

Town-Gown Collaboration in Land Use and Development



YESIM SUNGU-ERYILMAZ

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Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz

Policy Focus Report Series

The policy focus report series is published by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy to address timely public policy issues relating to land use, land markets, and property taxation. Each report is designed to bridge the gap between theory and practice by combining research findings, case studies, and contributions from scholars in a variety of academic disciplines, and from professional practitioners, local officials, and citizens in diverse communities.

About this Report

Universities have entered into a new era of community engagement, but town–gown conflicts still exist—especially when institutions seek to expand at the campus edge. Building on the Lincoln Institute’s City, Land, and the University program, started in 2001, this policy focus report describes the evolving roles of colleges and universities in urban development; examines sources of tensions over land use and development decisions; and presents a variety of approaches that do and do not work in managing these conflicts. The report also offers several approaches to consider in designing successful collaborations among the university, the city, and the neighborhood.

About the Author

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Executive Summary



Boston University

Colleges and universities are among the largest landowners and developers in urban areas. To fulfill their mission, these institutions often become involved in land development at the campus edge, whether to construct new dormitories and research facilities or to offset neighborhood decline. Their activities usually have an immediate impact on the neighborhood and even on the entire city.

When the use of urban land for university purposes competes with its use for local priorities, conflicts inevitably arise. A variety of stakeholders—ranging from local governments to nearby residents—may mobilize to counter university land development for

reasons related to social and economic concerns, quality of life in the neighborhood, the planning and design process, and loss of property tax revenue.

This policy focus report lays out the competing interests affected by university land use and development activities, and highlights some approaches that have and have not worked in solving conflicts between institutions and their communities. The better approaches, of course, have the most potential for success when they balance academic and community needs through a participatory and inclusive planning process.

Institutions of higher education have entered a new era of community engage-



ment. While once functioning mainly as enclaves of intellectual pursuit, colleges and universities today play a much broader role in the economic, social, and physical development of their host cities and neighborhoods. They have become key institutions, often termed anchor institutions, in their communities through their economic impacts on employment, spending, and work-force development, as well as through their ability to attract new businesses and highly skilled individuals and to revitalize adjacent neighborhoods.

This evolving situation presents new challenges and opportunities for town-gown partnerships. Because most of these institutions

have substantial fixed assets and are not likely to relocate, the need for effective collaboration is increasing. At the same time these institutions must achieve their missions in a highly competitive environment and in a period of extreme fiscal pressure.

Colleges and universities must seek to be “fully vested” urban anchor institutions, not only by advancing the goals of academia, but also by coordinating their place-based strategies with the interests of the city and the community. When land use and development conflicts are avoided or resolved amicably, both universities and communities can reap the benefits of the resources that each has to offer.

University Land Use and Development: What works? What does not?		
City and Community Concerns	What Works?	What Does Not?
Social Equity	Efforts to mitigate displacement and gentrification, and to generate job opportunities for local residents and businesses.	Ignoring the neighborhood's social and economic context and issues that might affect local residents and businesses.
Spillover Effects	Regulatory and nonregulatory planning mechanisms that balance the needs of the academic and local communities.	Lack of planning by colleges and universities.
Design	Planning and developing the campus in ways that blend the academic and local communities.	Development that is out of character with the surrounding neighborhood.
Planning Process	A joint planning process that involves the university, the community, and the city.	Finalizing university land use and development plans internally.
Leadership	Close involvement of the university president or other top-level leaders in developing and sustaining the commitment to community engagement.	No formal mechanism for senior officials to work with the city and community, except on an ad hoc basis.
Tax-exempt Status	Recognition of the uneven distribution of tax burdens throughout the state.	Long-running disputes and court cases between the universities and cities over development projects and tax-exempt status.



CHAPTER 1

The City, Land, and the University



University
of Hawaii,
Honolulu

Institutions of higher education vary greatly, from community colleges, to small private and public liberal arts colleges, to large private and public research universities. The United States has a long history of small liberal arts colleges and large land grant universities located in rural settings. Today, however, an average of 82 percent of all degree-granting public and private institutions are located in urban areas, and in 28 of the 50 states, the percentage is greater than the national average.

Moreover, institutions of higher education in most states are more urbanized than their populations. Figure 1 shows the share of degree-granting public and private two-year and four-year institutions located in urban

areas compared to the share of urban population. Even in the very rural states throughout the Midwest and South, colleges and universities are more highly urbanized than the overall population. Among the six states where these institutions are less urbanized than the state population, the population shares in five of these states (California, Florida, Hawaii, Maryland, and New Jersey) exceed the U.S. average of 79 percent.

Until fairly recently, most urban colleges and universities remained enclaves of intellectual pursuit that seldom collaborated with surrounding neighborhoods and host cities to address common problems. This situation was the result of distinct and exclusive

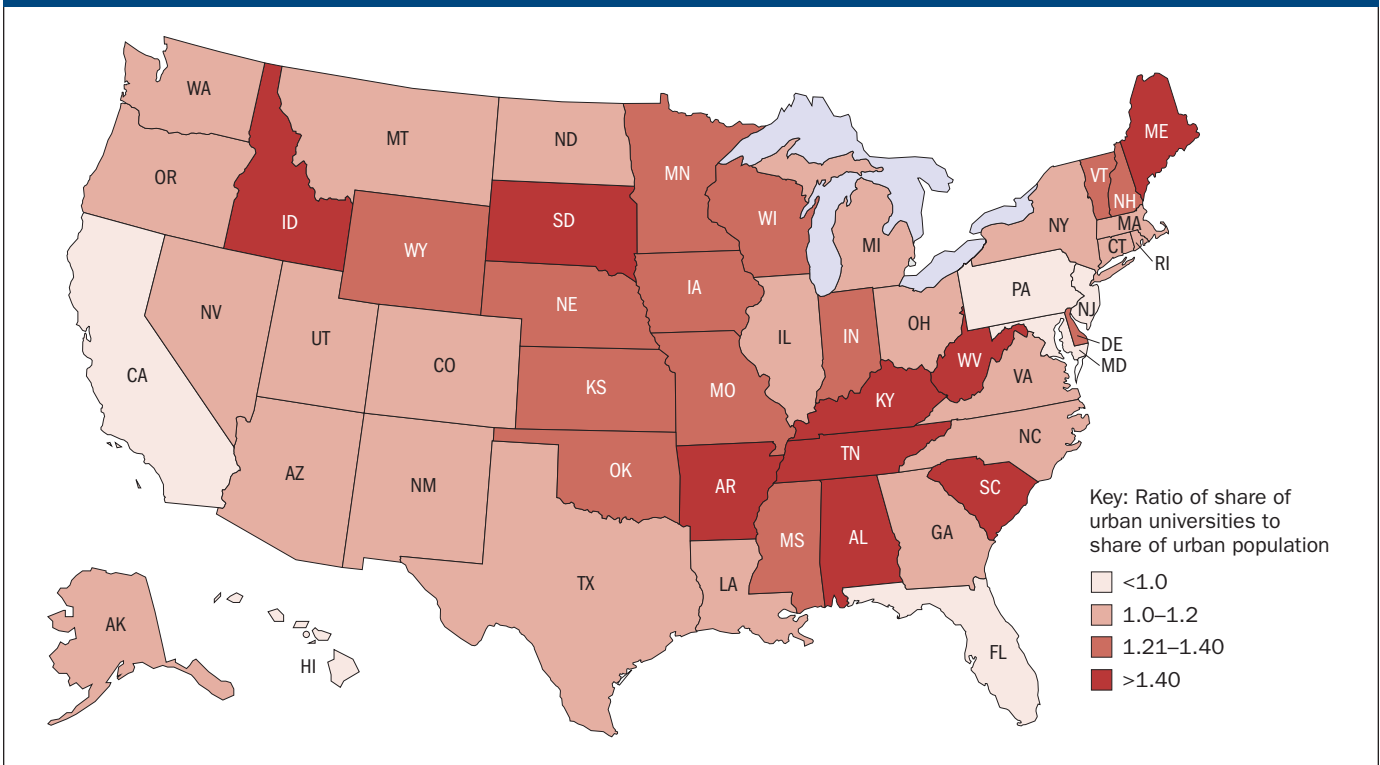
interests, missions, and practices. But over the last 20 years, town–gown relationships have undergone a sea change that reflects a greater university interest in working actively with local governments, businesses, and community-based organizations (CBOs).

