, thereby leading to decreased levels of public trust (Kezar et al., 2005; Newfield, 2008). As they are increasingly forced to take out loans to finance their education, students find it hard to reconcile their debt with growing endowments at elite public and private research universities and billion-dollar expansion and building projects. Furthermore, outside the walls of some of the wealthiest institutions are the most economically vulnerable communities. For example, between 2000 and 2015, Yale's endowment has doubled, growing from $10 Billion to more than $25 Billion (Yale Endowment Report, 2015). At the same time, the number of residents in New Haven who were in poverty or struggling (as measured by their Census poverty ratio) grew from 49 percent in 2000 to 53 percent in 2015 (Census, 2015).

The scant literature about trust within higher education has often been closely tied to the public good (Tierney, 2006). In a seminal book on trust and higher education, Tierney examined trust at two analytical levels: (a) among institutional actors within the university, and (b) the extent to which the public trusted local higher education institutions. Internal trust among institutional actors was found to support the efficient operation of decision-making in highly uncertain environments, while the external trust of the local community was necessary to ensure material and future support for the university. Public trust encompasses the levels of confidence that colleges and universities will faithfully undertake their institutional mission as well as their social responsibility as non-profit institutions. The importance of public trust cannot be understated. Trow (1996) argues that trust is "the basis of the very large measure of autonomy of colleges and universities anywhere which are able to raise substantial sums of private money" (p.

311). In the United States, the elevated level of autonomy that universities enjoy is largely due to a general sense of trust in universities.

The extent to which universities engender public trust is a source of debate. In an essay about the scrutiny faced by U.S. research universities in the mid-1990s, Prewitt (1993) argues that public confidence has not actually been in decline because student applications are increasing, private donations have continued, and the economy hasn't collapsed from a lack of human capital. In his analysis, Prewitt (1993) fails to consider that public confidence might differ on the basis of social proximity to the institution. For those in privileged social locations, the confidence in higher education makes plenty of sense as it has traditionally guaranteed success. However, for neighborhood residents who cannot afford to make sizeable donations or send their children to elite institutions, levels of public trust may look markedly different. Johnson and Peifer's (2017) analysis of public opinion data affirms this perspective: public confidence in higher education varies by social context. In fact, they found that when compared to White respondents, Black respondents had significantly lower rates of confidence in higher education. The objective of Johnson and Peifer's study was to delve deeper into studies of public trust and confidence in higher education that did not account for different social contexts. Their dependent variable, confidence in higher education, was based on participant scores (ranging from 1=not at all to 3=a great deal) on the following question from the Religious Understanding of Science Survey: "As far as the people running [colleges and universities], how much confidence do you have?" The use of leadership assessments to determine confidence is difficult in higher education, however, as many outsiders do not have intimate knowledge about university administrators. Furthermore, Johnson and Piefer's study exposes a crucial distinction between studies of trust and public confidence: the public perception of university leadership maneuvers

does not necessarily include a personalized assessment about whose interests the university has in mind when developing policies. Public trust encompasses a dimension of university responsiveness to local needs and concerns rather than a simple assessment of university-interested efficacy practices. The public may have confidence in higher education institutions so long as they continue to implement fair admissions practices and provide quality education, but a sense of public trust—whether the university acts in accordance with local interests—seems to entail a stricter level of scrutiny. Despite its limitations, Johnson and Peifer's study opens the door to more questions about the role of social context in determining public perceptions of universities.

The Present Study

Through an analysis of the Middle East neighborhood of Baltimore's experience with Johns Hopkin's expansion, this dissertation seeks to explore the intersection of race, community relationships, and university expansion as part of a larger aim to understand public trust in higher education. While higher education scholars have been attuned to university shifts in light of neoliberalism toward marketization, resource allocation, and physical plant expansion, what is less clear is the function of the public good regime and more importantly, the impact university expansion has on neighboring communities. Furthermore, the role of racial politics in academic capitalist trends can illuminate in greater relief the operations and impact of neoliberalism on the most vulnerable communities. The purpose of using race as a guiding framework in an analysis of the neoliberal urban university is twofold: communities of color in urban areas are disproportionately harmed under neoliberalism, and given that community efforts undertaken by urban universities often explicitly state their mission to serve minoritized and disenfranchised

communities through urban redevelopment, an analysis of these practices is not complete without an understanding of the racial dynamics at play.

The specific questions this study hopes to answer are as follows:

1. How do external stakeholders (e.g., community members) perceive the influence of Johns Hopkins, a large, selective, historically White research institution, on East Baltimore?
    a. What university and/or neighborhood characteristics influence how external stakeholders perceive community partnerships and expansion?

2. To what extent does university expansion contribute to gentrification in university-adjacent neighborhoods compared to economically and racially similar geographic areas within Baltimore?

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The contradictory effects of neoliberalism are evident in the relationship between university expansion and urban revitalization. On the one hand, renewal efforts seek to repair the consequences of inequality on the most vulnerable communities; but on the other hand, universities are acting in accordance with the growth imperative of capitalism to improve facilities, create more room for research laboratories, and lure more students and faculty. These contemporaneous progressions raise several important questions about the role of universities in their surrounding communities: How do community members reconcile and make meaning of the role of the university in their neighborhood? What is the impact of these contradictory undertakings (expansion and renewal) on university-adjacent communities?

An attempt to understand neoliberalism's effect on local university behaviors without foregrounding race would be woefully incomplete. As I will show in the following literature review, attempts to understand the operations of power within university-community relations have often missed an opportunity to examine the role of racialized dynamics between service recipients (in this case, urban community members in a disinvested community) and university actors.

The Role of the University in the Community

A cursory review of the service literature in higher education suggests a marked departure from the isolated, ivory tower metaphor sometimes levied by critics (Bok, 1982; Kerr, 2001). The normative role of the university in the community, however, has changed markedly over the course of history of higher education in the United States. The public good mission now commonly associated with higher education institutions has not always been a given. The threat of academic capitalism is that the public good mission might recede. The *American Behavioral*

Scientist featured a two-part special issue series in 1999–2000 focused on how universities could respond to community concerns become leaders in troubled times (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Several academic journals are also dedicated to research on civic engagement, service learning and university community partnerships; among them are: *Journal of Community Engagement and Higher Education, Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship, Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement, and Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning*.

Defining the university's service mission is difficult because of the varying circumstances in which service manifests: Confusion arises when departmental service, service to the academic discipline, service to the local community, and service to romantic notions of democracy are conflated (Barker, 2004). To address this confusion, some have relied on the term "third mission" to refer to the public good mission of service to society, instead of academic or departmental service (Roper & Hirth, 2005). According to Fernandez-Esquinas and Pinto (2014), "research on the university's so called 'third mission' is sharply divided between a stream focused on social and civic uses and another addressing business innovation" (p. 1462). The latter stream focuses on innovation, entrepreneurship, technology transfer, and industry development to examine the economic and policy context. This became especially relevant after the passage of the Bayh-Dole Act in the 1980s, which allowed universities to maintain intellectual property rights to inventions using federal monies (O'Mara, 2012; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The former body of literature, and the main form of interest to this dissertation, is comprised of university efforts at social recovery and uplift through social programs (Bender, 1988; Rodin, 2007) or real estate development (Perry & Weiwal, 2007).

Central to the current literature on the university is the notion that the university constitutes a public sphere of dialogue and community exchange to foster the establishment of

common civic values and democratic participation (Giroux, 2002; Guttman, 1999; Pusser, 2005; Rhoads, 1997). A majority of these studies focus on developing civic responsibility among students in higher education (Sax, 2000). Habitually taken for granted, though, is that this perspective of the university as a civil society organization is not ingrained in its history. In the following section, I provide an overview of the shifting views of community relations and some of the literature on university-community engagement. Understanding how university commitment to local communities arose will provide historical context for contemporary understandings of university-community relations and the attending shifts under academic capitalism. In providing a genealogy of university's community engagement mission in the US, this section attempts to demonstrate that the notion that universities *should* be engaged (and *how* they should be engaged) as part of a larger public good mission was an ideological evolution, largely influenced by contemporary social and economic factors.

Like A Good Neighbor . . .?

The early universities of the nineteenth century were antisocial neighbors—in fact, if they had an opportunity to move far away, they did. When a city began forming around Columbia University in 1857, it packed up its ivory tower and left. The burgeoning city disrupted the idyllic setting in which young scholars should be brought up—the "collegiate ideal" had no time for the moral decay characteristic of the cities (Mayfield, 2001; Rudolph, 1962). The term *campus*, Latin for "field," was used first to describe Princeton, founded in 1746 as the College of New Jersey, a desirable alternative to "urban" schools such as Yale (Haar, 2011). The separation between "town" and "gown" was driven by a sense of elitism and fear of outside influence on scholarly endeavors, which originated in the medieval European colleges (Mayfield, 2001). "The Anglo American tradition of anti-urbanism" (Bender, 1988, p. 3) continued into the colonies as

early American leaders such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison regarded the city as a threat to the development of the nation (Diner, 2017). University leaders followed suit.

The Land Grant Institution and the Birth of the Third Mission

Although the ideal colonial university was secluded, federal legislation in the 1860s began to shift the relationship between the university and its external environment—specifically the state. Many refer to the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 as the moment when the university's service mission was born in the United States (Boyer, 1990; Roper & Hirth, 2005). The legislation and subsequent revisions provided funding for public higher education intended to provide agricultural, technical, and liberal arts training to non-elites. The Morrill Land Grant Act established and solidified the mission of public service in American universities by funding the development of a nation-wide system of land grant colleges (Boyer, 1990; Thomson & Lamble, 2000). Although the land grant universities refer to a select few public higher education institutions that received federal funds, the legacy of service has since permeated all higher education institutions in the United States. The American service model was further legitimated by the passage of Smith Lever Act in 1914, which "gave permanent funding for the cooperative agricultural extension through the land-grant colleges for the purpose of distributing results of research to the public" (Roper & Hirth, 2005, p. 6).

The development of the land grant system afforded a college education to non-elite children of farmers and established a "practical" agricultural curriculum that departed from the classical curriculum designed for the elites at the colonial colleges (Cohen & Kisker, 2009). Influenced by the agricultural needs of the United States in the nineteenth century, Congressman

Morrill's land grant act opened the doors of higher education to working-class Whites[2] and encouraged the development of a practical curriculum intended to improve the technical skills in US agriculture (Duemer, 2007).

The University and the Urban Crisis

The land grant universities were mainly sequestered away from the urban areas in rural agricultural settings.[3] However, the scope of university concern and obligation narrowed during the urban crisis that arose during the 1960s and 1970s. In the decades following WWII, cities faced drastic changes: deindustrialization left many working-class people unemployed (Chen, Orum & Paulsen, 2012) and middle-class Whites fled to the suburbs. Ironically, this occurred precisely at a time when urban areas were facing increased poverty, violence and crime, and universities were thriving (O'Mara, 2012). To combat the dire economic situation just outside their campuses, urban university leaders and administrators came together to consider how to mitigate the crisis and re-evaluate their role as urban neighbors (O'Mara, 2012). In 1965, the American Council on Education (ACE) sponsored a conference at Wayne State where the President of the Ford Foundation gave a speech arguing that universities should function as "early warning systems" for impending trouble in cities and in society (Diner, 2017). Furthermore, in 1967 several conferences on the need for a stronger university role in urban areas were held at Boston University, Northern Illinois University and the University of California, San Francisco (Diner, 2017).

In 1973, as part of its Office of Urban Affairs, the American Council on Education conducted a survey of over 500 universities about the role of urban involvement as a university

[2] It was not until the passage of the second Morrill Act in 1890 that Black students were allowed to attend land grant institutions. See Duemer (2007).

[3] The University of Minnesota was the only land grant institution to be built in an urban area. See Diner (2017).

function. Seventy percent of respondents said that urban involvement should constitute a major function of university activity; however only 31 percent responded that they were presently engaged in urban activity (Diner, 2017, p. 69). Administrators were increasingly acknowledging the importance of university involvement in local affairs, but they still had reservations about the process. Some faculty were worried that focusing on the city would distract from the core mission of teaching and research (Diner, 2017). Further, drawing on their positivist view, they saw community research and involvement as a potential source of bias.

The Scholarship of Engagement

The delicate balance between the university and society re-emerged in the 1990s as the battle between university autonomy and public accountability. In *Scholarship of Engagement*, Ernest Boyer (1990) called for a renewed emphasis on community engagement in direct response to social and economic crises occurring beyond university campuses. Boyer's movement for engagement gained so much popularity that in 1999, Presidents from over 50 universities expressed their commitment in the Presidents' Fourth of July Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education (Wood, 2003).

The notion that public land grant institutions had abandoned their original mission concerned many university leaders, prompting the Kellogg Commission to draft several reports about the future of land grant institutions in the mid-1990s. In one such report, the Kellogg Commission urged land grant institutions to "breathe new life into their historic mission by going beyond extension to engagement" (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 10). At the same time, Ernest Boyer's (1990) influential Scholarship Reconsidered, overturned many ideas about effective scholarship, challenging administrators and faculty to reevaluate reward systems to more adequately capture what Boyer considered to be the important aspects of undergraduate

education. A 2005 study by the Committee on Engagement of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC), culminated in a report, "Resource Guide and Recommendations for Defining and Benchmarking Engagement." The definition of community engagement provided by the report was: "The publicly engaged institution is fully committed to direct, two-way interaction with communities and other external constituencies through the development, exchange and application of knowledge, information and expertise for mutual benefit" (qtd. in Roper, 2005, p. 13). As Peters (2003) and others point out, the notion that engagement is a mutually beneficial practice safeguards the advancement of both academic and civic interests. The main goal of these partnerships, then, is to expand "the learning and discovery functions of the academic institution while also enhancing community capacity" (Peters, 2003, p. 184).

The Politics of University-Community Engagement

Several benefits arising from university–community partnerships have been identified—mainly from the university's perspective. From the institutional perspective, partnerships fulfill the moral and ethical obligation of the university to its community (Bok, 1982; Boyer, 1990), allow for more effective use of resources (Hastad & Tymeson, 1997; Letven et al., 2001), and increase publicity for higher education institutions (Buys & Bursnall, 2007). Furthermore, community partnerships bolster the teaching mission of the university by improving the quality of teaching and learning (Astin & Sax, 1998; Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000; Davis, 1996; Landry & Amara, 1998). Participation is associated with several positive student outcomes as well including higher academic performance, enhanced leadership, improved self-efficacy, and desires to pursue a service-related career after college (Astin et al., 2000).

This is not to suggest that service-learning scholars have been blind to the community perspective, but that the empirical literature on community perspectives is comparatively bare. As Rhoads (1998) suggests in his discussion of mutuality in university–community relationships,

> too often we are guilty of determining the needs of those to be served with little to no involvement on their part. For community service to be most effective for the development of caring citizens, then, the planning of such activities ought to include those to be served in an equal and empowering manner. (p. 292)

Ferman and Hill's (2004) confirm this perspective about the lack of mutuality in a qualitative study of community leaders engaged with urban university–community partnership initiatives. They found that several tensions arose from mismatched incentives: "academics driven by professional needs to publish might use community-provided access to individuals without enough regard for their points of view" (p. 248). In studies of community perspectives on student volunteers, some community partners felt disappointed by student commitment and generally unaware of student requirements (Vernon & Foster, 2002a; Vernon & Ward, 1999). Despite those frustrations, the Vernon and Ward (1999) found that community partners that they interviewed had "overwhelmingly positive perceptions of campuses in their area" (p. 8). As their findings suggest, the empirical literature on the community perspectives of university involvement is mixed and further research is needed to better understand what community and university factors may contribute to different community perspectives.

Some empirical studies highlight the contradictory interests at play in university community partnerships that unfortunately undermine their success. As noted by Cobb and Rubin (2006), "participants expressed very different conceptions of success, and combined with participants' lack of concrete identification with a unifying or overriding goal, these variations posed problems for [the university community partnership]" (p. 96). Maurrasse (2002) echoes that sentiment noting that "many are beginning to realize that institutions of higher education are

beginning to gain more mileage out of community partnerships than are communities" (p. 134). The notion that universities gain at the expense of vulnerable neighboring communities is reminiscent of the research exploitation experienced by communities of color and poor communities referenced in Chapter 1. According to Strier (2014), resentment and mistrust are likely outcomes of power imbalance in university community partnerships, despite any good intentions.

When university community partnerships are studied, they are most often praised because they enhance the university's reputation, give university participants a sense of accomplishment, and serve as an expression higher education's democratic values (Dempsey, 2010; Munck, 2010). While studying successes may be illuminating, more critical scholarship is needed to understand any unintended implications of these partnerships since they are often located in the most vulnerable communities. There is a lack of critical scholarship that unpacks the effects of partnerships with the underlying power dynamics in mind (Clifford & Petrescu, 2012). It is well known among scholars of institutional expansion that the benefits of neighborhood revitalization programs are not "uniformly distributed across all income classes of neighborhood residents" (Ahlbrant & Brophy, 1975, p. 23). Within analyses of university–community partnerships, the focus has mostly been on the social capital differential between university-based actors and community members (Clifford & Petrescu, 2012). In a self-critique of a university community partnership aimed to reduce violence in K–12 schools, Davies, Edwards, Gannon, and Laws (2007) admit to overlooking the different expectations in academic deliverables (e.g., research papers) and school-based practitioner professional development.

The literature that acknowledges how underlying power dynamics in partnerships may detract from the mutual benefits has identified several areas where trust between the university

and the community is undermined. For example, in Harlem, community mistrust and wariness of Columbia University continued long after the protests in 1968 (Hirokawa & Salkin, 2010). However, by not acknowledging the significance of race in building trust relationships, an accurate and holistic understanding of how to improve trust between university and community partners is not possible. Given that these partnerships seek to remedy pressing urban problems, most often faced by people of color, understanding how race operates in the dynamics can point to more effective and equitable practices.

Although more studies are now looking to the power imbalances inherent in university community partnerships, these studies tend to approach dominance and oppression from a colorblind lens. Unfortunately, university efforts in low-income and communities of color have not always been received well (Jackson, 2014). While the University of Pennsylvania subsidized staff housing, developed the commercial neighborhood and increased spending by $90 million over 20 years, they displaced many residents in the predominantly Black neighborhood of West Philadelphia. The redevelopment efforts by the University of Pennsylvania have been lauded by higher education scholars (Harkavy, 2005; Rodin, 2007), but lamented by community members who have labeled the partnerships as a form of gentrification or "Penntrification" (Webb, 2013). The accusation that university community partnerships are contributing to gentrification is a serious one, given that gentrification refers to a process of neighborhood change where vulnerable residents are displaced to make room for capitalist growth. Jackson (2014), writing about the revitalization of the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, argues that suburbanization of urban areas to cater to university "guests" ultimately disrupts the existing neighborhood culture. Although Hyde Park residents are about 40 percent Black and 40 percent White, Jackson (2014) argues that the changes represent a shift toward White middle-class values. While

university efforts to revitalize urban neighborhoods often have noble intentions, they can have unintended consequences for communities of color.

Universities, Institutional Trust, and Racialized Trust Gaps

Histories of exploitation and discrimination have led to disparities in trust held in public institutions, including universities, along racial lines. This section will provide an overview of the literature on racialized "trust gaps" in public institutions and the antecedents of this incongruity. An example of the University of Pennsylvania will demonstrate how university expansion initiatives harm institutional trust in universities due to colorblind expansion initiatives that disproportionately harmed Black communities. Furthermore, an example of Columbia University will illustrate how racialized trust gaps persist over time and have a lasting impact on university-community relations.

At the heart of the relationship between university expansion and university community partnerships is the notion of trust. The literature on trust is vast and covers a wide array of relationships including interpersonal trust and social or institutional trust. In both instances, trust refers to the expectation held by individuals that the word, statement or promise of another can be relied on (Rotter, 1980). Institutional trust differs slightly in that holding trust in an institution is not necessarily reliant on an oral or written promise, but a hypothetical feeling about the degree to which individuals feel that the institution is honest, will uphold its stated mission, and has their interests in mind. For example, institutional trust in the police refers to the degree to which community members feel the police are honest and care about the well-being of the community that they are tasked to protect and serve (Tyler, 2001). Unfortunately, with police, communities of color hold significantly lower levels of trust (Tyler, 2005; Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty, 2008) due to concerns about racial profiling (Cole, 1999; Lundman &

Kaufman, 2003) and the disproportionate impact of force and charges filed against people of color (Stuntz, 1999; Weitzer, 2002).

Histories of discriminatory treatment in several social institutions have also resulted in a "trust gap," wherein people of color have less trust than their White counterparts (Smith, 2010; Uslaner, 2002). In a study of medical providers and insurance, Boulware and colleagues (2003) found that Black respondents were significantly more likely to be concerned about their personal privacy in hospitals. Given histories of abuse perpetrated against Black research subjects, feelings of distrust are easy to rationalize. However, a lack of trust poses a problem because as Boulware and colleagues (2003) emphasize, it determines the extent to which patients seek out healthcare and may contribute somewhat to the racial disparities in health outcomes. A recent study on middle school students found that punishment experience with authority figures as early as in 7th grade may lead youth to form a mental representation of the institution (education) as biased against them (Yeager et al., 2017). In turn, this could lead to a feedback loop wherein adolescents are less likely to comply with school policies that "leads to a self-reinforcing cycle of punishment by authorities and further loss of trust by minority students" (Yeager et al., 2017, p. 1).

As the above examples have demonstrated, even in non-profit social institutions, which are intended to serve all people regardless of racial identity, trust gaps occur. The problem with lower levels of trust is a reluctance to seek out the services from these social institutions. To be clear, highlighting the trust gap is in no way intended to blame people of color for not taking advantage of the few social resources that are left. But in the case of higher education, expansion and community relations, diminished trust may even reduce the effectiveness of programs and resources that are intended to provided much-needed support to communities. If expansion

projects infringe on local communities and cause them to lose trust in the higher education institution in their neighborhood, they may become wary of seeking out services from the programs intended to rebuild community relations after expansion initiatives.

In *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and Into the Streets*, former University of Pennsylvania President Judith Rodin chronicled Penn's history in West Philadelphia—before and during her tenure from 1994-2004. Like many retrospective accounts of university community relations by former presidents, Rodin (2007) focuses on the benefits of her West Philadelphia Initiative on housing, transportation, and safety. But, unlike other retrospectives, she takes an opportunity to outline mistakes made by her predecessors in their attempt to revitalize University City, formerly the Black working-class community known as Black Bottom. According to Rodin, "the community was decimated" during the 1960s period of urban renewal spearheaded by Penn (Rodin, 2007, p. 23). She goes on to state that:

> The history of the growth and expansion of Penn, and indeed most urban universities, is rife with the kind of aggressive bulldozing that destroyed much of the Black Bottom area in the name of progress (Rodin, 2007, p. 23)

Much of the growth that led to the development of University City in the Black Bottom Neighborhood began after the confluence of multiple events: soaring enrollment resulting from the GI Bill after WWII, a rise in research grants and funding (Geiger, 1993), monies made available by the Federal Housing Act of 1954, and Penn's close ties to the City Planning Commission—one of Penn's trustees was committee chair (Rodin, 2007, p. 30). Using its connections and clout in the city, the university "began using redevelopment legislation to clear pockets near campus for current and future development" (Rodin, 2007, p. 34). One such area was 20 blocks of the Black Bottom neighborhood. This displacement caused an uproar from the residents who lost their homes and a cadre of students concerned about the university's

aggressive behavior. The student newspaper, the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, called this "The Quiet War" between the university and the residents, with many students empathizing with the residents. To some graduate students, "urban renewal [meant] Negro removal" and felt that the university was unjustly subjecting its neighbors to eminent domain abuse (Rodin, 2007, p. 35).

According to Rodin (2007), Penn attempted to mend its relationship in 1992 by creating the Center for Community Partnerships, but:

> there were still deep resentments in the community toward the university despite several inroads at relationship building. Many residents felt ignored, disempowered, and in some cases harmed by an institution and powerful presence that they had come to distrust and fear. Penn's growth and expansion had effectively created a university island rather than an energetic, viable university city. (p. 42)

The experience of Penn and its missteps was not an isolated incident or fluke. Similar tensions arose at Fordham University, Wayne State University, Loyola University in Baltimore, and famously at Columbia University (Diner, 2017). At the University of Illinois, Chicago (UIC), university community partnerships were jeopardized after university expansion into a former outdoor market led to the displacement of Black and Latino vendors (Ferman & Hill, 2004). To the community, the UIC expansion was part of a longer pattern of real estate encroachment on communities of color. The example of Penn and UIC demonstrates how legacies of racial insensitivity and colorblindness within university expansion efforts have sown distrust among community members.

The case of Columbia further demonstrates how racialized distrust reoccurs between urban universities and their neighbors. The Columbia student protests of 1968 were motivated by the university's complicity in designing and lending research expertise to the war in Vietnam, but also the proposed development of a gym with two entrances: one in Morningside Heights for students and a separate door in Harlem for community residents (McFadden, 2008). Columbia

eventually agreed to nix the gym, but racial tensions between Harlem residents and Columbia have resurfaced in recent years.

Issues of trust caused by expansion around Columbia continue to this day as the university continues its expansion into West Harlem—which it now refers to as "Manhattanville." Beginning in the early 2000s, Columbia has been endeavoring to expand its physical location into West Harlem, to the dismay of residents. Columbia's expansion efforts are considered by many community activists to be especially egregious given the historical significance of Harlem to Black communities in New York. Due to the lack of trust in the institution, community residents pressured The Office of Community Affairs at Columbia into signing a Community Benefits Agreement (CBA). In the CBA, signed and approved in 2009 to assuage protests, Columbia promised to provide services in kind to community residents. A CBA implies a great deal about the trust and faith that residents have for an institution. By forcing a CBA, West Harlem residents signaled that they felt they lacked the leverage to hold a university accountable and must thus rely on legal documentation to ensure recourse. Essentially, the university's word that it will contribute to the local community following an expansion effort is no longer enough. Even 40 years later, community members referenced Columbia's failed efforts to build a segregated gym in their opposition to Manhattanville. As the case of Columbia demonstrates, distrust lingers.

Understanding how community members view local universities in their neighborhood will be theoretically informed by the proposition that public trust in institutions is motivated by histories and legacies of discrimination and the degree to which community members feel universities care about the well-being of their communities. The following chapter will elaborate on the theoretical assumptions guiding this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RACE, PLACE, AND UNIVERSITY EXPANSION IN THE NEW URBAN CRISIS

The meaning of place is socially constructed by actors who assign value based on history, use, and personal memory (Chen et al., 2012). A tourist, for example, has a distinct experience and relationship to place when compared to a lifelong resident. A key aspect of understanding this negotiation is knowing how each group perceives their claim to space and views their role. For example, whether the university (or rather, the administrators in charge of university decision-making) views itself as a community member with a sense of obligation, or as an institution seeking to build a more extensive reputation, has an impact on how it will relate to its local space and its neighbors. While these perspectives are not meant to be totalizing, understanding motivations for land use and the value attached to space can shed light on the relations between universities and communities. As history has shown, the places occupied by People of Color are often economically or socially undervalued, leading to resource disparities or outright displacement in the case of gentrification. At stake in questions of university expansion in low-income communities are discriminating outcomes for people of color and the most economically vulnerable.

The following sections trace the parallels between the rise of neoliberalism external to and within the university, discussing the "New Urban Crisis" and university expansion, respectively. I specifically outline the role of race and place to illustrate the applicability and necessity of a race-centered framework. I then introduce the role of Critical Race Spatial Analysis as a conceptual anchor from which to analyze the role of race in university community relations.

Drawing on critical theories of race, I argue that university partnerships and expansion efforts are negotiated through a series of frames that mediate power between universities, institutional actors, and community members along the colorline. By combining the insights of urban theorists and critical race theory, we can come to understand university expansion and community partnerships—and universities in general—as contradictory sites where place, responsibility, and obligation are negotiated.

