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Negotiated Communities:

A Stakeholder Approach to Understanding

Town-Gown Relations During Periods of Campus Expansion

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

by

Dorine Lynelle Lawrence-Hughes

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Negotiated Communities:  
A Stakeholder Approach to Understanding  
Town-Gown Relations During Periods of Campus Expansion

by

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Doctor of Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

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More colleges and universities are expanding to attract more students, to increase their academic standing and to generate revenue. Recent court decisions and negative publicity concerning large university real estate development projects, coupled with the entrenched ambivalence and even distrust that may characterize town-gown relationships, reflect an ongoing tension between universities and their external constituents. This study examines how two universities located urban communities in a Western state obtain government and community approval of campus expansion projects.

For the purpose of this study, a “campus expansion plan” or “campus expansion projects” refer to those collective measures taken by higher education institutions to physically expand school

facilities through the acquisition and development of real property on and off the university's core campus. This study suggests that stakeholder theory, specifically approaches to stakeholder identification and ways of understanding stakeholder salience, may provide a viable theoretical and practical framework for university managers who engage with both internal and external stakeholders. Specifically, this research relies on a qualitative multiple-case study approach to identify the ways in which universities identify and address stakeholder concerns to obtain both regulatory approval and community acceptance of campus expansion plans. Findings indicate that universities rely on various strategies for obtaining project approval including cultivating political relationships, hosting public hearings and community meetings, designating community liaisons and contributing community benefits. Universities also engage in collaborative planning with regulatory agencies to help mitigate the effects of the project on the environment. The methods employed by university stakeholders to obtain approval of their expansion plans are often dictated by the university stakeholders' perception of stakeholder groups' levels of salience. Those stakeholders deemed to be critical to the university's success during the regulatory approval process appear to warrant more of the university's resources, such as time spent at community meetings, payment of financial compensation, and engagement in long-term collaborative planning. However, the regulatory approval process can be long, and stakeholder salience may not be static. Universities failing to gauge stakeholder salience levels accurately throughout the approval process may find that their strategies for attaining community and government approval are not effective.

The dissertation of Dorine Lynelle Lawrence-Hughes is approved

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## Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father, Welton Lawrence, and my mother, Joyce Gordy Lawrence. Thanks, Dad, for your relentless encouragement and support. You walked this road before me and I'm still trying to fill your shoes. Thank you, Mom. Your unwavering faith in my ability to succeed and prosper is legendary. I can only pray that I inherited a portion of your compassion, your wisdom and your strength. You are still the smartest woman I've ever known. Through the example of your lives, both of you have shown me that there are no limits to where I can go, what I can do or who I can be.

This work is also dedicated to my husband Samuel, and my sons, Harrison and Hudson. Sam, your support over the years has been steadfast and immovable. I am truly blessed. Harrison, you are the best Saturday morning study partner a mom could ever hope for. You are becoming a true leader. Stay diligent and stay focused. And thank you, Hudson. You never fail to ask me about my day. Your candor helps all of us to maintain the proper perspective in life and you always seem to know when I can use a good hug. I am proud to be a part of your lives.

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Finally, I would like to my dissertation committee, Dr. Linda Rose, Dr. Rick Wagoner, Dr. Patricia McDonough and Dr. John McDonough for helping me get through this process. I cannot express how grateful I am to all of you for your patience, your support and your encouragement.

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## CHAPTER ONE:

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Between fall 2000 and fall 2009, national college enrollment had increased to 20.4 million students from 15.3 million students (Baum, Ma, & Payea, 2012). From 2000 until 2007, it seemed as if the annual increase in college construction funding had kept pace with this burgeoning student enrollment. In 2000, colleges spent more than \$7 billion on completed construction (Abramson, 2011). By 2007, the amount of college construction spending had more than doubled, reaching \$14.5 billion (Abramson, 2011). However, colleges were not immune to the financial upheaval that upended the U. S. economy in 2008. By 2009, college construction spending had fallen to \$10.7 billion (Abramson, 2012).

Nonetheless, in 2011, college construction in states such as California, Arizona, Nevada, and Hawaii collectively accounted for 18% of national construction spending, with over 70% of this activity directed towards the construction of new buildings (Abramson, 2012). While overall construction spending fell to approximately \$9.7 billion in 2012, construction spending in these states continued to exceed that of other regions in the country (Abramson, 2013). There, the focus on college construction remained steady when compared to the overall construction industry. For instance, in New York, the campus expansion plans of universities such as Pace, Cornell, Fordham, and the City University of New York continued to move forward, although overall construction spending in New York was down in 2012 by as much as 12% from 2007 (Spodek, 2012). In Washington, D. C., Georgetown University recently expanded beyond its “historic” campus by constructing a new state-of-the-art, 91,000-square-foot facility intended to serve approximately 1,100 students (Georgetown University, 2013, para. 11). Identifying campus expansion as a top priority in her State of the University Address, Sam Houston State University President Dana Gibson

expressed her desire to acquire 60 to 80 acres of land for the purpose of constructing research buildings (Gibson, 2012). It appears that, despite the economic setbacks suffered by much of the construction industry as a whole, higher education institutions still uphold campus expansion as an essential component of their strategy not only to attract and retain faculty and students but also to attain prominence in the academic community (Fischer, 2010; Carlson, 2010).

Moreover, a cursory review of recent stories in the media reveals the truism that campus expansion can be part of a viable solution for saving struggling cities. In a 2012 video entitled *Can Universities Save Cities?* four university presidents participated in a town hall meeting to discuss whether universities could be instrumental in the effort to save cities (Zocalo Public Square, 2012). Dr. Gene Block, Chancellor of the University of California, Los Angeles, noted that while universities could be a part of the solution to save struggling cities, they were limited by their core mission of education. This sentiment was shared by President Max Nikias of the University of Southern California, who emphasized that “[USC was] not a real estate company” (Zocalo Public Square, 2012). Conversely, Arizona State University (ASU) President Michael Crow explained that ASU had “gone into intensive partnership mode” with several municipalities who are funding major ASU capital finance projects (Zocalo Public Square, 2012).

Instead of asking if universities can “save cities,” perhaps the more apt question to ask is, “Does the city want to be saved by the university and, if so, how?” Campus expansion plans can become controversial when the communities surrounding these colleges and universities feel that they are paying too high a price for these campus expansion projects. While some have acknowledged that campuses need to accommodate the space needs of more students, faculty, and staff, they have also noted that “growing campus populations put pressure on the infrastructure of surrounding communities” (Legislative Analyst’s Office, 2009, p. E-164). Current campus expansion

projects are being implemented in the midst of an economic climate wherein community pressure for municipal services and economic stability continues to increase as government budgets decrease (Fischer, 2010; Brody, 2010). Additionally, because higher education institutions are typically exempt from property tax requirements, municipalities are unable to generate tax revenue from institutionally owned real estate (Lane & Johnstone, 2012; Kiley, 2012; Fischer, 2010; Bruning, McGrew, & Cooper, 2006). The use of urban land for university purposes, in particular, often leads to conflicts with local governments and nearby residents who may view the encroaching physical presence of the university as a threat to their quality of life, a disruption of the planning and design of the neighborhood and as a loss of property tax revenue (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009). As Weill has stated in *Out in Front*, “at a time when there is public and widespread suspicion regarding eminent domain and neighborhood character,” property owners aware of the campus expansion plans of their local university may grow “increasingly anxious despite reassurances that their properties are safe” (2010, p. 115).

Colleges often engage in multiple approaches to building support for their campus growth plans. This study seeks to explore strategies used by colleges to identify and address the concerns of city officials and community members that may arise as a result of the college’s campus expansion plans. Negative perceptions of a college and its expansion plans can adversely affect that college’s ability to grow the campus. I contend that colleges that successfully cultivate positive relationships with city officials and community members may find the regulatory approval process for campus expansion to be more collaborative. On the other hand, colleges that fail to adequately identify and address the interests of their constituents may find their campus growth plans hindered by lawsuits, regulatory roadblocks, and negative publicity.



## Background of the Problem

Recent court decisions reflect the uneasy relationship between colleges, city governments, and community members when colleges attempt to carry out expansion plans. In November, 2011, the Ohio Supreme Court, in *Columbus City School District Bd. of Educ. v. Testa, Tax Comm'r*, narrowly construed a statute permitting the tax exemption of certain property owned by Ohio State University and concluded that income generated by the rent collected by Ohio State University was not exempt from real property taxation (2011). In contrast, the New York Court of Appeals paved the way for Columbia University to acquire, through eminent domain, private property located in territory deemed by the university to be expansion territory (*Kaur v. New York State Urban Dev. Corp.*, 2010; Bagli, 2010). The United States Supreme Court subsequently declined to consider any challenges to the Court of Appeals decision, thereby allowing Columbia University to move forward with its plans to acquire the property and develop the project.

Higher education institutions in Western states have also been involved in court cases involving expansion. For example, in June, 2013, the California State Supreme Court ruled in favor of environmentalist groups by upholding the decision of the California Court of Appeals that determined that the city of Santa Cruz violated the state's environmental quality laws by failing to offer feasible alternatives to lessen the environmental impact of expanding the city's water supply beyond its boundaries to support the campus expansion efforts of the University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC) (*Habitat and Watershed Caretakers v. City of Santa Cruz*, 2013).

Conflicts over campus expansion plans also play out in the court of public opinion. Private citizens, non-profit groups, and low-income residents vocalize their opposition to campus expansion plans at public hearings, and print media remains a powerful tool for influencing government decisions. In July, 2012, New York University (NYU) was forced to reduce the size of its original

Greenwich Village expansion plans by 26% under pressure from neighborhood activists, faculty, and the local community board (Berger, 2012). Prior to the land use committee's approval of the scaled-back plans, three NYU faculty members had authored an opinion piece in the *New York Times* opposing NYU's plans by referring to the proposal "as a clear and present danger to the neighborhood and a grave risk to the university itself" (Davis, Patrick, & Mark, 2012, p. A23). Eleven groups, including NYU faculty, preservationists, and community groups, later filed a lawsuit against the city of New York and several state agencies challenging both the expansion plan and the approval process (Schlanger, 2012). In January, 2014, the Supreme Court of the State of New York determined that the city failed to obtain the proper approval of the state to turn over three public parks to NYU for part of its expansion plans (*Glick v. Harvey*, 2014).

However, not all campus expansion conflicts are so adversarial as to necessitate intervention by the courts, nor are they all handled so publicly. Instead, many institutions undertake concerted efforts to build public support for campus expansion proposals. Such efforts may include, but not be limited to, providing the city government and community with advance notice of campus expansion plans, making the planning process inclusive, highlighting benefits of the project to the community, and encouraging transparency. These strategies may vary depending on the type of expansion project, the regulations dictating the development, the relationship between the university and the city government, and the relationship between the university and its community. The focus of this study is to explore how higher education institutions identify and manage the concerns of these external constituents so as to temper the opposition to their expansion plans in order to increase the chances of success.

Strategies for garnering regulatory and community support for campus expansion plans may be best understood within the larger context of campus-community relationships. A preliminary

review of the literature reveals three themes that address the relationships between the campus, the community, and the city. These themes include town-gown relations, real estate development and campus expansion, and the expanding role of the university. These themes best represent the broad areas of campus-community engagement where it may be essential for higher education institutions to employ effective strategies to obtain regulatory approval and community acceptance of campus expansion plans. As more colleges recognize that campus expansion often results in further integration with, and an increasing interdependence on, their communities, the need grows for identifying and implementing useful strategies to deal with conflicts of interest which may arise among the various stakeholder groups.

**Town Gown Relations.** Much documentation exists about the relationship between colleges and their communities, with the primary focus of this research being on colleges located in Eastern metropolitan areas. This stands to reason, when one considers that the large physical presence of higher education institutions in urban neighborhoods in the East has been well-documented (O'Mara, 2010). For example, Harvard University's real estate in Boston, according to a 2009 city report, was worth nearly \$1.5 billion (Brody, 2010). Columbia University is the third largest landowner in New York City (Perry & Wiewel, 2005). Less prominent in the literature are discussions surrounding town-gown relations in Western cities.

Additionally, empirical research exploring potential shifts in town-gown relations since the economic downturn is also lacking. Colleges and communities must now co-exist in the midst of a new financial reality where the resources are not only limited but disappearing. Drawing on a 2009 survey, the National League of Cities (NLC) reported "pessimism about the ability to meet city fiscal needs was at its highest level" in the history of the 24-year survey (Kenyon & Langley, 2011, p. 9 citing Hoene & Pagano, 2009). In 2012, cities continued to reel from the prolonged effects of the

economic downturn. City revenues continued to decline in 2012 as a result of a diminishing local tax base, cuts in state and federal aid, and increasing infrastructure and employee-related costs (Pagano, Hoene, & McFarland, 2012). After questioning city finance officers about the specific expenditure actions they had taken to address these fiscal matters, the National League of Cities found that,

by a wide margin the most common response is reducing the size of the municipal workforce (48%). One in three city finance officers (33%) also report delaying or cancelling capital infrastructure projects. While only 15 percent of cities cut public safety expenditures (compared to 44% reporting increased spending), 21 percent decreased human service spending (12% increased) and 19 percent cut education spending (8% increased). One in four (25%) made cuts in services other than public safety, human-social services, and education – services such as public works, libraries, parks and recreation programs. (Pagano et al., 2012, pp. 6-7)

According to a more recent 2013 NLC survey of city finance officers, property tax revenue had dropped for a “third straight year-over-year decline in property tax revenues in 2012” and revenues for 2013 were projected to decline slightly (Pagano & McFarland, 2013, pp. 3-4). Many large and small municipalities that host higher educational institutions, such as Providence, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, have experienced similar economic problems (Kiley, 2012; Schachter, 2011). Some have blamed the financial woes of “college towns” on the non-profit status long held by higher education institutions. These critics not only assert that such tax exemptions undermine the city’s obligation to provide adequate city services to its residents (Fischer, 2010) but also contend that colleges drain city coffers because they require the use of city services like fire protection, police protection, and public works (Kenyon & Langley, 2010; Weill, 2009).

Few would argue that a college’s presence in a community provides no benefit to that community, and colleges continue to rely on a number of common approaches for communicating their contributions to the community and addressing the negative perceptions associated with their presence (Kim, Brunner, & Fitch-Hauser, 2006). These strategies include the following: (a) the

preparation of economic impact reports designed to demonstrate the college's value to its immediate community and to the region (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007; Goldstein & Renault, 2004; Siegfried, Sanderson & McHenry, 2006); (b) the implementation of community engagement efforts such as service learning, volunteering, neighborhood clean-up initiatives, and literacy training programs to maintain goodwill with the community (O'Mara, 2010, Leiderman, Furco, Zapf & Goss, 2009; Hatherall, 2007; Brisbin & Hunter, 2003); and (c) the formation of contracts requiring colleges to make contributions (also referred to as payments in lieu of taxes or PILOTs) to their city governments in the form of additional taxes, negotiated fees, one-time payments for equipment and service, and community service programs (Baker-Minkel, Moody, & Keiser, 2004; Fischer 2010; Kenyon & Langley, 2011; Kelderman, 2010; Brody, 2007).

These strategies do not lack critics. First, economic impact reports face criticism because few economic impact reports include a discussion of the economic and social costs incurred by the city as a result of the institution's presence (Baker-Minkel et al., 2004). Additionally, economic impact assessments rarely address "university-sponsored real estate development" (O'Mara, 2010, p. 5). The empirical data documenting the costs incurred by cities and communities as a result of institutional decision-making is sparse. Second, efforts to engage the community through community programs and partnerships can lead to unrealistic expectations on the part of the college and the community, and these efforts can be perceived as paternalistic and ill-conceived (Weill, 2011; Miller & Haffner, 2008; Bruning et al., 2006). Finally, while some PILOTs represent a longstanding agreement between a city and a college (i. e., some PILOTs date back to the 1920s), many are the result of *ad hoc* arrangements that are perceived as "haphazard, secretive, and calculated" (Baker-Minkel et al., 2004; Fischer 2010; Kenyon & Langley, 2010, p. 3). Although we can draw general conclusions about a college's willingness to execute PILOTs to "keep the peace" and increase social capital with

their localities, little is known about what motivates colleges to make contributions when they are not legally compelled to do so.

**University real estate development and campus expansion.** In recent years, colleges have faced increasing demand for their services due to a growth in the number of college-eligible students (Legislative Analyst Office, 2009; Trani, 2011). As a result, one reason colleges expand is to accommodate more students (Trani, 2011; Chapman, 2012). However, attributing the recent trends in campus construction to student enrollment may be too simplistic. Instead, campus expansion may also be attributable to what some researchers and observers have referred to as an “arms race” among colleges and universities to construct new and modern facilities like student housing, medical facilities, and research centers that can attract world-class students and faculty to colleges and universities and raise the stature of the institutions (Chapman, 2012; Trani, 2011; Austrian & Norton, 2005).

Finally, land acquisition can be a means of generating additional revenue as universities continue to seek ways to address the economic realities. According to Sungu-Eryilmaz, in *Town Gown Collaboration in Land Use and Development*, “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” (2009, p. 16). It is not uncommon for universities to construct mixed-use buildings or purchase industrial and commercial properties to be leased for income (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009).

**The expanding role of the university.** Colleges have become engines of urban contemporary development (Perry & Wiewel, 2006). This makes sense when one considers that colleges and universities are among the largest landowners and developers in urban areas (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009; Perry & Wiewel, 2005) and are estimated to hold more than \$100 billion dollars in

real estate (Dubb & Howard, 2007). The practice of acquiring of large parcels for future development has resulted in partnerships between public and private entities to redevelop blighted communities surrounding the campus (Carlson, 2010). Even so, an institution's motives for engaging in partnerships may not be completely altruistic. Many colleges believe that surrounding blighted areas make it difficult to recruit and retain students and faculty, for example (Carlson, 2010). As Trani has noted, some university leaders "came to understand that the reputation and attractiveness of their own universities were at risk if they could not find a way to improve the conditions of their surrounding environment to make it more secure and appealing to prospective students and employees" (2010, p. 6-7). Instead of altruism, universities act out of what Trani has referred to as "enlightened self-interest" (2010, p. 6). These institutions realize that what is good for the community can be good for the college.

Regardless of their motives for facilitating community engagement programs, contributing to city government coffers, engaging in campus expansion projects, and participating in economic development, colleges have become far more integrated into their neighborhoods than in the past (Trani, 2011; O'Mara, 2010). Higher education institutions are now perceived as "economic anchors, educators, employers, and entrepreneurs" that "relate to urban power structures and urban citizens on a number of dimensions and scales" (O'Mara, 2010, p. 2). As a result, university decisions concerning land development are likely to have far-reaching implications for city leaders and the members of its community (Weill, 2009; Trani, 2011).

## **The Study**

My study will focus on the real estate acquisition and development efforts of universities in a Western state to determine what, if any, practices or strategies have been employed by these institutions to address the concerns of their localities and successfully implement their expansion

plans. This study will specifically focus on the nature of campus-community relationships between two higher education institutions that recently obtained regulatory approval of, or are currently engaged in, expansion and development projects. The following research questions will guide my study:

1. How do the campus expansion efforts of higher education institutions reflect the mission and the role of the institution as perceived by the institution, the city stakeholders and the community stakeholders?
2. How does an institution determine which stakeholders are critical in the expansion process?
3. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to obtain regulatory approval of campus expansion plans and how are these practices perceived by the local government stakeholders?
4. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to garner community stakeholder support for campus expansion plans, and how are these strategies or practices perceived by community stakeholders?

As a licensed attorney with experience in the area of real estate and redevelopment law, I served as legal counsel to several cities, redevelopment agencies, school districts and community colleges. My work included negotiating agreements between these public agencies and the private developers who wanted to acquire land in blighted communities and develop construction projects such as single-family residences, multi-family housing units, civic centers, and shopping malls. These public/private partnerships often encountered resistance in the community because they often raised concerns about housing affordability, small business and property rights, and environmental



preservation. My preliminary research into campus expansion projects indicates that university planners face similar challenges, but with higher stakes. Unlike a private developer, a college is tied to its community and, with the exception of creating satellite campuses, cannot simply find an alternative location for campus growth. As a result, higher education institutions find that they must negotiate their plans with their external constituents. The above research questions allow me to examine the strategies for addressing these concerns not only from a legal standpoint but also from the standpoint of stakeholder management.

### **Research and Data Collection for this Study**

This project relied on a multiple case study approach to identify the practices and strategies employed by higher-education institutions they desire to implement plans to expand. The scope of the study is limited to higher education institutions located in one Western state. This research focused on the expansion and development initiatives of two campuses, including one public and one private university. I studied the following sites: Greenfield University, a private research university, and Frontenac University; a public research university. These schools comprised a purposive sample because, among other things, both universities are located in what could be referred to as urban communities and are similar in size, with student populations of over 30,000. Both institutions sought regulatory approval of the expansion plans. Finally, both institutions sought and received Campus Compact's Carnegie Classification on Community Engagement, a designation that recognizes the efforts of higher education institutions who collaborate with their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) to exchange knowledge and resources. The data collection and analysis includes interviews, field observations, and a review of documents including minutes of public meetings regarding campus expansion plans, transcripts of public meetings, contracts, master plans, economic impact reports, newspapers and other media publications.

## **Significance of this Study**

As colleges and universities expand to attract more students, increase their academic standing, and generate revenue, these institutions, together with city governments and communities, have been forced to re-think the role of the higher education institution as it relates to the community, especially when those relations are colored by the institutional efforts to physically, socially, and economically alter that community. Recent court decisions and negative publicity, coupled with the entrenched distrust and ambivalence that historically characterizes town-gown relationships, reflect the ongoing tension between higher education institutions and their external constituents. This tension is exacerbated when these institutions seek to expand. A comprehensive overview of the various strategies used by institutions to achieve campus growth is long overdue. Economic impact reports alone do not address the negative externalities of university development, and much of the current literature fails to address the unique challenges confronting higher education institutions in a depressed economy. This multiple case study approach can provide a deeper understanding of the motivations of the college, the local government, and the community when colleges implement their plans for campus expansion. Such motivations may influence the bargaining positions of all the involved stakeholders and affect the political and social climate in which the university seeks to operate.

CHAPTER TWO:  
LITERATURE REVIEW

*Except for drunken students, nothing riles up the “townies” as much as campus expansion.  
(Perry & Wienel, 2006, p. 306)*

Colleges and universities have become far more integrated into their neighborhoods than in the past (Trani, 2011; O’Mara, 2010). In addition to educating students and employing workers, colleges and universities often facilitate community engagement programs, participate in economic development, and contribute funds to city government coffers. As a result of these increasingly interdependent relationships among the higher education institutions, the local governments, and the host communities, university decisions concerning land development are likely to have far-reaching implications for the members of its community and for city leaders (Weill, 2009; Trani, 2011). University-driven campus expansion projects can draw the ire of the local government and the local populace for many reasons, and the success or failure of these projects may be dependent upon how higher education institutions respond to the concerns of their external stakeholders.

**Brief Overview of the Existing Literature**

There is no shortage of literature addressing town-gown relations and community engagement. I conducted my review of the academic literature over a period of 18 months, and my search yielded numerous books, journal articles and dissertations about town-gown issues. Many of these resources include a discussion of physical campus expansion as part of a larger conversation about community engagement. In an effort to focus my research efforts, I concentrated my research on three areas: community engagement, university real estate practices, and campus expansion initiatives. Upon realizing that a concentration on academic literature could result in an institutionally-influenced perspective, I then expanded my review to include policy-focused

literature, industry publications, and popular media sources such as print and online newspapers to get a better understanding of recent campus expansion conflicts from the perspective of the community. Although these sources are not scholarly, not peer-reviewed, and are subject to criticism concerning bias and validity, I found it necessary to review this literature to identify common themes regarding external stakeholder perspectives about campus expansion. Finally, I reviewed current state and local statutes, regulations and court cases to better understand the legal and regulatory climate surrounding university real estate development in the Western state..