New language included in university mission statements provides evidence of this shift, such as “engagement,” “partnership,” and “reciprocity” (Perry 2008). Portland State University (“for excellence in . . . community engagement”), Northeastern University (“commitment to . . . urban engagement”), and the University of Maryland (“engage the University more fully in . . . collaborative partnership”) are just a few of the institutions that explicitly make strong community relations part of their missions.

This new practice comes in response to external pressures, including criticism that universities receive public support but ignore the interests and concerns of their host communities (Mayfield 2001). This shift also reflects internal changes in academia, especially those based on enlightened self-interest (Benson, Puckett, and Harkavy 2007). By their nature, colleges and universities are dynamic and constantly challenged by changes in political economy, funding, demographics, communities, and educational theory and practice. This dynamism has led institutions to expand their roles in society and to improve their relations with their neighbors and their cities as a whole.

Despite a new period of collaboration among higher education, local government,

FIGURE 1
In Most States, Universities Are More Urbanized Than the Population, 2007

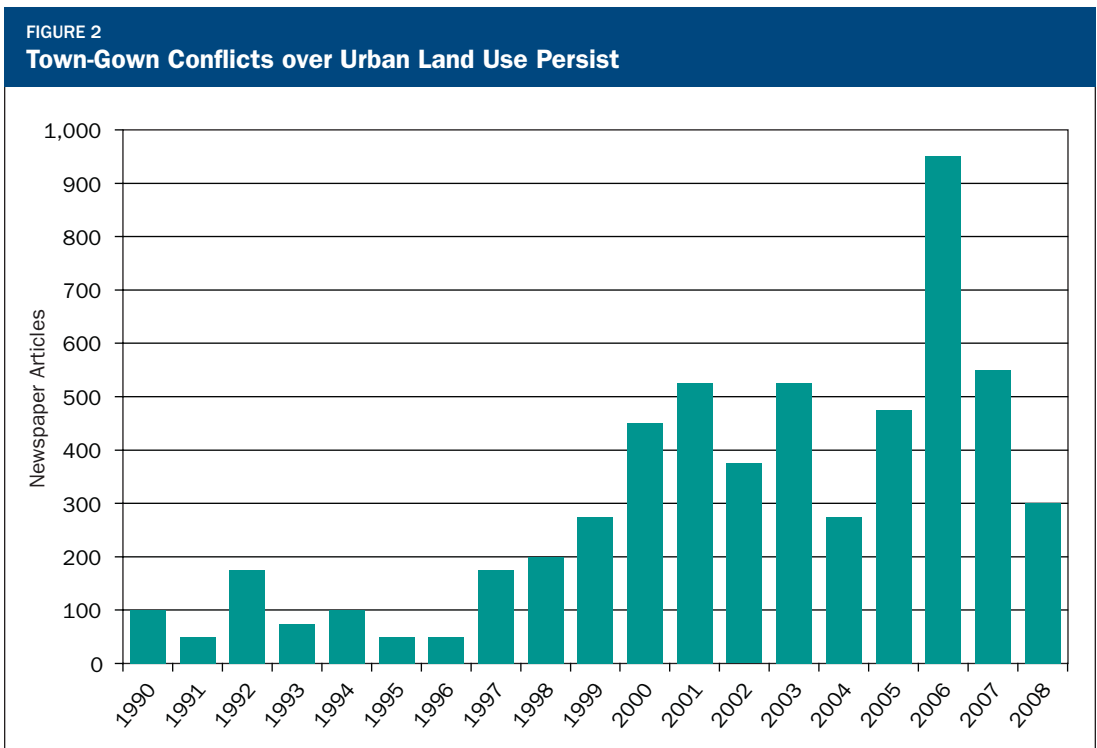


Notes: The geographic classification is constructed from urban-centric rather than metro-centric criteria, representing urbanicity (city/suburb/rural) by population size of the institution’s location. This urban-centric locale code was assigned through a methodology developed by the U.S. Census Bureau’s Population Division in 2005.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2007); National Center for Education Statistics Web site.

businesses, and community organizations, town-gown conflicts still exist. The friction is perhaps most apparent in land use and development processes at the edge of campuses. Indeed, competition for the use of urban land between university activities and neighborhood or citywide purposes has led to frequent conflicts over the last 20 years, and may be increasing in some places (figure 2).

The competing interests of the university, the neighborhood, and the city have three

implications. First, even in the era of the engaged university, land use and development processes at the campus edge will repeatedly put town-gown relations to the test. Second, nearly all real estate activities of universities and colleges are multifaceted and have multiple stakeholders, including residents, businesses, and local governments. Third, land uses at the campus edge have become a crucial element in both the physical and socioeconomic character of cities and neighborhoods.



Note: Analysis is based on a search of LexisNexis for the number of all U.S. newspaper articles describing town-gown land use and development conflicts from 1990 to 2008. Town-gown Conflicts Index (1990=100).



CHAPTER 2

Evolving Town–Gown Relations in Urban Development



Globalization has presented cities with many new and persistent challenges, especially during the current economic slowdown. Almost all major metropolitan areas in the United States have been affected by these changes that have either helped them attract new businesses and residents or left them suffering from disinvestment and population loss.

These economic and social changes in cities and neighborhoods have helped to reshape town–gown relationships. In both advancing and declining cities, local govern-

ments have recognized the growing importance of colleges and universities as anchor institutions in economic and community development. This represents a shift in the governance paradigm, since governments alone cannot address the complexity of today’s urban problems. This new paradigm encourages the creation of partnerships among the public, private, and nonprofit sectors to harness the collective capacity of all players to solve these issues.

