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William Worthy's Concept of "Institutional Rape" Revisited: Anchor Institutions and Residential Displacement in Buffalo, NY

Robert Mark Silverman[1], Jade Lewis[1], and Kelly L. Patterson[2]

Abstract

This article examines the role of anchor institutions in the urban revitalization process. We use case study analysis to understand how concerns about residential displacement are addressed by anchor institutions in the urban planning process. This analysis is designed to build upon William Worthy's critique of anchor-based development during the 1960s and 1970s. Our analysis examines the degree to which his concept of "institutional rape" applies to contemporary urban revitalization efforts. The article focuses on university and medical campus expansion in Buffalo, NY. We describe how the planned expansion of the Buffalo-Niagara Medical Campus has raised concerns about the displacement of residents living in a neighboring subsidized housing development. We conclude that despite incremental improvements in the planning process designed to facilitate coordination between anchor institutions and grassroots interests, resident empowerment has not been fully realized. Instead, the planning process continues to be dominated by

[1] Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University at Buffalo, Buffalo, NY, USA
[2] School of Social Work, University at Buffalo, Buffalo, NY, USA

Corresponding Author:
Robert Mark Silverman, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University at Buffalo, 114 Diefendorf Hall, Buffalo, NY 14214, USA.
Email: rms35@buffalo.edu

institutional interests with limited community input. Consequently, residents worked through grassroots organizations, local government, and the media to resist anchor-based development. In light of these findings, we recommend that the role of residents in the planning process for neighborhood revitalization become more institutionalized through the negotiation of community benefit agreements and other linkages.

Keywords
anchor institutions, residential displacement, inner city, urban revitalization

Personal Reflexive Statement

This research grew out of our commitment to connecting academic research to social change and community-based planning. We have engaged in this type of research, as it relates to a variety of fair and affordable housing issues in the past. This article deals with a particularly salient issue in Buffalo, NY, and in other cities. The focus of the article is on public participation in anchor-based urban revitalization strategies. We view the analysis in this article as a form of advocacy planning, since we identify how low-income and minority residents have had small victories in their efforts to address negative externalities emanating from anchor-based development initiatives in their community. In our role as advocacy planners, we also identify areas where residents should challenge anchor-based development in the future. Through the publication and dissemination of this research, our goal is to empower residents and prompt them to continue to pursue negotiated linkages with anchor institutions. In short, we view this article as one form of praxis that can be applied to social justice and change.

Anchor Institutions and Residential Displacement

The United States has a long history of displacing poor and disadvantaged people in the name of progress. Although this pattern of community dislocation has expressed itself in a number of contexts, it had become pronounced in declining core cities at the turn of the century. In this article, we trace the roots of the quandary faced by poor and minority residents when large anchor institutions, like nonprofit hospitals and universities, attempt to expand their campuses in inner-city neighborhoods. We link the genesis of this predicament to the legacy of *urban renewal* and the subsequent devolution and nonprofitization of federal urban policies. We then discuss how grassroots organizations have responded to nonprofit, anchor-based development strategies with renewed calls for community control in the urban revitalization process.

After discussing this general framework for conceptualizing the emergence of nonprofit, anchor institutions as catalysts for urban revitalization in shrinking cities, we illustrate this general phenomenon through the analysis of a case study. The case

examined in this article focuses on university and medical campus expansion in Buffalo, NY. In particular, we describe how the planned expansion of the Buffalo-Niagara Medical Campus (BNMC 2010) has raised concerns about the displacement of residents living in a neighboring subsidized housing development. The case study illuminates the degree to which tensions continue to exist between anchor-based redevelopment interests and low-income residents situated in the path of the urban bulldozer. We conclude that despite incremental improvements in the planning process, which have been adopted to facilitate coordination between anchor institutions and grassroots interests, resident empowerment has not been fully realized. Instead, the planning process continues to be dominated by institutional interests with limited community input. As a result, we recommend that the role of minority and low-income residents be expanded in the planning process through the negotiation of concessions, set-asides, and other linkages to anchor-based development. These reforms would allow the interests of inner-city residents impacted by urban revitalization to be better reflected in the planning and implementation processes of nonprofit anchor institutions.

The Legacy of Urban Renewal

Tensions between anchor institutions and inner-city residents impacted by anchor-based urban revitalization plans are not a new phenomenon. These tensions often center on negative externalities related to residential displacement and the inequitable distribution of costs and benefits that result from urban development. In many cases, there is no historical record of past disputes over development, since those displaced by development tend to disperse and the collective memory of their struggles dissipates. Yet, some clashes between anchor institutions and inner-city residents over residential displacement have been well documented (Worthy 1977; Metraux 1999; Betancur 2002; Reese, Deverteuil, and Thach 2010; Hyra 2012; Guy 2013). Recent historical examples of these clashes have been linked to grassroots opposition to the federal government's *urban renewal* program (Anderson 1964; Gans 1982; Hyra 2012).

