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## The power to corrupt scholarship and propagate inequity: corporatization of the academy

Marisela B Gomez

The opportunity and power of the academic industrial complex to influence scholarship is great. This essay primarily uses the Johns Hopkins Industrial Complex in the U.S., a prestigious and world renown teaching, research, and health institution, as a case study to highlight the influence of public:private partnerships in growing power and corporatization of the academy with resulting corruption of scholarship and propagation of inequity. Corporatization used here indicates the transformation of academic settings into corporate agencies and institutions governed not only by business-like principles but influenced by profit-making agendas. The ability of such corporations and wealthy donors to monopolize the principles and practices of the academy is discussed. The essay closes with a discussion of why organizing and educating of the larger university/academy specifically and local communities generally will assure that educational settings are opportunities for open scholarship enabling social equity and collective justice.

### Background

The growth of the academic industrial complex in the US has been well documented over the past decades.<sup>1</sup> In the US, this evidence includes the growth in university presidents sitting on corporate boards (52 from 48 percent at public institutions and 51 from 41 percent at private ones from 2001 - 2006), 53 and 49 percent of business leaders sitting on independent and public institutions boards respectively, and an increasing percentage of university presidents coming from outside of academia (up from 13 to 20 percent between 2006 and 2012).<sup>2</sup> Along with this trend in leadership changes has been a growing governance in business models to include downsizing, national and global investment strategies advised by financial firms, and market-based tuitions. University presidents are now CEOs, bursars are CFOs and students are customers while corporations increasingly sponsor professorships, research, and structures. This shift in academic institutions' power base-from state and federal research dollars, guaranteed student aid, tax credits for non-profit status and private donors to increasing support from relationships with corporations and foundations at home and abroad, and funders and board members with deep government and

corporate ties has shifted its accountability and transparency to the faculty and student. Together these shifts result in an increasing opportunity to influence scholarship in a business-like way valuing profit and stakeholder interests over public benefit.

In regard the opposing purposes of academia and corporations, a retired provost of Columbia University in the U.S. notes:

“Regardless of the benefits each draws from contact with the other, the missions of for-profit corporations and universities remain different. A corporation’s purpose is to maximize financial benefit while operating within societal constraints; the university primarily maximizes societal benefits within financial constraints. That distinction alters the motivations of the principal actors. Professors are rewarded, through promotions and reputation in the field, for maximizing the benefit to society and may not be mindful of industry’s need to maximize financial benefit through patents and control of intellectual property. From the faculty’s perspective, the ideal disposition of intellectual property is to place it into the public domain instantly. Conversely, the corporate sector is not motivated to make ideas accessible to others in the research community at all.”<sup>3</sup>

Therefore the ethic of competition and individualism instead of collaboration becomes a driving force in academia as it increasingly become corporatized, loosing the value and outcome of open and shared scholarship that offers the most benefit for solving societal problems. He continues on in regard how this re-purposing of academia occurs and must be contained:

“Research funding from corporate sources affects the branches of a university differently than government funding. Do these differences produce distortions of purpose? It is important to remember that this is not a new phenomenon. The rise of federal funding for certain faculty activities and not others has altered the nature and character of the university. A corporate collaboration further complicates an already significant tension between groups of faculty and students. [...] Components of the community not directly involved with the private sector still have valuable perspectives to raise. The faculty who are least engaged financially in external funding are often the most likely to raise the correct questions of principle.”

In regard the expectations linked to external funding sources and the potential for corruption of academia’s purpose he continues:

“Whatever the source of funds may be, strings will be attached. In the early heyday of increasing federal funding, creating more opportunities for university research in the decades after World War II, many sounded alarm bells over the dependency on the federal government. There are healthy constraints and unhealthy constraints; the government may force us to do good things or bad things; but our dependency has altered the nature and character of the university. Similarly, a private benefactor or corporation’s continued beneficence depends

on his, her, or its satisfaction with your performance. Whatever kind of institution we turn to -- governmental, personally private, or corporately private -- a university needs to observe certain principles.”