Colleges and universities thus have a key role to play with state and local governments and nonprofits in areas as diverse as educa-

**Stata Center,
Massachusetts
Institute of
Technology,
Cambridge**

tion and skills training, technology, industrial performance, public health, and social and cultural development (Adams 2003; ICIC and CEOs for Cities 2002).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The importance of universities to their local economies has long been recognized. Among their many economic impacts, the most important ones are enhancing the industry and technology base, employing large numbers of people, and generating revenue for local governments through university expenditures on salaries, goods, and services.

Enhancing the Industry and Technology Base

In the evolving knowledge economy, the contribution of the “creative class” is often seen as strategic and valuable for local economic development (Florida 2005; Glaeser 2000). It is clear that institutions of higher education can play an important role in growing, attracting, and retaining knowledge workers (Clark 2003).

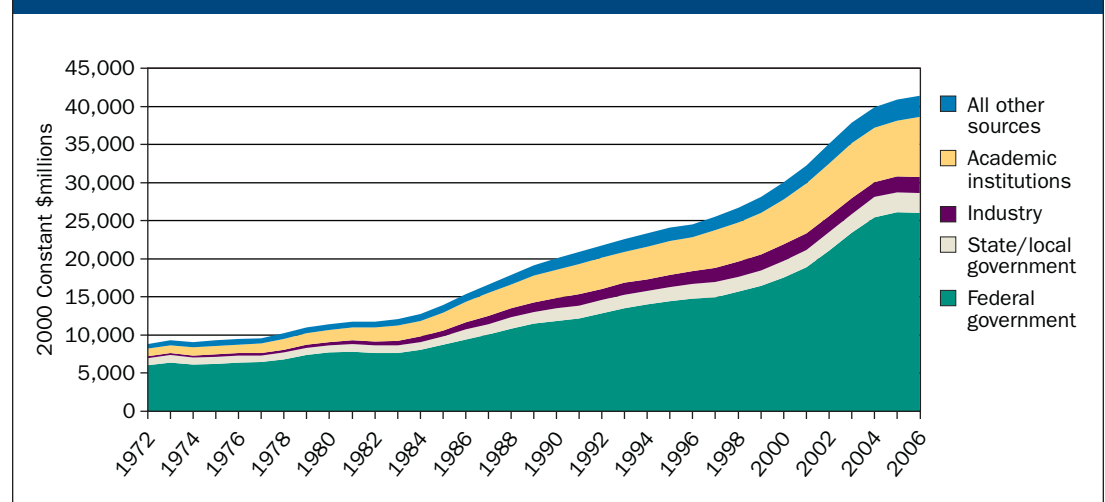
Beyond preparing and attracting a qualified workforce to the local economy,

institutions of higher education provide technical support and specialized expertise to firms (Bramwell and Wolfe 2008). Changes in academic research and development funding patterns suggest how these university–private sector partnerships have evolved over the last 35 years (figure 3). While the federal government continues to provide more than 60 percent of funds for academic research and development, industry sources contributed 5 percent (\$2.1 billion), and state and local government funding provided 6 percent (\$2.6 billion) of the total in 2006.

Colleges and universities can enhance the local technological base if firms locate nearby and coordinate their research efforts with those institutions (Varga 2000). In recent years, technoparks or joint university–industry research centers for ongoing, firm-based research and development have expanded dramatically. A growing number of universities have become directly involved in the incubation of newly established scientific and technical companies.

For example, Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) in Massachusetts, joined the Worcester Business Development Corporation in developing Gateway Park, a 12-acre

FIGURE 3
Industry and Governments Contribute Billions to Academic R&D



Notes: Institutional funds encompass two categories: institutionally financed and organized research expenditures; and unreimbursed indirect costs and related sponsored research. This category does not include departmental research, and thus excludes funds (notably for faculty salaries) in cases where research activities are not budgeted separately.

Source: National Science Foundation (2008).



Express Scripts at the University of Missouri–St. Louis

mixed-use development for life sciences and biotech companies and the people who work for them. The project includes five buildings with 500,000 square feet of flexible lab space, plus 241,000 square feet of market-rate loft condominiums, restaurants, and business services, and a plan for graduate student housing on one of the sites.

While many universities support incubators for newly established technical and scientific ventures, some also provide space for large, more mature companies on their campuses. For example, Express Scripts, Inc., a major pharmacy benefits management company with almost \$18 billion in annual sales, located its headquarters at University Place/NorthPark, on the campus of the University of Missouri–St. Louis (UMSL). The company’s criteria for selecting the UMSL site included the ability to expand and the opportunity to collaborate with a university in developing information technology projects (Herrick 2007).

Generating Employment and Spending

Colleges and universities often rank among the largest employers in metropolitan areas. In 1997, these institutions employed more than 2.8 million workers, or more than 2 percent of the total U.S. workforce. Approximately two-thirds are administrative and support staff, and the remaining third are faculty (ICIC and CEOs for Cities 2002). In some local labor markets, such as Cincinnati, academic institutions surpassed other corporations as the leading employer (table 1).

A 1999 survey of the top employers in the nation’s 20 largest cities found that educational and medical institutions accounted for more than 50 percent of the jobs generated in four of those cities (Washington, DC, Philadelphia, San Diego, and Baltimore). Moreover, these institutions were also the top employers in every one of the 20 cities, despite differences in the age of the city, its geographic region, population, and other

TABLE 1
The University of Cincinnati Leads Employers in the Greater Cincinnati Region

Employer	Number of Employees
University of Cincinnati	15,862
Kroger Company	15,600
Health Alliance of Greater Cincinnati	14,785
The Procter & Gamble Company	12,315
Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center	9,464
TriHealth Inc	9,400
Fifth Third Bank	7,645
Wal-mart Stores	7,500
GE Aviation	7,400
Mercy Health Partners	6,948
U.S. Postal Service	6,379
Hamilton County	6,304
Archdiocese of Cincinnati	6,150
Internal Revenue Service	6,000
City of Cincinnati	5,441
Cincinnati Public Schools	5,055
Macy's	4,700
CBS Personnel Services	4,534
Frisch's Restaurants, Inc.	4,500
Miami University	4,399

Source: Cincinnati USA Regional Chamber (2009).

socioeconomic characteristics (Harkavy and Zuckerman 1999).

Universities also generate desirable local economic impacts because they purchase large amounts of goods and services in the local marketplace, and because most of their expenditures are distributed as salaries, which tend to be spent locally. They also generate large amounts of student spending. According to the ICIC (2002, 7), urban university spending on salaries, goods, and

services was more than nine times the amount that the federal government spent on urban job creation and business development in 1996.

Although estimating the full multiplier effects of university spending is complex, numerous studies have demonstrated the significance of this economic activity (College and University Impact Portal 2009). These effects, of course, vary by type of university (public or private), form of organization (single campus versus statewide system), and location (metropolitan area versus small town). For example, a recent study by the University of California at San Diego showed that its impact in the city included approximately \$2.275 billion in direct and indirect spending, 20,790 direct and indirect jobs, and \$1.228 billion in direct and indirect personal income (UC San Diego 2008).