During the 1960s and early 1970s, a short-lived collective response to residential displacement emerged in U.S. cities. Leaders and rank-and-file members of the African American community voiced concerns about the federal government's urban renewal program. Ubiquitously, urban renewal became synonymous with *Negro removal* in public discourse (Clark 1963; Anderson 1964). Critiques of urban revitalization efforts were not isolated to federal programs. During the same period, concerns were raised about the expansion of local place-based institutions like colleges, hospitals, churches, and public agencies. Worthy (1977) argued that efforts to expand these institutions had detrimental impacts on inner-city neighborhoods. He described how the expansion of colleges, hospitals, and other large anchor institutions resulted in the disruption of communities and residential displacement. He labeled conflicts

associated with institutionally driven neighborhood revitalization efforts *institutional rape*, because of the victimization that these activities entailed for inner-city residents.

Public outcry over urban renewal and institutionally driven displacement resulted in some accommodations to residents negatively affected by urban revitalization. These included increased calls for community empowerment, maximum feasibility participation in local planning processes, and social redistribution. This wave of urban policy peaked with the Community Actions Program (CAP) which lasted from 1964 to 1966, and continued in a modified form with the Model Cities Program that existed between 1966 and 1974 (Flanagan 2001; Rohe 2009). Federal programs designed to empower inner-city residents in the community development process plateaued in the mid-1970s. These programs were incrementally replaced by new initiatives designed to decentralize federal funding and urban policy implementation. This new approach used tools like general revenue sharing and the community development block grant program to funnel resources for urban revitalization to local government and nonprofits.

The Devolution and Nonprofitization of Federal Urban Policies

The incremental shift from the direct implementation of urban revitalization programs by the federal government to a more decentralized model where federal funds were transferred to local government and nonprofits for policy implementation was a watershed event. It had important implications for inner-city residents facing residential displacement, since they no longer had a direct path available to seek relief. During urban renewal, inner-city residents mobilized to change national policy. Their efforts prompted the adoption of new national policies that directly funded local community empowerment efforts under CAP initiatives and ensured a role in the urban planning process for residents through the Model Cities program. These gains were quelled with the shift to a more decentralized model for implementing urban policy. This shift meant that inner-city residents had to negotiate a more complex web of organizations engaged in urban revitalization while federal resources designed to assist residents negatively impacted by urban development were being withdrawn.

A great deal of scholarly attention has been paid to the transition to a decentralized model for urban revitalization policy. These works focus on the implications of the devolution and nonprofitization of community development policy for community organizing and advocacy (Swanstrom 1999; Bockmeyer 2003). The thrust of these works suggest that grassroots activism has waned, as the implementation of urban revitalization policy has become more decentralized. Some have suggested that decentralization has fostered the development of a community development industry system led by local nonprofit community development corporations (CDCs; Yin 1998; Silverman 2001). Stoecker (1997) argued that the expanded role of CDCs in the implementation of local affordable housing policies resulted in a reduced emphasis on community organizing and advocacy. This sentiment was echoed by Silverman (2005), who observed the tendency for CDCs to narrow the

scope of their citizen participation activities to topics that facilitated the instrumental goals of urban revitalization projects they sought to implement.

Scholars have also paid closer attention to the growing role of other nonprofits in the urban revitalization process. Frisch and Servon (2006) discussed how private foundations, intermediary organizations like the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, and other large nonprofit developers have augmented the work done by CDCs. Silverman (2008) found evidence for the consolidation of local funding around a smaller group of CDCs that partnered with foundations, intermediaries, and larger nonprofits. These observations add to our understanding of the contemporary context for urban revitalization in inner-city neighborhoods. As resources from the federal government have declined, local development efforts are increasingly dependent on networks of nonprofits led by local foundations, intermediaries, and anchor institutions.

The Emergence of Anchor Institutions as Catalysts for Urban Revitalization

Anchor institutions have emerged as a critical component of inner-city revitalization strategies. Birch (2009) offers one of the clearest articulations of the central role of anchor institutions in the transformation of inner-city communities. She argues that the revitalization of downtowns in older American cities has been driven by anchor institutions. This process has created a new paradigm for downtown revitalization. According to Birch (2009:149):

> The new paradigm for downtown (dense, walkable, mixed use with a heavy component of housing) is quite established in many of the nation's cities. While this downtown still has considerable commercial activity, its employment base is more diverse, with jobs in anchor institutions (universities; hospitals; and entertainment including arts, culture, and sports) rising as a proportion of the total. The residential component has become significant and is shaping the demand for neighborhood-serving retail, schools, and open space.

This paradigm places anchor institutions at the center of the contemporary urban revitalization process. It entails an emergent downtown comprised of anchor-based employment centers, gentrifying residential neighborhoods, linked entertainment and recreational amenities, and supportive infrastructure.

University-based policy centers and nonprofit research institutes have been at the forefront of advocacy for anchor-based strategies for inner-city revitalization. One of the more visible centers is the Penn Institute for Urban Research (Penn IUR 2009) at the University of Pennsylvania which sponsors studies of anchor institutions and serves as lead organization for the national Anchor Institutions Task Force (http://www.margainc.com/initiatives/aitf/). The Penn IUR (2009) and the Anchor Institutions Task Force have published white papers and other reports advocating for

anchor institutions to take a lead role in inner-city revitalization efforts (Penn IUR 2009; Birch 2010; Taylor and Luter 2013).