But the contradictory nature of the principle of academic freedom of expression to drive critical thinking, representation, and collaboration is contradicted by corporations' bottom line which requires efficiency managed through closed-door meetings, competition, and funding based on the markets' need; a dictatorship by the market results and exploring a social good takes back seat to the next profitable research project. When universities do not support its faculty who challenge corporate interests or efficiency, they are terminated or loose funding. The moral of colleagues suffer and stifles academic freedom campus-wide as everyone learns the real lessons of critical thinking and democratic action. Examples of such occurrences where faculty lost their jobs or funding is well documented.<sup>4, 5, 6</sup>

The influence of corporations on decision-making in the academy occurs because of the wealth it holds and power it wields locally and globally. This is evident by the increased growth of corporate wealth and power since the 1990's mediated by increased closed partnerships of government with corporations and growing globalization of power by corporations -transnational corporations, (TNC). Table 1. This resultant power of corporations indiscriminately influences democratic processes worldwide, evidenced by corporate partnership with all levels of government globally and little transparency in how they affect national and global economies. This power naturally diffuses into local governing structures defeating any democratic process local universities or governments have in controlling scholarship-assured when only 50 and 9 percent of public and independent college/university boards respectively have only one voting student and 28 and 15 percent of public and independent college/university boards respectively have only one voting faculty member. Universities hire increased adjunct faculty to minimize payment to tenured faculty and increase part time faculty -which also decreases the input of faculty in academic decision making. These “acadporate” (academy-corporate) structures are supported by administrators and staff which have increased by 85 and 240 percent respectively in the past 40 years while faculty increase has seen a meagre 50 percent- in line with student enrollment.<sup>7</sup> The academy therefore becomes a proxy of corporations and government, dictating a scholarship of consumerism over vulnerable faculty and student bodies nationally and globally. It is tempting to hypothesize that this increased corporatization of the academy contributes to the gap between the public's perception of the need for citizens to gain higher education and the academy's disagreement (21 percent of college/university board members' disagree that the U.S. needs more citizens to earn college degrees even while 92 percent believe higher education is central to the economy). Why afford people a proven means to access wealth in a globalized marketplace where an uneducated workforce assures greater likelihood of exploitation and less resistance? For example, in 2004 the U.S.'s largest for-profit university, University of Phoenix, was fined 9.4 million U.S. dollars by the government after audits found a corporate culture overly influencing enrollment and hidden from regulators.<sup>8</sup>

This corporatization of the academy occurring in North American has not caught on south of the border in Mexico where the biggest university maintains free admissions after an attempt to charge tuition in 2001. Its neighbor across the Atlantic, Britain, however is fully engaged in decreasing public support for higher education as dictated by its government, setting the example for Europe to follow. But the corporatization of academia extends its reach internationally indirectly through foreign campuses of U.S.-based institutions. NYU has a campus in Abu Dhabi and Shanghai, Duke in Singapore, Johns Hopkins University in Singapore and Italy. Most universities now offer a “global campus” option which provides on line courses for students worldwide, influencing a borderless student populations worldwide through corporate lens. The remainder of this essay will focus in more detail on this influence of corporations, and their close ties to government, on the scholarship offered by the Johns Hopkins Industrial Complex (JHIC). A case study of the JHIC is an example that offers deeper understanding of how this power can and does lead to corruption and monopoly and a dictatorship of ideas and practices which propagate the ideology and wealth of powerful corporations. These institutions of higher education which have grown in power and prestige often become ‘untouchable’ by laws and regulations. This understanding of the way the academic industrial complexes suppress open scholarship and freedom of speech can motivate us to organize strategies to contain and prevent the continued growth of power and corruption, within and outside the academy, so as to assure a scholarship more likely to change the growing wealth disparities locally and globally. The remainder of this essay is organized into 4 parts: 1) government financing builds power in the academic industrial complexes; 2) influencing of and by the academic industrial complex; 3) oversight, equity, ethics; 4) changing the power dynamics to assure movement toward equity.