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Institutions of higher education have established more formal partnerships with their communities in recent years, often providing technical assistance such as neighborhood planning or capacity-building for community-based organizations. For example, Pratt Institute's Center for Community and Environmental Design has developed long-term relationships with a variety of mature CBOs in New York City, facilitated a collaborative planning process with several community partners, and helped to develop joint agendas driven by local stakeholders (Vidal et al. 2002).

The Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania has engaged in efforts to integrate academic work with the needs of the community in West Philadelphia (Strom 2005). Academically based community service (ABCS) is just one of these activities, which is rooted in problem-oriented research and teaching. The university offers approximately 160 ABCS courses



HUD-supported housing, Howard University, Washington, DC

in a wide range of disciplines and schools and in a variety of areas such as the environment, health, education, and the arts.

Other university initiatives intended to support community development include skills training (generally in classes for residents), professional services (such as visiting nurses or legal clinics), information technology (such as shared databases or training for CBO staff), and technical assistance to small businesses. These activities have attracted funding from a variety of sources including the Office of University Partnerships at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Launched in 1994, the Community Outreach Partnerships Centers (COPC) program

is HUD's primary vehicle for helping colleges and universities apply their human, intellectual, and institutional resources to the revitalization of distressed communities. In its first decade of operation, the program granted about \$45 million to more than 100 colleges and universities for such efforts as job training and counseling to reduce unemployment; resident-backed strategies to spur economic growth and reduce crime; local initiatives to combat housing discrimination and homelessness; mentoring programs for neighborhood youth; and financial and technical assistance for new businesses.



CHAPTER 3

University Motivations for Land Use and Development Projects



North Point High-Rise Dormitory, University of California, San Diego

Colleges and universities have emerged as some of the largest landowners and developers in their cities, exerting a powerful influence on the built environment (Perry and Wiewel 2005). At the end of fiscal year 1996, urban institutions held almost \$100 billion in land and buildings (book value), including \$8 billion in purchases from only the prior year (ICIC and CEOs for Cities 2002). They have several motivations for undertaking land development activities: ensuring their capacity to meet growing demands for student housing and other facilities; fulfilling their educational and research agenda; enhancing the quality and security of their surroundings; and maintaining or improving their reputation and standing.

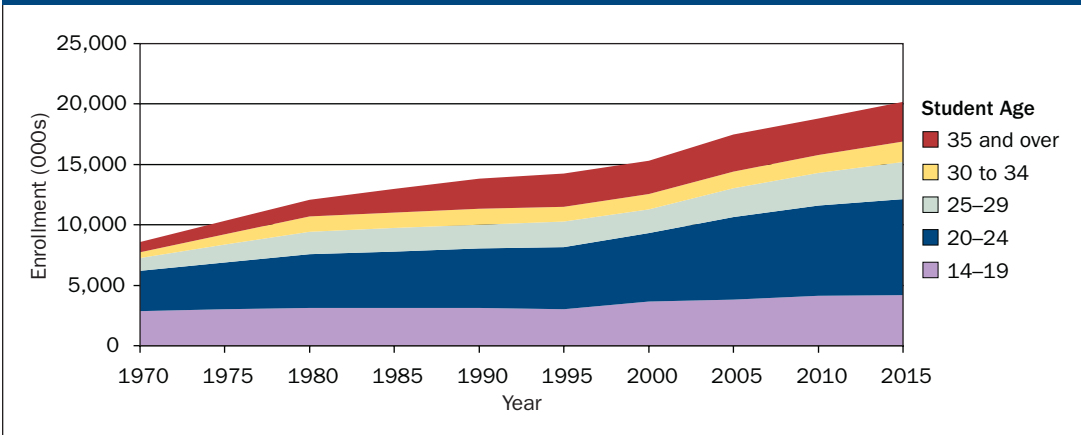
STUDENT HOUSING AND RECREATIONAL NEEDS

Colleges and universities often invest in land and new buildings to meet growing demands for on-campus housing and recreational facilities. Some of this pressure reflects a more than 50 percent increase in U.S. college enrollment between 1970 and 2005, with continuing growth projected (figure 4).

In addition to the traditional practice of providing housing to freshmen and sometimes all students, many colleges and universities are making the transition from being primarily commuter schools to more traditional residential campuses by adding student dormitories and expanding sports facilities. Some of the schools that have recently made this shift are the University of South Florida



FIGURE 4
Enrollment in Degree-granting Institutions Has Climbed Steadily Since 1970



Note: Data include undergraduate, graduate, full-time, and part-time students. Data for 1975, 1985, 2010, and 2015 are obtained using linear interpolation based on existing data for the other years.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics Web site.

in Tampa; Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts; the University of Nebraska at Omaha; Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan; La Salle University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and San Jose State University in California.

In some cases, universities lack land for housing or recreational projects, and must look for alternatives on the edge of campus. That was the case for Georgia State University in Atlanta when it made the transition to a traditional campus-style university in 1993. Georgia State invested in building both undergraduate and graduate student housing as a way to create a viable community (Kelley and Patton 2005).

Three housing development projects are notable. Georgia State Village includes housing converted from Atlanta’s Olympic Village, located one-and-a-half miles from the campus on the edge of downtown. The university purchased the Olympic Village after the games and opened the facility in 1996 as housing for 2,000 undergraduates.

The second project, University Lofts, offers housing for graduate and international students on the edge of the campus.

The Lofts opened in 2002 and contains 231 apartments for 460 residents, parking, and street-level retail space. It was built on land owned by a local hospital and used as a surface parking lot. The hospital agreed to a 40-year lease of the land for the expansion of student housing.

In 2007, the university developed a third project of 2,000 units of undergraduate housing north of campus on a six-acre site bought from a former auto dealership. This \$168 million project was funded by the largest bond issue in the United States for the purpose of housing students.

RESEARCH FACILITIES AND RELATED NEEDS

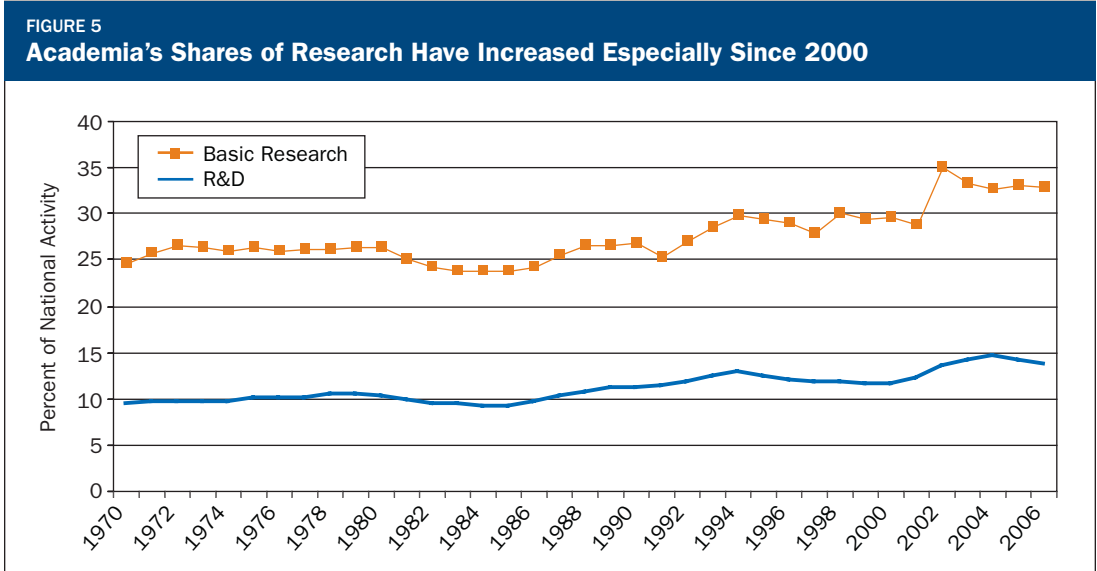
Many colleges and universities took on an expanded role in basic scientific research and in research and development (R&D) after World War II. Between 1970 and 2006, academia’s share of all R&D in the United States rose from about 10 percent to about 14 percent (figure 5). In 2006, these institutions conducted more than 30 percent of the nation’s basic research and were second only to the business sector in performing R&D.



Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

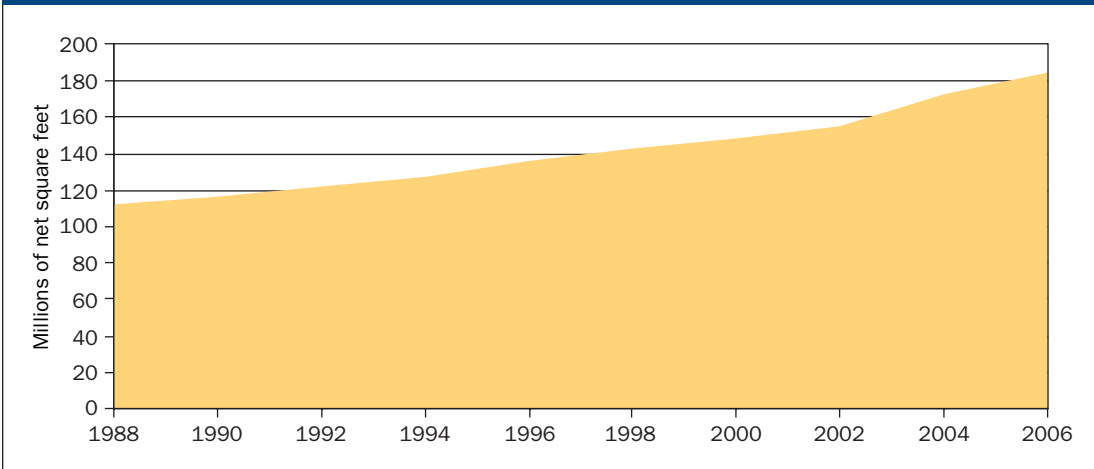
One direct implication of this new focus is the addition of research facilities to campus activities. Indeed, institutions that conduct research built more space for that work on their campuses from 2001 to 2005 than in any other five-year period since at least 1988. They added some 185 million net assignable square feet for research between fiscal 2003 and fiscal 2005 alone (figure 6). In 2005, 64 percent of newly built research space and 67 percent of construction funds were dedicated to the biological and medical sciences (National Science Foundation 2008).

In some cases, universities have struggled to accommodate their growing research needs on campus. Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, for example, became the nation's first women's college to have an engineering school in 2000. While the new academic major quickly became one of the most popular on campus, development of the engineering program was limited by the college's aging science buildings and the lack of space to build new facilities.



Source: National Science Foundation (2008).

FIGURE 6
Growth in Academic Research Space Continues



Note: Data for 2000, 2002, and 2004 are obtained using linear interpolation based on existing data for the other years.
Source: National Science Foundation (2008).

To accommodate its growing role in women’s science and engineering education, Smith had to demolish a number of college-owned properties that had provided housing and retail space (Smith College 2009). The college offered tenants relocation information and financial assistance, and has worked with developers to provide affordable housing nearby.

REVITALIZATION OF ADJACENT NEIGHBORHOODS AND DOWNTOWNS

For some colleges and universities, the primary driver of land development is their desire to enhance the surrounding neighborhood and promote urban revitalization. Unlike corporations that might choose to leave a distressed area, most universities are place-bound. In the past, institutions responded to a decline in their communities simply by putting up walls and expanding police or security services.

More recently, however, urban colleges and universities have tried to spur economic and community development beyond their borders. Indeed, universities now sponsor

activities or create entities that will have a significant local economic impact or serve as the centerpiece of a downtown revival program. These activities may include developing retail stores and housing, enhancing historic landmarks or parks, improving local schools, and even providing sanitation and security services for the area.

Howard University in Washington, DC, had been buying and holding blighted property near its campus for decades, and in 1997 launched a massive revitalization initiative in LeDroit Park. The initial plan was to rehabilitate 28 vacant houses and build new housing on 17 additional vacant lots.

Since then, Howard has expanded its plans to include rehabilitation of a former bread factory into university offices and a community association center; renovation of a neighborhood hospital; opening of a neighborhood security office; completion of street and alley resurfacing, sidewalk bricking, tree planting, and traffic-calming measures; redevelopment of open space; a major telecommunications infrastructure project; and a home-ownership program for Howard employees and local residents.

In September 2008, Howard received a \$700,000 Office of University Partnership grant from HUD to begin restoration of the historic Howard Theatre, expand local business development programs, and address accessibility issues at the community association center (Pyatt 1998).

In another example, the City of Indianapolis attempted to revitalize its declining downtown throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By directly engaging Indiana University–Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI) as an important player in the city’s larger urban development agenda, the city targeted the arts, entertainment, tourism, and sports facilities as central strategies. IUPUI and the associated Indiana University Medical School and hospital acquired many acres of land to permit expansion. Local corporations, business leaders, the Lilly Foundation, and state government strongly supported the university’s land acquisition policies and programs.

From 1974 through 1999, more than 50 major development projects were initiated in the downtown area, and the university’s investment in the Indianapolis campus totaled more than \$230 million. Several of the projects were related to sports activities. Seven national sports organizations moved

their governing offices to Indianapolis in 1989, and the National Collegiate Athletic Association followed in 1999. Development of the IUPUI campus has been identified as one of the principal economic development engines for downtown Indianapolis (Cumings et al. 2005).

LAND BANKING FOR FUTURE USE AND INCOME

Colleges and universities acquire and develop land to diversify their portfolios and to control development at the campus periphery. Many universities construct mixed-use buildings or purchase commercial and industrial properties that will be leased to generate revenue rather than redeveloped into traditional campus buildings.

Victoria University at the University of Toronto has created a large portfolio of properties acquired over decades. While its original goals were to accommodate possible future needs and control development at the campus edge, the university eventually created mixed-use developments and then leased the properties (Kurtz 2005). Today, the university has a stable real estate income stream with almost half of its endowment based in real estate while the other half is invested in securities.