For the most part, the literature advocating for anchor-based development characterizes anchors as relatively benign institutions. Less pronounced is a critical assessment of the impact of anchor institutions on the distribution of costs and benefits resulting from contemporary urban revitalization processes. This is particularly noticeable where costs and benefits to inner-city residents are concerned. Many applied studies and reports dealing with anchor institutions do not take issues like residential displacement into consideration. Instead, they argue that the benefits from anchor-based development eventually trickle down to inner-city residents in the form of jobs, access to services, and neighborhood amenities. In essence, it is argued that the rising tide generated by anchor-based development will lift all boats in the inner city.

Scholarship that has examined the distribution of costs and benefits from anchor-based development suggests a less rosy scenario. Some empirical researchers have attempted to measure the impact of anchor institutions on urban revitalization and inner-city residents (Deitrick and Briem 2007; Nelson 2009; Daniel and Schons 2010; Hobor 2013). These works suggest an inequitable distribution of benefits from anchor-led urban revitalization. For instance, Deitrick and Briem (2007) examined the concentration of tax-exempt properties associated with Pittsburgh's *eds and meds* strategy, and concluded that it has weakened the municipal tax base and increased stress on the delivery of local public services and social welfare programs. Similarly, Nelson (2009) suggests that the development of specialized hospitals offering services that attract nonresidents seeking state-of-the-art medical treatments may result in reduced access to general health care services for local indigent populations. The results from this body of research are relevant to inner-city residents who face displacement due to anchor-based development.

The Grassroots Response to Anchor-based Development

The grassroots response to anchor-based development has been threefold. First, inner-city residents who face displacement have been critical of the degree to which they have been denied a voice in the planning process for urban revitalization. Historically, scholars have argued that the public participation process is wanting for improvement. Arnstein (1969) introduced the seminal framework, the *ladder of citizen participation*, for understanding the scope of public participation in urban revitalization programs. She concluded that most CAP and Model Cities programs of her time were characterized by nonparticipation. Since that time, planners have developed new tools to enhance the scope of public participation in urban planning processes (Forester 1999; Shipley and Utz 2012). The development of these tools has been accompanied by calls for a greater emphasis on advocacy planning and community empowerment (Davidoff 1965; Needleman and Needleman 1974; Krumholz and Forester 1990). Despite the increased institutionalization of tools and techniques

for public participation, inner-city residents continue to confront obstacles when attempting to impact the policy process. For example, Guy (2013) discussed how advocacy planners fell short of preventing residential displacement when challenging the construction of a community college in Chicago. Similarly, McGovern (2013) examined how the scope of citizen participation was scaled back during critical stages of the urban revitalization process in Philadelphia.

Second, inner-city residents who face displacement have demanded tangible benefits from anchor-based revitalization. Grassroots groups have pushed for linked development agreements (DAs) and community benefit agreements (CBAs) which guarantee long-term benefits to residents of inner-city neighborhoods impacted by the expansion of anchor institutions (Lowe and Morton 2008; Dobbie 2009; Parks and Warren 2009). Some of the more publicized CBAs include the agreement linked to the expansion of the Los Angeles International Airport (Parks and Warren 2009), the Los Angeles Staples Center CBA (Ho 2008), and the new New York Yankees Stadium CBA (Gross 2008). DAs and CBAs allow grassroots interests to negotiate with anchor institutions for concessions in the development process such as affordable housing, improvements to schools and community facilities, public parks, enhanced amenities, local employment, job training, minority procurement, and other set asides.

Finally, inner-city residents who face displacement have been claiming their right to a role in the governance of anchor institutions. This assertion is based on the argument that anchor institutions should be accountable and responsive to inner-city residents since they are heavily subsidized by public expenditures and other government resources that form the social safety net in inner-city neighborhoods. For instance, a chief source of revenue for colleges and universities is tuition, and the bulk of that revenue is generated by federal student loans and other forms of public funding for education. Similarly, a sizable portion of the health care industry is financed with public dollars through Medicare and Medicaid, as well as public and private insurance programs. Anchor institutions in the arts and cultural sector also rely on subsidies from federal, state, and local government. Moreover, one of the largest public subsidies that educational, health care, cultural, and other anchor institutions enjoy comes in the form of their nonprofit, tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service.

There are solid arguments for increasing the scope of community control in anchor institutions given the extent to which anchors thrive as a result of public subsidies. In order to give residents a voice in the inner-city revitalization process, it is essential to expand the scope of citizen participation, mandate negotiated CBAs, and incorporate historically disenfranchised groups into the governance structure of anchor institutions.

Data and Methods

This article uses case study analysis to understand the planning process for anchor-based inner-city revitalization. The case examined focuses on university and medical campus expansion in Buffalo, NY. In particular, we describe how the planned

expansion of the BNMC has raised concerns about the displacement of residents living in McCarley Gardens, a neighboring subsidized housing development built in 1978. We describe the anchor-based planning process and the response of inner-city residents to the emerging plan. The analysis is used to generate recommendations for increasing the scope of community empowerment in the urban revitalization process.