Neoliberalism as a Key Structuring Ideology

Anderson Perry called neoliberalism the "most powerful ideology in the world," and indeed it has shaped the global economic landscape on many levels since its emergence in the 1970s. As an economic ideology, neoliberalism is conceptual shorthand referring to policies facilitating the privatization of services and deregulation of the market, leading to unprecedented economic stratification **(**Harvey, 2005; Quiggin, 1999; Lazzarato, 2009; Gwynne & Kay, 2000). To quote Harvey (2005), "neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 2). Contrary to the prevailing macroeconomic logic in the early 20th century, marked by state interventionist policies advanced by John Maynard Keynes, neoliberalism relied on a strong belief in the market's ability to regulate itself. The most widely cited example of Keynsian policy was the New Deal, introduced in the 1930s by F.D. Roosevelt following the Great Depression, where the state transformed the financial system (through bank reform and fiscal policy) and provided direct relief through public works and farming programs (Harvey, 2005). The New Deal was not perfect by any means; however it did represent a form of economic policy aimed at redistribution and an active,

albeit limited, concern for social welfare[4]. After WWII, however, neoliberal economists, following Fredrich von Hayek, began to argue that state decisions were too politically biased by interest groups and should let the market run its course (Harvey, 2005).

At the heart of neoliberalism is the replacement of social equality in favor of economic growth, an operation heavily critiqued by (neo)Marxist theorists. The equality of outcomes characterized to some extent by the Keynesian/Welfare state and the New Deal, was replaced with a competitive market-driven system that reframed equality/social justice as equality of opportunity within a supposedly objective market. The neoliberal logic (that assumes equality of opportunity) has placed greater emphasis on an individual's merit rather than structural forces constraining social mobility. It follows, then, that instead of remedying the structural forces that have led to unequal outcomes and life chances on the basis of race, class, and gender, neoliberal policy-makers have emphasized the role of individual ability and grit. In the case of the university, this has been evident in the arguments away from affirmative action and the case of charter schools in the K-12 realm.

Letting the market run its course has led to many problems consolidated under the banner of neoliberalism. The erosion of social services and welfare has led to increasing urban problems and a defunding of higher education—pushing costs onto students[5] and increasing market-like activities among universities. Within urban university-adjacent neighborhoods, these issues have come to a head in the form of university expansion initiatives. As I will argue, university

[4] Several New Deal policies had discriminating outcomes for people of color, leading Lyon (2012) to argue that the New Deal was "designed for Jim Crow." See Rothstein (2017) for more information about increased residential segregation arising from the establishment of the Federal Housing Authority.
[5] As of 2017, tuition dollars outpaced state funding in most US States. See the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association (SHEEO) Press Release on State Higher Education Finance.

expansion initiatives represent an operation of academic capitalist learning/knowledge regime, existing in tension with the competing public good learning/knowledge regime.

The New Urban Crisis

In the era of neoliberalism, the economic strife of the working class during the urban crisis of the 1960s has re-emerged with a new sense of energy. According to Florida (2017), the New Urban Crisis emerging after 1975 is characterized by the same increasing inequality and rising housing prices of its predecessor but entails five additional key features: 1) a growing economic gap between "superstar" cities (e.g. New York, Tokyo, Los Angeles) and others; 2) a crisis of success for superstar cities that includes increasingly high housing prices and "staggering inequality"; 3) increased residential sorting within metro areas and a disappearing middle class; 4) a crisis of the suburbs where there is an increasing number of suburban poor; and 5) increasing inequality between developed and developing countries (Florida, 2017, p. 5-6). In essence, the new urban crisis explains the effect of neoliberalism on cities in a series of tenets.

What distinguishes "The New Urban Crisis" from the previous urban crisis is the movement back into the city. Whereas the "old" urban crisis was created by a decline in manufacturing and a "White flight" into the suburbs, cities are becoming more desirable leading to the proximity of both the rich and poor in urban areas. As Florida (2017) notes, residential segregation and inequality are not limited to only the city—suburbs are witnessing this too. The urban change seems inevitable, as capital has moved with increasing speed away from the poor and into the hands of the superrich. A recent report from the Federal Reserve confirms this disparity: the richest 1 percent of families holds 38.6% of all wealth, whereas the bottom 90% holds a combined 22.8% (The Federal Reserve Bulletin, 2017). The construct of the New Urban Crisis guides the theoretical framework by lending support to the notion that in areas around

urban universities, inequality is growing leaving the urban poor are increasingly rendered vulnerable by economic policies.

The growing gap between the haves and have-nots characteristic of Florida's (2017) New Urban Crisis, while significant, does not tell the whole story. The reality is that while the pace of inequality is staggering, disaggregating the data by racial and ethnic categories shows a stark picture of persistent wealth disparities becoming more severe. A study conducted by Prosperity Now and the Institute for Policy Studies found that median household wealth for Black and Latino families was $11,000 and $14,000 respectively, compared to a median household wealth of $134,000 for White families (Asante-Muhammed, Collins, Hoxie & Nieves, 2017, p. 6). The role of race and ethnicity is thus central to appreciating the inequality of the urban landscape post-1975.

As an urbanist, Florida's (2017) assessment of the socio-spatial shifts in cities is undoubtedly valuable, however his perspective is limited in several respects. First, given his political identification as an "urban optimist," he sees potential in cities as sites where inequality can be mended. He sees himself in contrast to "urban pessimists" like David Harvey and others who see cities as sites where neoliberalism operates. Indeed, he chooses not to name neoliberalism in his book. Given my contention that neoliberalism has certainly played a role in growing inequality and the impetus for university's growth, my view of the origins and possibilities of the New Urban Crisis departs from Florida's (2017). Furthermore, I adopt Goldberg's insight that race is a "key structuring technology" of neoliberalism (Goldberg, 2009). The danger of ignoring race in an analysis of urban change is highlighted in Mele's (2013) case study of Chester, Pennsylvania. Mele (2013) found that colorblind discourses ultimately shaped the creation and implementation of urban redevelopment that privatized issues of race and racism

"severing them from their social foundations and embracing the idea that racial matters are individual, not social, concerns" (p. 612). By viewing race as a cultural identity marker instead of dimension through which inequality is unevenly distributed across populations, contemporary redevelopment practices and urban studies scholars run the risk of blaming the victims of racial disenfranchisement for the their lot (perhaps due to inept stewardship of their communities). A further discussion of the role of race and racism on space will be taken up later in the chapter. For now, suffice it to say that the New Urban Crisis has profound consequences for how urban universities consider and negotiate space in the context of expansion and their role as a neighbor in an increasingly unequal city.

Academic Capitalism and University Expansion

Many aspects of the university have become more market-focused in the wake of "the ascendance of neoliberal and neoconservative policies and practices that shift government investment in higher education to emphasize education's economic role and cost efficiency" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 38). To reiterate Slaughter and Rhoades' argument, an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime exists in tension with a public good knowledge/learning regime within universities. These regimes of truth guide organizational behavior and, as corporatization takes hold of the university, the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime is becoming imbued in a wide range of research and teaching activities, from corporate funded research, endowed chairs, and large-scale efforts to monetize MOOCs (see Rhoads, 2015).

Increased revenue seeking through branding, contracted research, and personnel efficiency practices are some of the starker changes for universities (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Anderson, 2001; Fairweather, 1989). Branding is a particularly evocative example of academic capitalism because it demonstrates how universities rely on marketing to generate demand for

their goods and services. University expansion and the creation of new services to accommodate and entice potential consumers (read: students) is another operation of academic capitalism. Drawing from the same logic of branding—to create revenue streams and expand the pool of consumers—expansion activities are undoubtedly part of the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime.

Within an urban context, expansion and growth imply destruction and change that may not serve all interests equally. University administrators struggle with these tensions, ultimately deciding to expand the university's boundaries when the benefits outweigh any foreseeable costs. The following section will outline university motivation for expansion, the benefits of expansion according to internal university stakeholders and potential drawbacks to the local neighborhood. Understanding expansion processes is necessary because I argue that it is an organizational process driven by academic capitalism and can potentially undermine the public good purpose of university-community partnerships.

Why do universities expand? The literature on this topic is wide-ranging, but amid economic jargon and an emphasis on the bottom line, it is easy to forget that the institutions referenced are non-profit entities. The democratizing purposes of education are often obscured in cost-benefit analyses of expansion efforts and the outsourcing of development plans to private contractors and development corporations. There are plenty of reasons to have a cadre of economists informing higher education; indeed the work of economists on the impact of Pell and merit grants (Glocker, 2011; Monks, 2009) and the consequences of skyrocketing tuition (Ehrenberg, 2000) are critical to advancing equitable education practices. But, to leave expansion literature to the economists seems to undermine the social benefits of education and can

ultimately alienate non-revenue generating activities. Fixing the discourse in an economic realm is likely to leave the social implications of expansion undertheorized.

According to the economic perspective, universities expand to create demand, meet demand, or increase revenue. As student demand increases because of the knowledge economy (Altbach, 2015), universities have tried to keep pace with demand by increasing the number of seats they can offer through expansion (Carlson, 2010; Trani & Holsworth, 2010). Applications for admission have increased significantly (Hoover, 2010) and many colleges have increased enrollments as well, but the physical space available hasn't kept up. Although applications are increasing across the board, inter-university competition for applicants has also increased (Weiwel et al., 2007). As universities increasingly view students as consumers, they have created new dorms and recreational facilities to attract potential applicants. Furthermore, Austrian and Norton (2005) argue that universities expand to their urban neighborhoods to increase the university housing allotment for faculty. Finally, Sungu-Eryilmaz (2009) argues that universities engage in land purchase to diversify their portfolio holdings to increase revenue.

The economized discourse on campus expansion motivations is matched by an economically-oriented measure of a university's impact on its local community. Economic impact reports cite statistics about local resident employment at the university and job creation estimates to "measure the increase in a region's economic activity attributable to the presence of a college or university" (Elliot, Levin, & Meisel, 1988). However, as Drucker and Goldstein (2007) argue, potential negative externalities are often left unaddressed and unaccounted for in impact calculations. For example, increased home prices and rent for individual and local businesses and decreased city revenue are often not included in the realm of a university's economic impact. The price increases that may occur after expansion and revitalization

initiatives are reminiscent of a major issue in the New Urban Crisis: gentrification. Another non-economic externality unaccounted for by impact reports are the perceptions of the university by local community members—a sense of public trust.

Gentrification. Gentrification provides a framework for thinking about how power intersects with urban and spatial change under neoliberalism, operationalized here as university expansion and growth. Gentrification refers to a process of community change wherein previous residents are priced out of neighborhoods, replaced with new residents with higher socio-economic status, who are often White (Clark, 2005). In a study of community-based organizations, Fulbright-Anderson, Auspos and Anderson (2001) found that "the community saw institutions as large bodies that destroy neighborhoods and displace residents and take away local jobs and gentrify the area" (p. 6). Gentrification is an essential concept in the context of expansion since the loss of trust on the part of community members was a direct result of the cavalier efforts of powerful institutions that changed the quality of their communities.

The most prominent theory of how gentrification operates relies on the economic concept of the rent gap developed by Smith in 1987. As Smith explains:

> The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use...Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it, is now capitalized; the neighborhood has been 'recycled' and begins a new cycle of use. (p. 545)

At the core of the rent gap theory is the notion that capital flows to areas where the rates of return on investment are highest. In areas where real estate is undervalued, buyers can make improvements and sell property back to the market at a profit. Within urban areas, legacies of underdevelopment and exclusion have led certain low-income and communities of color to be

ripe for gentrification due to the devaluation of their neighborhoods (Moskowitz, 2017). In *The Color of Law*, Rothstein (2017) argues that segregation we see in urban cities today has its roots in local, regional and federal policies from the 1920s that prohibited people of color from living near White families. A color-coded system, now known as redlining, labeled communities with majority Black families and rampant poverty as "red zones" and prevented any federal funding for mortgages to go into these communities (Moskowitz, 2017). Eventually White residents who were eligible for mortgages made their way to the suburbs outside the urban center. The devaluation of land in the urban center realized the rent gap.

Gentrification is a "dirty word" (Smith, 1996) because it implies the displacement of the urban poor by the White and the wealthy. In an earlier book entitled *The Rise of the Creative Class*, for which he received much flak from critics of gentrification, Florida (2002) argued that an influx of bohemian, middle-class residents would improve disenfranchised neighborhoods. He argued that a "social mix" of classes could destabilize some of the effects of concentrated poverty that have led to urban ills such as crime, unemployment, and underfunding. Similarly, gentrification as a process of increasing the population of middle-income residents has also been referred to as "incumbent upgrading" (Clay, 1979). Indeed, some urban scholars have found evidence that social mixing or incumbent upgrading may lead to improved neighborhoods. Lees et al., (2008b) found that in cities that are highly dependent on property taxes, an influx of middle-class homeowners may increase the availability of city resources and improve local schools. Furthermore, McDonald (1986) found some evidence to suggest that incumbent upgrading could lead to lower levels of crime. But who reaps these benefits?

Ultimately, the problem with gentrification is the displacement of more economically vulnerable residents. The logic of social mixing is one-sided—despite the concentration of

wealth in some geographic areas, no one is advocating that class homogenization is harmful to wealthy people (Blomley, 2004; Smith, 2002). Many of the ills supposedly ameliorated by welcoming middle-class residents into working-class neighborhoods seem to be less a function of residential segregation or concentration by social class than problems associated with poverty and reduced state resources.

While social mixing programs are supposed to improve quality of life, this is only possible for those that remain. Freeman (2006) has found that for low-income residents who own their homes, the increase in property values resulting from gentrification could enhance their wealth and improve their quality of life. However, increasing property values is not necessarily beneficial for those who rent their homes and may be displaced before experiencing the benefits of improved schools, reduced crime, and enhanced social services. Gentrification is problematic because it has the potential to alienate the most economically vulnerable from their homes and neighborhoods, eventually changing their daily lives (Davidson, 2009).

Studies that have tried to understand the impact of gentrification on communities qualitatively have ultimately shown that it is more complex that the black-and-white portrayals revealed by survey data and census analyses. In an account of gentrification from the perspective of low-income Black communities, *There Goes the 'Hood,* Freeman (2006) finds that "although displacement may be relatively rare in gentrifying neighborhoods it is perhaps such a traumatic experience to nonetheless engender widespread concern" (2005, p. 488). Freeman's conclusion represents his evolution on the topic and is interesting given that he was the primary author on a large-scale quantitative study of gentrifying areas in New York that found that residents in gentrifying areas were 15 percent less likely to be displaced than low-income residents in other

New York boroughs (Freeman, 2005; Freeman & Braconi, 2004). However, Freeman's qualitative analysis confirmed the psycho-social "hidden costs" of displacement (Chan, 1986).

While spaces are socially constructed sites that determine the opportunities and life chances available to residents, a place-based analysis focuses on the meanings associated with a physical territory by its residents. The notion of place, a site imbued with meaning wherein people live out their lives, is profoundly personal and ethnographic studies have shown that when people are forced to leave their homes and relocate, the feel a sense of grief (Fried, 2000). Chen et al. (2012) describe place attachment as "the emotional connections that people feel toward specific places." Being forced to relocate because of a powerful institution that does not have the same value on space as community residents can sow distrust. Cultural geographers like Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods argue that Black geographic narratives and lived experiences "within and against the grain of dominant modes of power, knowledge, and space…need to be taken seriously" (p. 5). Following their guidance, this dissertation seeks to uncover the situated experiences of East Baltimore residents whose experiences with redevelopment are often devalued.

Critical Race Spatial Analysis

This dissertation is theoretically informed by the proposition that some urban communities around universities are experiencing inequality at staggering levels—making urban communities more sensitive to the behavior of universities within the New Urban Crisis. Furthermore, as universities are driven by what I see as an academic capitalist impetus to expand, they threaten to gentrify local communities—uprooting residents from their homes for the sake of improved facilities to attract or accommodate students, faculty, and donors. The

process of gentrification and the harms of expansion are not just academic capitalist projects but are highly racialized. Racial capitalism informs and underpins the above proposition and therefore, a critical race theory lens will be applied to understanding EBDI redevelopment.

Critical race theory (CRT) undergirds the entire study as it begins from the premise that racism is a "central rather than marginal factor in defining and explaining individual experiences" (Russell, 1992, p. 762). As a framework, CRT seeks to challenge racism embedded within and perpetuated by social institutions. Established initially by legal scholars who sought to explain the permanence of racial inequality despite the passage of civil rights legislation, CRT in education expanded to consider how seemingly neutral structures like education perpetuate racial inequality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2009; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Drawing from the influence of critical legal studies, radical feminism and the work of critical scholars of race, CRT sought to foreground race while showing the intersections of race, class, and gender. While CRT works toward identifying and challenging racism in historical and contemporary forms, it does so as part of a larger goal of identifying and challenging all forms of subordination (Matsuda, 1993; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Over time, CRT in education has grown to include several more specific branches ranging from identity-based off-shoots like LatCrit and QueerCrit to geographically-oriented corollaries like Critical Race Spatial Analysis (CRSA), which will inform how the intersections of race and space are considered in this study. Velez and Solorzano (2017) define CRSA as "an explanatory framework and methodological approach that accounts for the role of race, racism, and white supremacy in examining geographic and social spaces" (loc. 495). Critical Race Spatial Analysis draws from the work of cultural geographers to theorize the way racism is a spatial project. As Lipsitz (2011) argues, racialized spaces have become intrinsic to the spatial

distribution of the US due to land theft from Native Americans and Mexicans, confiscation of property from People of Color due to urban renewal projects, the creation of ghettos through redlining, and other racial projects that have been highly spatial. The displacement of the Middle East residents from the EBDI is another manifestation of the spatial projects that have limited the geography of opportunity for Black residents.

The high level of residential segregation in the Middle East neighborhood was no accident. As Massey and Denton (1993) argue, "extreme racial isolation did not just happen; it was manufactured by whites through a series of self-conscious actions and purposeful institutional arrangements that continue today" (p. 2). Their assertion informs the analysis of EBDI's role as an institutional actor contributing to further dispossession. As historians of racial segregation have shown, a series of intentional spatial arrangements have made urban neighborhoods like the Middle East especially susceptible to gentrification and displacement.

Critical Race Spatial Analysis draws on the guidance of urban sociologists like Massey and Denton who explore the reasons for racial segregation, as well as cultural geographers who explore how segregation and displacement impact opportunities and life chances. CRSA is heavily influenced by W.E.B. DuBois' theory of the colorline, defined by Velez and Solorzano (2017) as "socially constructed spaces—linear or otherwise—created to differentiate and separate racial groups, and to show the superiority or dominance of one race (whites) over others (People of Color)" (p. 423). The power imbalance between Johns Hopkins, a predominantly White university, and the predominantly-Black Middle East residents is emblematic of DuBois' colorline. The concept of the colorline will be an important tool in understanding how residents relate to and understand expansion in their community.

A central tenet of Critical Race Theory is a focus on the lived experiences and narratives of those marginalized by White supremacy and its attending institutional manifestations. Critical Race Spatial Analysis accomplishes this by providing counterstories along the colorline. Methodologically, this dissertation seeks to accomplish this by seeking to understand the experiences of Middle East residents through interviews and archival research. Furthermore, following the suggestion of Velez and Solorzano (2017), GIS is used to tell a counter-cartographic narrative of displacement along the colorline resulting from EBDI redevelopment efforts.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

Through qualitative and case study methods, this dissertation seeks to explore the intersection of race and public trust in universities during an age of neoliberalism and expansion. While higher education scholars, particularly critics of academic capitalism, have been attuned to university shifts toward marketization, resource allocation, and physical expansion, what is less clear is the function and reception of the public good regime within local communities. The focus of many research universities on attracting stellar applicants, luring super-star faculty, and attaining world class status has left many unanswered questions about how these efforts manifest and affect local communities. Thinking globally, but acting locally may be the thought process behind university expansion and neighborhood revitalization efforts, but at whose expense?

Following the theoretical guidance of critical race theory, the study is rooted in a critical paradigm that "seeks not just to study and understand society but rather to critique and change society" (Patton, 2002, p. 131). The purpose of the qualitative methods utilized is to excavate the operations of power that result in the subordination of oppressed groups (Merriam, 2009). Specifically, the interviews and case study will call into question whose interests are served by urban university expansion and university community partnerships. Drawing from critical race theory, the study begins with an assumption that power is not distributed equally and that institutions and structures reinforce this status quo to the disadvantage of People of Color. However, in the vein of critical theory, research offers the opportunity to uncover insidious operations of power to transform power relations and liberate oppressed communities from operations of power that go unchecked. The specific questions this study hopes to answer are as follows:

1. How do external stakeholders (e.g., community members) perceive the influence of Johns Hopkins, a large, selective, historically White research institution, on East Baltimore?
    a. What university and/or neighborhood characteristics influence how external stakeholders perceive community partnerships and expansion?

2. To what extent does university expansion contribute to gentrification in university-adjacent neighborhoods when compared to economically and racially similar geographic areas within Baltimore?

Methodology

A case study methodology will be used to explore the way community members and university staff make sense of and negotiate urban neighborhoods just beyond the university. Given the value of a case study methodology when studying complex processes with many contingent variables (Cresswell, 2007; Yin, 2003), this approach lent itself to an examination of the intricacies of the external and internal processes that mediate university expansion and community relations. As the research questions imply, understanding the way power is negotiated between university and community members necessitates an understanding of external community perceptions in the context of officially stated university goals. Berg (2001) argues that case studies should fulfill at least one of three core purposes: they must be exploratory, explanatory, and/or descriptive.

Given that the majority of information we have about university and community relationships are from the perspective of university leadership, this exploratory and descriptive study will provide a more nuanced understanding of the challenges in navigating these relationships. Interviews with community activists and local residents will provide much needed counterstories about redevelopment efforts and will give voice to those affected by expansion and add another perspective to the higher education literature.

Case Selection

The design of a given case study rests on the careful and bounded selection of a unit of analysis—the case (Yin, 2003). A crucial component in identifying the unit of analysis is delineating the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context (Yin, 2003). In order to detail the nature of university and community relations in urban areas, Johns Hopkins and its immediate surroundings, the Middle East neighborhood of East Baltimore, will be highlighted.

Data Collection

The data collected for this study were intended to provide context about the mission, history, and culture of Johns Hopkins in the East Baltimore community considering internal and external economic pressures as well as aspirations for social responsibility. Qualitative interviews gave voice to community members who were directly or indirectly affected by EBDI's expansion initiatives. The perspective of community activists and residents has unfortunately excluded from much of the literature on university revitalization and EBDI expansion efforts, in particular. Including the community members' perspectives was crucial given the purpose of this study is to better understand the way power mediates negotiations about urban space surrounding universities. Furthermore, interviews with community activists and residents provided much needed information about levels of public trust engendered by elite research universities.

Interviews with Community Members: Counterstories. To better understand the perspective of community residents who were affected by expansion and who have engaged with Hopkins and EBDI, I relied on several counterstories. According to Yosso (2006), a counterstory

"recounts experiences of racism and resistance from the perspective of those on society's margins" (p. 2). Given the social location of neighborhood residents—literally at the margins of Hopkins, but also at the margins of a system of White supremacy—critical race counterstories were used to lift and give voice to their experiences. In light of the fact that a much of the literature on university-community relations is from the perspective of the university partner, critical race counterstories challenge the narratives of those in power by clarifying the perspectives of those whose experiences are not often told or heard (Delgado, 1993; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). The majoritarian story of university expansion has used economic impact reports and retrospectives to imply a positive benefit for community members, yet the voices of residents in newspaper media signaled grave concerns. As a tool, counterstories helped humanize the experiences supposedly represented in university impact reports and attempt to better understand how race, class and gender intersect in the lives of community residents.

Community residents were recruited through email outreach. I contacted several community organizations in the Middle East neighborhood including Baltimore Redevelopment Action Coalition for Empowerment (BRACE), Baltimore Asian Resistance in Solidarity (BARS), and the East Baltimore Historical Library (EBHL) on Facebook and recruited additional participants through snowball sampling. Additionally, I reached out to former members of the Save Middle East Action Committee (SMEAC) who were involved in directly advocating for Middle East residents in the midst of expansion in order to try to connect with displaced residents. I reached out to East Baltimore Development, Inc (EBDI) on several occasions, however they declined to participate. In sum, I was able to interview 10 Baltimoreans about their experience with Hopkins. The racial breakdown of the participants was as follows:

eight participants were Black, one participant identified as Asian, and one participant identified as White.

The intention of the counterstories was to provide a perspective that challenges the dominant narrative. To structure the telling of counterstories, I utilized Seidman's (2013) model of in-depth, phenomenological interviewing by conducting a modified three-interview sequence for each participant. Seidman (2013) advocates for three discrete interviews to allow the participants adequate time to reflect after each interview. Although there are merits to spacing interviews, it was unrealistic for this study given the time limitations of interviewees and the fact that interviews were conducted over the phone. As such, I consolidated the three topical interviews suggested by Seidman (2013) into a single interview protocol. The first section of the interview was intended to learn about the participants' life history in the community and any contact they have had with Hopkins over the years. The second section of the interview was focused on if/how participants were affected by the EBDI expansion project and how they view EBDI/Hopkins efforts in their community. The final part of the interview was related to the extent to which they trust Hopkins as an institution and what they think could improve community relations.

Document Analysis

The initial stages of data collection began with an analysis of publicly available documents that provided a deeper understanding of Hopkins' relationship to East Baltimore. Documents from Hopkins, including Economic Impact Reports, Strategic Plans, and community-relations statements and communications articles, were analyzed alongside popular media accounts of Hopkins' relationship with the Middle East neighborhood from the *Baltimore Sun*, *Maryland Daily Record*, and the *Afro-American*. Further, archival documents from the Johns

Hopkins University Archive, the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes Archive, and the Betty G. Robinson papers housed at the University of Baltimore were analyzed. The Betty G. Robinson papers held rich information about community organizing efforts in the Middle East neighborhood from Betty Robinson, a former Hopkins employee, East Baltimore resident, and activist.

When paired with interview data, observations and spatial analysis, document analysis allowed for triangulation of data (Yin, 2009). The primary purpose of document analysis was to obtain background information about the university's relationship with its local community, including historical data about tensions over land-use and housing, as well as official statements about the local urban area to understand Hopkins' perspective about their neighborhood. Property documentation including deeds, titles, transfers, and building permit information was collected for properties in the EBDI redevelopment zone through the Maryland Land and Records Department. Furthermore, Maryland Public Records Act requests were placed to get documentation related to the Maryland Historic Trusts' Memoranda of Understanding with the EBDI developers.

Geo-Spatial Mapping

Geo-spatial mapping was used to visualize the geographic distribution of demographic and economic characteristics in Baltimore. Census data from the 1970-2010 Decennial Census will be gathered from Social Explorer. Since the geographic tracts changed between 2000 and 2010, Social Explorer was used as they have geographically standardized the pre-2010 tract-level data on several variables of interest to 2010 tracts. Additional American Community Survey

(ACS) 5-year estimate data was collected using the US Census API in the R programming software. Geospatial maps were created in R.

Mapping allowed for visual analysis of neighborhood change over time along the dimensions of median income, race, and educational attainment. Spatial analysis was used to contextualize interview data and identify how gentrification manifested itself in Baltimore following the EBDI expansion. In the tradition of Critical Race Spatial Analysis, maps are used as a "tool for telling contextualized counter-cartographic narratives" about race and racism (Solorzano & Velez, 2015, p. 431). Mapping will helped paint a visual picture of which communities were impacted by expansion, specifically how racial demographics, median income, and educational attainment levels shifted in census tracts surrounding JHMI.

Data Analysis

The influence of race and neoliberalism undergirded the analysis of participant interviews, documents, and archival data. I began with the assumption that Hopkins, as an elite research university engaged in expansion, was complicit in a form of (academic) capitalist development that disproportionately harms communities of color. However, I was particularly interested in the framing of redevelopment as a public good intended to improve the surrounding community and the lot of the disenfranchised Middle East neighborhood residents. Holding both the public good and the academic capitalist regimes in mind, I analyzed the interview transcripts, documents, and the quantitative data with an eye toward how counternarratives can illuminate the contradictory workings of elite universities during the New Urban Crisis.

Despite the overarching structure of academic capitalism, I acknowledged that institutional actors have often found ways to subvert official policy and engage in critical praxis.

I also was open to the notion that some folks who lived in the development area might have had personal experiences wherein development was beneficial to their families. While gentrification is often seen as a net negative due to the cultural erasure of vulnerable or indigenous communities, several scholars have suggested that gentrification may lead to quality of life improvements or an increase in wealth due to rising property values (Brummet & Reed, 2019).