CHAPTER 4

City and Neighborhood Interests in University Land Development

Although city officials, neighborhood residents, and local businesses generally see universities and colleges as positive economic and cultural assets, clashes between town and gown are commonplace, especially in land use and development processes. Institutions of higher education often find themselves at odds with residents whose goals are

to maintain the stability and character of their neighborhoods. Concerns about university expansions generally relate to social equity due to displacement of residents and businesses; spillover effects that erode quality of life; lack of community involvement in the planning process; and loss of property tax revenues.



University of Washington, Tacoma

SOCIAL EQUITY

As colleges and universities have become important drivers of urban revitalization and as they expand to meet their academic missions, their actions (and inactions) have raised social equity concerns among neighborhood residents, businesses, and nonprofit agencies. These stakeholders have argued that educational institutions largely ignore neighborhood social issues and problems to such an extent that they have created a climate of distrust. In some cases, policies aimed at neighborhood redevelopment have had little regard for social impacts related to displacement of long-time residents and

**Columbia University,
New York, New York**



businesses, and sometimes the destruction of historic sites.

These kinds of concerns often arise even when other economic impacts may be considered positive for the city or community. For example, as cited in the previous chapter, Indiana University–Purdue University helped to anchor urban redevelopment in Indianapolis, but it changed the class and racial composition of the downtown and displaced an historic section of the city’s African–American community (Cummings et al. 2005).

In the late 1980s, the University of Washington announced that a new branch would be developed in Tacoma near the central business district in a largely abandoned former warehouse district. Although the new campus has spurred investment in an economically depressed area, protected some historic buildings, and received strong support from some sectors, residents of a nearby low-income neighborhood complained that the university was ignoring their needs and concerns, and was providing only upper-end jobs (Coffey and Dierwechter 2005).

Columbia University’s development plans led to similar conflicts. The school is one of the largest landowners in New York City, after the Catholic Church and the city government (Marcuse and Potter 2005). Its planned expansion into an area of West Harlem/Manhattanville raised major objections from the neighborhood, primarily related to the potential displacement of long-time residents and businesses through gentrification.

SPILLOVER EFFECTS

Universities and colleges primarily acquire land and structures that support their core mission or immediate growth demands. It is not uncommon, however, for surrounding communities to criticize universities for their

unresponsive development policies or lack of a plan to mitigate negative spillover effects. For neighborhood residents, some of the major concerns relate to quality of life issues, such as conversion of houses and other buildings to student occupancy; upward pressure on rents; adaptation of shops and facilities to student markets; and increases in traffic, noise, and parking problems (Harasta 2008).

The presence of students is typically the greatest concern to residents, and both on- and off-campus student housing have locational impacts. Residents often try to block attempts to expand student housing out of fear that development of new dormitories will alter the character of their neighborhoods. In addition, many students seek private housing in nearby neighborhoods that may be unprepared or unwilling to receive them.

In Boston, for example, 42 percent of the nearly 62,000 students attending local colleges and universities lived off campus in 2006. While students have moved into all 20 Boston neighborhoods, slightly more than half are concentrated in just four of them (Kowalcky and Perkins 2006).

Land banking is another issue for neighborhoods and municipalities. As major landowners, colleges and universities hold some parcels until they have a specific need for development. During the current economic downturn, declines in financial resources such as endowment funds or state monies may lead institutions to slow their expansion plans and leave land parcels vacant. If town-gown relations are strained when universities feel flush with cash, they clearly will be tested in times of financial distress.

Harvard University, for example, planned to construct a \$1 billion science complex on part of the 250 acres that it owns in the Allston neighborhood of Boston. After a sharp drop in its endowment fund in 2009,



Harvard put the project on hold. Both neighborhood residents and the City of Boston raised concerns about the delay—primarily relating to the university’s lack of a plan for using the parcels and for improving the neighborhood in the meantime (Jan 2009).

**Harvard University,
Allston, Massachusetts**

INVOLVEMENT IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

Universities see their faculty, students, alumni, and donors as their primary constituencies, and their development priorities are designed to meet the requirements of these groups (Webber 2005). But because their land and building policies are embedded in the larger urban fabric, colleges and universities in fact have a broader constituency that can result in complex and conflict-ridden interactions.

Residents who share space with colleges and universities often want to be active participants in determining future land uses and development in their neighborhoods. As

one community member said when discussing Boston College's expansion plans in the Brighton section of Boston, "You have a neighbor who is acting without concern for the other neighbors—they have to discuss with the community uses for the property that will be beneficial to both the residents and the institution. It's not a novel approach. I guarantee that they are teaching their students courses on social responsibility—why don't they practice it a little bit in their own backyard?" (Axelbank 2007).

When the University of Pittsburgh decided to expand into the adjacent Oakland district in the 1970s, it took the approach of finalizing a master plan internally and then sharing it only with the Oakland Chamber of Commerce and the City of Pittsburgh's planning department—neither of which offered major objections. But Oakland residents were upset by both the plan

and their exclusion from the planning process (Deitrick and Soska 2005).

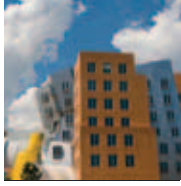
LOSS OF PROPERTY TAX REVENUE

Local governments generally see colleges and universities as positive local economic and cultural assets. In some cases, municipalities make trade-offs when colleges and universities want to expand, because they want to improve their public image, create potentially positive impacts on the local economy, and attract a young population and qualified labor force to the area.

That was the case for the University of South Florida St. Petersburg and the City of St. Petersburg when the campus expanded in the 1990s. The city played an important role through the purchase of 142 parcels at a cost of nearly \$13 million, with the assistance of the City Council, the St.

**Cathedral of Learning,
University of Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania**





CHAPTER 5

Positive Practices for Town–Gown Relations



**Davenport Commons,
Northeastern University,
Boston, Massachusetts**

Despite frequent town–gown tensions, many colleges and universities have engaged successfully with their host cities and neighborhoods. A variety of practices have shifted the relationship from being adversarial to collaborative by joining stakeholders in partnerships to achieve common goals, facilitating buy-in from the community, and achieving long-lasting change.

INCORPORATING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

Effective land development policy requires coordination of social and economic programs (Fainstein 1994). Some colleges and universities have succeeded in addressing these issues in the process of revitalizing

the neighborhood or expanding to meet their academic goals. Positive practices may include providing affordable housing to prevent displacement of residents, along with promoting local business development.

Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts, provides a good example of this approach. The university’s Davenport Commons project consists of 125 units of housing for students and staff, 60 affordable owner-occupied townhouses, and 2,100 square feet of retail space. Community members were concerned about a range of issues related to the project’s physical design and the threat of neighborhood gentrification.

The development process was complex, involving many stakeholders and negotiations

(Calder, Grant, and Muson 2005). The university partnered on the project with Madison Park Development Corporation (MPDC), a local community development corporation, as well as with two local developers. Along with negotiating a community benefits package of affordable housing, MPDC helped homeowners set up a condominium association and provided both technical assistance and education for first-time homebuyers.