For the most part, my review of the literature focusing on campus expansion and university real estate practice yielded research grounded in qualitative analyses. Perry and Wiewel's compendium *University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis* (2005) includes a number of case studies and is frequently cited by researchers interested in university real estate matters, but even the authors acknowledge that much of the existing literature relying on case histories cannot be generalized to other colleges and universities (Perry & Wiewel, 2006). Other working papers such as Wiewel, Kunst and Dubicki's *University Real Estate Development Campus Expansion in Urban Settings* (2007) and Taylor's *Mechanisms for Cities to Manage Institutionally Led Real Estate Development* (2007) were produced in connection with the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, a non-partisan research organization.

Campus expansion has also been the subject of several doctoral dissertations published within the last 15 years. The dissertation topics include stakeholder perceptions concerning university expansion initiatives in Boston and New York (Abbott, 2010), perceptions of community and university leaders on town-gown relations (Harasta, 2008), analysis of the relationship between square footage, student enrollments, university endowments, and tuition (Chapman, 2012), historical examination of the development of town gown relations between the University of North Carolina,

Duke University, and North Carolina Central University, and their respective host communities (Moyen, 2004), and the application of grounded theory methodology and organizational theory to understand community-campus partnerships and inter-organizational relationships (Kready, 2011; Burns, 2002).

Finally, much of the recent mainstream literature on university real estate development and campus expansion has been authored by college leaders and tends to reflect on campus-community relationships in an autobiographical sense. Most notable is Rodin's *The University and Urban Renewal: Out of the Ivory Tower and Into the Streets* (2007), in which Rodin has discussed the expansion efforts and community initiatives of the University of Pennsylvania during her tenure as its president. In *The Indispensable University: Higher Education, Economic Development and the Knowledge Economy*, Trani has described how higher education institutions can engage in innovative transformation of their communities (Trani & Holsworth, 2011). Although their texts focus primarily on the role of the president as a leader, Steven B. Sample and Lawrence V. Weil, presidents of the University of Southern California and Gordon College, respectively, have dedicated sections in their autobiographical texts to campus-community relations and university real estate development (Sample, 1994/2002; Weil, 2009).

#### **Four Areas of Campus Expansion Literature**

In the literature review I focus on four specific areas of campus expansion literature to identify various approaches employed by higher education institutions to identify stakeholders in order to address and resolve conflicts regarding university expansion and foster good community relations. First, I discuss institutional motivations for engaging in land development and campus expansion because non-institutional perceptions of these motivations may influence stakeholder reactions to campus expansion projects. Second, I discuss how the current literature reflects the

various approaches used by colleges and universities to demonstrate their value to local and regional communities. Third, I present the legal and regulatory frameworks guiding the college development process. Finally, I discuss a number of theoretical frameworks, including organizational theory, stakeholder theory and conflict resolution, that may shed light on how campuses identify and address the concerns of city and community stakeholders during periods of expansion planning. As land developers, colleges must abide by environmental and land use regulations that guide them through the expansion process. Nevertheless, colleges, cities and communities are afforded wide latitude to engage in various conflict mediation measures to facilitate project completion.

Recent campus-community engagement efforts reflect key shifts in the landscape of higher education (Dempsey, 2009). These shifts include the growing pressure to address unmet social needs and the pressure to become more “entrepreneurial” to increase revenue (Dempsey, 2009, p. 362). Yet, little recent academic literature concerns itself with campus expansion and the perceptions held by those most directly affected by physical campus expansion strategies (i. e., the community members and local governments).

**Institutional motivations for land development and campus expansion.** An institution’s motivation for real estate acquisition and development not only determines the type of development projects implemented by the institution, but it may also influence the relationship between the stakeholders (Austrian & Norton, 2005). If mishandled, a university’s real estate activities can undermine the university’s efforts to engage positively with its surrounding community and garner support for its expansion activities. In their study examining the real estate investment activities at five public and private institutions, Austrian and Norton (2005) developed an analytical framework in which they identify “four primary factors that influence the real estate acquisition and development practices of universities” (p. 194): (a) the motivation for investment; (b) characteristics

of the campus' physical environment; (c) the extent of policy oversight; and (d) the leadership styles and visions of the university leadership and civic officials. According to the framework, these independent variables serve to influence how universities engage in real estate development practices. The four factors influenced by the independent variables include: (a) the university's decision-making process; (b) the type of real estate project; (c) the financing mechanism for the project; and (d) university-community relations (2005). The authors specifically noted that understanding a university's motivation for engaging in real estate investment not only helps us to have a better understanding of how universities decide which projects to take on, but also allows us to understand how such motivations can be communicated to the community to improve and maintain good university-community relations during the development process (Austrian & Norton, 2005, pp. 211-12). Moreover, the authors determined that the university's motivation for development also had implications for the university's decision-making process. The authors stated that

T[t]he implications of motivation on decision making and financing may not be as immediately obvious, but are nonetheless important. The parties involved in decision making tended to vary in accordance with the motivation for specific projects. For instance, universities were more likely to involve outsiders in the decision-making process when planning for the development of residential or commercial units than when planning for academic facilities. (Austrian & Norton, 2005, p. 213).

In short, Austrian and Norton's findings indicate that when institutions engage in real estate development projects, certain factors are considered to be a known quantity, such as the reason for the project as well as the political and regulatory parameters established to guide university development activities. It is within this framework that university stakeholders involved in real estate development make decisions about what to build and how to go about building it. Hence, strategies employed by university stakeholders for garnering community support are situational and can be

dependent upon the university's internal decision-making process, the type of real estate project, how the project will be financed, and the nature of the university's relationship with its community.

A recent review of the literature also reveals that colleges and universities actively engage in real estate transactions beyond the borders of their institutions for reasons that may not always be mutually exclusive. As a result, these institutions may be compelled to develop more sophisticated strategies for managing the interests of city governments and community stakeholders. For example, at first glance, increasing student enrollment may be one reason colleges expand physically. Because the landscape of the American economy is rapidly shifting from manufacturing to education and healthcare (Carlson, 2010), colleges now face increasing demand for their services. This, in turn, is due to the fact that more students understand the "increasing relevance of college education to economic success" (Trani, 2010, p. 2). However, to attract more students, some universities may need the space to fulfill educational and research agendas and improve their standing among students and faculty (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009; Austrian & Norton, 2005).

As I mentioned in Chapter One, schools often expand as a result of inter-university competition (Wiewel et al., 2007). As tuition rises, students come to expect more for their money, like apartment style residence halls and state-of-the-art recreational facilities. Moreover, urban institutions may be concerned that surrounding blighted areas make recruiting of top faculty and students difficult (Austrian & Norton, 2005) and, therefore, engage in university real estate development efforts to revitalize immediate surrounding communities (Trani, 2010).

Additionally, colleges may feel the need to develop and acquire property because there is an expectation that they "save cities." In light of the downsizing and disappearance of old-line manufacturers, local universities remain a dominant, if not the dominant, employers in cities that were once characterized by the stability of the manufacturing industry (Fischer, 2006). As more



colleges and universities become drivers of urban contemporary development (Lane & Johnstone, 2012), we can surmise that many colleges have felt compelled to serve their communities economically and address societal challenges (Trani, 2010; Austrian & Norton, 2005). Expansion has been used as a mechanism for some institutions to purchase real property to construct health care centers, day care centers, business incubators, and other buildings that serve community-related functions that seem unrelated to the core mission of education. An analysis of 506 university-related real estate development projects led researchers to determine that university real estate development projects that involve the construction of elementary and secondary schools, neighborhood health clinics, and neighborhood housing are often the result of off-campus pressure to help facilitate “larger regional economic development goals” (Weiwei et al., 2007, p. 1). An observation of recent university development projects reveals that the direction toward regionally focused real estate projects continues despite current financial challenges faced by colleges and communities.

Finally, campus expansion can be a means of generating additional revenue for the college. Sungu-Eryilmaz has stated that “colleges and universities acquire and develop land to diversify their portfolios and to control development at the campus periphery” (2009, p. 16). Franklin and Marshall College, in southeastern Pennsylvania, acquired and raised 200 buildings on 47 acres once occupied by Armstrong World Industries, a flooring plant, for the purpose of constructing a sports field, a nursing college, and other new development (Carlson, 2010). Wayne State University acquired and converted vacant buildings in Detroit (Austrian & Norton, 2005), once the center of the automotive industry, while the University of Delaware plans to use an old Chrysler manufacturing plant to build research and technology partnerships (Carlson, 2010). Universities engaged in land-banking and entrepreneurial activities are often criticized for engaging in real property acquisition for purposes

that not only appear to be unrelated to education, but they also seem to contribute to economic instability because the land is not subject to property taxes.

Nevertheless, there is rarely one single rationale for engaging in a campus expansion project, and those who hold a stake in a campus expansion project can represent varying constituencies. As a result, it may be incumbent upon the university to develop a multi-pronged approach for garnering support for a project.

**The value of a higher education institution to its community.** There appears to be no single accepted theory for understanding university-city or university-community relationships; however, much of the literature documenting relationships between higher education institutions, city governments and communities characterize them as successful relationships of collaboration and partnership. The terms partnership, engagement, reciprocity, and collaboration are commonly used in university literature, evidencing the increasing frequency with which universities and colleges attempt to engage in economic and social development in their communities (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009). The academic literature on community engagement is far too broad to review for this particular study, yet Hatherall has provided an adequate definition of “engagement,” stating that engagement “involves working with external partners, applying the university’s intellectual, virtual and physical assets to local and global issues and priorities to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes” (2007, p. 5). Examples of community engagement activities may include applied research and service-learning (O’Mara, 2010), volunteer resources and civic engagement (Leiderman et al., 2009; Brisbin & Hunter, 2003), university-school partnerships, literacy training programs, neighborhood clean-up initiatives, job training programs, family health services, and tutoring services (Miller & Hafner, 2008). Miller and Haffner have emphasized that the extent to which institutions partner with their communities is found at different places on the “continuum of collaboration” (Russell &

Flynn, 2001, p. 1), yet all of these relationships fall under what could be referred to as the university–community partnership umbrella.

***The Partnership/collaboration model.*** Many colleges claim that adopting a partnership model allows them to collaborate with their localities and community-based organizations in order to address social and economic development issues (Brody, 2010). Trani and Holsworth have emphasized that “higher education is in the midst of a major transformation that is fundamentally redefining the relationship of colleges and universities to the broader community” (2010, p. 1). They have stated:

Scholars note how traditional “town-gown” relationships and tensions are being reconfigured around mutually beneficial partnerships where universities assist community development through the efforts of their faculty and students, by the utilization of university resources for real estate development, or through the contribution the university makes to the community as an employer. (2010, p. 1)

Trani and Holsworth have specifically mentioned the University of Southern California’s contributions to its surrounding community and to the greater Los Angeles region (2010). Stating that USC “has been a pioneer in fostering strong relations in its own backyard, paving the way for America’s urban universities in the area of community outreach,” the authors have identified USC as an exemplar for town-gown relations (2010, p. 57). Other colleges and universities have also been designated as good examples of town-gown engagement by the Campus Compact’s Carnegie Classification on Community Engagement (Campus Compact, 2014, para. 1).

Partnership/collaboration rhetoric has been extended to include matters relating to university real estate development and campus expansion. Perry and Wiewel have extolled the virtues of public-private partnerships within the context of university development yet conclude that partnering with private developers may not always be worthwhile for higher education institutions because universities can obtain the necessary real estate development expertise from other sources

and at lower cost (2006). On the other hand, Sungu-Eryilmaz has indicated that these partnerships are worthwhile for cities because cities have undergone a shift in “the governance paradigm” and now favor partnerships among the public, private, and non-profit sectors (2009, p. 7). Sungu-Eryilmaz has maintained that the shift to partnerships evidences local governments’ realization that today’s complex problems cannot be addressed by government alone (2009). This view has been supported by *The Road Half Traveled: University Engagement at the Crossroads*, wherein Axelroth and Dubb have used case studies to inform our knowledge about the real estate development partnerships that form out of a need to benefit communities (2010). Axelroth and Dubb’s policy research has focused on the role of the university as an anchor institution in low-income communities (2010, p. ix).

What motivates an institution to engage in real estate development partnerships? Some may argue that partnership/collaboration practices are simply measures taken by institutions to ward off the criticism that they “ignore the interests and concerns of their host communities” (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009, p. 5; Mayfield, 2001). While this may be true, the explanation may also be more straightforward. Universities may be motivated to rely more on partnerships and collaboration in their community and economic development efforts simply because of their placement. Universities need communities because universities are “place-bound” (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009, p. 15). There is no place for them to go. Axelroth and Dubb have emphasized that

[b]y definition, anchor institutions are tied to a certain location “by reason of mission, invested capital, or relationships to customers or employees” (Webber & Karlstrom, 2009) [citation added]. Put simply, anchor institutions cannot move. As a result, the well-being of the anchor institution is inextricably tied to the welfare of the community in which it is located. (2010, p. 1)

As such, these campus-community partnerships form not only because it may be considered economically imperative to do so, but, for some colleges and universities, there may not be much of

a choice if they want to achieve their real estate development and campus expansion goals. The authors continue,

Most higher education institutions have acted alone in their real estate activities, or, minimally, have maintained the lead role (Wiewel & Perry, 2005) [citation added]. However, in order to circumvent some necessary political and financial risks that come with real estate development — as well as address broader community development goals — some universities have chosen to work with local partners, such as local community development corporations (CDCs), in whom the community may have greater trust. (Axelroth & Dubb, 2010, p. 29).

Other policy-oriented literature concerning campus real estate development and expansion includes case studies and applied research solicited and published by government entities, such as the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of University Partnerships, and independent research initiatives. For example, in 2002, the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City and the CEOs for Cities delivered a joint study called *Leveraging Colleges and Universities for Urban Economic Revitalization: An Action Agenda* (2002) to set forth a six-pronged framework for encouraging colleges and universities to meaningfully impact job and business growth in economically disadvantaged areas. CEOs for Cities subsequently partnered with Living Cities on *How to Behave Like an Anchor Institution* (2010), a report examining the behavior and motivation of six institutions, including five colleges and universities, that work to transform their campuses and their neighborhoods. Policy-oriented studies are more likely to provide a non-institutional perspective on university real estate development practices. Scholars seeking a deeper understanding of the partnership/collaboration emphasis on university engagement lament a lack of empirical research (Swanson, 2009; Buys & Bursnall 2007, Bond & Paterson, 2005) but may look to Lane and Johnstone's recent book *Universities and Colleges as Economic Drivers* (2012) for a more recent discussion of the ways in which higher education institutions economically contribute to their communities.

*The inadequacy of the partnership/collaboration model.* A review of both recent academic and popular literature, combined with a survey of the recent spate of legal challenges to campus expansion plans, indicates that the partnership/collaboration framework may be an inadequate approach for explaining how institutions plan and implement campus expansion projects in a climate characterized by budget-strained city governments, heavy complex environmental regulation, dwindling property values, unemployment, and vanishing city services (Leiderman et al., 2004). Miller and Haffner have asserted that true collaborative relationships between universities and communities are both mutually dependent and beneficial (2008). If this is true, then the inverse may also be true. Truly collaborative relationships may not exist if universities and communities are not mutually dependent or if such relationships are not deemed to be mutually beneficial. With respect to campus expansion initiatives, a framework that acknowledges the existence of conflicting interests, the conflicting perspectives about the role of the university, and the unequal power relations among stakeholders, may be more appropriate than a partnership/collaborative framework for understanding the relationship between the college, the city, and the community.

The first reason the partnership/collaboration framework may prove inadequate is that current town and gown approaches do not reflect partnership so much as they actually reflect a struggle for power and resources among the university, the community, and the local government. Institutional plans to acquire and develop property for university purposes often lead to conflicts with local governments and nearby residents who may view the encroaching physical presence of the university as a threat to their quality of life, a disruption to the planning and design of the neighborhood, and the loss of property tax revenue (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009). Wiewel noted that “[n]owhere is the complex, often conflicted nature of the university as an urban institution more

evident than in its real estate development practices” (2005, p. 5). These conflicts are evidenced by the complaints lodged against particular projects by individuals, community activists, lawsuits, and negative publicity.

Prins has implied that we can attribute our failure to address this conflict to certain research design practices. Case studies focusing on community-university partnerships often give short shrift to the reality of conflicts that may arise between partners (2005). Because partnerships bring together people with diverse backgrounds and practices, Prins has noted that conflict can arise concerning “partner roles, decision-making, grant management, reward structures, diverging agendas, modes of work, mismatched timelines, forms of knowledge and status difference” (2005, p. 59; Abt Associates, 2001; Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Brookhart & Loadman, 1992; Dewar & Isaac, 1998; Shefner & Cobb, 2002). Prins has sought to quell the enthusiastic embrace of partnerships as a tool for systemic problem-solving if such enthusiasm has not been tempered by a healthy respect for the conflicts that can arise between partners (2005; Baum, 2000).

The second reason the partnership/collaborative framework may be insufficient is that town-gown interactions can actually reflect an imbalance of power between the university and the community that is generally not reflected in the literature. Even in instances when universities and communities purported to collaborate on certain projects, “scant attention [was] paid to community voices and perspectives” on issues of effective collaboration (Leiderman et al., 2004, p. 3; Giles and Cruz, 2000). This may be due, in part, to the fact that much of the mainstream and academic literature on these matters is produced by those within the academic community, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter. As O’Mara (2010) has stated succinctly in *Beyond Town and Gown: University Economic Engagement and the Legacy of the Urban Crisis*, “Because the majority of these studies have been written by academics, we know more about how universities have thought of themselves than we

know about how outside institutions (governments, businesses, non-profits) have perceived and related to universities” (2010, p. 4).

The fact that the literature is primarily written from the perspective of the higher education institution has serious implications. Assumptions about the community made by institutional leaders and managers can be counter-productive. Dempsey finds that campus-community partnerships are “characterized by inequalities of power that impede collaboration and introduce conflicts” (2009, p. 360). Noting that the international popularity of campus-community engagement arises, in part, out of a need for universities to “demonstrate their relevancy to various publics” (2009, p. 362), Dempsey has concluded that critical power relationships are minimized because we assume that these “publics” are clearly defined and homogenized (Dempsey, 2009). Thus, what may be perceived as a successful campus-community partnership may not be so to the extent that, absent a critical analysis of the complex nature of a community and the competing interests of its participants, some community-based participants may be excluded from engagement (Dempsey, 2009). Dempsey has called for the need to “reshape” campus-community engagement efforts around a better understanding of community and community representation (Dempsey, 2009).

Miller and Hafner (2008) employed Paulo Freire’s notion of dialogue as a conceptual framework for understanding the nature of authentically collaborative relationships. The researchers engaged in a qualitative case study to examine how and to what degree the processes employed during the planning and implementation phases of a university-school-community partnership were mutually dependent on and beneficial to the partners. The authors asserted that the central tenets of Freire’s dialogical framework -- humility, faith in humankind, hope and critical thinking --were related to indicators of successful university-school-community partnerships (i. e., mutuality, supportive leadership, university immersion in the community and assets-based building). Logically,



the “onus” of responsibility falls on the university to reach out to the community “with humility and openness,” because the university occupies the traditional position of power (p. 100).

Within the context of university real estate development, Austrian and Norton’s analysis called our attention to the power dynamics that result from university real estate development initiatives: “The extent to which community groups can affect the development process is partly a function of their sophistication. Well-organized groups with highly skilled leaders are better able to exert pressure and more equipped to negotiate with the university” (2005, p. 212). Austrian and Norton found that one university was able to expand more rapidly in neighborhoods that lacked strong community leadership (2005).

From a policy standpoint, Sungu-Eryilmaz has urged universities to be “mindful” of the power imbalances that result when universities and colleges that are land owners with steady revenue streams attempt to develop relationships with residents and community organizations who may be financially unstable or who may be perceived by the institutions as impediments to development (2009, p. 9). Nowhere is this more evident than with university projects that result in neighborhood gentrification. Axelroth and Dubb have cautioned that while development strategies used by anchor institutions “may improve the quality of life in target neighborhoods,” they bear the risk of promoting gentrification and less diverse communities due to increased rental values or rising property taxes (2010, p. 2).

***The difficulty of determining value.*** The fact that community-university engagement may lead to changes that are adverse to the community leads to my last reason that the partnership/collaboration framework may prove insufficient for evaluating campus-community relationships within the context of university real estate development. Universities may not have an accurate picture of the economic impacts of their development actions. One strategy often relied

upon by higher education institutions to demonstrate their value to local and regional communities is the publication of economic impact studies commissioned by the colleges and universities (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007; Siegfried, Sanderson, & McHenry, 2007). Economic impact studies are considered a primary method conventionally relied upon by researchers to measure the economic impact of colleges and universities on regional economic development (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007; Goldstein & Renault, 2004; Siegfried et al., 2006). An economic impact report may serve multiple functions, including articulating the value of an institution of higher education, helping the institution compete for state funding (or resist cutbacks), maintaining tax-exempt status, fending off criticism, and bolstering university fund-raising efforts (Siegfried et al., 2007). Although additional methods have been utilized, this literature review focuses on university-commissioned economic impact reports because many universities rely on these reports to identify the direct and indirect impacts of university spending, investment, and employment in a particular region (Drucker & Goldstein 2007; Siegfried et al., 2006).

An increasing number of single-university studies have been commissioned since early 2000 because the economic downturn, along with the subsequent wave of state educational budget cuts, has prompted these schools to “promote themselves as engines of economic growth” (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007, p. 28). There is no comprehensive list of college impact studies (Siegfried et al, 2007), yet the prevalence of economic impact studies reflects a current belief of many institutional leaders that economic development goals complement the “traditional missions of education, research and public service” (Goldstein & Drucker, 2006, p. 23). Private stakeholders are willing to invest money in institutions that aim to strengthen the knowledge infrastructure (Goldstein & Renault, 2004), and some state governments appropriate money to public universities contingent upon the university’s involvement in business and economic development (Goldstein, 2008).

Many researchers have taken issue with economic impact reports. A typical college impact report has called for the totaling of the college community expenditures created by the presence of the institution (Siegfried et al., 2007) and the applying of multipliers to account for the interdependency of economic activity in the local economy (Siegfried et al., 2007). However, researchers have noted that this method suffers from several drawbacks. First, a university's reliance on a "counterfactual" to determine economic indicators may not result in a realistic economic analysis (Siegfried et al., 2007). A counterfactual is an alternative scenario created by economic researchers to demonstrate how much better or worse off a city or region would be if the higher learning institution did not exist (Siegfried et al., 2007). This "but for" scenario is then used to determine an institution's value to its locality.

Historically, no single methodological standard existed to guide the creation of these counterfactuals. Additionally, there are no standards for determining the appropriate multiplier. While some studies have simply measured what would have occurred in a region in the absence of a university, other studies have projected possible impacts beyond the region but for the university's presence (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007). For example, to determine that Northwestern University contributed more than 10,000 jobs to the Chicago metropolitan region in 1993, Felsenstein (1996) developed a counterfactual that predicted that only a modest amount of alternate activity and employment would take place in the area absent the university. To draw this conclusion, Felsenstein attempted to simulate adjustments in regional population and employment that would have occurred over time.

In contrast, Siegfried has suggested that colleges and universities should also consider the opportunity costs when choosing to make public or private investment in higher education over other uses of funds (2007). Siegfried has noted that "[a] \$100 million infusion of tax revenue to the

budget of a state university catering to in-state students might have been directed by the legislature instead to K-12 education, crime prevention, road repairs or even tax relief” (p. 550). In short, the counterfactuals used by universities to demonstrate their great value to a region may be too limited in scope. They may fail to address the fact that money invested by the state in a higher education institution could have been allocated to other programs within the state, not just the region.