The interview data was transcribed verbatim and coded in two stages using inductive and deductive strategies. The first round of coding entailed an initial analysis of participant responses and relied on values coding (Saldana, 2013). This inductive method allowed new themes to emerge related to unique participant experiences in terms of making sense of place. Since the research questions were based on participant perceptions of place and the role of the university in relation to their space/homes, values coding was the most appropriate method to unpack the political understandings community members. The second round of coding was deductive and relied on established theoretical constructs related to place-building, critical race theory, academic capitalism, and gentrification. For the interviews, I was particularly attuned to the way that racial politics influenced the opportunities and life chances available to community residents.

Positionality

In qualitative research, as in life, perspectives are tinted by past experiences. Our multiple identities are ultimately embedded at all steps in the research process, from conception to the final analyses (Ladson-Billings, 2000). My positionality, referring to the social location I occupy in relation to the subjects, undoubtedly affected my interactions with interview participants. While my intention as a qualitative researcher was to preserve the meaning from the perspective of the participants and understand their perspective (Malinowski, 1922), the theoretical

framework selected for this study is an academic extension of beliefs I hold because of my personal experience. It is worth mentioning that the insider (emic) and outsider (etic) positions are not perfectly opposing categories. Although I have never been a resident of Baltimore, I do have experience living in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. Born in San Jose, California in 1989, I grew up with Silicon Valley and witnessed the changes brought by the growth of large technology companies like Yahoo!, Google, Apple, and Intel. The massive growth of the tech industry has led to skyrocketing housing prices and the displacement of many non-tech residents, including myself, who can no longer afford to live in and around the Bay Area (Robinson, 2018; Waters, 2017). A report by real estate company, Paragon, found that only 15 percent of households in Santa Clara county were able to afford median priced houses, compared with 56 percent of households overall in the United States (Paragon Real Estate Group, 2018). Furthermore, Paragon's analysis found that the median home prices in Santa Clara County have more than doubled, from about $500,000 in 2000 to over $1 million in 2017. Notably, this increase in housing prices has also driven housing costs for renters.

The tech industry is notorious for its lack of diversity and despite many initiatives aimed at hiring women and people of color, a report from the Kapor Center for Social Impact reports that over 50 percent of the labor force at top tech companies in Silicon Valley are White. The displacement caused by the tech industry is a severe example of the way that large, powerful institutions can completely change neighborhoods—to the detriment of the already vulnerable. While the case of university expansion is markedly different than the expansion of tech "campuses," my interest in the dynamics of racialized displacement caused by powerful institutions is deeply rooted in my life experiences growing up in Silicon Valley.

My experiences with gentrification in California as a second-generation immigrant are far removed from the Black community in the Middle East Baltimore. As a Filipinx, I have benefitted from my proximity to Whiteness and have never experienced anti-Blackness. Furthermore, my ancestors have not dealt with compounding inequality due to enforced residential segregation and the material harm wrought by the destruction of public housing in twice-cleared communities (Rothstein, 2017; Vale, 2013). Although I tried to listen deeply and show empathy and understanding, my perspective on the harm, frustrations, joy, and resistance experienced and engaged in by participants will always be incomplete.

Limitations

The purpose of this study is not to uncover some Truth about university community partnerships; on the contrary, the situated position from which each actor approaches and makes meaning of the partnership means that any endeavor to identify a Truth is misguided. The study intends to reveal situated truths about how the meaning of place is made and negotiated across social contexts, but as any other research project, this study will be limited to the perspectives of those participants available. Identifying participants who were directly displaced as a result of the EBDI plan was challenging given privacy restrictions. To address this limitation, archives and newspaper accounts were used to supplement interviewee perspectives. The perspectives of residents who spoke out about the EBDI development in the media and in archived accounts, however, may not represent the entire range of feelings and attitudes toward development.

There are also some limitations to the quantitative geo-spatial analyses. Given that development occurred in a piecemeal fashion, identifying the pre- and post-expansion period was imperfect. Furthermore, US Census data was not available continuously between 2000 and 2018,

so American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year data was combined with Decennial Survey data. The population estimates from the ACS data are the best approximation available at the census-tract level, however ideally data from one survey would be used in the analytic dataset. Census data is also an imperfect source of demographic and economic data. A 2018 Government Accountability Office report noted that renters and Black Americans, a significant proportion of the Middle East neighborhood were often undercounted.

Finally, often missing from any discussion of gentrification is an acknowledgement that the land has been a contested site of power dating back to before the New Urban Crisis, urban revitalization, redlining and other racist policies of the sort. Smith (1979) acknowledges this tangentially in his reference to gentrification as a form of colonialism; however, the original inhabitants of the land remain a nonspecific insinuation. While this project is focused on contemporary contests over space surrounding urban universities, I want to acknowledge that this struggle began over 500 years ago for Indigenous communities in North America who are the traditional owners of the land we now know as the United States of America. I want to honor the Piscataway People as the traditional owners of the land around Baltimore. The struggle over the right to stay and the right to return, expressed by Middle East residents, is one part of this larger struggle against Settler Colonialism, dispossession, and cultural genocide.

Summary

The methods used in this dissertation aimed to uncover the counterstory of university expansion and urban development in East Baltimore. The $1.8-Billion-dollar EBDI redevelopment effort serves as a backdrop to explore how academic capitalist expansion is affecting neighboring communities in urban areas, many of whom have experienced histories of

spatial disenfranchisement. Hopkins is an ideal site because of its involvement in redevelopment of Middle East Baltimore in the 2000s. Together, the qualitative and quantitative methods are designed to paint a picture of the impact of redevelopment on the most marginalized university-adjacent neighbors and reveal a counterstory of university-led redevelopment.

The methods utilized in this dissertation are rooted in a critical paradigm that seeks to identify and undermine racist operations of power. The case study of the EBDI redevelopment initiative in the Middle East neighborhood relied on interviews conducted with community members to craft a counterstory of the redevelopment efforts. Document analysis was also used to obtain background information about the Hopkins' relationship with its community and to decipher its justification for redevelopment.

Two quantitative methods were utilized to explore gentrification in Baltimore writ large and whether university expansion has contributed to neighborhood change in the neighborhood surrounding Johns Hopkins, respectively. Both studies relied on US Census data to explore changes in median income, educational attainment, and racial demographics in Baltimore between 2000 and 2018. Study 1 applied Freeman's (2005) gentrification criteria to determine which census tracts were eligible to gentrify in 2000 and which tracts gentrified by 2018. Freeman's (2005) method for identifying gentrifying tracts is limited because it merely provides a descriptive portrait of census-tract changes over time. To explore the extent to which the EBDI redevelopment project contributed to gentrification, Study 2 employs a spatio-temporal difference-in-differences model to test the hypothesis that gentrification in the university-adjacent neighborhood outpaced the change elsewhere in Baltimore.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRACING THE HISTORY OF HOPKINS IN MIDDLE EAST BALTIMORE

Hopkins and Urban Renewal in the 1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s, Hopkins started a process of informal land banking, wherein they purchased homes and land in the nearby community just east of their campus to clear the way for future development. Residents in the neighborhood were critical of this strategy employed by Hopkins. One woman told the Baltimore Sun: "Hopkins is a bigoted place. They buy up property around here, they tear down the people's houses and put up their stuff. Were the people relocated? No, sir. They were evicted. It's getting so we're going to start talking about two areas of this city: West Baltimore and Johns Hopkins" (Milliken, 1968).

Dr. Russell A. Nelson, president of the Johns Hopkins hospital in the 1960s, told the *Baltimore Sun* that involving the community in the affairs and getting them to understand their needs for expansion has been difficult (Milliken, 1968). In response to Hopkins purchasing three tracts of land in the 1960s, residents complained not just that Hopkins was purchasing property to create housing for hospital officials, but also that they built a fence around their land. In response, one woman stated: "All that fence says to us is, 'you can look in, black people, but don't you touch'" (Milliken, 1968).

The rift between Hopkins and the community was solidified in the land banking practices that divided clearly racialized territories. DuBois's notion of the 'colorline' was clearly demarcated by the presence of a barbed-wire fence enclosing Hopkins' property just east of the hospital. The 120-unit apartment complex nicknamed "the Compound," was built in 1950. Although the apartment was torn down in 1986 (Banisky, 1994), it served as a symbol of the

schism between Hopkins and the community for over 30 years. The racial nature of the resentment toward Hopkins held by neighboring residents was captured by the Baltimore Sun in 1968:

> "Hopkins is a white institution; its entire administration and all but fifteen members of its medical staff are white. The Hopkins area of East Baltimore is not white; its population is almost entirely Negro. So many of the residents don't call it the hospital. They call it the Plantation" (Milliken, 1968)

The metaphor of Hopkins as a plantation continues to this day. It is heavily influenced by the history of land banking practices tracing back to the urban renewal projects begun in the 1950s. While contemporary practices of Hopkins have changed, wherein we now see more deliberate relocation plans that include resident input (however superficial), the notion of urban renewal as "negro removal" remains entrenched in the minds of residents who continue to see Hopkins as a plantation. Central to this perspective are racialized notions about power, agency, and the attending entitlement to property. As cultural geographer Katherine McKittrick notes:

> "The plantation evidences an uneven colonial-racial economy that, while differently articulated across time and place, legalized black servitude while simultaneously sanctioning black placelessness and constraint" (McKittrick 2011, p. 948)

Central to the metaphor of Hopkins as plantation is the notion of placelessness borne by primarily Black residents in the Middle East neighborhood of Baltimore, whose lives are easily uprooted by the whims of Hopkins. In other words, claims to land made by Hopkins has always outweighed the claim made by residents. A utilitarian view of this power imbalance, one that is often used in claims for eminent domain, is that a broader number (i.e. the public) would benefit more from Hopkins' use than that of the residents. What the utilitarian view obscures, however, is the fact that "utility" is often coded racially. What McKittrick gets at in her definition is that "black servitude" and "placelessness" are legalized in the plantation model. Under White

Supremacy, White claims to land are seen as natural and ultimately "better," as evidenced by settler colonialism and Native American genocide and inscribed in the property rights at the foundation of the US constitution (Harris, 1993).

In a report to the Medical Planning and Development Committee about the East Baltimore neighborhood, Hopkins officials acknowledge the deep mistrust held by local residents toward Hopkins:

> "The depth of the black community's resentment toward the medical institutions is baffling to many of the Hopkins' members. A considerable portion of the Hopkins faculty, administrators and students have only been associated with the institution for a comparatively short time and feel they have played no role in its past sins. A good number of the older faculty and administrators feel that Hopkins has made appreciable headway in overcoming its past failures. Indeed, they are impressed with how far Hopkins has moved. They point to the removal of segregated services, the emergence of blacks to positions of responsibility in the Hopkins complex, and the genuine and sincere effort of the University to attract more black students, faculty, and other personnel. A significant number of Hopkins' personnel is active in changing Hopkins' role and highly committed to the Kerner Commission's recommendation that men of goodwill work to change white institutions. They recognize that the roots of inequality in the social order beyond Hopkins' scope (sic), but they feel that Hopkins' past role has been exploitative and that most of the constructive measures it has recently introduced are not pervasive enough" (Center for Urban Affairs, 1970)

The report highlights that the historical relationship between Hopkins and the community has been marred by "past sins" toward the Black community in terms of segregated services and predominantly White students and personnel. However, as the authors of the report note, faculty believe that progress is being made in ameliorating past exploitative relations within their scope. Later in the report, mention is made of the initial urban renewal project undertaken by Hopkins in the 1950s that attracted some of the ire referenced above:

> "The Broadway Urban Renewal project is a case in point and has come to symbolize the indifference of the JHMI [Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes] to its surrounding community. Interestingly, this was one of the first urban renewal efforts in the city and to date the only such project completed in East Baltimore. This project displaced over a thousand families and benefited only the JHMI. The result is that both locally and beyond Baltimore City it has been regarded as a conspicuous failure in urban renewal. One

> important former public official in Baltimore, in assessing the consequences of the Broadway project remarked: "If anyone in politics allies himself with Hopkins, he gains the alienation of everyone." (Center for Urban Affairs, 1970)

As the report notes, the Broadway Urban renewal project is widely regarded as a failure that only served to benefit JHMI. Public officials thus became wary of allying themselves with Hopkins given the accepted notion that Hopkins' self-interest harmed constituents. Given this history and self-reflexivity of Hopkins' officials, future development projects were seen as delicate topics. Despite this concern, ultimately, the report states: "In the case of East Baltimore with its limited 'drawing power,' JHMI personnel...must be considered the primary potential stable residents" (Center for Urban Affairs, 1970, p. 63). The report concludes that urban renewal efforts in the East Baltimore neighborhood couldn't be expected to draw a wide range of potential residents and that catering future development to JHMI personnel would be most effective, given the geographic proximity to JHMI.

Passive Land Acquisition Phase 1970s-1990s

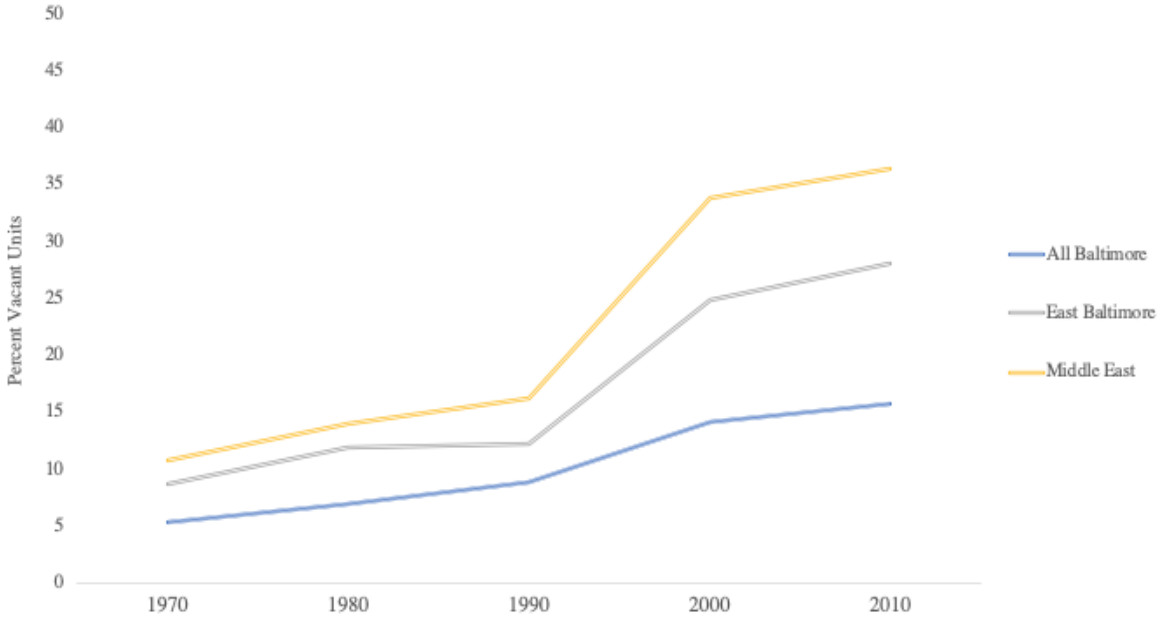
Despite internal documents confirming Hopkins' awareness of community resistance to their land banking efforts in the 1960s and 1970s, Hopkins continued to acquire land in the neighborhood. However, their strategy changed. Instead of being an active developer of the community, Hopkins took a decidedly passive approach during the 1970s and 1980s. Instead of rehabbing or utilizing acquired land in some capacity, they instead let properties sit boarded up, angering local community members who saw these homes as a "blighting influence" on the community (Canzian, 1987). The empty houses and lots drew attention to the fact that Hopkins controlled real estate in the city.

Eight student organizers from the Johns Hopkins Coalition for a Free South Africa, along with five neighborhood residents built a symbolic shanty town at the North Wolfe Street entrance

of Johns Hopkins Hospital in May 1987 (Adams, 1987). The student group organizing the shantytown made an explicit tie to Hopkins and South African apartheid, insinuating that Hopkins was responsible for creating apartheid conditions in Baltimore (Adams, 1987).

By the 1990s, the number of vacant units in the Middle East Baltimore neighborhood directly adjacent to the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions was much higher than the percentage of vacant units across Baltimore (see Figure 5.1). Tract-level data aggregated for the Middle East neighborhood, East Baltimore, and Baltimore City overall demonstrate that the percentage of vacant units in the Middle East census tracts grew at a steeper pace between the 1990s and 2000s. The fact that the vacancy growth in the Middle East neighborhood outpaced East Baltimore and Baltimore City overall during this period is likely due to the land-banking practices of Hopkins and Kennedy Krieger.

Figure 5.1 Percent Vacant Housing Units in Baltimore 1970-2010



Data Source: US Decennial Census, 1970-2010

East Baltimore Development in the 1990s: HEBCAC and the failure of spot-development

In 1994, Baltimore was one of six cities to receive a federal urban empowerment zone designation. The cities that received the designation, selected by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), were eligible for $100 million ten-year federal grants and tax incentives for businesses in the identified area. Part of Baltimore's application includes the area of East Baltimore abutting the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes (JHMI)--the Middle East neighborhood (Siegel, 1994). Empower Baltimore Management Corporation (EBMC) was a non-profit management entity created to operate the Baltimore empowerment zone program and focused on job creation, community capacity, quality of life (crime and housing), and workforce development (see Job Creation Impacts of the Baltimore Empowerment Zone 1994-2004 prepared by the Jacob France Institute).

Community oversight of the Federal Urban Empowerment Zone grant, particularly for the East Baltimore area, was led by the Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition (HEBCAC), a non-profit partnership entity designed to ensure community input in the revitalization of East Baltimore. It was one of the "village centers" created to administer federal empowerment zone funds and ensure community participation in the planning and development process. The operational costs of HEBCAC were shared between the city of Baltimore, the state of Maryland, and Johns Hopkins. HEBCAC represented Hopkins' foray back into the development of the East Baltimore area (see Farquah, 2008).

Ultimately, HEBCAC utilized a spot revitalization process to upgrade individual rowhouses. In all, they used about half of the $34.1 million federal allocation to rehabilitate a few dozen homes. In addition to the federal monies, Hopkins spent about $2.4 million also in the late 1990s to address the urban blight in East Baltimore, which the city eventually paid back in 2002. According to Mayor O'Malley, Hopkins' contribution was spent with the understanding

that they would be paid back using the federal empowerment zone funds, but money was frozen as the city developed the bolder biotech park plan (Epstein, 2002). The fact that the city paid Hopkins speaks to a more significant issue about who is fiscally responsible for the development of a neighborhood and to what extent Hopkins should contribute. In some ways, Hopkins is a primary beneficiary of redevelopment in East Baltimore since improvements to housing, transportation, and safety in the surrounding neighborhood ultimately converges with the interests of the university. The early 2000s represent a moment where the city and Hopkins became partners in urban redevelopment, with the city signaling that it would subsidize Hopkins' development interests, even though the extent to which this reaches all Baltimoreans is unclear.

In many respects, it makes sense that the city seeks to invest in large institutions, especially higher education, to stimulate the economy. Longstanding institutions like Hopkins are seen as credible venues for investment and provide access to a range of experts. Plenty of research on anchor institutions confirms that universities improve the GDP of a city or metropolitan statistical area. However, critiques of neoliberalism and urban inequality, more generally, would question the real-life impact of a higher GDP, particularly on the most vulnerable residents.

Despite the buy-in by Hopkins and the significant federal funds provided by HUD, the HEBCAC real estate development program is widely seen as a failure due to inefficiencies of the spot revitalization method in substantially transforming the Middle East neighborhood. As Farquah (2008) argues, "city policymakers often publicly and privately cited the failures of HEBCAC's real estate development plan as the rationale for EBDI's return to mass demolition and relocation" (p. 59). Ultimately, the pace of change was too slow and piecemeal for city officials whose reputations were highly dependent on the economic revival of East Baltimore.

East Baltimore Development, Inc (EBDI) and the Biotech Redevelopment Plan in the 2000s

In 2001, Baltimore City once again unveiled a plan to reinvigorate the Middle East area around the JHMI complex under the O'Malley administration. This time, the project included a major biotechnology park and over 1000 new housing units (Seigel, 2001). The administration hoped to introduce legislation to the City Council in Fall 2001. By May 2001, the connection to Hopkins was unclear, although city officials sought to leverage Hopkins' influence to change the neighborhood. Laurie Schwartz, the city's deputy mayor for economic and community development, said in May 2001:

> "It's clear the city has never capitalized on Hopkins. This is a unique opportunity for this community. We should proceed with the planning toward implementation" (qtd in Seigel, 2001).

Over 100 community residents came to a meeting held at Elmer A. Henderson Elementary school (eventually known as Henderson-Hopkins). Some residents saw the biotech park as a potential beacon to improve the community, while others saw it as another misdirected initiative. Resident John Hammock was wary of another revitalization plan telling the *Baltimore Sun* that "the empowerment zone did not empower east Baltimore" (Siegal, 2001).

Rev. Reginald M. Clark, pastor of the Greater New St. John Baptist Church and organizer with the Save Middle East Action Committee (SMEAC), a community-based organization designed to inform and advocate for residents, said "There is a mistrust of the city, a mistrust of Hopkins, a mistrust of the process" (Siegal, 2001). The mistrust with Hopkins was primarily due to the history of land banking and displacement caused by Hopkins' earlier expansion projects. The distrust of the process for the biotech park will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. In the *Baltimore Sun*, Mayor O'Malley said the biotech development was a chance "to move past the distrust and stagnation of the past and embrace the possibilities of the future." He

continued, “this effort is not going to be a sad chapter of urban renewal. We have the opportunity here to rebuild a neighborhood from the ground up” (qtd in Siegal, 2002a).

Betting on biotech and the market-driven approach to uplift dispossessed urban communities is reminiscent of the neoliberal adage that a rising tide lifts all boats. At best, the ahistoric colorblindness of neoliberalism allows city officials to wipe their hands clean of any insinuation that they are (re)creating apartheid conditions entrenched by redlining and racial covenants. The invisible hand of the biotech market does not in fact see color, allowing EBDI officials to engage in what Clyde Woods (2007) calls the “dance of deniability.” Residents, however, begged to differ. The Middle East neighborhood was over 90% black, and for some of the residents, their forced relocation was just another example of the racist treatment they had come to accept from Hopkins.

Wade and Occilee Turner were frustrated to learn that the new home they were relocated to on the 800 block of N. Washington St was on the list of the 300 properties to be taken by the city for Phase 1 of the biotech park. In 2002, a then-73-year-old Wade Turner told the *Baltimore Sun*: “They are doing the same thing to us they did to the Indians. They tell you to get the hell out and go where they tell you to” (Siegal, 2002b). Turner’s wife also expressed frustration at having to relocate again saying she thought they would be in their new home “until we die” (Siegal, 2002b).

Like the Turner’s, many of the other residents were retired and had lived in the community for a long time. Those who lived in recently rehabilitated row homes enjoyed their new amenities and didn’t understand why HEBCAC and the city invested millions of dollars into rehabbing houses that were only going to be torn down again. The lack of agency expressed by residents in the face of large decision-making bodies is particularly callous given their age and

desire to live in peace. Fortunately, city councilwoman Paula Johnson Branch heard the residents and agreed to try to remove recently rehabbed blocks from the legislation. As she admits, "the emphasis of the plan was on the biotech park. No real thought was given to the impact on the people" (Siegal, 2002b). Ultimately, the previously redeveloped blocks of Washington St. were removed from the list of properties to be demolished.

By February 2004, the list of properties was finalized and residents in East Baltimore began receiving letters informing them that using the power of eminent domain the city would purchase their properties at the current market value. In sum, 831 properties were seized over two years for Phase 1 of the biotech project: the ceremonial groundbreaking for the forthcoming biotech park did not occur until April 17, 2006. The first building, the John G. Rangos Sr. Building, was a $120 million life sciences center expected to be completed in 2008. It was funded in part by a $10 million gift from the John G. Rangos Sr. Family Charitable Foundation to the Hopkins' Institute for Basic Biomedical Sciences, which would occupy the first two floors of the building (Rienzi, 2006). Describing the building, JHU president Brody said, "Johns Hopkins is committed, with many other dedicated partners, to ensuring the revitalization of East Baltimore…With today's groundbreaking, we are assuring that those advances will take place in a building that, in itself, will be part of a breakthrough in the life of this community" (Rienzi, 2006). The Institute of Basic Biomedical Sciences, directed by Dr. Stephen Desiderio, set up eight new research centers in October 2006 to "attract scientists, win grants and probe medical issues that range from the effects of obesity to how our senses work" (O'Brien, 2006). Part of creating the research centers is to bring together clinical and basic researchers at Hopkins to attract grant money from the National Institutes of Health more effectively.

The Phase I area was several blocks of individual family housing, but following expansion and construction, most of the area is now dedicated to green space and parking lots (see image 5.2). Prior to groundbreaking, 394 households and 20 businesses had been displaced.[6] According to Jack Shannon, President and CEO of EBDI, "over time, obviously, we'll be creating a neighborhood where the housing will have a greater density to it compared to what existed before we began our work. The housing will include row houses, apartment buildings, condominiums, and housing for students." Douglas Nelson, president of the Annie E. Casey Foundation said that "this will be a failure from my point of view, and Casey's if we can't keep this neighborhood affordable to many of the people who used to live there or to other low-income families that want to move in the future" (Marech, 2006).

Figure 5.2 Phase I Area Aerial View: 2003 and 2017 from Google Earth

By April 25, 2009, the community was ready to witness the improved residencies in East Baltimore. EBDI hosted a tour of a green rehabbed model home at 1714 East Chase Street attended by community members, EBDI board, and then-mayor Sheila Dixon. In addition to the green transformation, residents were also invited to view The Townes at Eager, a townhome development still under construction that would eventually sell units starting at the mid-

[6] This number is contested as some figures say less than 250 families were moved (see Jones, 2006)

$300,000s--not quite affordable to low-income families in Baltimore where the median house price in 2009 was less than $150,000 (Zillow House Values Index, 2019).

By the end of 2009, the East Baltimore Community School opened in a temporary location, but the progress on the East Baltimore biotech park was slow-going. Only one of five planned biotech buildings opened (Ragnos) and three rental properties, accounting for 200 units were finished, shy of the 850 "new or rehabilitated housing units" promised. EBDI CEO in 2009 Chris Shea admitted that in some respects, the project was "kind of stuck" (Hlad, 2009). Much of the delay was attributed to the economic slowdown and the Great Recession.

Ditching Biotech after the Great Recession

By 2010, the future of the biotech park was in jeopardy as many of the expected milestones had not been met. According to an article by Jon Aerts, EBDI made no biotech placements in the one open building by 2010 (Aerts, 2010). According to the president and CEO of EBDI, Christopher Shea, "Biotech is not as promising as it was 10 years ago…I think it would be unhealthy if we kept plowing ahead. Let's take a time out. Let's revisit some of our assumptions. Is science working?" (Aerts, 2010).

Unfortunately for the former residents of the Middle East community, they were not given a time out, and their lives were decided on the whim of a market whose winds had changed. EBDI's pivot reveals the permanent costs borne by the most vulnerable when short-sighted decisions made on the whims of a market fail. As Lawrence Brown, former Morgan State professor and community activist told me, "the problem here is they promise something upfront … and there was never any sort of callback provision written into the agreement." While EBDI certainly couldn't have stopped the Great Recession and economic downturn of the mid-2000s, community residents did raise concerns about the strength of the biotech market as early

as 2002. As the failure of the biotech angle demonstrates, there is a real danger in making decisions that prioritize potential income over the health and well-being of a vulnerable community.

Shea's pivot emphasized capitalizing on the buying power of a captive business audience over the scientific expertise of Johns Hopkins medical staff and students. Instead of leveraging Hopkins scientific expertise to improve the city's economy, Hopkins became a consumer base for new priorities: "grocery stores, coffee shops, restaurants, health clubs and a dry cleaner" (Aerts, 2010). Shea's new plan for EBDI would focus on "those kinds of things that large, tens of thousands of people in a business location would tend to want" instead of biotech (Aerts, 2010). Despite the slowdown in developing large biotech buildings and laboratories, Shea and EBDI still viewed the Middle East community as a site to benefit the interests of employees and those related to Hopkins. In September 2010, the ground was broken on a 572-bed student housing project called 929. Congressman Elijah E. Cummings, who attended the groundbreaking celebration and was invested in the growth of the East Baltimore neighborhood, said "This project is life." At the event, Cummings said:

> "This new building will house hundreds of students at Johns Hopkins who will make a difference. While they live here, they will buy here, eat here, and help the community grow. But most importantly the young people growing up here will see people who are living their dreams, applying themselves, and doing good things in this world" (Education Realty Trust, 2010).

