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Urban and Metropolitan Universities: The Transformative Power of Anchor Institutions

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The Transformative Power of Anchor Institutions

Emily Sladek

Everyone knows by now that colleges and universities are "anchor institutions": important place-based engines that play key roles in local economies. But the raw facts of size and place are just the beginning of the story; what matters is not just the fact that anchors have an impact on communities, but what kind of impact they have, and on what terms. It is one thing to be an anchor institution. It is another to consciously and intentionally adopt an anchor mission, leveraging all available institutional and operational resources for community benefit.

Higher education is charged with creating new knowledge, preparing a workforce, and impelling life-long civically-engaged learners. As if ensuring delivery of its core mission was not enough, it also must work to eliminate barriers to access, maintain funding and enrollment and graduation rates, and address student debt. As higher education seeks to secure private and public investments, it also contends with the internal organizational challenges of decentralized and siloed operating environments. Often, the public is unaware of these complex and nuanced constraints and challenges. As institutions advocate for, and act to ensure, their own survival and success, leveraging their power to dismantle systems of oppression can start to slip outside the frame. Branding campaigns or regressive land use, hiring, or contracting policies can fail to center the needs, skills, and assets of long-time residents. Higher-education institutions are at risk of sending mixed messages (albeit often unintentional) to their constituencies, which can undermine public trust, student and faculty retention rates, and the ability of campuses to be conscious actors in creating just and livable communities.

To grapple with these challenges, higher-education institutions are becoming more disciplined and resourceful in their efforts to identify and build capacity for organization-wide behavioral change. Universities are coming together, as communities of learning, to think innovatively and practically about the strategies that will move higher education further along in its pursuit of reciprocal partnerships, democratic engagement, and systemic solutions to inequalities. They are breaking down campus silos to build programs in the areas of small-business development, hiring, procurement, housing and investment practices. They are thinking critically about these assets and about ways to address legacies of disinvestment, instead focusing on advancing racial equity. They are working to engage the campus community, integrating faculty and staff. They are working to measure their impact, and build an evidence base for this work. And they are working to reimagine their relationship to community, engaging with a broader array of stakeholders.

This issue of *Metropolitan Universities* journal, for which The Democracy Collaborative was eager to serve as guest editor, highlights a cross-section of key work and critical reflection from across this new field of practice, in particular exploring:

- Infrastructure and resourcing to support the anchor mission;
- Alignment of the anchor mission with other strategic priorities,
- Addressing larger challenges related to structural racism and persistent social and economic inequities.

Articles in this Volume

The issue begins by presenting practical "how-to" strategies for implementing an anchor mission. Higher education has struggled with how to integrate the anchor mission into teaching and learning. Drawing on a mixed-methods research study, Johnson Kebea of Drexel University shares a framework for including students that has the potential to further breakdown institutional silos and better prepare students to be civically minded actors in the workforce. Khandros from the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia details the collective impact purchasing strategy which multiple anchors in Philadelphia have adopted, with the goals of reducing poverty, improving racial equity, and creating sustainability.

Moving from practice to theory, the next set of articles explores innovations in organizational theory that align internal decision-making processes with community engagement practices, and offer insights into how to institutionalize the anchor approach. Del Rio and Loggins of the University of San Diego argue in favor of a community- and cohesion-based concept for integrating diversity and reciprocity into institutional culture, known as joining. Norris and Weiss of IUPUI reflect on lessons learned from the development of athletics programs. They identify effective organizational structures that allow for sustainable and robust partnerships, both within the university and with external community partners. In addition, the article by Bergen of Marquette University and Sladek of The Democracy Collaborative explores the tensions between different paradigms for community engagement, focusing on the public-good frameworks, analyses of academic capitalism, and calls to adopt an anchor mission.

The final article concludes with a detailed report with recommendations for a successful implementation of an anchor mission, based upon the learning realized in and by the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort, a community of practice facilitated by The Democracy Collaborative between the years of 2015-2018. Gomez, Sonenshein, Espinoza, and Fuhrmann share insights gained from adopting an anchor mission at California State University Los Angeles. They offer suggestions for incorporating upward mobility measures along with examples for community partnership into the Anchor Dashboard.

Looking Ahead

In order for higher education institutions to adopt a truly transformative and authentic anchor mission, leadership and staff must work to align internal operations with community engagement, to limit the ways in which university actions often work at cross-purposes. This requires an "all in" commitment, calling for greater coordination across campus, from external relations to diversity and inclusion. It will also rely on expanding the set of external stakeholders, and joining place-based, collective-impact initiatives. Building a movement to embed the anchor approach across the higher-education field will mean continuing to invest in building the body of evidence and monitoring progress on goals. We will need to change day-to-day policies and set the stage for long-term system change. We will need to integrate anchor strategies into teaching and learning, and develop curricular innovations. As universities and colleges deepen their implementation across these areas, a shared commitment to identifying and sharing best practices can help revolutionize and reorient institutional power, in order to build just relationships with local neighbors.

Developing the Student Anchor Engagement Framework

Jennifer Johnson Kebea

Abstract

Modern urban and metropolitan universities are increasingly obliged to recognize their role as anchor institutions. These same institutions of higher education (IHEs) also have a responsibility to educate students to be responsible and participatory citizens in society. An increasing number of IHEs recognize these distinct commitments as central to the public purpose of higher education. However, few intentionally involve students in anchor mission work. This misalignment denies students a rich opportunity for civic learning and democratic engagement. Furthermore, it prevents IHEs and their surrounding communities from realizing the benefits of harmonizing these two commitments. This mixed-methods research study resulted in the development of the Student Anchor Engagement Framework, a 36-item strategic framework designed to identify how IHEs can intentionally involve students in anchor strategy. The framework derives from The Democracy Collaborative's Anchor Institution Community Benefit Dashboard. Expert participants ranked all items included in the framework as to their potential to influence student civic learning and democratic engagement. Implications of this research study include the potential for IHEs to consider, strategically, ways to align student civic learning with anchor institution practices for the advancement of both pursuits.

Keywords: anchor institution; civic learning; democratic engagement; student engagement

Introduction

Higher education in the United States aims to fulfil multiple missions. While preparing students to serve as professionals in their field of study remains the primary goal, many urban and metropolitan institutions of higher education (IHEs) also embrace two public purposes. The first is to educate students to be responsible and participatory citizens in society. The second is to consider how an IHE serves as an institutional citizen and anchor institution within the local communities where they operate. In many ways, these two public purposes of higher education are complimentary; however, researcher or practitioners do not typically consider them together.

This mixed-methods study sought to develop a strategic framework, in which IHEs, serving as anchor institutions, can facilitate civic learning and democratic engagement by involving students in the anchor mission of the institution. Second, this study aimed to ensure that said framework presented customizable and sustainable engagement strategies for diverse IHEs.

This study resulted in the development of a 36-item framework, referred to as the "Student Anchor Engagement Framework" (Kebea, 2016), which mirrors the structure of The Democracy Collaborative Anchor Institution Community Benefit Dashboard, here abbreviated as the "Anchor Dashboard." The Collaborative designed this Anchor Dashboard to help IHEs identify and measure how they are serving as an anchor institution within the community (Dubb,

McKinley, & Howard, 2013). The Student Anchor Engagement Framework augments the Anchor Dashboard by including student engagement in anchor strategy. The Student Anchor Engagement Framework is organized into the same five categories as the Anchor Dashboard, including: (a) anchor mission alignment; (b) economic development; (c) community building; (d) education; and (e) health, safety, and environment (Dubb, 2015). All 36 items included in the Student Anchor Engagement Framework had the best potential for positive impact upon student civic learning and democratic engagement, as judged by expert participants in this research Delphi-method study.

Aligning the Student Anchor Engagement Framework with the Anchor Dashboard was both intentional and strategic. The Anchor Dashboard was one of the first tools to define categorically how IHEs could serve as anchor institutions within their communities across a variety of systems (Dubb et al., 2013). However, the Anchor Dashboard contains very limited information on how to involve students in anchor strategy. Therefore, the Student Anchor Engagement Framework attempts to build upon and complement the Anchor Dashboard, while providing vast accessibility and utility for IHEs considering strategies to involve students in institutional anchor strategy for enhancing students' overall civic development. The Student Anchor Engagement Framework, in alignment with the Anchor Dashboard (Dubb et al., 2013), builds upon and expands research exploring student involvement in anchor strategy by Wittman and Crews (2012), as well as Guinan, McKinley, and Yi (2013).

This article will describe the process of developing the Student Anchor Engagement Framework (Kebea, 2016) and explore the significance of this framework within the field of higher education. This research is significant to a national audience because it provides a roadmap for IHEs to engage, strategically and intentionally, their students in the anchor work of their institutions. This ultimately creates a broader network of IHEs to invest jointly in the interrelated concepts of anchor strategy, civic learning, and democratic engagement.

Literature Review

The literature that informed this research stemmed from three concepts: the role of IHEs to serve as anchor institutions within their local communities, the role of IHEs to act as civic educators of students by embracing the tenets of civic learning, and the importance of recognizing the foundational role that democratic engagement plays in both commitments. The connection between IHEs' dual roles as both civic educator and anchor institution are not readily apparent within literature or practice. However, the opportunity for explicit connection of these concepts does exist and stands greatly to inform the practice of each individual commitment.

Anchor Institutions

Anchor institutions are place-based organizations, including IHEs and health systems, which link closely to their local communities because of both organizational goals and capital investments (Dubb et al., 2013). The historical origins of anchor institutions goes back to 1862 with the passage of the first Morrill Act. This legislation reserved land for 69 state-supported IHEs, which now number more than 100 nation-wide and are officially known as land-grant institutions (Renaud, 2008). As part of the land-grant process, IHEs took on the responsibility of producing

research and knowledge applicable to both agriculture and industry in largely rural communities (Alperovitz & Howard, 2005). Today, many of these IHEs continued to focus energy and effort on institutional engagement with their local communities, thus paving the way for today's modern concept of a higher education anchor institution (Cantor, 2009).

More recently, a growing number of IHEs have worked to redefine their relationships with and responsibilities to the communities where they reside. Embracing an anchor mission has materialized individually for unique IHEs and many urban and metropolitan universities have now focused resources on problem solving efforts relevant to their specific communities. Furthermore, IHEs are discovering that they can align institutional will and resources to the benefit of both the community and the IHE. Anchor Dashboard is a key piece of research advancing this work. It identifies five categories and twelve outcomes related to IHEs and their roles as anchor institutions (Dubb et al., 2013). The outcomes identified within these categories provide a roadmap for present day urban and metropolitan IHEs to consider how they currently serve as an anchor institution and how they might consider expanding their commitment to the role.

Civic Learning

Civic learning references the "knowledge, skills, values, and the capacity to work with others on civic and societal challenges" (AAC&U, 2012, p. 4). IHEs have largely embraced their roles as purveyors of civic learning, dating back as far as the early 1600s and the founding of Harvard University, the first IHE in the nation (Jacoby, 2009). This commitment would continue through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century; John Dewey proclaimed that formal education should play a key role in democracy by teaching students to be civically engaged members of society (Jacoby, 2009).

By the twenty-first century, IHEs were re-examining their role in civic learning. In 2012, the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement released a comprehensive report entitled *A Crucible Moment: College Learning & Democracy's Future.* This report sought to remind IHEs about their role as civic educators and their responsibility to ensure that their graduates leave prepared to be knowledgeable, responsible, and participatory citizens (AAC&U, 2012). While IHEs have often fallen short in this pursuit, many have nevertheless remained committed. Nearly 1,100 IHEs hold membership with Campus Compact (2016), and 361 IHEs currently hold the Carnegie Foundation's elective community engagement classification (Saltmarsh & Driscoll, 2015).

Democratic Engagement

The final theme explored in this literature review is democratic engagement. Democratic engagement is identified by "deep engagement with the values of liberty, equality, individual worth, open mindedness, and the willingness to collaborate with people of differing views and backgrounds towards common solutions for the public good" (AAC&U, 2012, p. 3). Like civic learning, democratic engagement is not a nascent concept in American higher education. In fact, founding fathers Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were both early advocates of the democratic purposes of higher education (Boyte & Kari, 2000; Harkavy & Hartley, 2008). By

the turn of the twentieth century, John Dewey would also be clamoring for schools to be models of democracy (Dewey, 1900).

The concept of democratic engagement ultimately serves as a bridge between the role of IHEs to serve as both civic educators and anchor institutions, illuminating a path and rationale for student involvement in anchor strategy. While research or practice have not traditionally connected these concepts, precursors are present in the literature. For example, Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) begin to describe these linked concepts by stating:

> Democratic engagement locates the university within an ecosystem of knowledge production. In this ecosystem, the university interacts with outside knowledge producers in order to create new problem-solving knowledge through a multi-directional flow of knowledge and expertise. In this paradigm, students learn cooperative and creative problem solving within learning environments in which faculty, students, and individuals from the community work and deliberate together. (p.11)

IHEs that utilize their knowledge and expertise to solve complex public problems while engaging in authentic collaboration with community are modeling democratic engagement. This orientation readily lends itself to conceptualizing how students can play an active role in anchor-institution strategy.

Methodology

This mixed-methods study utilized an explanatory sequential design, analyzing quantitative data collected during phase one of the study to inform the second qualitative phase (Creswell, 2012). During phase one, the author utilized a three-round Delphi study featuring a panel of 25 national higher education experts. Two focus groups provided feedback during phase two. The focus groups totaled nine engaged students at Drexel University, a large, private, urban, research institution located in Philadelphia, PA. Drexel's Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted approval in advance of this research study.

Delphi Method

The Delphi method served as a flexible mixed-methods research tool during the first phase of this study. This research protocol engages an expert panel to provide responses and rankings to a structured series of questions or statements over several iterative phases (Skulmoski, Hartman, & Krahn, 2007). Many industries use it, including higher education, to assist with both decision-making and consensus building (Linstone & Turoff, 1975).

The author selected the Delphi method because of its complementarity to this study. The Delphi method provides a well-structured process for organizing and ranking new information collected about a topic (Skulmoski et al., 2007). It also provides a democratic way to gather information, which was particularly relevant given the nature and context of this research study. Day and Bobeva (2005) explain that "whatever the perceived reason for its choice, the method offers reliability and generalizability of outcomes, ensured through iteration of rounds for data collection and analysis, guided by the principle of democratic participation and anonymity" (p. 104). Further, each expert participant's opinions and contributions carry equal weight during

both data collection and analysis (Dalkey, 1972).

The author identified expert participants for this Delphi study nationally through consultation with several professional organization including the Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities, the International Association of Research on Service Learning and Community Engagement, the Anchor Institution Task Force, and The Democracy Collaborative. Participant eligibility was confirmed utilizing criteria including: (a) three or more years of experience in the field of higher education as related to civic learning and/or anchor institution research; (b) two or more publications in an associated field; (c) affiliations with one of the professional organizations listed above; and (d) the willingness and time to participate in the study. Participants needed to meet two of the first three criteria, and all needed to meet the final criterion in order to be part of the study.

Demographics collected on the group indicate that diverse in gender and age. The majority of participants (23) identified as white/Caucasian. One participant identified as Black or African American, and one identified as Native American or American Indian. Professional roles of participants included engagement center directors and staff, service-learning facilitators, student leadership facilitators, anchor strategy implementers, engaged faculty, senior-level higher education administrators, and representatives from organizations affiliated with anchor strategy and/or civic learning. Fourteen expert participants hold doctoral degrees, nine hold master's degrees, and two hold bachelor's degrees in their respective fields.

Participants, upon request, described the profile of their current institutional home. The majority of institutions in this study were large, urban research institutions. There were both public (12) and private (9) institutions represented. A smaller number of suburban (3) and rural (4) institutions were also represented in the sample.

The survey instrument utilized in this Delphi study included a series of three online surveys administered via email using the survey tool Qualtrics. The first round of the Delphi study was qualitative and consisted of a series of open-ended questions aimed to identify potential ways that students could be involved in anchor strategy. The second and third rounds utilized 4-point Likert-type scales to ask expert participants to review responses collected during round one and rank both the quality of the proposed item to have a positive impact on student civic learning and democratic engagement, and the overall ease of its implementation. In order for an item to be included in the final emergent framework, three distinct measurements were essential. First, the item needed to have a mean score of 2.0 or less, indicating that the expert participants had judged it to have a positive impact on student civic learning and democratic engagement. Second, we calculated two metrics that indicate consensus. The first was the interquartile range (IQR), which calculates the absolute value of the difference between the 75th and 25th percentiles (Rayens & Hahn, 2000), with values of 1.0 indicating a high level of consensus (Von der Gracht, 2012). Finally, 80% of expert participants had to rank the Likert item as a 2.0 or less for inclusion on the final framework. If items did not meet all three of these criteria, the authors ejected those items from the final framework. After analysis was complete, 36 unique items remained in the framework across five categories. The author organized items within categories based on the implementation levels easy, moderate, or difficult, calculating these levels based on additional Likert scale data collected during round two and three of the survey.

Ultimately, 19 of the 25 total participants completed all three rounds of the Delphi study. This represents a 66% final retention rate, with retention rates between rounds registering at 88% and 86% respectively. These retention rates fall within acceptable rate guidelines as suggested by Sumison (1998).

Focus Groups

The second phase of data collection during this research study included two focus groups. The researcher utilized a purposeful sampling technique to identify students to participant in the focus groups. The focus groups were comprised of engaged students from Drexel University, a large, private, urban, research institution that has largely embraced its identity as an anchor institution in Philadelphia, PA. The author recruited students specifically for their participation in programming offered through Drexel's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and their individual ability to contribute to a review and conversation of the Student Anchor Engagement Framework, as perceived by the researcher.

Each focus group had to review the emergent framework and providing feedback. Key questions that the author asked during the focus groups revolved around the clarity of the framework, prior involvement of the participants in the activities listed in the framework, and their perceived opportunity for new learning through involvement in the listed activities. Each focus group was audio recorded and transcribed. Data was hand-coded and analyzed using *a priori* codes that mirrored questions asked during the focus groups.

Integrating feedback from the focus groups allowed the early framework to be further customized for usage at Drexel University. This opportunity to customize the framework is an important step towards ensuring that IHEs can implement an anchor strategy with student engagement within the contexts and realities of their diverse institution.

Results

The Delphi study resulted in the development of a 36-item strategic framework titled the Student Anchor Engagement Framework, shown in Figure 1. The framework identifies key ways that students can be involved in anchor strategy, along with their perceived ease of implementation (Kebea, 2016). All engagement items included in the framework ranked as having a potential positive impact on student civic learning and democratic engagement.

The framework shown in Figure 1 is the generic template developed through the Delphi method in phase one of this research study. Phase two, which utilized focus group feedback from students at Drexel University, resulted in a slight variation to the generic framework with the addition of one item to the list. IHEs interested in utilizing the Student Anchor Engagement Framework should consider hosting student focus-group sessions to personalize further the framework to the realities and opportunities available on their own campuses.

	Student Involvement in Anchor Strategy	Implementation
Anchor Mission Alignment	Include students on university committees that develop plans for the institution's anchor strategy (e.g. Anchor Institution Committee)	Easy
	Involve the Student Government Association in anchor institution strategy and planning	Easy
	Offer courses that educate students about the anchor strategies of the university	Easy
	Align service-learning coursework with key anchor institution strategies	Moderate
	Involve students in the strategic planning process of the institution (e.g. mission statement revisions or update of strategic plan)	Moderate
	Encourage student organizations to become knowledgeable about the university's role as an anchor institution	Moderate
	Provide internship/co-op opportunities for students to work closely with university administration who are charged with implementing anchor strategy	Moderate
	Instill in students a sense that they are part of the broader community outside of the university	Moderate
	Involve students in community-engaged research aimed at examining facets of anchor institution work (e.g. community-asset mapping)	Moderate
	Involve students in the evaluation of the university's achievement of anchor institution goals	Moderate
	Encourage student activism that might lead to better university anchor practices (e.g. students advocating for the university to procure goods locally or to divest endowment funding from carbon, etc.)	Moderate
	Give students responsibility for implementing part of the anchor strategy	Moderate
Economic Development	Students provide tax prep services through a service-learning course	Easy
	Educate students about local issues of gentrification influenced by the student apartment and home rental market	Moderate
	Students provide financial education workshops to the community through a service-learning course	Moderate
	Students intern with minority-owned businesses in the community	Moderate
	Students provide technical business support to local businesses through service-learning courses (e.g. business plan creation, social media marketing strategy, etc.)	Moderate

Category	Activity	Difficulty
	Involve students in research projects around local economic development topics connected to an anchor mission (e.g. student local spending, local hiring trends at the University, etc.)	Moderate
	Students partner with community members to launch small businesses in the community	Difficult
Education	College students bring enrichment activities into local K-12 schools through service-learning courses (e.g. arts, music, or STEM)	Easy
	College students tutor or mentor K-12 students in local after school programs	Moderate
	College students provide college access support to local high school students (e.g. completing applications, FAFSA, writing essays, etc.)	Moderate
	College students serve as ESL tutors in K-12 schools	Moderate
	College students provide support around literacy in K-12 schools (e.g. America Reads)	Moderate
	College students utilize Federal Work Study dollars to fund internships in K-12 schools	Moderate
Community Development	Students intern with local community development centers	Easy
	Students provide support to local community-based business centers	Moderate
	Students provide technical assistance or capacity-building services to nonprofits through a service-learning course	Moderate
	Involve students in a research project examining capacity of local nonprofits	Moderate
	Involve students in a research project examining the community civic health index	Moderate
	Students serve on local community advisory boards	Moderate
Health, Safety, & Environment	Involve nursing and health professions students in service-learning courses connected to community clinics	Easy
	Law students provide pro-bono legal services to local community members	Moderate
	Students participate in community-engaged research projects examining key community health indicators (e.g. lead paint, asthma triggers, etc.)	Moderate
	Students help local community residents connect to public benefits such as healthcare	Moderate
	Involve engineering or environmental science students in projects focused on air quality, surface groundwater, etc.	Moderate

Figure 1. Student Anchor Engagement Framework (Kebea, 2016).