Data used in the analysis are drawn from a number of sources. The main sources of data were newspaper articles from the local media which focused on the acquisition of McCarley Gardens as part of the proposed anchor-based revitalization project. Thirty-two articles published in local newspapers between August 2009 and June 2013 were analyzed. An additional 10 press releases from the University at Buffalo (UB) during the same period were also analyzed. Content analysis was also used to examine the BNMC (2010) Master Plan and the report of the University at Buffalo and St. John Baptist Church Economic Opportunity Panel (EOP 2013).

In addition to analyzing the content of the articles and institutional documents, we conducted site visits and windshield surveys of McCarley Gardens, the BNMC, and the surrounding Fruit Belt neighborhood. A catalog of photographs was assembled and used in the analysis. The photos were used to assess the descriptions of the area targeted for revitalization in the newspaper articles and UB press releases. This data triangulation allowed for the incorporation of multiple perspectives into the analysis, particularly in relation to media reports related to the condition of the McCarley Gardens development.

Another form of data triangulation used in the analysis involved the incorporation of Census data. We collected 2010 U.S. Census data at the block, block group, and census tract levels for the McCarley Gardens development, the Fruit Belt neighborhood and BNMC, and the city of Buffalo. These data were used to provide another perspective on the condition of the area targeted for anchor-based revitalization.

The Buffalo Niagara Medical Campus Expansion Plan

The BNMC is the focal point of Buffalo's eds and meds urban revitalization strategy. This strategy focuses inner-city revitalization on the development of a cluster of medical and educational institutions near Buffalo's downtown corridor. The eds and meds strategy was adopted as a regional economic development tool in the wake of decades of deindustrialization in the city. This urban revitalization model is well established across the United States (Adams 2003; Bartik and Erickcek 2008; Birch 2010; Hobor 2013). In 2003, the BNMC was established to replicate it (BNMC 2010). The BNMC model agglomerates medical research, education, business, clinical treatment, and linked activities in a centralized hub. In order to achieve its development goals, substantial physical development is required. Initially, the 2003 BNMC master plan called for 2.9 million square feet of new development by 2023, but the pace of development was faster than anticipated. It was estimated that by 2013 over 2.3 million square feet of development would be completed.

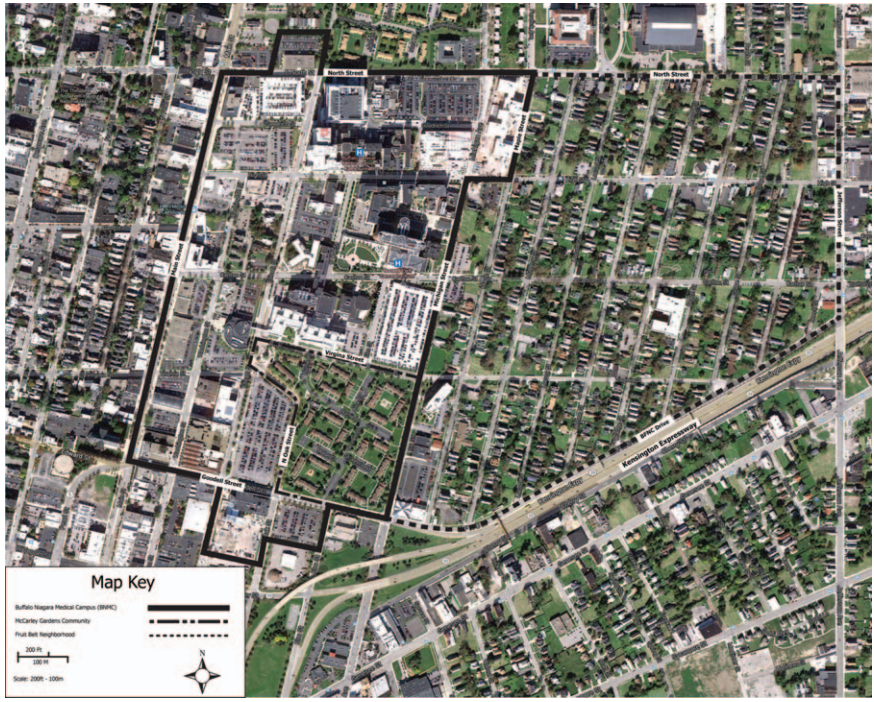

Figure 1. Boundaries of the BNMC, McCarley Gardens, and the Fruit Belt neighborhood, 2013. BNMC = Buffalo-Niagara Medical Campus.

During this period of expansion, the footprint of the BNMC grew from 72 acres to 120 acres. The BNMC projects that the pace of development will be sustained over the next 20 years, prompting the need for the acquisition of additional property for development.

The focus of BNMC land acquisition has been on the McCarley Gardens property. This has been the case despite an abundance of vacant and abandoned property in the Fruit Belt neighborhood to the east of the BNMC. Figure 1 identifies the footprint of the BNMC and the current boundaries of McCarley Gardens and the Fruit Belt neighborhood. The BNMC has identified McCarley Gardens as a site for future medical campus expansion due to its proximity to existing development and the desire to create a dense cluster of educational and medical institutions.