929 was financed through a loan from PNC bank as well as a second mortgage provided by Education Realty Trust[7], the developers and managers of the housing, calls themselves one of the largest owners, developers and managers of college student housing in the US.

[7] Education Realty Trust was purchased by Greystar, an international real estate developer, in 2018.

In late 2010, the president and chair of the EBDI board wrote an op ed in the *Baltimore Sun* (November 11) celebrating the "rebirth" of the East Baltimore neighborhood despite obstacles encountered during the Great Recession. In particular, Nelson and Shea highlighted the success of their economic development and inclusion strategy wherein "minorities and women have accounted for 57 percent of the total employment hours" (Shea & Nelson, 2010). Additionally, they praised EBDI's collaboration with community members to make "residents' voices central to the project especially by developing "stringent new demolition protocols to protect residents' health" (Shea & Nelson, 2010). Two community activists, Donald Gresham and Leon Purnell published a response in the *Baltimore Sun* to dispel what they felt were myths and misinformation from EBDI. In terms of employment, Gresham and Purnell were critical of the figures cited by EBDI, noting that many of the job placements were not in the biotech industry but short-term construction positions. Central to their critique was that "the project has been reshaped to resemble a real estate venture that excludes neighborhood residents from both the planning and potential benefits" (Gresham & Purnell, 2010). The biotech park that was supposed to introduce jobs to Middle East residents was becoming overshadowed by the newest project: a student housing tower intended for Hopkins' students.

Referencing the shift away from biotech, a community resident commented, "biopark, dormitories, what's the difference? We got rid of those old smelly poor people, that's what matters. Finally, breathing room. Now we can treat our Arab princes in peace" (Simmons, 2011). His sarcasm uncovers a sentiment that came up time and again: the purpose of the project was to displace existing residents. Jack Young, former city council member and current mayor of Baltimore who grew up in the EBDI footprint, echoed these sentiments:

> "Sometimes I wonder, was it all political, taking people out of East Baltimore? They're voting people. That's a whole group of people gutted out of the district. It almost makes me cry because I know a lot of stuff that was torn down didn't really need to be torn down" (Simmons & Jacobson, 2011).

The implications of spatial dislocation are part of a wider national trend wherein Black voters have been politically disempowered. In the 1960s, after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, about 50,000 families were displaced annually due to urban renewal programs, a majority of them Black (Cebul, 2020). Political disempowerment is evident even as Black politicians assume leadership positions. According to Rodriguez (2016), the Black population has decline in eight of the ten cities with the longest-standing tenure of Black mayors since 1970. Some of this decline can be attributed to the demolition of public housing in urban areas (see Hirsch, 1983; Vale, 2013). In facilitating the spatial dislocation of Black families, the EBDI project was rehashing the urban renewal process and further entrenching the political disempowerment of Black communities.

The *Maryland Daily Record* published a five-part investigation[8] about the biotech project, calling it a "dream derailed." The investigation concluded that the biotech park project was lagging behind due to "the recession, disengaged elected officials and unexpected problems attracting biotech firms" while the Middle East Community "has been virtually eliminated" (Simmons, Jacobson, 30 January 2011, Daily Record). Shea told reporters that the EBDI plan was "way behind in some line in the sand [drawn] in 2002, but not behind now in my priorities to successfully resettle the community" (Simmons & Jacobson, 2011).

[8] The publication of the *Maryland Daily Record* series led to a legitimacy crisis of the entire EBDI enterprise. EBDI was called to testify to the Baltimore city council after councilmember Charles Stokes called an investigative hearing into their planning process and use of funds. After receiving harsh questioning from councilmembers, EBDI was allowed to continue its redevelopment efforts, however, the city urged them to be more transparent.

As Simmons and Jacobson report, by January 2011, “plans for a life science park of 1.1 million square feet and as many as five buildings—once the linchpin of The New East Baltimore project—are no longer considered feasible.” Although one building was finished, the four others planned, all expected to create thousands of jobs, were “scrapped.” According to Stiller, an EBDI board member and trustee emeritus of the JHMI board said that “It’s not going to be a biotech park. It was because of our inability to attract it. I don’t know why it didn’t happen. The University of Maryland did a very good job across town” (qtd. in Simmons & Jacobson, 30 January 2011).

The inability of the EBDI project to attract biotech firms meant job creation goals were similarly derailed. Despite estimates in the initial plan that 8,000 jobs would be created for Baltimore residents, by 2011 there were only 422 employees in the Ragnos building and no permanent jobs were held by East Baltimore Residents (Simmons & Jacobson, 2011). According to Simmons and Jacobson: “most of the 2378 jobs created elsewhere in the New East Baltimore were temporary construction jobs that lasted an average of two months.”

By 2012, several residential units were finished, and the Verde group held an open house for two of its 25 units starting at $199,000 (Kilar, 2012). In addition to the residential units, a state mental health facility, parking lot, and the 929 grad housing tower were still under construction. The largest project during 2012 was the creation of Eager Park, a huge green landscape that cut through the middle of the development area. By the end of 2012, Hopkins introduced another plan to redevelop the area around the undergraduate campus called the Homewood Community Partners. An editorial by the Baltimore Sun acknowledged that Hopkins was “still facing criticism for its most recent urban project, the East Baltimore Development Initiative near Johns Hopkins Hospital,” yet said the new project was “pioneering a strongly

collaborative approach with the communities around Homewood and to the south" (*Baltimore Sun* Editorial Board, 2012).

Pivoting Toward K-8 Education

In 2013, the Henderson-Hopkins school, formerly the East Baltimore Community School, became the linchpin of the EBDI development. According to the *Hopkins' Gazette*, the Henderson-Hopkins Partnership school was "a key component of the project" and moved into its new state-of-the-art campus in 2013. As Hopkins president, Ron Daniels said "we elevated the school as a core priority for EBDI--as well as for the university. We did so because the school stands as a poignant, vivid and galvanizing place for us to demonstrate our core belief in the community and its future. It builds on our passion for the transformative impact that education can have on the lives of our fellow citizenry" (Rienzi, 2013).

The K-8 school was likened to the School of Education's 'hospital' by Dean David Andrews. As he told the JHU Gazette:

> "Imagine the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine without a hospital, a place where they train students, conduct research, do evaluations, and develop new programs. Same thing goes for us in education. What we learn here through this new school will transform education practices throughout the city, Maryland, and across the country. As a world-class university, our responsibility is broader than just East Baltimore, but it has to start at home" (Rienzi, 2013).

A metaphor of a laboratory might be more apt. In fact, Andrews did liken the K-8 school as a laboratory in a comment to a reporter in the *Baltimore Sun* (Anderson, 2013). Given the history of Hopkins' medical exploitation of Black residents in the East Baltimore community, the comparison was a little tone-deaf. In *Cutting School,* Noliwe Rooks examines how segregated low-income and communities of color have often been the testing grounds for novel educational practices, often to the detriment of disadvantaged students. Rooks (2020) coins the term

"segrenomics" to illuminate how philanthropists, foundations, and for-profit educational firms have profited from racial and economic segregation by exploiting disenfranchised communities' desire for quality education.

While the financial motive of EBDI is broader than the K-12 enterprise and lies in the larger economic revitalization of East Baltimore as a whole, Rooks' suggestion that there is a coordinated educational movement exploiting segregation in the interests of capital applies to the Hopkins' school context. Hopkins' President Ron Daniels' focus on education mirrors the direction of his previous institution, the University of Pennsylvania, where he was the provost overseeing the Graduate School of Education and the community school that would become a centerpiece in the redevelopment of West Philly. In the 2009-2010 school year, the Penn Alexander school had 39% Black students, but this dropped to 21% by 2017-2018 (Melamed, 2018). Henderson-Hopkins was intended to serve families displaced from the EBDI zone, however, in 2014-2015, only 11 of the 502 students were residents of or relocated from the EBDI area. The number of students from the EBDI area has grown to 44 as of the 2019-2020 school year; however, it is unclear whether these are children of new residents.[9] Currently, 95% of the students at Henderson Hopkins are Black, although as the Middle East neighborhood changes, these numbers will likely change.

Summary

The colorline between Hopkins and the Middle East neighborhood was solidified by urban renewal and land banking practices well before the EBDI redevelopment project. The notion that the surrounding community was harmful to Hopkins' reputation largely drove the contestation over land. When Baltimore received a Federal Empowerment Zone grant in the mid-

9 Data comes from a Maryland Public Information Act Request.

1990s, the Middle East neighborhood became the site of piecemeal revitalization with the rehabilitation of several dozen row houses. However, the leaden pace of improvement prompted Mayor O'Malley to introduce a biotech redevelopment plan in the Middle East neighborhood.

The development plan directed by East Baltimore Redevelopment, Inc (EBDI) initially promised to create 8,000 jobs and over 2,000 housing units, of which one-third would be affordable. The plan promised respite from high unemployment rates in East Baltimore and a replenished housing stock that would replace the large number of vacant units. The noble intentions contingent on the biotech park eroded after the Great Recession when the EBDI project pivoted toward creating grad student housing and the new lynchpin: a K-8 school. The foundational promises of jobs and affordable housing have still not been met, revealing how material inequity is perpetuated by corporate socialism in a project that has been cast time and again as "too big to fail."

CHAPTER SIX: BLACK DISPLACEMENT AND HOPKINS REPLACEMENT

Narratives of Mistrust and Paternalism

Perceptions of Hopkins as (Data) Plantation

In Baltimore, Hopkins is a longstanding significant presence. As they state on their "Hopkins in the Community" website, "As the city's largest anchor institution, Johns Hopkins feels the constant pull of urban issues. Our faculty, staff, students, and administrators answer the call on a daily basis, in ways both large and small, from volunteering as tutors in local schools to contributing nearly $5 billion in economic output in the city" ("Hopkins in the Community," n.d.). Hopkins is a sizeable economic contributor to Baltimore and is the city's largest private employer (Johns Hopkins University, "Economic Impact Report 2014"). Given its substantial bearing on the community, everyone I interviewed had a story to tell about their relationship to Hopkins. While individual experiences and opinions undoubtedly inform the critiques of Hopkins development practices, not all views about Hopkins are inherently negative, even for those directly affected by displacement. The residents interviewed for this dissertation all had differing relationships to the institution based on their social proximity to Hopkins.

The role of Hopkins as a premier medical institution was probably the most prevalent perception of Hopkins. For one resident, Hopkins was touted as a place for potential future employment. As Fred[10], an East Baltimore resident in their 20s stated:

> "My first impression is that growing up the ... local lore is that Hopkins is a good job provider and you are kind of encouraged to apply [to work there]. It's kind of like a rite of passage. Like everybody knows someone that works at Hopkins. You know, 'they have benefits and like you should apply as you get older.'"

[10] A pseudonym is used here to protect the identity of the interview participant.

To Fred, Hopkins was seen as a vehicle for social mobility because it provided jobs with steady benefits. Some of Fred's earliest memories were to grow up and become a neurosurgeon like Ben Carson. Given that Baltimore was formerly a factory town, it was struck hard by economic shifts and deindustrialization (Vicino, 2008). In the postindustrial period, many universities and affiliated medical centers (termed "meds and eds") became the largest employers in their respective cities (Brown, 2016; Hodges & Dubb, 2010) As an anchor institution, Hopkins, like other "meds-and-eds" across the US, became one of the largest employers in Baltimore (Brown et al., 2016).

Another lifelong Baltimore resident I interviewed, Ilene[11], was a Hopkins alumnus and had several family members who attended Hopkins. According to Ilene, Hopkins is "a really good school, like a great school" that "put the city [Baltimore] on the map." Although Ilene concedes that historically there have been tensions between the community and the university, she does not feel that there is anymore "disposition or anger on either end."

The majority of other stories, however, were less pleasant. In particular, stories shared around the hospital illustrated legacies of mistreatment that colored perceptions of the institution overall. In particular, Black residents still express a great deal of apprehension over the quality of care they might receive at the hospital. Describing the apprehension many residents felt, Betty said:

> "It was the whole idea that if you went to Hopkins, you wouldn't come out if you went to the hospital and wouldn't come out, that they experimented on black people and there was some evidence that they did...Plus there were all the stories about going back to the turn of the century when Hopkins, uh, residents would, black women would go to the hospital to have their children, and that's how residents would learn about, um, birth and delivery. And then the doctors would go up into the white people's homes and, um, and deliver the babies given that they practiced on black women."

[11] A pseudonym is used here to protect the identity of the interview participant.

The accusations of Hopkins experimenting on Black populations were completely founded and evidence of these experiments has garnered widespread attention. Rebecca Skloot's 2010 book on Henrietta Lacks exposed that after receiving medical treatment in 1951, her cells were taken without her consent. After the publication of the book, Hopkins medicine did apologize and acknowledged their error--noting that she "unwillingly donated" her cells. Although Henrietta Lacks' story was almost 70 years ago, general feelings of neglect toward the Black community in Baltimore remain salient. As Fred mentioned,

> "In my family, I know that there's like a lot of people who have gone into the hospital one way and ...come out of the hospital a different way. Some people who blame the death of their grandparents and elders on Hopkins, like malpractice."

Histories of experimentation and malpractice as recent as the 1990s were salient in the minds of East Baltimore residents. Of Hopkins' researchers in the East Baltimore community, Reverend Melvin Tuggle told the *Baltimore Sun* in 1994 that "You get the grant. You come into the community to do the study. You go back to Hopkins and write your paper. Meanwhile, 100,000 people in East Baltimore still have high blood pressure" (Banisky, 1994). Nia, a septuagenarian life-long Baltimorean, and community activist said of the Middle East neighborhood:

> "See that's the same neighborhood, years ago, Hopkins did that test with the lead children, where they did a test, where they took 200 families out of houses that have been declared a hazard to the health of children because of the level of lead. And the parents think they are moving them into better houses that were lead-free. Well after the experiment you find out that they didn't move them into homes that were lead-free. They moved them into homes with different levels of lead to see what the reaction of the children would be health wise. So that was a big story. And that hit national news and the Maryland Supreme Court found Hopkins guilty of intentionally exposing children, who had already been exposed to lead, to an unsafe environment that the parents felt was safe and lead-free. So they had knowingly put children and families in another home with different levels of lead so they could just see what the results would be for the experiment."

The hospital's role in furthering the physical harm of Black communities in Baltimore was referenced by all Black interviewees. The legacies of healthcare mistreatment paralleled their

vision of mistreatment within the context of development. Ultimately, residents did not trust that Hopkins respected Black life.

Disregard of Residents in EBDI Planning Process

The interviews and document analysis of resident perceptions of the biotech park brought the contentious relationship between Hopkins and the Middle East community members to light. Despite efforts by Hopkins and EBDI officials to include resident voice into certain aspects of the development process, ultimately the decision-making power was in the hands of EBDI officials whom residents did not trust and whose sense of obligation, to the residents, felt unfounded.

One resident called the displacement "a complete devaluation or undervaluing of people and not recognizing their worth." Given the contentious relationship between Hopkins and the surrounding community, the continuation of paternalism was not surprising for many. Reflecting on a former organization started in the late 1980s by staff and students at the school of public health, Interactions, Betty Robinson said they hoped to "challenge the way [Hopkins] depicted the neighborhood because when students [came] in for orientation, they're telling them to be very scared to not go into the neighborhood. It's crime-ridden and all this". The notion that the community was dangerous and separate from Hopkins was clear to residents, despite any effort by Hopkins to consider themselves part of the community.

A clear example of the perceived disrespect felt by community members was the way they learned about the project. Many residents learned about the project through door-knocking coordinated by community activists who read about the project in a 2001 Baltimore Sun article. Charlotte Johnson read about the redevelopment in the newspaper. She noted that "we weren't even notified, that's the sad part about it...reading about it in the [newspaper] that eminent

domain had been imposed on us and they were taking our homes...They don't even have enough respect for us to even notify us." From the perspective of the residents, the decision to create the project was being imposed on them instead of developed in consultation. City officials were attempting to create economic development, and residents became an afterthought, or in economic parlance, an externality.

As Betty Robinson noted: "99% of the people had no clue, didn't know what it meant, what the implications were for their neighborhoods, for their house, for their family, nothing. So we organized the Save Middle East Action Committee". The Save Middle East Action Committee, colloquially referred to as SMEAC, was a community-based organization that advocated for residents' rights for the first nine years of the proposed biotech park plan from 2001-2009. SMEAC was central in informing residents of EBDI plans and their rights, including advocating for increased relocation funding.

Not only did residents feel slighted by learning about the development through the newspaper, but they also felt that their voices were not considered in the planning process. According to one resident, "there was no process where people in the neighborhood had any control over the outcomes. So that was another piece of this was if you were going to have a real planning process, you had to have a way for people's voice to be continually included, right?" While planning charrettes did take place, and community members attended meetings held by EBDI, ultimately, SMEAC did not feel like their concerns were always seriously considered. Furthermore, in instances where EBDI acquiesced to their demands, they felt that their ideas were adopted without an acknowledgment of their advocacy. Essentially, they felt that EBDI co-opted their demands to appear benign.

The main attempt to include resident voices was to include two community representatives on the EBDI board. Nia Redmond, a community activist, served as one of two community representatives on the EBDI board. Prior to joining the board, she had worked on several community projects including a children's newspaper and the East Baltimore Historical Library. When asked about her experience on the board, Nia said she was,

> "Basically out-voted because you only have two residents and you're on a board that's you know comprised of corporate Baltimore in the city? You had Johns Hopkins on the board. You had Annie Casey foundation's president as chairman of the board and then you had city and state representatives and corporations you know that had some vested interest in gentrifying the neighborhood."

While Nia's position on the board represented a gesture toward representation, she felt powerless against a voting block that she felt was intent on gentrifying the neighborhood.

Central to Nia's agenda was finding a permanent home for the East Baltimore Historical Library to preserve oral histories of the Black community in East Baltimore. Despite her reservations about the power players on the board, she was optimistic that her presence on the board might create change. Unfortunately, she was ultimately left feeling disappointed on several levels. After 20 years, the East Baltimore Historical Library does not have a home due to legal setbacks. Although there is a physical space for them in the newly-built Henderson-Hopkins school, the doors are locked and EBHL does not have the keys.

After suffering a health setback, Nia was forced to "evaluate what was causing me stress like that...I figured it was being involved in EBDI on their board so I sent them a letter of resignation for that. But since that time I haven't had another attack since I've unloaded that burden: sitting at the table with other people who do not respect you as a human being."

At her final board meeting, Nia was praised for her contributions to the board and for representing her community and when they looked to her to make a statement, she recited a

poem she remembered from 8th grade. As she said, sometimes "you read something in the 8th grade that moves you and then you find yourself in a situation 40 or 50 years later, and it's appropriate for your situation, so I quoted the poem." In just five short lines, Nia was able to convey years of frustration and disappointment concisely:

A man said to the universe:
"Sir, I exist!"
"However," replied the universe,
"The fact has not created in me
A sense of obligation."

According to Nia, only one person in the room heard what she was trying to say. The others, however, were oblivious to her critique. A state of obligation, or being morally or legally bound, while not something that we might not expect from the universe, can reasonably be expected from a non-profit, socially responsible entity like a university or a non-profit development group like EBDI. It is a reasonable expectation given that this sense of commitment is readily acknowledged and touted, especially in the EBDI redevelopment. On Johns Hopkins' community website, the university proclaims their commitment to Baltimore "based on the simple truth that the health and well-being of the university is inextricably tied to the physical, social, and economic well-being of the city in which we live" ("Hopkins in the Community," n.d.). The concern for the health and well-being of the Middle East neighborhood and its residents, however, was not evident to Nia and the many others who were displaced.

The paternalistic attitude with which residents felt attacked by Hopkins manifested in two tangible programs that called the responsibility of the residents into question. The first was an EBDI grant offered to a community group called Har Bell, representing the Hartford Road and Bell Road Communities. According to Betty Robinson, "They were going to give them a grant to teach people how to take care of their houses, which was like what? Well, they're living in these

houses for decades. You know, for 40 years they've been taking care of their houses. Why would you assume that people don't know how?" Ultimately, SMEAC challenged the paternalism of EBDI in its decision to provide this grant to Har Bell, but the insinuation that community members did not know how to take care of their property was highly offensive to residents. As Betty elaborated:

> "The exterior condition of the neighborhood or the house was blamed on the people who lived there, and the exterior condition, having to do with the drug trade… [or with] the city's lack of services, and the exterior of the house having to do with people's low income. They couldn't … put new windows in their house...the resources just weren't there."

As Betty clearly demonstrates, the nature of disrepair was due largely to the lack of both city-wide and household resources. The nature of community decay was unsurprising to many. According to another East Baltimore resident and activist, Glenn Ross, the inner-city communities of East Baltimore around Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes were "designed to decay."

Another point of contention between EBDI and residents was how much they were to receive for their homes and whether they would fully own the homes they moved into. Initially, EBDI was offering residents a $40,000 relocation benefit in addition to the market value received for their homes. This $40,000 was initially only offered to residents if they moved to certain neighborhoods in East Baltimore. According to Betty:

> "people were like, wait, you're taking my house and you're telling me not only where I gotta move, you're telling me that I have to spend a certain amount. So once EBDI hired somebody who was familiar with the uniform relocation act, it turned out that this house for a house in a stable community was the case and that it didn't matter how much the house cost, you know that the, I mean, they try, they did try to steer people to lower cost of houses"

The federal Uniform Relocation Act of 1970 stipulated that people displaced by federal or federally-funded projects are entitled to relocation advising and financial assistance in order to

purchase comparable housing. The initial $40,000 relocation benefit offered to displaced residents was based on 1970s figures, leading SMEAC to push EBDI to raise the amount to account for inflation and rising real estate prices. Ultimately, EBDI agreed to pay $70,000 in relocation fees to homeowners, broken down as follows: $22500 from the city and up to $47500 from private sources (Siegal, 2002). Pat Tracey, president of SMEAC at the time, told the *Baltimore Sun* that she was pleased that EBDI agreed on a relocation amount much higher than the $40,000 initially proposed in summer 2001. The Annie E. Casey Foundation, dubbed the East Baltimore godfather in a 2002 editorial by the *Baltimore Sun* added $5 million to the relocation compensation fund, an amount matched by Hopkins. Casey played a large role in funding relocation packages and was seen by many as a more credible and trustworthy partner in development than Hopkins.

Despite the increase, unfortunately, the $70,000 was not enough to buy comparable homes for some families, leading EBDI to present a shared-equity model. According to Betty, EBDI had proposed that investors could share home equity with relocated households who could not afford the full price of a newly developed home in the Middle East/EBDI area. The idea was that residents would be able to afford more expensive homes in the redevelopment area, so long as they were willing only to take a percentage of equity commensurate with their contribution. For example, if residents had $100,000 from their home and benefits that they put toward a newly renovated $250,000 home, an investor could put up the other $150,000, and the equity for the house would be split 40/60. According to Betty, “People in the neighborhood were really pissed. We’re taking our halves. It just seems so elementary to me. You’re taking our house, and then you’re telling us the only way we can live in this neighborhood is if somebody else buys a part of it, owns a part of it?”

The notion that the added value of the redevelopment should be borne by those forcibly removed from the community they had built was incomprehensible. As Malcolm X said: “How can you thank a man for giving you what's already yours? How then can you thank him for giving you only part of what's already yours? You haven't even made progress, if what's being given to you, you should have had already. That's not progress.”

Redevelopment for Whom?

EBDI incorporated progressive elements aimed at addressing spatial inequality in its plan, namely concerning job and employment opportunities for local residents, particularly women and minorities. Given the high unemployment rate in East Baltimore, a focus on job creation was a welcome addition to the relocation plan. In the initial plan, EBDI promised over 8,000 permanent jobs, many of which would be in the biotech industry. DNP Group did a 2015 third party compliance, and monitoring report which found that between 2006 and 2015, only 7.9% of the total EBDI workforce (both temporary and permanent) were African Americans from East Baltimore--a figure far lower than touted by EBDI statistics. Furthermore, the DNP report found that by 2015, there were only 1,237 permanent positions in the EBDI area, including employees at the Henderson Hopkins school, restaurants, stores, Biotech companies and the Maryland Public Health Lab.

The low number of permanent positions was blamed in large part on the setbacks due to the Great Recession as well as the declining allure of biotech. However, concerns about the biotech park promises were raised as early as October 2002 by SMEAC. In an October 14 meeting, SMEAC members discussed outstanding concerns that had not been adequately addressed by EBDI, namely what type of research would be housed at the biotech park and whether biotech was as lucrative as promised. In their notes, SMEAC noted that “the

employment figures that are being discussed are not realistic compared to other biotech parks' data seen in newspaper articles." Furthermore, they noted that "biotech businesses aren't doing very well according to business news reports. What will happen to [the] area if projections fall short?" Due to their attentive research, SMEAC was able to augur the biotech gaffe, however their concerns could not sway EBDI officials.

SMEAC was rightfully concerned over what EBDI plan failure might mean for (displaced) residents. The assurances SMEAC members sought are what one might expect from a Community Benefits Agreement (CBA), a contractual agreement between community members and local governments and private developers requiring concrete benefits or requirements for community impact assessments on the impact of development on jobs and quality of life. Soja (2010) refers to CBAs as "one of the most significant contemporary innovations in community economic development planning and public policy" (p. 152). Community Benefits Agreements are necessary legal mechanisms that hold developers accountable to community members and elevate the stakeholder status of local residents.

While power is still inscribed in relations between community members and developers, CBAs provide a stop mechanism, ensuring that the benefits are evenly socio-spatially distributed. CBAs are increasingly being used in large development projects and are often only won after significant community struggle. For example, Yale signed a Community Benefits Agreement with New Haven community organizations during its 2008 hospital expansion to ensure affordable housing, minority employment, unionization rights for hospital employees (Luce & Simmons, 2009). In the case of EBDI, the lack of a CBA prevented residents from having any sort of legal recourse for the failed promises. While the community agreed that jobs were necessary, EBDI was not under any obligation to ensure that these jobs were created or filled by

community members. A good faith effort constituted adherence to the plan. An unfulfilled promise would merely be a source of what David Harvey would call the regressive and discriminatory effect of urban development. As Dr. Lawrence Brown said:

> "If they had followed through, at least that would have been much more equitable, but they didn't do that, so it wasn't equitable for sure. It wasn't equitable the way they started it, and it wasn't equitable in the way they followed through or didn't follow through. There was inequity at every stage in the process."

For Dr. Brown, the changing goalposts and unfulfilled promises about resident relocation and job opportunities reinscribed inequity between Black residents and Hopkins. For Dr. Brown, the only way to interrupt the cycle of dispossession is to address what he sees as the root cause of inner-city blight and decay: redlining. Formerly redlined inner-city areas constantly undergo revitalization as evidenced by the long history of revitalization projects in the Middle East neighborhood from the Empowerment Zone designation and HEBCAC spot revitalization to Hopkins' land banking practices to the EBDI development. Capital moves into formerly redlined through intermediaries like HEBCAC or EBDI, not directly to the residents, presumably why wealth accumulation by residents in these areas has not occurred. In other words, redlining stifled the ability of Black families to access capital (e.g. mortgages, loans, etc.) and instead of undoing this process by injecting capital into Black families, the neoliberal state has relied on intermediary development agencies that are designed to create conditions for wealth to trickle down to the most dispossessed.

The issue with development agencies, even those that are non-profit and highly regulated, is that they have less at stake in the face of unforeseen circumstances. As the *Maryland Daily Record* noted, the redevelopment project in East Baltimore was ultimately "too big to fail," and the state was quick to step in to cover any sunk costs. This form of corporate socialism was evident even when Hopkins lost money in the development of homes under HEBCAC in the

1990s as the city paid them back. However, the Middle East community members whose neighborhood was not improved by the 1990s federal Empowerment Zone efforts received no further compensation. Under the EBDI redevelopment, Black community members who have nowhere near the 8,000 jobs promised under the EBDI employment plan are unfortunate victims of the free market. Lisa Williams, a former SMEAC activist and displaced resident of the EBDI, said:

> "I wish it had turned out differently. It hurts to know that we had to move out because of what an institution wanted and our best interests were not at heart. I wanted to come back. The intent was, they were going to build housing, affordable housing, but there's nothing to come back to purchase. What is the plan for residents to come back? It's going to be Hopkins City. Who are they building it for?" (Simmons & Jacobson, 2011).