Conclusion

This research study resulted in the development of the Student Anchor Engagement Framework, which identifies specific ways that students can be involved in anchor strategy (Kebea, 2016). Multiple implications of this research exist for university personnel that support community engagement and/or anchor strategy, university leadership, and students themselves.

This work has the potential to encourage IHEs to reconsider how each institution conceptualizes and organizes community engagement across internal divisions, especially those that typically do not intersect within the institution (Kebea, 2016). For example, an IHE with a traditional (perhaps even isolated) community engagement center may consider how a student-focused collaboration with the campus procurement office might advance both anchor strategy and civic learning. A natural first step might involve the community engagement center and procurement office co-sponsoring a student intern, who focuses on developing a strategy to encourage other students to spend locally. Simultaneously, the community engagement center might start to infuse information about the IHE's role as an anchor institution into student workshops and trainings, sparking further interest and involvement of students in their institution's anchor strategy. More advanced approaches might begin to involve faculty who incorporate anchor mission concepts into curriculum leveraged to advance specific aspects of anchor strategy. Connecting anchor strategy to both curricular and co-curricular student pursuits is a clear way to enhance congruency between the IHE's role as civic educator of students and as anchor institution within the community.

This research also presents implications for university leadership. As universities continue to participate in conversations around the significance of institutional investment within local communities (Campus Compact, 2016), the Student Anchor Engagement Framework will be useful to IHEs that seek ways to leverage one of their greatest resources, students, to aid in the advancement and congruence of this work. This alignment is crucial to the future success of IHE anchor strategy because initiatives and strategic directions that do not directly involve and benefit *students*, the core stakeholders, have a repeated tendency to diminish over time.

Furthermore, engaged IHEs that pursue national recognition including through the elective Carnegie Community Engagement Classification (Saltmarsh & Driscoll, 2015), should continue to advocate for the addition of reporting requirements that aim to measure their commitment to serve as both civic educators to students and as anchor institutions within their local communities (Kebea, 2016). This intentional connection will allow IHEs to more cohesively understand and share their institutional commitments and accomplishments within the wide expanse of community engagement.

Finally, for current students (and the staff and faculty that support them), this research study and the resultant Student Anchor Engagement Framework provide a roadmap illuminating specific examples of how students can engage in, and potentially learn from, this important work. This framework is not exhaustive or inflexible. Instead, it serves a springboard for the creative inquiry and involvement of students in all aspects of anchor institution strategy.

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Philadelphia Anchors for Growth and Equity: Applying the Lean Startup Methodology to Build a Financially Sustainable Anchor Collaborative

Mariya Khandros

Abstract

As poverty and inequality continue to plague American cities, universities and hospitals are looking for ways to leverage their role as community anchors to address these issues. Local procurement programs have emerged as one way for institutions to build local wealth and create jobs. In order to increase the impact of individual institutions, many cities are creating place-based collaboratives to amplify the impact of individual anchors. However, because collaboratives focus on systems-level change, which can take many years to achieve, they frequently struggle to raise and sustain necessary levels of funding. This article outlines how the principles of a Lean Startup methodology, an approach that focuses on gradual growth using validated learning, can be utilized to build financially sustainable anchor collaboratives and identify the most effective strategies for local purchasing. The article provides an overview the Philadelphia local purchasing landscape. The author defines the Lean Startup methodology and looks at the application of the methodology through the lens of Philadelphia's local purchasing collaborative, Philadelphia Anchors for Growth and Equity at the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia. The goal of this article is to share a strategic planning framework that could be useful in creating effective local purchasing collaboratives.

Keywords: strategic planning; local purchasing; collective impact; best practices; case study

Introduction

Although Philadelphia has been experiencing population and economic growth for the last 10 years, more than a quarter of its population still lives in poverty (Pew Charitable Trust, 2017). One of the reasons that economic growth has not seeped into pockets of poverty is that new jobs are largely concentrated on opposite poles of the skills spectrum: low-wage and low-skill positions or high-skilled, white-collar positions, which are out of reach for Philadelphia hard-to-employ residents. Largely absent are middle-skill jobs with a career path.

At the same time, Philadelphia's economy is anchored by a robust sector of large, nonprofit 'eds-and-meds' institutions. With a few exceptions, these institutions are located in ZIP codes characterized by high rates of poverty and unemployment, anchored in place by campuses and state-of-the-art medical buildings. For many anchor institutions, addressing Philadelphia's poverty not only aligns with their mission, but also could lead to improved community relationships, easier employee attraction, and increased safety. Collectively, these institutions spend billions of dollars on an array of goods and services, mostly outside of Philadelphia. Channeling a fraction of this spend locally, could catalyze the growth of local businesses and the creation of jobs that could provide a pathway out of poverty.

In 2018, the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia launched Philadelphia Anchors for Growth and Equity (PAGE). The League created a partnership between the Economy League, the City of Philadelphia and more than a dozen Philadelphia-area institutions. This alliance works to capture a portion of this procurement spend locally in order to grow Philadelphia businesses, strengthen the local economy, create middle-skill, living wage jobs, and build wealth. Preliminary research completed by the Office of the City Controller informed the initiative.

This article summarizes the preliminary research that provided the momentum for the launch, provides an asset and gap analysis of the Philadelphia landscape, explains the Lean Startup methodology and outlines the strategic plan for scaling up PAGE. This strategic plan serves as a case study for applying the framework of the "Lean Start Up" methodology to developing sustainable anchor collaboratives. Although the landscape analysis in the early part of the report is particular to Philadelphia, others can easily apply a similar approach, used here to complete the landscape analysis and create the strategic plan, to many other initiatives and municipalities. The Lean Startup approach provides a path for starting a project on a limited budget and defining clear metrics to guide the project's growth in terms of scope and resources.

Preliminary Research: Defining the Opportunity and Assessing Feasibility

As a first step, it was critical to establish whether an adequate localization opportunity existed prior to investing resources into a new initiative. It was also critical to determine whether anchors were ready, willing and able to participate in the work.

The Philadelphia City Controller's Office took the lead in studying the potential of a local anchor procurement strategy for Philadelphia. In 2014, the City Controller concluded that local hospitals and universities purchase a total of $5.3 billion in non-salary spending, but only 52% of that amount is spent locally (Office of the City Controller, 2014). However, one cannot assume that the remaining $2.8 billion can localized. For example, an MRI machine can cost over a million dollars, but no MRI manufacturers exist in Philadelphia and starting up a new manufacturer borders on the impossible. For this reason, the Controller's 2015 report used actual purchasing data from local anchor institutions and compared it to the survey of local manufacturing capacity. The report concluded that out of $531 million in funds available in sectors where Philadelphia had capacity (food, medical services, medical and surgical appliances, building services, among others), only 19% was spent locally (Office of the Controller, 2015). Increasing this spend by just 25% could result in over 5,000 direct and indirect jobs (Office of the Controller, 2015).

Having demonstrated the size of the local purchasing opportunity, a central question remained. Would local anchors be willing to participate in this initiative? In order to answer this question, the Controller's Office began convening quarterly meetings with procurement directors from several the major non-profit education and healthcare institutions to discuss ways that they could increase local purchasing. Early results exceeded expectations. The institutions demonstrated willingness to commit staff time, share information, and think creatively about ways to localize their purchasing. The Controller's team also learned that there could be a strong business case for local procurement; for example, many hospitals send all of their medical laundry out of state, resulting in unnecessary fuel costs and increased risk of interruption to the supply chain. A local

medical laundry would not only create local jobs but could also reduce costs for anchors. These early meetings confirmed earlier research findings and encouraged the Controller to move forward with implementation.

Gap Analysis: Assessing the Assets and Gaps in the Philadelphia Landscape

In order to develop a plan for Philadelphia's local purchasing initiative, the Controller's staff compiled a list of elements and best practices necessary for creating anchor purchasing collaboratives from institutions such as the Democracy Collaborative, Initiative for a Competitive Inner City and the Anchor Institution Task Force. This list was used assess the local business landscape (supply-side), anchor institutions (demand-side), major suppliers such as Aramark, Staples, Vizient or Premier, which can represent as much as 80% of an institution's spend (supply chain integrators) and the presence of any convening or backbone organizations. Overall, Philadelphia has most of the key ingredients to implement a successful local procurement initiative. The most notable gap was the absence of a local backbone organization. Because of the landscape analysis, the City Controller's staff began a search for a suitable nonprofit to serve as an anchor collaborative backbone organization, resulting in PAGE's relocation to the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia. The following section provides a detailed look at the gap assessment.

Local Business Landscape (Supply)

The first step was to establish and quantify the business opportunity within industries utilized by anchor institutions. As was mentioned previously, there is at least $530 million of capacity within Philadelphia's existing manufacturing sector (Office of the Controller, 2015). In particular, the Controller's report identified eight sectors with capacity to serve anchors: HVAC products, electrical equipment, furniture, facility commodities, medical equipment, laboratory equipment, paper products, and office supplies. Subsequent work with anchors has identified food and medical services as additional opportunity spaces.

Finding capable businesses is an important first step. However, using local purchasing to catalyze new business growth could produce an even deeper impact. The next part of the landscape assessment looked at technical assistance and capital provision, both critical to the creation and growth of businesses. Philadelphia is rich in resources when it comes to capacity building. The city is home to a variety of support structures for growing businesses. These range from university-based small business development centers to nationally recognized nonprofits. Just a few of them are The Enterprise Center, Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), The Reinvestment Fund (TRF), Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), and Finanta to business groups such as the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce (GPCC), the Delaware Valley Industrial Resource Center (DVIRC), and the Sustainable Business Network (Office of the Controller, 2015).

These organizations offer a variety of programs to help small businesses working with large, institutional clients: advising businesses on questions of legal structure, bonding and insurance, writing an RFP, and managing cash flow. However, the biggest service gap was the fact that no

programs connected businesses to new contracts, upon completion of their programs. A backbone organization or a local purchasing collaborative could fill that gap.

As with technical assistance, there are many sources of funding in Philadelphia. This, however, does not mean that there is sufficient funding. Generally, Philadelphia tends to lag other major cities in terms of funding. According to a survey done by Daily Business News, respondents considered lack of access to funds to be the number one barrier to small business success in Philadelphia (Uzialko, 2016). According to the Sustainable Business Network (2011), an average Philadelphia CDFI has $4 million in loans available to businesses, compared to the national average of $12.5 million. According to a more recent report by Pew, Philadelphia ranks thirteenth in the nation for venture capital invested, despite being the 6th most populous city (Pew Charitable Trust, 2017). Without a comprehensive capital scan, one can make only general statements about business funding in Philadelphia, but there is sufficient reason to expect that access to capital will be one of the challenges in the anchor procurement space.

Anchor Institution Landscape (Demand)

There are 34 traditional anchors (hospitals and universities) located in Philadelphia, with a total annual operating budget of about $14 billion, of which about 38 percent, or $5.3 billion, is non-payroll spending and therefore represents procurement opportunities for which a local vendor might be utilized. Of that $5.3 billion in annual procurement opportunities, according to a 2014 report by the Philadelphia Controller, currently about 52 percent, or $2.7 billion, goes to goods and services from local vendors (Office of the Controller, 2014).

In terms of community engagement, there is a significant range, based on interest, mission and available resources. Although University of Pennsylvania's community engagement efforts have been the most widely recognized, almost every hospital and university in Philadelphia has made efforts to connect with and serve their neighborhoods. The Controller's report detailed many examples of local engagement by Drexel University, Temple University, Thomas Jefferson University Hospital, and the Community College of Philadelphia, among others (Office of the Controller, 2015). More recently, Children's Hospital of Pennsylvania opened the South Philadelphia Community Health and Literacy Center, an innovative health, literacy and recreation center in 2016, providing another example of anchor investment in the local communities (Sapatkin, 2016).

Since the publication of the Controller's 2015 report, the most critical development in terms of anchor procurement has been the launch of Philadelphia Anchors for Growth and Equity, with funding from the City of Philadelphia, Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, Drexel University, University of Pennsylvania and Health System, Temple University and Health System, and Thomas Jefferson University and Health System. The institutions' early willingness to support financially the PAGE initiativeclearly demonstrated their investment in local procurement work. Other institutions participating in PAGE include the Community College of Philadelphia, Einstein Healthcare Network, La Salle University, Peirce College, Saint Joseph's University, Salus University and the University of the Sciences.

In order to understand procurement from the anchor institutions' perspective, the City Controller's Office distributed a survey to all of the anchors listed above to learn about barriers, motivations and steps that anchors have taken to localize procurement. The survey yielded several interesting findings.

Barriers

First, even when anchors are willing to participate in local purchasing, they face a variety of barriers external and internal, including a perceived lack of local companies with sufficient capacity, decentralized purchasing practices, high insurance, and bonding requirements required by their legal departments. Furthermore, the practice of issuing contract bids and RFPs to a small pre-screened group of companies excludes many potential local vendors. Moreover, managers had already encumbered up to 80 percent of an anchor's expenditures in long-term contracts with supply chain integrators, which are major companies such as Aramark or Staples that aggregated products and services from many smaller vendors. This places an intermediary between the institutions and their suppliers.

Benefits to Anchors

While anchors participate in local procurement as a social impact initiative to improve the economy of their surrounding neighborhoods, the survey sought to identify specific benefits that anchors might receive from participating. In this regard, the vast majority (82%) stated that this work helps them become the 'provider of choice' for their community. Other benefits included meeting community-engagement goals, addressing the social determinants of health, increasing the number of competitive RFP bids and introducing flexibility into supply chains. Fifty-four percent of anchors surveyed also see local purchasing as a way to meet the diversity and inclusion requirements of certain federal grants.

Best Practices Implementation

When it comes to local purchasing, most anchors have made significant headway in implementing national best practices. Most have completed a spending analysis, engaged all levels of staff and leadership, and improved some part of their bidding processes. However, areas for improvement persist. These include setting concrete goals, adding local purchasing staff and continuing to improve the bidding process. The following is a summary of findings from the best practices survey:

- Defining Local: 55% of anchors consider the City of Philadelphia as local, 27% use a "concentric" approach, with greater preference given to location closer to the anchor, while 18% have another approach, such as an immediate neighborhood.
- Analyzing Spend: 91% of respondents completed an independent purchasing analysis.
- Local Targets: Only two anchors reported setting specific local purchasing goals.
- Leadership Buy-in: Half of the survey respondents say that either executive leadership (25%) or senior management (25%) is championing local procurement. 31% of respondents say the role falls to middle management, while staff is the driving force for local purchasing at 19% of institutions.

- Staffing Changes: 36% of anchors created a new position in the procurement or the diversity and community outreach departments, 18% performed training with existing staff and 45% made no changes.
- Engaging Staff: When it comes to engaging employees who are not actively working on local or diverse purchasing, most respondents have no plan or resort to passive information sharing, rather than the more effective approach of training. To maintain staff engagement, 30% use communication such as announcements or newsletters, 30% perform ongoing training, while 40% do neither.
- Incentivizing Localization: 36% of anchors use only cost-reduction benchmarks to incentivize their staff. Forty-five percent use qualitative metrics, while the rest use a different approach. Nine percent reported changing performance metrics to accommodate for local procurement. However, some respondents pointed out that in cases where supervisors use qualitative criteria to evaluate performance, incentives may not be a barrier to local purchasing.
- RFP Processes: Modifying the bidding process to create room for local companies is critical to promote local purchasing. Philadelphia anchors report accelerating payment processes (18%), adding requirements to include local firms in every bid (18%), or ensuring that RFP announcements include local participation (9%). 55% did not amend the process. Several commented that they also include requirements for local subcontractors in RFPs.
- Other Actions:
    - Thirty-six percent adjusted current IT systems to support local purchasing.
    - Another thirty-six percent organized seminars for local businesses about the RFP process.
    - Thirty-six percent also collaborated with other organizations to promote local purchasing initiative (e.g. other anchors, local chambers of commerce, capacity-building nonprofits).
    - Twenty-seven percent made announcements to the local community to increase awareness and solicit bids.
    - Nine percent created or funded targeted capacity building programs for local suppliers.

The fact that most Philadelphia anchors have begun to implement many local purchasing best practices is the survey's most encouraging finding. Institutions are engaging staff and thinking creatively about ways to bring in more local companies. Next, institutions should continue building on progress in areas such as staff training and modifications to the bidding process, while addressing larger gaps, such as encouraging anchors to add dedicated staff, adjust incentives, and set concrete goals. A capable backbone organization might reliably provide some of these functions.

Major Suppliers Landscape (Supply Chain Integrators)

The anchor survey showed that frequently the majority of an anchor's spend is not direct, but rather channeled through supply chain integrators (SCIs). A comprehensive local purchasing strategy will need to engage SCIs in local purchasing efforts.

According to the anchor survey, more than half (55%) of the anchors establish minority/majority partnerships between a local firm that acts as the customer service "middleman" providing services such as desktop delivery and fulfilling emergency orders, with the large national SCI contributing their extensive catalog to the partnership. For example, Office Depot uses a local Tier I distributor, Telrose Corporation. In 2017, EMSCO (a local lab supply company) and Thermo-Fisher Scientific formalized a relationship to serve the University of Pennsylvania. Other common engagement strategies included encouraging SCIs to open a local facility (27%), amending RFP language to require local subcontracts and report on local spend (18%). Only one anchor has reported unbundling contracts (breaking contracts up into smaller pieces to be more accessible to smaller suppliers).

The primary takeaway is that in order to engage SCIs, anchors must invite them to the table. As major clients, anchors wield considerable power; this is another reason why a collaborative structure will produce more impactful results than individual institutional efforts. If an SCI hears that purchasing local is important to several of their clients, rather than just one, they will invest more significantly in developing “Buy Local” strategies.

Backbone Organization Landscape (Connecting Supply and Demand)

The biggest gap identified by the landscape assessment has been an absence of a backbone organization to coordinate an anchor collaborative. A backbone organization is a neutral convener that builds a network of anchors, businesses and support organizations; creates a common definition of local; researches and reports on best practices and facilitates matchmaking between the supply of local businesses and anchor demand (Burnett 2013).

Prior to PAGE, there was no operating collaborative in Philadelphia. For several years, the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce had convened the Supplier Network, which discontinued because of the difficulty of matching up interested small businesses with the right anchor opportunity (Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, 2017). Two institutes at the University of Pennsylvania, the Institute for Urban Research and the Netter Center for Community Engagement have done research and created toolkits to help anchors engage in the community, but neither has taken an active organizing role (Mott, 2013). The Philadelphia Area Collegiate Cooperative is a proto-GPO, with members negotiating jointly to buy commodities such as bottled water and lab supplies at a lower cost. However, this group purchasing effort aims primarily to reduce costs, rather than any localization efforts (Association of Independent Colleges, 2017). University City District, an anchor-funded special services district, has engaged institutions in the West Philadelphia neighborhood, but not the entire city.

Based on the criteria an effective backbone organization, the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia is a natural for the role of a neutral convener. The Economy League has a long history of addressing critical issues facing Greater Philadelphia by providing impactful research, connecting diverse leaders, and advancing shared solutions. A board of about 60 of the region's leading firms and institutions oversees the Economy League, giving it the staff, experience, reach, and reputation for independence to perform the functions required by a backbone organization. For these reasons, in March of 2018, the Economy League launched Philadelphia Anchors of Philadelphia of Growth and Equity, based on the research and groundwork

completed by the Philadelphia City Controller (Khandros, 2018). The resulting strategic plan guides the development of the initiative within the Economy League over the next several years following the official launch.

Lean Startup Methodology

Philadelphia possesses most of the critical assets necessary for the success of the Philadelphia Anchors of Philadelphia of Growth and Equity. However, by far the biggest outstanding need has been a convening or backbone organization; though several attempts have been made, none have lasted. Local purchasing initiatives face two particular challenges that can result in failure. First, although local procurement best practices are standard, the backbone organizations that implement them are not. For example, in Chicago, the initiators had raised all necessary funding before the launch of Chicago Anchors for a Strong Economy (CASE), while Cleveland did not create the Evergreen backbone organization until after two cooperative businesses had been launched. Each city requires a unique approach and arriving at that approach requires trial and error. This means that an effective collaborative has to incorporate failing forward into its strategy, so that the failure of one approach to local purchasing does not translate into the failure of the whole initiative. The second related challenge is that collaboratives must maintain credibility with their funders as they experiment and, in many cases, fail. The best way to do this is to scale slowly, only growing funding after an experimental strategy has proven to be successful.

Based on these parameters, the Lean Startup methodology proved to be the most fitting management philosophy for PAGE’s strategic plan. Lean Startup is an approach that focuses on gradual growth using validated learning and provides a framework for selecting the most productive ideas out of a wide field of contenders.

The Lean Startup methodology, developed by Eric Ries, applies Lean Manufacturing concepts in order to address a staggering 75% failure rate among startups (Blank, 2013). It has revolutionized management thinking about launching new ventures. Prior to Ries’ groundbreaking work, many startups followed the ‘stealth mode’ approach: raise all possible funding, perfect the product in secret, and launch with a big splash. This approached minimized the risk of idea theft, but it left companies vulnerable to assumptions made in their business plans. One wrong estimate could—and often did—spell crushing defeat. Instead, Ries advocates for validated learning by creating several iterations of a Minimum Viable Product (MVP), the simplest version of the product that allows a company to market test its underlying assumptions (Ries, 2011). The MVP can be a ‘duct tape and paper clips’ solution that does the bare minimum to meet product requirements on the lowest possible budget. The MVP should then be thoroughly vetted with potential customers, to gather feedback and learn whether the product is indeed viable, or if the company should pivot and try again. Using the feedback, the creators can invest more resources to create the next version. This iterative method makes it easier to raise funding at each stage, because each previous step demonstrates the value of the product. Ries (2011) calls this cycle of creating, evaluating and updating a product the ‘Build-Measure-Learn’ cycle.

The four main Lean Startup tenets that drive Philadelphia's strategy are as follows:

- Steady growth: In its final form, the backbone organization will need significant technical and staff capacity to support high levels of local anchor purchasing. However, rather than fundraising to reach that capacity all at once, Philadelphia's backbone organization should scale up slowly, learning at each step so as not to outgrow available resources.
- Clearly defined theories: Each growth phase needs to be associated with learning a specific lesson. Each phase should start with a clear theory to test.
- Meaningful metrics: Rather than settling for "vanity metrics", metrics should accurately demonstrate the success or failure of a particular theory.
- Disciplined approach: If an initiative is not producing clear results and sustained growth, the startup should discontinue it. Do not settle for mediocre growth.