The proposed acquisition, demolition, and redevelopment of the McCarley Gardens site will noticeably alter the physical environment and demographic makeup of the BNMC. Currently, the area slated for redevelopment consists of low-density affordable housing with ample greenspace (see Figures 2 and 3). The

Figure 2. Signage marking the entrance to McCarley Gardens.

residential character of the community is in sharp contrast to the encroaching medical campus. This contrast is illustrated in Figure 4.

The 2010 BNMC master plan identified several uses for the McCarley Gardens property after its acquisition and demolition including high-density development, a parking garage, and greenspace along Virginia Street. In order to achieve these development goals, the existing housing will be demolished and residents living in McCarley Gardens will be relocated to replacement housing planned to be dispersed throughout the adjacent Fruit Belt neighborhood.

The relocation of McCarley Gardens residents will entail the disruption of households and social networks. These disruptions will impact residents in McCarley Gardens and the neighborhoods where they move. Tables 1 and 2 provide demographics of the communities that will be impacted by the relocation process. Data are also provided for the city of Buffalo in order to contextualize residential displacement. It is noteworthy that the impacted communities sit in stark contrast to the city as a whole. For instance, the impacted communities are predominantly black, while the percentage of residents who are black constitute a minority of the city's overall population. Moreover, economic insecurity in terms of income and poverty is more pronounced in the impacted communities when compared to the city as a whole. These population characteristics highlight the degree to which residential

Figure 3. Path leading to the playground in McCarley Gardens.

displacement occurs in the context of racial segregation and income disparities. In terms of housing, noticeable contrasts also exist between the impacted communities and the city as a whole. For example, the impacted communities have higher percentages of renters and lower housing costs than the city as a whole.

In addition to distinctions between the impacted communities and the city as a whole, clear contrasts exist between McCarley Gardens and the Fruit Belt neighborhood. Demographically, McCarley Gardens is composed of more female-headed households with children. In contrast, the Fruit Belt has a larger adult population and noticeably more elderly residents. Although Census data for a number of other demographic variables were suppressed at the block level, the orientation of McCarley Gardens as an income-tested, subsidized rental community suggests that income and poverty disparities exist between the two areas. Clear contrasts also exist between the two communities related to housing. The housing stock in the Fruit Belt is older and vacancy is an acute problem in the neighborhood. The Fruit Belt neighborhood has been depopulating for several decades. The result has been elevated levels of property abandonment intermingled with long-term homeowners retiring in place. The toll on the neighborhood is illustrated in Figure 5. In contrast, McCarley Gardens is a newer, relatively well-maintained rental community with a 99.3 percent occupancy rate.

Figure 4. View of Roswell Park Cancer Institute constructed in 1998 from McCarley Gardens.

An Unholy Alliance

In April 2010, the University at Buffalo Foundation (UBF) signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Oak-Michigan Housing Development Corporation to purchase McCarley Gardens for US$15 million. It and other nonprofits sponsored by St. John Baptist Church have been engaged in housing development and management in Buffalo since the mid-1970s. St. John Baptist Church was the first African American church in the city to become engaged in housing activities and McCarley Gardens was one of its first development projects (Wallace 2004).

Under the terms of the MOU, the sale of McCarley Gardens is contingent upon the development of a plan to build replacement housing for residents by another nonprofit sponsored by the church called the St. John Fruit Belt CDC. The current plan entails a proposal to build townhouse-style replacement housing in the Fruit Belt neighborhood (see Figure 6). However, there is no guarantee that all McCarley Gardens residents will be relocated in these newly constructed townhouses (Williams and Schulman 2013). Once finalized, that relocation plan requires approval from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) before McCarley Gardens can be demolished and the 15.1-acre site is transferred to the UBF.[1]

Table 1. Population Characteristics for McCarley Gardens, the Fruit Belt Neighborhood, and the City of Buffalo, 2010.

	McCarley Gardens	Fruit Belt and BNMC	City of Buffalo
	Tract 25.02 Blocks 1005 and 1006 Tract 31 Blocks 4017 and 4019 ($N = 447$)	Tract 25.02 BG 1 and Tract 31 BGs 2 to 4 ($N = 2,772$)	All Tracts ($N = 266,012$)
Total population for gender	447	2,772	266,012
Percentage male	40.3	55.2	47.6
Percentage female	59.7	44.8	52.4
Total population for age	447	2,772	266,012
Percentage under 18	49.2	19.7	24.4
Percentage 18 to 64	47.2	62.1	63.5
Percentage over 64	3.6	18.2	12.1
Total population for race	447	2,772	266,012
Percentage white	2.9	15.6	51.8
Percentage black	86.1	80.2	39.4
Education (total population 25 years and over)	—	1,985	166,163
Percentage less than higher secondary	—	19.5	18.9
Percentage higher secondary graduate	—	32.1	29.2
Percentage some college	—	35.0	29.3
Percentage bachelor's degree	—	8.7	12.7
Percentage graduate degree	—	4.7	9.9
Total households	148	1,286	112,844
Average size	3.0	2.2	2.3
Median income	—	US$18,441	US$30,043