Not only did EBDI fall short on the number of jobs promised to residents, but the delays in building housing impacted the available housing stock. Furthermore, promises for affordable housing options were not fully realized. The EBDI redevelopment plan promised 2,200 new housing units, of which one-third would be affordable housing, one-third would be moderate-income housing, and the final third would be market-rate housing ("EBDI Progress Report", 2009). If EBDI followed this plan, there would be over 700 affordable housing units, enough to house all displaced Middle East residents who wished to return. By 2009, only 220 housing units were completed. As of March 2016, there were 50 single-family residential units, 215 rental units, and 321 graduate student housing units. Of the 215 rental units, one third, or 73 were affordable units. While the number of rental units did meet the one-third threshold for affordable units, EBDI is still significantly behind schedule on the 2,200 new housing units promised. Furthermore, as of 2016, the largest share of housing was designed to house graduate students, not former residents.

Several private developers built townhomes in the EBDI area, accounting for most of the new single-family housing in the EBDI footprint after 2015. Many of these townhomes were priced significantly higher than the median rent for Baltimore, which was about $275,000 in 2017. The Residences at Eager Park, built by Ryan Homes, starts at $350,000 and the Townes at Eager Park, 49 units which sold out quickly, began at around $336,000.

Unwritten Racial Covenants: Fostering the Ideal New East Baltimore Resident

The transformation of the Middle East neighborhood from a predominantly-Black, working-class community to a mixed-income community was facilitated by several practices predicated on attracting a "New East Baltimore" resident. Instead of prohibiting the presence of low-income Black residents through restrictive racial covenants, the game-plan for making a neighborhood under a post-racial neoliberal regime is more concerned with promoting the influx of capital and ideal residents through numerous incentives.

In the following section, I am concerned with the way that EBDI and Hopkins have engaged in a process of curating the ideal New East Baltimore community. Michel Foucault is useful here given his insistence that power operates not merely to repress but also to foster and produce subject-relations (see for example, Foucault, 1978). The process of curating an ideal "New East Baltimore" subject, I argue, is akin to Foucault's notion of biopower, which refers to the way that power is enacted on populations by the state. In the past, sovereign powers could control subjects by killing them if they posed a threat to their rule. As more democratic nation-states were established, however, this power over lives through death shifted to the point where death was only acceptable if its purpose was to protect other members of society (Foucault 138). Instead of the power to "make die or let live," power over bodies was transformed into the

"power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (Foucault, 1978, p. 138). Similarly, following the liberal shift toward equal rights embodied by the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Fair Housing Act, social death in the form of restrictive covenants and outright exclusion became prohibited. Instead, power operated by fostering life or subsidizing the presence of ideal subjects. For EBDI and Hopkins, the "Ideal New East Baltimore Resident" is a subject produced by the operations of power authorized by EBDI and Hopkins.

A Tale of Two Chase Streets

The experience of two Chase Street residents reveals the economic consequences of EBDI and Hopkins policies in remaking the Middle East neighborhood into the "New East Baltimore." Lucille Gorham and her family lived at their home on 1931 Chase Street since 1988, but she was forced to relocate in 2004 due to the EBDI redevelopment project. Her move set in motion a series of unfortunate circumstances that led to the loss of her (new) home due to foreclosure after her death in 2012. Lucille's children and grandchildren are thus unable to inherit her former home, but more consequential, her legacy as a community activist and steward of the Middle East community was neglected. Two blocks away on the 1700 block of Chase Street, in August 2011 EBDI transferred two property deeds, 1744 and 1746 Chase Street, to David W. Andrews, the incoming Dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Education for $2.00. By the time Dean Andrews left Johns Hopkins in 2017, he and his wife sold their home for $330,000.

Lucille Gorham was a noted community activist who was credited with naming the Middle East neighborhood in the late 1970s when she and other community members created the Middle East Community Organization as a way to receive government money to improve the neighborhood. In 1982, she told the Baltimore Sun, "We have the Northeast Community

Organization on one side and the Southeast on the other" so she told a fellow community member to introduce themselves as being from "the Middle East Community Organization, because [we're] right in the middle of everything" (Baltimore Sun, 1982).

She was well-known among Hopkins' and EBDI leaders as a stalwart advocate of her community. Former Johns Hopkins Hospital president, Robert Heyssel, referred to her as his "good friend [who] would always stand up and say we [Hopkins] had only put a drop in the bucket of need. And she's right" (Banisky, 1994). She was respected for her years of service to the community and when her new home on needed repairs, the EBDI CEO Chris Shea and Baltimore City Councilman Jack Young, both personally commented to the Maryland Daily Record that they would ensure that repairs on her home would be made (Simmons, 2011). Despite her consort with EBDI and Hopkins leaders, the home Lucille and her family were relocated to on Kentucky Avenue was in disrepair and in poor condition. Additionally, while her home on Chase Street was paid in full, she needed to take out a new $40,000 mortgage upon her move to Kentucky Avenue in 2005. The Gorham's new mortgage was from Harbor Bank, whose CEO Joseph Haskins, Jr., was also the Board Chairman of EBDI until 2009. Speaking about the Kentucky Avenue home, Lucille's daughter Sallie Gorham told me that she didn't know how it passed inspection because of the rats and animal hair and feces on the property. Furthermore, Sallie said her mom was charged too much for her house because when she got the house appraised, it was worth much less than her mother paid. The home's condition and the fact that her retired mother needed to take out a new mortgage to afford the property frustrated Sallie who felt that her mother should be entitled to a "House for a House", the slogan EBDI used.

Lucille's daughter, Sallie Gorham, told me that for Lucille, the stress from moving from her beloved community and dealing with issues in their relocated home "shook her spirit up

[while] she was already sick" leading her to ultimately "die from a broken heart." Sallie's belief that her mother's health was affected by the stress of the move is well-supported by studies that show that moving elderly people from their community is detrimental to their health (cite).

Eventually, Lucille Gorham had to take out a reverse mortgage on her home to pay for necessary repairs, a sum that exceeded her social security income. After Lucille Gorham's death in November 2012, the interest and principal on the loan were required by the bank and her children were unable to pay the mortgage, leading to foreclosure in November 2014. Due to the foreclosure, many family heirlooms and material possessions that carry memories of her mom are no longer available to Sallie. Recounting the pain of the foreclosure and the loss of sentimental possessions, she said:

> "It just hurts so bad. You just don't know this shit hurt me. I don't even, I can't even say: 'Oh, this dress? It was my mother's. This picture right here was my mother, or this right here was my mother's.' We lost everything. Scavengers--people was running up taking… my mother's china and taking stuff and I couldn't even get it back. Sitting on a lawn with a Sheriff telling me we can't go back into the house, putting in a lock on the door, locking us out. Don't know where to go or what to do."

The pain of losing her possessions and being locked out of the house she lived in continues to cause immense stress to Sallie to this day. Aside from the trauma of losing her home, she continues to face significant stress due to her housing insecurity and financial precarity, which she feels is directly caused by being forced to relocate. As she told me, "If you just left us where we were at, we would've been fine. We would've managed it. No, they put us out." While her mother's house on Chase Street would inevitably need updates over time, the mortgage was paid off and the property belonged to her family. The move to Kentucky Avenue caused the Gorham's to take an additional $40,000 mortgage and then a reverse mortgage for repairs that eventually wiped out their family's wealth. To this day, Sallie still struggles with the residual effects of her move:

> "I carried this weight for a long time. A long time. Now look at me. I'm beat up. I have ulcers, all of this took a weight on me. I had to get three surgeries. I almost died in my own blood, through all of this being stressed out with this. I'm sitting here talking to you with 16 staples in my stomach. [I am] asking the mayor, can you help me get a job so I can get my family back together? Asking him 'can you help me?' I'm living in a one-bedroom [and] the man wants to rape me if I don't have my rent money. [Mayor Young] hangs the phone up on me. You put me in a situation like this. You tore my family down; you took my family away from me."

Sallie's situation is particularly devastating in light of all the work her mother did in the community to ensure folks had safe and secure housing. In 2011, then-Councilmember Jack Young told the Daily Record that he "was under the impression they [EBDI] were going to do something because [he] asked them to look at it." (qtd in Simmons, 2011). He continued, saying that: "I would hope because of all the goodwill she [Lucille Gorham] has done" for the community that EBDI would be able to help her family. Eight years later, Sallie doesn't feel that EBDI nor now-Mayor Young have provided adequate assistance. To honor Lucille Gorham's legacy, there were discussions about naming a street in the EBDI footprint in her honor. A better way to remember her legacy might entail addressing the material inequalities she was so passionate about fighting.

The material inequality engendered by the redevelopment project is evident in the way real property was gifted to David W. Andrew's family by EBDI. Instead of seeking to profit off the acquired parcels, EBDI saw the Andrews family's residence as an investment in the "New East Baltimore." Given EBDI's lack of transparency, it is unclear what their motive in transferring property to the Andrew's family was, however, it is likely rooted in an assumption that they will add value to the neighborhood that families like the Gorham's would not. The transfer of two parcels of real property to Dean Andrews demonstrates how there *is* money available to provide access to homes, however, instead of going toward those with need, it went to subsidize the presence of a more ideal "New East Baltimore" resident. As participants have

reiterated time and again, the desired residents in the EBDI footprint are not low-income nor Black.

David Andrews received accolades in the press for his decision to relocate his family to the EBDI footprint area--for "putting his bed where his mouth is" and taking a "personal stake in the project" (Anderson, 2013; Rienzi, 2013). Andrews told the JHU Gazette that:

> "My wife and I chose to live here because it's a neighborhood that is redeveloping very quickly and we wanted to be close to the action. We also wanted to get a deeper understanding of the neighborhood and the place where we are trying to make a big impact and education. My wife and I have two adult children that are off doing their own thing, and it was a great adventure for us to try to be part of something new, rebuilding a community" (qtd in Rienzi, 2013).

The great adventure for Andrews and his wife was not without hiccups. Andrews relayed a story to a Baltimore Sun reporter wherein three young men started pounding on his door at 9:30 at night and he remained inside with the deadbolt in, suspicious of their motives. Eventually, another neighbor informed Andrews that he had left his keys in the door leaving Andrews to feel "horrible for being suspicious" (Anderson, 2013). Andrews' suspicion, however, is emblematic of the potential harm folks of color face in gentrifying neighborhoods. As whiter and wealthier populations move into gentrifying communities, there is often an increase in 311 calls, policing, and surveillance of people of color (Fayyad, 2017). It begs the question, whose safety is prioritized in the New East Baltimore?

After seven years at Hopkins, Dean Andrews moved to become the President at National University, selling his home for $330,000. For perspective, in August 2017, the median home price in Baltimore was $143,347 (Zillow ZHVI Data, 2020). Even accounting for the capital invested in the home by accounting for the building permits submitted to the City of Baltimore between 2011 and 2017, the estimated amount invested was less than $150,000. It's not clear

whether Dean Andrews or EBDI paid for the improvements, but assuming their family did pay for the construction, they still made a profit of over $180,000 after selling their home in 2017--enough profit to purchase a second home above the median value in Baltimore.

The foreclosure of Lucille Gorham's home and the immense personal wealth amassed by Dean Andrews is emblematic of how racial wealth disparities are perpetuated by EBDI redevelopment. The loss of the material possessions is further exacerbated by the financial stress she and her brother now bear. In Foucault's terms, the disparate experiences of the Gorham and Andrews families demonstrate how EBDI and Hopkins enacted their "power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (Foucault 1978, p. 138). The gentrification of the Middle East neighborhood was fortified by EBDI gifting property to Hopkins' affiliated folks who would presumably improve their properties and thus the value of the community.

Live Near Your Work (LNYW) Programs

Live Near Your Work programs provide another avenue for residential replacement that precludes the former residents. Like many universities, Johns Hopkins has a program designed to incentivize employees to purchase a home near their worksite. Different models for homeownership support exist across universities ranging from homeownership counseling, down payment assistance, covering closing costs, and/or forgivable loans to cover mortgages. These programs are intended to increase homeownership among employees in university-adjacent neighborhoods. While in the past, homeownership programs were framed more as an additional perk or benefit for university employees, recently homeownership incentive programs have become tied to university-led redevelopment. Johns Hopkins' neighbor, the University of Maryland, Baltimore (UMB), has become more brazen about their desire to use employee

homeownership programs in revitalizing their surrounding communities. When describing the geographic restrictions of the program on their website, they state: “In an effort to revitalize UMB’s surrounding communities, those interested in the Live Near Your Work (LNYW) grant must purchase a home in one of the following neighborhoods” (University of Maryland, Baltimore, “Qualifying Neighborhoods”). A previous iteration of the UMB program did not have stringent geographic restrictions, but employees were only eligible for $5,000 in assistance. With the new geographic restrictions in place, UMB now offers up to $18,500 to eligible employees.

The Live Near Your Work (LNYW) program at Johns Hopkins was started in 1997 and offered employees housing counseling and funds to pay for a house in a designated neighborhood. Between 2009 and 2018, 982 homebuyers employed by Johns Hopkins received LNYW grants totaling over $10 million (Johns Hopkins, “2017 Economic Impact Maryland and Beyond”). Hopkins employees who choose to live in the EBDI area are eligible for up to $17,000 toward their home purchase. The $17,000 staff can get toward their home in the EBDI footprint is much higher than the $5,000 staff can apply to for other areas of the city. Hopkins is clearly trying to get staff to move into the revitalized areas.

It is hard to evaluate the impact of this program since Hopkins has not been willing to share the figures for the EBDI area in particular, but we do know that over 40 employees have taken advantage of subsidies. In an attempt to repopulate the Eager Park neighborhood, Hopkins held a one-day buying program on September 10, 2016, where employees could participate in a lottery and receive $36,000 toward a new home. That day, 44 Hopkins employees purchased homes in the EBDI area.

Repopulating the neighborhood with Hopkins employees is a catalyst for the changing demographics in the Middle East neighborhood and further demonstrates the contradictory way

in which capital is deployed to erase a black community. The 1970 Center for Urban Affairs report highlighted past segregated services and the predominantly white Hopkins workforce as a "past sin," however the racial disparities in Hopkins workforce continue to this day. A comprehensive analysis of the impact of the Live Near Your Work program on neighborhood demographics would require a racial breakdown of LNYW program recipients, which Hopkins has not made available. However, a quick look at the employee breakdown at JHU, including the medical school (Table 6.1), reveals that as of 2017 only 25.41% are Black. If we were to assume that LNYW benefits were doled out proportionately on the basis of race, then only approximately 25% of LNYW grant recipients would be Black--a figure far below the 95% of the Middle East neighborhood prior to expansion. Even a proportional allotment of LNYW grants would lead to significant changes Middle East neighborhood's racial demographics, with a significant influx of White residents.

Table 6.1. Johns Hopkins' Employees by Race

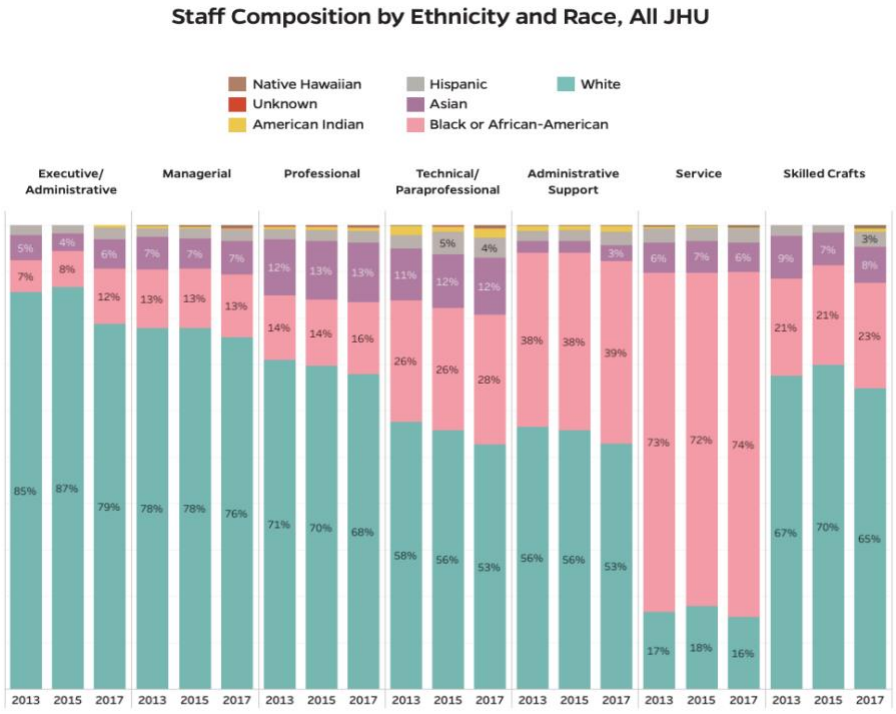
	2013		2015		2017	
	Staff	Percent	Staff	Percent	Staff	Percent
American Indian	101	0.93%	92	0.81%	124	1.02%
Asian	923	8.46%	994	8.76%	1145	9.46%
Black	2692	24.66%	2783	24.53%	3077	25.41%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	28	0.26%	27	0.24%	52	0.43%
Hispanic	251	2.30%	303	2.67%	348	2.87%
Unknown race	1	0.01%	8	0.07%	7	0.06%
White	6919	63.39%	7138	62.92%	7355	60.74%

Source: JHU Report on Staff Composition, 2019

If we dig even deeper and examine the types of jobs held by personnel of different races at Hopkins (Table 6.2), we see that the Black employees are over-represented in the service sectors and therefore might not have the economic buying power to take advantage of the

program. The program may also exacerbate inequality if contractual employees are excluded from accessing benefits, which is particularly concerning given the acceleration of outsourcing under academic capitalism.

Figure 6.2 Johns Hokpins' Employees by Race and Sector



Source: JHU Report on Staff Composition, 2019

Significance of these programs

In the long history of racial and social contention in the Middle East neighborhood, redlining, restrictive covenants, Jim Crow segregation, and medical experimentation and research exploitation are obvious indicators of how Black populations were controlled, surveilled, exploited, and in Foucault's terms, "made to die." Under a neoliberal racial regime, these overt practices become more insidious, as the invisible hand of the market is purported to not have any particular bias or direction. As is evident from the above examples, however, is the

invisible hand of the market operates in a way that privileges those who hold more social capital. In many ways, the operations of the LNYW programs and other informal practices like the transfer of property to the Andrews family act as unwritten racial covenants, rewarding whiteness with property. Under a post-racial regime, power has been transformed into the ability to foster certain lives, often based on the politics of respectability.

Fostering homeownership among those with more social capital, in the case of subsidizing the ideal "New East Baltimore" resident, is particularly damaging given that homeownership has been a primary vehicle for wealth accumulation in the United States (Herbert, McCue and Sanchez-Moyano, 2013). Homeownership is understood to be an asset that determines a family's economic well-being and life chances (Oliver & Shapiro, 1990). In a longitudinal study of the wealth gap, Shapiro, Meschede, and Osoro (2013) found that for households with an increase in wealth over the 25-year study period, homeownership accounted for 27% of the difference in wealth growth. Further, the largest predictor of wealth growth by race was homeownership. While the policies and practices of EBDI in repopulating the Middle East neighborhood did not actively prevent homeownership among Black people, the preference and material support provided to the majority White Hopkins workforce serves to entrench racial wealth disparities.

Homeownership has been associated with an increase in net wealth of about $9000 annually, although disaggregated data showed that for African Americans, the net gain, all other things being constant, was less than $8000 (Herbert et al., 2013). Even after subtracting the added investment value captured by the building permits data, the increase in wealth for the Andrews' family was over $180,000 over the six years they owned the home. The average annual net increase of $30,000 per year far surpasses the estimate of wealth increase suggested

by Herbert and colleagues (2013) by over $100,000. On the other hand, Sallie Gorham's family lost a significant amount of asset wealth following the foreclosure of their home.

Erasing the history of conflict: From "Middle East" to "Eager Park"

In 2010, EBDI hired Carton Donofrio, a local advertising firm, to "rebrand" the community and relaunch the project. In March 2011, Donofrio Partners sent a survey out to Hopkins staff to determine what kind of housing and amenities they would prefer to be built in the New East Baltimore. It even offered a list of names for participants to choose from to name the new area like "Lantern Hill," and "East Village" that would help distinguish the newly developed area from the former Middle East neighborhood (Simmons, 2011). The survey tempted future residents with the potential of "achieving a healthy, well-balanced lifestyle" just outside their doors with amenities like an "expansive community park and fitness center", organic grocers, and a community farmers market, and neighbors who "share a commitment to academic excellence by sending your children to Baltimore City's first partnership school with the Johns Hopkins University" (Simmons, 2011). In response to this survey being sent out, Raymond Winbush, director of the Institute for Urban Research at Morgan State University said: "What they did was get rid of the residents and now they are offering housing to Hopkins employees in the area." EBDI leaders conceded that Hopkins employees were intended survey participants however they also planned to include former East Baltimore residents, all of whom "comprise very important demand-side segments" at the EBDI project (Simmons, 2011). Despite their inclusion after the fact, their initial omission in the Donofrio survey signaled to former residents that they were not important stakeholders in the project.

Ultimately, the decision to rename the community was just one more example of the erasure of Black residents and history. EBDI said the "Eager Park" moniker would help attract

new residents by ridding the area of "unhelpful associations" characterized by the Middle East name. As one of the development directors has said, the Middle East calls to mind a conflict-ridden area that is not attractive nor marketable. The Middle East name invokes a conflicted geopolitical area, not unlike the site of the EBDI development.

In some ways, Eager Park was a palimpsest where the violent history of dispossession and displacement are overwritten. Through the process of renaming, the Middle East community (and the sins committed against them) is effectively erased and replaced by a new narrative of growth and progress, producing what Marita Sturken (1997) calls a "culture of amnesia." For Sturken, a culture of amnesia is a generative process that is concerned with the production of new forms of memory. In the case of Baltimore, the new Eager Park is described on the Live Baltimore website as:

> "a conveniently located neighborhood undergoing rapid revitalization. The area is home to many new homes, businesses and a new, six-acre public park (Eager Park). Residents enjoy easy access to Johns Hopkins Medical Campus and public transportation and an affordable mix of rowhomes and new-construction townhomes."

Residents criticized the new name because it erased the history of the previous neighborhood. Donald Gresham, a Middle East resident and community activist formerly part of the Save Middle East Action Committee, told the Baltimore Sun:

> "They want it to sound like there's no history here until they got here. Eager Park is just another slap in the face. Nobody cares about what this community represented. It's all about the glamour" (Kilar, 2013)

In many ways the erasure of the "Middle East" moniker is not unlike the colonial process of renaming conquered lands as was the case when American Indian lands were taken and their claims to space erased.

It's hard not to wonder whether the bureaucratic barriers experienced by the East Baltimore Historic Library were motivated by attempts to fix the politics of memory. The East

Baltimore Historic Library was intended to hold oral histories and archives documenting the lived histories of Black residents relocated by EBDI. EBHL was promised a physical space in the EBDI to appease the Maryland Historic Trust when EBDI needed to demolish more historic row houses to make space for the Henderson-Hopkins school site. The original Memorandum of Understanding between the Maryland Historic Trust and EBDI stated that the EBHL should have opened in January 2014. However, by 2014, EBDI was asking the library to contribute more funds for the construction of their space, despite the fact that under the MOU, EBDI was required to pay for all building costs. In an email to Nia, representatives of the Maryland Historic Trust said that "the trust does not have the ability to force EBDI to meet its obligations under the MOA--perhaps city housing can provide some leverage." It is hard to understate the level of frustration borne by residents and activists who abided by the legal hoops required by EBDI and the State, only to be left without recourse.

Summary

Resident perceptions of the EBDI redevelopment was influenced by legacies of healthcare mistreatment and exploitative research studies that paralleled mistreatment in the context of redevelopment. The decision to create the biotech park was imposed on the community instead of being developed in consultation. As city officials attempted to spur economic development, Middle East residents became an afterthought.

The redevelopment process itself was also fraught as residents felt excluded and disparaged by Hopkins. While there were community meetings following the development of the draft plan, many felt that their concerns were not addressed. Being informed about the redevelopment project and eminent domain through the Baltimore Sun further added to feelings of demeaned importance. The proposal of a home-maintenance grant program and shared equity

program by EBDI, intended to help build the responsibility of residents, added further insult to injury.

The relocation of Black families and the subsidies provided to Hopkins staff and students magnified material inequality, even beyond the EBDI footprint. The foreclosure of Gorham's family home and the personal wealth amassed by Dean Andrews in the sale of his gifted home is emblematic of how racial wealth disparities are perpetuated by EBDI redevelopment. Given that homeownership has been a primary vehicle for wealth accumulation in the United States (Herbert, McCue and Sanchez-Moyano, 2013), the role of EBDI in fostering homeownership among those with more social capital, in the case of subsidizing the ideal "New East Baltimore" resident, is particularly damaging to racial equity.

The re-naming of the former Middle East neighborhood to Eager Park solidified the Black community's cultural displacement and provided further evidence that the community was being remade in the interests of Hopkins staff and students. The Black community's history and legacy in the Middle East neighborhood was effectively erased and replaced by a new narrative of growth, progress, and innovation.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MEASURING GENTRIFICATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEIGHBORHOOD

Introduction

Gentrification has become a common slur levied at universities, especially those amid expansion and economic development initiatives (Davis, 2018; James, 2018; Moskowitz, 2014). The disdain from critics does not seem unwarranted given that gentrification refers to a process of community change wherein previous residents are priced out of neighborhoods, replaced with new, often White, residents with higher socio-economic status (Clark, 2005). While the research on gentrification has focused on state policies (Smith, 1979), especially with regard to housing, a newer line of research explores other triggers of gentrification like art and cultural institutions (Ley, 2003). Furthermore, the role of educational institutions as contributors to the gentrification process (particularly charter schools) has piqued the interest of urban educationalists concerned with equity and socio-spatial justice (Hankins, 2007; Lipman, 2011; Pearman & Swain, 2017).

Higher education scholars, while astutely attuned to local and regional impact of universities since at least the 1970s, have not empirically explored whether higher education institutions contribute to gentrification. Critics of the East Baltimore Development Inc redevelopment of the Middle East Baltimore neighborhood often criticized the biotech park project as a gentrification rouse, although this critique was often brushed aside by EBDI staff and supporters. For EBDI's part, their goal was "ensuring that those families directly affected by the redevelopment be treated more fairly, more supportively and more respectfully than has yet been the case in projects of this nature across the country" ("About EBDI, ebdi.org).

Measuring the impact of universities on local communities is a complicated and often imperfect science. University-impact scholars have been attuned to a broad spectrum of benefits

afforded to university-adjacent neighborhoods from increased employment rates and economic multipliers (Harris, 1997) to supply-side effects like human capital gains and technical support (Bramwell & Wolfe, 2008). Economic impact studies have demonstrated the value of universities to local and state governments considering decreasing budgets. However useful, several methodological limitations exist when studying the economic impact of universities from issues when defining the local area, illogical counterfactuals, and the inability to account for other economic drivers, especially in some large technological hubs (Siegfried, Sanderson & McHenry, 2007). Furthermore, the residential mobility seen in gentrification does not figure into any studies of university impact on the local economy. The 2014 economic impact report released by Johns Hopkins was prepared by a New York City consulting firm and focused primarily on the economic impact of research dollars, employee salaries, and local purchasing power. The report concluded that $9.1 billion in economic output was created by Johns Hopkins in 2014. It is interesting to note that in the calculations of their contribution to the EBDI area specifically, they included the rent paid by their graduate students in the 929 apartment building (p. 12, Johns Hopkins, "Economic Impact Report 2014"). Hopkins' contribution to the local economy is thus inflated if gentrification raises the rental prices of housing and commercial space in the EBDI zone.

Given the heavy reliance on university-funded case studies to measure their economic impact, the extent to which universities contribute to gentrification is unknown. Gentrification, as a process displacing the most vulnerable residents, ultimately seems to contradict the desire of most universities to be an asset to their local community. The notion of place, a site imbued with meaning wherein people live out their lives, is deeply personal and ethnographic studies have shown that when people are forced to leave their homes and relocate, they feel a sense of grief

akin to losing a loved one (Fried, 2000). Chen, Orum, and Paulsen (2012) describe place attachment as "the emotional connections that people feel toward specific places." Being forced to relocate because of a powerful institution that does not have the same value on space as community residents can sow distrust. Therefore, this study attempts to better understand how universities fit into the dynamic of urban change—particularly regarding gentrification.