## Government financing builds power in academic industrial complexes

The Johns Hopkins University and Medical Industrial Complex forward referred to together as the Johns Hopkins Industrial Complex (JHIC) consistently receives disproportionate federal funding. Of the 896 universities that received federal dollars for research and development 20 percent went to only 10 universities who continue to receive the largest amount of federal dollars each year.<sup>9</sup> The Johns Hopkins University (JHU) received twice as much as any university in 2011- 1.9 billion U.S. dollars, which was 5 percent of all federal funding that year. Almost half of this came from the Department of Defense and NASA and evidenced the influence and connection of this academic industrial complex with the military industrial complex. In 2002 JHU became the first university to receive 1 billion U.S. dollars in federal funding, recording 1.14 billion U.S. dollars in total research and 1.02 billion U.S. dollars in federally sponsored research that year. Federal financing also comes from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act which granted Johns Hopkins University 220 million U.S. dollars as of 2010.<sup>10</sup> Scholarship at the highly funded institutions like JHIC may go unchallenged because of their prestige and power in many new ideas and innovations. This leadership in scholarship is therefore leveraged to receive greater support from

government and private interests, fueling the cycle of growth of power through close relationship with powerful partners of government and private funders.

Other forms of government support come in the form of exemption from paying taxes due to the non-profit status as an educational institution. However universities like Johns Hopkins harness their research and development outcomes into profit margins.<sup>11</sup> Through sale of educational and management tools in health, education, and research, and private gain for patented medical products, they become aligned more with businesses chasing profit motives. Meanwhile, the majority of research and development continues to be funded by the government. How is this disproportionate public subsidy redistributed back to benefit the public instead of growing the wealth of this private institutions' power? Benefit to the top executives however is clear. The current president compensation ranked 16th of 493 top executives at private nonprofit colleges in 2010- earning 1.27 million U.S. dollars.<sup>12</sup> The teaching hospital affiliated with the university documented an 84 million U.S. dollar revenue above expenses on their latest tax reporting and an income inequality gap of 156 to 1 between the CEO of the hospital and the lowest paid employee.

Government support through public subsidies also occurs in the form of the universities' structural expansion via construction of buildings and acquisition of private land. In the late 1800's, acquisition of property owned by the Baltimore city government and sold to the university at below-market rate prices resulted in the establishment of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In the 1980's sale of a city-owned hospital to the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions at below market-rate price resulted in another capital expansion of this Academic Industrial complex- Johns Hopkins Bayview Hospital. These two hospitals along with its recently acquired Howard Country Hospital ranked 3rd highest of the 17 Maryland hospital in 2013 in profit margin (East Baltimore, Bayview, Howard Country).<sup>13</sup>

Two of the largest expansions of the university occurred in the 1950's and 2000's, both subsidized by government. In the 1950's more than 50 acres of private land was acquired by the Baltimore city government and developed by and for the university. Currently, another 88-acre expansion for a Johns Hopkins Bioscience Park was initiated through the government's use of eminent domain to acquire private land for lease and sale to the university. Both expansion projects were supported by tax incentives and subsidies for development by the university enabling the continued gentrification of East Baltimore through a 7-acre park, a new school, moderate and market-rate housing, a planned hotel, and retail businesses unaffordable to local community. These two expansion projects total more than 140 acres of land previously inhabited by African American and low-income families who were forced to move through government intervention for private wealth accumulation.<sup>14</sup> The access to land through partnerships with government built this powerful academic industrial complex and has facilitated its expansion over the century.