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	McCarley Gardens	Fruit Belt and BNMC	City of Buffalo
	Tract 25.02 Blocks 1005 and 1006 Tract 31 Blocks 4017 and 4019 ($N = 447$)	Tract 25.02 BG 1 and Tract 31 BGs 2 to 4 ($N = 2,772$)	All Tracts ($N = 266,012$)
Percentage with public assistance	—	6.7	7.7
Total families	—	609	59,509
Percentage below poverty	—	30.5	25.2

Note: BNMC = Buffalo-Niagara Medical Campus; BG = block group.
Source: 2010 U.S. Census and 2006 to 2010 American Community Survey.

When the MOU was announced, the sale of McCarley Gardens was linked to medical campus expansion and extensive plans for neighborhood revitalization. Groundwork for the announcement was set through a series of community informational meetings held by UB, the BNMC, and St. John Baptist Church. At the announcement of the MOU, the reverend of St. John Baptist Church, Michael Chapman, unveiled a US$500 million East Side development plan that would be spearheaded by the St. John Fruit Belt CDC. The plan included 150 new townhouses disbursed through the Fruit Belt neighborhood to replace McCarley Gardens, new senior housing, new recreational facilities, commercial development, a grocery store, a boxing gym, and extensive infrastructure and landscaping improvements. Reverend Chapman was quoted in a UB press release promising overwhelming changes in the Fruit Belt neighborhood:

> "This is the most comprehensive urban development under way anywhere in the country," Chapman said. "Working with more than 63 community partners and leaders in government, we will move forward with a bold business plan to revitalize a community beset for decades by poverty, joblessness and inadequate housing. We anticipate 15,000 employment opportunities through construction, new businesses and support services." (UB Reporter [University at Buffalo Reporter] 2010)

The orderly sale of McCarley Gardens and an approved relocation plan for its residents was a linchpin for development to move forward. Reverend Chapman and other representatives from anchor institutions advocated for the sale of the property citing benefits that would come to the community from future development and endorsements of the project by national figures. One newspaper account quoted Reverend Chapman claiming that St. John Baptist Church and its partners had "been to the White House six times to lobby for the plan to sell McCarley Gardens to the

Table 2. Housing Characteristics for McCarley Gardens and BNMC, the Fruit Belt Neighborhood, and City of Buffalo, 2010.

	McCarley Gardens	Fruit Belt and BNMC	City of Buffalo
	Tract 25.02 Blocks 1005 and 1006 Tract 31 Blocks 4017 and 4019 ($N = 149$)	Tract 25.02 BG 1 and Tract 31 BGs 2 to 4 ($N = 1,637$)	All Tracts ($N = 263,914$)
All units	149	1,637	139,174
Median year built	1978	1940	1939
Percentage occupied	99.3	78.6	81.1
Percentage vacant	0.7	21.4	18.9
Total vacant units	1	351	26,330
Percentage "other" vacant[a]	100.0	88.0	74.4
Total occupied units	148	1,286	112,844
Percentage owners	—	27.5	43.3
Percentage renters	100.0	72.5	56.7
Total owner occupied	—	359	48,306
Median value	—	US$43,064	US$65,700
Total renter occupied	148	932	65,053
Median gross rent	—	US$506	US$646

Note: BNMC = Buffalo-Niagara Medical Campus; BG = block group.
Source: 2010 U.S. Census and 2006 to 2010 American Community Survey.
[a]Vacant units categorized as "other" in the U.S. Census are composed of units that are not being offered for rent, held for future occupancy, or limited to seasonal or occasional uses. This subset of vacant units served as a proxy for abandoned property.

UB Foundation" and that "Hillary Rodman Clinton is a big fan of the plan" (Quigley 2013b).

Cognizant of the need to acquire the McCarley Gardens property in order to facilitate medical campus expansion, the MOU stipulated that an Economic Opportunity Panel (EOP 2013) be formed to make recommendations that would "result in more widely available economic opportunity to residents of McCarley Gardens and to

Figure 5. An abandoned house in the Fruit Belt.

Figure 6. Townhouse-style rental property built by the St. John Fruit Belt CDC. CDC = community development corporation.

others in the community" (EOP 2013:3). The EOP consisted of six members, half were appointed by UB and the other half were appointed by St. John Baptist Church. No members of the EOP were residents of McCarley Gardens or the Fruit Belt neighborhood. According to a UB news release, resident empowerment through EOP membership was not part of the panel's charge. The news release stated that:

> [T]he EOP (2013) was not intended to be a community group. It is a working group of UB and SJBC representatives, charged by the university and church to meet with and gather input from community members, conduct research on the economic needs of the community, and then report back their findings and recommendations to the university and church. (UB Reporter 2013)

The deliberations of the EOP were heavily dominated by representatives from anchor institutions (e.g., BNMC; Kaleida Health, Roswell Park Cancer Institute, UB), state and local government officials, large nonprofits like the Urban League, and local developers. McCarley Gardens and Fruit Belt residents had less input in the EOP's (2013) work. The three main avenues for input in the process opened to residents were a Fruit Belt walking tour at the onset of the planning process which was attended by 7 residents, a community meeting held in December 2012 which was attended by 12 neighborhood residents, and a leadership training program completed by 24 neighborhood residents and business owners in March 2013 (EOP 2013).