The second drawback of using non-peer-reviewed economic impact reports as a method for conveying the institution’s value is that economic impact studies often fail to draw a directly causal link between university activities and university impacts (Drucker, 2007). Generally, one can argue causation only if one can identify and isolate other intervening factors. For example, although researchers may conclude that a university’s presence led to an increase in local employment, other factors, such as a bustling economy or the availability of affordable housing, could have led to an influx of qualified workers to the university area. In a 2008 study on the entrepreneurial focus of universities, Goldstein has noted that recent literature has shifted its focus from viewing universities as economic “engines” to economic “stimulators” (2008, p. 84).

Ultimately, university-commissioned economic impact reports may undermine our existing notions of collaboration and partnership in campus expansion projects because such reports allow universities to control the perceptions of their own value. Drucker and Goldstein have acknowledged that researchers have traditionally paid scant attention to the negative externalities that may arise due to a university’s presence and activity in a particular community (2007). These externalities may include increased labor costs, rising home prices, and increased costs to the city due to the expenditure of city resources on university-related issues (Drucker & Goldstein, 2007). As McHenry et al. have noted in *Pitfalls of Traditional Measures of Higher Education’s Role in Economic Development* (2012), “the complexity of impact studies and their emphasis on persuasion leads to

more dispersion in measurements than the diversity among colleges would imply, raising doubt about their accuracy” (as cited in Lane & Johnstone, 2012, p. 65). Specifically with respect to university-sponsored real estate development, O’Mara has noted that university economic impact assessments and scholarly literature remain relatively unexplored (2010).

**Legal and regulatory frameworks guiding the campus development process.** More empirical research is needed accurately to reflect the often adversarial relationships between universities and local governments, on the one hand, and universities and their communities, on the other. Specifically, there is currently a dearth of critical analysis surrounding university real estate and campus expansion initiatives. As a result, our ability to evaluate the partnerships and collaborations arising out of campus expansion plans, especially during periods of economic uncertainty and recovery, is impeded. It may be of more benefit to higher education institutions to rely less on partnership and collaboration rhetoric and to adopt a more realistic perception of campus-community relationships that acknowledges concepts of power and inequity, leverage, self-interest, fairness, and entitlement. Local governments and community residents have at their disposal tools by which they can exercise control over university real estate development projects and campus expansion. These mechanisms, as discussed herein, include certain regulatory and non-regulatory mechanisms employed by cities and communities to influence campus expansion plans.

First, local governments and communities may use regulatory mechanisms as tools for restricting or opposing campus expansion. In *Mechanisms for Cities to Manage Institutionally Led Real Estate Development* (2007), Taylor has posited that institutional development processes are influenced by the local political and regulatory environment. The author has relied on a conceptual framework that has presumed that “the level of influence exercised by a city or community is dependent on the existence and strength of both regulatory and non-regulatory mechanisms” (p. 4). For the purpose

of the study, such regulatory mechanisms included city land use regulations and the design review process. Taylor's analysis of three case studies of universities involved in land acquisition and development did not lead to the conclusion that cities "*benefit*" [emphasis added] from more regulation (Taylor, 2007). Instead, cities "must consider how to use the mechanisms that are available to them most effectively and how to find solutions where mechanisms are not in place or are ineffective" (p. 39). Weibel et al. have noted that the primary interaction for university real estate development projects is with the local planning and zoning boards (2007). The researchers have observed that these regulations are often used in two ways to oppose campus expansion. First, communities use existing zoning regulations to oppose campus expansion into residential areas. Some communities fight to change existing zoning laws to preclude expansion (Weibel et al., 2007). Moreover, public hearings are often used as a venue by community members to express opposition to expansion plans (Weibel et al., 2007).

Second, local governments and municipalities have also relied on non-regulatory mechanisms to demand that colleges and universities contribute more to the local community (Taylor, 2007). These mechanisms include master plan reviews, community benefit agreements, memoranda of understanding, and other formal agreements and contributions, which may take the form of negotiated fees, one-time payments, equipment, and services. For example, financially desperate cities have flirted with the idea of imposing additional taxes on institutions of higher learning. In Pittsburgh, the mayor proposed a 1-percent "Fair Share Tax" on college tuition to offset deficits in the city's municipal pension plans (Fischer, 2010). A similar proposal was made by the mayor of Pittsburgh and the Providence mayor, who at one point asked the state lawmakers to allow the city to tax the institutions \$150 per semester for every student in lieu of collecting up to 25% of the property taxes colleges and hospitals would owe if they were not exempt (Kelderman, 2010). It is

unclear whether municipalities consider such “tuition taxes” a viable option for funding city coffers, and tuition taxes have not been levied in any state (Kenyon & Langley, 2010). Although the idea of taxing students has gained a foothold in the ongoing debate about town-gown relations, such proposals have yet to survive legal scrutiny.

In addition to the contention that colleges and universities economically and socially strengthen their communities by their mere presence, many higher education institutions make monetary contributions to their localities in accordance with contractual agreements. These contributions may take the form of gifts, voluntary payment of some local taxes, partial payment for certain city construction projects, and the implementation of community service programs (Nelson, 2010). Some universities agree to make payments in lieu of taxes (“PILOTS”). These agreements may stem from the city government’s belief that, but for the presence of the tax-exempt college or university, the city would have benefitted from the revenue generated by the assessment of property taxes of which universities are exempt (Brody, 2007, 2010).

The use of PILOTs can be traced back to the late 1920s, when Boston entered into agreements with Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Kelderman, 2010; Brody, 2007). According to the Lincoln Land Institute, PILOTs between municipalities and non-profits have been used in at least 177 municipalities amongst 18 states (Kenyon & Langley, 2011), yet the exact number of universities and municipalities with PILOTs is unclear. In 2010, Brody noted that there appeared to be no other attempt to develop a comprehensive list of colleges and universities operating under PILOT agreements (Brody, 2010). As such, the data that exist are neither systematic nor comparable (Brody, 2010). Kenyon and Langley (2011) instead relied on the results of a report by *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2010) that involved a survey of only 30 top research universities to determine the amount of payments made to local governments. While two-thirds of the

universities surveyed stated that they had no arrangements, 11 institutions stated that they made routine payments (Kelderman, 2010; as cited in Kenyon & Langley, 2011). Kenyon and Langley subsequently concluded that “16 of the top private research universities in the United States made PILOTs to the municipalities in which they are located” (2011, p. 21).

Again, the data is primarily anecdotal. Notwithstanding their tax-exempt status, Rice University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Vanderbilt University all pay property taxes on portions of university-owned property (Nelson, 2010). Duke University, Northwestern University, Dartmouth College, and Vanderbilt University make payments, both annual and intermittent, to local public agencies including school districts and cities (Nelson, 2010). Some cities enter strategic town-gown collaborations to address what municipalities view as a financial burden caused by tax exempt property (Brody, 2010). Columbia University voluntarily negotiated a community benefits agreement (CBA) wherein the school was committed to providing neighborhood amenities and mitigations valued at \$150 million (Hirokawa & Salkin, 2010). The University of Michigan helps finance a regional economic development agency by paying them \$350,000 annually (Nelson, 2010). Many colleges opt to make other sporadic or one-time contributions to their localities though they are not required by law to do so (Nelson, 2010).

Consequently, there is a dearth of research examining an institution’s willingness to pay its localities large sums of money when it is not legally compelled to do so (Baker-Minkel et al., 2004, p. 7). Some could make the argument that these voluntary PILOTs are not voluntary at all (Brody, 2010), as cities may require them as a *quid pro quo* in exchange for expansion plan approval. Others may contend that PILOTs are much ado about nothing as the revenue generated by PILOTs generally amounts to less than 1% of the city’s budget (Kenyon & Langley, 2011). Finally, while some PILOTs represent a longstanding agreement between a city and a college (i.e., some PILOTs



date back to the 1920s), many are the result of *ad hoc* arrangements executed for the purpose of placating city leaders or obtaining consent for expansion projects (Baker-Minkel, et al., 2004; Fischer 2010; Kenyon & Langley, 2011).

While all these non-regulatory mechanisms may compensate for a city's the lack of regulatory control, in many cases, there is typically no legal recourse if a party violates the terms of these *ad hoc* agreements (Taylor, 2007). Nevertheless, any advantage an institution may gain by failing to fulfill its contractual obligations may be lost as a because of dwindling social capital and festering mistrust.

**Stakeholder theory and stakeholder identification as an analytical framework.** The current partnership/collaboration rhetoric reflected in the university real estate development literature is primarily descriptive and often reflects the perspective of the institution. Academic literature that proposes specific conceptual frameworks in order to evaluate campus expansion projects critically is scarce. Institutionally-generated economic impact reports, university public relations initiatives, and conventional campus-community partnership rhetoric can potentially gloss over campus-city-community conflicts, thus posing a challenge for practitioners who seek normative evaluations about university real estate development practices.

In light of the increasing inter-dependence among higher education institutions, their communities, and local governments, I propose that stakeholder theory, a subset of organizational theory and strategic management theory, can provide the foundation for an analytical framework that will allow us more realistically to examine the relationships between a college and its non-institutional constituents during the implementation of campus expansion projects.

In recent dissertations, researchers have relied upon organizational theory as the basis for developing conceptual frameworks to examine town-gown relations (Kready, 2011; Burns, 2002).

Kready looked to organizational culture to help explain what it meant to stakeholders to engage in a community-campus partnership (2011), and Burns relied on inter-organizational theory and social interaction theory to explore why colleges developed relationships with local taxing bodies and how such relationships evolve over time (2002). Burns specifically observed the evolving relationship between Mercyhurst College and the city of Erie, Pennsylvania, after the city demanded payments in lieu of taxes from the college and concluded that interpersonal and social relationships could affect the development of organizational partnerships (Burns, 2002).

Stakeholder theory is broadly understood to be a subset of organizational/managerial theory. Well-established in business and strategic management, stakeholder theory “says that there are other groups to whom the corporation is responsible in addition to stockholders: those groups who have a stake in the actions of the corporation” (Zakhem, Palmer, & Stoll, 2008, p. 49; Clark, 1980; Hansmann, 1980). The term “stakeholder” is believed to have been coined at the Stanford Research Institute in 1963 (Freeman et al., 2010; Zakhem et al., 2008). The Institute originally defined stakeholders as “those groups without whose support the organization would cease to exist” (Freeman et al., 2010, p. 31). These groups included shareowners, employees, customers, suppliers, lenders and even society at large (Freeman et al., 2010). In *Stockholders and Stakeholders: A New Perspective of Corporate Governance*, Freeman and Reed placed the concept of the stakeholder squarely in the middle of management theory by extending the definition of stakeholder to include “any identifiable group or individual who can affect the achievement of an organization’s objectives or who is affected by the achievement of an organization’s objective” (1983, p. 91). This broadened definition reflects the belief that groups external to the organization, regardless of whether managers perceived these groups to have a legitimate stake in the firm, must be taken into account if managers want to be effective (Zakhem et al., 2008).

For other proponents of stakeholder theory, the “obligation” of managers to consider one’s stakeholders when engaged in decision-making is value-laden. In *The Stakeholder Theory of the Corporation*, Donaldson and Preston agreed that stakeholder theory was managerial (Zakhem et al., 2008; Donaldson & Preston, 1995) but contended that stakeholder theory was ultimately justified because of its normative principles (1995). These normative principles are based on the idea that stakeholders possess a “bundle” of property rights that gives individuals and groups a moral interest, or “stake,” in the corporation’s affairs (Donaldson & Preston, 1995, p. 84). The authors stressed that this perspective does not require us to conclude that any “stake” an individual may have in an institution constitutes a “formal or legal property right” (Donaldson & Preston, 1995, p. 85). Instead, managers must understand that all stakeholders’ interests have intrinsic value (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). According to Donaldson and Preston, managers have an ethical responsibility not only to act solely in the interest of shareholders, but also to consider how such actions impinge on the property rights of others (1995).

Ultimately, according to Freeman et al., stakeholder theory can have implications on three levels. First, it can be explored as a management theory wherein prescriptive propositions can be developed to explain how groups can affect the objectives of organizations (1983, p. 92). Second, the stakeholder concept may be used by strategic management practitioners who systematically identify stakeholders in order to determine the stakeholders’ potential either to threaten the organization’s ability to achieve its objection or cooperate with the organization so that it achieves its potential (p. 93). Finally, the stakeholder concept can be relied upon as the basis for analyzing stakeholder interests within the context of a larger marketplace that is subject to changes in public policy and economic power (Freeman et al., 1983, pp. 93-94). In summary, stakeholder theory suggests that the relationship between a business and the groups and individuals who can affect that

business or are affected by it, may be adopted as a unit of analysis in order to better address the business and ethical challenges faced by managers in an increasingly global environment (Freeman et al., 2010).

Stakeholder theory has been widely criticized. Although it has been broadly interpreted and applied in the fields of law, healthcare, public policy and administration and environmental policy (Freeman et al., 2010), some critics have argued that this broad applicability weakens the concept of “stakeholding” because many applications of stakeholder theory as a conceptual framework lack rigor and consistency (Stoney & Winstanley, 2001, pp. 605-606). Others have argued that broader definitions of the term “stakeholder” are too ambiguous for stakeholder theory “ever to be admitted to the status of theory” (Freeman et al., 2010). Stoney and Winstanley have pointed out that the “confused and shallow nature of the stakeholder debate has made it possible for academics, managers and politicians to embrace the term without having to explain the concept in theoretical or practical terms” (2001, p. 605). For Stoney and Winstanley, this apparent superficiality has seriously undermined the credibility of stakeholder theory because researchers have failed “to ground the stakeholder concept in the tradition of critical sociology” (p. 606). They have gone on to note that “concepts such as power, structure, conflict and resistance are often on the periphery rather than at the center of the [stakeholder theory] debate” (2001, p. 606). Nonetheless, Freeman et al. have responded to the criticism by taking a philosophically pragmatic stance:

We see “stakeholder theory” as a “framework,” a set of ideas from which a number of theories [connected and established sets of propositions] can be derived . . . For some purposes it is surely advantageous to use the term in very specific ways (e. g. to facilitate certain kinds of theory development and empirical testing), but for others it is not. (p. 63)

Freeman et al. urge readers to think of stakeholder theory as a genre of management theory that allows one to recognize the “value of the variety of uses” (2010, p. 64).

***Stakeholder analysis and salience.*** One of the most notable methods of stakeholder analysis has been offered by Mitchell, Agle, and Woods (1997) in their theory of stakeholder salience. In *Toward a Theory of Stakeholder Identification and Salience* (1997), Mitchell et al. develop a descriptive model of stakeholder salience, which is the degree to which managers identify and prioritize the claims of various stakeholders (Mitchell et al., 1997; Gifford, 2010). Mitchell et al. explain that stakeholders possess three attributes that help managers determine how they will respond to stakeholder demands. These attributes include power, legitimacy, and urgency. Power has been defined by Mitchell et al. as the ability of one to impose his or her will in a relationship (1997). Power in stakeholder relationships is transitory in that it can be acquired and lost. Urgency is the ability of certain stakeholders to command the immediate attention of the institution. Urgency is only present when two conditions are met: (a) when a relationship of claim is time-sensitive; and (b) when that relationship or claim is important to the stakeholder (Mitchell et al., 1997). Finally, legitimacy, defined as the stakeholders’ social standing with respect to the institution, will not result in stakeholder salience if it is not coupled with perceived power or a sense of urgency.

Stakeholder salience is directly related to the degree to which the attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency are “perceived by managers to be present” within particular stakeholder groups (Gifford, 2010, p. 80; Mitchell et al., 1997). Thus, stakeholders who possess all three variables at the same time and in the greatest quantities are perceived by the institution to be the most salient and, consequently, merit the most managerial attention (Magness, 2008; Gifford, 2010).

Mitchell et al.'s theory of stakeholder salience reveals the following three types of stakeholders based on "the assumption that manager's perceptions of stakeholders form the crucial variable" (p. 873) in determining how these managers respond to stakeholder claims:

**Latent Stakeholders:** Stakeholder salience is low because only one of the three variables is perceived by managers to be present. Latent stakeholders include groups that are dormant (possessing power but no real claim with respect to the institution), demanding (conveying a sense of urgency, but possessing no legitimacy or real power), or discretionary (possessing legitimacy but no real power or sense of urgency).

**Expectant Stakeholders:** Stakeholder salience is moderate because two of the variables are perceived by the managers to be present. Expectant stakeholders include groups that are dominant (possessing both power and legitimacy), dependent (lacking power but possess legitimate, urgent claims), or dangerous (possessing both power and urgency, but lack legitimate claims).

**Definitive Stakeholders:** Stakeholder salience is high because all three of the characteristics are perceived by managers to be present.

The researchers are careful to note that these attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency are variable, often socially constructed, and not always consciously or willfully exercised by the stakeholders (Mitchell et al., 1997). Consequently, stakeholder categories are transitory and highly contextual. At any point in time, latent stakeholders can become expectant, expectant stakeholders become definitive, and so on.

Within the corporate context, Gifford has agreed that shareholders are most salient when “there are high levels of power, legitimacy and urgency,” yet Gifford has also emphasized that not all attributes need to be present in order for a shareholder to achieve a high level of salience (2010, p. 96). Gifford has also considered three additional “moderating factors” believed to affect shareholder engagement. These factors include (a) the relative size of the stake, the shareholders and the company; (b) the willingness of the parties to build coalitions, and (c) the values of the managers and leaders of the institution. Stakeholder salience appeared to increase when managers held values that “allowed them to accommodate stakeholders’ concerns” (2010, p. 96).

Researchers have continued to propose new stakeholder analysis frameworks to determine how stakeholder perceptions can best be used to improve an organizational decision-making processes (Kivits, 2011; Reed, M. S. et al., 2009). This study specifically seeks to contribute to university real estate development literature by relying on stakeholder theory as a conceptual framework for understanding how university managers identify and engage with external stakeholders to achieve the university’s campus expansion goals.

***Stakeholder salience and higher education.*** The application of the stakeholder model as an underlying conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between higher education institutions and their communities is a fairly recent phenomenon. Indeed, the term “stakeholder” appears to be a ubiquitous term in recent campus-community literature (Wiewel et al., 2007; Perry et al., 2008; Dempsey, 2009; Liederman et al., 2003). In fact, in *An Exploratory Research on the Stakeholders of a University*, Mainardes, Alves and Raposa have identified several studies that reflect researchers’ attempts to establish frameworks for identifying groups that “influence or benefit from higher education” (Mainardes et al., 2010, pp. 78, 85). The problem with these frameworks, according to Mainardes et al., is that they reflect stakeholder identification from the perspective of

those who hold the highest hierarchical levels at a university. Mainardes et al. have contended that, unlike corporations, different groups within a university (i.e., faculty, departments, teaching and research staff, etc.) exercise high levels of autonomy (2010). This autonomy necessitates the input of middle managers in order to more accurately identify and respond to university stakeholders. Other researchers have also acknowledged the potential limitations of analogizing business theories and concepts to higher education. Jongbloed, Enders, and Salerno call for the re-framing of existing concepts and the development of new concepts for applying stakeholder theory to universities that are generally more multi-functional and more fragmented than their corporate counterparts (2008). Still, few authors of campus-community literature have attempted to invoke stakeholder theory as a theoretical framework for critiquing institutional decision-making processes, and still fewer have set forth a systematic process for identifying and responding to university stakeholders of campus expansion projects.

Noting that higher education institutions now interact with an increased number of communities, all of whom place certain demands on the institution in accordance with their perceived needs, Jongbloed et al. have claimed that how a university identifies its stakeholders, classifies them by their relative importance, and establishes working relationships with those stakeholders could have “important implications for the university’s chance for survival” (2008, p. 304). Benneworth and Jongbloed have defined university stakeholders as those who are positioned to benefit from the social impacts of the institutions’ performance (2009; Freeman, 1984) and the stakeholder salience model can prove useful for accomplishing the ever-expanding missions of higher education institutions. For example, Jongbloed et al. have cautioned universities against “mission overload” by encouraging universities to carefully select the stakeholders with whom they engage (Jongbloed, 2008, p. 321). Benneworth and Jongbloed subsequently emphasized the value of



systematic, multi-level stakeholder analysis (2009) and warned against making determinations about stakeholder salience by simply observing the bilateral relationship between a university and the stakeholder. Instead, salience is situational and is “constructed within wider networks of relationships” (Jongbloed, p. 583). In their study, they found that the perceptions of other outside influences, such as societal and policy actors, can pressure universities into defining stakeholder salience for the purpose of implementing specific programs and policies (2009). Kivits’s research has supported the notion that the ways in which stakeholders view the world may have implications for how universities select strategies for addressing stakeholder concerns (2011). In *Three Component Stakeholder Analysis*, Kivits has warned that the majority of stakeholder analysis literature fails to account for the stakeholders’ own perceptions. Tools often used to map and categorize stakeholders, such as the Mitchell model, may “reflect the bias of the analyst . . . rather than the real perceptions of the stakeholders themselves” (2011, p. 325). By relying on an analytical approach that takes into account individual stakeholder policy frames (i.e., an individual’s internal frame of reference) and shared policy discourse (i.e., the way groups of individuals look at a topic and how they behave towards the topic), Kivits has argued that analysts can garner “powerful insight into the context of a problem and the underlying reasons why stakeholders operate in specific ways” (p. 327). Furthermore, unlike the transitory variables of power, legitimacy and urgency, Kivits posits that stakeholders’ frames of reference are “relatively static” (p. 323).

Swanson has also found that developing an understanding of how stakeholder perceptions may influence the type of engagement that occurs between a higher education institution and its outside stakeholders is crucial for helping institutional leaders more effectively engage with those outside the institution (2009). Attempting to address what appears to be a “comparative dearth of empirical evidence” (Swanson, 2009, p. 270; Bond and Paterson , 2005; Mainardes et al., 2010)

concerning university/community engagement, Swanson has used both quantitative and qualitative analysis to determine whether randomly selected city and municipal residents living near a particular college would change the nature of their engagement with that institution if their beliefs about the economic and social value of the institution changed (2005). Swanson has concluded that although a positive relationship existed between a stakeholder's belief about an institution's value and the stakeholder's engagement with the institution, stakeholders often underestimated the institution's economic and social value. In addition, stakeholder engagement with a particular college may increase if the stakeholders' perceptions of institution's value changed (2005). However, Swanson's findings were based on the speculation of participants who had been asked if their perceptions would change in the future. Swanson did not determine whether such perceptions would actually change in light of new information provided to the stakeholders regarding the college's actual economic and social value.

In the dissertation *Town Gown Relations: University and Neighborhood Perceptions*, Harasta sought to discover ways in which the university could cultivate beneficial relationships with its stakeholders through improved communication, civic improvement, and greater responsiveness on the part of university and community leaders (2008). Harasta differentiated between primary and secondary stakeholders and employed a wide definition of "stakeholder" to include any individual with a right, interest, or claim of ownership in the organization, including investors, community members, employees, government officials, customers, media, activists, etc. (Harasta, 2008; as cited in Clarkson, 1995).

Ultimately, stakeholder identification theory is an appropriate framework for examining campus expansion projects because it suggests that if we adopt as a unit of analysis the relationship between a higher education institution and the groups affected by its decisions (i.e., the community

and the local government), then these higher education institutions may have a better chance of adequately addressing the conflicts and challenges that may arise when they attempt to expand beyond existing borders and into the community.