## Influencing of and by academic industrial complexes

In the first quarter of 2013, Johns Hopkins University spent 160,000 U.S. dollars on lobbying, ranking in the top eight amongst other universities that quarter. In 2012 it ranked 7th with 640,000 U.S. dollars in lobbying fees and 19th in contribution of more than 507,000 U.S. dollars to federal candidates, parties, and outside groups.<sup>15</sup>

Similar lobbying practices by other academic industrial complexes such as Harvard, MIT and others recently assured that the federal government continues to pay individually negotiated overhead costs to academic institutions. Their lobbying efforts stopped the current U.S. president's attempt to cap the percent of federal funding overhead payments to universities, now almost 25 percent of the nation's research budget. This came following an audit of 10 universities-including Johns Hopkins- by the Office of the Inspector General which documented that the "Federal Government was not receiving the lowest rate charged for indirect costs [overhead], although it was the largest volume purchaser of university research".<sup>16</sup>

This pattern of influence on the federal financing processes by powerful academic institutions highlight their unrestricted ability to influence government. In the Baltimore region, administrators of the JHIC use their power to direct how development occurs in the region it lives in through membership on development boards.<sup>17</sup> It's recent promotion of itself as a leader in development of American cities, "anchor institution", confirms its power to reach millions of consumers and affect how we design and develop our cities. Its power controls the media and shape public discourse nationally and internationally even while it acts differently in its own community, perceived as a "plantation" presence by neighbors.

Academic industrial complexes have the power to influence and corrupt its broad student population through its direct advertisement of corporate and foundation interests. With funders names emblazoned on markers, parking garages, buildings, and courtyards, students, faculty and staff become knowing and unknowing consumers of the power of corporations both nationally and internationally. For example the 'Bloomberg School of Public Health" and "Bloomberg Children's Center" named for the most wealthy benefactor to the institution, past mayor of New York city, and alumni of Johns Hopkins, is the first benefactor to provide more than 1 billion U.S. dollars in support of the institution. Researchers from the institution boast of going to New York city to convince Bloomberg to fund their new research projects. Private donors from the Arab worlds including Sheikh Zayed built /named a tower on the medical campus and David Koch has a cancer research building named after him. The construction giant in Maryland, Whiting and Turner, has grown its wealth from building many Johns Hopkins structures (most recently additions to the School of Medicine, the new Henderson-Hopkins Community School and State laboratory in the Johns Hopkins Bioscience Park, expansions at the Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory in Laurel, Decker Quad at the Homewood Campus) in turn funding buildings and influencing scholarship through its leaderships' namesake-Whiting School of Engineering, Hackerman Professorship in Civil Engineering. The pharmaceutical industry donations' guarantees its names on

podiums and halls at the school of Public Health-Becton Dickinson hall -while the sport retailer Under Armour's donation buys advertisement on the medical campus.

In regard corporate America's role in the academy, a Goldman Sach's spokesperson had this to say about the president of Brown University on their board: "...[her] contribution to our board was deep and also wide-ranging...[she] brought invaluable perspective on leadership, people and decision-making, and her direct work with students was of great value to a firm that recruits hundreds of young people every year." Another leadership academic at Washington State University stated this in regard her role on Nike's board: "I know a little bit how students think, what might drive their desire to look into Nike products". This corruption of academic freedom is reflected in students, faculty, and staff who fear criticizing practices of the corporations. For example when students from Johns Hopkins participated in organizing events challenging the role of East Baltimore Development Inc (the development proxy for JHMC), leadership of the institution reminded them that they must speak independently and not as part of the institution, cautioned them about more subtle ways to proceed, required clearance beyond normal protocol. This control of scholarship and community engagement was evidenced recently at Syracuse university when one of the chancellors cautioned faculty in regard working with local community challenging the academic complex's plans for future expansion. Subsequently funding for several projects connected to this organizing effort abruptly ended. This direct power stifles community and academic's partnership which do not confirm to the service-learning model dictated by universities. The practice of such injustices itself stifles a path of scholarship toward justice, in all forms. As noted by a current student at JHU, greater transparency of donors and their interests should be revealed.<sup>18</sup>