In April 2013, the EOP (2013) submitted a report titled "Opening economic opportunity around UB's growing downtown presence." Upon submitting the report, the EOP was disbanded under the provisions of the MOU. The report recommended that UB take the lead in implementing programs and initiatives to promote economic opportunities to residents impacted by BNMC expansion and others in the broader community. Activities to be pursued included workforce development programs, local hiring initiatives, procurement from minority and women-owned businesses, and a continuation of existing outreach efforts with residents related to the development process. The recommendations focused on activities that would be driven by UB in collaboration with partnering anchor institutions. In a UB press release summarizing the EOP report, Reverend Chapmen was quoted congratulating the panel on its accomplishments, exclaiming, "We give thanks to God for this Biblically based social justice model" (UB News Center [University at Buffalo News Center] 2013).

The Residents' Response to Anchor-based Development

The EOP (2013) report was the culmination of a process begun in 2010. Residents from McCarley Gardens and the Fruit Belt neighborhood expressed reservations about the process from its inception. A perennial complaint among residents involved transparency in the planning process. McCarley Gardens residents made

repeated requests for a copy of the MOU between UBF and St. John Baptist Church outlining the conditions for the sale of the property. Despite these requests, the MOU was never publicly released. The unwillingness of UBF and St. John Baptist Church to share the MOU fed broader trepidations about transparency and inclusion in the planning process. This sentiment is illustrated in the following excerpt from an article that appeared in the local newspaper *Artvoice* after a December 2012 community meeting:

> Lorraine Chambley, who lives in McCarley Gardens, took the panel to task for not effectively reaching out to residents there. She pointed to the meeting notice, which reads, in part: "UB and St. John Baptist Church have entered into a contract to prepare the McCarley Gardens property for future use by UB as part of its downtown campus development." Why was it that she was one of only three residents at the meeting? And why weren't meeting notices distributed to all residents, if the meeting was about them? She heard about the meeting through the grapevine—as did *Artvoice.* (Quigley 2012)

Newspaper reports dating back to the announcement of the MOU documented an ongoing dispute between residents and anchor institutions in the BNMC over the scope of public participation in the planning process. Residents participated in pickets, circulated petitions, lobbied their elected officials, and engaged the media to bring attention to their grievances.

The dispute between residents and anchor institutions came to a head in early 2013 when a petition was delivered to Buffalo's Common Council. The petition called on the Common Council and the Mayor to "declare a moratorium on any and all future developments in the McCarley Gardens/Fruitbelt Community area until a master plan is developed by a body which will include a majority of residents, property owners and taxpayers of the McCarley Gardens/Fruitbelt Community" (Quigley 2013a). On March 12, 2013, the Common Council heard testimony from residents, anchor institution representatives, and other interested parties. St. John Baptist Church was reported to have chartered two school buses to carry supporters to the Council chambers in order to show support for the sale of McCarley Gardens and oppose the proposed moratorium. However, others spoke in favor of the moratorium. One speaker summed his thoughts up with this comment:

> Teaming up with this corporate real estate reverend, [UB] has decided it wants once worthless and now prime Buffalo residential property for its own selfish interests, and it intends to steamroll anything and anyone who gets in the way. This Council needs to put protections in place to safeguard the interests of the many citizens, residents, and stakeholders who have chosen to make the Fruit Belt/McCarley area their home. (Quigley 2013b)

Following the testimony, the Common Council tabled the vote on the moratorium and moved to consider a resolution calling for the formation of a Fruit Belt

Neighborhood Advisory Council. A newspaper article editorialized this development as one that created "the appearance of taking meaningful action while avoiding taking the truly meaningful action of approving a construction moratorium—which was the real issue of the day" (Quigley 2013b).

On March 19, 2013, the Buffalo Common Council unanimously approved the resolution calling for the formation of a Fruit Belt Neighborhood Advisory Council (Quigley 2013c). This action ended dialogue concerning a development moratorium on the McCarley Gardens site and in the Fruit Belt neighborhood. In some respects, the creation of a new advisory council created a potential opening to expand resident input in the neighborhood revitalization process. From this perspective, the Common Council's action should be viewed as a partial victory for residents of McCarley Gardens and the Fruit Belt neighborhood. The threat of a moratorium on development provided residents with leverage to negotiate with anchor institutions and elevated the City's role as a mediator in the process. This new relationship was further institutionalized with the creation of a City-sponsored neighborhood advisory council. This turn of events created the potential for future engagement between residents, the City, and anchor institutions focusing on formalizing a CBA.