Little empirical literature exists illustrating the usefulness of stakeholder identification theory within the context of university real estate decision-making and campus expansion. In one study, researchers employed a case study analysis to determine to what extent negative perceptions of stakeholders and inadequate management of stakeholder concerns lead to conflicts over construction projects (Olander & Landin, 2005). The researchers concluded that stakeholder groups can influence project decisions beyond management's control if stakeholder analysis is not "conducted and updated during the entire life cycle of the project" (Olander & Landin, 2005, p. 327). Although Abbott (2010) concluded that internal and external university constituents believe university communication practices strongly influenced perceptions of campus expansion projects, the researcher relied on broader organizational theory to explain the causal relationships between the organizational characteristics of the institution and common stakeholder reactions associated with expansion.

Although it continues to be critiqued, refined, modified, or dismissed, Mitchell et al. 's theory of stakeholder identification, or stakeholder salience, still provides a useful framework that allows us to operationalize stakeholder theory (Magness, 2008) within the context of campus expansion projects. By understanding "differential" stakeholder salience (Benneworth & Jogbloed, 2010) we can better understand the extent to which the stakeholder salience, as perceived by the university and the stakeholders, influences university decision-making.

## **Summary of Campus Expansion Literature**

Indeed, there are many case histories and anecdotes extolling the virtues of partnerships and collaborations between higher education institutions and their constituents. Nevertheless, the partnership/collaboration rhetoric may fail to take into account the underlying conflicts that often arise when institutions exercise their power to physically expand into their surrounding localities. The various approaches used to “placate” local governments and appease community members appear to be *ad hoc* at best, and researchers must be careful about generalizing from case studies because each situation is different (Sungu-Erylimaz, 2009; Taylor, 2007). However, this study contributes to the body of empirical literature concerning university campus expansion by re-situating these stakeholder relationships within the context of strategic communication and conflict mediation.

## **Institutional Strategies for Building Support for Campus Expansion Plans**

The success or failure of campus expansion projects may depend upon the extent to which the managers in the field of university real estate development adequately address the concerns of those who believe they have an interest in the project (Mainardes et al., 2010). The failure adequately to identify, acknowledge, and manage stakeholder concerns surrounding the implementation of construction projects can lead to conflicts and controversies (Olander & Landin, 2005; Susskind & Field, 1996) that can impede campus expansion projects. This may occur for several reasons. First, the manner in which the interests of communities and local governments are managed can unintentionally thwart progress on the expansion project. As noted earlier, residents living around a university that wishes to expand can quickly form political bodies in opposition to the expansion plans, and communities are able to galvanize public sentiment against university real estate actions (Wiewel et al., 2007). Additionally, inadequate management of city government stakeholders can

lessen the chances of garnering government support. According to Peterson, “one of the surest ways to provoke the ire of city officials is to disregard or dismiss their concerns” about a campus expansion plan (2008, p. 35). Such mismanagement may not only affect the current expansion project but is also likely to adversely impact future campus-community and campus-government relations.

Second, perfunctory stakeholder identification on the part of the institution may not address issues of power and inequity in the community. In *Multinational Corporations and Local Communities: A Critical Analysis of Conflict*, Calvano has concluded that, under the stakeholder salience model, community stakeholders possess little power to influence the decision-making of multinational corporations because such stakeholders have little to no power relative to other stakeholders, and their claims are not perceived to be legitimate by MNCs (2008). This is especially true in poorer communities:

Poorer people are often intimidated by public speaking; so are people who do not use words frequently as part of their daily work and people whose native language is not the one in which the public forum is being conducted. The perspectives of these people usually need to be actively solicited. One cannot expect them to step forward in a public space (Connolly, 1999, p. 972; Mansbridge, 1983).

Calvano has concluded that conflict between MNCs and local communities is the result of stakeholder power inequality, gaps in perception on the part of both the community and the MNC, and the failure to acknowledge the legitimacy and impact of cultural differences (2007). A similar conclusion was drawn by researchers examining stakeholder salience within the political context to determine how politicians define stakeholders. The researchers concluded that politicians give primacy to Mitchell et al.’s variable of power over the variable of legitimacy when determining stakeholder salience (de Bussy & Kelly, 2010). Within the context of higher education, others have noted that universities have implicitly used stakeholder management as a way of “suppressing open

conflict between different constituencies” (Benneworth & Jongbloed, 2009, p. 569; Allen, 1988; Cohen & March, 1974; Baumunt, 1997).

Conversely, effective stakeholder identification can help university managers better identify the various stakeholders involved in, or influenced by campus expansion. As such, a systematic application of stakeholder identification theory can be essential to the consensus-building process (Carlson, 1999). I suggest that the mutual gains approach, as outlined in Susskind and Field’s *Dealing with Angry Public* (1996), can provide a useful framework for evaluating institutional strategies to mediate conflicts over campus expansion plans. In the mutual gains approach, ideal communication with the public involves what Susskind and Field have referred to as dialogic communication, a process for the dissemination of information as well as the gathering of information through feedback (1996). A forum established to encourage this dialogue by stakeholders creates an opportunity for collaborative problem-solving (Susskind & Field, 1996). The mutual gains framework is comprised of the following six guidelines: (a) acknowledging the concerns of the other side; (b) encouraging joint fact finding; (c) offering contingent commitments to minimize impacts if they occur and promising to compensate knowable but unintended impacts; (d) accepting responsibility, admitting mistakes and sharing power; (e) acting in a trustworthy fashion at all times; and (f) focusing on building long-term relationships (1996). Susskind and Field have explained that each of the points is “related to and informs the others” and have warned that discounting one principle could lead to actions that not only contradict another principle but also “exacerbate” the public’s anger (1996, p. 41).

The mutual gains approach supplements stakeholder identification theory for several reasons. First, it agrees with the notion that stakeholder salience is transitory. Although Susskind and Field have suggested that all stakeholders should be included in the public forum, they have also

acknowledged that others may be added as the agenda of a company becomes clear and others may be excluded in that they are unwilling to participate (1996, p. 105).

Second, the mutual gains approach requires effective, principled leaders who do the following:

- (1) realize that they are engaged in a search for mutually satisfactory outcomes; (2) negotiate as if long-term relationships mattered; (3) work to build trust regardless of what the other “side” does (because their credibility depends on it); and (4) build an organizational commitment that matches their individual commitment to honesty. (Susskind & Field, 1996, p. 238)

The value of strong leadership to university real estate development projects and campus expansion initiatives has been supported by the literature. According to Wiewel et al., “Successful URED [university real estate development] projects require persistence and strong leadership at the highest levels of the university . . . Where leadership is lacking, success is less likely and projects take longer” (Wiewel et al., 2007, p. 22). Abbott concluded that perceptions of the university leadership impacted opinions about campus expansion. He found that 36% of those interviewed in the study identified university leadership as a characteristic “which they believe influences their perception of campus expansion initiatives” (Abbott, 2010, p. 256).

A review of the literature, including policy-related studies and industry-specific literature directed toward practitioners, reaffirms the notion that, in addition to engaged university leadership, universities build support for their campus expansion plans by demonstrating mutual gains. These strategies include collaborative land use planning between the university, the city, and the community (Sungu-Erylimaz, 2009), providing the city and the community with advance notice of the project (Peterson, 2008), establishing mechanisms such as town hall meetings and outreach campaigns to encourage input from community groups, city planning groups, and other

constituencies (Peterson, 2008; Taylor, 2007), offering access to campus facilities (Peterson, 2008), compromising on initial development plans (Peterson, 2008), acting with transparency and sharing information (Peterson, 2008), agreeing to disagree with vocal minority groups (Peterson, 2008), providing community service programs (Perry & Wiewel, 2006), supporting local businesses (Perry & Wiewel, 2006), engaging local officials (Perry & Wiewel, 2006), managing interactions and resources through contracts such as memoranda of understanding and community benefit agreements (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009; Taylor, 2007), formalizing campus-community partnerships to encourage ongoing relationships (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009; Taylor, 2007; Perry & Wiewel, 2006), and off-setting tax-exempt status through PILOTS and other *ad hoc* agreements (Kenyon & Langley, 2010; Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009). Of course, universities may choose not to engage with certain stakeholder groups above and beyond what is routinely required (Trani, 2010; Perry & Wiewel, 2006) if they believe these groups to be less salient.

### **Summary of Literature Review**

Much of the literature concerning university real estate development and campus expansion characterizes the successful relationships between colleges, local governments, and communities as relationships of collaboration and partnership. Nonetheless, accounts of campus expansion conflict are primarily anecdotal, and current empirical research addressing how colleges and universities address campus expansion conflict is lacking. The partnership/collaboration framework favored in much of the campus-community engagement literature may prove insufficient for examining current town-gown interactions. Literature often written from the perspective of the institution may not address the imbalance of power between the university and the community.

The lack of empirical research surrounding university stakeholder identification and management during campus expansion projects warrants additional exploratory research (Mainardes



et al., 2010). The stakeholder salience framework, together with a normatively focused model of stakeholder theory, may prove to be a useful conceptual framework for exploring university management strategies as they relate to campus expansion plans. This study explores how universities, city governments, and communities perceive each other during periods of campus expansion and how these perceptions influence university-driven efforts to build regulatory and non-regulatory support for campus expansion projects.

CHAPTER THREE:  
RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

**Research Questions**

The goal of this study was to understand how colleges and universities in Western, urban communities obtain government and community approval of campus expansion projects. For the purpose of this study, the phrase “campus expansion plan” is defined as those collective measures taken by higher education institutions physically to expand school facilities through the acquisition and development and building of real property on and off the campus. Specifically, I hoped to identify the ways in which higher education institutions identify and address stakeholder concerns not only to obtain regulatory approval but also to garner community acceptance of campus expansion efforts. Although much has been documented with respect to university real estate development practices generally (and particularly with respect to the expansion efforts of higher education institutions often located on the East Coast), much of the current literature fails to address the unique challenges faced by higher education institutions in Western states. To address these objectives, the following research questions guided this study:

1. How do the campus expansion efforts of higher education institutions reflect the mission of the institution as perceived by the institution, the city stakeholders, and the community stakeholders?
2. How does an institution determine which stakeholders are critical in the expansion process?

3. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to obtain regulatory approval of campus expansion plans, and how do local government stakeholders perceive these strategies or practices?
4. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to garner community stakeholder support for campus expansion plans, and how do community stakeholders perceive these strategies or practices?

To answer these research questions, I conducted a multiple case study of two four-year higher education institutions that recently sought regulatory approval to expand their campuses physically. After studying both institutions individually, I engaged in a cross-case analysis that compared and contrasted the perceptions held by the various stakeholder groups influenced by campus expansion plans as well as the approaches employed each institution to obtain approval.

### **The Research Design**

The purpose of this study was to explore the processes by which higher education institutions identify key stakeholders and navigate the challenges posed by city governments and surrounding communities when the institutions attempted to engage in a campus expansion project. These processes may be dictated by the stakeholders' perception of the college and such perceptions, positive and negative, may influence the bargaining positions of all stakeholders involved in the regulatory and non-regulatory process. How such conflicts and concerns are addressed by the university can ultimately affect the political and social climate in which the college operates. Ultimately, the purpose of this study is to help improve the quality of the practice of institutional leaders, including college real estate developers and planners and government/community relations officers (Merriam, 2009).

**Selection and Rationale of Case Study Method.** My primary objective is to understand the strategies by which colleges and universities in a Western state engage in real estate acquisition and development amid potential opposition. These “strategies” may not only be dictated by law but also influenced by human behavior. First, as Maxwell explains, a major strength of qualitative research is its focus on understanding meaning or the perspective of the participant (2005). Maxwell notes that researchers engaging in qualitative study are interested not only “in the physical events and behavior that are taking place, but also in how the participants . . . make sense of these, and how their understanding influences their behavior” (2005, p. 22). Second, although a quantitative survey could be administered to determine the specific requirements for obtaining regulatory approval of expansion plans (i. e., filing a specific plan with the city, preparing a preliminary environmental document as mandated by the Western state), survey responses would not likely yield any information about the nuances of an institution’s relationship with its community or how those nuances influence the activities colleges engage in to achieve consensus with city and community stakeholders (i.e., the hosting of town hall meetings, the operation of community service programs, and the execution of *ad hoc* agreements). Third, data was collected in the natural settings of institutions. This allowed me to gather information directly from institutional actors, community members, and city officials, because qualitative research is “grounded in the lived experiences of people” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 2). Fourth, the thick descriptions that are characteristic of qualitative research are essential to our understanding of the political, attitudinal and environmental contexts in which the stakeholders operate (Creswell, 2009). According to Maxwell, qualitative research may help us to “understand[] the particular *context* within which participants act and the influence that this context has on their actions” (p. 22). The context established through robust descriptions of both these cases may also provide insight into various perceptions held by the

stakeholders with respect to campus expansion. This leads me to the final justification for approaching this study qualitatively. Because I sought to understand the various perceptions held by stakeholders, I presumed that stakeholders' realities are socially constructed (Merriam, 2009, p. 8). The social constructions formed by institutional, city, and community stakeholders may strongly influence their actions with regard to campus expansion. Ultimately, because I am interested in perceptions, context, and meaning, I hoped that a qualitative study would yield valuable data regarding the inter-relationships and interactions among higher education institutions, city governments, and communities during periods of campus expansion. This type of data was unlikely to be gathered quantitatively.

A case study approach was specifically conducive to my understanding of the approval process of campus expansion for several reasons (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009). First, a case study approach allowed me to gain insight into a single unit of analysis -- the relationship between a single university and its community -- while acknowledging that the single unit of analysis includes what Merriam refers to as "complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon" of campus expansion (2009, p. 50). Second, as Yin emphasizes, a case study method is warranted when "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (2009, p. 18). Higher education institutions exist in highly contextualized environments in which the relevant behaviors of the stakeholders cannot be manipulated (Yin, 2009, p. 11). These institutions can be differentiated based on a seemingly endless list of institutional variables such as student population, campus climate, community engagement, campus location, institutional mission, leadership, financial status, and alumni participation. Attempting to predict and control stakeholders' perceptions and reactions to campus expansion strategies within these highly contextualized environments would have proved challenging.

This study employed a multiple case design because evidence from multiple cases is considered more compelling and robust than that generated through a single case study (Yin, 2009, p. 53). Multiple cases allowed me to show different perspectives on the issues (Creswell, 2007, p. 74). Studying multiple sites instead of a single site also increases the possibility of theoretical replication, thus allowing me to predict contrasting results for “anticipatable” reasons (Yin, 2009, p. 54). Finally, themes surfaced across sites in a multiple case study, thus increasing the ability to generalize to other higher education institutions.

In neither of these cases did my research “begin at the beginning.” In other words, at the commencement of this study, both of the sites had either initiated or had recently completed efforts to obtain regulatory approval to engage in campus expansion projects. Each site was at a different stage in the expansion process. Consequently, some may argue that the more appropriate research approach for this study should have been an historical approach, because some of the data collected arose from observation of non-contemporary events (Yin, 2009, p. 18). Additionally, much of the data collected for this study came from public records, which is characteristic of an historical case study. However, because this study also included direct observation of events related to expansion efforts as well as interviews with relevant stakeholders -- two sources of data not usually included in the historical research approach -- an instrumental case study proved to be the more useful approach (Yin, 2009, p. 11).

**Sites for the study.** The scope of the study is limited to four-year universities located within one Western state. This research focused on specific expansion and development projects of two campuses including one public university and one private university. There were two reasons for limiting this study to universities in a Western state. First, much of the current academic and popular

literature covering university real estate development project focus on colleges and universities in the East and the Midwest.

Second, although colleges and universities in this Western state are subject to varying local ordinances regulating their campus expansion activities, all are subject to the Western State Environmental Preservation Act (WSEPA), an act that requires Western state colleges and universities in their capacity as real estate developers to identify specific measures for “reducing the anticipated impacts of their expansion on surrounding communities” (Legislative Analyst Office, 2009, p. E-164). WSEPA has resulted in a regulatory climate that is ripe for potential campus-city-community conflict because state agencies in this Western state (including the public higher education institutions) are required to prepare an environmental impact report (EIR) for any project that will potentially result in significant environmental impacts. According to the Legislative Analyst Office,

[i]n 2006, [a state Supreme Court decision] clarified that a campus is responsible, when feasible, for mitigating the significant environmental impacts of its expansion, even if the mitigation involves paying local agencies for off-campus infrastructure. As a result of [this decision] decision, the higher education segments and other state agencies may need to reconsider how their growth plans affect surrounding communities and whether they have an obligation to provide payments to local agencies for infrastructure improvements. (2009, p. E-164)

In 2011, a Court of Appeals decision provided further clarification of this Supreme Court decision by ruling in favor of a city wherein the local public university planned to expand its campus to accommodate an increase in student enrollment from 25,000 students to 35,000 by 2024. The Court of Appeals determined that the university could not avoid paying the city its “fair share” of the costs to mitigate the off-site traffic impacts of the expansion project simply because the university believed that it would be unfeasible for the university to do so without additional funding allocated by the State Legislature or the Governor. The Court of Appeals rejected the public university’s

assertion that the benefits of expanding the university to add more students outweighed the costs of any unavoidable significant environmental effects. In other cases, courts have ruled in favor of these public universities. When another city in the Western state, together with local community groups challenged the local public university's plans to expand its campus, the Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the university by concluding that potentially adverse impacts on city services could not be deemed adverse environmental impacts under WSEPA. In that case, the city had accused the public university of failing to adequately address the potential impacts of campus expansion on fire protection, public safety, traffic, parking, air quality and parklands. The court sided with the public university on all accounts except for the parklands issue and concluded that the university did not have to mitigate these impacts under WSEPA. Private universities and colleges are not unilaterally excluded from WSEPA requirements and are generally required to prepare an EIR if their campus expansion plans may result in potentially significant environmental impacts.

Not every town-gown dispute in the state over a campus expansion plan lands in court, yet determining who pays to mitigate the effects of campus expansion has become a contentious issue. This study provided a unique perspective on how universities in this Western state navigate conflicting stakeholder interests within the context of a strong regulatory and legal climate intended to encourage expanding colleges and universities to pay fair share contributions to their communities to mitigate the cost of their physical growth.

The two sites, Greenfield University and Frontenac University, comprised a purposive sample for the following reasons as set forth by Maxwell (2005). First, these schools were selected to achieve representativeness or typicality. Both of the institutions in this study prepared master plans to guide their campus growth and sought the approval of their construction plans from a regulatory body that had jurisdiction over such decisions. Second, this study includes one public institution and



one private institution, both with student populations over 30,000. Third, these institutions represent two types of institutions common in this Western state: a large, public four-year institution offering primarily master's degrees on the graduate level and considered to be a primarily commuter campus, and a large, private four-year research university offering doctoral degrees and considered to be primarily residential. Fourth, the communities in which these colleges exist are varied educationally, economically, socially and racially, but both sites are located within communities deemed to be urban. Finally, both institutions selected sought and received Campus Compact's Carnegie Classification for Community Engagement and Outreach & Partnerships within the past 10 years. These designations, unlike other Carnegie classifications, comprise elective classifications that rely on voluntary participation of colleges and universities. Institutions applying for the classification must provide data and documentation evidencing their collaboration with their local, regional/state, national, and global communities for the purpose of exchanging "knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, n. d., para. 4). For example, to evaluate the applicants, the 2010 Documentation Reporting Form required of the applicant institutions included, but was not limited to, inquires about: (a) the priority of community engagement in the institutional mission statement; (b) institutional mechanisms for systematically assessing community perceptions of the institution's engagement with the community; (c) the consideration of the community in the institution's strategic plans; (d) the promotion of community engagement by the institution's executive leadership; and (e) outreach programs and partnerships. This selection of sites allows for a critical examination of the notion of consensus building among colleges, cities, and communities (Maxwell, 2005).

## **Data Collection Methods**

My sources of data for collection include interviews, documents, online media sources, and direct observation. I have included a Units of Observation Table in Appendix A identifying my units of observation and the sources of data.

**Interviews.** For each site, I interviewed 13-14 participants, including university administrators, city representatives, planners, and members of the community. My method for the initial selection of participants involved identifying those participants who held formal positions within their respective stakeholder groups. Prior to the commencement of my study, I engaged in informal interviews with campus planning professionals at both sites, thereby gaining permission to access the data that allowed me to establish context for my research (Maxwell, 2005). I recognized that due to the fragmented nature of higher education institutions, multiple departments are often responsible for working on campus expansion projects. As a result, I began my inquiry process with the offices of government relations and the university planning offices to begin generating a list of university departments and offices relevant to this study. I also reviewed university websites and public records to identify any potential community members who could be participants. These community members also included members of activists groups who may have become galvanized in response to a university's campus expansion plan.

For each institution, I interviewed at least one participant representing the institution's real estate development department and at least one participant representing the institution's government and/or community relations office. In both cases, I interviewed university participants first because they were likely to help identify other potential participants for this study, including certain community and city stakeholders involved with the expansion projects.

For each city, I interviewed at least one individual responsible for city planning and one elected city representative. The city participants were purposively selected through inquiries of university participants and a review of public agency websites and public records related to the respective expansion project. These interviews took place either telephonically or in the participants' offices. For both communities, I identified and interviewed at least four community stakeholders. The data generated by these interviews allowed me to compare the institution's perception of the salience of various stakeholder groups with the perceptions held by the participants who had no affiliation with the institution (the "external stakeholders"). These interviews took place telephonically or in the offices of the community participant.

The interviews were semi-structured (Merriam, 2009) to elicit specific information from the participants while allowing the participants to freely articulate, in their own words, their beliefs about the role of the higher education institution in their community and its campus expansion plans (Merriam, 2009). Because I was also interested in past events (Merriam, 2009), I allowed some latitude during the interviews to encourage the participants to share narratives about events that had already taken place with regard to expansion plans, such as public hearings and town hall meetings. Also, a semi-structured approach was preferred because specific data was required from all respondents, and this data could augment the replication of this study (Merriam, 2009). Three interview protocols were used: one for city and other government stakeholders (Appendix B-3), one for university stakeholders (Appendix B-1), and one for community stakeholders (Appendix B-2). Although the interview protocols were based on the research questions and were designed to elicit data directly relevant to my study, I acknowledge that I could not simply "convert" my questions into methods (Maxwell, 2005). Therefore, I worded the interview questions in a way that would elicit responses to my research questions while allowing participants to share their own knowledge about

the phenomenon. Consequently, time was left for an open-ended discussion to allow me to ask any emerging questions. Prior to the commencement of this study, I engaged in two pilot interviews with stakeholders from another large university in the state, not included in this study, which is also currently engaged in expansion planning to accommodate an anticipated increase in the university's full-time equivalent students. I used the protocols for the city stakeholders and the university stakeholders to determine if modification to the interview protocols was necessary.

All interviews were conducted in person or telephonically, and, in the latter case, audio recorded and subsequently transcribed by a third party and reviewed by me to ensure accuracy and detail. I also supplemented the transcribed interviews with notes taken during the interviews. All the interviews were recorded with two recording devices, including a smart phone. I expected the interviews to last 60-90 minutes each, but at least one interview only lasted approximately nine minutes. Informed consent was communicated to each participant, and they each received an information consent form. The Minimum Risk Information Sheet is attached as Appendix B-4. I also made field notes in a journal to record information about the context of the location, the atmosphere of the location where the interviews took place, and my personal feelings about the participants' responses (Denscombe, 2010).

**Documents.** Documents provided rich data for this study because, as Yin notes, documents can “corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (Yin, 2009, p. 103). Because higher education institutions are required by many local jurisdictions to submit master plans and specific plans to local public agencies for review and comment, a review of public records -- including submitted specific plans and master plans, public meeting agendas, staff reports, and agreements between the institution and public agencies -- was essential to the completeness of this study. These documents are particularly important because some “serve[d] as substitutes for records of activity

that [I] could not observe directly,” such as past city council meetings, city planning meetings, and public hearings (Stake, 1995, p. 68). I obtained most of the public records through Internet searches on public agency websites. The number of public records in connection with a development project can be voluminous, so I maintained Document Summary Forms (attached as Appendix C) for some of the larger, more relevant documents. These forms included a summary of the document and helped place the data within the context of my study.