In other cases, institutions have actively promoted local business development by giving neighborhood vendors priority (Strom 2005). For example, the University of Pennsylvania has a local contracting program that generated more than \$65 million in business for West Philadelphia firms in 2002. Nearly 90 percent of that spending was directed to women- and minority-owned businesses operating in the neighborhood.

MANAGING SPILLOVER EFFECTS THROUGH PLANNING

Cities and communities have put both regulatory and nonregulatory mechanisms in place to manage the impact of university-led land use and development through balancing the interests of the university, neighboring residents, and the city as a whole (Taylor 2007). Regulatory mechanisms include district plans, land use regulations, and design standards to guide development and encourage community participation in project planning.

In Portland, Oregon, for example, the planning processes of the city and its universities are largely intertwined. The goal is to give institutions the support they need while also providing the surrounding communities greater certainty about how the area will be developed. When Portland State University (PSU) sought to expand in 1988, Portland's Central City plan called for creation of a new plan that would allow for this growth

and provide some direction for development of the neighborhood.

The Portland Bureau of Planning created the University District plan in collaboration with the university and the Downtown Community Association, integrating the public vision for the downtown with the needs of the university. The plan required mixed uses and provided guidelines for transit, retail, student and market-rate housing, amenities, and academic facilities. The plan also provided the regulatory framework needed for the desired uses (Taylor 2007).

Nonregulatory mechanisms such as Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) are used to manage interactions on specific projects and to define the roles and responsibilities of each party. MOUs can address a range of issues such as boundary determination for campus development, guidelines for mitigating impacts on adjacent neighborhoods, and standards for physical development, including site planning, storm water management, and roadway improvements.

**College of Engineering
and Computer Science,
Portland State University,
Oregon**



While there is no legal recourse if a party fails to honor the MOU, these agreements help to eliminate ambiguity about the roles of the city and the university, while also providing a mechanism to track progress and monitor accountability (Taylor 2007).

San Jose State University, for example, signed an MOU with the city in 2006 to embark on a joint planning effort—known as the South Campus District Plan—for the community surrounding the university (City of San Jose 2009). The partnership envisioned the district as providing expanded

**University of Illinois
at Chicago**

recreational amenities for residents along with a regional facility for sports events and tournaments. The plan also focused on improved parking and pedestrian accessibility throughout the area. Having recognized the need to involve a full range of community stakeholders, the city and university dedicated a significant part of the planning process to community outreach and resident participation efforts.

INTEGRATING UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS THROUGH DESIGN

The development requirements of the modern urban campus are no longer served by the separation of the university from its surroundings. Two new principles that guide physical design include communicating institutional values through the built environment and finding points of intersection with the local community (Blaik 2008).

These design principles have shaped many mixed-use development projects and helped to improve the integration of university buildings into a community. At the University of Illinois at Chicago, South Campus, for example, university buildings are “city buildings,” with city services and retail stores that are mixed with academic facilities and student residences (Perry, Wiewel, and Menendez 2009).

A citywide initiative at Syracuse University (SU) provides another good example of efforts to integrate campus and city. The Connective Corridor is a 1.5-mile, L-shaped connector that ensures that students and faculty can get to the downtown, and that the downtown can benefit from the university and more than 25 arts and cultural venues in the area. The goal is to stitch these locations together with new urban landscapes, bike paths, imaginative lighting, public and interactive art, and signage systems. The SU Office of Engagement is leading the initiative, with support from the city, the state, the



regional transportation authority, local utility companies, and the arts community (The Connective Corridor 2009).

The College of San Mateo in California has received several awards for its College Vista rental housing development for faculty and staff. The 44-unit complex is located on a former parking lot behind the Administration Building of the San Mateo County Community College District.

Because of the vocal opposition of several neighborhood groups to development at this location, the principals of Education Housing Partners initiated an extensive outreach campaign to understand community concerns (College Vista 2009). The primary issues for residents related to the introduction of affordable housing “in their backyard,” and the development’s visual and economic impacts. Through a series of meetings, the college addressed these concerns to the neighbors’ satisfaction by making design modifications and creating operating guidelines to ensure the long-term maintenance and upkeep of the property.

FORMALIZING STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

Academic institutions, city governments, and communities used to rely on quick fixes to problems that were episodic and project-based or task-oriented (Perry and Wiewel 2005). These ad hoc approaches only solved problems temporarily and did nothing to improve overall university relations with the city and neighborhood.

In developing more formal relationships, highly visible leadership and ongoing communication from all sides are essential. The City of Boston, for example, has created a position in the Mayor’s Office to serve as liaison with institutions of higher education. Many universities have established an Office of Community Affairs or Office of Commu-

nity Engagement. The leader of that office is typically someone from the community rather than from the academic ranks. The office—preferably an adjunct to the President’s Office—serves as both the portal to the university and its liaison to the community.

Several colleges and universities have also developed formal and ongoing relationships with their neighbors. Clark University in Worcester established a partnership with local residents, businesses, and churches to revitalize its neighborhood in the early 1980s. This partnership with the Main South Community Development Corporation (MSCDC) was formalized in 1995, and Clark University holds a seat on the board of directors.

Now known as the University Park Partnership (UPP), its scope includes a broad-based strategy emphasizing the development of neighborhood amenities and the expansion of economic opportunities for neighborhood residents and businesses. The partnership has received funding from a variety of federal and private sources. In 2004 it was awarded the inaugural Carter Partnership Award, the nation’s most prestigious recognition for collaborations between universities and their communities (Brown and Geoghegan 2009).

A Partnership for Change is a project initiated by the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee and the City of Milwaukee to advance the UWM campus and surrounding neighborhoods. This project originated from concerns about maintaining and enhancing the area’s quality of life, improving the physical and social town–gown relationship, and finding appropriate strategies to resolve campus–neighborhood conflicts.

The planning process for the neighborhood engaged stakeholders to set priorities, develop strategies, and identify actions on key issues. Several groups contributed to the development of the plan, including neigh-

borhood associations, special interest groups, two business improvement districts, the City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, and the university. The key principle of this initiative was a coordinated long-term strategy for addressing neighborhood issues and to create an ongoing university–neighborhood collaboration (City of Milwaukee 2003).



Harvard Yard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

OFFSETTING TAX-EXEMPT STATUS

With local governments under increasing fiscal pressure, some cities and colleges have negotiated arrangements to make payments in lieu of taxes (PILOTs) and other fees, in some cases through a participatory and inclusive policy process. A range of practices, policies, and programs related to PILOTs has emerged at both the state and municipal levels to compensate for the tax-exempt status of nonprofit institutions.

In 1929 Harvard University became the first recorded case of an academic institution paying PILOTs to a local government. Today, Harvard pays more than \$2 million annually to Cambridge, where its core campus is located. It also pays \$3.8 million a year until 2054 to the Town of Watertown, where it recently purchased land, and in 2008 the university paid \$1.9 million to the City of Boston, where it owns several medical schools and research centers and where it expects to build new facilities on land it owns in other parts of the city.