Gentrification is a social and economic process affecting many urban areas across the United States as capital moves back into the city—reversing trends of suburbanization and white flight. This study seeks to utilize available census data to test whether the area around the EBDI redevelopment area experienced gentrification. This chapter will test this hypothesis in two quantitative studies of gentrification focused on the change in median income, educational attainment and white demographics. Study 1 utilizes a tract-specific analysis of gentrification most commonly used by researchers utilizing census data. While the tract-specific methodology (described below) is useful in identifying impacted tracts, it relies on a dichotomous outcome variable (gentrified/did not gentrify) and is thus unable to determine the extent of the gentrification process. Study 1 is useful in providing a descriptive analysis of the geographic distribution of gentrification by tract in Baltimore, but Study 2 will distill the focus on the causal effect of the EBDI redevelopment project. Study 2 utilizes a spatio-temporal difference-in-difference approach to test whether the gentrification (operationalized as the change median income, educational attainment, and percentage of white residents) that occurred in the EBDI footprint was caused by expansion.

Study 1: Tract-Level Gentrification

While a vast literature outlines the harms of gentrification and displacement, there is no methodological consensus about how to operationalize gentrification. Early studies of the topic focused primarily on qualitative case studies, but as the topic grew, there was a wider effort to quantify the demographic and socioeconomic changes in gentrifying communities (Freeman, 2005; Hammel & Wyly, 1996). The wide-spread availability of census data also made quantitative measurements possible.

Freeman's (2005) methodology for measuring gentrification is the most widespread model utilized by researchers seeking to identify gentrified tracts using census data. His method is a straightforward two-phase approach that involves identifying "gentrifiable" areas at baseline and then identifying tracts who have gentrified during the intercensal period. For Freeman (2005), "gentrifiability" is determined by whether a tract has all of the following: l) located in the central city, 2) has a smaller proportion of housing built within the past 20 years than the metropolitan area median, and 3) has a median income less than the median income of the metropolitan area. Once gentrifiable[12] tracts are identified, gentrified tracts are those that, during the period of interest, had an increase in real housing prices and an increase in educational attainment greater than the metropolitan area.

The above operationalization of gentrification has been used widely, including in Governing magazine's calculation of gentrification in the US (Maciag, 2015). While Freeman's (2005) operationalization of gentrification is a useful starting point, the specific indicators will be amended for this study. Central to Freeman's (2005) measure identification were several

[12] For the purposes of this section, "gentrifiable," and "eligible to gentrify" will be used interchangeably to refer to tracts that, at baseline, meet the criteria for gentrifiability. That is, they are l) located in the central city, 2) has a smaller proportion of housing built within the past 20 years than the metropolitan area median, and 3) has a median income less than the median income of the metropolitan area.

underlying themes evident across gentrification literature, namely the presence of low-income populations, disinvestment, influx of affluent/more highly educated residents, and re-investment.

The aforementioned dimensions of gentrification will guide the selection of indicators, however more appropriate indicators for the Baltimore context will be used. Given the age of the housing stock in Baltimore, and the relatively higher rate of vacancies, the ratio of vacant units will be used as a more sensitive measure of disinvestment, rather than the proportion of housing stock built in the past 20 years. Median income will still be used as a measure of the low-income population to identify "gentrifiable" tracts, however it will also be used to identify the influx of more affluent residents during the intercensal period. Given data limitations, instead of housing prices, gross average rent per census tract will be used. This study will employ a more stringent criteria by assessing whether the increase in rental prices during the intercensal period was higher than the increase for the metropolitan area instead of just a net increase in housing prices. Finally, the measure of educational attainment, defined as the percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher, will also be used. Finally, Freeman (2005) did not use a measure of racial demographics in his calculation, however given the racial hypersegregation of Baltimore and the potential for racial displacement in the central city as a result of gentrification, the percentage change in white residents will be added to this framework.

The final criteria used to determine gentrification for each tract can be summarized as follows:

1. Tract is located in the central city.
2. At baseline, have a median income lower than the median for the metropolitan statistical area.
3. At baseline, have a proportion of vacant units higher than the median for the metropolitan statistical area
4. During the period of interest, a change in median income greater than the change in median incomes across the metropolitan statistical area.
5. During the period of interest, an increase in the percentage of bachelor's attainment greater than the increase across the metropolitan statistical area.

6. During the period of interest, a change in gross average rent greater than the change in gross rent across the metropolitan statistical area (must be a net gain).
7. During the period of interest, a change in the proportion of white residents greater than the change across the metropolitan statistical area.

The first three categories will only be used to determine whether a tract is "gentrifiable." From there, tracts will be evaluated based on whether their level of change between 2000 and 2018 is greater than the average change along the following dimensions in Baltimore: median income, gross average rent, bachelor's attainment and percent of white residents. Freeman's (2005) index is additive, but in order to fully appreciate the changes per tract, each of these dimensions will also be considered independently of the other criteria for "gentrifiable" tracts.

Freeman's (2005) original article separated notions of economic gentrification and residential displacement. In fact, his findings indicated that residential displacement is less likely in gentrified areas. This finding has been refuted by several qualitative studies that insist on a connection, if not a causal relationship, between economic gentrification and residential displacement. Although the gentrification-displacement debate is not the focus of this study, it is important to note that despite Freeman's findings, some literature suggests that these phenomena go hand-in-hand (see for example Brummet & Reed, 2019; Aron-Dine & Bunten, 2019). However, if we suspend judgment on Freeman's secondary assertion, his methodology for studying gentrification is useful in its simplicity and the degree to which it captures the economic variables associated with gentrification: disinvestment, income, education, and housing prices. In the case of East Baltimore, residential displacement was not necessarily a *result* of gentrification, but rather a clearing that made incumbent upgrading possible (see for example, Clay, 1979). Whether gentrification leads to displacement is not of interest here as the displacement of Middle East residents was a precursor to redevelopment.

Data

The data used in this analysis comes from the 2000 decennial census and the 2018 5-year American Community Survey (ACS) dataset. Data was taken from Social Explorer in order to ensure that census tracts were geographically-standardized to 2010 tract boundaries. Data was collected for all census tracts in Baltimore City for 2000 and 2018.

The income variable used for this study is median household income by census tract in 2000 and 2018. The dollar values across time periods are standardized by using 2018 inflation-adjusted dollars. The measure of disinvestment for this study was the ratio of vacant housing units per census tract calculated by dividing the number of vacant housing units by the total number of housing units for each census tract in both 2000 and 2010. Given the high number of vacancies in Baltimore due to severe population loss after the 1980s, vacancy ratios are a more sensitive indicator of divestment than the median age of housing stock used by Freeman (2005).

As elaborated in the previous methods section, tracts who meet the following criteria at baseline (in 2000) are considered gentrifiable: household median income is lower than area's median income (calculated as the median income for all Baltimore city tracts) and ratio of vacant housing is greater than the median for all of Baltimore City, indicating that these tracts are divested. All tracts in Baltimore are evaluated according to the proposed criteria, however special attention will be paid to the four census tracts that make up the Middle East neighborhood and the tracts that constitute East Baltimore, given their proximity to the EBDI development project.

Findings

Gentrifiable Tracts

Sixty of the 200 census tracts in Baltimore City were classified as “gentrifiable.” All of the Middle East tracts are characterized as “gentrifiable,” meaning that at baseline the median income was within the 40th percentile and their vacancy rate was higher than the median vacancy rate for all of Baltimore City. The gentrifiable tracts are heavily concentrated in the east and western areas of Baltimore City.

Figure 7.1. depicts the geographic spread of gentrifiable tracts across Baltimore. The majority of gentrifiable tracts fall within the footprint of 1930s Home Owner’s Loan Corporation (HOLC) redlined zones, supporting previous national-level research done by the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC) showing that 74 percent of redlined areas are low to moderate income today (Mitchell & Franco, 2018). The enduring effects of redlining and spatial disinvestment have created the conditions for gentrification.

Although the criteria for identifying gentrifiable tracts did not include race, a majority of gentrifiable tracts have over 90% black residents, owing to the legacy of hyper segregation in Baltimore. In fact, in gentrified tracts the median percentage of white residents was only 2.98.

Map 7.1 Comparison of ‘Gentrifiable’ Tracts with Redlined Tracts in Baltimore

Map A. Gentrifiable Tracts in Baltimore

Map B. 1937 HOLC Map of Baltimore

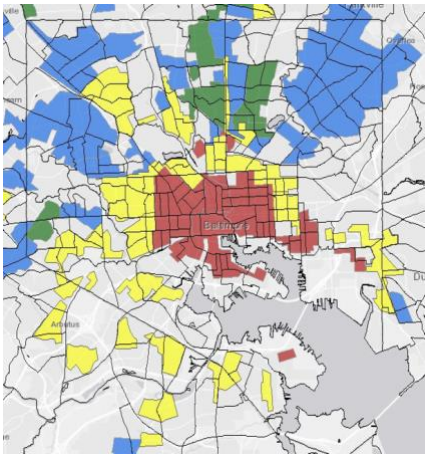


Table 7.2 shows descriptive comparisons between gentrifiable and non-gentrifiable tracts in Baltimore. While the median number of housing units is comparable for each tract grouping, there are vast inequalities in the vacancy rate, unemployment rate, educational attainment levels, and poverty. The gulf between gentrifiable tracts and gentrified tracts on these economic indicators suggests that these areas are vulnerable to significant displacement if redevelopment efforts do not cater to low-income populations.

Table 7.2 Characteristics of Neighborhoods, 2000 Medians

	Gentrifiable	Not Gentrifiable
N	60	140
Housing Units	1373.5	1432
Vacancy Rate (%)	22.94	9.15
Unemployment Rate (%)	17.88	9.71
Poverty Rate (%)	31.475	12.25
Education (Bachelors or More %)	5.145	16.665
White (%)	2.78	29.49

Source: US 2000 Decennial Census
Note: Dollars are inflation-adjusted to 2018 values

Gentrified Tracts

To reiterate the methodology, of the gentrifiable tracts in the analytic sample at baseline, tracts are considered gentrified if they saw an increase in median income, bachelor's attainment, percent white residents, and rent greater than the median increase. To account for widespread increases in education and rental prices across all tracts over time, tracts were only considered gentrified if their rate of increase was greater than the overall median increase for all tracts in Baltimore city. For example, a tract was considered gentrified by education if it's percent change

in bachelor's attainment between 2000 and 2018 was greater than 9.14%, the change between the median of all Baltimore in 2000 and 2018 (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Overall Change in Median Household Characteristics, 2000-2010

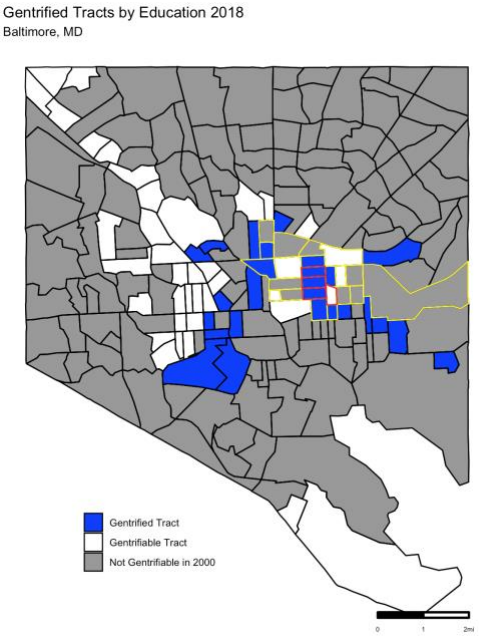
	All Baltimore		
	2000	2018	2000-2018 change
Education (% Bachelors)	11.66	20.85	9.14
Rent	737.562	1051.5	313.938
% White	17.335	14.79869	-3.180082
Median Income (dollars)	44672.32	42296	-2376.324
Vacancies (%)	11.93	17.00	5.07

Source: 2000 Decennial Census and 2018 ACS 5-year estimates

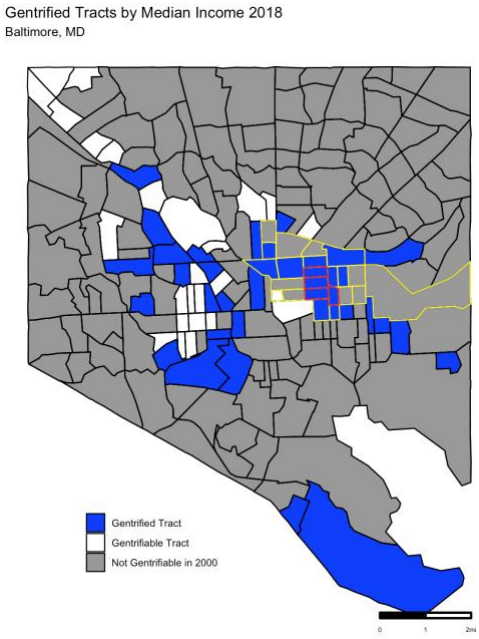
Figures 7.4 and 7.5 show the tracts that have gentrified according to Freeman's (2005) criteria. Figure 7.4 shows the tracts that have gentrified along each dimension (i.e. educational attainment, median income, rent, and race) between 2000 and 2018. Tract gentrification for each dimension in turn will be discussed further below. While Freeman (2005) takes an additive approach and only considers a tract gentrified if it gentrifies along all dimensions, Figure 7.4 disaggregates the dimensions in order to explore the spatial trends for each. Figure 7.5 illustrates the aggregated gentrification categories based on the Freeman-adapted criteria for this study. In both Figure 7.4 and 7.5, tracts that are part of the Middle East neighborhood are outlined in red and East Baltimore tracts are outlined in yellow. Figure 7.5 reveals that all Middle East census tracts gentrified along the dimensions of education, median income, and race, although only one of the four middle east tracts gentrified along the rent dimension.

Figure 7.4 Gentrified Tracts in Baltimore Disaggregated by Category, 2000-2018

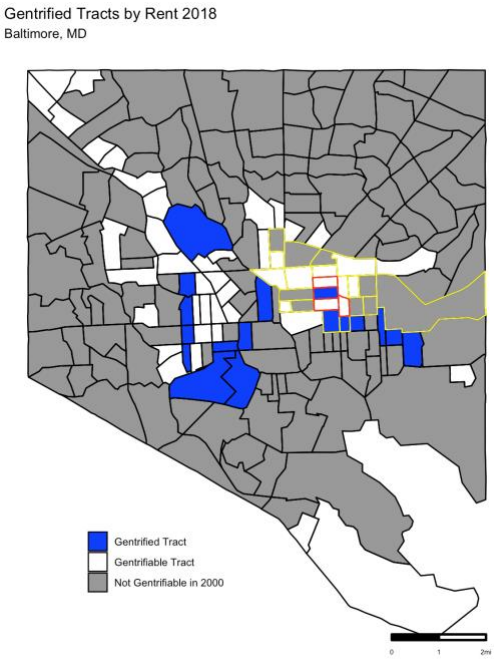
a) By Educational Attainment



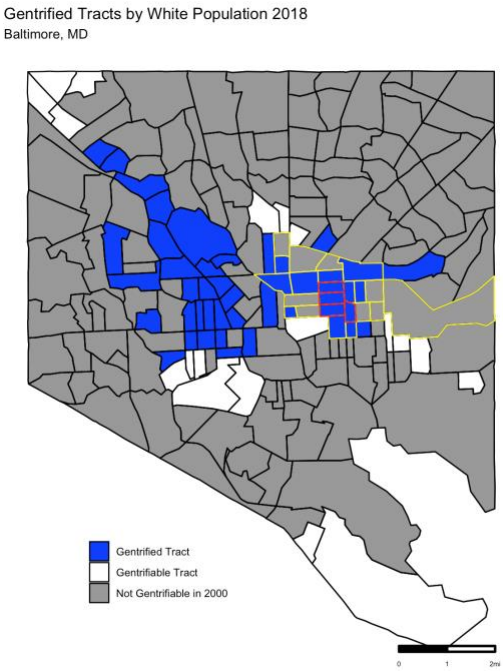
b) By Median Income



c) By Rent Prices



d) By Race (Percent White)



Proportion of White Residents

A majority of the gentrifiable tracts gentrified in 2018 based on the increase of the percentage of white residents (n = 46) (see Figure 7.4d). Baltimore went from 32.45% white in 2000 to 26.95% white in 2018, representing a decrease of 3.18 percent in the white population. Any tracts that saw a change of the percent white population above -3.18% were considered gentrified by race. All of the gentrifiable tracts in the Middle East (red outline) and East Baltimore (yellow outline) were gentrified by race in 2018. The average increase in the white population was 2.31% in the Middle East neighborhood and 3.15% in all East Baltimore.

The overall decrease in white folks across Baltimore City, along with a net increase in gentrifiable areas confirms theories that white flight has been reversed into a move back into the inner city. In a prescient study of Washington, DC, Derek Hyra termed the reinvigoration and romanticization of formerly Black urban areas as the making of the 'gilded ghetto'. Hydra notes:

> "Once places where poverty, drugs, and violence proliferated, these areas have become spaces where farmers' markets, coffee shops, dog parks, wine bars, and luxury condominiums now concentrate. The transition of American urban 'no-go' Black zones to hip, cool paces filled with chic restaurants, trendy bars, and high-priced apartment buildings defines the gilded ghetto" (p. 7)"

As a general trend, much of this transition can be tied to the economic impetus of developers who see these disinvested areas as sites of speculative development. In the Middle East neighborhood and East Baltimore overall, the presence of Johns Hopkins adds an additional demand-side layer. The captive consumer base of Hopkins' students and employees serves as insurance for speculative developers. Furthermore, in the case of EBDI, the groundwork had already been laid by government-subsidized infrastructure development and displacement. Given the stark demographic gulf between former Middle East residents and Hopkins' students and

staff, the introduction of new amenities by EBDI in the 'gilded ghetto', and the Live Near Your Work incentives, the rise in the white population in the Middle East neighborhood is unsurprising.

Median Income

Thirty-nine gentrifiable tracts were considered gentrified in 2018 based on their median income changes between 2000 and 2018 (see Figure 7.4b). Overall, between 2000 and 2018, the median income across all Baltimore tracts decreased by $2376.32, so any tracts that saw increases (or a smaller decrease) were considered gentrified. All four tracts in the Middle East neighborhood were considered gentrified by median income with the average change over the four tracts was an increase of $4253.56. Of the 14 gentrifiable tracts in East Baltimore, 13 gentrified as a result of median income increases. The average median income change between 2000 and 2018 over all 23 East Baltimore tracts was $3380.92. While this figure is less than the average change among Middle East tracts, the median income change is still much higher than the $2376 decrease in median income across Baltimore city between 2000 and 2018.

Educational Attainment

Twenty-six tracts gentrified according to changes in their educational attainment between 2000 and 2018 (see Figure 7.4a). A majority of the tracts that gentrified were concentrated in the eastern and southwestern area of Baltimore. Census data reveals that the percentage of Baltimoreans with a bachelor’s degree or more rose from 11.66 percent in 2000 to 20.8 percent, an increase of 9.14 percentage points. This increase was more pointed in the Middle East neighborhood where educational attainment levels outpaced city-wide increases in three of the four tracts with two of the four tracts increasing by over 19% driving the average tract increase

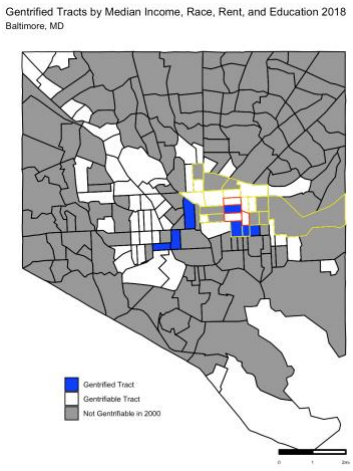
to 16.42 percent. East Baltimore had 9 of its 14 gentrifiable tracts gentrify as a result of educational attainment, with an average tract increase of 12.13 percent.

Rent

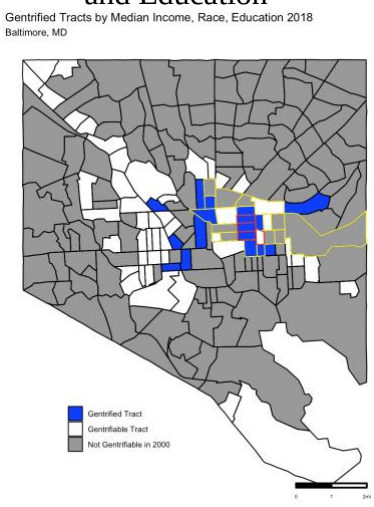
Few gentrifiable tracts had increases in rent greater than median increase across Baltimore between 2000 and 2018 (see Figure 7.4c). A majority of the rent-gentrified tracts were located in the eastern part of Baltimore. Overall, the median rent in Baltimore city rose $313.94 between 2000 and 2018. While rents did rise in the Middle East neighborhood by an average of $288.69 and East Baltimore by an average of $283.76, the pace of change was not as steep as Baltimore overall. These quantitative findings seem to counter previous qualitative findings indicating that rent has increased. One reason for these incompatible findings might be the insensitive nature of census data in estimating rent over time. Furthermore, given the fact that renters are often hard-to-count groups in the census, rent figures from the census are not an ideal metric. Ideally, real housing values would be used as a variable although that wasn't available in this case. Further analyses using more updated figures from Zillow will be discussed below.

Figure 7.5 Gentrified Tracts in Baltimore Aggregated by Category, 2000-2018

(a) By Median Income, Race, Rent and Education



(b) By Median Income, Race, and Education



Overall Composite Gentrification

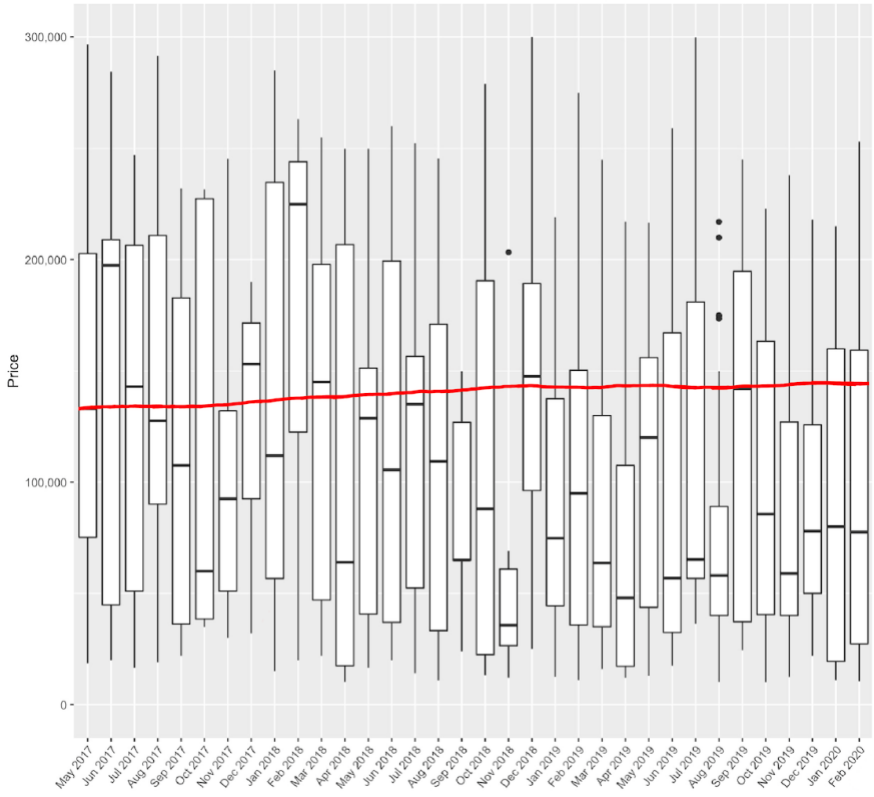
Freeman's (2005) methodology for identifying gentrified tracts relied on an additive approach to the dimensions of gentrification. For Freeman, a tract was considered gentrified only if it experienced changes on all dimensions. His full approach is demonstrated in Figure 7.5a. Using this approach, only one tract in the Middle East neighborhood has undergone gentrification between 2000 and 2018. Given the block-by-block nature of the redevelopment process, a census-tract level analysis of rent increases might not be appropriate for capturing the full extent of change. Furthermore, census data might not be as sensitive to rental changes over a relatively short period between 2006, when the demolition began, and 2018.

Housing Prices

Data from Zillow, an online real estate database, is a more reliable measure of housing prices and costs than the census estimates. Housing market data, not rent, was captured for 2017-2020 in order to determine how housing prices in the Middle East neighborhood stacked up to larger trends in the Baltimore housing market. I used a webscraping technique to capture all homes listed as sold on Zillow between 2017-2020 in the Middle East neighborhood and graphed these against Zillow's Home Value Index (ZHVI) median home prices for Baltimore city (Zillow ZHVI, 2020). Figure 7.6 depicts the sale prices by month from May 2017 to February 2020. The red line represents the median home prices in Baltimore (Zillow ZHVI, 2020). The graph depicts wide distributions for Middle East home sales, likely due to the fact that in certain blocks, vacant units are still being sold to speculative developers. In fact, on Zillow, many advertisements like

the one below (Figure 7.7) seek to attract developers to purchase vacant units. It is likely then, that in 5-10 years, the housing prices will see significant increases.

Figure 7.6 Zillow Housing Sales by Month in the Middle East Neighborhood, 2017-2020



Source: Zillow Housing Prices for Sold Properties in Middle East neighborhood, Baltimore

Figure 7.7 Advertisement for Investment Opportunities in House Rehabilitation

Source: Zillow advertisement

Conclusion

The results of Study 1 indicate quite strongly that between 2000 and 2018, the tracts around the EBDI redevelopment project gentrified along the dimensions of median income, educational attainment, and racial demographics. While this study considered the dimensions separately, changes in race, income, education, and housing are all mutually constitutive elements of gentrification. Some scholars have considered more complex gentrification processes like "*gentefication*" wherein People of Color with higher incomes and rates of educational attainment move into an ethnic enclave (Ahrens, 2015). However, the data in this study, particularly the sharp influx of White residents post-expansion, indicates that the classic form of gentrification characterized by Whiter, wealthier, and more educated residents is taking place. There were several limitations to this study, however. First, it was not able to determine the extent of gentrification given the binary outcome variable (gentrified/did not gentrify). Secondly, despite gentrification in the tracts of interest in the Middle East neighborhood, it is unclear whether these changes would have taken place regardless of the EBDI development. The next study attempts to reconcile these shortcomings by running statistical tests to determine whether changes in the outcomes of interest, median income, racial demographics, and educational attainment, were a function of EBDI expansion. In other words, Study 2 aims to measure the counterfactual—what the expected change would be in the neighborhood surrounding Johns Hopkins absent of the EBDI expansion.

Study 2: Spatio-Temporal Difference-In-Differences

Study 1 was primarily focused on identifying whether census tracts gentrified, with particular attention paid to the Middle East neighborhood tracts north of Johns Hopkins in the EBDI redevelopment area. While there was a temporal element and changes were calculated for each tract, the dichotomous nature of the outcome variable (gentrified/did not gentrify), makes it difficult to test whether observed changes were significant. Study 2, however, attempts to identify the treatment effect of EBDI expansion on the outcome variables used in Study 1 by utilizing causal inference methods. While Study 1 was merely descriptive and sought to describe spatial patterns of gentrification in Baltimore, Study 2 considers the role of EBDI expansion in the spatial trends observed in the Middle East neighborhood.

A difference-in-differences approach is used to estimate the causal effect of a policy or program. This particular framework is used in this study to determine whether the Billion-dollar expansion project undertaken by EBDI (the forcing variable) led to differential outcomes along the treatment/control axis. Since there is no feasible way to observe the counterfactual, or the rate of change on variables of interest *had expansion not occurred*, the difference-in-differences model uses the control group to represent the non-event. The difference between the pre- and post-treatment measures on a given variable for the control group is taken to be expected level of change on a variable irrespective of a policy or program, in this case the EBDI redevelopment. The difference between the observed level of change in the treatment group from the expected level of change (as calculated by the control group), is the difference-in-differences estimator. This analytic approach is used in this study in order to attempt to capture the causal effect of the EBDI redevelopment expansion as best as possible. There is no way to observe the non-

expansion scenario, so a control group is fashioned as the best-case comparison group. For this study, the treatment group are tracts within a one-mile radius of JHMI, whereas the control group includes Baltimore census tracts outside of the radius. Further discussion on the selection of the treatment and control groups appears below.