Additionally, I gathered data from popular media forms such as newspapers and online media resources such as online news sources and blogs that directly addressed universities’ expansion plans. According to Merriam, mass communication materials can be useful for understanding “some aspect of society at a given time” (2009, p. 144). I specifically mined data from subject universities’ websites that were specifically related their respective real estate development plans. My document review also included pertinent legal cases and regulations pertaining to real estate development and higher education institutions. Finally, I reviewed visual materials such as visual images of the subject universities’ development plans and renderings.

**Direct observations.** I conducted direct observations by making field visits to each campus and the surrounding communities. I broadly observed the campus, the intended sites of the campus expansion projects, the sites of any completed projects, and the neighborhood surrounding the campus. For both campuses I specifically observed campus buildings, open spaces, construction sites, off-campus facilities, campus perimeters, including their points of entry, and student activity. According to Yin, observations of neighborhoods and organization units can “add new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied” (2009, p. 110). I took over 100 pictures of the sites. The visual depictions of the campuses, the expansion sites, and the neighborhoods allowed me to place the expansion projects within a context and provided points of

reference for other data. As such, these observations were used as a source of “analytic insights and clues” to help focus my data collection and analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 139).

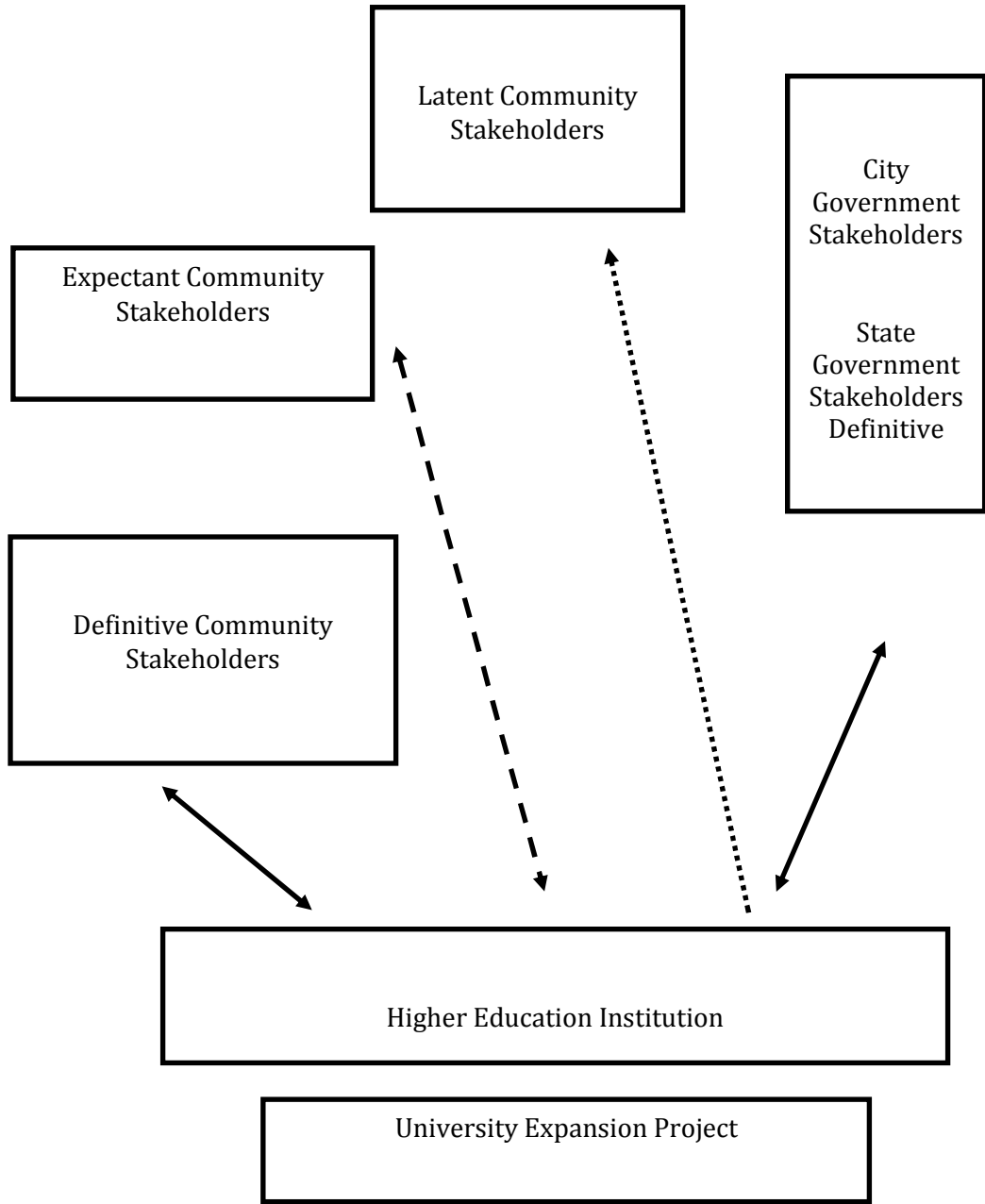
### **Data Analysis**

This study involved both within case and cross-case data analysis. Because of the nature of this study, I employed a qualitative design that was fairly pre-structured so as to ensure clarity and focus in my research when dealing with large amounts of data from multiple sites (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This approach allowed me to better engage in what Miles and Huberman refer to as cross-case comparability (1994).

Throughout my data collection process, I completed the Document Summary Forms soon after a document had been reviewed and I maintained the data, including the interview transcripts, in binders designated for each site. I used a word processing program to store, code, and sort data as it was being collected throughout the study. Data was also stored virtually using a cloud storage program. I maintained a journal throughout the study and spent some time reading and thinking about the interviews, the documents, and the observations to glean potential narrative structures and to identify contextual relationships (Maxwell, 2005, p. 96).

To facilitate a pre-structured analysis approach prior to this study, I developed a model of the conceptual framework of my study based on my research questions, my literature review, and my prior experience with real estate development projects (See Figure 1). This conceptual framework depicts the institution, the city, and the community stakeholders as separate entities bound within a community. The community stakeholders are separated into three separate groups representing three levels of stakeholder salience.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



The solid arrows represent the highest level of stakeholder salience as perceived by the university, and the light dotted arrows represent the lowest level of stakeholder salience. This framework

assumes that the strategies employed by universities to gain approval of campus expansion plans correspond with the university's perceptions and beliefs about stakeholder salience.

I first reduced the data by coding the interviews and documents by employing what Miles and Huberman refer to as a two-level coding scheme (1994). On the first level, I coded the interview transcripts according to an initial list of codes based on my conceptual framework (Appendix E). Coding using the initial list resulted in some fairly broad organizational categories such as institutional missions, project descriptions, campus expansion plans, stakeholder perceptions, relevant laws, and conflict mediation strategies. As a result of the data I collected from the interviews, the list was further expanded to include *in vivo* codes, or codes that represent data that emerged in real life (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

The second level of coding involved open coding which allowed me to categorize data “taken from participants’ own words and concepts” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 97). Open coding served several functions. First, it helped me avoid any research myopia that may have resulted if I had solely relied on a pre-structured approach. Open coding allows for the development of categories based on the participants’ own descriptions of the phenomenon of campus expansion. Second, open-coding lends itself to the development of descriptive categories that I eventually used in order to provide detailed aspects of each case and to generate themes for major findings across the cases (Creswell, 2009). Third, I believe that this general emic level of analysis strengthened the validity of this study as it allowed for the possibility of discovering alternative explanations of the campus expansion strategies employed by institutions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For each site, I further reduced the data by identifying the themes and patterns that emerged as a result of my two-level coding scheme (Creswell, 2009). I made notes in my journal throughout the study, documenting my reflections



about the study, the revisions of the codes, and my thoughts about emerging patterns, themes, and outstanding questions.

I then engaged in what Merriam (2009) and Yin (2009) refer to as a cross-case analysis to develop general explanations and themes applicable to both of the cases. This cross-case analysis involved a fresh review of the literature and the data to identify patterns common to both sites. To generate cross-case synthesis, I referred back to the interview questions, my initial list of codes, and my research journal.

### **Ethical Concerns**

All participants remained anonymous to maintain confidentiality and each university, city, community and organization is identified by a pseudonym. Although some participants would know of my own background in real estate law, I did not discuss legal matters that did not specifically pertain to legal or statutory matters directly related to campus expansion.

Another ethical concern was the interview protocol and informed consent of all participants. I not only submitted all interview protocols to UCLA's Office for the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP) for review and approval prior to interviewing the participants, but I also submitted for approval the protocols as well as the plans for my study to the institutional review boards for both universities that were the subjects of this study.

The digital recordings of all interviews were stored on an external flash drive and virtually stored using a cloud program. The passwords are known only to the researcher. The flash drive and any hard copies of interview transcripts or data analysis documents were stored in a locked storage box acquired specifically for this study in my residence for no less than one year and then destroyed.

## **Validity/Reliability/Generalizability**

Although a case study method allowed me to understand the complexities of campus expansion planning in depth (Yin, 2009), the validity, reliability, and generalizability of this study may be challenged because of my reliance on interviews, my role as a researcher, and my selection of specific sites for the study. Below, I demonstrate how my attention to construct design, internal validity, external validity, and reliability helped me to conduct a rigorous study which allows readers to engage in effective analytical generalization (Yin, 2009).

**Construct validity.** Construct validity, the first criterion for judging the quality of research design, required me to identify specific measures for analyzing campus-community relationships as they related to campus expansion. Identification of these measures lessened the chance that I would use subjective judgment to make determinations about the data I collected (Yin, 2009). To address this concern specifically within the context of a case study, I clearly identified the unit of analysis as the relationships between the higher education institution, the city, and the community from the time the institution publicized its plan to expand the campus outside of its traditional borders to November 2013, the end of my data collection period. This is what Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to as the bounded context of the study. Such constraints not only dictated the amount of data I collected, but they also helped increase construct validity because I focused this study on the perceptions that university representatives hold about the city and the community stakeholders with regard to the willingness and ability of those external stakeholder groups to influence campus expansion projects. This study also attempted to identify the perceptions of the institutions held by the city and the community stakeholders to examine their own beliefs about their power and their willingness to influence university decision-making. Moreover, I attempted to identify the tools and strategies used by stakeholders to directly influence decision-making such as the enforcement of

regulatory mechanisms (such as public hearings, enforcement and revisions of zoning laws, and traffic and environmental accommodations) and the demand for non-regulatory measures (social programs, monetary consideration, donations for public services and other ad hoc agreements).

I relied on multiple sources of evidence to affirm or challenge the information I acquired from interviews. For instance, I reviewed the public records generated by city governments to determine community and government responses to campus expansion plans. I also relied on popular media resources such as the institutions' own newspaper publications, community publications, and websites to identify community perspectives and strategies. Finally, as a "validating procedure," drafts of the findings were provided to participants to review my conclusions (Yin, 2009, p. 182) and make any corrections to ensure the accuracy of my findings.

**Internal validity/credibility.** A primary element of my study involved making determinations as to whether certain perceptions held by all the stakeholders involved in campus expansion planning actually influence the strategies used by higher education institutions to obtain approval and acceptance of the expansion. For example, did the institutional perceptions of the city and the community influence the manner in which the institution addressed potential impediments? Conversely, did the perceptions of the institution held by city and community stakeholders cause them to make certain demands of the institution before agreeing to support the institution's expansion plans? According to Yin, internal validity is primarily concerned with the ability to demonstrate causal relationships between factors and events (2009, p. 42). My study is was not so much concerned with causal situations as it is concerned with the identification of any patterns that may have arisen across the sites with respect to stakeholder salience and institutional strategies. As a result, I hoped to establish the internal validity of this study by demonstrating the credibility and trustworthiness of the data (Merriam, 2009, p. 213; Maxwell, 2005). To the extent that much of my

research relied on numerous participant interviews, I worked to ensure internal validity of the data through triangulation, which, according to Merriam (2009), is the “most well known strategy to shore up the internal validity” (2009, p. 215). This study employed two triangulation approaches. First, I relied on the use of multiple methods of data collection to compare and cross-check emerging findings within each case (Merriam, 2009). For example, the information provided by a city government participant in an interview was cross-checked against what is documented in public records or observed on site. Second, I compared and cross-checked multiple sources of data by interviewing multiple participants who represented the local government, the university, and the community. According to Yin, multiple sources of evidence provide “multiple measures of the same phenomenon” (2009, pp. 116-117).

Another possible threat to internal validity was that data could be misinterpreted. I engaged in member checks with participants to validate the data (Merriam, 2009). According to Maxwell, member checks, or respondent validation,

is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do and the perspective they have on what is going on, as well as being an important way of identifying your own biases and misunderstandings of what you observed.(Maxwell, 2005, p. 111)

Because of my experiences as a former redevelopment attorney who primarily represented city governments, school districts, and community college districts in real estate matters, I believe that respondent validation is essential for ruling out the misinterpretation and bias. I also kept note of my own reactions to the data.

**External validity.** The third test for determining the quality of research design involves the concern with the extent to which the findings may be generalized or transferred to other cases (Yin, 2009; Merriam, 2009). The case study approach inherently poses a threat to the ability to generalize

the findings in this study to other instances in which higher education institutions engage in campus expansion. An external threat to credibility for this study is directly related to the fact that only two universities were studied, and each case is, in turn, unique. According to Maxwell, qualitative researchers rarely make claims about generalizability because they usually study a single setting or a small number of sites (2005). Nevertheless, the design of a multiple case study can allay concerns about generalizability in several respects. First, the sites in this study were purposively selected because they represented two different types of institutions with similar and contrasting characteristics. This variation in sample selection “allows for the possibility of a great range of application by readers or consumers” of this study (Merriam, 2009, p. 227). Moreover, findings from a single site may be generalized to the extent that the site is similar to others of its type (Denscombe, 1998). Second, this study includes sufficient detail about each site so that readers may draw their own conclusions about the relevance of the findings to other institutions (Creswell, 2007, p. 209; Denscombe, 1998, p. 61). This report includes details about the locality of each institution in relation to its community, the racial and ethnic demography of the surrounding community, the institution’s organizational structure with respect to campus planning, and descriptions of the regulatory climate in which the university must make decisions about land use.

Finally, the varied, multiple case sampling allows readers to engage in analytic generalization as opposed to statistical generalization made from “sample to population” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 28). The goal of my study was not to generalize about all campuses engaged in campus expansion but rather to generalize about how campuses engage in stakeholder salience and understand how such perceptions of stakeholder salience may influence not only university decisions about conflict mediation surrounding campus expansion but also the eventual outcome of the campus expansion process.

By studying two sites, I followed what Yin refers to as replication design (2005, p. 116). According to Yin, cases must be carefully selected so that they predict similar results (literal replication) or predict contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons (theoretical replication). In this case, I identified stakeholder salience theory and conflict mediation as the theoretical frameworks through which to view town and gown relations and campus expansion. According to Yin,

The framework needs to state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found (a literal replication) as well as the conditions when it is not likely to be found (theoretical replication). The theoretical framework later becomes the vehicle for generalizing to new cases. (Yin, 2009, p. 54)

Here, I hypothesized that the manner in which institutions identify city and community stakeholders has some influence on the conflict mediation strategies and practices used by institutions to obtain approval of expansion plans. I hypothesized that institutions would more likely be willing to engage in both regulatory and non-regulatory strategies for garnering approval of their expansion projects with stakeholders they perceived to be more salient.

**Reliability.** Reliability, the ability to ensure replication of research findings, is Yin's fourth test for determining the quality of research design (Yin, 2009; as cited in Merriam, 2008). To the extent that this study focuses on human behavior and complex situations, replication of this particular study in the future will not likely yield the same results (Merriam, p. 222). However, by following a Case Study Protocol (Appendix D) for both sites, I worked to ensure that the results of my study were consistent and dependable. This case study protocol included (a) procedures for identifying, contacting and interviewing participants, (b) an outline of documents to collect for analysis contacting planners of each site to obtain permission, (c) parameters for engaging in site

visits to interview participants and engage in field observations, and (e) data analysis practices included first level and second level coding.

## **Summary**

Data collection and analysis took place concurrently throughout my study. I believed that I was able to collect enough data from each site to allow me to glean insight into how two different universities managed their internal and external stakeholders to obtain regulatory approval to carry out their expansion goals. Research findings for each site are presented in Chapters Four and Five. In each chapter, I provide detailed descriptions of each university which include descriptions of the expansion projects, background information about the neighborhood in which each university is located, the goals of each institution with respect to campus planning, and the nature of the institutional leadership. Because I have purposively chosen universities that are markedly different with respect to their community demographics and their public or private nature, I expected to find that the strategies used to obtain city and community approval were highly contextualized to each university. On the other hand, when engaging in cross-case analysis, I also expected to find common themes that often emerge when larger institutions seek to control more resources such as fear of gentrification, a sense of lost community, and a threat of economic displacement. Chapter Six includes a cross-case analysis while Chapter Seven includes a discussion of these common themes, and some recommendations for universities for effectively managing stakeholder groups during the approval process for campus expansion plans.

## CHAPTER FOUR:

### FINDINGS

#### Greenfield University

##### **A Campus Snapshot of Greenfield University**

During the summer of 2013, I observed the campus of Greenfield University. Students strolled through the campus with backpacks, cups of coffee, and smart phones in hand, perhaps providing the only evidence that university classes were still in summer session on an otherwise quiet day. The summer lull was pierced by the sounds of jackhammers and construction workers working on at least seven different construction projects on the campus. These construction projects located on the core campus included two new academic buildings and a recently completed student health center. The large fences that blocked access to the on-campus sidewalks and the looming construction cranes that dotted the skyline were no obstacle to the frequent campus tours led by backwards-walking student guides, the high school summer camp students, the skateboarding, middle-school kids, or the dog walkers and joggers. Commuters undeterred by the construction activity walked directly through the campus board the light rail train that ran along the campus' south perimeter, the tracks separating the university from cultural destinations such as public gardens, museums, and sports venues that sat directly across the street.

Greenfield University's gated, park-like atmosphere almost made it easy to forget that located along the north perimeter of the campus was a busy intersection where drivers needed to be on the alert for students distracted by smart phones, elementary school students, cyclists, and university employees. The atmosphere also made it easy to forget that the university's core campus was located in a metropolitan city.



In the mornings during the school year, parents dropped their kids off at a local elementary school situated directly across from the university's campus. The name of the school, Greenfield Science Magnet School, hinted at some affiliation between the university and the school, and the color of the student uniforms match the university's signature colors. East of the school sat a large, modern eight-story apartment complex with a large sign hanging against its facade advertising luxury student apartments. These apartments housed a small portion of the university's graduate and undergraduate student population who were willing to pay \$1,000 per month for a single bedroom unit.

During the lunch hour, people crossed the busy intersection to visit the College Centre Mall, which could best be described as a run-down, Eighties-style shopping area. Surrounding the mall were banks and the ubiquitous franchise coffee shops and ice cream stores. A large supermarket that catered to university students and local residents sat to the north of the College Centre. A popular chain restaurant with a dirty, broken curbside sign was located on the southeast corner. The College Centre, the adjacent parking lots and the land on which all this retail was located is owned by Greenfield University. The two-story outdoor mall had approximately 15 stores, and it was easy to tell that many of the retail spaces had been converted to university office space or were unoccupied. The stores included a printing shop, a shoe repair shop, a nail salon, an old movie theater complex and an indoor food court with vendors offering Chinese, Greek, and Indian fare along with the standard sandwiches, salads and yogurt. During the lunch hour, College Centre's food court was bustling with patrons who seemed to include university faculty and staff, students and community members, but the food court was showing its age, with worn seating and flooring and some areas either boarded up or haphazardly blocked off with yellow tape. As with the rest of the mall, there appeared to be numerous signs of deferred maintenance.

## **The Project**

About six months prior to my summer observation, the city council voted unanimously to approve a “Specific Plan,” a city document which gives the university certain land use entitlements to redevelop university-owned land over the course of the next twenty years (the “Project”).

Although the Specific Plan guides the construction of projects on the university’s core campus, it also allows for the redevelopment of the area north of the campus thus allowing the university to eventually demolish and replace the College Centre shopping area. According to the university’s news website, the Project will also include retail shops intended to serve both the students and the surrounding community, a full service grocery store and several sit-down eating establishments. The Project will also include the addition of over 5,000 beds for students, more academic buildings, and a hotel and conference center.

## **Introduction of Study**

Over a period of six months, I interviewed 14 individuals who either work for Greenfield University, live or work within a five-mile radius of the university’s main campus, or exhibit some involvement in the city’s approval process for the Specific Plan. These individuals include four university stakeholders, six city workers and officials and four community residents, activists, employees, and owners of local businesses. The interviews ranged from approximately 40-70 minutes and each interview was conducted in the participant’s office or place of employment.

I also gathered data through document collection, viewed videos, and engaged in site observations. The data I collected includes pages from the university’s official website relevant to the Project; articles from student-run media sources such as the student newspaper, Internet news sites; city planning documents collected from the city department’s website; newspaper articles from the city’s main newspaper as well as local newspapers and electronic copies of Internet pages

belonging to local community groups and activist groups. I also collected brochures and outreach materials from the university's outreach office. Finally, I collected hundreds of pages of public records from the city's official website. My observations included walks on the core campus and around the university's perimeter to observe the construction activity and visits to the College Centre shopping mall area. I took approximately 30 pictures of the campus and the area surrounding the campus.

The following results, organized by research question, are primarily the product of the interviews, but my data analysis of the documents, archival data, and observations yielded additional support for my findings and allowed me to develop an in-depth perspective of Greenfield University's mission, its relationship with its external stakeholders (i.e., those who are not employed by Greenfield University) and its strategies for obtaining the city's approval of the Specific Plan.

**Research Question 1: How do the campus expansion efforts of higher education institutions reflect the mission and the role of the institution as perceived by the institution, the city stakeholders, and the community stakeholders?**

To answer this question, I reviewed university-generated documents, texts of presidential speeches, video of presentations, and interview transcripts. I restricted my inquiry about the university's mission to how the participants believed the Project helped further the mission of the university. This section is not intended to explain the mission in its entirety nor is it intended to be a comprehensive overview of all of Greenfield University goals. Instead, I limited my inquiry to campus-community relationships as they related to the physical development of Greenfield University's core campus.

**Greenfield University's mission statement and core documents.** Greenfield University's official Role and Mission was adopted by its Board of Trustees in the early Nineties. The mission is outlined in a single-page document on the university's official website and identifies as its first priority the education of its students. Although the mission includes public service as one way to accomplish this, the statement makes only a broad reference to the surrounding community. The mission does not set forth a specific agenda nor does it outline specific courses of action to be taken by the university.

The university's plan for development and growth, academically and physically, is more specifically addressed in what the university refers to as its Core Documents. These documents, which can be found on Greenfield University's official website, include the university's Strategic Plans and Visions (Strategic Plans). I reviewed each of the Core Documents to identify any goals articulated by the university related to campus growth and expansion. I specifically looked for statements which demonstrated how campus expansion reflected or advanced the Mission of the university.

Greenfield University's most recent Strategic Plan, introduced one year after the adoption of its Mission, outlined several initiatives to reposition the institution as a selective, competitive research university. Although the Strategic Plan reflects the university's concerns about how space on campus could be more optimally utilized, nothing is mentioned about the physical expansion of the campus itself.

In the Strategic Plan, the university does acknowledge that the community in which the core campus is located suffers from economic and social instability. This economic and social flux is believed to impact the university in at least two ways. First, the university acknowledged that prospective faculty and students perceived its urban location to be a negative factor for recruiting.