Setting Goals

Ries introduces a valuable concept of distinguishing between "vanity metrics" and actionable metrics when setting goals. Vanity metrics are measures easily made to show an illusion of progress, without communicating meaningful information; in the PAGE context, a vanity metric might be the number of anchors participating in the initiative. In contrast, an actionable metric demonstrates progress towards a goal, such as new contracts awarded to local businesses. To determine the best metrics, one should begin with the end goals in mind.

What is the vision for Philadelphia? Discussions with stakeholders have yielded three general mission-related goals:

- Reduce poverty (via job creation);
- Improve racial equity (via wealth building);
- Improve the bottom line for anchor institutions.

In order to demonstrate its value to funders, supporters and stakeholders, PAGE has to demonstrate its ability to meet these four goals. Demonstrating that ability requires translating the vague goals into actionable metrics that can be impacted by an increase in local purchasing.

Goal 1: Reduce Poverty

Measuring the creation of living-wage jobs serves as the best proxy for poverty reduction. With a poverty rate of twenty-six percent, approximately 400,000 Philadelphians live below the poverty line, of which roughly 210,000 are working-age adults (Pew Charitable Trust, 2017). To reduce the number of adults in poverty by one percent, the city needs to create 2,100 living-wage jobs. The Philadelphia City Controller estimates that for every $100 million in additional local spending, roughly 5,200 jobs - or 1,200 direct and 4,000 indirect jobs - will result (Office of the Controller, 2015). Chicago Anchors for a Strong Economy (CASE) estimates that 4 jobs are created for every million dollars in additional local spend. The discrepancy is likely due to the fact that CASE estimates do not include indirect jobs. PAGE will use the average of the estimates by CASE and the Philadelphia Controller (1 new direct job and 1.5 new indirect jobs for every $150,000 of new local spending) to track its poverty reduction impact.

Goal 2: Improve racial equity via wealth-building

While PAGE is not able to build wealth in terms of pension or investments, it can do so by supporting minority entrepreneurs with procurement contracts. A simple measure for wealth building is the total contract dollars channeled to certified minority-owned firms. One way to approach goal setting is to compare the number of contract dollars directed to historically disadvantaged enterprises to the number of such "ready, willing and able" enterprises in the MSA. According to the 2017 disparity study released by the Philadelphia City Office of Economic Opportunity, "ready, willing and able" M/W/DSBEs in Philadelphia represented 26.3% of all businesses; that number should be used for setting the minimum purchasing for PAGE, with the potential for setting more ambitious goals as the project develops (Annual Disparity Study, 2017).

Goal 3: Create sustainability through bottom-line impact

Although the principal reason for most anchors to participate in local procurement initiatives relates to mission, in the long term a successful initiative must wed social and bottom-line impact. An economic downturn or a major legislative change (such as the repeal of the Affordable Care Act) could place significant budgetary pressures on anchors, leaving programs that do not justify themselves on a cost-benefit basis vulnerable.

Thus, in order to ensure sustainability of the Philadelphia Anchors of Philadelphia of Growth and Equity, leaders must make a business case for local purchasing. This can be done in several ways. In the most direct way, this means that every new business added to the supply chain must either improve the anchors' financial bottom line or provide value in another form (for example through better service or increased convenience). To track this goal, as spending data arrives from various institutions, management should compare it against spending prior to the initiative, and against spending amounts afterwards on categories where they connected with local suppliers. Interviews with anchors should supplement this information. The goal, in this case, should be either lower or flat costs for targeted categories. Indirect benefits such as increased safety, improved employee and student recruitment, ease of meeting grant requirements and improvement of neighborhood can also be included in the business case through measures such as reduced security costs, reductions in recruiting and training expenses or administrative expenses.

Each of the four goals has implications for the operation of PAGE. The poverty reduction goal implies the creation of a 'first source' hiring policy that privileges hard-to-employ Philadelphians as new jobs are created. Valuing racial equity means running the localization work in a way that helps, rather than hinders, existing supplier diversity initiatives. Improvement of local economy means that while contracts with local anchors will make a big impact, the longer-term goal is to utilize local demand to create opportunities for local firms to win larger contracts with SCIs, thus resulting in the export of local goods and services beyond Philadelphia. The sustained increase in local purchasing implies that this has to make business sense. That in turn implies that local companies have to be able to compete on the merit of their price, product, and service, and anchor institutions as well as their major SCIs have to embed local purchasing into their standard

business practices. These implications combined with best practices research from national procurement initiatives form the framework for the strategic plan. The backbone organization should monitor these goals and evaluate each initiative against them.

A Strategic Plan for Increasing Anchor Procurement in Philadelphia

The strategic plan's structure conceives of three areas of work. The section that covers the backbone organization discusses how PAGE grew from an informal convening to a formal initiative housed at the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia. The supply section presents strategies that PAGE staff will use to identify capable local businesses and grow new businesses to capacity. Finally, the demand section discusses actions that anchors can take to increase their demand for local goods. Each of the sections roughly corresponds to the Build-Measure-Learn cycle of the Lean Startup methodology.

Building a Backbone Organization to Connect Supply and Demand

Expectation: Philadelphia's biggest resource gap has been the absence of an organization committed to working exclusively on localizing anchor procurement. In the first iteration of this project, PAGE began as an informal operation out of the City Controller's Office as an early market test to find out whether local anchors would work cooperatively, share information and shift their procurement practices to create opportunities for local purchasing. If the anchors found this work valuable, they would ultimately be willing to provide seed funding for the launch of the program.

Process: PAGE started by convening purchasing officers from Philadelphia's major nonprofit education and medical institutions under the auspices of the City Controller's Office. The earliest evidence of the anchors' willingness to cooperate was the near-perfect attendance at the meetings. Institutions were open, cooperative and creative when it came to making suggestions for ways to localize purchasing. When the City Controller proposed an in-depth study to quantify the potential economic impact of an effective anchor procurement strategy, the largest anchor institutions shared comprehensive purchasing data sets.

Measure and Learn: Once PAGE evolved from a research concept to a program, it outgrew the City Controller's Policy Unit and needed to move to a new organizational home, which would require participating anchors to step in as investors in the program. Because the institutions saw value in the approach, the City of Philadelphia's Commerce Department, Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, Drexel University, Temple University and Health System, Thomas Jefferson University and Health System and the University of Pennsylvania and Penn Medicine all financial commitments to PAGE, providing the seed capital to begin implementation.

Following the launch, it will be critical to keep track of the return on investment. Long-term sustainability will require proof that donated funds are translating into local jobs paying a living wage, increased tax revenues, and benefits for participating anchors. It will be tempting to focus on vanity metrics such as membership or website traffic but discipline in evaluating success will be required for long-term viability. The rest of the plan focuses on strategies for PAGE to achieve these goals.

Finding, Growing and Building Capable Local Businesses (Supply)

In order to localize anchor purchasing effectively, PAGE needs to create a steady pipeline of anchor businesses. The first step is to identify capable businesses and connect them to anchor opportunities. PAGE will test several strategies to identify capable businesses. These include identifying and sharing lists of current anchor suppliers and creating a capacity screening mechanism to evaluate businesses that do not have recommendations from major clients. Next, PAGE will look for ways to grow businesses to capacity by creating shared service solutions for hospitals and connecting businesses to capacity building programs. Finally, PAGE will look for ways to catalyze the creation or attraction of new businesses.

Capturing Existing Capacity

Strategy: Create a database of local businesses with capacity.

Expectation: During informational interviews, several procurement directors expressed a desire to see a comprehensive directory of all qualified, local businesses to facilitate their localization efforts. This phase will test the hypothesis that one of the reasons that anchors do not use local businesses is that they do not have a comprehensive list of capable businesses.

Build: PAGE staff will collect lists of existing, local suppliers serving anchors, and compile them into a searchable database. Staff may enhance this list with additional businesses from local business support organization. The 'minimum viable product' will be an Excel or an Airtable database, but as the backbone organization grows, the list should expand into an easily accessible online platform.

Measure: As far as measurement, businesses with new contracts or new revenue and new jobs are useful metrics of success. Growth and change in database usage patterns will be another indicator of success or failure; for example, if growth plateaus too soon that is a likely indicator that anchors reviewed the database, but ultimately did not find it useful.

Learn: Two lessons are critical during this phase. First, the Controller's 2015 report identified eight industries with capacity to serve anchors by looking at high-level manufacturing data. Compiling a list of actual companies will test the report's conclusions in practice by determining whether companies with capacity exist and can meet anchor needs. Second, creating a comprehensive list of local companies will test the initial assumption that anchors do not use local businesses due to a lack of information. If sharing this information with anchors does not produce meaningful results, the PAGE team will investigate further barriers to local purchasing.

Strategy: Screen new companies for capacity

This structure can also inform the second strategy for identifying capable businesses: developing a capacity screening mechanism for businesses. If the expectation is that a screening mechanism will effectively identify capable businesses, then a higher percentage of screened businesses

should successfully compete for anchor contracts, as compared to those unscreened. The mechanism can be refined over time via the ‘build-measure-learn’ cycle.

Growing Promising Businesses

Strategy: Work with existing entrepreneurs to create shared services

Expectation: Anchors are willing to cooperate with each other, but competitive pressures have prevented potential joint projects from moving forward. An external convener will be able to bring competitive institutions to the table over non-competitive or commodity products and services.

Build: During meetings in 2015 and 2016, procurement directors identified medical laundry as a potential opportunity for localization. Several of the hospitals were shipping all of their laundry (nearly 20 million pounds) out of state to Maryland and New Jersey, because there are no medical laundry facilities in Philadelphia. This practice added unnecessary fuel costs and risk to the supply chain. Building a local laundry would create as many as 100 jobs and reduce cost and risks for the participating hospitals. A local entrepreneur considered, but eventually passed on the opportunity, and PAGE is currently in the process of identifying a company interested in taking advantage of this opportunity, as well as convening investors, real estate companies and support organizations. The medical laundry will be the first test case for joint projects strategy.

Measure: With joint projects catalyzed by PAGE, the measure of success will be whether the project (e.g. medical laundry) goes forward and achieves financial sustainability. Local jobs created will be another measure of effectiveness.

Learn: Anchors have already identified several other promising joint endeavors, including a medical supplies sterilization plant, kit and tray assembly, and a local produce processing center. The success of these projects will hinge on the willingness of anchor institutions to commit a critical volume of spending to catalyze the creation of a new project. It will be important to test if, following the initial brainstorming stage, anchors commit resources to the creation of a given project.

Strategy: Provide capacity building, capital and workforce training to help promising companies reach capacity.

The landscape analysis demonstrated that many business-support organizations in Philadelphia could provide consulting services, low-interest financing, as well as a trained workforce via a variety of training organizations. If in the process of identifying capable entrepreneurs, the PAGE team finds promising companies that are not yet large enough to serve anchors, the team can connect them to capacity-building programs. The PAGE team should measure the effectiveness of these programs by seeing whether companies reach the requisite capacity upon completing the training.

Building New Capacity

Expectation: Once existing businesses have connected to anchors, and companies that could and wanted to shift direction have taken advantage of existing opportunities, the remaining step is the creation of entirely new businesses.

Build: There are two possible approaches. First, PAGE may take the approach of Evergreen Cooperatives and facilitate the creation of cooperatives or other forms of employee ownership (e.g. ESOPs) that can source a high volume of cheap commodities or provide basic services for anchors while building community wealth. Another approach would be the one recommended by the Brookings Institution: to use the research dollars and purchasing power of anchors to incubate innovative technology and health start-ups. PAGE could collaborate with The University Science Center to pursue this business-creation approach.

Measure and Learn: At this stage, the PAGE team will test will whether PAGE's existing programming can facilitate the creation of new businesses. In the short term, the attraction of entrepreneurs to opportunity spaces discovered by PAGE will indicate success. In the long term, total jobs, years to reach profitability, total new investment dollars and revenues created will help provide the measure of success for the initiative.

Shifting the Purchasing Behavior of Anchors (Demand)

Expanding local supply is an important step to increasing local procurement, but the internal systems work done by anchors will be critical as well. Fortunately, Philadelphia anchors have already shown extensive commitment. The first step recommended by best practices literature, a detailed analysis of institutional spending, most of the anchors have already completed. Additionally, by committing staff time to the Controller's quarterly meetings, anchors have identified several joint projects, shared information about their largest vendors and provided survey data about internal barriers. The institutions have also enabled the continuation of this work by funding PAGE at the Economy League.

To build on this preliminary work, anchors should implement local purchasing best practices to reduce barriers and increase the number of contract opportunities for local businesses. The survey issued by the City Controller can help provide the baseline for policies that they should implement. In the spirit of the Lean Startup methodology, the Economy League has divided best practices into easy-to-implement, medium and challenging. Anchors should begin with the easiest to implement policy changes, to demonstrate their effectiveness, and build up to more complex shifts after securing deeper buy-in with leadership and staff.

Setting Goals and Communicating the Commitment to Local Purchasing

Expectation: The act of setting goals and communicating them internally and externally should yield early results in terms of increased local purchasing.

Build: First, it is critical to build support for PAGE within each anchor institution. Anchors can begin financially supporting a backbone organization through fees or in-kind support.

Next, anchors should set concrete local purchasing goals and share them with all levels of staff, and every purchasing decision maker, including departments beyond procurement such as Information Technology, Facilities and Legal Departments. Securing their buy-in can help further organizational procurement goals. Finally, they could also hire or assign a dedicated staff person to coordinate local purchasing efforts.

Anchors should also communicate these goals externally to current SCIs and other large vendors, via a group letter or meeting. For an added level of accountability, anchors should add local purchasing language into new RFPs.

Measure: Setting concrete spend goals will allow anchors to measure the effectiveness of local purchasing strategies. Additionally, this is the time to develop a policy checklist based on national best practices and to determine how an institution's internal policies compare, and set policy implementation goals as well.

Learn: This phase will serve as a litmus test for internal buy-in, and for the openness of an anchors' major suppliers. If institutional leaders receive considerable push-back, they should use the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of institutional barriers to local purchasing and develop strategies to address those barriers.

Making Improvements to the RFP Process

Expectation: The biggest internal barrier and consequently most important change an anchor can make is improving the RFP process.

Build: Following on the changes from the first phase, anchors can deepen their commitment by improving the RFP process. They can start by regularly sharing data with PAGE and providing a forecast of upcoming contract opportunities. They can provide an option for accelerated payment or work with capital provision agencies to ensure cash-strapped businesses have access to bridge capital. Lastly, anchors can commit to adding at least one local company to the list of vendors invited to participate in a bid or making RFPs public. An even deeper level of commitment would be to invite local vendors to participate in shaping the RFP to maximize their chances of meeting the requirements.

Measure: Measures of success for amending the RFP process can include total dollars and number of contracts flipped to local companies.

Learn: PAGE staff have identified many potential barriers to local purchasing. Addressing each of them in turn will allow stakeholders to determine which produce meaningful outcomes and significantly increase local purchasing, and discard the strategies that sound impactful, but do not produce results.

Engaging Supply Chain Integrators

Expectation: Supply Chain Integrators (SCIs) are companies that aggregate the goods and services of smaller providers and sell them as a bundled contract. For example, Staples and Office Depot do not manufacture printers, paper and other office supplies; instead, they aggregate products and service offerings from hundreds of small suppliers into a catalog, streamlining purchasing decisions for their large clients. As has been mentioned earlier, a comprehensive local purchasing strategy needs to incorporate SCIs, because they frequently comprise more than half of all purchasing done by anchors. In order to sell to Philadelphia anchors, many local businesses will need to become suppliers for SCIs first.

Build: There are three main strategies for engaging supply chain integrators. The first is working with them to establish minority/ majority or Tier I/ Tier II relationships with a local firm. The second is creating joint projects, such as the medical laundry. Finally, local businesses with competitive products and pricing may be able to sell directly to Supply Chain Integrators.

However, SCI can frequently be reluctant to engage in local purchasing work, because of existing relationships with national suppliers or a reluctance to share the revenue from a given contract. For this reason, using the entire collaborative, as opposed to individual anchors, to engage SCIs can be a particularly effective strategy. Anchors can do this by speaking with their sales reps, and by writing local purchasing and reporting requirements into major RFPs. By encouraging all anchors to communicate the value of local purchasing, PAGE amplifies its importance to SCIs.

Measure: As with other strategies, anchors should track the number and dollar amount of localized contracts to identify the most effective strategies.

Learn: By including local purchasing language into RFPs and continually engaging SCIs, PAGE and anchor staff could discover new localization strategies that they had not even considered. Local businesses could also get the opportunity to 'export' their goods beyond the Philadelphia market, if they gain access to SCI catalogs.

Completing the Best Practices Checklist

Expectation: The early wins from the first two phases should provide examples that can be used to create a strong business case and social benefit case for local procurement, paving the way towards additional substantive changes.

Build: During this phase, anchors should tackle the most challenging barriers. For example, anchors can start moving certain contracts from SCIs to the minority partner business. Alternatively, anchors can disaggregate certain contracts in order to commit more dollars locally. Another barrier to address is insurance requirements; anchors can reduce these for some vendors, or identify partners that can act as 'umbrella organizations' to smaller companies.
This is also the phase to review the policy checklist and ensure that local procurement plays its part in the incentives, training and values of the institution.

Measure and Learn: The policy indicator developed during the first phase should guide assessment of institutional progress at each stage. Additionally, the anchors should be tracking both the overall increase in local purchasing, as well as the rate at which it is growing, in order to pinpoint particularly successful policies.

Lessons

Following the Lean Startup methodology has helped Philadelphia Anchors for Growth and Equity achieve early wins and gain credibility with funders, stakeholders and supporters. This approach will be critical as the initiative grows and begins seeing both disappointments and results from attempting various localizations strategies. The following are the key lessons from the early stages of PAGE:

- Clearly and credibly defining the value of a local purchasing initiative in terms of dollars and jobs created was the spark needed to catalyze PAGE. The sound methodology of the City Controller’s 2015 report convinced anchors and funders to begin the conversation. The staff still uses the document, three years later.
- No local purchasing collaborative is alike. While best practices documents provide helpful guidance, each new initiative should start with an analysis that identifies their locale’s unique assets and challenges.
- Anchors buy as much as half of all of their products and services with Supply Chain Integrators. Engaging SCIs is critical to any comprehensive local purchasing strategy.
- It is possible to secure early wins without expending many resources. Early meetings conducted by the City Controller yielded ideas, such as the medical laundry, and connection, such as the relationship between EMSCO Scientific and Thermo-Fisher Scientific, that helped produce early results that demonstrated the effectiveness of PAGE.
- When setting goals, it is important to distinguish between “vanity” metrics and actionable metrics, in order to determine the effectiveness of an initiative.
- Including experimentation into a collaborative enterprise’s strategic plan ensures that as certain strategies fail, the overall initiative does not, ensuring resiliency.
- Clearly outlining what the organization hopes to learn from each experiment ensures that every experiment adds to institutional learning and increases the chances of future success.

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Aligning Equity, Engagement, and Social Innovation in Anchor Initiatives

Esteban del Rio and John Loggins

Abstract

Drawing on cultural studies and the practice of engaged learning and scholarship, this paper proposes a cultural approach to institutional transformation, which we argue necessarily follows anchor partnerships. The authors advance a model of cohesion and alignment among equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), community engagement, and social entrepreneurship commitments at colleges and universities. This centers on the notion of "joining" as an epistemology and a methodology in community and campus-based work to achieve the anchor mission. In addition to advancing a theoretical model, the authors draw upon theory in practice at the University of San Diego, where the Center for Inclusion and Diversity, Mulvaney Center for Community, Awareness, and Social Action, and the Changemaker HUB aligned their efforts to approach student learning, community empowerment, and economic development through a cohesive lens.

Keywords: joining; EDI; equity; diversity; anchor mission; inclusion; epistemology; self-reflection; cultural change

Introduction

Colleges and universities excel at getting the separations right. Academic Affairs is not the same, nor does it feel the same, as Student Affairs. Departments and schools maintain different course requirements. We enforce the boundaries and justify the atomization of working campus units with ideals such as faculty governance, administrative organizational charts, academic freedom, and reporting structures. Our terms to describe the operations of an institution, its units, divisions, and areas, rely on focused, profession-specific, specialized, functional, and necessarily separated work. Even the language attached to higher education in the popular imagination connotes division: town/gown; ivory tower/real world; theory/practice; thinking/doing. As complex organizations that focus on the generation and dissemination of knowledge, specialization holds benefits for achieving received notions of excellence. The refinement of expertise, the practice of authority, and the conferral of degrees all rely on a kind of *distinction*. As higher education attempts to change out of its elite guise, distinction continues to serve as a default logic, silently guiding actions that fortify separation.

We name these distinctions because we embody them. Those of us affiliated with universities must remember to explain acronyms and jargon specific to our campuses and disciplines that, far too often, slip from our tongues unintelligibly when in community settings. We defer to hierarchy in an embodied manner, physically moving to the background when august professors or executive level administrators engage with partners. Without much hesitation, we trade the letters after our name or institutional titles for the authority and deference they afford as we

engage with non-academics. Separation informs our assumptions and habits, and shapes our behavior.

But how do we get the *connections* right?

Place-based anchor relationships in urban settings ask colleges and universities to rethink their commitment to separation and instead, focus on the work of connection. Anchor institutions in higher education are colleges and universities rooted in their communities, advancing democratic partnerships and investment in economic opportunity through collaborative relationships with various stakeholders. As anchor thinking develops, community-centered ideas and languages emerge and gain momentum, potentially outpacing our compartmentalized campus cultures. For this reason, anchor commitments may suffer the fate befallen many existing higher education diversity and inclusion initiatives: words outpacing action and symbols replacing embodiment and transformation. The competitive nature of contemporary higher education turns ideas into slogans, replaces long-form participatory collaboration into branding and staging strategies, and inclines itself toward window dressing. Alternatively, how can we embody the best community and equity-centered ideas that we put forth? How can we internalize anchor commitments so that they manifest in our habits and assumptions?