The State of Connecticut instituted a program in 1978 based on the recognition that colleges and universities benefit everyone residing in the state, not only those who happen to live in the particular city in which an institution is located. To distribute the tax burden more equitably within this framework, the state makes payments to local governments that have colleges, universities, and hospitals in their jurisdictions to compensate for the revenue foregone from these tax-exempt institutions. Although the state is unable to reimburse the full cost of the property tax payments, funding levels were close to 64 percent of the assessed taxes in 2004 (Leland 2006).

Leland (2006) has also identified several city-level examples of PILOT programs. For example, four colleges in Providence, Rhode Island, agreed in 2003 to pay \$50 million to

TABLE 2
University Land Use and Development: What works? What does not?

City and Community Concerns	What Works?	What Does Not?
Social Equity	Efforts to mitigate displacement and gentrification, and to generate job opportunities for local residents and businesses.	Ignoring the neighborhood's social and economic context and issues that might affect local residents and businesses.
Spillover Effects	Regulatory and nonregulatory planning mechanisms that balance the needs of the academic and local communities.	Lack of planning by colleges and universities.
Design	Planning and developing the campus in ways that blend the academic and local communities.	Development that is out of character with the surrounding neighborhood.
Planning Process	A joint planning process that involves the university, the community, and the city.	Finalizing university land use and development plans internally.
Leadership	Close involvement of the university president or other top-level leaders in developing and sustaining the commitment to community engagement.	No formal mechanism for senior officials to work with the city and community, except on an ad hoc basis.
Tax-exempt Status	Recognition of the uneven distribution of tax burdens throughout the state.	Long-running disputes and court cases between the universities and cities over development projects and tax-exempt status.

the city over the next 20 years. In West Long Branch, New Jersey, Monmouth University is the township’s largest employer and voluntarily contributes \$190,000 a year to municipal coffers.

SUMMARY

Table 2 summarizes the town–gown practices that do and do not work in university land use and development. The common requirement for solving the potential conflict areas identified above—including social and economic issues, spillover effects, planning process, and tax-exempt status—is to balance academic and community interests through a participatory and inclusive process.

**Brown University,
Providence, Rhode Island**





CHAPTER 6

Moving Toward Successful Town-Gown Collaborations



Syracuse University,
New York

Colleges and universities decide on a variety of property-related actions. Some of them do not require input from their surrounding neighborhoods and host cities, such as routine renovations of existing buildings and the maintenance of grounds. Other types of development activities may call for bilateral decision making, such as joint research centers between the university and private industry. New or changing land use and development decisions, however, tend to be much more complex and contain the seeds of future conflicts if the concerns of all stakeholders are not addressed and resolved satisfactorily. This complexity puts land development projects in the category of decisions that require more dedicated collaborative processes (figure 7).

It is clearly difficult to devise a formula for land use and development that functions

efficiently and effectively while also honoring many stakeholders' perspectives. Moreover, there is no single template for how such a partnership should be framed since each situation is different. Several considerations provide general guidelines for designing successful town-gown collaborations.

BALANCING UNIVERSITY AND COMMUNITY INTERESTS

The fundamental goals and interests of universities, municipal governments, and neighborhood residents obviously have some common elements and others that are divergent and potentially conflicting. However, these anchor institutions, municipalities and neighborhoods must recognize that they are part of a large, complex system and that their fates are intertwined.

Universities play an important role by contributing to the economy, civic life, and

built environment of cities by attracting human capital and technological innovation and boosting the skills of the workforce. The city and neighborhood in turn support the university's ability to function well by offering the public services and social and cultural amenities that help to keep people and jobs in the area.

WORKING TOGETHER TOWARD COMMON GOALS

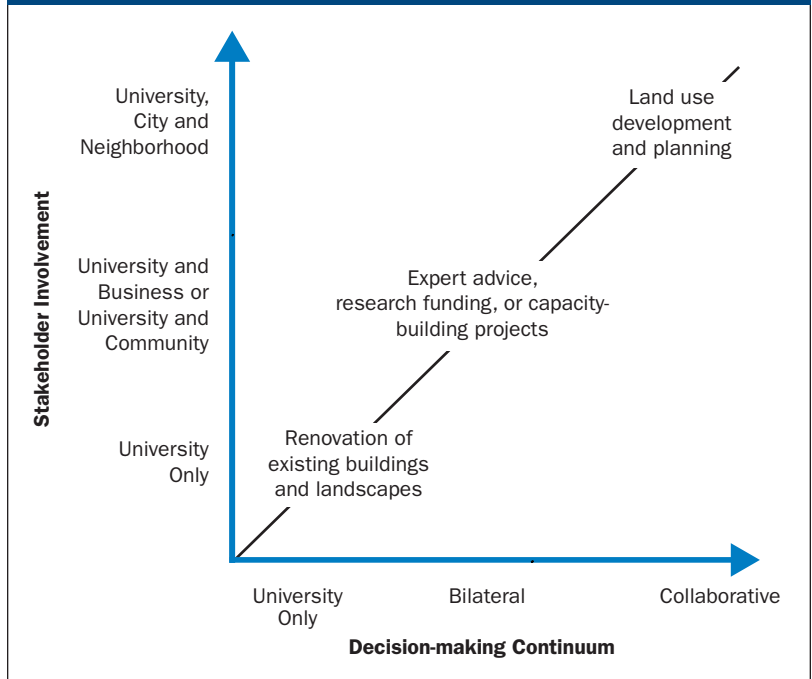
Universities and colleges are major land-owners and powerful players with relatively steady revenue streams. In contrast, community members—whether residents or community organizations—often have unstable revenue sources at best, and are often perceived as impediments to development. Any effort to develop a trusting relationship must be mindful of this power imbalance and strive to minimize the differences. According to Judith Rodin, former president of University of Pennsylvania, “Universities have a lot of great potential to be partners within cities, but too often are more like the 4,000-pound gorilla, exercising their interests in a way that isn’t always neighborhood-friendly” (Chan 2007).

Working together to develop collaborative projects helps to identify common interests and problems. True town-gown collaboration thus means that the university, city, and neighborhood must work toward specific goals and objectives by sharing responsibility, authority, and accountability for achieving results.

CREATING LASTING CHANGE

Successful collaboration requires a sufficient investment of time and resources from each stakeholder to create lasting change founded on ongoing communication and long-term relationships. These efforts can generate good will in the community and support in the

FIGURE 7
Land Use Development and Planning Require Collaborative Decision Making



public sector, as well as a sense of cohesion and cooperation within the university itself. By acknowledging each other's concerns and constraints, and the costs and benefits inherent in any long-term working relationship, all parties can look to the future as a win-win opportunity for positive growth and change.

Today, many universities and other anchor institutions understand their unique role in urban economic and community development by becoming engaged with their cities and neighborhoods. However, “Colleges and universities are the most successful institutions of urban development to the extent that they operate as ‘fully vested’ urban institutions, i.e., fully engaged in producing the collective capacity of a range of city leaders to achieve the multiple interests of cities and communities, as well as universities, in ways that are mutually agreeable” (Perry, Wiewel, and Menendez 2009, 4).



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Ithaca, New York**

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Town-Gown Collaboration in Land Use and Development

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University Land Use and Development: What works? What does not?		
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