This direct effect of academic-corporation and academic-government partnerships influences the academia's strategic plans, values, ethics, principles, practices, and scholarship not only through direct funding and marketing but through their membership on the governing boards of the academic complex.<sup>19</sup> For example Bloomberg is granted head of the board of trustees for the Johns Hopkins University, a previous head of CIA enjoys board member privilege while Merck, Becton Dickinson, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Citigroup, Inc, Boeing Company, Legg Mason, Walt Disney, and real estate, legal, and investment firms and developers participate in influencing the scholarship of the institution-58 percent of the hospital's and 48 percent of the university's current board of trustees represent corporations. The role of private endowments in influencing academia is also a source of power. The Johns Hopkins Institutions' endowments ranked 26 out of 843 North American institutions in endowment dollars in 2012-2.593 million U.S. Dollars.<sup>20</sup>

Individually and collectively these partnerships signify the root of the 'industrial complex's' power to corrupt academia and evidence the power to control the discourse, deconstruction, and reconstruction of social, political, and economic ideology and practices both within and outside each complex.

## Oversight, equity, ethics

Though the industrial complex of academia receives substantial support from government, the lack of transparency assures little opportunity for public accountability. This results in little oversight to assure ethical behavior and equitable outcomes for the public. In the case of the JHIC the university has been allowed to land bank and expand into communities' of color and low income with little government oversight to adequately maintain property thus enabling a pattern of community disinvestment. The current abuse of eminent domain powers to acquire 88 acres of land to facilitate private expansion of the university without a comprehensive plan showing benefit for the community again witnesses large scale corruption. Figure 1. This same development project awarded contracts to the major construction corporation in Maryland and prominent benefactor of Johns Hopkins University without evidence of competitive bidding. Its labor practices also reflect the continued growth in inequity between low-wage employees and its leadership evidenced by the lack of a living wage to employees.<sup>21</sup> This behavior, consistent with standard corporate practice of a minimum 50-fold income gap between CEOs and low-wage staff, is seldom reported in mainstream media. Instead such media choose to report the current university president's promise to hire food companies who pay a living wage and buys local food while its affiliated teaching hospital or sub-contractors in its own capital expansions neither pay a living wage or hire locally-past or current.

The academic industrial complex's lack of ethical behavior and oversight has a long and consistent history in research practices. Most recently in October 2013 an investigation by the Center for Public Integrity and ABC revealed that the Johns Hopkins Hospital consistently inhibited coal mining workers from receiving disability benefit for black lung disease. The prestige and power of this academic industrial complex allowed consistent reports of negative findings to go unchallenged by medical and legal officials and resulted in the coal mining industry neglecting claims for disability benefits to miners. The federal government called for its own investigation.<sup>22</sup>

In 2012, the death of a Hopkins researcher occurred following a whistle-blower's insistence that published research from the laboratory may not be consistent with actual research performed. While this whistle-blower was terminated, the institution and partners of the academy-editors of the journal in which the research was published-ignored such claims. There remains no public record as to the outcome of an investigation into such question of unethical research practices, if such an investigation occurred.<sup>23</sup>

In 2001, investigation of unethical research practices and lack of oversight by the institution resulted in a judgement by Maryland's Court of Appeals comparing a lead-based paint study on children in East and West Baltimore to the Tuskegee Syphilis Study- conducted in 1932–1972 on African American men with syphilis who received no appropriate treatment.<sup>24</sup>



Also in 2001 Johns Hopkins Hospital's unethical practices in scientific standards of research was revealed when researchers failed to acquire sufficient data about a known toxic chemical for a research study and failed to inform the participants of this available information. This resulted in the death of one participant, investigation by the Federal Office of Human Research Protection, and temporary suspension of all federally funded research.<sup>25</sup>

The most documented evidence of unethical research conducted at the institution involved non-consensual use of cancer cells from an African American woman in 1951.<sup>26</sup> Her cells were used without her knowledge, her consent, or her families consent after her death. After much public evidence, including a book detailing the evidence, the institution initiated a fund to recognize the family of Henrietta Lacks whose cells continue to be used in research around the world.