Difference-in-Differences (DD)

Conceptually, difference-in-differences (DD) estimators attempt to model the causal impact of a treatment by using the control group's change as a referent. Assuming the two groups are equal in expectation, the difference between the group pre- and post- treatment period changes is said to be attributed to the treatment event. In the case of this study, we could say that in the absence of the EBDI expansion event (Y_0), the expected value on an outcome variable is determined by the sum of the time-invariant treatment group effect, g (in this case, a dichotomous variable determined by whether the tract was near Johns Hopkins or not) and the time effect that remains constant for both groups, t (in this case, the overall expected change between 1990 and 2018 on the outcome variable). The population values for the time invariant treatment group effect (γ) and the time effect (λ) are derived from the no-treatment state (Y_0):

$$E\left[Y_{0igt}\middle|g,t\right] = \lambda_g + \gamma_t$$

The difference-in-differences estimator is then calculated by taking the value of the time effect for the control group ($\lambda_{t=0} - \lambda_{t=1}$), which can be noted as:

$$E[Y_{0igt}|g = 0, t = 1] - E[Y_{0igt}|g = 0, t = 0]$$

and subtracting from that, the value of the time-effect for the treatment group, which can be noted as:

$$E[Y_{1igt}|g = 1, t = 1] - E[Y_{1igt}|g = 1, t = 0]$$

Essentially, the value of the variable of interest for the census tracts within 1-mile of JHMI (treatment) post-expansion subtracted from the pre-expansion baseline value of the variable is equal to the first difference for the treatment group ($\lambda_{t=1}$). The first difference for the control group could be similarly calculated. As a simplified example, if the control group had 100 vacancies pre-expansion and 80 post expansion, the first difference (which could also be referred to as the time-effect) for the control group would be -20 vacancies. If the treatment group had 100 vacancies pre-expansion and 50 vacancies post-expansion, the first difference for the treatment group would be -50 vacancies.

Equations 2 and 3 can be combined as follows to determine the causal effect of interest, δ:

$$\{E[Y_{igt}|g=0,t=1]-E[Y_{igt}|g=0,t=0]\}-\{E[Y_{igt}|g=1,t=1]-E[Y_{igt}|g=1,t=0]\}$$
$$=\delta$$

To extend the simplistic example of vacancies above, the time-effect or first difference of the treatment group (-50) minus the first difference of the control group (-20) would be -30. For this example then, the effect of the expansion on vacancies is a loss of 30 vacant units. We would expect the rate of change in the treatment group to align with the control group (i.e. they would both lose 20 vacant units), but the additional vacant units lost in the control group (-30) we can attribute to the treatment under investigation (i.e. expansion).

Combining the time-invariant population estimates of treatment/control group membership with the expected change effect based on the control group, the difference-in-differences equation can therefore be written in regression format as:

$$Y_{igt}=\gamma_g+\lambda_t+\delta D_{gt}+\epsilon$$

where the value of outcome variable (Y) for tract (i), treatment/control group (g), pre/post the event, (t) is the sum of the true group effect (γ_g), the group-invariant time effect (λ_t), and the constant difference estimator (δ), where D is a dummy for the expansion.

Addressing Spatial Bias

The spatial structure of social variables has been widely theorized long before geo-statistical models began to account for spatial dependence. Studies on segregation, for example, are premised on the notion that spatial processes are not random (Gibbons, 2018; Rothstein, 2017). Furthermore, studies about the concentration of poverty demonstrate how uneven geographical distributions configure unequal outcomes (Wilson, 1996).

In the case of this study, the spatial nature of the problem under investigation introduces a source of bias to the DD model and requires spatial adjustments in the analysis. Spatial autocorrelation refers to the correlation of a variable with itself across space, similar to the way a variable might be correlated with itself over time in serial autocorrelation. Spatial autocorrelation can be either positive (observations near each other are more likely to be positively correlated) or negative (observations near each other are more likely to be negatively correlated) and is distinct from spatial randomness (i.e. geographical location has no bearing on the structure of the variable) (see Ord, 2006).

Spatial regression models, generally, rely upon the inclusion of a spatial weights matrix that includes a vector of adjoining spatial units (e.g. census tracts) (or neighbors for contiguous spatial data) or distance-based weights for non-contiguous data. The two primary spatial effects biasing linear regression analyses are spatial autocorrelation in the outcome variable, violating

the assumption of independent observations, and spatial autocorrelation of the error terms which implies uneven variances across space, violating the assumption of homoscedasticity.

Spatial autoregressive (SAR) models address autocorrelation in the outcome variable by introducing a spatial autoregressive parameter (or spatial lag), ρ, to the regression equation. The matrix form of the spatial autoregressive model is:

$$y = X\beta + \rho Wy + \epsilon$$

where β is the vector of parameters, ρ is the autoregressive parameter for the weights matrix, and ϵ is the vector of error terms.

A conceptually different approach, the spatial error model (SEM), accounts for spatial dependence in the residuals. The common matrix form of the spatial error model equation appears to be the same as a linear regression equation:

$$y = X\beta + u$$

However, the error term is:

$$u = \rho Wy + \epsilon$$

Applying a DD Framework to Spatial Regression

A spatio-temporal difference-in-differences regression approach is used following Gonzalez Canche (2017), who applied a difference-in-difference framework to a spatial autoregressive (SAR) model. While Gonzalez Canche (2017) relies on the spatial autoregressive (SAR) model, given the difficulties in in correctly identifying the nature of spatial dependence, many geographers use both a spatial autoregressive (SAR) model as well as a spatial error model (SEM) in their analyses (see Anselin and Bera, 1998; Fortheringham, Brundson & Charlton, 2011). In practice, it is difficult to determine whether the SAR model or SEM model best

addresses issues of spatial autocorrelation and often both models are run, and post-tests are conducted to determine which model fits best. Therefore, in this study, two spatio-temporal difference-in-differences models will be used, the first based on the spatial autoregressive model, and the second on the spatial error model. Post-tests, which will be introduced below, will be conducted to determine which model has the most explanatory power.

The spatially lagged effect of a neighbor(s) (j) on a tract (i) is demonstrated in two equations given by Gonzalez Canche:

$$y_i = \alpha_j y_j + X_i\beta + \epsilon_i$$

$$y_j = \alpha_i y_i + X_j\beta + \epsilon_i$$

These equations demonstrate how the outcome of a tract (y_i) is a function of both the tract specific coefficient ($X_i\beta$) plus the spatially lagged \version\ of the outcome of interest ($\alpha_j y_j$). The difference-in-difference model, then, can be applied to spatial data by adding the additional regression parameter, (ρ), to account for the spatially-lagged values of adjacent tracts.

Spatial Autoregressive DD Model

This autoregressive parameter, ρ, can then be added to a difference-in-difference model taking the following form:

$$Y_{igt} = \gamma_g + \lambda_t + \delta D_{gt} + \rho W_{ij} + \epsilon$$

where the value of outcome variable (Y) is the sum of the true group effect (γ_g), the group-invariant time effect (λ_t), the constant difference estimator (δ), where D is a dummy for the expansion, and ρW_{ij} is the spatially lagged value.

This can be rewritten as a general difference in difference equation as:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_{0it} + \beta_{1it}Treatment + \delta_{0it}TimeDummy + \delta_{1it}(Treatment * TimeDummy) + \rho Y_{ij} + \epsilon$$

where $\beta_{1it}Treatment$ is the group effect, $\delta_{0it}TimeDummy$ is the group-invariant time effect, $\delta_{1it}TimeDummy * Treatment$ is the difference in difference estimator, ρY_j is spatially-lagged outcome variable.

Spatial Error DD Model

The spatial error difference-in-differences model takes the same form as the general difference-in-differences equation; however each observation has a unique error term to account for spatial dependence in residuals. Residuals are the difference between the value estimated by the model function and the actual observed value for each case. The underlying assumption in spatial error models is that the spatial effect is not captured by the variables in the model function, but rather from spatially autocorrelated variables that may be excluded (i.e. omitted variable bias). For example, given high levels of residential racial segregation, we might expect race to be a variable that has high spatial autocorrelation. If it is not included in the model function, however, the effect of spatial autocorrelation might cause the residual error terms to demonstrate a pattern or structure.

The formula for the spatial error difference-in-differences model can be expressed as:

$$Y_{igt} = \gamma_g + \lambda_t + \delta D_{gt} + \rho W_{ij} + \epsilon_{igt}$$

where ϵ_{igt} is $\rho W_{ij} + \epsilon$

This can be simplified and rewritten as:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_{1it} Treatment + \delta_{0it} TimeDummy + \delta_{1it}(Treatment * TimeDummy) + \epsilon_{it}$$

where ϵ_{it} is $\rho W_{ij} + \epsilon$

Moran's I

There are several ways to determine the extent of spatial autocorrelation captured by the models however the Local Moran's I test on the residuals is the most widely used. The Moran's I test produces a test-statistic between 1 for positive spatial autocorrelation (clustering) and -1 for negative spatial autocorrelation (dispersion), with a score of 0 indicating spatial randomness. After naive OLS regressions models are run, a Moran's I test on the residuals determines whether spatial dependence biases the data. Moran's I does not indicate which spatial model (autoregressive or error) is most appropriate. However, re-running the Moran's I test on the residuals of the spatial autoregressive (SAR) and spatial error models (SEM) is useful in determining whether spatial autocorrelation was adequately accounted for in the models. After running the Moran's I test, any remaining spatial autocorrelation in the models would likely be due to omitted variable bias.

Data

The spatial panel data used for this study comes from georeferenced spatial polygon data available from the US Census. Tract-level data for this study came from the 1990 and 2000 decennial census as well as the 2010-2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates. Decennial census data was downloaded from Social Explorer because figures were adjusted for inflation to 2018 dollars and geographically-weighted to fit 2010 census tract boundaries.

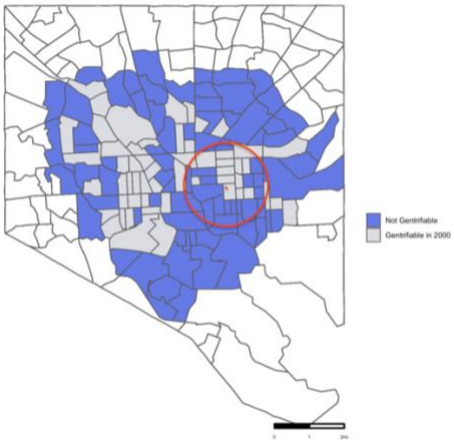
The three outcomes of interest in this study are the same from Study 1: Median income, racial demographics measured as the percent of white population per tract, and educational attainment measured as the percentage of the population over 25 with a bachelor's degree or higher.

One key aspect of causal inference is the approximation of researcher-controlled experiments, particularly the exogenous assignment to treatment and control groups such that both groups are equal in their expectation relative to the outcome variable. If we were to use the entire sample from Study 1, the "treatment" group should have consisted of census tracts within a one-mile radius of the Johns Hopkins East Baltimore campus where the EBDI development occurred while the "control" group should consist of the rest of the tracts in Baltimore City.

Upon first glance, it seems difficult to argue that the treatment and control groups would be equal in expectation relative to the gentrification outcome variables given that the Middle East neighborhood was specifically targeted for development because city officials, non-profit leaders, and Johns Hopkins administrators felt it was subject to further decay or a site of projected profitability. However, the decay and disinvestment experienced in the Middle East community was also felt in many low-income areas in the heart of Baltimore, similarly dealing with the after-effects of redlining and structured divestment. Therefore, an analytic subsample of central Baltimore tracts, excluding the northernmost tracts are used in Study 2. Given that the spatial distribution of gentrifiable tracts were concentrated in the central city due to the enduring legacy of redlining, it would be more appropriate to measure whether the EBDI development had an effect *compared to similarly disinvested tracts*. As shown in Study 1, many tracts at the outer edges of the Baltimore city lines were not considered gentrifiable due to their higher median incomes and lower rates of vacant housing. Therefore, some of these tracts are excluded in the

analytic sample to ensure that the comparison in the difference-in-differences model are between tracts with the same presumed level of gentrifiability.

Map 7.8 Analytic Sample for Difference-in-Differences Spatial Regression



The treatment group was created by identifying census tracts within a one-mile radius of Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes. Defining the geographic scope of the "local area" is an established problem in the measurement of university impact, which is especially of concern in large studies comparing university impact across densely populated urban areas and more sparse rural areas (Siegfried, Sanderson, & McHenry, 2007). Anselin, Varga and Acs (1997) directly address the issue by conducting an empirical comparison of the differential spatial effects of universities at several geographic extents. Given the focus of this study on Hopkins' adjacent neighborhood, following previous studies that have looked at the effect on Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) or counties, seems far too wide and introduces several other internal validity concerns. In a study of the impact of community development on residential pricing, Wiley (2015) uses a one-mile radius, which will be employed here. The treatment group refers to the census tracts within one-mile of JHMI (rb = 1) and the control group refers to census tracts within the analytic sample that are outside of the one-mile radius (rb = 0).

The time dummy variable was created by grouping all decennial data (1990 and 2000) for pre-expansion (t = 0) and all American Community Survey (ACS) data (2010-2018) for post-expansion (t = 1). It is difficult to accurately identify a pre- and post- period for the expansion given the multi-phase approach taken by the developers, however, the nature of the data available is such that pre-expansion is 1990 and 2000 figures and post- includes 2010-2018 figures.

The internal validity of the study is compromised somewhat by the wide nature of the analytic window vis-a-vis the expansion dates. This is partially unavoidable given the long timespan of the EBDI project; however the available census data also contributes to this shortcoming. While ideally, there would be annual data available from 2000-2018 continuously, this was not the case. 1990 decennial census data was added to the pre-treatment group in order to improve the statistical power of the experimental comparison.

Despite threats to internal validity caused by the wide temporal bandwidth in the data, the study design is more appropriate to address the fact that construction spanned several years before new buildings and homes were ready for new tenants. 2010 is a good year to begin the "post" process as by 2010, several buildings were finished allowing for new commercial and residential tenants to settle in the Middle East neighborhood.

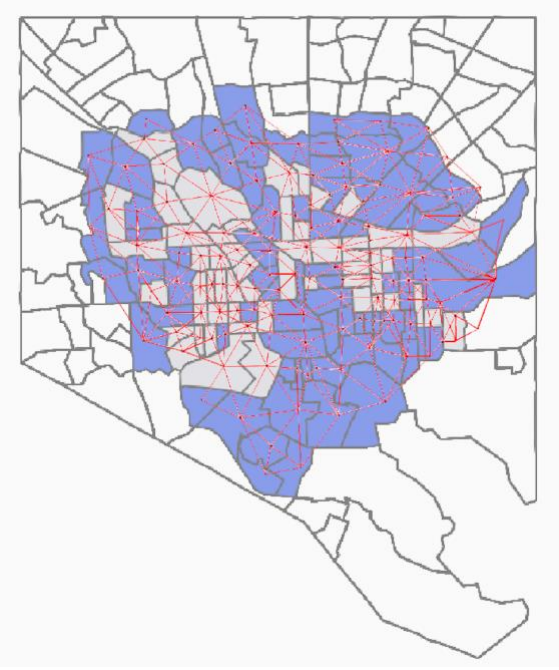
Spatial Weights Matrix

Spatial weights can be calculated based on contiguity or distance. Since contiguous census tracts were used, a spatial weights matrix was created using a queen contiguity approach. Contiguous weights usually take a rook or queen approach, paralleling moves in chess wherein a rook approach includes contiguous spatial units that are north, south, east, and west of the census

tract of interest or a queen contiguity approach where all touching spatial units are included. A queen contiguity approach is more appropriate in the case of census tracts because given the various shapes of census tracts, it would be inappropriate to assume that only some contiguous tracts influence the tract of interest.

In a spatial weights matrix, each census tract (i) had a vector of neighboring tracts (j)—in this case, since a queen contiguity approach is used, the vector of neighboring tracts (j) includes all tracts that touch or share a boundary with (i). Since the tracts used for this study were standardized by Social Explorer to 2010 Census boundaries, only one spatial matrix was created and used across all years. Figure 6.9 shows the analytic sample tracts (in color) overlayed with a graph of how the spatial weights matrix was created. The connectivity graph depicts which tracts are considered neighbors for a tract of interest.

Map 7.9 Connectivity Weights Graph

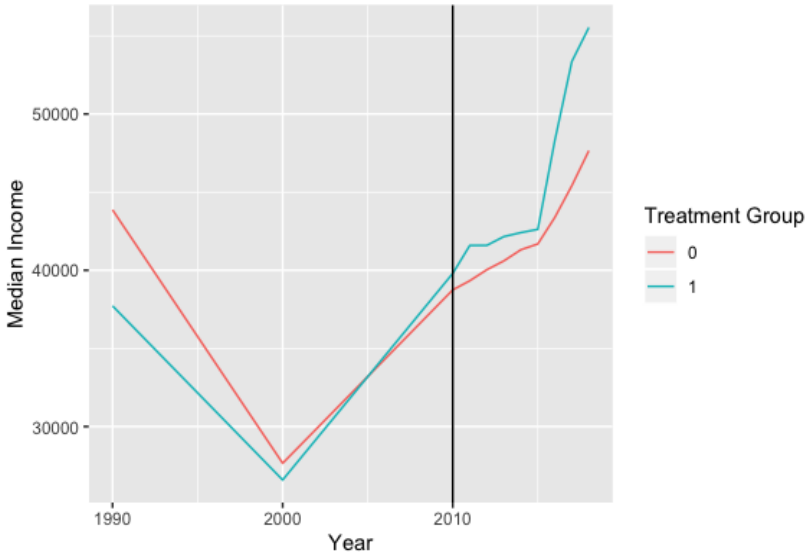


Findings

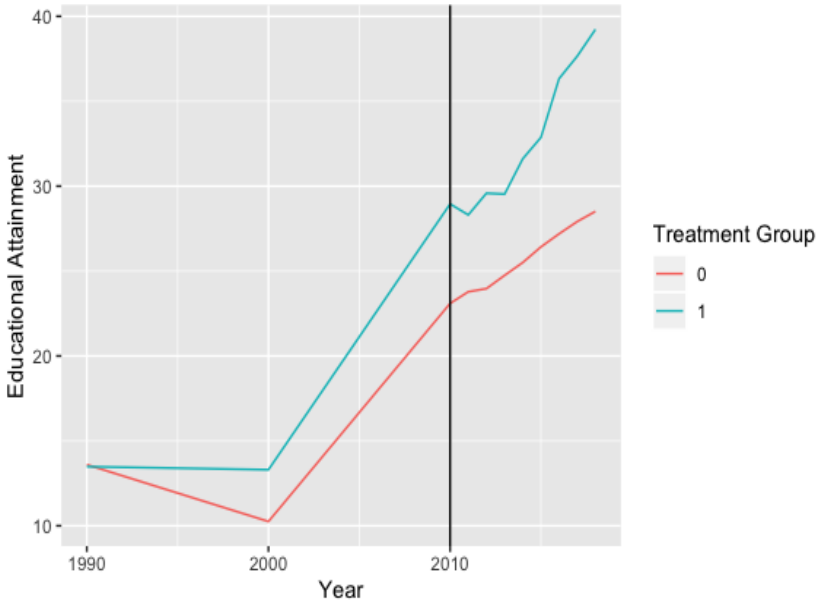
Parallel Trend Assumption on Outcomes

The parallel trend assumption for difference-in-difference models ensures that prior to the event of interest, the two groups share a similar trend on the outcome variable. This assumption establishes that the control group is an appropriate counterfactual of the trend under investigation. The parallel trend assumption essentially confirms whether the treatment and control groups can be considered equal in expectation with respect to the outcome variable. The values on the outcome variable for the treatment and control groups prior to the event (in this case pre- and post- treatment) do not have to match, but they should remain fairly parallel. If they do not maintain a parallel trend, it would be difficult to prove that the event (i.e. expansion) was the only factor influencing the post-event values. The following graphs depict the mean values of the outcome variables of interest for the treatment and control groups both pre- and post- expansion.

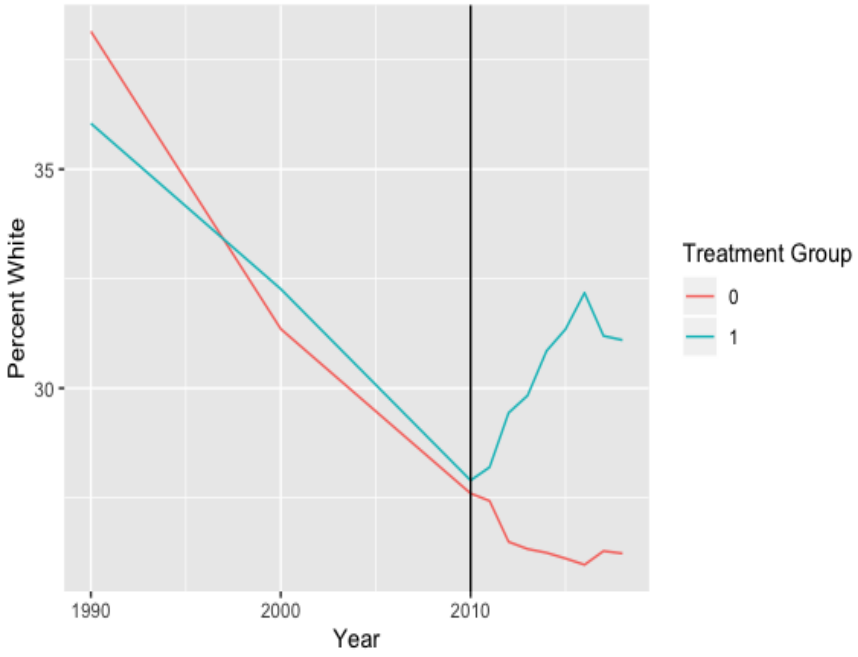
7.10 Longitudinal Median Income Comparison for Treatment vs. Control Group Tracts, 1990-2018



7.11 Longitudinal Educational Attainment Comparison for Treatment vs. Control Group Tracts, 1990-2018



7.12 Longitudinal Comparison of Percent White Residents in Treatment vs. Control Group Tracts, 1990-2018



While the slopes of the lines in the pre-treatment period (1990-2000) indicate that there is not a perfect parallel relationship, overall, the trends seem to approximate each other fairly well. Furthermore, it is clear that in the post-expansion period (after 2010) there is a marked difference

in the group mean trends on the outcomes. The median income graph (Figure 6.10) shows that between 1990 and 2000, the median income for control tracts (rb = 0) dropped at a steeper pace, however still remained higher than the treatment group in 2000. In the post-treatment period, the median income of tracts near Johns Hopkins (rb = 1) overtook the control group and rose precipitously as of 2015. The educational attainment graph (Figure 7.11) shows that the educational attainment level in the treatment group remained relatively stable between 1990 and 2000, while the control group experienced a slight decline. As of the post-treatment period beginning in 2010, the gap between the treatment and control group increased slightly, but the trend post-2010 seems to be steeper for the treatment tracts. The graph depicting the percent of white population (Figure 7.12) shows the closest approximation of parallel trends, despite the fact that the treatment group (rb = 1) does overtake the control group between 1990 and 2000, although the difference is fairly small. After expansion, however, the trend lines for the treatment groups clearly diverge. While the post-expansion figures are still a net decline from figures in 1990, there is an increase in the percentage of white residents near the EBDI redevelopment area, whereas the decline continues in the comparison tracts. While a visual analysis of slopes does not indicate a statistically significant change, it does suggest that there is a treatment effect on the outcomes of interest.

Analog Difference-in-Difference Calculations

The difference in difference set-up is quite simple given that it merely compares the difference pre- and post-expansion of the treatment group with the control group. This can be solved fairly easily using simple subtraction of the post-expansion values from the pre-expansion values for each group (i.e. treatment and control). Table 7.13 shows the analog difference-in-

difference calculations for median income, educational attainment, and White racial demographics. While these simple calculations are unable to say whether the difference identified between groups is significant, they are useful in determining the ballpark figures for the impact of expansion on the treatment group. The analog difference-in-difference estimator for median income (see Table 7.13a) was $6747.18, meaning that post-expansion, the treatment group's median income was $6747.18 higher than would have been expected had expansion not occurred. We can then extrapolate this finding to say that expansion caused an increase in median income for affected tracts of $6747.18.

Table 7.13 Analog Difference-in-Difference Calculations

A. Median Income [DD = 6747.18]

	Pre Expansion	Post Expansion	Difference
Treatment (rb = 1)	32324.55	45252.34	12927.79
Control (rb = 0)	35836.06	42016.67	6180.61
Difference within period	-3511.51	3235.67	6747.18

B. Educational Attainment [DD = 5.52]

	Pre Expansion	Post Expansion	Difference
Treatment (rb = 1)	13.40	32.66	19.26
Control (rb = 0)	11.94	25.68	13.74
Difference within period	1.46	6.98	5.52

C. Race (Percent White) [DD = 4.26]

	Pre Expansion	Post Expansion	Difference
Treatment (rb = 1)	34.22	30.22	-4.0
Control (rb = 0)	34.78	26.52	-8.26
Difference within period	-0.56	3.7	4.26

Regression Based Estimates

Median Income. The OLS regression revealed a significant effect on the time/treatment interaction term, which represents the Average Treatment Effect on the Treated (ATT). Tracts within the EBDI one-mile treatment radius post-expansion gained $6747 in median income (significant at $p < 0.06$). This figure matches the analog DD calculation (see Table 7.13a), however a Moran's I test on the residuals of the OLS model produced a significant I statistic of 0.5439 (significant at $p < 2.2e\text{-}16$). The significant I test statistic indicates that positive spatial dependence biases the linear OLS model. Essentially, this means that spatial autocorrelation is present in the linear model and we thus need to use a spatial regression approach with weighted neighbor values.

The coefficients for the interaction term in the spatial autoregressive model (SAR) indicate that the ATT is $6691.60, a slightly smaller figure than the OLS model indicating that spatial adjustment tempered the effect of the treatment. This figure, however, still suggests that the expansion project caused a significant increase in median incomes within the treatment area. A Moran's test on the residuals of the SAR model produced a value of 0.012 ($p < 0.01$) indicating that spatial bias was adequately accounted for. We can thus say that the SAR model

accounted for spatial autocorrelation and the expansion lead to an increase of $6691.60 in median income for the treatment area.

The spatial error model (SEM) confirmed the findings of the SAR model. The spatially adjusted coefficient of the SEM model was $6690.60 ($p < 0.002$). The Moran's I value of the residual in the SEM was slightly higher and more significant, so we can say with greater confidence that expansion led to an increase in median income of about $6690.60.

The above findings confirm the findings in Study 1 showing that tracts in the Middle East neighborhood gentrified. While there were 39 tracts in Study 1 that gentrified on the median income dimension, Study 2 confirms that tracts within the one-mile radius band (i.e. the treatment group) were significantly more likely to experience an increase in median income compared to all other gentrifiable tracts in Baltimore.

This finding confirms that there was some degree of incumbent upgrading, despite the explicit efforts of EBDI to retain a portion of the low-income population by building low-income housing. It is also important to note that the increase of $6690.60 is quite a large effect given that the median income in Baltimore as of 2018 was $48,840.

Table 7.14 Median Income OLS and Spatial Regression Models

	OLS Linear Regression			Spatial Autoregressive Model			Spatial Error Model		
Variable	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.
Intercept	35836	1609	<2e-16***	-4721.1	1029.2	4.5e-06 ***	35150.9	55921.9	0.53
TimeDummy	6181	1777	0.001***	6201.8	1103.9	1.9e-08 ***	6073	1083.5	2.1e-08 ***
TreatDummy	-3512	3281	0.285	-5873.1	2042.1	0.004 **	-7111.1	2827.3	0.012 *
I(Time * Treat)	6747	3627	0.063	6691.6	2255.5	0.003 **	6690.6	2213.8	0.0025 ***
Adj. R-squared	0.0186								
Rho/Lambda				0.994			0.9934		
LR Test Value				1354.8		< 2.2e-16 ***	1355		< 2.2e-16 ***

Note: * significant at $p < 0.05$, ** significant at $p < 0.01$, *** significant at $p < 0.001$

Education. The baseline OLS regression did not have a significant interaction term so we cannot say there was a treatment effect on bachelor's attainment according to the linear model. That is, the linear model without accounting for spatial dependence did not show that rates of educational attainment were affected by expansion. However, the Moran's I ran on the residuals of the OLS model produced a significant I value of 0.6243 ($p < 2.2E-16$), meaning that there was positive spatial clustering that needed to be accounted for. Once the spatial dependence was accounted for in the spatial regression models, the interaction terms of interest became significant. The spatial autoregressive model (SAR) did have a significant interaction term indicating that EBDI expansion had an average treatment effect on the treatment area. The findings of the SAR model indicate that treatment increased the percentage of bachelor's attainment levels in the treatment area by 5.73% ($p < 0.0029$).