In what follows, we offer a set of ideas—an approach, a practice, and a model—that strengthen the anchor mission by articulating connections between equity work, contemporary social movements, community engagement, and social entrepreneurship. These areas represent the nexus of some of the most urgent challenges of our time. In order to confront such challenges, new ways of *joining* must be imagined. Anchor commitments mean that universities think of themselves as a part of the community. Too often, however, these commitments operate more in word than in deed. For a college or university to sincerely embody the anchor mission, we must confront the truth that many parts of our campuses continue to operate unchanged and distinct from communities where they operate. While more useful terms than "community" exist to describe actors who do not work for the university (grassroots partners, intermediaries, resident-driven organizations), we will refer to these parties as "community" or "community partners." We hope to confront the academy's unstated commitment to separation, despite the most generous proclamations or well-intentioned efforts to build relevance to the broader world, and hope not to reproduce the separations in our own writing here. The practice of joining with communities in democratic partnerships means that universities must reflect on how they transform. This transformation cannot occur through campus declarations, messages from the president, or the establishment of task forces, but through *culture change*: a process where universities reflect on their operational habits and assumptions and discern change in order to join authentically and mutually with communities.

Join with Communities: An Approach and a Practice

Culture change can only be realized if one takes culture seriously. Below, we articulate a cultural approach to institutional transformation. We focus on building a community of practice around the concept of "joining." We then proceed to offer a cohesion model to explore how to enact and embody change. These ideas create an agenda for radically realizing the anchor mission through deep, transformative confrontation with habits and assumptions that limit the collective impact

that universities and communities can achieve together. Further on, we confront the challenges and opportunities, perhaps in some contexts obscured by institutional inertia, through a cultural approach, a community of practice, and a working model of cohesion.

A Cultural Approach to Institutional Transformation

We begin with a *cultural approach* as a framework for change, leading to alignment among equity, engagement, and social innovation spaces in higher education. These are the coordinates for our idea of achieving the anchor mission in higher education. In doing so, we align our efforts with scholars and practitioners at colleges and universities, whose work connects the academe and the community, from scholars of engaged learning to those articulating mutuality and democratic partnerships through the anchor mission. We also recognize the wisdom and expertise of community partners who shape these connections, sometimes offering critical assessments of the reflexes and hidden commitments of higher education (Reyes, 2016). We critically accept recent work in higher education scholarship and organizational behavior that has sought to build ideas and infrastructure to advance inclusive excellence. We hope that a cultural approach and integration with community engagement can lead to more fully realized equity agendas on and off campus. The conversations and initiatives from convening organizations such as the Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities, The Democracy Collaborative, Campus Compact, and Imagining America serve as catalysts for our ideas here. This essay provides points of articulation with existing thinking and practice, and for some readers and contexts, a confrontation with sometimes self-imposed limitations of realizing the anchor mission and the institutional transformation it suggests.

A cultural approach draws generally on the social sciences. Students of traditional anthropology and sociology are familiar with the application of cultural models to different contexts. Here, we draw from the disciplines of communication and cultural studies to focus on the way ideologies, constructed through messaging, inform and shape cultural practices. This move also allows for a confrontation with the misconceptions around communication and culture that minimize their impact and application. Too often, culture is conceptualized as the expression of a way of life, and communication is seen as representing the world. Rather, from a communication and cultural studies view, culture creates and sustains a way of life, and communication (language, symbol systems, discourses) produce reality, rather than merely tell us about it. In communication, we "construct, maintain, repair, and transform reality" (Carey, 1989, p. 30). If communication holds a formative role for the production of reality through symbol systems and language, culture manifests those messages. This lifts communication and culture from limited roles of merely describing social reality and organizational behavior and focuses instead on the generative and determining features of expression and action in higher education.

Culture represents a whole way of life (Williams, 1989). Scholars understand it as the system of meanings, or mental frameworks, that different groups deploy to make sense of the world, in a process of negotiation and contestation (Hall, 1986). Culture organizes the world, through language and other symbol systems, manifesting in everyday practices where systems of meaning are maintained and negotiated. Cultural studies, as an academic field, takes such a notion of culture seriously, especially how it manifests in popular, vernacular forms. Lawrence Grossberg argues that cultural studies "is concerned with describing and intervening in the ways

cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structures of power" (2010, p. 9). Ultimately, cultural studies seeks to create emancipatory knowledge, so that social actors can confront unequal power relations that often remain hidden beneath the common sense cultivated by dominant groups. This field of inquiry provides a foundation for how culture is a way of understanding higher education, and how to create changes to higher education, called upon by all of the community engagement, equity, and social innovation commitments gathered under the anchor umbrella.

A cultural approach to institutional transformation in higher education asks for a critical stance toward the systems of meaning that we deploy in order to make sense of our work, our campuses, and our communities. Such a move goes beyond calls for organizational change (Golom, 2018). Instead, it examines the taken-for-granted making of meanings that occurs at a cultural level. Academic, professional, and institutional culture becomes the terrain of transformation. Rather than defaulting to the repetitive cycle of introducing of new initiatives, trainings, or restructuring, a cultural approach seeks to focus on the *habits* and *assumptions* that arrive from our cultural sense-making, and thus determine our behaviors and attitudes. A cultural approach aims for a deeper process that addresses the *conditions* under which our work occurs and the *purposes* that guide our individual and collective actions. Conditions and purposes hold a *determining* effect on our attitudes, behaviors, and ideas. These conditions and purposes might arrive from a community, vernacular, or participatory context, or, as is often the default in higher education, they arrive from above, in administrative dictates, faculty lectures, and task-force recommendations. We can understand the former as conditions set "from below" and the latter as set in place "from above" drawing on existing hierarchical patterns in universities and communities. The anchor mission asks for a casting off of these strict hierarchies in order to create conditions and purposes together.

How, then, do we radically institutionalize the anchor mission? A cultural approach would consider how academic and professional habits and assumptions, informed by systems of meaning created from "below" or from "above," must change through democratic partnerships and reset from a logic of mutuality. First, however, it requires something of a confrontation with existing cultural patterns that define professionalism in higher education, from the professoriate to public affairs. Becoming an anchor institution cannot be the sole province of specialized practitioners and bold leaders. It must manifest in the whole institution's work, through a deep process of acculturation. Ultimately, taking up the anchor mission requires a culture change, through an ongoing process of reflection, discernment, acculturation, and action:

- **Reflect** on the habits and assumptions, conditions, and purposes that guide individual and institutional actions, attitudes, behaviors.
- **Discern** which of those support the anchor mission and those that undermine the anchor mission.
- **Identify** changes necessary in strategy, but also in work routines and mental frameworks (personal and professional habits and assumptions that inform individual and collective work, and the conditions and purposes of that work).
- **Commit** to *collectively* setting the purpose and creating the conditions for culture change. Do so by empowering faculty, staff, students, and most importantly, community partners.

- **Assess** (it is most useful to discern outcomes and assessment for anchor commitments as part of the normal assessment procedure)
- **Repeat.**

This last point returns to the beginning of the cycle closes the loop for what should be an ongoing process. People always make meaning, and as flexible and mutable as culture can be, it also persists through the routines of everyday life.

The anchor mission must be considered as a call to transformation in higher education. Colleges and universities communicate often about innovation and transformation, but when does a deep re-evaluation occur at the cultural level? Such an endeavor requires radical commitment from executive-level leaders on a campus, and an acculturation with the support of their authority throughout an institution. In other words, those with responsibility must understand epistemologically (intellectually and professionally), but also ontologically the urgent need for fundamental change in higher education *because* of relationships with communities. They can thus co-construct those changes with the community, and hold the campus accountable for enacting change.

A cultural approach requires a kind of holism. Communities read universities as coherent wholes. If one part of the university undertakes serious anchor work, but other parts of the university rest on traditional power dynamics that locate higher education above and apart from a community's everyday life, campus leaders should expect distrust from the community and criticism from engaged faculty and students. If the community engagement office is doing everything right, but business service, facilities, or student affairs operates according to other logics, suspicion from on and off campus will fill the space in-between. Rather than add new anchor initiatives to existing operations, a cultural approach asks for a reckoning with existing operational logics and the assumptions that produce them, which may have previously excluded much of the anchor agenda. It also necessitates a reckoning with the history of the college or university's relationships and practices in communities, and a re-evaluation of the broader ontology of community.

We suggest that a target in undertaking a cultural approach to institutional transformation in anchor discussions has to do with a term we use in our work: *joining.* By building a community of practice around joining, universities can confront the separations they have relied upon and that persist in efforts to connect more democratically with the communities they interact with. Joining means that communities co-construct the purposes and conditions of cultural, economic, and political coordinated action—and that colleges and universities are within communities, not outside of them.

The Practice of Joining

When I don't know myself, I serve you. I when I know myself, I am you.
—Ramayana (Hindu Sanskrit Text)

Within the fields of Community Service-Learning and Community Engagement, critical analysis of how and why universities show up in community has helped the pedagogy evolve. In Tania

Mitchell’s essay “Traditional Vs. Critical Service-Learning” (2008), one can see how this evolution has and continues to be taken up by universities. Critical Service-Learning refocused the orientation of community engagement toward social justice and opened a conceptual window to explore and examine the university’s role in both perpetuating injustice and creating justice. Critical Service-Learning sets the stage for *joining* as a cultural, community practice in anchor relationships.

Mitchell’s (2008) review of community engagement literature examined traditional and critical service-learning models of community engagement. Mitchell notes three areas that differentiate Critical Service-Learning from the traditional, received view of service-learning: 1) all participants seek to redistribute power in the relationship, 2) the cultivation of authentic relationships, and 3) participants work from a social change perspective. These three intentional outcomes are woven into community-based learning course objectives, the pedagogy, and the reflective process. Mitchell presents a deliberate approach that is structured and *attentive*. We draw from Critical Service-Learning here as we advance joining, as the practice of joining represents a deliberate practice that is emergent and *mindful.* More than anything, joining requires the political and professional will to work with whatever emerges from partnerships, without defensiveness and with accompaniment.

To begin to understand the practice of joining, it is helpful to offer up a distinction between mindfulness and attentiveness. Most mature community engagement programs in higher education will rightfully say that they are very mindful when they enter and work with community partners. Service-learning, while still fraught with voyeuristic tendencies and savior complexes, stands as highly reflexive and mindful practice in productive, critical national conversations. It offers a productive lens to understand the practice of joining. Refining and parsing out attentiveness from mindfulness offers a clear way hold the traditional and critical service-learning pedagogy and step into a deep practice of joining.

Attentiveness entails the willful acts of gathering community input, recognizing community partners as co-educators, and building reflexivity about power and privilege, which often takes the form of student reflections. All these thoughtful and deliberate actions enable practitioners to create a container that can safely hold the partnership. We then ask our students to safely step out of their comfort zone in order to effectively and respectfully work with community partners. Approaching the community with a high level of attentiveness is a very caring and effective way to engage, and in no way impedes taking up a practice of joining. This attentiveness has helped grow service-learning pedagogy in a way that critically addresses vital systemic power dynamics in service-learning. Ultimately, these lessons have pushed universities into expanding equitable, democratic relationships with communities as anchor institutions.

Mindfulness turns attention to that which emerges from partnerships. It describes the willingness to notice, work with, and accept what emerges. That which emerges from mindfulness can be a myriad of things ranging from personal issues or biases to unexplored power dynamics. Mindfulness can open expansive vistas of understanding and new ways forward in partnerships. In any community engagement moment or partnership opportunity, thoughts, feelings, and ideas will inevitably emerge; being willing and deliberate about experiencing what emerges stands as the crux of genuinely joining with community. The willingness to turn our gaze inward and

notice what is *coming up for me* requires participants to be vulnerable, open, and brave. It requires all to courageously step into discomfort/disruption and be willing to hold, to work through, and to accept what arrives. Joining requires this kind of mindfulness to suggest pedagogical insights, research data, and community possibilities to reach the overarching purpose in anchor partnerships: to join in community together to strive for social equity and economic justice.

Informed by mindfulness, joining beyond service-learning thus becomes both an epistemology and a methodology in community and campus-based work for equity and social justice. To join with each other on campus and in the community proposes a transformational intervention in diversity and what is known as community service spaces. We argue that a cultural approach, manifests inclusion of marginalized groups, seeks democratic partnerships in communities, and builds capacity to confront to the urgent challenges and opportunities facing communities and campuses from an anchor logic, and ultimately an anchor *being*. Such an approach joins lay foundations and pathways so that higher education can transform itself as it invites racial and ethnic diversity. Becoming the anchor institutions that we aspire to be will undoubtedly entail deep change that will potentially encounter reluctance, denial, and resistance. Leadership's ability to tether itself to its anchor purpose, *hold steady* in face of this resistance, and maintain the fortitude to examine the institution's internal dynamics that keep us from equity, justice, and connections will be the measure of how possible a culture change really is.

> The most difficult work of leadership involves learning to experience distress without numbing yourself. The virtue of a sacred heart lies in the courage to maintain your innocence and wonder, your doubt and curiosity, and your compassion and love even through your darkest, most difficult moments… A sacred heart allows you to feel, hear, and diagnose, even in the midst of your mission, so that you can accurately gauge different situations and respond appropriately… That's what we learned about the sacred heart - the *willingness* to feel everything, everything, to hold it all without letting go of your work. (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002)

To join is to invite and engage mindfully in community with others with a reflexive openness to the radical potential of connection prior to the work of collaboration. Leadership theory, a foundational discipline for community engagement, suggests that joining helps us turn our gaze inward, looking at ourselves in relationship to the community. It requires an openness to change. Accordingly, a cultural approach seeks to transform organizations and institutions by examining how we make sense of our work, and how that informs our habits and assumptions, to better navigate a hierarchical, globalized world. This change is vitally important when joining with those from underrepresented perspectives, distressed communities, subaltern groups, and others who have not set the existing terms of "partnership." To do so fully, joining must develop through *communities of practice*. These are "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wegner, 2006, p. 1). Communities of practice serve as a framework for knowledge-sharing, where members learn from each other through interaction, and engage in the development and evolution of the practice (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Actualized through interactional, reflective, situated, and collective communities of practice, joining leads to authentic, democratic, and equity-centered articulations of anchor work. The larger the community of practice, especially from those on campus who

hold the most tightly to traditional models and institutional inertia, the greater the realization of the anchor mission.

The Cohesion Model and Communities of Practice

A community of practice for joining takes form through the notion of cohesion. Returning to the opening paragraphs of this essay, we see a cultural approach and joining as ways to build coherence and cohesion around the anchor mission, disrupting unstated cultural commitments to distinction and separation. The terrain of this work occurs in models and structures, that is, the conditions and purposes that inform cultural action. What is the form of the work? Who created it? From our experience at the University of San Diego, we argue that a cultural approach, where the practice of joining can thrive, leads to a *cohesion model*. The cohesion model builds communities of practice from disparate functions of the university and in partnership with communities. The notion of cohesion implies connections, alignment, unity, sharing power, truth-telling, repair(ation), healing, and negotiation. In our work, we aligned the following functions: equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), community engagement, and social innovation. Together, we created a new way of working, of aligning our budgets, of joining with community partners to create compelling moments of sharing, engaging instances of disagreement, and new possibilities for what we might undertake together to make our neighborhoods and our campus more equitable, just, and viable. While our campus holds mature, well-respected, and integrated community engagement and social innovation practices, the pulsing issues and engaged social movements around equity, diversity, and inclusion serve as our collective catalyst and conscience in undertaking the anchor mission.

Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion as a Point of Departure for Anchor Work

Among the broad aims of contemporary U.S. higher education, few present more yearning for change, hope for the future, increasingly vexing questions, and persistent frustrations than equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) in general, and racial justice in particular. For many years, higher education limited itself to advancing numerical diversity and "including" people of color and other minority groups into their existing logic. This logic is culturally specific, based in wealthy, white, or male perspectives, but treated as normal and universal. Including those from underrepresented and underserved perspectives into this logic leads to persistent experiences of marginalization. This same logic shows up in colleges and universities relationships with communities. More recent equity agendas and struggles for racial justice on campus reformulate diversity and inclusion by focusing the change not on the new bodies who encounter the university, but on the institutions themselves.

Campuses now seem to strive to realize both accessibility and equity with initiatives, plans, and declarations, resulting in infrastructures and models centralizing the work of the diversity office and diversity officer (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The recent formal professionalization of the chief diversity officer (CDO) through the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE) holds promise to better establish diversity apparatuses at colleges and universities, which too often have various levels of responsibility but rarely any institutional authority. On the other hand, the CDO role can become a perceived solution to entrenched equity issues in the minds of campus leaders, creating a point of responsibility without directly

confronting the university-wide inertia that made the CDO role necessary. In other words, the CDO or the hastily-assembled diversity office can obscure the deep cultural work necessary to realize equity in higher education, especially when the CDO is beholden to authority held by vice presidents and presidents, for whom the CDO is just another constituent. The CDO role can appear to be doing the work, much like some articulations of anchor partnerships, but the existence of the position does not necessarily guarantee that the campus undertakes reflection and ongoing discernment about diversity with transformation as the end goal.

Over the last three years, ground-shifting events and ideological disruptions have overtaken best practices and status-quo diversity agendas of most colleges and universities, led by racial and intersectional justice movements with their attendant lists of demands that emerged nationally in November 2015. The election of Donald J. Trump in 2016 caused an outpouring of anxiety and urgency around questions of identity and status on campuses and in communities. As of this writing, a policy agenda from the White House and Congress manifests implicitly, when not explicitly, from a politics of bigotry, misogyny, and nativism. These developments call urgently not for any quickly assembled diversity apparatus, but for a fundamental cultural engagement with the values and missions of colleges and universities. From Black Lives Matter to the "sanctuary campus" movement, EDI defines the most urgent challenges, opportunities, and hopes on our campuses and in our communities. This synergy calls for a cultural approach to EDI, particularly concerning the intersections with service-learning and social entrepreneurship. Both of these areas have benefited from productive energy, a progressive practice, scholarship, and institutional buy-in over the last 10 years, while EDI efforts face a wide gap between research and practice. The "demands" of 2015 made visible the chasm between higher education diversity management and the social-justice activism in communities with whom students connect through solidarity, modeling, and sometimes collective organizing.

Do such conflicts exist between the necessarily related practices of service-learning, social entrepreneurship, and EDI, especially in anchor work? In many ways, without EDI, service-learning is reduced to volunteering and social entrepreneurialism functions as just another version of capitalism. Absent direct confrontation with the inequitable systems that community work and social entrepreneurialism hope to replace, those systems operate silently underneath a new veneer, now more insidious, in that they appropriate criticisms leveled against them. Where does social entrepreneurialism advocate for stronger regulations of corporations or the free flow of capital? An equity agenda would demand as much. The desire to collaborate closely with campus diversity offices and equity leaders in communities can be thwarted by a lack of common ideas about equity agendas and by working from silos at our universities. The voices calling for a new paradigm arrive from national associations (MacNair, 2016), to critical scholars (Ahmed, 2012), and the prophetic voices of justice echoing through our classrooms and communities.

Articulating Anchor through Cohesion

Informed and inspired by the demands for racial and intersectional justice, three offices at the University of San Diego came together to integrate programs, align and share budgets, and undertake a practice of joining with each other so that we may more fully join with communities in anchor partnerships. We argued that equity, social innovation, and community engagement

ought to operate holistically. Communities and students did not move through such spaces in a disjointed way. Our practice must therefore be taken up in community with each other. Our provost supervised all three offices at the time and enabled the construction of a community of practice based on joining. We began to focus on developing capacity among our faculty, students, and community partners to step with us out of the distinct spheres of institutional compartmentalization and into new practices that linked the urgency of equity with the resources of community engagement and social innovation. We developed an authentic community of practice around joining, with the aim of manifesting the anchor mission at a cultural level in our habits and assumptions. At the same time, we were very clearly on our own, garnering interest from some administrators and faculty colleagues, but un-joined by much of the institution.

This changed when a new round of strategic planning began. Our efforts inspired some of the thinking that went into the university's strategic plan, which eventually offered an integrated model of a number of central institutional commitments. This larger platform means that a coherent, unified effort can support fully realizing the anchor mission. We have only begun the cultural work across the institution and the community to raise our collective efforts to a transformative level, and we have had our stumbles, hesitations, and successes.

Opportunities and Challenges in the Practice of Joining

Your task is not to seek for love, but merely to seek and find all the barriers within yourself that you have built against it. —Rumi

In almost every *joining* interaction, intentional or otherwise, there lies an opportunity to use the experience as a mirror for self-interrogation. Sometime that mirror offers a sharp, obtuse reflection of oneself to reconcile, and in other instances, there may be a subtler offering that leads you to down a path towards more self-awareness. Through community-engagement opportunities, we are able share clear examples of these opportunities for introspection.

A 20-year-old relationship with staff at the local juvenile detention facility yields a sharp example of community engagement bluntly presenting an opportunity to examine oneself in relation to another and in relation to larger systems dynamics. A student favorite, Juvenile Hall affords students the opportunity to connect with other young adults in very different circumstances. More often than not, the introspective opportunities are subtle but readily apparent, with deliberate questions and thoughtful reflections. What comes up generally revolves around power, privilege, race, and class. Students generally have the room to examine those revelations at their own pace or not at all. Occasionally, the dynamics reveal themselves in ways very disruptive to a student's normal interactions.

During a visit to Juvenile Hall on Columbus Day, a university student encountered an indigenous youth who was willing to share frustration of incarceration and subjugation from a Native perspective. The practice of joining compels the practitioner to see what some may consider an angry outburst as a vulnerable, decisive moment and an opportunity to examine what has emerged. That powerful vulnerability activated the student's own sense of being vulnerable. Being unpracticed, she became paralyzed, retreating to safety of her comfort zone. Her inability to seize this moment to (in the moment or after) stay present, unpack what came up and join in

that vulnerability is a missed opportunity that is equally apparent on an institutional level. While this episode has limitations for how anchor relationships can be mutually beneficial, as incarcerated youth are not necessarily a stable presence in our ongoing community work, it shows the radical potential of joining as a practice. When colleges and universities accompany community partners, exercising vulnerability and openness, they can step into economic and political associations and collaborations with a deeper, ontological capacity to achieve solidarity.