These data suggest a pattern of ethical abuses of the academy's privileged status in development and research protocol and practices with little oversight. The continued lack of transparency and accountability confirms the power of the institution to go unchallenged. Such powerful institutional capital assures institutional power provided through relationships with government and powerful private entities that allows generous benefit to the institution. This inequity results in diminished benefit to the public-fostering the growing gap in wealth and health inequality across the US. This relationship of support and influence by government and private entities which in turn creates a 'progeny' of themselves in the academic industrial complex assures corporatization, corruption, and co-optation of the academy resulting in public:private partnerships of un-rivaled power. Figure 2.

## Changing the power dynamics to assure justice for all

Corporatized universities are another neoliberal strategy enabling capital to accumulate disproportionately in prestigious institutions, influencing the growth of continued income inequality. The practical outcome of such power inequality is evidenced by their effect on controlling: freedom of speech and diverse scholarship in the academy, equal funding and support to all members of the academy regardless of political choice, governance of local and regional political, economic, housing, recreation, safety, health, and education outcomes. In effect this large influence drives the ideology, values, and social norms of the country and parts of the world.<sup>27</sup>

As academic industrial complexes continue to grow their power globally by declaring themselves bastions of scholarship and anchors for economic and community development they must be challenged. They must be challenged for the ways in which they acquired power: through ignoring and exploiting poor and racial/ethnic minority and other vulnerable populations, through inappropriate partnerships with government, and through expansion of structures which are powerful enough to affect and control the political economies in cities and nation states.

The academy has the opportunity and power to influence millions of minds daily across the world. Figure 3. The role of the academy in promoting freedom of speech, access to unbiased scholarship and research opportunity, equitable access for career development, equitable relations with communities in which it resides, and equitable partnerships with government which promotes public accountability and transparency is not evident. Such a path is necessary to re-instate academia as a partner in all things concerned with equitable distribution of resources within and outside its walls-justice. Such a path is possible with challenge by members currently within the institutions (student, faculty, staff, contractors, sub-contractors). Globally, in Hong Kong protests by students-the Umbrella Revolution- affirmed activism for participatory democracy. Nationally, the recent strike by unionized University of Illinois-Chicago professors after failed negotiations with administration and unionization of adjunct faculty at several universities in Maryland and Massachusetts witnesses the changes that must continue.<sup>28, 29</sup> The student body has power to challenge their institution to be a setting which encourages education and not consumerism. Alumni of these institutions also have a role in holding the institutions accountable through letters and articles to the Alumni magazine and targeted donations to projects and scholarships which encourage academic freedom. Such a partnership of student, faculty, staff, and alumni rallied in support of the service union workers striking for a livable wage at Hopkins hospital and sent a petition to the president documenting the effect of poverty-wages on the health of communities, demanding that the premier health institution in the country do better.<sup>30</sup> Leadership of the academic industrial complexes have the opportunity to deconstruct the industrial complex of the academy and reform themselves a setting that ensures scholarship which promotes equity in all forms, and the resources to assure this occurs. Government's role in growing the industrial complex of academia can be challenged by tax payers at the local, state, and federal levels. As well, those in government offices must challenge the way neoliberal practices have strengthened the power of academia as profit-driven corporations, while diminishing the power of the people-taxation without representation. Such changes would challenge the existing market-driven pedagogy which assures no transparency and accountability. The 'marketplace' of academia can then have the opportunity to forge ahead into one of creative scholarship aimed at problem-solving toward equitable and sustainable environments regionally, nationally, and internationally. Moving away from a product-based educational system toward one with values of equity, collective visioning with all affected at the table, less competitiveness, and non-separatism would begin a path away from its current 'industrial complex' ideology, goals, and practices.