Second, the university recognized that its external constituents within the community expected the university to address some of these social and economic hardships. For example, the Strategic Plan reads: “Neighbors, local and state officials and the public at large expect [the university] to contribute materially to the advancement of the neighborhood, from K-12 education to housing to employment opportunities, to research that addresses local and regional problems.” According to the language, the university saw an opportunity to cultivate good relationships with the surrounding neighborhoods.

Several years ago, Greenfield University released a new Strategic Vision that specifically alluded to the university’s “special obligation” to create opportunities for its immediate neighbors. The Strategic Vision expressly states that “[o]ur goal is to have a direct impact on improving the quality of life for our neighbors.” This reiterates the university’s stated commitment to address some of the issues of the surrounding community.

**The university’s mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by university leadership.** I reviewed the texts of twenty-one speeches presented from 1992 to 2013 by Greenfield University’s two most recent presidents to determine what they articulated as the university’s mission with respect to campus-community engagement and campus growth. These texts, also posted on the university’s official website, include annual State of the University addresses presented over that twenty-one year period as well as several speeches presented at university retreats and inaugurations. I limited my document review to the two most recent presidents for two reasons. First, their speeches were readily available on the university’s website. Second, this particular Project commenced during their tenure. Both presidents implied that the university remains to be economically impactful. The former president characterized the university as an anchor institution that was the “economic engine” of the city. The current president recently reaffirmed this belief by

noting that the university's annual economic impact on the community amounted to billions of dollars..

In most of the speeches, both presidents champion the university's neighborhood programs as a vehicle for improving the local community. As one president stated in the late Nineties,

If a large employer wants to improve its surrounding neighborhood, the most important thing it can do is make extraordinary investments of time, energy and money in a few local public schools . . . Crime abatement, graffiti abatement, property values, neighborhood businesses, everything gets better when the local public schools are truly excellent.

The university's current leaders continue to champion the university's public service efforts. As recently as 2012, the current president noted that over \$30 million had been invested in the university's community engagement efforts.

The former president began to directly address the university's physical plant in the State of the University addresses in the late Nineties. Then, the leadership had envisioned the construction of larger multi-purpose buildings to make better use of the limited availability of land on the campus. In 2006, the university leadership also began to pay heed to what they referred to as the students' "insatiable demand" for on-campus housing and acknowledged the university's transition from a commuter campus to a residential campus. Consequently, in their public communication, the university leadership began to position student housing as a means of enhancing the university's academic programs. As one president asserted, "A residential campus makes it easier to recruit not only the best students, but the best faculty as well."

**The university's mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by other university stakeholders.** When asked how the Project furthered the university's mission, the four university participants all seemed to echo the presidents' observations that Greenfield University was transitioning into a residential college. Most of the participants shared the conventional wisdom that

the primary goal of the Project is to advance the university's academic mission of educating students and achieving academic excellence. One university participant spoke broadly about the connection between the Specific Plan and the university's academic mission, stating that the Specific Plan "allows for continued development of the campus which is for academic excellence. It's what we do at the university and this specific plan is to further that mission." Another university participant reaffirmed this sentiment by claiming that such direction will aid the university in achieving what the participant believed to be its core missions, which are to educate students, no matter where they are from, create a diverse student body, create future taxpayers, and create local government partners. Another noted that the Specific Plan will allow Greenfield University to manage its growth over the next twenty years by directing it to make better use of the land it already owns. According to this participant, the university was "literally running out of room."

One university participant believed that the institution's optimization of its physical space will help raise its profile as a highly-ranked, competitive institution. The participant noted that the amount of square footage currently allocated for each student at Greenfield University was well below that of elite institutions of higher education. The university participant explained:

[U]nfortunately, the amount of square footage we have available per student for both education and research is low; it's approximately 150 square feet per student when many of our peers have 500, 700, or 1,000 square feet per student. So the goal was to entitle a significant amount of additional academic space so that we could build the resources that we need to compete with the institutions that we want to be perceived as our peers for lab space, teaching space, academic lecture hall space, performance space; things of that nature.

Although some external stakeholders may not consider that the allocation of physical space as directly correlating to a university's mission, university participants emphasized that physical space was "critical" to the university's academic mission.

So how does the Project further Greenfield University's mission as it relates to student housing? The university participants recognized, as did its presidents, that Greenfield University's transformation from a commuter campus to a residential campus mandated the allocation of more physical space for student housing. Several participants noted that over the past few years the university had begun drawing from, as one university participant put it, "a broader, more global population base" As such, students began to move into the neighborhood immediately surrounding the university to "engage in the university experience 24/7." However, most of the participants opined that demand for university-owned housing far exceeded its supply. As a result, the housing component of the Specific Plan, as asserted by one university participant, is believed to further the institution's goal of becoming a "top-tier university" because the university's provision of affordable quality housing will "truly cement the university as a residential university."

Finally, the Project is thought to advance the university's mission by creating more opportunities for campus-community engagement. When asked about the how the university's plans for College Centre advanced its mission, one university participant contended that redevelopment of the College Centre would fit into the university's broader mission of creating a space where the "town meets gown," because the revitalized area would serve both the academic community and the surrounding neighborhood.

**The university's mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by city stakeholders.** When asked what they believed to be the connection between the university's mission and the Project, city participants seemed to agree that the university's first order of business was to educate its students. One participant plainly stated the connection between what she believed to be the mission which included "educating the future," and the university's Project, stating that "a big part of [the expansion] was about providing amenities for the campus and the student body."



Other city participants also seemed to understand the direct relationship between the Project and the university's desire to improve its academic reputation in terms of the student living experience: "I think as an organization they realize it's time to re-imagine the campus, re-imagine student life, and benefit from having retail."

The university stakeholders' desire to strengthen the Greenfield University brand was not lost on city participants. One participant observed,

[T]hey're doing it because they need to house their students. I mean they have a huge housing shortage there, they're expanding their academic programs, they have an academic mission and they're trying to compete with universities nationally. . . I think their students are moving further out into areas that are not safe as so they've been getting some bad publicity.

Another city participant was blunt in his assessment of the university's efforts to raise its profile: "I think they want to be the number one research university in the world. I think they also want to be the richest university in the world." This participant did not articulate a connection between the university's Project and its academic goals.

Yet, at least one city participant expressly contended that the university was not clear in conveying its mission at all during the approval process and found fault with those representing the university's interest to the city and the community in the public meetings. "I don't think they communicate their mission very well," he surmised. "Not only was the university [not] sending good ambassadors and explaining its mission clearly to the public out there in the community, they could not explain their mission or even solicit support from [the city]."

**The university's mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by community stakeholders.** This lack of clarity as identified by the city participant was evident when I interviewed several community participants. When compared to the responses of the university and city

participants, community participants were less likely to draw a connection between Greenfield University's academic mission and its Project.

Almost all the community participants spoke positively, if not a bit vaguely, about the campus environment and the university's outreach efforts. "I know it's a nice place," responded a community participant who had never visited the campus although he had worked directly across the street in College Centre for over five years. Another community participant who had worked in College Centre for over twenty years referred to the university as a "good private school" Others spoke favorably about the university's effect on the surrounding neighborhood over the years as a result of more students living closer to campus. One participant noted,

[The students] can walk. They can bike. They're not hopping in their cars as much to get to campus. I think it's something that the university didn't really have before. You had people who would commute to the school or you had people who maybe moved here and were living in the neighborhoods to the west. Now you have people right on the corner of the campus which makes for a much more dynamic district.

All but one community participant noted the university's public service efforts, specifically with respect to the university's work with local public schools and neighborhood safety. Even if they could not specifically name a university-sponsored outreach program, they exhibited awareness of the university's after-school college preparation program, the university-sponsored neighborhood watch program, university-supported music and tutoring programs, as well as a neighborhood schools program.

Moreover, when asked what they knew about the Project, almost all the community participants seemed somewhat well-versed in the overall goals of the university's Strategic Plan such as the creation of more housing, the inclusion of retail and commercial space, the demolition of the College Centre, and the redesign of major street thoroughfares adjacent to the campus. However, only the community participants who identified themselves as community activists drew a

connection between the Project and the university's academic mission. As one community activist participant, explained:

They'll be doubling the size of the campus . . . they're going to be building all the academic buildings in their core campus . . . They're trying to move out their non-academic departments out of the core campus and they're trying to really build up in the core campus all for academic purposes obviously and that's great. For them, it's like good enough for their mission as an academic institution.

Another community activist participant recognized the university's desire to provide its students with safe, quality housing stating that "there are a number of situations, too, where there are landlords who take advantage of [the university's] students and provide very poor quality housing for more than they should be paying for." None of the community participants expressed doubts about whether the Project advanced the mission of the university.

## **Research Question 2: How does an institution determine which stakeholders are critical in the expansion process?**

To examine how Greenfield University stakeholders determined which stakeholder groups are critical, and, therefore, highly salient in the approval process, I first asked all the participants to describe the community surrounding the university. I believed that this would provide valuable context for determining who would potentially have some interest or investment in the Project. I then questioned university participants about whom they determined to be the critical and less critical players in the expansion approval process. To determine whether external stakeholders' beliefs about stakeholder salience aligned with those of the university stakeholders, I also posed the question to city and community participants.

**The university community as perceived by the participants.** When I asked the participants to describe the community surrounding the university, I was able to glean three

common themes from their responses. These themes include (a) race and ethnicity, (b) socioeconomic status, and (c) gentrification.

***Race and ethnicity.*** Some participants used racial and ethnic descriptors to describe the surrounding community. Although most of the participants identified the community as being predominantly Latino, they noted that this was not the case historically. “Compared to the eighties, you see the Hispanic population,” observed a business owner participant. “I think that demographically, racially demographically and ethnically, it’s probably a predominantly Latino community now but still there is fairly large African American population . . . when you go to south of the [university] area,” noted another. Others observed that the African American population was no longer predominant: “It’s changing. What was historically African American is now predominantly Latino.” Another city participant wanted to clarify that a significant number of subgroups within the Latino population lived and worked in the community.

***Socioeconomic status.*** Participants were more likely to describe the community as a “mix” in terms of its economic diversity than they were the racial and ethnic diversity. For example, several participants characterized the surrounding neighborhood as low-income. According to one community activist participant whose family has lived in the community for over 30 years, “[m]ost people live in very bad conditions, you know the people, as you can describe any immigrant working class community.” One university participant, also a long-time resident of the surrounding community, defined the community through the lens of the participant’s work in community outreach for the university:

The folks that I generally am in contact . . . are anywhere from completely and utterly destitute where there’s drug use, drug abuse, abuses of all kinds; I’ve seen it all, to families who are completely intact but just poor. . . This is also a population that is either under or have no medical insurance.

While these participants acknowledged that the community suffers from economic and social hardship, they also were careful to note that hardworking families residing in the area contributed to a friendly and supportive environment where “people are willing to sort of, like, pitch in . . . they’re always friendly and making sure folks are being taken care of.”

***Gentrification.*** Most of the participants did acknowledge that the university’s presence contributed to the economic diversity of the neighborhood for two reasons, the influx of university-affiliated residents and the university’s proximity to the city’s downtown.

First, many participants were quick to observe the growing population of university students living in the area. They also noted that some homes seemed to be occupied by university faculty as a result of a university program to encourage faculty to live close to the campus. The presence of these university-affiliated tenants led some participants to conclude that the growing presence of university-affiliated tenants bring a higher income level to an otherwise low-income community. “I think for non-university affiliated residents, it’s a fairly low income community. I think the university brings a higher income with it relative to residents whether that’s students or faculty who reside in the area, too,” concluded one city participant. Community participants observed that university faculty as well as “gentrifiers,” or self-identified “preservationists” were now investing in the neighborhood’s older housing stock to restore “beautiful” homes.

Second, some participants contend that the university’s close proximity to sports venues, cultural attractions, and the city’s increasingly vibrant downtown make the neighborhoods surrounding the university more attractive to students, community members, and investors. As one participant observed, a new “robust” light rail system running through the surrounding neighborhoods not only connects the university to downtown but also eases the access to museums and parks located near the university. Another city participant observed,

I don't have proof of this but my hypothesis is that with everything going on . . . in downtown, [the community] is becoming like a suburb of downtown. You have people who years ago used to go to [other areas] are now looking at this area and saying, "You know the area is economically diverse. It's still not entirely safe but it's manageable. I could get a six bedroom home with a yard with everything else."

Most of the participants indicated that this close association between the university and the city's downtown area is part of an intentional university agenda to transform long-held perceptions of the university's surrounding community as an unsafe, poor neighborhood into a desirable cultural destination. As one community activist participant concluded, "I believe that the university had a role in rebranding the area." The participants seemed to indicate that such "rebranding" may be working.

Most of the participants also noted the transition of the neighborhood residents from homeowners to renters. As one community activist participant noted, "I think as generations pass, you see the homeownership go from predominantly white to predominantly black to investors, now." The investors were now renting to students. As another participant noted:

In fact, most people that used to live in single-family residences have moved on because they don't want to be in that environment where it's almost all exclusively students, particularly when landlords and developers have just gone through that community and turned anything big enough for a bed into a dormitory.

While some participants lamented what they see as the growing economic and social instability of the university's surrounding community, other participants observed that the transition from homeownership to rental housing was the result of economic forces not unlike those in other areas of the city.

**Critical and less critical stakeholders.** To determine which stakeholders the university participants deemed to be critical in the approval process, I asked questions during the interviews which allowed participants to engage in discussions about the individuals and groups they believe

influenced the planning process and the negotiation of any related agreements between the university and external stakeholders.

I also reviewed the interview transcripts to glean additional contextual information about how the university engaged various groups during the approval process for the Specific Plan. In this section, I include the thoughts or opinions of city and community participants that may support or counter the university participants' perception of stakeholder salience.

***University board of trustees.*** When directly queried about the critical stakeholders, few participants expressly identified Greenfield University's Board of Trustees (the "Board") as a critical "stakeholder" in the approval process. Nevertheless, the will of the Board seemed to loom large over the Specific Plan drafting process as both internal and external participants spoke of the Board's influence over the negotiation over the terms of the Project. As explained by one university participant, the university staff were required to report to the Board and the university leaders on the progress of the Specific Plan.

Oh yeah, we went to a lot of meetings. Making sure we were there reporting on what was going on and we had to be there for all those meetings just so we could tell senior leadership an accurate or give an accurate assessment of what was going on . . . the [vice president] for university relations . . . reports directly to the president and also reports to the Trustees. So, we had to make sure that he was informed immediately.

Thus, while few participants expressly identified the Board as a critical group, the fact that the university leadership is always accountable to the Board for such decisions makes them one of the more critical groups, if not the most critical stakeholder group, for university stakeholders.

***The city planning department.*** "Don't upset the planning staff," relayed one university participant in reference to the sometimes tense relationship between the university's real estate department and the city's planning department. During the interviews, three of the four university participants and three of the four city participants frequently alluded to an uneasy relationship

between the university and the city planning department. Because the Specific Plan is essentially a land use document, it stands to reason that the city planning department could be considered the university's most critical stakeholder group apart from Board and other university leaders. But for the cooperation and approval of the city planning department, the Specific Plan would not have earned the city council's final approval.

The resources expended by the university to "get through" city planning could also be considered evidence that the university considered the city planning department to be a critical stakeholder. First, one university participant noted that the political nature of the Project warranted the involvement of the university's outreach personnel in land use planning matters. He explains:

Our real estate folks focused on the planning department, but even we became involved in that because the planning department even though they are professional experts they're still a political entity.

Second, both university and city participants spoke of the large expenditures of money and time dedicated to getting the university through the entitlement process. In fact, both university and city participants mentioned that Greenfield University's responsibility for paying the city for costs incurred by the city planning department and other city departments in connection with the Project. "There was no taxpayer subsidy on our project, we paid our way," emphasized one university participant. The participant continued, "I think we subsidized the planning department for a year. We not only paid our way but we paid all their administrative costs."

***Elected and appointed officials.*** University participants indicated that both elected and appointed officials were key players in the approval process and that specific university personnel were responsible for cultivating relationships with these officials to ensure their support of the Project. "I did not deal with the electeds," explained one of the university participants. "That was government relations. That would include probably appointed commissioners." Appointed officials,



such as the city's planning commissioners, also warranted the university's attention because the Specific Plan first had to be approved by the planning commission, a group of citizens appointed by the mayor of the city, before the matter could come before the city council. In some instances, the commission requested that the city planning department include or remove certain elements in the Specific Plan. In other cases, the commission sought more information or requested that additional research be conducted to identify the implications of the Project. On several occasions, such requests resulted in the postponement or delay of the approval process.

***Unions.*** The university participants considered labor unions to be a part of what they referred to as a “traditionally organized community” which warranted the university's attention during the approval process. According to one university participant, the unions were also one of the easier groups to work with because hiring union labor for the Project was a clear expectation of the university stakeholders. This participant explains:

In a way, they're almost the easiest group to work with because you know they're coming and you know what they want. For the university we've predominantly used 90% or more union labor on all of our projects. To get the quality workmanship we need on our projects, you have to hire union labor whether you try to or not.

University participants also found it in their best interest to appease the labor constituency early in the approval process by executing a labor agreement to decrease the chance that the unions would challenge the Project under the Western State Environmental Preservation Act. While one city participant expressed that labor agreements were of high concern to the city's mayor, none of the external participants identified unions as critical stakeholders.

***Social policy groups/community activists.*** All the university participants identified affordable housing activists groups as stakeholders warranting considerable attention from the university. During the interviews, these groups were also referred to as the “organized community”

who advocated primarily on behalf of the renters and small families in the university's surrounding community whom they argued are being displaced by the university's students. Housing United, the most prominent community activists group during the approval process, began to garner much of the university's attention when it began to form alliances with other long-standing neighborhood groups to challenge the Project. When I asked one university participant if university stakeholders believed they had to take this group seriously, the participant explained the following:

This is kind of the rules of the game. There's the community and there's the organized community; everyone is aware of them . . . The people who do this for a living. It's clear, it's the organizers. There's not a project that requires a council approval that doesn't deal with these issues.

Other participants observed that while some Housing United leaders actually had few ties to the university's surrounding community, the organization still posed a threat to the university's campus expansion goals. As one university participant noted:

Then there were the social policy advocates that I believe truly cared about this community but weren't really connected to it . . . They had an investment here but felt that they could use the Specific Plan to leverage their public policy initiatives for the betterment of the community, but not really because of the ties to the community. . . and they used the WSEPA to leverage an agreement that was for those public policy agendas, but really didn't impact the plan and had nothing to do with the strengths or weaknesses of the plan.

Housing United and its allies also demanded the attention of the university because the relationship between the community activists and the university was, at times, confrontational. One university participant noted the need for university-hosted informational meetings to counter the information distributed by Housing United:

It just widened the circle of those who had the correct information because we were being – I felt attacked – by outside entities, not giving correct information because they wanted certain things from the university and I understand that, but they were kind of barking up the wrong tree because they were saying there's no community – [the University] does not care about its community.

Some city participants felt that the university stakeholders may have underestimated the influence groups like Housing United could have on the approval process.

***Parents involved in university-community partnerships.*** Community members affiliated with the university appeared to be critical stakeholders in the eyes of the university. The university cultivated supporters for the Project among the parents of children involved in the many outreach programs organized through university outreach initiatives. As detailed by one university participant:

We were organizing our community and the biggest tool that we had to organize was through students . . . We have partnerships with all the local schools and we have that same program where if you were a resident and you enroll your children through – I think it’s in fifth grade when they start participating in the university events - if they’re accepted then the university will cover their tuition . . . So that group is fully vested with the university because their children were a beneficiary of that and they really were all in this project. They were our best public – when we wanted to get people to come out and support us it was through that local initiative.

University participants worked to turn those “hundreds, if not thousands of parents” into advocates for the Project. Tellingly, the university outreach participants repeatedly referred to this particular group of supporters as “our parents” during our interviews.

***Neighborhood organizations and non-university affiliated community members.***

Many existing neighborhood organizations aligned themselves with Housing United to advocate for affordable housing availability. Other organizations appeared to raise concerns about housing and the design of the mixed-use town center project at meetings hosted either by Greenfield University or by the neighborhood organizations. University stakeholders indicated that these meetings, public and private, mandated and voluntary, were the primary means by which they obtained feedback on the campus expansion plans.

***College centre business merchants.*** From my interviews and document analysis, I found that the local business merchants, including those who either owned or were employed by

businesses in the College Centre, failed to garner much attention from the university outside of the general public hearings and community meetings. As one community business participant recalled, university representatives did present the Specific Plan to a group of local merchants early in the process to inform them of the upcoming development. However, the College Centre business tenant participants in this study indicated that the university office responsible for overseeing the College Centre leases failed to effectively communicate with the merchants. These participants claimed that they never met with university representatives about the status of their jobs or their leases during the approval process. A university participant expressly admitted that the university had been weak in its efforts to communicate with the College Centre tenants. In fact, one community activist participant agreed that Housing United and other community groups had capitalized on the university's silence by organizing the College Centre tenants to make certain demands of the university during the approval process. This participant noted that the university's "inaction" "left the door open" for these businesses to eventually align themselves with the opposition groups.

***University faculty, staff and students.*** Participants concluded that although faculty members did provide input with respect to the Specific Plan, they did not have much of a presence in the approval process. For example, one community activist participant noted that some faculty members joined the community's efforts to ensure more sustainable neighborhoods. Another mentioned that the university's academic senate was "very supportive" of the university's plans. However, others were unequivocal in their assessment that university faculty did not seem to be engaged in the planning or approval process. "The faculty were [sic] not engaged; maybe a couple of them," stated one university participant. "They really were not too involved." This participant

attributed this apparent low level of interest to the fact that few faculty members live within the community:

We wanted to try to get the faculty adjacent to the campus. The junior faculty, if we wanted to subsidize their housing and they were going to have a family, they weren't going to live down here because of the lack of educational opportunities. Then we got the senior faculty who were probably no longer, empty nest or whatever, they weren't going to live down here because they were pretty established in their communities.

The absence of long-term ties to the surrounding community could also explain why university participants perceived that students were not influential in the approval process. According to a university student newspaper, during the early stages of the approval process, the student government hosted a forum during which university representatives explained the goals of the Project to university students and answered their questions. My review of videos posted on YouTube also revealed student class projects directly related to the Project and its effects on the community. One community activist participant noted that several students joined with their organization to challenge the Project and university news articles noted that some students were named as student representatives on local neighborhood organizations. Despite all these efforts, no university participants identified students as critical stakeholders. "Students are transient," noted one university participant. He went on to explain:

The majority of the students have this real short focus and then [it's] summer. Some of them were more activist types and they were part of these Housing United coalitions. Then we get student government – what do you want us to do? Then they'd go down and fully support the university's goals. This was a four year project and we went through a couple cycles of student government and a couple cycles of activist students.

City participants expressed surprise at the low level of faculty and student engagement. When asked if the university missed any stakeholders during the process, one city planning participant stated that "I always felt like they should have used their own student and university resources. I felt like what was missing was the voice of faculty." Another city participant reported:

I was shocked by how little engagement there was on the part of [the university's] students, faculty, and staff who have the deep rich community connection and a deep critique of a long standing critique of Greenfield University. Silent, I just saw no evidence of it. I don't know if there was internal kind of dialogue. I don't know if they were having discussions with some of the team members.

University participants noted that faculty were primarily concerned with academic space, and staff were concerned with the availability of open space for students. However, none of the participants indicated that faculty, staff or students evidenced particularly high levels of engagement with the approval process.