On an institutional level, when universities attempt to join communities, it too is offered reflections of itself that are difficult to confront. In those moments the prevailing norms and culture prompt defensiveness, technical excuses and fixes, and a doubling down on existing unequal power dynamics. Examples of these relations are also readily available.

Like many campuses over the past two years, USD has been working to welcome and create a safe learning environment for undocumented students, also known as Dreamers. Outreach and enrollment of Dreamers is increasing, and our university welcomes them as it becomes a Changemaker campus. Despite its intention to accompany these young people and join them as they seek education and a place in this society, institutional habits resist authentic practices of joining. Recently the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) enrolled in a career fair on campus as an exhibitor, which created a sense of betrayal and fear among the Dreamers and their allies. If the university, as a whole, practiced joining with these students and *attended to* the issues they face, the urgency of their situation and the legitimacy of their fears may have earned the primacy students and community members thought it deserved. This episode provides an opportunity to explore how institutions can *mindfully* engage in the practice of joining to help themselves respond, and not react, to moments like these.

In this case, those of us who work within the cohesion model were able to accompany students, the community, and the administration to undertake a course correction and suggest a different path. Community partners who are immigrant advocates alerted our offices to the possible presence of DHS on campus, and we used our support system to notify students of this possibility. Concurrently, student leaders and allies of Dreamers began organizing, leading DHS to back out of the career fair to avoid controversy. Student leaders continued with protests, open forums, and collective reflections, ultimately calling for more transparency and communication regarding threats to the well-being of vulnerable student populations. As with the student at Juvenile Hall, some of our inclinations included defensiveness, shifting responsibility, and offering technical solutions. Self-introspection and joining would come when we brought students and administrators together, and undocumented students seized the opportunity to speak their truth, and administrators joined them in a moment of solidarity. These are the difficult but common interactions on a campus where there exists a viable model of cohesion. The willingness to deliberately and consistently do this work is requisite to join community and truly *be* an anchor institution committed to equal, democratic, reciprocal partnerships.

Conclusion

Any university entity can take up the cohesion model, yet it is best undertaken with community partners in the room, resulting from the practice of joining. Inspired by the 2015 student activists' articulation of racial justice as an intersectional project, a cohesion model attempts to

get the connections right. When undertaking this work as practitioners, we hope readers can identify the actors who must be a part of work, and to join with them to build economic justice and more democratic relationships among those in community. Not every college or university who engages with the anchor mission is ready or interested in institutional transformation. But for those who have done so seriously, and for those who see the stakes in this work regarding the viability of higher education in the future, it is time to recognize the radical potential of the anchor mission and undertake the practice of joining from a deep cultural logic.

The practice of joining engages with an honest struggle for equity rather than proposing solutions that cannot help but serve as window dressing. Criticisms of diversity and inclusion efforts in higher education as excuses for avoiding a confrontation with intersectional equity and racial justice should serve as a warning for milquetoast or piecemeal efforts at community work. Identifying that struggle as an internal, introspective process shifts efforts made by universities from being primarily outward facing to including self-interrogation and an acknowledgement that institutions of higher education can and do perpetuate unequal societal power structures. In doing so, institutions are able to identify, own, and let go of the obstacles that keep them from authentically joining in community.

We hope to inspire ways of working that are just, equitable, democratic, and transformational.

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Building Capacity as Anchor Institutions: Infrastructure, Structure, and Strategy

Kristin Norris and H. Anne Weiss

Abstract

As campuses seek to advance community engagement, and embrace their role as anchor institutions within their community, questions emerge regarding how this role connects to and informs priorities within larger institutional mission and goals. Welch & Saltmarsh (2013) have noted that, historically, infrastructure—a center or office that supports and coordinates community engagement—has been a key component to institutionalizing community engagement. This article differentiates between infrastructure and organizational structure. It identifies some implications of this, as institutions build a foundation for their anchor institution mission—who, how, and to do what. The article calls attention to what is necessary if we are to fulfill our public missions and is useful as campuses consider who is involved in conversations about their anchor work, why this is important for the community and the campus, and who should be involved.

Keywords: community engagement; organizational structure; roles and responsibilities; alignment; institutional mission

Introduction

This essay examines three bodies of literature. First, it reviews organizational structure, with particular focus on higher education organizations. Secondly, it looks into institutionalization, and the characteristics that influence institutional processes. Lastly, it investigates both community engagement and anchor mission work in higher education and their potential relationship(s) to the processes and structural factors that influence how widely and deeply these streams of work in higher education can inform and change our respective institutions. We offer the reader a metaphor connecting "athletics in higher education" (writ large) to illustrate the potential for following the adage "structure follows strategy" (Chandler, 1962) when it comes to vertically organizing the community engagement and anchor mission work.

We begin by defining community engagement and anchor mission work noting their similarities and differences. A community-engaged anchor institution includes the business operations and economics within how an institution defines community engagement. The campus presents its economic self-interest within the context of economic reciprocity with the historically disenfranchised community. Dubb, McKinley, and Howard (2013) define anchor mission as "a commitment to consciously apply the long-term, place-based economic power of the institution, in combination with its human and intellectual resources, to better the long-term welfare of the communities in which the institution is anchored" (p. 48). Interest in anchor mission is because "often local residents are excluded from wealth-building opportunities because of discriminatory education, criminal justice, employment, and financial lending policies. Universities that leverage hiring, procurement, and investing along with scholarship, research, and public service

resources can help address inequalities while creating stronger reciprocal community relationships" (Sladek, 2017, n.p.). The anchor mission also aligns with an increased desire (or pressure) for institutions of higher education to measure the collective impact of the organization; assessing its contributions to the greater good of society in ways that go beyond graduation rates and job placements.

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has defined community engagement as the "collaboration (among) institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Janke & Shelton, 2011, p. 3). Community engagement is valued because it "enriches scholarship, research, and creative activity; enhances curriculum, teaching and learning; prepares educated, engaged citizens; strengthens democratic values and civic responsibility; addresses critical societal issues; and contributes to the public good" (Janke & Shelton, 2011, p. 4). Today, the push for community engagement is because we need "innovation, democratic participation, and opportunities for social mobility in a dynamic new world" (Pasquerella, 2018, p. 1). To "cultivate the voice, talent, and active public participation of the next generation of local citizens in a global world" because our society depends upon it (Cantor, 2018, p. 1).

The similarities and differences between an anchor mission and community engagement are worth noting for the purposes of discussing infrastructure and organizational structure to support institutionalization. To begin, we note two similarities. First, both embrace the role that institutions play in thriving communities and have expressed commitments to their responsibilities through rhetoric, staffing and resources. They value this work because it is good for the community, but also improves scholarship and education (Cantor & Englot, 2014). Second, they share similar values and recognize the importance of reciprocity in relationships. Reciprocity being defined as "recognition, respect, and valuing of the knowledge, perspective, and resources that each partner contributes to the collaboration" (Janke & Shelton, 2011, p. 4).

However, anchor institution missions and community engagement each have distinctive qualities. First, the goal or primary outcomes each seeks to measure typically differ. Assessing outcomes of community engagement have historically focused on student learning and success or faculty as engaged scholars and their partnerships via teaching and learning or research (Norris & Weiss, in press). On the other hand, anchor-institution initiatives are driven by community impacts and how that may occur through a variety of means (e.g., procurement, hiring practices, enrollment management strategies, real estate investments) as well as teaching and learning, research, and service. Second, anchor-institution projects are more likely to define "community" primarily in terms of local contributions. Conversely, community engagement is more likely to broadly define community, even so far as global activities, because the focus is on the process of engagement, or how the institutions works *with* community, as opposed to where the engagement occurs. Lastly, leadership, infrastructure, and organizational structures to support these initiatives differs across campuses. This last three are the focus of this article.

Moving forward we use the term "anchor work" to represent activities associated with community engagement or anchor institution initiatives. The essay begins with literature on the organizational structure of institutions of higher education and how they incorporate change and

innovation. This sets up our introduction of a metaphor that may be useful for campuses, as they think about how to structure themselves in order to institutionalize anchor work. We identify the implications as well as limitations of this metaphor and make recommendations for leadership, fundraising, and developing metrics or goals.

Overview of Organizational Structures in Higher Education

The organization-structure literature is extensive. For the purposes of this essay, the literature the authors examined has been limited to higher education, with particular emphasis on the complex and unique characteristics that distinguish colleges and universities organizationally (Birnbaum, 1988; Blau, 1994; Blau & Schoenherr, 1971; Parsons, 1971; Perrow, 1986; Santos et al., 1998). The context of this essay focuses on the internal structures seeking to establish anchor work.

How an organization is structured depends, to some extent, on the particular characteristics that define and differentiate the organization's purpose and method of operating (Rothblatt, 1995; Schein, 1992). Once its purpose is determined, the organization's structure becomes the first step in its design (Lewis, Goodman, & Fandt, 2001), with the creation of substructures and work groups (e.g., committees) to support its primary goals or mission. An organization's structure is defined by the framework or institutional parameters that connect the policies, activities, roles, and reporting relationships needed for the organization to perform, if not fulfill, its purpose (Barr & Tagg, 1995; Dalton, Todor, Spendolini, Fielding, & Porter, 1980; Fincher, 1982; Robbins, 1983; Selznick, 1948). These structures have common characteristics that define their schema for productive work, and extend from the organization's history, mission, and the particular values and cultures that distinguish the organization from others.

Historically, higher education's organizational model takes shape with a minimum degree of standardization, which allows for high levels of autonomy among its historically key constituency and decision-making body (i.e., faculty). Minimum standardization contributes to high levels of ambiguity, which is a chief characteristic of academic organizations (Baldridge & Deal, 1983). This also influences the way(s) that administrators and others view what is important to the organization's performance of its mission, vision, and goals. Autonomy, decision-making, and minimal standardization are important to understand, as well as the differentiating organization features of size, geographic location (i.e., urban, rural), institutional type. All of these, as well as student and faculty demographics can also "prescribe or restrict behavior[s] of organizational members" (Dalton et al., 1980, p. 57) and influence the methods by which academic and administrative goals or tasks are structured and achieved.

Santos and others (1998) refer to higher education organizations as decentralized bureaucracies, which enable adaption to conditions in the external environments in which they operate. To achieve balance between bureaucratic structures and the multifaceted work of its internal constituents (faculty, staff, students, administrators, stakeholders, etc.) and external pressures or stakeholders, higher education organizations frequently use looser coordinating processes than those found in more traditional organizational settings (e.g., the business model of organizations with managerial and administrative cultures). Yet these loosely coupled organizational constituents and structures, partnered with environmental factors, must operate within an administrative framework in the 21st century that act to control or sustain ever-scant resources or

capital (e.g., human capital, social capital, political capital) and oversee the managerial processes to build its capacity to keep on achieving its mission and goals.

In all, the literature recognizes that higher education organizations have a centralized administrative structure that oversees resource or capital allocation and managerial operations. A parallel academic division is responsible for all aspects of teaching and instruction, conducted in a decentralized work structure of faculty work, student affairs, and a unit for public affairs, university communications, or community engagement. These work areas, and therefore the loose coupling of these structures operate parallel to each other yet are interdependent, i.e., they are connected by the mission and goals of the organization. Integral to the success of these connections across work are structures and processes associated with embedding innovation into the culture of the organization as a starting point for the institutionalization of change.

Organizational Structures for Anchor Work

Complex institutional and environmental factors, community interaction, and a unique form of change evolves from anchor work. To implement and sustain anchor mission work, institutions need to recognize how varying elements of structure link to deliberate and intentional processes to bring communities and the higher education organization together. Sustaining change innovation requires understanding the relationship between the organizational factors that distinguish it from other institutional initiatives. As more institutions implement anchor work (and try to normalize them), it is essential to understand the organizational contexts that influence its sustainability and "the institutional factors that affect decision-making at every level and every stage of operations (Glemon et al., 2001, p. 107). Furco (1999), Furco et al (2009) and Glemon et al. (2001) point out that the convergence of complex processes that define, and are integral to, the institutional structure strongly influence those initiatives.

Self-assessment tools for the institutionalization of service learning or community engagement serve as evidence and further validate the importance of structure (Furco, 1999; Holland, 1997, 2009; Gelmon, Seifer, Kauper-Brown, Mikkelsen, 2005). In large part, these self-assessment tools indicate that some degree of a coordinating entity (e.g., center, office, committee, clearinghouse, faculty percentage of time) must exist. However, they do not mention elements of shared responsibility, collaboration or partnership with other units or leaders on campus and typically focus on supporting pedagogic practices (i.e., service-learning). Gelmon et al.'s (2005) self-assessment tool notes that community engagement must connect to other structures, constituents, and policy-making entities (e.g., board of trustees, faculty senate.) Furthermore, institutional commitment requires both words and strategic actions, i.e., merely mentioning how community engagement is a core value or part of the mission for the campus is not enough.

By emphasizing a centralized unit (e.g., center, office) we can appreciate that structure, in terms of having it and thinking about 'where' it is located, is a key factor in normalizing innovative change in higher education institutions. For example, the centralized unit could have "affiliations of infrastructure with academic affairs, student affairs, residence life, development, and the president's office, sometimes jointly affiliated" (Holland, 2009, p. 90). In some cases, a senior-level position, such as vice president or vice provost occurs, but it is more common to create a position for a Director who focuses on engagement activities (Holland, 2009). Holland notes

how scope can range widely across campus contexts and perhaps that this is influenced by the degree to which the institution already has a decentralized or centralized model for supporting community engagement (supporting service-learning, coordinating campus-community partnerships, engaging students in co-curricular programs of volunteering, etc.). While Gelmon et al. (2005) do not speak to organizational structure specifically, they do state that "community engagement is named as a high profile effort on campus along with other efforts such as: recruiting and retaining minority students, improving teaching effectiveness, establishing community partnerships, conducting community-based research, fostering interdisciplinary collaboration, etc." (p. 4). Giving credence to the role community engagement could and should have in relation to a campus's strategic plan or goals is useful, but does not illustrate the scope of responsibilities, the necessary partnerships, how the leader is positioned (political, networking, or convening power), or how the work is structured to support the goals of the institution.

Environment, Structure, and Institutionalizing Anchor Work

This section provides perspectives of institutionalization that disrupts higher education towards a more democratic purpose (i.e., accessible, equitable, just, fair, engaged, deliberative, etc.) through anchor work. Institutionalization of initiatives requires certain personalized factors to operate in the internal environment and be valued not for what is produced, but for the values that those operations represent to the institution. These personalized factors and values provide clarity about organizational identity and purpose. They mean, in organic terms, that organizations "are open to their environment and must achieve an appropriate relation with that environment if they are to survive" (Morgan, 1997). The external environment or community context must inform the structural-functional perspective of higher education organizations.

Scholars define institutionalization in the literature in different but complementary ways. The describe institutionalization using two distinctive elements. One focuses on rule-like, organized patterns of action and behavior. The other embeds action permanently in the institution without tying that action to specific individuals (Zucker, 1977). For the purposes of this essay, we will focus on changes in organizational design that support and enable innovation and change, thereby influencing policies and procedures that move special projects to a standardized and routine process. Institutionalization, in this conceptualization, is the process that links the structural characteristics of the organization to the shared meanings and values that the organizational culture internalizes (Perrow, 1986; Prentice, 2002; Selznick, 1948; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Institutionalization is contingent, then, on the fit or conformity between the layers within the larger context and external environment (i.e. place-based community) in which the organization operates. The study of institutionalization therefore raises questions. How can the organization can coordinate its behaviors to facilitate the adoption of new characteristics? How can the organization promote new activities (Jelinek, 1979) to become part of the routine work environment? How can the organization adopt rule-like paradigms of behavior (Zucker, 1987) without being tied to specific individuals or situations?

Kanter (1983) notes that institutionalization is a process that cannot occur in isolated places within an organization. It must touch other parts of the organization and involve the participation of others if it is to gain permanence. Certain integrative actions assist with institutionalization, "weaving the innovation or change initiative into the fabric of the organization's expected

operations" (Kanter, 1983, p. 300). A similar definition is that institutionalization is change that has reached the point of losing its "special project" status, and it has become "part of the routinized behavior of the institutional system" (Curry, 1992, pp. 9-10). We can think of institutionalization as a point in the process when certain behaviors are expected and assumed in order to achieve desired outcomes across the layers through which the organization operates. We must also remind the reader that cultural influences dominate each level of the organization and therefore processes (Curry, 1992; Schein, 1992; Tierney, 1988).

Here we may distinguish institutionalization from change, a distinction that is critical, despite their very close relationship. Where change is difference or newness, institutionalization is making change last and helping it gain a sense of legitimacy, value, and permanence in an organization. Whether or not change is lasting depends on two factors: the process by which the change itself proceeds, and the leadership to gather support for managing the change process over time. This essay focuses on the structures by which the change itself proceeds and how it is therefore organized or structured within higher education institutions.

To facilitate institutionalization, it is essential that the relevance of 'the change' be identified and supported as it relates to areas such as institutional mission, organizational readiness or adaptivity, constituents' capacities, and access or allocation of other important capital and resources (Kezar, 2002a; Curry, 1992; Fullan, 1991; Kanter, 1983; Kimberly, 1979). Thus, the organization's purpose, its readiness for change in terms of attitudes and motivation, the ability of its members to understand and absorb the value of change, and the fiscal structures that provide access to resources to support new initiatives are essential elements for sustained change. Change initiatives should not be attempted in isolation but, as Kanter and Curry contend, should focus on creating the ability to identify and develop internal forces and support systems that connect to the process itself.

Internal forces that drive change and innovation come from both vertical and horizontal linkages. According to Dill and Sporn (1995), higher education organizations require structures that nurture innovation, adaptability, and cohesion in order to respond to change. Here we are talking about vertical as opposed to horizontal coordination, and the way these design elements can prevent or facilitate implementation of an innovation (Kanter, 1983). For example, "horizontal linkages [have the ability to] break through structural barriers, collapse psychological distance, and cut through competition among diverse institutional units" (Chickering, 1999, p. 40), promoting incentives for participation and support for change. Successful institutionalization, however, must also require sufficient vertical linkages that intersect with the lateral structures of the organization for new ideas to be accepted, new policies and practices to be tested, and new behaviors to be learned (Chickering, 1999).

If vertical and horizontal linkages are not intentionally thought about, attempts at change will not always be successful. Some campus initiatives remain in a state of limbo without becoming integral to the design, structure(s), and routine assumptions of the organization. They eventually dissipate or disappear. A successfully institutionalized innovation or disruption depends on certain organizational characteristics that influence the shape of change, and how it becomes permanent in the organization (Curry, 1991, 1992). In the rest of this essay, we will first explore anchor work, an innovation that seeks to change and shape an organization such as higher

education, and offer an example from college athletics to illustrate how to think about the vertical design or structural elements necessary to vertically organize higher education institutions.

Metaphorically Speaking…How Collegiate Athletics Can Inform the Vertical Structure for Institutionalizing Anchor Work

The following metaphor is useful for further illustrating what we see as a challenge when institutionalizing anchor work. We hope this metaphor is useful for campuses as they reflect and engage others in a dialogue about how to implement and sustain anchor work. College athletic programs are commonplace, regardless of actual expense to the university, and for good reasons. First, schools can leverage athletics to recruit students. Moreover, hiring coaches capable of nurturing the growth and development of their student athletes is paramount to recruitment efforts and success of the program. Second, athletics contributes to a vibrant campus culture, which fosters a sense of pride, belonging, and loyalty that is unique and engages multiple stakeholders, including the local community. Third, if done well, athletics can generate revenue through sponsorships, donations (aka, boostering), and of course (sporting) event attendance (see Table 1). Given these similarities, we see value in looking at the organizational structure of athletic programs.

Table 1. *Metaphor*

Collegiate Athletics	Anchor Work
Attract students who want to participate in athletics while gaining an education	Attract students who want meaningful, applied learning experiences as part of their education
Hire coaches who can develop student athletes as players and students	Hire faculty who develop students as professionals within their chosen field and their civic-mindedness
Create a sense of belonging and commitment to the local community; foster pride, and loyalty to the institution	Create partnerships within the community; make commitments to the community; foster pride and appreciation for the campus
Generate revenue and encourage participation in campus events	Generate funding to support research, outreach, and engagement; encourage reciprocal partnerships

While the majority of scholars and practitioners involved in anchor work do not normally think in this way, the overlap is undeniable. For example, much like athletics, rich and meaningful anchor work can attract students seeking meaningful learning opportunities. Similar to athletics, which relies heavily upon the leadership and expertise of coaches, we look to our engaged faculty and staff. Likewise, a campus culture that supports anchor work holds great potential to develop a sense of pride and appreciation amongst faculty, staff, and students, but more importantly, amongst members of the community. In addition, if campuses are able to capture the fruits of anchor work, then their policies, courses, research, and initiatives will connect to

issues in the community and to student learning and success, telling a robust story of engagement. We believe anchor institution work and community engagement holds great potential to diversify funding beyond internal grants and external contracts and contribute to our communities in meaningful and lasting ways.

To illustrate, we offer a few examples. If athletics gives the community an aggregated identity and has uniforms, awards, parades, etc., can the anchor institution create that same kind of bonding and allegiance because of the economic development work it does for local businesses? Can it garnish capital, through qualified investment vehicles, from alumni who want to support and invest in employee-owned businesses or permanent affordable housing to protect community members from displacement? Similar to setting goals for a winning record or number of athletes with academic achievements, can an anchor institution set equally powerful goals with the community, such as decreasing poverty by a percentage or increasing participation in healthcare HMOs or census reporting? In general, how can fulling the public mission to this extent create a positive feedback loop that translates into quality of life of local residents and strengthen its place in civic partnerships across the state?