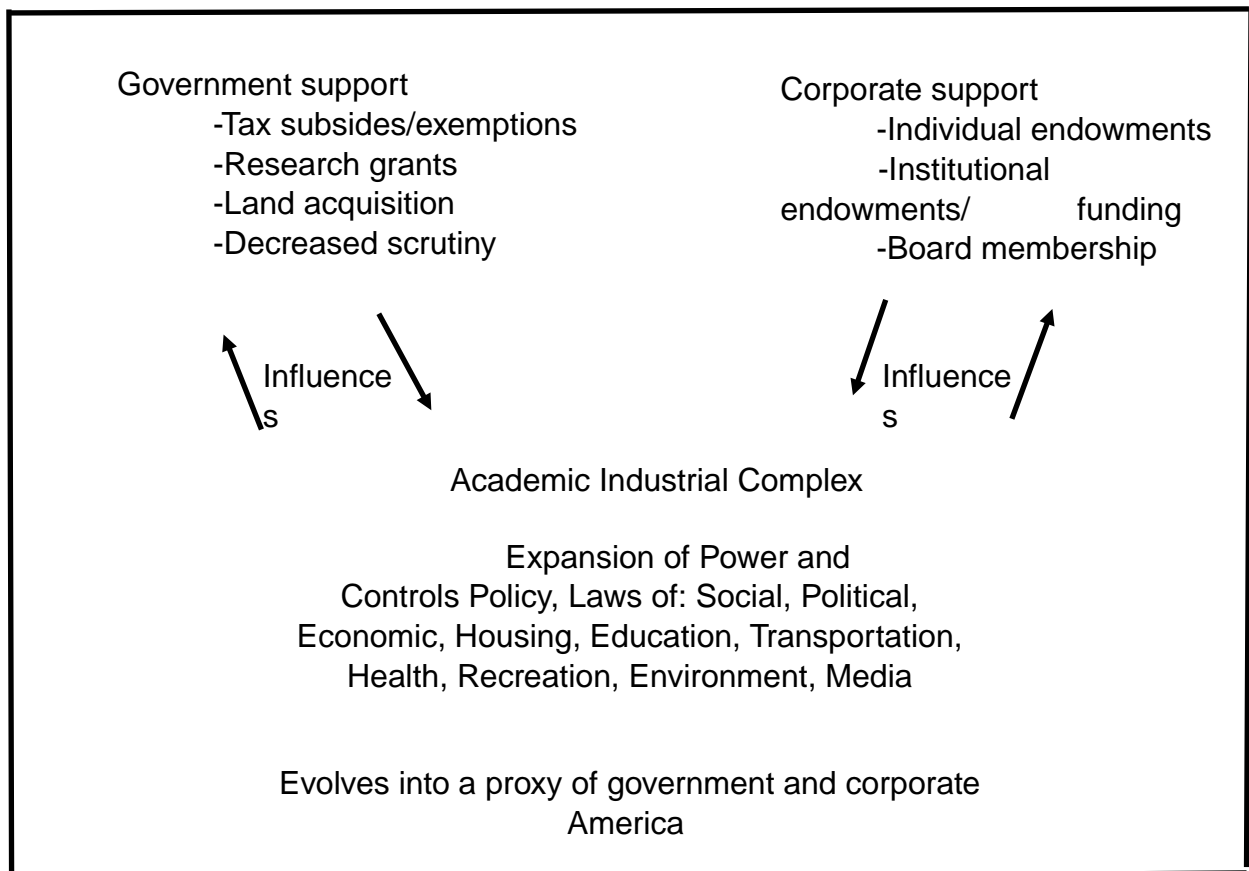
The role of the public-locally and nationally- to put forth a pedagogy of the oppressed which links the role of the academic industrial complex in local, national, and international inequality is crucial in forcing these unbalanced powerful industrial complexes to transform. Free schools which educate and mentor students and faculty in the skills of organizing within and outside academia's walls is necessary. Alliances between those within the academic complexes and those outside must forge forward to build a more stable movement against the power and corruption of academia. These alliances must be diverse and connected across all fields: political, health, education, development, law, housing, spiritual. In the 1990's students, staff, and faculty at Johns