The possibility for such an outcome was furthered in April 2013 with the release of the EOP (2013) report outlining linkages between the BNMC expansion plan and anchor-led initiatives in the community. These linkages form the basis for the negotiation of a binding CBA. It is also notable that upon releasing its report the EOP was disbanded. This should be viewed as another victory for the residents, since disbanding the EOP and replacing it with a resident-controlled body was a stated goal of those advocating for a moratorium. The formation of a Fruit Belt Neighborhood Advisory Council created an opportunity for residents to gain more access to the planning process. Finally, it is noteworthy that ambiguity over the pace of development on the McCarley Gardens site was removed as a byproduct of this dispute. In April 2013, UBF clarified that it would not move to complete the purchase of McCarley Gardens, "before 2017, at the earliest" (UB Reporter 2013). Gaining clarity on the pace of development should be viewed as another victory for residents, since they have a clear timetable to organize a strategy for the next phase of negotiations with anchor institutions.

Although the outcome of the dispute over anchor-based development can be viewed as a series of small victories for residents of McCarley Gardens and the Fruit Belt neighborhood, the future is not set. For instance, the formation of a Fruit Belt Neighborhood Advisory Council may result in enhanced resident input in the planning process. However, it also adds to an already confusing matrix of neighborhood organizations jockeying for a position in the community. Some of these organizations include long-standing block clubs and tenants groups. Others include newer entities like the "community advocacy group" formed by graduates of the leadership training program sponsored and subsidized by UB and other anchor institutions (DellaContrada 2013). The spectrum of interests represented by these neighborhood-

based organizations adds obscurity to which groups speak for the community and which ones are truly grassroots in nature. Time will tell if the disparate groups at the grassroots level can form a coalition comparable to the more unified coalition of anchor institutions that have driven the BNMC expansion plan.

Conclusions and Planning Recommendations

The case study examined in this article is instructive. It illustrates how incremental changes in the scope of public participation have influenced contemporary urban revitalization processes. Today, residents have more tools at their disposal to gain access to anchor-based urban revitalization plans than during the time that Worthy (1977) critiqued anchor-based development strategies. In particular, grassroots organizations have emerged as legitimate players in the urban revitalization process and can successfully challenge anchor-based development strategies and negotiate for concessions in the process. The growing acceptance of DAs and CBAs as tools to guarantee linkages between anchor-based development and communities exemplifies how much things have changed since earlier periods. In the contemporary context, there are growing expectations that anchor-based development will be accompanied by linkages to communities. This new paradigm has emerged with the growing awareness of the heavy subsidies that anchor institutions receive from public spending on education and health care, as well as tax expenditures linked to the nonprofit status of anchor institutions.

Despite this paradigm shift, linking community benefits with anchor-based development is not a guaranteed outcome. Linkages are the result of persistent efforts by residents working through grassroots organizations. The case study examined in this article typifies the fluid nature of negotiations that take place between residents and anchor institutions over urban revitalization. In the case examined, residents fought for a seat at the table with anchor institutions, and that fight continues. The initial victories achieved by residents grew out of their ability to work through grassroots organizations, find allies in local government and the media, and to persistently speak truth to power. However, the residents' victories should be viewed as tentative. There are no guarantees that the linkages identified in the EOP (2013) report will be implemented in a sustainable manner. Nonetheless, the existence of the EOP report can be viewed as a good faith gesture on the part of anchor institutions to move in that direction. In order to ensure the implementation of the linkages outline in the EOP report, residents need to continue to negotiate for a binding CBA that includes measurable benchmarks and outcomes. Fortunately, the specter of a development moratorium still incentivizes Buffalo's anchor institutions to pursue negotiations with residents and the City.

Although this research is based on a case study of one community, it has broad implications. This study illustrates the need for increased public scrutiny of the eds and meds model for inner-city revitalization along the lines described by Patterson and Silverman (2013). It also suggests that there is a need for a renegotiation of the

role of public and nonprofit organizations in these and other anchor-based revitalization strategies. Public organizations, particularly state and local governments, need to occupy a more central role in the process of negotiating CBAs and similar agreements to guarantee that community benefits grow out of anchor-based inner-city revitalization efforts. Actively advocating for CBAs is in the interest of state and local governments, since CBAs guarantee that tangible benefits accrue from the use of public funds to subsidize and leverage anchor-based development. Moreover, state and local governments are primarily responsible for promoting the general welfare of a community and ensuring that wealth generated from anchor-based investments is redistributed equitably.

The role of large nonprofit organizations should also be renegotiated in the contemporary context. Today, large nonprofit organizations like hospitals and universities are more dependent on public subsidies than in the past. Large nonprofit anchor institutions receive substantial financial benefits due to their tax-exempt status, and they have emerged as integral components of the social safety net, filling roles as primary providers of publicly subsidized health care and education. Given this new orientation, nonprofit anchor institutions serve broader constituencies than in the past. The governance of these organizations should be modified to reflect this change. There is a need for greater transparency in anchor-based development processes and greater accountability to the inner-city communities that anchor institutions serve. Beyond negotiating CBAs with local governments and inner-city residents, hospitals and universities should amend their internal governance practices in ways that expand the influence of inner-city residents in institutional decision-making processes.

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