Implications and Considerations Using the Metaphor

So, if we understand community engagement and our anchor work to include a broad scope of activities, how does that influence infrastructure, organizational structure, and our strategy? Specifically, how we allocate work (differentiation), coordinate roles and responsibilities (integration), and create and implement a comprehensive vertical strategy for success? We think that examining the various aspects generally included in 'nationally recognized athletics program' offers an opportunity to reflect, and ultimately, consider the organizational structure(s) necessary to achieve and normalize our anchor missions and sustain the work of community engagement.

Table 2 identifies roles within athletics and the type of activities or tasks associated with the role. As the metaphor implies, the table includes a similar scope of work or responsibilities for staff/faculty involved in anchor work. It is worth noting that we are not implying the current centers or offices that support community engagement should hire more staff and resources that equate to the positions or seek to amass resources that it takes to run athletic programs. Instead, consider the scope of responsibility and subsequent tasks. We suspect campuses will need to consider relationship-building, informal organizational structures, and aspects of distributed leadership (Liang & Sandmann, 2015) through other entities or people who have similar goals.

Table 2. *Infrastructure and Organizational Structure Metaphor with Athletics*

Job Title, Position, or Activity	Tasks Associated with Athletics	Tasks Associated with Community Engagement/Anchor Institution Initiatives
Awards & Recognitions	Recognize players and coaches who exceed expectations (e.g., community service awards, academic achievements).	Recognize faculty, staff, and students who meet or exceed expectations. Community partner awards and recognitions. Neighborhood awards and grants. Advocate for internal systems, processes, and guidelines that align with best practices (e.g., promotion and tenure policies, annual reporting guidelines that call attention to and acknowledge engagement, IRB protocol).
Communications, Public Relations, & Government Relations	Tell stories of impact to a variety of stakeholders and enhance campus image. Advocate for policies and regulations impacting players, coaches, the league, and the sport.	Disseminate findings that tell a story of impact and how faculty, staff, and students are working to address community issues. Leverage faculty expertise for expert testimony; influence public policy. Work with legislators on issues effecting higher education and our communities.
Compliance Officer (e.g., Title IX policies, equity, diversity, inclusion, legal issues)	Ensure equitable access and participation. Foster interaction with diverse others. Investigate allegations between stakeholders (e.g., between students and coaches)	Examine community engaged activities to ensure equitable access and participation. Ensure community engagement is strategically connected to diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives (e.g., pipeline programs, recruit underrepresented students and faculty). Advocate for democratic engagement and manage town-gown relationships.
Events Management	Manage logistics associated with events (e.g., parking, tickets, RSVPs, navigating campus, signage, etc.).	Manage logistics of campus-community partnership activities (e.g., parking, public meeting spaces, policies, directions, invitations, marketing).

Job Title, Position, or Activity	Tasks Associated with Athletics	Tasks Associated with Community Engagement/Anchor Institution Initiatives
Development	Active participant in fiscal matters; offer direct support or supplementary information that enhances the financial sustainability of the campus (e.g., sales, sponsorships, purchasing, fundraising, donations, etc.)	Demonstrate and support how anchor institution initiatives can be instrumental in the financial sustainability of the campus and the community (e.g., impact of grants and contracts, capital campaigns, fundraising, etc.). Create alternative strategies for addressing talent gaps (e.g., offer corporate training/technical assistance, entrepreneurship, credentialing programs, etc.) Advocate for institutional commitments related to the community (e.g., Live/Hire/Buy initiatives, local purchasing policies, real estate acquisitions, etc.).
Track, Monitor, and Assess Progress	Monitor student eligibility, enrollment, and scholarship requirements; track student progress toward degree. Respond to requests for information (e.g., student conduct, mid-semester grade reports, alumni, compliance). Document and submit information for NCAA standards (e.g., recruitment policies, evidence). Evaluate satisfaction and success.	Monitor community engaged activities and document how students, faculty, and staff are addressing issues in the community. Respond to requests for information (e.g., student participation in service-learning, hours, engagement by county, service on community boards, etc.) Submit information for awards and accreditation. Set goals, define success; evaluate programs and initiatives and assess progress toward goals.
Facilities, Tours	Manage on-campus spaces, access, and safety (e.g., lighting, security, building maintenance, environmental sustainability).	Manage or support others responsible for on-campus and off-campus educational spaces (e.g., clinics, service-learning sites). Advocate for a welcoming and inviting campus for the community (e.g., museums, theatres, athletic events); campus visits or delegations from other countries, campuses, high school visits.

Job Title, Position, or Activity	Tasks Associated with Athletics	Tasks Associated with Community Engagement/Anchor Institution Initiatives
Training & Risk Management	Training and professional development for staff, administrators, coaches, and students (e.g., work environment issues, harassment, student rights and responsibilities). Ensure policies and procedures are in place to protect others (e.g., background checks, equipment safety, and security).	Oversee the implementation of policies and procedures (e.g., programs involving children, background checks, transportation, etc.). Faculty development programs that support community engaged scholarship and practice Prepare students for engagement with the community.
Student Development & Success	Works directly with students related to academic success (e.g., registration, good academic standing, progress toward degree, mentoring, tutoring, access to support services, leadership).	Develop, implement, or support programs that support student success through community engagement (e.g., service-based scholarship, community work study, co-curricular engagement opportunities, networking, civic learning).

Leadership

Table 2 included a wide range of roles, responsibilities, and tasks to assist campuses as they consider how work is allocated and roles and responsibilities are coordinated if the campus is to fully embrace their role as an anchor institutions. However, leadership is worthy of additional consideration. Both athletics and community engagement are increasing their respective leadership appointments at the vice president/chancellor level, with direct reporting lines to the president/chancellor. For athletics, we may observe Oregon State University, University of Louisville, or University of Arizona. For community engagement, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, Duquesne University, University of Pittsburgh, Virginia Commonwealth University, University of North Carolina-Greensboro, or University of Minnesota, are splendid examples. We also note that additional research is needed to explore these positions: job description, staff support, budget, responsibilities, deliverables, etc.

This trend toward executive-level leadership, who have a large portfolio of responsibilities as it relates to anchor work, shows how the strategies to enact a vision of this magnitude is fundamentally connected to priorities, initiatives, and decisions across the vertical structure of higher education and its many other initiatives. These others include diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives, student success, recruitment and enrollment strategies, academic affairs, institutional priorities, sustainability, and more. To tie this back into the metaphor - do you hire a leader who is responsible for creating a vision and implementing a strategy (e.g., vice president for athletics/engagement) or someone who has expertise in a predominant area (e.g., basketball or football coach/faculty development)? This becomes even more challenging if you expect them

to work with other units and with people on and office campus (e.g., compliance officer, legislators, recruitment and enrollment).We are suggesting campuses consider what constitutes anchor work taking a broader appreciation for all that is possible and necessary. Then, identify an executive-level leader who understands all aspects of this work and has positional power (e.g., convene, work across academic, administrative, and community silos, political capital, legitimacy in the academy and community).

Challenges with the Metaphor

The challenge, which any leader will face, is creating a vision for why this work is worth the investments, like we invest in athletics, and is able to deliver evidence of success. In the case of athletics, metrics exist and are relatively easy to capture. For example, overall record, rankings within the conference, number of student athletes exceeding academically, hours of service in the community, etc. Metrics are useful for creating and articulating a vision for the work, not to mention measure progress or success. Within community engagement, the metrics are limited to student learning (e.g., number of service-learning courses, number of service hours, number of community partners). Moreover, even those merely indicate what we are measuring, not quality or what success would look like. The work around anchor institution mission has developed the “Anchor Dashboard Metrics,” which is helpful for campuses trying to figure out what to begin tracking and monitoring (Sladek, 2017). The field of community engagement is also building capacity to identify metrics and indicators of success, particularly those that are useful for influencing policies, programs, and practices. We could learn a few things from athletics by setting measurable goals and aligning performance appraisals (i.e., promotion and tenure guidelines) (Norris & Weiss, in press).

The other challenge with this metaphor is that some might assume the goal is to generate additional revenue. After all, many athletic programs are famous for their financial role in higher education, including the privileges that sports teams have received in the way of resources and real estate. We acknowledge this as a limitation or potential for misinterpretation and therefore worthy of clarification. In relation to anchor work, campuses run the risk of privileging certain types over others (e.g., community-engaged research, volunteering, anchor housing, or business centers). However, there are financial considerations for anchor work and most campuses perceive these as ‘costs of doing business’ (e.g., marketing, public relations, sponsorship, etc.) just like we acknowledge that not all sports generate enough revenue to cover costs. While it is difficult to account accurately for the income and costs associated with anchor work, we acknowledge that telling a story of the campus’s anchor work is worth leveraging for development purposes. If campuses embrace their anchor mission and hire an executive-level position to lead this work, some aspects of fundraising will inevitably fall within their scope of responsibilities.

Moreover, while sports have provided access to college for black and brown students, what has been the cost of the university doing business like that? How could the university’s support of the anchor mission influence athletics to create more equitable and inclusive systems? How could universities continue to leverage sports to create a place-based identity that is excited about the value of education and not just athletics? One of the authors of this article is a former college athlete and can testify that not all athletic programs prioritize the sport over an education. In fact,

the majority do not. However, one limitation of this metaphor is that it may create a negative perception of anchor work, depending on one's background and experiences with athletics. We see value in the metaphor and recognize that not all college athletic programs are the same and anchor work varies by institution and context as well.

Conclusion

The institutionalization of community engagement has historically focused on infrastructure, which cannot be dismissed, and in fact, should be recognized for the important role it has played in the history of this work—the dedication of time, edifices, places, people, policies, practices, dollars—visually, rhetorically, and literally. Having a designated place, center, or person has given our campus constituents *and* community members somewhere to go, someone to answer questions, and literally support the work. While we have made it a priority across our engaged campuses, we still know very little about various aspects of operationalizing the infrastructure for community engagement (see Welch & Saltmarsh, 2013), or how it relates to the intended outcomes or 'impact' of this work. Further research is needed, therefore, to better appreciate the role of structure (both vertical and horizontal) as it relates to students' civic learning and democratic engagement; faculty's engaged scholarship; the economic or developmental impacts in our community; and so much more.

Our ability to illustrate the depth and breadth of activities associated with anchor work and how structure should follow strategy through the metaphor of athletics is limited. However, its ability to articulate the vertical factors associated with organizational structure give us much to consider. Again, the historical focus on creating a single, central or centralized place or space indicates by itself that our leaders and units are relatively insular and inner-focused. Institutions of higher education must accept the challenge to take a step back, expand our sights, or more correctly, bring more into our purview, which thereby necessitates greater alignment and higher vertical structures partnered with strong leadership.

The anchor institution initiative, consequently, opens our work, our leaders, our constituents, our resources, and our operationalization of this work into areas of risk, threats, and opportunities that were not (necessarily) there before, or at least did not lie within the purview of community engagement. Moving forward, we are curious and cautiously attentive to how forces of change, both internal (e.g., new leadership, innovative ideas, new initiatives) and external (i.e., accountability, competition, globalization, technology, and legislation), affect infrastructure, structure, and the institutionalization of anchor work now and in the future.

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Considering the Anchor Mission Strategy within the Competing "Regimes" of Higher Education Community Engagement

Daniel J. Bergen and Emily Sladek

Abstract

The concept of the anchor institution, and its subsequent mission, was first considered in the mid-1990s, a time during which the dominant academic culture of higher education was driven by the "public good regime." The decades since have seen the emergence of the public-engagement knowledge regime, and the academic capitalist regime. This article views the anchor mission strategy through the shifting and competing "regimes" of higher education and considers questions that might arise due to these shifts. Anticipating and understanding these questions increase the self-awareness critical to authentic engagement, lower the risk of reifying historical dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression, and elevate the potential for success in advancing the anchor strategy.

Keywords: markets; economy; regimes; engagement; anchor institutions

Increasingly, institutions of higher education are reconsidering their community roles more strategically. From research, to teaching, to local investments, and hiring, the advancement of community engagement has elevated institutional interest in the roles universities and colleges can play in their communities. Research clearly demonstrates that "colleges and universities have been called to collaborate with their broader communities to address societal issues and needs (Boyer, 1990; Campus Compact, n.d.; Carnegie, 2006; Weerts & Sandman, 2010) and, at the same time, to participate more fully in the free-market economy (Nussbaum, 2010; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004)" (Giles, 2012). Institutions have therefore sought profit-generating opportunities (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004); political and/or funding pressures (Alperin, et. al, 2018); changing racial demographics; enlightened self-interest; or, all/some combination of the aforementioned strategies. Universities and colleges continue to be develop and refine strategies for local community engagement.

As one key strategy of local community engagement, the movement towards adopting an anchor mission strategy within the evolving spatial boundaries between institutions of higher education and their communities is necessarily fraught with complex tensions around economic and social power and privilege. For these purposes, advocates ought to shape the anchor mission strategy within the descriptive frameworks of the shifting paradigms, or "regimes," of higher education. This is to ensure the self-awareness critical to authentic engagement, and lower the risk of reifying historical dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression.

The Anchor Mission Strategy

Henry G. Cisneros, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, with contributions from Ira Harkavy, then Director for the Center of Community Partnerships at University of

Pennsylvania, discussed the basic principles of the "anchor institution" in the 1995 essay, "The University and the Urban Challenge". In his essay, changing demographics, globalization, corporate migration to suburbs or overseas, social and economic immobility, create the urban context for what Cisneros considers, "the danger of becoming two nations: one with highly skilled, well-paid workers and professionals, and the other with a low-skilled, low- or even no-wage, permanent underclass" (Cisneros, 1995). The solution that Cisneros proposes is to leverage the economic, and intellectual resources of local colleges and universities to revitalize cities, and "help create communities of opportunity."

In theory, by embracing this solution, collaborating with other locally identified anchors, and residents to develop community- and place-based approaches, resources and capacity can be better shared to accomplish collective goals. However, as Hodges and Dubb (2012) note, "anchor institution strategies may improve the quality of life in target neighborhoods, but without markedly improving the welfare of longtime neighborhood people—frequently low income and people of color—some of whom may move out of the neighborhoods due to increased rental values or rising property taxes". Subsequently, the anchor mission risks continuing to intensify strategies, or justify decisions, that further harm community relations, or fail to create generational wealth for people struggling the most. Instead, by understanding the strategy within the shifting and competing "regimes" of contemporary higher education, we can potentially mitigate the risks of harm, and elevate the potential for success.

Competing "Regimes"

In utilizing the term "regimes", we are specifically referring to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) use of the competing "knowledge/learning regimes", and Saltmarsh and Hartley's (2016) broader consideration from their chapter, "The inheritance of next generation engaged scholars", published in *Publicly engaged scholars: Next-generation engagement and the future of higher education*. In the chapter, Saltmarsh and Hartley state, "the language of 'regimes' is significant; it is a language of power, privilege, and politics. It constructs an understanding of knowledge generation and of teaching and learning that is inherently political—with consequences for equity and justice in a democracy".

Within this context, it is helpful to define the competing regimes, prior to considering how they might inform our approach to the anchor mission strategy. The public good regime "reflects the dominant academic culture of higher education, often characterized as 'scientific,' 'rationalized,' and 'objectified,' meaning that the approach to public problems is predominantly shaped by specialized expertise 'applied' externally 'to' or 'on' the community, providing 'solutions' to what has been determined to be the community's 'needs'" (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2016). Arguably, Cisneros and Harkavy developed the basic principles of the "anchor institution" concept in 1995 under this regime.

The academic capitalist regime "values privatization and profit taking in which institutions, inventor faculty, and corporations have claims that come before those of the public," and holds that "knowledge is constructed as a private good, valued for creating streams of high-technology products that generate profits as they flow through global markets" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). For the purposes of this discussion, and the idea of the anchor mission strategy, we

broaden this notion a bit beyond the concepts of technology transfer and intellectual property. We examine institutional investment strategies that are profit generating and maximizing. We consider also those cost-containment approaches that align with the business aspects of higher education.

Finally, the public-engagement knowledge regime, "comprises core academic norms determined by values such as inclusiveness, participation, task sharing, and reciprocity in public problem-solving, and an equality of respect for the knowledge and experience that everyone contributes to education, knowledge generation, and community building. […] The university is part of an ecosystem of knowledge production addressing public problem-solving, with the purpose of advancing an inclusive, collaborative, and deliberative democracy" (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2016). Each of these regimes is advancing competing values, and norms, some of which will likely be prioritized in ongoing decision-making by senior-level leaders. In adopting an anchor mission strategy, leaders should recognize these regimes and their corresponding opportunities and challenges, as it would affect the character and public perception of the institution. Recognizing the innate tensions among the regimes, and the descriptive frameworks they are advancing as we consider our anchor mission strategies, will allow us to develop more meaningful and thoughtful questions, and subsequently pursue more aligned and intentional outcomes.

Implications for the Anchor Mission Strategy

Each of the regimes carries a lens through which decision-making may be occurring. Appropriately positioning the anchor mission strategy within ongoing academic conversations related to the public good, public engagement knowledge, and academic capitalist regimes, advances more nuanced considerations of the role of higher education within local communities.

Cisneros and Harkavy considered the idea of the anchor institution, and its subsequent mission, through the lens of the dominant academic culture of higher education at that time. This was the "public good" regime. The decades since have seen the emergence of the public-engagement knowledge regime, and the academic capitalist regimes. Therefore, we think it is important to address the anchor mission strategy within the context of these newer regimes as well. The anchor mission, as a community engagement strategy through which institutions engage their local communities, may face similar challenges to community engagement as a broader movement, particularly related to the impacts of the public good regime. As Butin (2012) states in his introduction to *The Engaged Campus*, feminist, critical, postcolonial, and critical race scholars

> have questioned the grounding for just about every single assumption, enactment, and orientation of 'community' and 'engagement.' From the reification of 'the other' to a problematic ethical foundationalism to a distressing cultural voyeurism to a middling conceptual framework for organizational and community change, the community engagement movement currently lacks the depth of scholarship necessary to provide a solid base for its embrace across higher education.

Just as the broader notion of community engagement must wrestle with the competing regimes of higher education, so too must the anchor mission strategy understand itself within these frameworks.

For example, the anchor mission strategy that aligns with the public engagement knowledge regime might consider a more bidirectional relationship with the broader community. This is similar to how a scholar might pursue their research within this framework: "the center of the engaged scholar's identity is a scholarship that commands recognition of personal and communal values over the narrow, academic-centric self-interests of traditional scholarship. This newer form of scholarship recognizes community-based expertise and is propelled by a desire for all people to realize their highest potential" (Dostilio, et. al, 2016). Considering community-based expertise within the anchor mission strategy will fundamentally change the dynamic and approach to operational decision-making processes as well as teaching and learning outcomes that result in more economic reciprocity with legacy residents.

As aforementioned, by broadening the nature of academic capitalism beyond research and technology transfer opportunities, scholars can develop more intentional and inclusive models for how to engage with the most marginalized communities. For example, how might university-supported innovation and commercialization projects result in long-term wealth building opportunities for local underemployed residents? Alternatively, how can a university support venture-capital startups and smaller businesses that directly meet community needs? The anchor mission helps to unite these long-standing public good and business interest goals through intentionally developing place-based partnerships, justice-driven community benefit agreements and investments into shared equity enterprises.

It is evident that the anchor mission can realign operational and investment business practices and build better cohesion between local anchor partners around collective impact goals. Administrators, staff, faculty, students, and alumni with local community members can intentionally build capacity of local businesses, securing family-supporting employment opportunities, increasing the local tax-base, and developing a more environmentally sustainable supply chain. They can invest in worker-owned grocery stores in food deserts, to increase the core outcomes of higher education to be civically and workforce minded, while also supporting marketable knowledge innovations. Implementation of anchor mission strategies serve higher education's public mission by securing cradle-to-retirement pipelines for local residents, reducing brain drain, while strengthening community engagement and equity efforts in our most impacted neighborhoods.

There are clear tensions created when institutions of higher education engage their local communities, and as a result, there is a need for universities/communities to set clear expectations. What are the limits of the university to engage with the community – and how can the two clearly communicate and honestly call into question those boundaries, in a way that builds trust? Both must recognize the realities of the capitalist culture in which we operate, the dominant and historical culture of the public good regime, and the more pragmatic idealism of the public engagement knowledge model, as well as the inherent tensions between the three. This helps to develop more nuanced communications with stakeholders inside and outside the institution to better practically address social and economic inequalities. The anchor mission strategy supports the different community engagement regimes in ways that can also positively impact community relations and academic outcomes.

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Purpose-Driven Partnerships That Transform People and Places: Cal State LA's Anchor Mission

Jose A. Gomez, Raphael J. Sonenshein, Zuhey Espinoza, and Henry Fuhrmann

Abstract

California State University, Los Angeles (Cal State LA) has committed to becoming Los Angeles' premier educational anchor institution, forging meaningful partnerships that contribute to the overall well-being of the region. Cal State LA ranks number one in the nation for the upward mobility of its students (Chetty, Friedman, Saez, Turner, & Yagan, 2017). The Democracy Collaborative (TDC) developed the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort to create a critical mass of colleges and universities committed to addressing economic, educational, and health disparities through engaged anchor mission strategies (Sladek, 2017). TDC identified five Thematic Anchor Dashboard Success Indicators as elements for establishing an engaged anchor mission mindset and structure. The Cal State LA example illustrates the importance of the themes and offers support for establishing field-wide best practices based on the principles outlined by TDC (Dubb, McKinley, & Howard, 2013; Sladek, 2017).

The university's experience suggests that successful implementation of its engaged anchor mission strategy will benefit from a comprehensive approach. The course and manner of its strategy consists of the five TDC indicators: (1) leadership support at the university's highest level; (2) incorporation of the anchor mission into the institution's strategic plan, and university-wide identity or brand-building initiatives; (3) establishment of anchor mission committees and structures to coordinate work; (4) promotion and advancement of place-based cohesive narratives and expectations to embed an institutional anchor mission culture and build trust; and (5) development and support for anchor mission coordinating and support catalysts to manage anchor projects. These require two additional elements, added to the list: (6) implementing data collection protocols, including the measurement of local community student success after graduation using Mobility Report Cards (Chetty et al., 2017); and (7) continuous and faithful relationship building with external partners.