Hopkins Medical campus joined the trade union and community members as Bridges not Walls to rally and petition for Hopkins to assure their construction contractors would hire local and pay decent wages with benefits. This resulted in limited success only because each new construction project by the institution does not make attempts to hire local, train, or pay livable wages. More recently in 2012, students of the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health rallied forces with community and union organizations again to pressure Johns Hopkins construction projects to hire local residents. They were not successful this time evidenced by the power of police presence to intimidate and arrest protestors, confirming the greater power of the institution to stifle dissent.<sup>31</sup> More action research which is informed and co-owned by community members will naturally address the growing inequality mediated through corporations and public:private partnership. And all these actions must use the media and the connection of IT to assure that small victories are replicated globally and obstructionists are revealed. Through organizing and educating about the role of the academic industrial complex nationally and globally and their oppressive force of neoliberal tactics, and through building coalitions that challenge in large numbers the power of these 'ivory halls of injustice' the dismantling of this power base of wealth through a power base of informed, activated, and organized citizens can emerge.

Figure 1. JHIC expansion into 88 acres of community homes



Figure 2. The academic industrial complex and its relationship with government and corporations



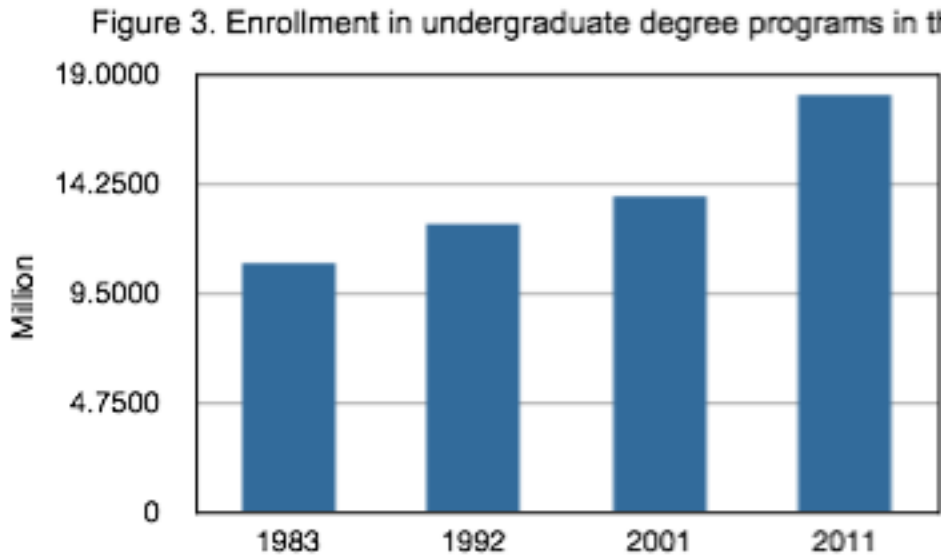


Table 1. Corporate power and its influence on academia

40 percent of the wealth of transnational corporations (TNC) is owned by 147 companies- of 43,000 surveyed).<sup>1</sup> Five of these TNC (4 of which ranked in the top 25 revenue generators worldwide, all in the top 10 oil companies worldwide) recently funded 833 million U.S. dollars to U.S. universities to study alternative energy sources, the majority ceding control of the academic:corporate governance to the corporations.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>George S. (2014) State corporate power: The rise of illegal power and the threat to democracy. TNI. Retrieved on November 30, 2014 from [http://www.tni.org/files/download/state\\_of\\_corporation\\_chapter.pdf](http://www.tni.org/files/download/state_of_corporation_chapter.pdf)

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Marisela B Gomez is a public health scholar, activist, and physician. She received a MS from University of New Mexico and a PHD, MD, and MPH from Johns Hopkins University. She completed residency in preventive medicine and fellowships in molecular immunopharmacology and community mental health at Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. She has been engaged in research and writing on community rebuilding as a social determinant of health and community organizing for more than 20 years in Baltimore Maryland. Her recent book "Race, class, power, and organizing in East Baltimore: Rebuilding abandoned communities in America" addresses the historic and current effects of power imbalance between university and low income and of color communities during community rebuilding processes. Other areas of research include neoliberalization in community development, health inequities in women, racial/ethnic minorities, and incarcerated populations. She is lead consultant of Social Health Concepts and Practice, Inc.



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