*African American residents and the “unorganized” community.* Although some participants identified African American homeowners as being a part of Greenfield University's community, only two participants identified African Americans as comprising a specific stakeholder group warranting any specific attention from university stakeholders. Specifically, when asked which groups seemed to be left out of the approval process, a community activist participant noted the absence of the voice of black clergy. Additionally, a city participant also commented on the absence of the African American voice: “I have not seen a significant African American voice in the organized groups. The members of Housing United are Spanish-speaking, although African Americans are more homeowners in that area than anybody else.” This participant also expressed concern that those not represented by any group, either the university, Housing United, or any other organized group, seemed to be left completely out of the campus expansion decision-making process.

**Research Question 3: What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with local government stakeholders and obtain regulatory approval of campus expansion plans, and how are these practices perceived by the local government stakeholders?**

My research yielded four strategies employed by Greenfield University to address conflict with local government stakeholders. The strategies include the following: (a) forming university-government liaisons; (b) leveraging political relationships; (c) negotiating entitlements and design elements with city planners; and (d) negotiating a community benefits/development agreement.

**(a) Forming university-government liaisons.** Three of the four university participants I interviewed explained that certain university stakeholders were directly responsible for developing and maintaining relationships with certain city stakeholders to help facilitate the Specific Plan approval. In addition to the university's real estate department whose work demanded constant interfacing with the city planning department, the university maintains an Office of External Relations wherein over approximately 15 individuals are responsible for some form of community and government outreach. These efforts include operating a local government relations office to maintain relationships with city government leaders, a civics relations division to engage local business and non-profit organizations, and an education partnership division to provide instructional support to local schools and academic support to local K-12 students.

One university participant explained the division of labor during the Specific Plan approval process as follows:

My assignment was to get the specific plan approved. That included the environmental impact report and the development agreement. I worked on that aspect of it-the land use documents, the WSEQA documents. The university's government relations . . . worked with a lot of the community public outreach component.

This participant went on to explain that hierarchy and protocol dictated which university stakeholders engaged with particular city stakeholders. For example, although this participant was the university's point person for city staff and non-elected personnel, the university's Office of External Relations engaged with the elected and appointed officials. Again, these responsibilities sometimes overlapped due to the university's perception of the city stakeholders as highly salient and therefore critical to the approval process.

**City perceptions of the university-government liaisons.** However clearly the lines of responsibility were thought to be drawn by university stakeholders, a large entity like a university runs the risk of having too many messengers. City participants noted that the division of labor among the university stakeholders was neither always clear nor effective during the approval process. City participants indicated that the university's messages about the Project seemed internally inconsistent. One city participant observed as follows:

This wasn't my experience but I know of other folks in the planning department and on the commission who -- they would have one conversation with one part of the team and then have a totally different conversation with another part of the team. It was sort of like "who do I believe, who am I really negotiating with" and then somebody would come the next day and say, "Oh, that person's not even on the team anymore." . . . I don't know if there were different intentionalities which could very much well be. I mean the real estate side might have a very different set of interests and expectations from the community relations side.

Another city participant shared a similar frustration. He indicated that even when it appeared that the university and the city had successfully negotiated mutually agreeable terms for guiding the development of the Project, the university's Board would later intervene and change the direction of the negotiations:

What we also found at the last minute as were going to do this [negotiate the terms of an agreement with the university], all of a sudden the Board of Trustees took a much more active role and they begin to dictate what they're not going to do and "we're not going to do this" . . . and so the next thing you know you had a [Board Member] and other people over



there saying, “All the things that the staff had talked about for four years that they were agreeable to, all of a sudden the Board of Trustees said we’re not going to do any of it”

During my interviews, all the university participants seemed to be aware that internal conflicts and differing agendas for the Project among the university divisions led to confusion on the part of external stakeholders. One university participant attributed some of the internal communication challenges to the academic environment typical of universities. Other university participants were more direct in their self-assessment and indicated that personality conflicts and the self-interests of some university stakeholder led to “dueling voices” that contributed to the delay in the approval process.

**(b) Leveraging political relationships.** The university designated certain individuals to address the concerns of elected and appointed officials, and one university participant mentioned that the university “had a lot of briefings” with elected officials. However, none of the university participants mentioned that the university engaged in a specific strategy to politically influence elected and appointed city leaders during the approval process: “We tried to just march through the process like they tell you to; submit our application, get through planning, recalled one university participant. ” This participant lamented that the university “should have engaged much earlier, much more aggressively with the electeds” to make sure the Project got the attention of the elected officials. Eventually, near the end of the approval process, it was the elected officials, and those appointed by them, including as the mayor and an appointed housing specialist, who negotiated the final terms of a community benefits agreement with the Greenfield University leaders to ensure that the affordable housing concerns of both city and community stakeholders were addressed in the university’s campus expansion plans.

**City perceptions of leveraging political relationships.** Conversely, most of the city participants as well as one community participant believed that Greenfield University did attempt to politically influence elected officials to garner Project approval. One city participant conceded that land use issues are political in nature and that this could be either positive or negative. In this case, the participant attributed some of these land use politics to the city's weakened financial state of affairs. He explained:

The university came to us at a time when the city was struggling with retaining jobs and it was in the middle of the last recession. We were always focused of the fact that [the university] is the largest employer in this region so when it comes to the table and said they have a master plan that can put in the local economy something as much as 1. 2 billion dollars at the end of this project . . . it's irresistible. . . We wanted to say the university wants to develop, but what is the city's interest beyond affordable housing?

Whether the university's claim that the Project would help infuse billions of dollars into the local economy could be considered a political strategy is debatable. However, other participants seemed somewhat jaded with what they perceived to be the university's political maneuverings to garner the support of the city's elected officials. First, several university, city, and community participants mentioned that the university had been annexed into a new political district near the end of the approval process. Some believe that the purpose of this move was to accommodate the university by placing it under the auspices of elected officials who were more amenable to the Project. As one city participant explained:

I think the motivation [to be annexed] personally was that the university felt as though they did not like the scrutiny that they had gotten [in their former district] in the four or five years [the district representatives had] worked with them on this development project.

Even if this could not be verified, community and university participants seemed to agree that this was a widely held belief and that the move alienated elected officials in both districts and engendered a lack of trust of the university. As one community participant explained,

It's that kind of thing that kind of brings up these tentacles of distrust when that happens. Even though the leadership of [the University] said they received a last minute call from alumni and they did not have a problem with it, but they did not promote [the redistricting]. There were folks who actually said they were promoting it so it depends on who you talk to.

Second, city participants criticized Greenfield University for attempting to move through the planning process too quickly. One city participant implied that an early attempt by the university to leverage its connection with the mayor to influence city planning decisions was counterproductive. Another noted that while many workers in city government were likely alums of Greenfield University the university had “overestimated their own power in the process” and underestimated the amount of resistance it received from the city’s stakeholders.

**(c) Negotiating entitlements and design elements with city planners.** As a private entity, Greenfield University is required to abide by the local development statutes and zoning laws applicable to all real estate developers within the city. According to one city participant, city planners were charged with working with university staff to develop a Specific Plan that would not only establish the parameters for university construction for the next thirty years but also address the needs of the community. Such demands of a real estate developer are not unusual. In addition to designating its real estate division to navigate the planning process with city planners and agreeing to pay the associated costs, the university agreed to exceed the statutory requirements regarding public hearings. As explained by a university stakeholder:

We went the extra yard because the city asked us to and wanted us to. We extended the period for the draft [environmental report] to be circulated [to the public] for comment because the city asked us to. The regular period is 45 days; we extended it 15 days; so 60 days. The city is very process run and I think that's to protect themselves. So we understood that.

Yet, one of the primary points of dispute between city and university stakeholders was the redevelopment and physical design of the College Centre. One university participant indicated that

the city planning department made the design process more difficult by attempting to be “independent thinkers that want everything to be open spaced, you know play areas” and “pushing social policy agendas that are not necessarily articulated by the community or local leaders.” Moreover, university participants expressed frustration with what they believed to be a city department burdened by bureaucracy, slowed by a lack of resources, and plagued by frequent personnel changes. As one university participant complained:

I would not characterize our relationship with them as positive because you have to push on everything. Everything is a battle . . . even when they’ve been told the city wants to do it, it’s consistent with our general plan, it’s consistent with all of our legislation, they’ll still fight you on things.

Despite the mutual frustration, another university participant characterized the city’s approval of the Specific Plan as a “major accomplishment.”

**City perceptions of the negotiation of entitlements and design elements.** City participants conveyed that they understood their role to be one that allowed for measured university development while protecting the interests of the community. In the words of one city planner, “Our instruction was to take the university’s road map and master plan and convert it into something that is suitable to the city’s principles and the neighborhood.” For city participants, this process required “hours and hours and hours of negotiation” during which the university often fought on issues like landscape improvement and building design. The participant explained the need to enforce certain planning and design principles:

Greenfield University wanted to use its political muscles to get what they wanted, but at the end of the day we stood by saying that the general plan, the community plan, for this area is a constitution for the neighborhood and we cannot break it nor anybody in the city finally can surpass that and finally they had to come and agree with the principles of planning and design that we envisioned for the area.

Each of the city participants I interviewed commented on what they believed to be the insularity of the university's design plans for the College Centre. As expressed by one city participant, "I think the troubling part of the university's expansion more broadly to me was that it was an inward-facing expansion. It was not about any sort of permeability with the broader community." Another participant complained that the university "wanted to close everything and make it an island . . . we wanted it to have more of a neighborhood feel as opposed to a Disneyland feel." At least two city participants expressed concern with the university's original proposal not only to enclose the mixed-use project with large gates, towers, and walls but also to build parking facilities facing a major pedestrian thoroughfare leading to the campus. "They wanted big towers and we scaled it down," stated one city participant. The participant went on to state, "They wanted to put parking facing [a major thoroughfare]. We said no."

All the city participants indicated that they wanted the design of the College Centre to be pedestrian-friendly for the community and encourage accessibility, permeability, and friendliness. "Some of the design guidelines that we had attempted to include went away," conceded one city participant who surmised that the city's elected officials and the university leaders made certain trade-offs even after the city planners had approved the Specific Plan. City participants speculated that the university agreed to increase its provisions for affordable housing so long as the city relaxed some of its design requests for the College Centre. Such concessions made between cities and private developers are not uncommon.

City participants seemed to express a qualified satisfaction with the outcome as some noted that the final design of College Centre still includes gates. Nonetheless, one city participant reaffirmed that the process was "just incredible." She concluded, "I think at the end of the day, it just felt like a huge accomplishment." The final Specific Plan allows the university to construct the

Project without having to go back to the city planning department for major entitlements, and the city now has some certainty with respect to how the university will use its land.

**(d) Development agreement/community benefits agreement.** The city and the university also executed a community benefits agreement, also known as a Development Agreement, to contractually obligate the university to provide financial assistance and services to the community. The Development Agreement includes the construction of an affordable supermarket and “reasonably priced” retailers that will be accessible to both students and community residents. Such provisions were intended to allay the community’s concern about the new development’s “being too rich” for them. A university spokesperson acknowledged that “no one is completely happy” with the outcome but proclaimed the community benefits agreement a ‘win-win-win’ for all parties involved.

**City perceptions of development agreement/community benefits agreement.** Most city participants seemed satisfied with the terms of the Development Agreement if not a bit relieved that the negotiation process is over. Both city and university participants admitted that the negotiations were challenging. Several city participants believed that the university still managed to get an “incredible deal” because of their unique status as a renowned higher education institution. “I know there are some people who felt it didn’t go far enough,” said one city participant of the Development Agreement. Other city participants commented on what they perceived to be a lack of negotiating savvy on the part of university stakeholders. The participant noted that because Greenfield University would continue to need entitlements as the Project progressed, it should better understand its role as a “huge developer” in order to be successful.

Another city participant implied that while the Development Agreement did not “completely mend all of the wounds of the past” between university and city stakeholders, the actual approval process could help pave the way improve university-community relations in the future.

**Research Question 4: What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with the community and garner community stakeholder support for campus expansion plans and how are these strategies or practices perceived by community stakeholders?**

My research yielded six strategies employed by Greenfield University to address conflict with community stakeholders. The strategies include the following: (a) attending public hearings and hosting meetings; (b) implementing information and outreach campaigns; (c) incorporation social media; (d) forming advisory committees; (e) negotiating stakeholder agreements; and (f) campaigning for the university's interest.

**(a) Public hearings, town hall meetings, and open houses.** All four university participants mentioned that university representatives either hosted or attended hundreds of meetings with city and community stakeholders over the course of the approval process. One university participant stated that throughout the nine years of the process, university stakeholders attended over 300 meetings ranging from the statutorily required public hearings in large public forums to meetings with individuals and small groups in university offices, local churches, and schools. Their practice was to meet “with anyone who wanted a meeting,” stated one university representative.

The university participants stressed that it was critical for them to attend meetings hosted by neighborhood and community groups who often used the meetings as a venue for challenging the university spokespersons. As reported by a university participant,

And so it was absolutely critical that we meet with them and not just in town halls where they had to come to the [campus] or they had to come to us. We had to go to their churches. We had to go to their community meetings, to their neighborhood watch meetings.

The university participants indicated that although their purpose for attending the meetings was to inform the community about the Project and answer questions, the meetings were sometimes hostile. At least three university participants reported that their character had been personally attacked by community members who either opposed the university or the Project. One reported as follows:

I was just really pissed at [the opposition] for pushing the envelope and really lying a lot. They lied about me. Really? You don't even know about me and how you going to lie about me? I saw really upfront how divisive this kind of thing could be.

Despite the contentious nature of the process, the university participants acknowledged that such work was part of the job and noted that, at times, the hostility could be mitigated by providing more information. As one participant explained,

[The meetings] always ended with “wow, thanks for coming.” People appreciated – even though they don't agree with you – the fact that you cared enough to show up and hear them out and when they yelled at you, you didn't run for the door.

This perspective was echoed by another university participant who found that tensions could be quelled by addressing the rumors directly. He vividly described one meeting as follows:

We went to this church . . . ground zero for a lot of opposition. . . We went and there were about 350 people there. The main source of opposition, at that point, was they were trying to get people riled up outside. . . The first thing I said was that we prepared a big map of the campus area and I pointed out where the streets were and I said see all this development on [this street] – people were there ready to start screaming; all this development on [this street], all this red – red means not owned by the university. All that private development on [this street], we don't own it. It's owned by a private developer. You saw the tension level went from a 9.5 to like a 4 in that second.

Through my interviews, it appeared that hosting and attending the public hearings, open houses, town hall meetings and community meetings appeared to exact an emotional toll of some of the university participants.



**Community perceptions of the meetings and public hearings.** The city and community participants I interviewed took notice of the university's efforts to accommodate community groups and solicit their feedback about the Project. One community activist participant recognized that, unlike other large, private real estate developers, the university held these meetings to provide an opportunity for the university and its external stakeholders to engage in shared planning of the community. The participant observed,

[M]ost of the time, developers don't come and say like 'Hey, I have this great plan' and show it to the senior priests of the local parish or show it to clergy or show it to a community organization or to a resident. It's usually – it's not an inclusive planning process.

Another community activist participant lauded the university for recognizing that the voices of external stakeholders should be heard during the planning process. "It doesn't mean that everything is signed off," she explained. "What it means is that if things are negotiated, things are discussed, to try to come to some kind of level of comfort in the long term stakeholders and more recent stakeholders." Still, other community participants questioned the university's ability to effectively engage its community members. For example, one community activist noted that during one meeting at the beginning of the approval process, university representatives seemed to have difficulty communicating with community members because the university's representatives failed to adequately translate their message into Spanish. This was especially troublesome because, during the presentation, the university spokespersons used technical language to explain the Project and referred to maps and other documents that included text too technical for some community members to understand without assistance.

Moreover, both city and community participants argued that, despite their apparent willingness to attend community meetings, university stakeholders did not really seem committed to the idea of shared planning. The community activist participant reported that even at meetings held

later in the process, although Spanish translation was provided, it still seemed as if university spokespersons were still “dodging the hard questions.” She observed that the meetings would start with the university’s community representative who would immediately jump to a description of the Project and then end the presentation with an abrupt “thank you.” “Sometimes they were like, ‘We’re planning to get out of there,’ because they knew they were going to get some hard questions,” she observed. The participant continued, “I don’t think [the university] ever had a discussion where they would be like ‘Let’s ensure that you’re also part of what we’re planning.’” A city participant echoed this sentiment about the university’s initial strategy:

I think one of the areas the university really did bad is uh-initially coming out like they act as if they are an absentee landlord and not belonging to the community. Physically, they belong to the community, but spiritually they did not feel like they belonged to the community.

Community activists and business owners attributed the university’s initial failure to listen to community voices to arrogance, reputation, and money. “They just made their decision,” concluded one small business owner. “The university is so big that you cannot do anything with them.” Finally, one community activist participant closely affiliated with the Project characterized the university’s attitude as follows:

I think some people believe that when they’re affiliated with [Greenfield] University, they’re kind of invincible. Some people just believe that community voices are really not to be taken seriously, that you’re going to be so happy to be affiliated with the university that you just [ask]- “What do you need me to do next?”

Both university and external stakeholders acknowledged that the university did make some positive adjustments to their communication strategy over the course of time. For example, the community activist participant noted that as the Specific Plan evolved, the university began to include translations at their town hall meetings and started incorporating more visuals into the presentation. A city participant also praised the university for hiring a highly visible administrator who could

better relate to community members because he, too, had been raised in the university's surrounding community.

**(b) Information and outreach campaigns.** The university participants mentioned that early in the process, they engaged in an information campaign to inform the community about the university's community programs and the Specific Plan. This public information campaign included door-to-door neighborhood canvassing, administering surveys, distributing flyers and eventually developing of a Project-specific website. The university participants indicated that they primarily targeted these outreach efforts to neighborhood parents, yet they also worked to inform those living in areas heavily impacted by the dwindling availability of affordable housing. As one university outreach participant explained,

We met for many months in advance like six months before we started trying to gather support and we just did a public information campaign: website, English and Spanish flyer, door to door campaign and talked about every program that's affiliated with the university. Through university relations, we have a lot of programs. Going and talking to parents, talking about the benefits of the project, taking their questions, asking them for input, making sure that they were comfortable with the project and giving them our contact information.

Another university outreach participant seemed to believe that it was imperative that community parents receive information about the Project from the university in order to maintain campus-community relationship based on trust: "Our parents know that all is good here at the university so as long as everybody stays upfront about what's really going to happen." The participant continued, "And we're here to make sure that happens, they trust the university." Still, despite the Community of Schools program, its numerous community outreach efforts, its neighborhood watch safety programs, and its repeated assurances over the years that it was invested in the well-being of the local community, many community members continue to harbor distrust for an institution they

believe to be responsible for the displacement of local businesses and hundreds of residents since the 1960s.

**Community perceptions of the information and outreach campaigns.** Whether such information campaigns were effective may depend on which stakeholders you ask. One city participant found that the information campaign efforts were essential to debunking rumors surrounding the Project. Another city participant reported that prior to the first public hearing about the Project in 2008, community residents had received a flyer misrepresenting the Project and the university's motives. The participant recalled the crowded and contentious early public hearing as follows:

Yes, and when we started five or six years ago [with] the specific plan, we had our first-meeting and we expected about 200 people, but 1,200 people showed up to the meeting because somebody distributed a flyer [with a county seal] that did not belong to the city that said that the university is embarking on a new project in the neighborhood. What was surprising to me was that people who were very old or African Americans who were literally wheeled into the meetings showed up thinking that the university was doing something that they did in the sixties by using . . . eminent domain.

The participant went on to describe how the city and the university responded to the event by shifting to a more "incremental approach to public engagement."

We had to do some damage control to go back to the community and say no, it's not eminent domain and between that time and the second public hearing we had, we waited for a year and for the emotions to just go down. It's sometimes also a feel of the past is coming that people were reacting to. . . They reached out door to door to talk to the leadership, the community to explain to the neighborhood councils and to the activists to the region --we wanted to have ample time to explain yes, something will be done but not what you have heard. We asked the university to mend the relationship with some of the community on their own and to have town hall meetings, which they did.

Activists groups responded with their own information campaign to challenge the university's efforts. One community activist participant explained how her group believed that it was important

to personalize the community for the university's students and show others that local residents do bring value to the community. She explains,

For me as an organizer, you know I think I was on the ground, I was in the strategy sessions -- But for me I had the connection with residents. I was on the ground with them and knocking on doors . . . we would set up like on [a corner near the university], we'd set up an information table and we'd be like, "Why don't you take one of these [flyers] home? . . . We spun it into a really positive thing. Like, "Hey, we're a part of this neighborhood. This neighborhood is not what you're perceiving." So we really -- our whole perspective around it, we need to say, we're proud neighbors of this community. Welcome to our neighborhood.

This community activist participant, who worked for Housing United, explained how Housing United also hosted press conferences, formed alliances with other neighborhood advocacy groups and partnered with student groups to create and publish interviews and documentaries about the effects of the Project on the community. Housing United also engaged in grass-roots efforts to develop community leadership through "popular education," community organizing, and communication training for the purpose of building the community's capacity to voice their concerns about the Project.

Despite these outreach efforts, university and external stakeholders agree that certain small business owners appeared to be marginalized during the approval process. "In my view we were actually a little weak on that," admitted one university participant when asked if anything was done specifically to target business owners in the community. Careful to distinguish between the merchants located in the College Centre from other local business owners, the participant acknowledged that the university failed successfully to engage the College Centre tenants in a timely manner. He went on to state,

Most of the businesses in the area were fine with it. In the end it comes back to just about notifying the people about what we're doing. Notifying them about the timeline, what the plan was. In my view the businesses in the College Centre we did not do a good job of working with. Honestly, I think we could have done a better job.

One business participant I interviewed mentioned that many College Centre tenants remained confused about their status as tenants in the College Center, even after the city council approved the Specific Plan and the Project. This participant also spoke of the university's failure to reach out personally to the tenants and inform them of the university's plans. He explained that mailings seemed to be the university's preferred method for corresponding with College Centre merchants. "It's a difficult thing because they don't talk to you about it," complained the business participant who speculated that he would soon have to find another job. "They send paper – no face."

**(c) Websites and social media.** Over the course of my data collection, I reviewed topical websites and social media outlets related to the Project. Months prior to the planning commission's approval of the plan, the university implemented a social media campaign for the Project that included the roll-out of a Project-specific website that contained information about the university's master plan, notices of upcoming meetings, and artist renderings of the proposed development. The university also created a blog and a Twitter account at about the same time. At the time of this report, the Twitter account had 35 tweets since October 2011 and 406 followers. The blog appears to have had five entries archived since July 2011. From my document review, I concluded that the university's efforts to incorporate the Internet and social media into its communication strategy appeared to receive an underwhelming online response.

**Community perceptions of websites and social media.** Community groups also turned to the Internet and social media outlets to disseminate information. My review of topical websites and social media outlets related to the Project revealed that one community group in particular engaged social media almost twenty months prior to the university's launch of its own Project-specific website. Twitter and Facebook were also used as a means for disseminating information about local meetings, press conferences, research documents, relevant articles and advocacy

opportunities. The page contained over 125 posts and had 267 likes since its creation in April 2010. Almost all the activist groups I researched maintained a website which included some information about the university's development efforts and opportunities to get informed and involved.

Ironically, although the participants observed low student engagement with the Project, students seemed willing to engage in discussions about the Project online. My review of the online editions of the university's student newspaper and of a student-driven online news site yielded evidence of an ongoing, if not always conciliatory, debate between what appeared to be students and community members about the Project. Granted, the anonymity allowed by the Internet makes it difficult to measure the validity of the posts. Prospective students also sought information about the Project on College Confidential, a popular website used by prospective college students and their parents to research colleges and universities. Finally, a cursory search on YouTube using the university's name coupled with terms such as "master plan," and "expansion" yielded at least 40 videos about the Project including videos of university personnel discussing the Project, student research projects and videos posted by community advocacy groups and other community members who documented their support or their criticism of the Project.