Urban and metropolitan public comprehensive universities, such as Cal State LA and many of CUMU's member institutions have gained the experience and resources to serve and help transform struggling communities. CUMU and TDC's Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative collaboration can provide a coordinated structure for supporting institutions that have committed to an anchor mission strategy and for developing best practices and guidance to those considering an anchor mission.

Keywords: anchor institution; community engagement; university-community partnerships; upward mobility.

Introduction

California State University, Los Angeles (Cal State LA) is a regional comprehensive, multicultural, Hispanic-serving institution (HSI). It resides within a complex, dispersed, and diverse metropolitan constellation of economic and social needs, challenges, and opportunities. For more than 70 years, the university has served the central, east, and San Gabriel Valley regions of Los Angeles. The university has provided ladders of opportunity for first-generation college students, veterans, immigrants, and families throughout Los Angeles in pursuit of better lives. Since Cal State LA began, its mission has been to propel the communities it serves to greater prosperity. The current student demographic profile includes 88.5% of undergraduate students with demonstrated financial need, 72% who are low income and eligible for Pell Grants, and 58% who are first-generation college students. Approximately 64% of current students are Latino, and 83% come from Los Angeles, with 50% from within an 8-mile radius of the university and 75% from within a 14-mile radius. Approximately 70% of alumni reside in Los Angeles and almost 85% in Southern California (Cal State LA, 2018a). When Cal State LA students succeed and prosper, the immediate surrounding communities thrive.

Cal State LA has committed to becoming Los Angeles' "premier educational anchor institution," contributing to "the overall well-being of the region," and fostering thriving and progressive communities throughout the region through meaningful, collaborative, and mutually beneficial partnerships (Cal State LA, 2016). In April 2018, Cal State LA gained the opportunity to participate in the Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative, a joint project of the Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities (CUMU) and the Democracy Collaborative (TDC), affirming its obligation to enhance the economic and social well-being of its community (CUMU News, 2018). Smith, Pelco, and Rooke (2017) have described the challenge of demonstrating the social and economic community benefit value of universities. As policymakers, elected officials, the media, the community, and business leaders measure the impact of limited resources, and interest groups compete for budgetary support, it is tempting to argue that expenditures for higher education should focus on the traditional core missions of teaching, research, and service (Trani, 2008). However, the community benefit purpose and anchor mission of committed urban and metropolitan universities is "not a luxury or a tangential activity, it is core to the identity of the institutions, valuable to the other core mission elements, and essential to the vitality of the surrounding communities" (Smith et al., 2017, p. 27). Complementary partnerships and coordination between anchor institutions such as Cal State LA and surrounding stakeholders that show results add significant value and return on public and private investments, leading to greater future support for higher education and anchor mission initiatives.

This article analyzes the development of Cal State LA's ongoing work to propel the people and places it serves to greater and more resilient economic and civic development. It constructs an appropriate anchor mission definition to express Cal State LA's form of engaged anchor mission. *Mobility rate* is the term it uses for an indicator of successful university community impact (Chetty, Friedman, Saez, Turner, & Yagan, 2017). The authors then apply the Democracy Collaborative's Thematic Anchor Dashboard Success Indicators (Sladek, 2017) are then applied to evaluate the university's progress in establishing a community-engagement, anchor-mission development mindset and structure. The establishment of disciplined and committed engagement, data collection, messaging, and, most importantly, leadership support throughout

the institution and in the community are essential for building an anchor mission strategy. The analysis of the Cal State LA experience suggests that recommendations developed by TDC's Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort for fostering an engaged anchor mission strategy provide important lessons for colleges and universities. The indicators or guidelines for success should be a roadmap for establishing and advancing institutional anchor missions. The Cal State LA case offers support for establishing field-wide best practices based on the themes and indicators outlined by TDC (Dubb, McKinley, & Howard, 2013; Sladek, 2017).

A Holistic, Engaged Anchor Mission Strategy

Definitions of anchor institutions frequently center on concepts related to place: permanence, roots, or community. According to Community-Wealth.org, "Anchor institutions are nonprofit institutions that once established tend not to move location" (retrieved July 2018 from https://community-wealth.org). The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) further defines anchor institutions as "those entities, public, private or nonprofit, that have significant capital investment and mission focus rooted in a particular community" (retrieved July 2018 from http://www.lisc.org/los-angeles). Anchor institutions can be universities, hospitals, religious or cultural organizations, amusement parks or entertainment resorts, sports teams and stadiums, government agencies or complexes, convention centers, museums, foundations, or transportation hubs (Cantor, Englot, & Higgins, 2013; Walker & East, 2018). The Democracy Collaborative identifies an institution's anchor mission as "consciously applying their long-term, place-based economic power, in combination with their human and intellectual resources, to better the long-term welfare of the communities in which they reside" (Dubb et al., 2013, p. v). In another TDC report, *Higher Education's Anchor Mission: Measuring Place-Based Engagement*, the college and university anchor mission is described as a symbiotic relationship between institutions and communities to take on the most difficult challenges of underserved and under-resourced stakeholders (Sladek, 2017).

Economist Michael Porter has used the term "anchor institution" to single out colleges and universities as "powerful economic engines" that, taking a strategic view, can drive revitalization in their adjacent communities (CEOs for Cities, 2010). In this description, universities operate like large businesses and leverage their financial and commercial influence to spur local economic development (Initiative for a Competitive Inner City & CEOs for Cities, 2002; Porter, 1997, 2016). Other scholars have criticized this view for an overreliance on private sector solutions and "wishful thinking" (Bates, 1997; Harrison & Glasmeier, 1997). Baldwin (2017) has questioned the economic expansion initiatives of several large universities that are swallowing communities and generating considerable revenues with questionable public benefits.

Smith et al. (2017) describe the university anchor institution approach as part of "three community-university partnership paradigms: (a) the community engagement model, (b) the anchor organization model, and (c) the collective impact model" (p. 9). They explain that these partnership models can provide insight and value, alone or in tandem, and that no single approach or template can inform the disparate community benefit missions of universities. The Cal State LA model of anchor mission proceeds from a holistic, integrated conception of community impact, based on reciprocal interdependence, and university-community co-production for the public good. This deeply rooted engagement is deliberate and considers the

university as both “social glue” and an “economic engine” for the communities it serves (Cantor et al., 2013, p. 20).

A Deeply Rooted Anchor Mission as an Engine of Upward Mobility

One measurement of community benefit that universities with an anchor mission should explore is student upward mobility. In one recent study, the Equality of Opportunity Project set out to answer the question: “Which colleges in America contribute the most to intergenerational income mobility?” (Chetty et al., 2017, p. 1). The economists who conducted the study analyzed federal tax forms and other data for more than 30 million college students from 1999 to 2013, using the results to create what the researchers called Mobility Report Cards. They ranked every college and university in the United States. At the top of their list: Cal State LA (Chetty et al., 2017).

The researchers calculated the portion of each institution’s students whose families fell in the bottom quintile of the income distribution and the portion of students who, in the years after college, ended up in the top income quintile. The product of those two numbers yielded the mobility rate. Many elite institutions, such as the Ivy League universities, scored well for their low-income students’ future success but relatively poorly in terms of access for such students; that combination resulted in unexceptional mobility rates. Similarly, many institutions that offered broad access to those of low income scored poorly in terms of their students’ future success, again resulting in modest mobility rates. Cal State LA scored highly for both low-income access (above the 95th percentile among all institutions) and high success rate (near the 90th percentile), resulting in the number one mobility score, 9.9%, more than five times the national average (see Figure 1).

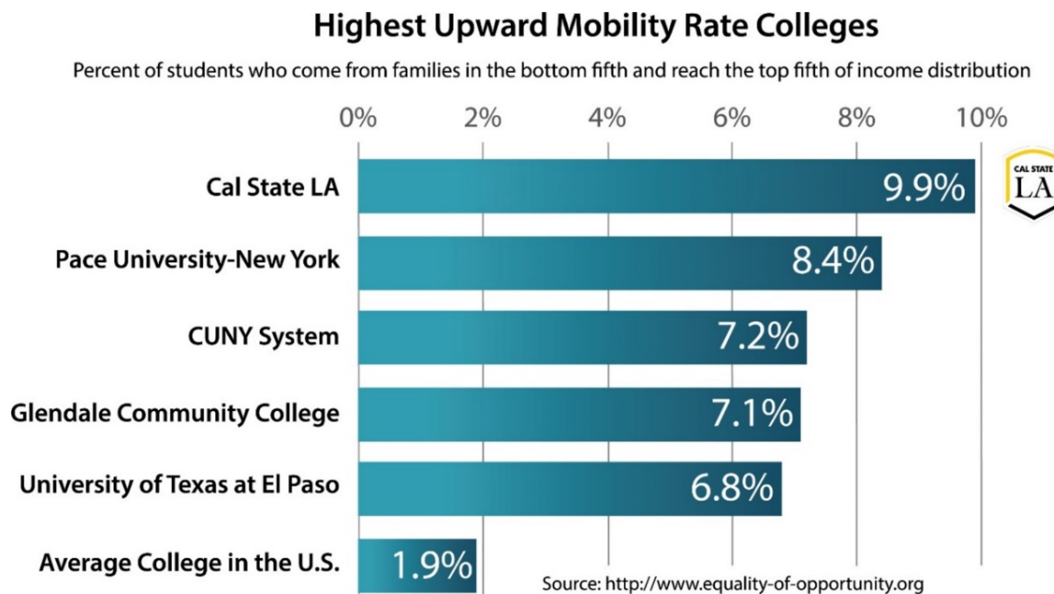

Figure 1. Top-ranked institutions for upward mobility as calculated by the Equality of Opportunity Project.

The question of access for low-income students remains crucial. In their study, the researchers noted:

> Many of the highest mobility rate colleges—such as the California State colleges and a number of community colleges—are not highly selective institutions in terms of student observables such as SAT scores or based on students' revealed preferences. This suggests that these colleges could potentially be "engines of upward mobility" by producing large returns for students from low-income families.
>
> (Chetty et al., 2017, p. 5)

The rate of upward mobility is a powerful gauge of community impact for colleges and universities pursuing an engaged anchor mission strategy. This is particularly true of regional comprehensive universities situated in urban and metropolitan areas such as Cal State LA. Its students generally come from the local community (83% from Los Angeles, 75% from within 14 miles), are low income (88.5% with demonstrated financial need, 72% low-income Pell eligible). The majority are first generation (58% of parents did not attend any college, 79% of parents did not graduate from a four-year college or university), and most graduates continue to reside in and serve their communities after graduation (70% of alumni reside in Los Angeles) (Cal State LA, 2018a). These local students are supported, thrive, graduate, and succeed, providing increased economic and social stability in their communities.

Evaluating the Cal State LA Anchor Mission

Sladek (2017) examines efforts to track the success of colleges and universities in advancing the financial and social well-being of their surrounding communities. She describes the Anchor Dashboard project, in which six urban universities working with CUMU and the Democracy Collaborative sought to develop a "framework of metrics that can help to tell their stories, gather baseline data on community conditions, and document the internal capacities and external partnerships necessary to advance their work" (p. 2). Such data, the project partners determined, is essential for anchor institutions to assess the needs of neighboring communities, especially those that are low income; track improvements in institutional initiatives; and advocate for promising efforts.

The six institutions in the project, collectively referred to as the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort, were among the 33 U.S. colleges and universities selected in April 2018 to participate in the Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative by CUMU and TDC. The institutions won invitation for their demonstrated commitment to pursuing an anchor mission strategy. Cal State LA is the only Los Angeles-area university and one of two California institutions selected for the inaugural class of anchors (CUMU News, 2018).

The Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort identified five top success indicators for adopting an anchor mission (Sladek, 2017, pp. 12-22):

1. Leadership support at the highest level (conceptual and financial support).
2. Incorporation of the anchor mission into strategic plan (and goal setting).

3. Anchor committees/internal relationship building.
4. Implementing data collection protocols.
5. Relationship building with external partners.

In this section, the project applies these five success indicators to evaluate Cal State LA's efforts to establish an engaged anchor mission mindset and structure focused on community development, and to illustrate the university's progress while identifying areas for improvement.

Leadership Support at the Highest Level

The Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort emphasized the essential role of top leadership in confirming that anchor work is an institutional priority and in generating broad support across an institution's constituencies. An administrator at one of the cohort universities described the need for a "champion in a leadership position to drive the ship—specifically, clearly communicate the vision, gain buy-in, empower others to act on the anchor mission, and garner resources to fund the effort" (Sladek, 2017, p. 12).

William A. Covino took office as president of Cal State LA in September 2013. In his previous post, as provost at Fresno State University, he led efforts to advance civic learning and community engagement. For his work there, Covino won the William M. Plater Award for Leadership in Civic Engagement by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (Cal State LA, 2013). Upon arriving at Cal State LA shortly thereafter, he set out to build on its longstanding legacy of deep community engagement. The previous president, James M. Rosser, had been a recognized advocate for access, equity, and inclusion in higher education (American Council on Education, 2012). Covino immediately championed a bold vision for the university. In his first month on campus, during his first speech on the day before fall classes began, he reminded students, faculty, staff, alumni, friends, and community partners who had assembled for his convocation address that Cal State LA was "first and foremost, a university dedicated to the public good" (Covino, 2013). He described the foundation of the university's success as "engagement," and explained:

> We have come a long way from the "ivory tower" detachment that characterized many American universities during the last century. The CSU [California State University system] has become an exemplary model of "working for California" through outreach and community engagement initiatives that have made our campuses a driving force for student success and economic development. Continuing distinction and achievement, for the CSU in general and for Cal State LA in particular, requires that energetic interaction become an integral part of our mission, vision, and values, not only as a commitment to working with external partners, but also as a guiding principle for teaching and learning. (Covino, 2013, p. 7)

In those first few months, Pr. Covino began deploying resources to community engagement and restructuring the university's executive leadership to manage better this institutional priority. He recruited senior leadership and staff with extensive experience working with the region's diverse communities, including business, government, community-based organizations, education, and the media. The university strengthened and reorganized its advancement, communications,

development, and public and governmental affairs units so that all were to report directly to the president's office. Pr. Covino established the Faculty Visioning Task Force to seek recommendations from the faculty on establishing or modifying academic programs "that will better align with the existing and future needs of the greater Los Angeles region" (Willard, Zelman, Haras, Prabhu, & Gutarts, 2015). The task force was charged with conducting a needs analysis and research on issues such as expected workforce and community demands in Los Angeles; student learning, including community engagement and service learning; and issues concerning underrepresented students in urban education. The task force proposed that Cal State LA become an anchor institution as a way to leverage the university's myriad longstanding partnerships with entities in the community (Willard et al., 2015).

Between his first convocation address, shortly after arriving at the university, and his investiture several months later, Pr. Covino (interview, 2018) was encouraged by what he heard from the Faculty Visioning Task Force and people he met across the university and the Los Angeles region. Cal State LA, he learned, was a vital social, economic, and educational engine for the public good that must do even more to support the communities it serves and to help solve the region's most complex and exigent challenges. In order to emphasize the central focus that community and civic engagement serves with those inside and outside the university, Covino chose to amplify and highlight this message during the week of his investiture (W. A. Covino, interview, 2018). The week featured events that highlighted what he referred to as Engagement, Service, and the Public Good. Cal State LA would be an anchor for the region. The ribbon cutting for a new Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good launched a full week of activities devoted to the university's focus on its role in support of the community.

Pr. Covino also initiated the inaugural Academic Senate Distinguished Lecture on Engagement, Service, and the Public Good. Longtime Los Angeles labor leader Maria Elena Durazo delivered the inaugural lecture.

He oversaw the opening of the Cal State LA Hydrogen Research and Fueling Facility, which is devoted to teaching and advancing clean transportation technologies, and manufactures and dispenses hydrogen to drivers of fuel cell vehicles. Pr. Covino also announced the "cradle-to-career" program GO East LA: A Pathway for College and Career Success, in collaboration with the Los Angeles Unified School District and East Los Angeles Community College. These projects and initiatives were evidence of the president's commitment to providing staffing and financial resources to an engaged anchor mission strategy.

Pr. Covino capped off the investiture week by reaffirming his message: "At our fall convocation, I spoke about the importance of engagement as a force that defines our mission as a 21st century public university" (Covino, 2014, para. 24). He expressed that institutions that engage and serve others are what Robert Greenleaf (1972/2009) described as servant institutions. He voiced Greenleaf's appeal in his investiture address:

> If a better society is to be built, one that is more just and more loving, one that provides greater creative opportunity for its people, then the most open course is to *raise both the capacity to serve and the very performance as servant* of existing major institutions by new regenerative forces operating within them. (Greenleaf, 1972/2009, para. 6)

Reflecting on Greenleaf's call to action and the university's defining commitment to engagement, service, and the public good, Pr. Covino (2014, para. 46) insisted that "Cal State LA will become a regenerative force." He declared that together the university community would "become more deeply committed to the well-being of our city and our region, more clearly focused on becoming a powerful engine of social mobility, and more fully aware that compassion and caring for one another are at the heart of what education means" (2014, para. 51). His vision was clear and unequivocal: Cal State LA would be a catalyst for community well-being.

Incorporation of the Anchor Mission into the Strategic Plan

High-level leadership and budgetary support are necessary but not sufficient. The institutionalization of a university's engaged anchor mission must also inform its strategic plan (Sladek, 2017). The report of Cal State LA's Faculty Visioning Task Force (FVTF) (Willard et al., 2015) was the precursor and foundational framework for the university's conceptualization of an anchor mission strategy. The task force, consisting of 23 members of the faculty, and the university's provost, conducted surveys of faculty and students, several student focus groups, and three town hall forums, and received input from regional organizations before issuing its report. The FVTF concluded (Willard et al., 2015) that an anchor mission strategy was "a successful university-level strategy for facilitating community engagement" (p. 9), and the report's first recommendation was to "Define Cal State LA as an anchor institution and build this designation and its implications into future strategic planning, curriculum and fund-raising efforts" (p. 28). In the introduction to the report, the authors describe a "renewed identity" for the university that:

> would more directly involve students, faculty, administration and staff to respond to pressing challenges in our neighborhoods. Reimagining our urban mission does much public good: it allows the University to collaborate and strengthen ties locally, to increase the social mobility of our students, and to provide multiple benefits for our students, the university and the very same communities from which our students come. (Willard et al., 2015, p. 3)

In October 2015, Cal State LA initiated a strategic planning process and created a Strategic Planning Coordinating Committee (SPCC) chaired by the provost, Lynn Mahoney, and comprising faculty, staff, students, and administrative representatives. The effort continued well into the next year, drawing about 2,500 stakeholders from across the university and the community. The FVTF informed both SPCC's work and the president's call for greater regional engagement and service. The subsequent Strategic Plan presented in August 2016 underscored the centrality of the university's evolving engaged anchor mission. The first sentence of the university's mission is "Cal State LA transforms lives and fosters thriving communities across greater Los Angeles," and the university's vision states that Cal State LA is dedicated to "serving the public good through initiatives that engage local, regional, and global communities in beneficial partnerships" (Cal State LA, 2016). One of the four pillars of the plan, designated as a strategic priority area, is engagement, service, and the public good. This phraseology, conceived and consistently applied by Pr. Covino, now stands as an abbreviated representation of the Cal

State LA form of anchor mission—a broad, holistic, and engaged strategy for collective impact. Specifically, the plan affirmed that the university would strive to "become Los Angeles' premier educational anchor institution and contribute to the overall well-being of the region" (Cal State LA, 2016). Additional key initiatives in the strategic plan are:

- Increase and strengthen community outreach partnerships.
- Expand service-learning opportunities.
- Foster a thriving and progressive region through meaningful collaborative partnerships among and within the University, alumni, and communities of the greater Los Angeles area.

Anchor Committees and Internal Relationships

The Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort identified the essential role of a university-wide committee to ensure the realization of anchor mission objectives and strengthen cross-divisional collaboration (Sladek, 2017, p. 14). To facilitate the implementation of engagement, service, and the public good as a priority in the strategic plan, the university established a consultative group with representation from stakeholders throughout the campus. This group coordinates and expands the university's engaged anchor mission work. The Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good provides staff support and expertise to the consultative group and serves as the organizational hub for the university's anchor effort. In addition, the president's executive leadership team, consisting of the five vice presidents, includes anchor mission updates, presentations, and planning as part of its regular meetings.

The Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort also recommends that communications and messaging resources be part of the university's anchor mission strategy. This advice is crucial for developing a place-based engagement culture and anchor mission mindset throughout the university. The Cal State LA communications and public affairs team has carefully crafted the university's engaged anchor mission brand. It has synthesized the shared visions and work of Cal State LA and the communities, people, and places it serves. The team transmits an ethos of engagement and service in support of the anchor mission at every opportunity, via multiple platforms, methods, and media. Zavattaro (2018) has examined the value and use of place branding, marketing, and communications in public sector organizations. She describes the power that meaningful names, logos, language, taglines, and other symbols can have for public institutions such as universities, particularly when inclusion and engagement are key priorities. Indeed, place branding can convey an institution's public purpose, or in Cal State LA's case, its anchor mission. Such efforts have catalyzed the university's efforts to improve collaboration between academic divisions and between academic and business-side operations.

Early in Pr. Covino's tenure, for example, as the Faculty Visioning Task Force was concluding its work and the Strategic Planning Coordinating Committee was taking shape, the university commenced an initiative to update, refresh, and enhance its brand. The president encouraged the branding committee to explore the essence of Cal State LA's identity and develop new symbols and messages to communicate that identity. After extensive consultation with students, faculty, staff, alumni, and the community, civic leaders, and university partners, it became clear that at its core, Cal State LA *is* Los Angeles and the university serves Los Angeles.

Figure 2. A new Cal State LA logo, right, was introduced in 2015 to replace the previous long-standing design, left.

In the ambitious words used by TDC to describe anchor institutions, the university's purpose is to "address tenacious community challenges" (Sladek, 2017, p. 2). Cal State LA ordered new logos to indicate the institution's role in shaping the city of Los Angeles (see Figure 2). New messages and accompanying campaigns emerged to express the university's mission and identity, and to inspire and energize greater support for public engagement. These included taglines such as "Engagement, Service, and the Public Good"; "Pushing Boundaries"; "LA's Public University for the Public Good"; and "We Are LA." Promotional videos (click here to view) amplified Cal State LA's brand through symbols, images, and words.