The spatial error model (SEM) produced similar results, indicating that there was an ATT of 5.52% ($p < 0.002$). Unfortunately, the Moran's I tests run on the residuals of both models could not eliminate that spatial dependence still biases the two models. This is likely due to high spatial autocorrelation on variables omitted from the model. Given that the purpose of the models was to evaluate the impact of the treatment only on bachelor's attainment, no other covariates were used, however it is likely that the addition of other covariates might better account for spatial bias still evident in the residuals of the models.

The 5.52% increase in bachelor's attainment resulting from the expansion confirms previous research that redevelopment leads to a more educated citizenry, presumably because of the underlying relationship between income and education. In the case of EBDI, the development of a large amount of student housing probably also contributes to this figure. The 929 graduate housing was the largest residential development project in the EBDI area and created space for

over 500 graduate students that did not previously have such a large graduate housing complex. The large Live Near Your Work program incentives offered to Hopkins' hospital staff likely also contributed to the influx of college-educated residents to the area.

Table 7.15 Educational Attainment OLS and Spatial Regression

	OLS Linear Regression			Spatial Autoregressive Model			Spatial Error Model		
Variable	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.
Intercept	11.944	1.566	4.3e-14 ***	-11.557	0.838	<2.2e-16 ***	-58.788	103.781	0.571
TimeDummy	13.737	1.73	3.9e-15 ***	13.675	0.919	<2.2e-16 ***	13.401	0.9067	<2.2e-16 ***
TreatDummy	1.453	3.193	0.649	-3.7449	1.697	0.0273 *	-2.303	-0.973	0.331
I(Time * Treat)	5.526	3.53	0.118	5.5733	1.876	0.00297 **	5.57	1.852	0.002 **
Adj. R-squared	0.0745								
Rho/Lambda				0.99691			0.997		
LR Test Value				1799.6		<2.2e-16 ***	1797.1		<2.2e-16 ***

Note: * significant at p < 0.05, ** significant at p < 0.01, *** significant at p < 0.001

Race. By far, the largest impact of the EBDI expansion was on racial demographics. Even the baseline graph establishing parallel trends in outcomes prior to expansion demonstrated a significant divergence between the growth of the white population in/outside of the treatment area. The results of the OLS regression do not show a significant impact of expansion on the percent of white residents, however there is significant autocorrelation after running a Moran's I test on the residuals (see Table 7.16).

The SAR and SEM models similarly are not significant at $p < 0.05$, however given the visible trend in the descriptive graph and the analog differences-in-difference table, it seems appropriate to examine the effects at a wider significance level. If we adjust the significance level to 0.1, we can say with 90% confidence that the expansion did have an effect on the percentage of white residents in the EBDI neighborhood. The SAR model indicates that the

treatment led to a 4.33% increase in the percentage of white residents ($p < 0.075$). The SEM indicated a treatment effect of 4.39% ($p < 0.068$). Unfortunately, like the education models, both of these spatially-adjusted models still exhibit spatial autocorrelation in the residuals due to omitted variable bias.

The increase in the white population is due to the displacement of the formerly 98% Black community in the Middle East neighborhood and the recruitment of whiter and wealthier residents to the neighborhood by the marketing and public relations firms hired by EBDI. Also, as explained in the previous chapter, even a racially-proportionate allocation of Live Near Your Work benefits would cause racial turnover in the predominantly black tracts that make up the EBDI treatment zone.

Table 7.16 Percent White, OLS and Spatial Regression Models

Variable	OLS Linear Regression			Spatial Autoregressive Model			Spatial Error Model		
	B	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.	*B*	SE *B*	Sig.
Intercept	34.784	2.223	<2e-16 ***	7.159	1.084	3.9e-11 ***	-31.261	174.301	0.858
TimeDummy	-8.264	2.456	0.001 ***	-8.623	1.195	5.4e-13 ***	-8.578	1.177	3.2e-13 ***
TreatDummy	-0.568	4.532	0.9002	-4.266	2.206	0.053	-4.978	3.075	0.106
I(Time * Treat)	4.2676	5.0113	0.3946	4.333	2.439	0.076	4.387	2.405	0.068
Adj. R-squared	0.0077								
Rho/Lambda				0.998			0.998		
LR Test Value				2057.8		<2e-16 ***	2058.5		<2.2e-16 ***

Note: * significant at $p < 0.05$, ** significant at $p < 0.01$, *** significant at $p < 0.001$

Conclusion

The findings of the Spatial Difference-in-differences models in Study 2 confirm the hypothesis that the EBDI expansion led to gentrification, at least on the basis of median income and educational attainment. While the percent of white residents did decrease post-expansion for

all census tracts in Baltimore, this decrease was less severe in the EBDI neighborhood (treatment group). Given the binary nature of the time periods used in this study (pre-expansion vs post-expansion), some of the nuanced changes in the percent of the white population is difficult to parse. Future research ought to explore the racial demographic shifts in more granular detail, especially considering the parallel trend assumptions graph (Figure 7.12) indicates that post-2010 the proportion of white residents began an upward trend in the EBDI area.

The models used in Study 2 confirm the findings from Chapter 4 demonstrating that policies and programs put in place by EBDI are contributing to an influx of a whiter and wealthier demographic. The presence of the Henderson-Hopkins school, Live Near Your Work incentives, and the lack of affordable housing options in the EBDI area have likely coalesced into a situation where gentrification has occurred.

Chapter Summary

This chapter conducted two quantitative analyses of gentrification in Baltimore between 2000 and 2018, focused on the rate of change in median income, educational attainment, rental prices, and racial demographics. Utilizing a tract-specific methodology, Study 1 identified Baltimore City tracts eligible for gentrification (i.e., gentrifiable) in 2000, which tracts gentrified by 2018, and the spatial distribution of gentrified tracts across Baltimore. Study 2 expanded upon these findings by testing the hypothesis that the EBDI project caused gentrification beyond what would have been expected sans redevelopment.

Sixty of the 200 census tracts in Baltimore City were classified as “gentrifiable” in 2000, including all four Middle East tracts. Comparing the gentrifiable and non-gentrifiable tracts reveal vast inequalities in the vacancy rate, unemployment rate, educational attainment levels, and poverty. The gulf between gentrifiable tracts and gentrified tracts on these economic

indicators suggests that these areas are vulnerable to significant displacement if redevelopment efforts do not cater to low-income populations.

By 2018, all tracts in the Middle East were considered gentrified by race, meaning the change in the percentage of White residents outpaced the rate of change in Baltimore as a whole. The overall decrease in white folks across Baltimore City, and a net increase in gentrifiable areas confirms theories that white flight has been reversed into a move back into the inner city. Similar to findings on race, the average median income in Baltimore between 2000 and 2018 decreased, therefore tracts experiencing any increase over the intercensal period were considered gentrified. All four tracts in the Middle East neighborhood and 13 of the 14 East Baltimore census tracts gentrified along the dimension of median income. In terms of educational attainment, three of the four census tracts in the Middle East gentrified. As of 2018, the percent of persons with a bachelor's degree or higher rose 11.6%, but two of the four Middle East census tracts experienced a change of over 19%. The higher increase in college-educated residents indicates a level of incumbent upgrading, presumably due to the increase in graduate student housing facilitated by the construction of the 929 grad tower.

Study 2 attempts to clarify the role of EBDI redevelopment in the gentrification of Baltimore. Using a spatio-temporal difference-in-differences approach, this study compared the rate of change for indicators of gentrification (e.g. median income, race, educational attainment) pre- and post-expansion for two groups: census tracts within one-mile of JHMI (treatment group) and census tracts outside of the one-mile radius (control group). To ensure that both groups were comparable in terms of their propensity to gentrify, an analytic subsample of central Baltimore tracts was selected using the gentrifiability index (gentrifiable vs not-gentrifiable) from Study 1. Given that the spatial distribution of gentrifiable tracts was concentrated in the central city due to

the enduring legacy of redlining, it would be more appropriate to measure whether the EBDI development had an effect *compared to similarly disinvested tracts*. Both the treatment and the control groups in the analytic sample had the same proportion of gentrifiable tracts as of 2000, meaning both groups were equal in their expectation to gentrify. Spatial regression models were used to account for spatial autocorrelation, essentially the notion that census-tracts are not independent units and that contiguous tracts are often highly correlated with one another.

The findings from Study 2 confirm that post-expansion, census tracts within a one-mile radius of JHMI were more likely to experience an increase in median income, bachelor's attainment, and the proportion of White residents when compared to the control group. Taken together, the quantitative studies demonstrate that a) gentrification is occurring in the Middle East neighborhood, and b) gentrification in the Middle East neighborhood has significantly outpaced similarly disinvested tracts in Baltimore. These findings confirm the concerns of local residents who assert that EBDI redevelopment is a vehicle of gentrification.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

While histories of residential segregation and urban renewal often deal with the role of banks/mortgage lenders, real estate agents, and other financial or housing entities dealing with land, universities also play(ed) a role in residential segregation. As Davarian Baldwin (2015) rightfully notes, "most concede, but few have fully engaged the degree to which the urban 'meds and eds' (universities and their attendant medical centers) stand as perhaps the most central, yet profoundly under-examined, social force in present-day struggles over the metropolis" (p. 82). This dissertation sought to engage Baldwin's assertion by examining a university development project with special attention paid to how community members make sense of and are impacted by gentrification. In particular, I investigated how the university and/or neighborhood context influences university/community relations; how community members perceive the influence of large, selective, historically White research institutions on their neighborhoods; and the extent to which university expansion contributes to gentrification in university-adjacent neighborhoods when compared to economically and racially similar geographic areas within Baltimore.

The mistrust held by residents in the Middle East neighborhood concerning the East Baltimore Development, Inc. (EBDI) expansion was founded on personal anecdotes of discriminatory medical treatment, legacies of research exploitation, police antagonism, and broken promises regarding the number of job opportunities, affordable housing units, and ultimately their right and ability to return. Furthermore, resident perspectives of Hopkins and the EBDI redevelopment process were heavily informed by the histories of racial struggle in the Middle East neighborhood. The East Baltimore neighborhood shared by Hopkins and community residents was a redlined area in the 1930s and 1940s, leading to disinvestment and residential

segregation. The presence of Hopkins as a powerful landowner contributed to feelings of mistrust that were particularly heightened by the racial disparities between Black residents and White Hopkins. The racial animosity between Hopkins and community members grew due to land banking practices and development attempts that excluded community members and further engendered feelings of powerlessness among Black neighbors. The planning process exacerbated these feelings of powerlessness in the face of a large institution wherein some residents felt that their concerns were brushed aside. Ultimately, the displacement of over 700 Black families, many of whom have not or chosen not to return, has led to significant neighborhood changes.

Universities are driven by what I see as an academic capitalist impetus to expand, thereby threatening to gentrify local communities—uprooting residents from their homes for the sake of improved facilities to attract or accommodate students, faculty, and donors. The qualitative interviews confirmed that former Middle East residents did not see themselves reflected in the lifestyle amenities prioritized by the EBDI redevelopment plan. A quantitative analysis of census data confirmed that post-expansion, the area surrounding the EBDI footprint experienced changes in median income, rent, and a White population demographic shift that exceeded the rate of change elsewhere in Baltimore. This finding suggests that in East Baltimore, university expansion has contributed to gentrification.

Challenging the "Public Good" Narrative of Expansion through Critical Race Counterstories

This mixed-methods study was significant because it addressed limitations in university impact studies by giving voice to the marginalized community members whose stories are often excluded from university impact calculations. Furthermore, it addresses a gap in the literature

related to how universities and communities interact under the auspices of academic capitalism and urban neoliberalism. In particular, it takes up the question of how universities operate as engines of gentrification. While astutely attuned to universities' local and regional impact since at least the 1970s, higher education scholars have not empirically explored whether higher education institutions contribute to gentrification. Critics of the East Baltimore Development, Inc redevelopment of the Middle East Baltimore neighborhood often criticized the biotech park project as a gentrification rouse; however, Hopkins' economic impact reports touted billions of dollars of economic output enriching Baltimore, a stark contrast to be sure.

As Drucker and Goldstein (2007) have argued, potential negative externalities are often left unaddressed and unaccounted for in impact calculations. For example, increased home prices and rent for individual and local businesses and decreased city revenue are usually not included in the realm of a university's economic impact. However, these changes are significant considerations for university-adjacent community members, especially those who live in economic precarity. Moreover, economic changes that may occur after expansion and revitalization initiatives are reminiscent of a significant issue in the New Urban Crisis: gentrification. Connecting university behavior to gentrification, while a sensitive topic among defenders of the university, is necessary to illuminate how academic capitalism shapes university-community relations in the new economy.

Those who live in the shadows of the ivory tower are often excluded from the higher education literature or appear as indirect beneficiaries of university resources and research. Given the social location of Middle East neighborhood residents—literally at the margins of the higher education institution and the margins of a system of White supremacy—critical race counterstories were used to give voice to their experiences. Given that much of what we know

about the impact of Hopkins and EBDI has been from the university's perspective, critical race counterstories can challenge the stories of those in power by clarifying the views of those whose experiences are not often told (Delgado, 1993; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). The EBDI redevelopment project's majoritarian story implied an overall positive benefit for community members, yet the voices of residents I've interviewed paint a different picture. Rather than a simple redevelopment process in an economically distressed community, the EBDI project illuminated complex legacies of racial segregation, exploitation by Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes, the production of decay through land-banking and vacancies, and histories of failed governmental efforts to redevelop the Middle East neighborhood. These processes of racial subordination inform and *are perpetuated by* the EBDI expansion.

Limitations and Future Areas of Research

Although this study was the first to empirically explore the extent of gentrification resulting from the EBDI expansion in Baltimore, future research is needed to determine the impact of displacement on former Middle East residents. EBDI has made several claims that former residents are satisfied with their move; however, they provide little evidence. While EBDI and public records act requests have not yielded any information about the displaced families, this data would be vital to assessing the economic impact of displacement on these families. In particular, future studies should address the demographic and economic characteristics of their new neighborhood and how the move has impacted homeowner assets and wealth. For this dissertation, residents interviewed expressed concerns that they were being encouraged by EBDI housing counselors to move into other Predominantly-Black communities in East Baltimore. Future research exploring the property value appreciation in the Middle East

community compared with their new communities could demonstrate how university-adjacent displacement contributes to dampening the wealth of communities of color.

While the findings in this study confirm the harms of university expansion and displacement, particularly on communities of color, this dissertation's case-study methodology limits its generalizability. Given the increase in university complicity in urban redevelopment efforts in cities across the US, my future studies will broaden my dissertation's scope to explore the impact of university expansion nationwide. Quantitative data capturing more universities, whose expansion initiatives represent a broader period, could contribute to more robust analyses. In other words, the time-lag necessary for changes to be reflected in census data is likely broader than I was able to capture in my dissertation using the cases I selected. This consideration is perhaps most important when considering the changes in housing and rental prices that may take years after expansion to stabilize. As noted in the previous chapter, the piecemeal nature of housing construction in the EBDI development zone made it difficult to parse the effect of expansion on housing prices; vacant units sold for $3000 for example, skews housing price data.

Given the time and data limitations in my dissertation, I could not explore how community-level factors might mediate the impact of expansion. In a study of school choice and gentrification, Pearman and Swain (2017) explored how a neighborhood's racial makeup mediated the relationship between school choice policies and gentrification. Similarly, I am interested in how racial demographics, K-12 schools, community colleges, and other neighborhood characteristics may impact a neighborhood's potential to gentrify in the face of university expansion. While Pearman and Swain's (2017) study was geographic in the sense that they utilized census tract data, they did not account for spatial dependence or what economic geographers term "spillover effects" (see Anselin, Varga & Acs, 2000) in their analysis. My

future studies would improve on Pearman and Swain's (2017) methods by utilizing a geographically weighted regression model to test how expansion impacts key outcome variables at the census tract level.

Is Another "Expansion" Possible? Lessons and Recommendations

The central concern with expansion projects is that they require the development arm of universities to partner with financial firms predicated on profit. University-adjacent neighborhoods become significant "for the capital that it may attract, never for the value it already represents to residents because of the histories, meanings, and value that it may sustain or help produce" (Dávila, 2012, p. 11). The paternalism of the university redevelopment model writ large lies in the assumption that commercial (i.e. revenue-generating) uses of land constitute a more significant and broader benefit than the residential use of a few. The exchange values of the property acquired by EBDI through eminent domain are based in futures, but as the Great Recession showed, there are no guarantees that even the best-laid plans will come to fruition. In contrast, the use-value of residents is based firmly in the present. In the case of EBDI, the ends haven't justified the means. The displacement of hundreds of Black families has not led to a thriving biotech sector in Baltimore. The 8,000 biotech jobs were never created. Six hundred affordable housing units are still floating in the realm of possibility.

It is hard to understate the degree of harm Hopkins has caused to residents in the Middle East neighborhood. While EBDI remains tight-lipped about the current status of many relocated families (and Maryland Public Records Act requests have been consistently delayed for months), the stories presented in this dissertation reveal how the dangerous

interplay between university redevelopment, land acquisition, and gentrification has caused irreparable harm. The following section summarizes the lessons learned from the EBDI development project, elaborating on university-led development's impact of on the most vulnerable populations. It concludes with suggestions on how universities can more humanely contribute to local economies.

Eminent Domain and the Academic Capitalist University

The a priori assumption by the courts that higher education is inherently a public good is complicated by the nature of redevelopment undertaken by academic capitalist institutions. This is particularly concerning in the use of eminent domain, which allows governmental entities to acquire private property for public use. Eminent domain has become the primary legal mechanism supporting universities in their superior claims to land. For example, EBDI would not have been able to acquire property in the Middle East and displace hundreds of residents without the legal leverage of eminent domain. However, this dissertations' findings call into question whether academic capitalist university uses of eminent domain actually serve the public good.

In a landmark 2005 decision, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Kelo v. the New London Development Corporation* that private corporations could be beneficiaries of eminent domain if they acted in partnership with the local city government and had intentions to spur economic development in the local communities. This ruling was significant because it allowed private corporations and entities to utilize eminent domain so long as they were acquiring land with a good faith effort to achieve a public use. In the dissent for this case, Sandra Day O'Connor argued that "the beneficiaries are likely to be those citizens with disproportionate

influence and power in the political process, including large corporations and development firms." As universities are becoming larger and more robust economic institutions in urban areas, this decision has become particularly relevant in the higher education context. Despite the protections it provides to universities as developers, it ultimately harms vulnerable communities who live and own businesses in university-adjacent neighborhoods.

A lawyer and property owner in the EBDI footprint, Edward Makowski, challenged the City of Baltimore's attempt to acquire his property through eminent domain, arguing that the city did not justify its immediate need of the property and that the City's plan to transfer the deed to the private developers working with EBDI did not serve a public purpose (Lash, 2014). Judge Carrion ruled against Makowski stating:

> "The purpose of the massive EBDI project at issue is the redevelopment and renewal, through a master plan years in the making and a colossal influx of investment, of an East Baltimore neighborhood that has suffered from urban decay for decades. By endeavoring to improve Middle East and dramatically reduce blight through a massive redevelopment and revitalization project of an 88-acre sector, Baltimore City is condemning the subject property for a public purpose."

Makowski appealed the decision, but ultimately the appeals court ruled against him. Makowski had the means and skills to offer a legal challenge to the eminent domain laws, a political lever unavailable to the majority of Middle East residents forced to relocate. Despite his attempt to challenge the notion of "public use" central to the takings clause in the 5th Amendment, ultimately, the court affirmed the decision of the Supreme Court in *Kelo*: economic development endeavors entail sufficient public use.

The Makowski decision is also significant because of what it represents to future university-sponsored development projects. EBDI's victory, in this case, affirms the legitimacy

of universities as urban developers. In an earlier New York state decision regarding challenges to eminent domain brought against Columbia University in its Manhattanville project, the plaintiffs argued that Columbia university's interests should not be considered public use because it is a private institution. The notion that Columbia University should not qualify as a beneficiary was struck down by the judge. As the judge argued, "There is no reason to depart from the plain meaning of the word 'education' by limiting the term to public institutions… The advancement of higher education is the quintessential example of a civic purpose" (p. 24-25).

In tandem, these court decisions set a dangerous precedent for university-adjacent urban areas. As universities become city-favored anchor institutions charged with the responsibility to redevelop urban areas, their level of legal immunity will be difficult to challenge. Does the "plain meaning of the word 'education'" always entail a public benefit? I would argue no. There are plenty of examples of harmful education practices ranging from American Indian boarding schools in the 19th and 20th centuries to the contemporary example of development shown in this dissertation. But as Critical Race Theory scholars have shown time and again: what is legal is not always moral.

Urban renewal and gentrification are both touted as a public benefit, however in the case of the EBDI development, the public which stands to benefit are those affiliated with Hopkins and part of a whiter and wealthier demographic. The 5th Amendment states that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." However, this law's application in the United States has often been skewed in ways that preclude Black people from their personhood. Black people are often killed with impunity by police without due process, and their private property is taken for "public use" time and again as if they are not part of the public. As the

history of urban renewal has poignantly shown, public use is a euphemism for what Lipsitz refers to as the White spatial imaginary.

Recommendations

While this dissertation has shown that expansion initiatives have compounded racial inequality in an already highly residentially segregated Middle East neighborhood of Baltimore, there are several ways other universities have contributed to local development without directly displacing residents. Given the context of the New Urban Crisis and the economic precarity faced by low-income and communities of color living in university-adjacent neighborhoods, the university's public good regime can be deployed in several ways that ensure mutual benefit.

Payments in Lieu of Taxes (PILOTs)

The non-profit status afforded to universities and their related medical institutions exempts them in many cases from contributing to the tax base of local cities. From a finance perspective, the scholarly focus has often been on the state and federal cuts to higher education. While these are important factors when considering the availability of research funding, my dissertation has demonstrated how funds are being siphoned into the university by the federal government through HUD and city and state governments, although not in ways that support its "core" functions of teaching and research. Furthermore, the charitable tax breaks universities receive, especially those in urban areas, can limit the local government's ability to provide necessary services and resources to community members. Netzer (2002) found that tax-exempt non-profit properties are more prevalent in central cities and college towns, lending credence to the argument that university-adjacent areas are particularly vulnerable to a decreased tax base.

Some universities have instituted Payments in Lieu of Taxes (PILOTs) to contribute to the tax base of their local governments. Yale and its hospital have contributed to the city of New Haven since the 1990s and currently contribute about $9 million per year (O'Leary, 2018). Although Yale's contribution has grown steadily over time, the New Haven budget is still strained, considering that over 40% of the city's property is not taxable. Meanwhile, Yale maintains a $30 billion endowment, calling into question whether the $9 million per year is a fair contribution. Setting aside the consideration of the amount, PILOTs do seem to be a mechanism by which universities can contribute to the local government. Each university neighborhood might have a different set of needs; however, the maintenance and availability of affordable housing should be a priority for universities, especially those with significant off-campus student housing.

Affordable Housing Partnerships

Affordable housing is a significant issue for all urban areas, but university-adjacent neighborhoods in particular. In the case of EBDI, affordable housing units were directly cleared and have not been replaced due to expansion efforts. Universities can also indirectly prompt displacement in constrained housing markets where student demand can inflate housing prices. These issues are heightened in urban areas where affordable housing stock has been decimated by the federal government's HOPE VI program that demolished thousands of public housing units (Vale, 2013). On the surface, replacing government-controlled public housing with housing vouchers seems beneficial as it allows residents to choose their neighborhood location. However, in the case of Baltimore and Los Angeles, landlords catering to students in university-adjacent neighborhoods often choose not to accept Section 8 vouchers. Acknowledging their

impact on the housing market, some universities have endeavored to support the construction of more affordable housing in their communities.

For example, Ohio University recognized that the off-campus student housing market was inflating the prices of single-family homes and organized a task force with city leaders in Athens, Ohio to identify ways to build more affordable housing in the community. Ohio State University operates the Campus Partners program wherein they have rehabilitated over 40 homes sold at up to 120% of the Area Median Income (AMI). In 2018, Stanford unveiled a plan to construct 200 low-income housing units on university property available to residents who make less than 80% of AMI. Stanford's decision to create affordable housing units was made in response to county officials raising the non-residential impact fee for Stanford's future development. Given the housing shortage in the Bay Area, the county was particularly concerned about the impact of Stanford's expansion on housing (Shayner, 2018). Instead of accepting the higher county fee for future development, Stanford countered by offering to construct 200 affordable units and put $21 million into a community fund to construct an additional 250 low-income units, including over 70 units for residents who make less than 50% of AMI. The University of Virginia has also announced that it plans to develop over 1,000 affordable housing units on university property over the next 10 years (Whitford, 2020). While there are certainly a host of concerns relative to equity in the distribution of these affordable housing units, university support for affordable housing is a step in the right direction.

Baltimore's Ideal City

One of the best-known works at Baltimore's Walters Art Museum is Fra Carnavale's *Ideal City*, a 15th-century Italian renaissance painting depicting a relatively empty plaza

surrounded by several immaculate buildings (depicted below). The neat symmetry and tranquil demeanor of the painting evokes a sense of peaceful cooperation. The city is structurally beautiful and exists as such without any indication of conflict.

The Ideal City, The Walters Art Museum (Creative Commons Zero License)

During a 2008, the Walter's Museum created large-scale reproductions of classic works to put on view throughout the city as part of a public art event. The Ideal City painting was placed at Hopkins Plaza in downtown Baltimore. Of all the locations in Baltimore, Hopkins Plaza is perhaps the most apt, given that it was recently revitalized and nods to Hopkins' role as urban planner and architect of an ideal Baltimore. Since the introduction of EBDI in 2001, Hopkins has become ever more invested in the process to remake urban space into an ideal city with the Hopkin's plaza development, the Homewood Campus Partners program, and continual efforts to remake East Baltimore.

There are striking similarities between the utopic vision of the ideal city painting and the artist renderings of what would become the New East Baltimore. These snapshot images seem bucolic but obscure what is happening beneath the surface. Utopic visions of a city raise

questions about whose interests are being served and how contestation over claims to space are negotiated

The ideal city is a dangerous painting but quintessentially Baltimore. Perhaps nowhere else has there been such a sustained contestation over the right to land between a university and its city. What is missing from the ideal city painting, and what is ultimately missing from university revitalization narratives, are the de-vitalized communities—those whose vitality is given short shrift and whose value is second-class. Furthermore, a utopic vision of an ideal city tends to center tranquility in a way that obscures conflict and dispossession.

This dissertation attempted to look beneath the sheen of a newly revitalized university-adjacent neighborhood, which by many accounts represents a shiny new beacon of prosperity and peace. The atmosphere of decay evident by vacant rowhouses, pests, trash, and drug paraphernalia has been replaced by a sprawling central park and contemporary architecture. This process, however, was fraught with racial dispossession and ultimately, gentrification. Nia, the East Baltimore activist sums up the machinations of power that characterized the destruction of the Middle East neighborhood under the guise of progress:

> "If you have a 1.8-Billion-dollar project, you were successful in that you at least got these people out of there, relocated. But … you sold us a bag of lies the way that the pilgrims did to the Native Americans when they gave [them] smallpox, blankets and some beads. Once again, Hopkins has given us blankets and beads for smallpox."

The promise of prosperity and renewal provided a sense of optimism and hope to those in the Middle East neighborhood who have endured generations of dispossession. Unfortunately, however, gentrification has meant that former residents have been shut out of their community. While they received blankets and beads in the form of relocation payments and unfulfilled

promises of jobs and affordable housing, ultimately the smallpox—gentrification—has led to the social death of the former Middle East neighborhood.

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