Implementing Data Collection Protocols

The need to collect data to document anchor mission outcomes has proven to be a significant challenge identified by the universities in the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort. Sladek (2017) summarizes their outlook:

> The main goal of the Anchor Dashboard project is to collect data—to show that aligning university resources with the local community actually results in improved outcomes for low-income communities. While the anchor committee collaborates to develop the infrastructure and plan for collecting data, tracking data is not straightforward. Along with funding anchor work, standardizing and institutionalizing data collection has been the biggest struggle of the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort. (p. 15)

Sladek (2017) notes that successful anchor strategies are likely to incorporate a variety of decision-making approaches, such as building anchor goals into existing initiatives or designing new programming based on the data collected, or conducting environmental scans and other analyses to assess the needs of institutions and their surrounding communities (p. 17). While Cal State LA pursues each of those approaches, it acknowledges that it can do a more robust job of measuring outcomes, ensuring that it meets its goals, and collecting relevant data. The university is looking forward to its participation in the CUMU and TDC Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative and learning data collection and analysis best practices from the other collaborating institutions pursuing anchor mission strategies.

Currently, Cal State LA participates in a comprehensive survey spearheaded by the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort as part of the Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative. The goal of this survey is to gather a set of core metrics that will aid in establishing baseline measures for anchor mission work in each strategy area. This anchor-institution alliance effort should yield valuable insight and guidance for participating colleges and universities. However, "there is unlikely to ever be a single plug and play" model that fits the diverse circumstances and contexts of all of the initiative participants (Sladek, P. 7). One metric that demonstrates community impact, and validates a college or university's anchor strategy, is the previously cited Mobility Report Card research by Chetty et al. (2017). The upward mobility rate of low-income students from underserved communities who graduate from the institution is a compelling statistic: Cal State LA leads the nation in this regard. As outlined previously, these local students graduate and maintain local residence, anchoring their communities by advancing racial and economic equity.

As the university has gathered available data for the anchor mission initiative, it has uncovered relevant information that illustrates community benefit. For the last nine years, the university has tracked several procurement measures that affect the local community and the public good. Cal State LA is the only university in the 23-campus California State University (CSU) system that has exceeded the system's Disabled Veteran Business Enterprise procurement goals in each year measured, doubling the goal in eight of those years (Cal State LA, 2018b). Similarly, Cal State LA exceeded the system's small-business procurement goals in eight of those nine years, and had the highest average percentage spend, again leading the CSU (Cal State LA, 2018b). Further, local businesses receive approximately 10% of the university's procurement spending (Cal State LA, 2018b). This impact may continue to grow, as data reported in the *Los Angeles Business Journal* (Fine, 2018) showed that of public sector employers in Los Angeles County, Cal State LA had the highest percentage gain in workforce from 2017 to 2018, at 23%, and its budget grew by $14 million. With more than 28,000 students and almost 3,100 employees (86% of employees live in Los Angeles County), the university has a potent economic footprint in the communities it serves. Cal State LA's participation in the Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative has brought greater focus to data collection and analysis that measures institutional impact. The collaboration has already produced promising results.

Relationship Building with External Partners

It is instructive to view Cal State LA's community benefit initiatives not as a sequence of one-time or temporary projects, each bringing in new partners, but as part of a continuum in which significant longtime partners return to take part in later initiatives. The guiding principle is to leverage existing relationships while forging new ones, seeking mutual benefit for all parties. Building trust and continually working to improve communication between campus and community are essential to establishing and maintaining such relationships. As Sladek (2017) writes, "A university having a shared destiny with their local community can be a powerful strategy in confronting a whole host of issues" (p. 21).

One way that Cal State LA has expanded its reach is by bringing partners on site in pioneering colocation initiatives. Partnerships located on campus include:

- A STEM-focus public charter high school serving local low-income students;

- A public-county, fine-arts focus high school;
- A 20,000-square-foot grant-supported bioscience business incubator;
- The Hertzberg-Davis Forensic Science Center (Forensic Science Center).

This last facility is the largest municipal, regional crime laboratory in the nation, a facility second in size only to the FBI crime lab at Quantico, Virginia.

These collocated partnerships produce cooperative synergies that enhance the university's anchor mission by affording university students and faculty the opportunity to collaborate directly with partners.

For example, the Forensic Science Center merges scholarship with training in collaboration with the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD), the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and the California Department of Justice (Cal DOJ). The center brings together resources from multiple entities to serve students and the community at large. The joint facility houses the crime laboratories of the LAPD and the LASD, as well as Cal DOJ training facilities. It is also home to Cal State LA's School of Criminal Justice and Criminalistics. Students benefit from working with the best crime scene investigators from the LAPD and the LASD. Its minor, bachelors', and master's programs enroll more than 1,000 students seeking to specialize in criminal justice and criminalistics. The school also houses the California Forensic Science Institute, whose mission is to support scientific advancement and its effective utilization in forensic laboratories through in-service training, student engagement, public education programs, and research, advocacy, and public policy in the fields of criminal justice and forensic science. This past year, the center's partners, working with Los Angeles high schools and community colleges, established a college pathway program for local students interested in criminal justice and criminalistics careers.

The Forensic Science Center is one of many significant partnerships that the university has depicted in a map of Los Angeles County (see Figure 3). The map lists more than three dozen initiatives and collaborating institutions in the broad areas of high technology, community development, urban planning, education and child development, economic and workforce development, civic learning, community health and wellness, and culture and the arts. These include outward-facing initiatives to which Cal State contributes student and faculty service, experience, and expertise. Others bring the talents of outside participants and members of the wider community to Cal State LA's classrooms, laboratories, and the campus. These partnerships, as diverse as they are, share a common goal of being mutually beneficial (for the university, its partners, and the communities it serves) and contributing to the public good.

To ensure the success of high-impact, sustainable public-benefit initiatives, universities must provide resources, support, and organization to implement community projects. Institutions must have or develop *anchor-mission coordination and support catalysts* to serve as the structural backbone for anchor mission efforts. Two anchor-mission catalysts that have provided support and leadership for Cal State LA community partnerships are the university's Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs (PBI) and the Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good.

PBI and the center support four projects that serve as examples of community partnership engagement that enhance Cal State LA's anchor mission. Mind Matters, a campus-wide presidential initiative addresses the lack of mental health services and support in the under-resourced communities of the university's students. The Prison Graduation Initiative, in which Cal State LA, working with the state, provides an in-person B.A. degree completion program for incarcerated students. Civic University, a program in which PBI collaborates with the office of Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti to raise civic awareness. In addition, the Southeast Los Angeles Initiative is a collaboration of the university, PBI, local stakeholders, and several foundations focused on community empowerment.

Underserved communities have a higher prevalence of psychological distress, and face more obstacles to accessing behavioral-health services (National Center for Health Statistics, 2015; Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, 2016; American Psychiatric Association, 2017). Pr. Covino and Ms. Debbie Covino launched the Mind Matters initiative to coordinate a comprehensive university-wide approach to help students, since many from communities lacking adequate mental health resources, to better manage stress and anxiety and reduce the stigma associated with mental health issues.

The initiative provides students with resources including mental health awareness training, counseling services, and peer mentoring, as well as therapeutic activities such as yoga and guided meditation. Through Mind Matters, more than 700 students, faculty, and staff have been trained in mental health first aid, enabling them to more readily recognize signs of stress and anxiety among students and, if necessary, direct them to meet with professionals in the Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) office. In 2017-18, 355 more students than in the previous academic year met with CAPS counselors, a 24% increase that was due in part to greater campus awareness of mental health issues (Cal State LA, 2018c).

The Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good collaborates closely with the Mind Matters Task Force, which includes representatives from CAPS, and students, faculty, and staff from across the university to create and direct campus-wide strategies and activities. The center oversees Mind Matters Town Halls, an interactive, problem-solving program. The town halls, initiated in 2015, are an integral part of the required Introduction to Higher Education course for first-year students. Students learn about the connection between mental and physical well-being and academic success, work in groups to solve real-life scenarios, and then use the tools they have learned to develop action plans to improve the quality of life on campus and in the community. More than 1,700 students, half the incoming first-year, first-time class, participated in the town halls during the 2017-18 academic year (Cal State LA, 2018d).

The Mind Matters initiative benefits not only students, but also their communities. As noted previously, a majority of Cal State LA students are the first in their families to attend college and reside near the university. Mental health services in these communities are not readily available or easily accessible. Moreover, many students come from homes in which parents do not always understand the pressures associated with the pursuit of academic success, or where mental health issues suffer stigma and go undiscussed. By assisting and supporting students, Mind Matters also assists and supports their communities. The community benefit will soon expand into a new program to provide mental health first aid training in Spanish and English to parents as part of

the Cal State LA Parent Academy. The academy educates parents of first-year students about the rigors of university life so that they are better prepared to help their children achieve academic success and well-being.

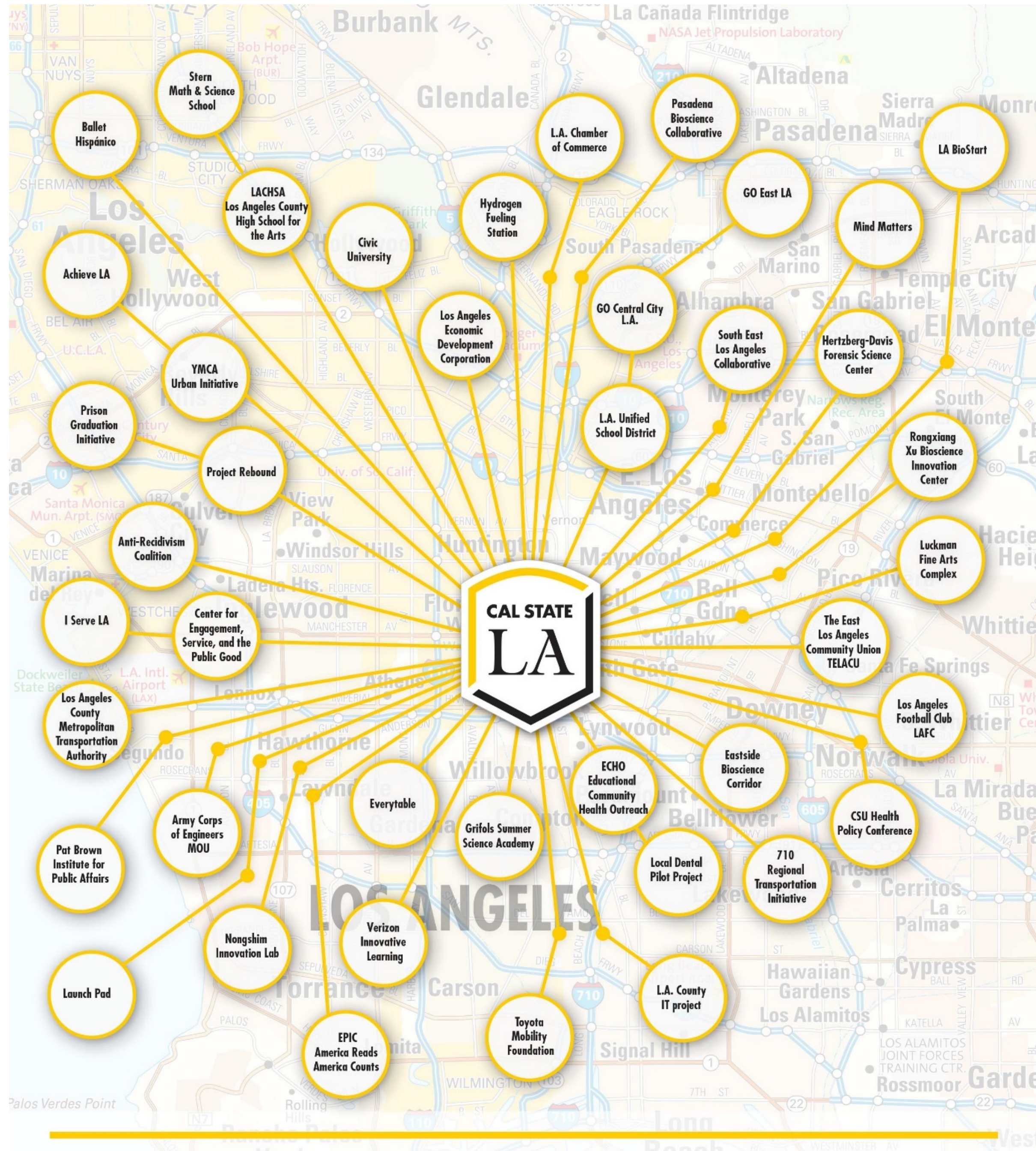

Figure 3: More than three dozen initiatives and collaborating institutions illustrate the broad reach and diversity of Cal State LA's partnerships across Los Angeles.

The Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good has extended the university's anchor mission to the incarcerated, their families, and their communities, many of which the university already serves. Cal State LA has developed a bachelor's degree completion program for incarcerated individuals against a backdrop of increased national and state focus on the importance of rehabilitation in prison reform. Federal mandates to reduce prison overcrowding and California voters' support for reducing strict sentencing guidelines, providing rehabilitation services, and increasing parole opportunities have advanced in concert with an aggressive push for reforms by state leaders (Beck, 2018). However, as thousands of inmates begin to be released (many of whom have been in prison for long periods) city, county, state, and local leaders are grappling with the question of how best to transition them back into the community (Beck, 2018). This question underscores the importance of rehabilitation programs, especially educational programs such as the Cal State LA Prison Graduation Initiative.

Through its Prison Graduation Initiative with the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, Cal State LA is the only university in the state to provide an in-person B.A. degree completion program for incarcerated students. Cal State LA is also one of only 67 colleges and universities in the country to participate in the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program, which allows incarcerated students to pursue bachelor's degrees and receive Pell Grants to help pay for their educations. A RAND Corporation meta-analysis found that those who participate in correctional education programs have 43% lower recidivism rates than those who do not, and that individuals enrolled in college courses have a 51% lower chance of recidivating (Davis, Bozick, Steele, Saunders, & Miles, 2013). It is also less expensive to educate than to incarcerate:

> Over the past three decades, state and local government expenditures on prisons and jails have increased about three times as fast as spending on elementary and secondary education. At the postsecondary level, the contrast is even starker: from 1989–90 to 2012–13, state and local spending on corrections rose by 89 percent while state and local appropriations for higher education remained flat. (U.S. Department of Education, 2016, para. 1)

Prison Graduation Initiative students will earn their B.A. degrees by taking two courses per semester (including summers). Students released before completing their degrees receive automatic enrollment as Cal State LA students to continue their educations at the university. The Center for Engagement, Service, and the Public Good has also established a support program for previously incarcerated students called Project Rebound. It coordinates additional arts, writing, and advocacy initiatives in partnership with organizations such as Corrections to College California, the Words Uncaged Project, the Anti-Recidivism Coalition, California Humanities, and Renewing Communities (a joint initiative of the Opportunity Institute and the Stanford Criminal Justice Center).

Cal State LA's Pat Brown Institute for Public Affairs (PBI) is an important support catalyst and a key contributor to the university's civic-based, anchor-mission initiatives. Former Governor Pat Brown, who created the California Master Plan for Higher Education, located the institute at the university and envisioned it as an entity meant to invest deeply in the nearby community. In 2013, LA Mayor Eric Garcetti reached out to PBI to co-create an education program, which became Civic University (Civic U), to promote greater civic awareness during a time of growing

voter dissatisfaction. Turnout in California's primary and general elections, for example, has declined significantly since the 2008 presidential vote (Public Policy Institute of California, n.d.). In Los Angeles, according to a PBI poll, 63% of registered voters believe that special interests have more power than voters do in city politics and government (Cal State LA, 2015). The objective of the project is to show participants that they can be, in fact, effective advocates for their communities.

The Los Angeles city budget has since incorporated Civic U to provide training to leaders of the city's 97 Neighborhood Councils. Those who complete the training earn certificates from Cal State LA. The program has expanded to provide education about Los Angeles County's government, the Los Angeles Unified School District, and the council-manager form of government in operation in most of the county's cities. Civi U has also presented the training throughout the region to social services agencies, high school students, business organizations, international groups, government officials, and leadership development programs. The informative, research-based, and accessible curriculum provides participants with the knowledge and tools to engage and influence government and their representatives, leading to more inclusive and responsive policy and decision-making. In recognition of its work, PBI recently won a three-year grant from the Weingart Foundation to expand the program's reach.

PBI also serves as an anchor mission catalyst for Cal State LA's collaboration with the Southeast Los Angeles Initiative, an effort to seek solutions to persistent challenges in a historically under-resourced area. Southeast Los Angeles (SELA), also known as the 710 Freeway Corridor, consists of 11 small-incorporated municipalities and 4 unincorporated county areas just south and east of the city of Los Angeles. These include unincorporated East Los Angeles, right on Cal State LA's doorstep, and other neighborhoods from which the university draws many of its students. SELA suffers from myriad social and political problems, with limited attention from major civic institutions. The residents of SELA are mostly low income. Some 57% of the adult population is foreign-born, compared with 44% for Los Angeles County as a whole; about 88% identify as Latino, according to a study commissioned by the California Community Foundation (CCF) and PBI (2017). The study noted that the percentage of residents holding bachelor's degrees is less than a quarter that of the county as a whole. While the need is demonstrable, the response of public and private agencies has not been sufficient. Furthermore, the CCF-PBI study found that SELA constitutes something of a "nonprofit desert," in which residents lack access to the services and benefits that nonprofit organizations provide elsewhere in Los Angeles County. The analysis of the study area found that there was one nonprofit organization for every 764 residents, compared with one for every 291 residents of Los Angeles County as a whole (CCF & PBI, 2017).

The SELA Initiative emerged when CCF approached PBI in 2016 to help engage residents, elected officials, and other stakeholders in SELA so that they could become a more effective voice for the region. As a backbone organization for the initiative, PBI assumed the task of identifying scholars able to research public policy issues affecting the area, and to convene stakeholders to help convert research findings into policy. PBI has organized several "Summits of Possibilities" to discuss concerns, review research, and consider policies to improve community well-being. This became the SELA Initiative, with additional funding partners, including the Weingart Foundation and the Ballmer Group. In turn, the initiative has led to the

relaunch of a previous effort, the Southeast Los Angeles Collaborative, a group of stakeholder organizations devoted to strengthening the Southeast Los Angeles area. Through PBI, Cal State LA serves on the Collaborative's board alongside many educational, social service, environmental justice, economic development, and other nonprofits and public agencies.

Soon after the SELA Collaborative relaunched, Cal State LA joined with another of SELA's partners, the YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles, to develop a community initiative called Achieve LA. The program, announced in November 2017, seeks to pave a pathway to college for youth in the under-resourced communities of Southeast LA. Achieve LA offers mentoring, tutoring, college admissions advisement, and dedicated programs at Cal State LA and the local Rio Vista YMCA for students and their parents. Achieve LA is the first such YMCA program in the United States. The partnership focuses on neighborhoods characterized by poverty, low educational attainment rates, high unemployment, and lack of access to healthcare and childcare.

Conclusion

The Democracy Collaborative's Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort is dedicated to creating a critical mass of colleges and universities committed to addressing economic, educational, and health disparities through engaged anchor mission strategies (Sladek, 2017, p. 25). TDC identified five Thematic Anchor Dashboard Success Indicators as ingredients for establishing an engaged anchor mission mindset and structure. The Cal State LA example illustrates the importance of the five themes and offers support for establishing field-wide best practices based on the themes and indicators outlined by TDC (Dubb, McKinley, & Howard, 2013; Sladek, 2017).

The university's experience suggests that the successful implementation of an anchor mission strategy will benefit from a comprehensive approach. That approach includes: (1) leadership support at the highest level of the university (conceptual and financial support); (2) incorporation of the anchor mission into the institution's strategic plan, and university-wide identity or brand-building initiatives; (3) establishment of anchor mission committees and structures to coordinate work; (4) promotion and advancement of place-based cohesive narratives and expectations to embed an institutional anchor mission culture and build trust; (5) development and support for anchor mission coordinating and support catalysts to manage anchor projects; (6) implementing data collection protocols, including the measurement of local community student success after graduation using Mobility Report Cards (Chetty et al., 2017); and (7) continuous and faithful relationship building with external partners.

The deliberate and disciplined establishment and implementation of an anchor mission by colleges and universities can enhance the economic, political, and social vitality of low-income, underserved communities. "The stronger and more broadly held anchor mission goals become within institutions, the more opportunities will be identified to help reduce disparities in home communities, and build meaningful partnerships with outside groups to advance those goals" (Sladek, 2017, p. 25). Urban and metropolitan public comprehensive universities, such as Cal State LA and many of the CUMU member institutions are well able to serve and help transform struggling communities. CUMU and TDC's Higher Education Anchor Mission Initiative collaboration can provide a coordinated structure for supporting institutions that have committed

to an anchor mission strategy and for developing best practices and guidance to those considering an anchor mission.

This work and the insight and information derived from the initiative are essential for communicating the public benefit and collective impact of higher education. Many authors have written about persistent inequality and the lack of upward mobility in society. The Cal State LA experience suggests that an emphasis on engagement, service, and the public good can increase upward mobility and provide significant community benefit. By connecting learning and scholarship with a clear mission to enrich the quality of life, colleges and universities can be the engines of urban and regional transformation. Cal State LA President Covino described the inherent value of investing in the well-being of communities during his sixth and most recent fall convocation address to the university community:

> We have demonstrated that universities can and must extend their reach beyond the walls of the institution and into our communities. The university of the 21st century is a university that transforms people and places. The times in which we live are calling—demanding—for us to be more. By embracing our identity as an engaged anchor institution in Los Angeles, we must make our social value clear. The challenges and opportunities facing Los Angeles are *our* challenges and *our* opportunities. (2018, p. 3)

Such calls to action by leadership, coupled with sustained resources and committed students, faculty, and staff working with dedicated partners, can spur change in communities. Indeed, to embrace an anchor mission is to accept responsibility for the collective well-being.

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