**(d) Forming advisory committees.** According to the university's official website, about six years prior to the city council's final Specific Plan approval, the university established a master plan advisory committee to "engage broad representation and participation in the master planning process from within the university, its community and stakeholder groups." This committee, chaired by a leader of a local economic development corporation, was comprised of representatives from the university, neighborhood organizations, churches, local museums, and community activist groups. The advisory committee drafted a set of guiding principles for future university development that were subsequently adopted by the university one year later.

Four participants indicated that another community advisory committee was later established by the university to provide input regarding the Specific Plan. To staff this committee, the university stakeholders “identified recognized leaders in the community that people deferred to,” as explained by one university participant. They did this by querying other internal stakeholders. The participant explains,

It was a lot of peoples’ jobs [to identify these leaders]-our community and government relations group, the real estate department, the capital construction group, a lot of our outreach initiatives whether it was the family of schools group; we asked everyone. Who do you think is a leader in this community, not necessarily from the standpoint of elected official?

The committee included both Project proponents and opponents. The university participant explained that the committee allowed for transparency and clarity because it provided the university with a venue for explaining to everyone “what we were willing to do and what we weren’t willing to do” with respect to the Project. The university participants also seemed satisfied that this advisory committee achieved the goal of addressing the needs of the community. As one university participant claimed, “It gave community members a voice on the project or gave them an understanding that we were listening.”

**Community perceptions of advisory committees.** One community participant indicated her belief that the role of the advisory committee was to try “to give a perspective to what [the university is] proposing to do that makes it stronger and more clearly addresses the need of the community.” Nonetheless, the inclusion of Housing United representatives on the Specific Plan advisory committee seemed to pose some challenges for both the university stakeholders and other advisory committee members. University participants found that Housing United members often required more time than other member groups and were more contentious. “A lot of people would say ‘that’s fine,’” the university participant observed, referring to the committee’s acceptance of the



university's plan proposals. "This group, we had to meet with repeatedly, and there was a time period where we didn't meet with them." Another community participant who also served on the advisory committee expressed frustration with the way in which these Project opponents created a more adversarial climate by advocating for their own housing agenda over the proposals of the advisory council.

**(e) Negotiating stakeholder *ad hoc* agreements.** By the time the city council approved the Specific Plan, the university had managed to negotiate, in addition to the Development Agreement with the city, at least two *ad hoc* agreements with the community stakeholders to address community and city concerns and allay opposition to the Project. These agreements included a labor agreement and a private non-opposition agreement.

***Project labor agreement.*** This agreement, discussed earlier in this chapter, was considered to be "quite significant for the labor community," although the university contends that they were already hiring union workers in 90% of their projects. One university participant indicated that the expectations of both parties were clear. The participant stated,

For the unions or the traditionally organized groups, we literally had to just negotiate with them . . . Unions are particularly effective at leveraging WSEPA to get project labor agreements, living wage agreements, and things that benefit their members.

The early settlement of the labor issues meant that the university could now count on the support of labor for the Project. The Labor Agreement also provided university stakeholders with some comfort that the unions would be less likely to challenge the project through WSEPA.

***Non-opposition agreement.*** Three participants, including a community activist participant, acknowledged that the university entered into what some participants referred to as a private "non-opposition agreement" with Housing United to provide additional benefits and ensure that they

would not legally challenge the project through the Western State Environmental Preservation Act.

As one university participant stated,

We did not want a WSEPA lawsuit; we did not want the challenge so we were able to negotiate a- what we'll call it is a non-opposition. They agreed not to oppose or file an appeal or challenge the legality of our approvals. With that they received some benefits.

Although the Development Agreement referred to earlier in this study was executed between the city and the university, it contains numerous provisions intended to benefit the community including a provision to appoint an ombudsman for College Centre merchants in order to open the lines of communication between them and the university and provide them with relocation assistance.

**Community perceptions of stakeholder *ad hoc* agreements.** With the exception of the College Centre merchant participants, most of the participants seemed to herald the execution of the Development Agreement as an accomplishment. A community activist participant also considered the university's agreement to delay the demolition of existing residential units until the completion of the new units to be "one of the biggest accomplishments that we felt came out of the agreement." However, one community activist participant wondered about the extent to which the community benefits outlined in the agreements would be available to those unorganized stakeholder groups who were not invited to the table. The activist observed:

The current advocacy environment leads toward something called community benefit agreements and the people who advocate for those community benefit agreements do so on behalf of the community. When those benefits come, they're the only ones who can take advantage of the blessing. In my mind and I'm sure I'm always open to interpretation, it's a bit self-serving.

This same activist believed that the university had become too "accommoda[tive]" with activist stakeholder groups in its desire to obtain Project approval. Not surprisingly, none of the participants shared information with me about the terms of this private Non-Opposition Agreement, and my

cursory Internet searches failed to yield any information about this contract. One community activist participant vaguely mentioned that these benefits included provisions related to housing.

**(f) Campaigning for the university's interests.** Despite the hundreds of meetings, the information sessions, the outreach campaigns, the advisory councils and the contract negotiations, university stakeholders employed traditional campaign measures to galvanize support for the Project. Such measures included mobilizing Project supporters within the community (i.e., the parents) and touting the benefits of the Project to cultivate the support of city and community stakeholders.

These measures reflected the sometimes adversarial nature of the approval process. One university participant related that at some time during the approval process the university had to shift from an “information-giving” mode to “fight mode” upon realizing that the opposition was willing to bring in individuals and groups from outside the university community to challenge the specific plan. “These folks were bringing in people that we didn’t know even were in our neighborhood,” the university participant recalled. The participant observed that the planning process became confrontational after some individuals who were opposed to the plan taunted the university’s parent supporters with name-calling and cursing. The university’s strategies are described as follows:

***Building up the numbers.*** Employing political campaign and union organizing strategies, one university participant stated that university personnel focused on building up “the numbers” of supporters from the university’s existing community programs. He explains:

We had a butcher paper all over this room. We’d say okay here’s your population [in the University program], how many can we get of that? Someone would say we have 600, of the 600 we could probably get 250 to support. Okay, of the 250 to support how many could we get to attend? Probably about 220. What about if they bring their family? Then we’re up to 400. Okay, of that 200 how many can speak? We can probably get about 25 speakers. We did that for every program and we do that for every hearing.

University participants seemed satisfied with the outcome of this strategy and noted that at one town hall meeting, over 600 people showed up to demonstrate their support for the Project.

The strategy appeared to be successful for several reasons. First, the parents were readily accessible because the university already had long-standing relations with the local neighborhood schools. They were generally on or near the campus every weekend because their children participated in the Community of Schools program or one of the many of the educational outreach activities taking place on or near the campus. Second, many of the parents believed they had received some benefit through their affiliation with the university's educational programs and were willing to share these feelings at some of the public hearings and meetings. To facilitate this, the university participants provided parents with training in public speaking and advocacy. When queried about this training, university personnel noted that parents were given talking points but were encouraged to speak "from their hearts" about the academic opportunities provided by the university for their children. The families were provided meals, transportation to and from the public hearings, daycare, and rooms to practice their presentations.

Finally, the university was able to fortify its existing relationships with the parents by providing moral support and "protection" from the opposition during public hearings. For example, several participants reported that during some of the hearings some parents were targets of "isolated cases of harassment," such as name-calling and insults from opposition members. The parents were instructed on ways to avoid confrontation with the opposition. Again, the two university outreach participants often referred to these parent supporters as "our parents" or "our community members."

*Communicating the university's benefits to the community.* All of the university participants I interviewed acknowledged that many community members still harbored feelings of

distrust toward the university. Instead of trying to dispel old rumors or rehash historical events, the university stakeholders touted the university's current work in the community as well as the anticipated benefits of the new construction. "All we can do is fall back on the work that we're doing and try to incorporate the positive things that people say," concluded the university participant. Another university planner recalled that the university's talking points often included the university's mantra that community patronage was essential to the Project's success:

For College Centre to be successful it cannot just rely on the academic community, the university community, because there's not enough purchasing power there. That was part of our talking points. . . . Again, that's because we know this needs to serve the community, the university community.

University stakeholders framed the new development as a solution to some of the quality of life issues concerns expressed by community members. By creating retail opportunities appealing to both student and community members alike, community members could "come here and spend your hard-earned dollars and not outside of your neighborhood anymore," as mentioned by one university participant. Community members would also be able to apply for the 12,000 jobs projected by the university and enjoy dining options at more "family-serving" restaurants.

**Community perceptions of university campaign efforts.** Most external stakeholders took issue with what they believed to be the university's narrow characterization of community. Not everyone agreed with the university's characterization of the parents as the true "community." "There was no great arms reach-out and say 'Let me just work with the everyday person in the community,'" a city participant criticized. "If you listen to the folks that live in the community, just are impacted by [the university], that's a totally different perspective, but they get drowned out because [the university] will bus their people in," the participant continued. Participants in the business community, particularly the College Centre merchants, complained that university did not

directly address any of their issues with the campus expansion plan. When they did attend public hearings, they felt outnumbered by the parent supporters mobilized by the university. One local business participant lamented:

We went to the City Hall as well. But merchants are outnumbered by people in the community. There are people in the community because they work at Greenfield University, children they go to the schools over here . . . So people in the community are very excited whereas merchants are only 15-20 merchants so the community people outnumber the merchants.

As a result, some participants opined that the university should have also paid more attention to the community members who exhibited no affiliation with Greenfield University such as the homeowners, non-student renters, and small business owners. In short, although many university supporters attended the public meetings, some believe that the university's net was not cast widely enough.

## **Summary**

Through the analysis of the data, I concluded that Greenfield University's stakeholders learned to constantly evaluate and modify their strategies for identifying and managing stakeholders throughout the course of the approval process. This was essential because the level of stakeholder salience among the various stakeholder groups connected to the Project was not static and university stakeholders had to become adept at quickly changing their communication approach depending upon each situation. For example, stakeholders both internal and external to the university seemed to broadly understand the connection between the Project and Greenfield University's primary mission to provide high quality of education to its students. The university and city stakeholders, especially, seemed to understand that the university's reputation as a competitive higher education institution is inextricably connected with the university's ability to provide safe, affordable housing for its students. Even the community stakeholders I interviewed for this study were able to reconcile

the Project with Greenfield University's desire to improve and expand its campus for its students through the provision of housing and more retail.

Yet, university stakeholders seemed to learn early on in the regulatory approval process that garnering public support of the Master Plan would be challenging even if the campus expansion project could be justified through the university's mission. First, the university's stakeholders discovered that Greenfield University's reputation among some long-term residents as a well-funded landowner willing to take over private property gave these residents reason to attend public meetings to challenge the Project and express their long-held hostility toward Greenfield University. University stakeholders found it necessary to host and attend hundreds of meetings during the approval process to not only provide information about the Project, but to dispel rumors and, in some instances, quell fears that the university was seeking to take over more property in the community. Second, as community activist groups began to mobilize and create alliances with other stakeholder groups, these groups began to draw more of the university stakeholders' attention. In some instances, the university had to adopt strategies that reflected the adversarial tone of approval, such as creating a campaign to build community support and gain control the narrative of the Project. Moreover, those groups who were originally thought to possess lower levels of salience, such as the College Centre merchants, became more critical stakeholders by the end of the approval process thereby motivating Greenfield University to make certain concessions like job training and job placement assistance.

Finally, Greenfield University's national reputation as an institution highly engaged with the local K-12 schools, while impressive to both city and community participants, seemed less important to the external stakeholder groups than the effect the Project would have on the social and economic makeup of the community and the availability of jobs and affordable housing for its

residents. As such, instead of merely working their way through the city's regulatory approval process as a private developer, the university stakeholders had to rely on their negotiating skills to finalize major design elements of the Project, to negotiate contributions for the purpose of creating affordable housing, and to develop a plan for providing the community with millions of dollars in additional community benefits.



## CHAPTER FIVE:

### FINDINGS

#### Frontenac University

##### **A Campus Snapshot of Frontenac University**

I visited the campus of Frontenac University for several days in the fall of 2013. The entry point I used to arrive on campus was located across from a heavily utilized rail station situated in the middle of Holcomb Avenue where dozens of commuters, some of them appearing to be college students, waited to cross the intersection to make their way to the class. The northbound and southbound traffic on Holcomb Avenue was separated by a set of fenced-in train tracks that supported one of the busiest rail lines of Windsor City's public transportation system. Holcomb Avenue was also lined with dozens of parked cars and motorcycles. In hopes of grabbing a coveted free parking space on the street, drivers slowed traffic by trailing students who walked on the sidewalks to return to their parked cars. Instead of seeking free parking on Holcomb Avenue or on one of the residential streets in a neighborhood near the campus, I elected to pay to park in the university's only parking garage located at the bottom of a hill near the center of campus.

Frontenac University is located in the southwest region of Windsor City, a highly dense metropolitan city. The vicinity of Frontenac University's core campus is considered by some to be separated from Windsor City's world renowned downtown district both geographically (Frontenac University being approximately 30 minutes away from downtown Windsor City) and ideologically (the southwest communities are thought to be more conservative than the rest of the city). Moreover, the campus is clearly set apart from the immediately surrounding community. Holcomb Avenue lines the university's east perimeter, separating the university from the single family

residences and the local high school situated across the street. To the university's south sits a university-owned residential area populated by small, connected townhome-style apartments. During each day of my visit, the small streets weaving throughout this area appeared to be crowded with student vehicles. The university's northern border is populated with older apartment buildings purchased by the university in 2005. Also situated to the north is the Appleton Shopping Center, an Eighties-style enclosed mall housing a food court and stores typically found in a suburban shopping center.

Perhaps one of the most notable things about Frontenac University's campus is its close proximity to Windsor City's largest apartment complex. During my campus visit, I could see several large banners hanging from the roofs of the high-rises advertising "larger views" and "more parking" for potential renters. A search on Walnut Heights' official website revealed that the monthly rent could range from approximately \$2000 for a studio apartment to approximately \$4500 for a three-bedroom space.

Despite its reputation as an urban, commuter campus, a few of Frontenac University's students appeared to find refuge from their studies by visiting the university's bustling student union, named after a famous immigration activist, or lying on the university's large, grassy quad encircled by many of the university's academic buildings. During my visit, I noticed that a steady stream of students appeared to enter and leave the campus through a small path connecting the quad to Holcomb Avenue, which was not visible from the inner campus.

Notably absent during my observation were any indications that non-university affiliated people regularly walked through the campus. I also noticed that there were very few students on bicycles, but I speculated that they may have been deterred by the campus's hilly terrain. Judging

from the lack of construction activity on the campus, the university did not appear to be currently engaged in any building projects.

## **The Project**

Frontenac University is just one of several public Western universities operated by the Public Western University System. The Governing Board of the Public Western University System serves as its governing body pursuant to state law. According to the Public Western University System's Capital Improvement Program, all Public University campuses must submit their capital improvement plans and their physical master plans to the Governing Board for approval. In 2007, Frontenac University submitted a Campus Improvement Master Plan to the Governing Board for approval. The Campus Improvement Master Plan (referred to herein as the "Project") is considered a plan of action for guiding the physical development of Frontenac University's campus in order to, (a) accommodate a projected increase in the number of full-time equivalency students attending the university by 5,000, (b) integrate newly acquired buildings into the physical makeup of the campus, and (c) facilitate the university's strategic plan to become a "preeminent public urban university." The Campus Improvement Master Plan, which remains posted on Frontenac University's official website, involved capital planning for six buildings, including a the construction of a new wellness/recreation center, the reconfiguration of the campus to add 800,000 square feet of academic space, the addition of approximately 1,000 units of affordable housing for students and university employees, the removal of barriers to increase the connectivity between the university and its surroundings, and the construction of a university conference center with guest rooms as well as approximately 50 suites and apartments intended for university-affiliated tenants.

Since the approval of the Campus Improvement Master Plan, Frontenac University has weathered its share of financial peaks and valleys. Funding for the Public Western University System

was severely diminished amid the financial tumult of the housing market crash in late 2008, and Frontenac University's Campus Improvement Master Plan has not been fully realized. Access to affordable housing remains challenging for Frontenac University students who find themselves competing with other potential Windsor City residents for living space. In addition, after 25 years, Frontenac University's president elected to retire in 2010, thereby ushering in new leadership and, potentially, a new strategic plan. Nonetheless, the Campus Improvement Master Plan is still considered a viable document and the current president acknowledges that affordable housing remains a challenge for Frontenac University students, staff and faculty.

### **Introduction of Study**

Over a period of two months, I interviewed 16 individuals who, at the time of writing, either work for Frontenac University, live or work within a five mile radius of the university's main campus, or evidence some involvement with the university's campus expansion plans. These individuals include eight current and former university employees and consultants, four community residents and community activists, and four city officials and government employees. The government employees who are employed by public agencies other than the city are referred to herein as the "state participant" or the "government participant." The time of the interviews ranged from approximately nine to 70 minutes and most of the interviews were conducted telephonically and recorded with the participants' consent. Other interviews were completed in participants' offices and were also recorded with the permission of the participants.

I also gathered data over a period of six months by collecting documents and conducting four site visits to Frontenac University's campus. The data I collected includes pages from the university's official website relevant to the Project, including the approved Campus Improvement Master Plan and the existing Specific Plan. I also collected documents from the official website of

the Public Western University System; articles from student-run media sources such as the student newspaper and Internet news site; newspaper articles from the city's main newspaper and local newspapers; and electronic copies of Internet pages belonging to local community groups and activist groups. Finally, I collected hundreds of pages of public records from the city's official website, including transcripts of public meetings, environmental documents, and agreements. My observations included walks on the core campus and around the university's perimeter to observe the large apartment complex adjacent to the campus. My observation also included the train line serving the students and the community on Holcomb Avenue, and the Appleton Shopping Center directly adjacent to the campus. I took approximately 90 pictures of the campus and its surrounding areas. Finally, I observed a community meeting hosted by the public transportation agencies that serve the area.

The following results, organized by research question, are primarily the product of the interviews, but the data analysis of the documents, archival data and my observations yielded additional support for my findings and allowed me to develop an in-depth perspective on Frontenac University's mission as well as its relationship with its internal and external stakeholders.

**Research Question 1: How do the campus expansion efforts of higher education institutions reflect the mission and the role of the institution as perceived by the institution, the city stakeholders, and the community stakeholders?**

To answer this question, I reviewed university-generated documents, articles featuring the university presidents' speeches, and videos of presidential presentations. I also queried each interview participant about the Frontenac University's mission. Because Frontenac University is just one of several public Western universities, I also reviewed the Public Western University System's

over-arching mission for all its campuses. During the interviews, I focused on the participants' understanding of the mission and how they believed the Project helped further the goals of the Public Western University System at large and Frontenac University in particular. Again, this report is not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of all the goals and strategies of the Public Western University System or of Frontenac University. Instead, I intended to understand the perceptions of the impact a university's mission has on campus-community relationships when universities implement plans to physically grow their campuses.

**Frontenac University's mission statement and core documents.** Frontenac University's mission was adopted by its Academic Senate and approved by the university's former president in 1992. The mission is set forth in a single paragraph that emphasizes three key components including the creation of "an environment for learning that promotes respect for and appreciation of scholarship, human diversity, and the cultural mosaic of the city." The second and third components identify the university's commitment to promoting instructional excellence and to providing education that is broadly accessible to regional and state residents and global students. To fulfill its mission, Frontenac University identifies seven goals which include, among others, the need to attract and retain a "highly diverse student body," to employ staff and administration reflecting the "diversity of the community," and the desire to serve "the communities with which its students and faculty are engaged." Frontenac University's commitment to diversity is reflected in the mission statement, as the words "diverse" or "diversity" appeared no fewer than five times.

Frontenac University's mission appears to comport with the seven-pronged mission articulated by the Public Western University System. This mission endorses the advancement of "knowledge, learning, and culture" throughout the state and the provision of access "to an excellent education to all who are prepared for and wish to participate in collegiate study." To accomplish

these goals, the Public Western University System directs the individual campuses to “provide public services that enrich the University and its communities” and find ways to serve their particular communities as “educational, public service, cultural, and artistic centers.”

As with Greenfield University, Frontenac University’s plans for development and growth, academically and physically, are more specifically addressed in the university’s Core Documents, such as its Strategic Plan I, its Strategic Plan II and the Campus Improvement Master Plan. The Strategic Plan II, the university’s most recent strategic plan, outlined seven strategic initiatives to reposition the institution as a “model public university and an institution of choice.” Although social justice is not articulated in the mission, the first goal of the Strategic Plan II included a statement calling for Frontenac University to “demonstrate commitment to its core values of equity and social justice through the diversity of its students and employees.” Moreover, the former president advanced these goals in a 2006 address on university engagement presented at a national conference for colleges and universities.

Although the Strategic Plan II articulated the university’s desire to meet students’ “physical and social needs as well as their time constraints” by “providing a comfortable student-friendly campus setting that encourages community,” nothing was mentioned about how capital improvement projects would facilitate these goals.

On the other hand, the Final Report for the Campus Improvement Master Plan, which as of the time of writing is still available on the university’s official website, specifically details how the university’s campus expansion plans support Frontenac University’s “achievement of the university’s strategic goals and support its academic mission.” The university contended that this could be done by, among other things, replacing old buildings and “reinforcing” the university’s academic core, strengthening the connection to its surrounding neighborhoods through the construction of inviting

paths and public spaces, and the development of “close-in” affordable housing and college “main streets” to attract and retain students and faculty.

Since I first identified Frontenac University as a site for this study in the spring of 2011, the university has undergone both the financial and institutional ebbs and flows typical of other campuses in the Public Western University System. The university did achieve several of its campus expansion goals as outlined in the Project and the FTE of the university had increased by over 5,000 in the fall of 2012, according to an Analytic Study posted on the Public Western University System website. Coinciding with these developments was the passing of legislation that allowed for an increase in funding for the Public Western University System and Frontenac University’s 2012 investiture of a new president, who is now facilitating campus-wide discussions about the adoption of a new strategic plan.

**The university’s mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by university leadership.** To determine how the university leadership perceives the Project in light of Frontenac University’s mission, I reviewed documents to identify any statements made by the former and the current president about the mission and the Campus Improvement Master Plan. I also reviewed several of the annual opening remarks made by the presidents to the university faculty and reviewed videos posted online of relevant presidential speeches. I limited my document review to the two most recent presidents for two reasons. First, the former president’s term spanned over two decades, and the university’s current mission, as well as its more recent planning documents, was adopted under his watch. Second, the newly inducted president reiterated his belief that social justice and equity remain core values of Frontenac University. He acknowledged this view in a 2013 written statement on campus discourse in which he said that social justice was not only a “strategic priority” for which the university was recognized worldwide, but that it was “an integral part of our DNA.”



The previous president believed the Campus Improvement Master Plan to be a vehicle for advancing the university's strategic goals. In an undated letter to the university community he described the Campus Improvement Master Plan as "a physical expression of our strategic vision and values – a bridge between ideas and structures." He subsequently articulated the connection between the Campus Improvement Master Plan and the university's academic goals, stating that the plan "allows not only for more on-campus housing, but new buildings that better support teaching, research and creativity." I was unable to uncover any direct references to the Campus Improvement Master Plan by the current president in recent messages, yet a brief review of the university's official website indicates that the new strategic planning committee intends to evaluate the university's existing physical resources and physical infrastructure plans in order to entertain "ways for the university to collaborate with ongoing development in projects" in Windsor City "to further our mission and extend our community impact."

**The university's mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by other university stakeholders.** When asked if they could articulate Frontenac University's mission, most of the university participants alluded to the Public Western University System's mission to ensure affordable access to a four-year college education for the state's residents. "All the [Public] University campuses have a fundamental mission of being a regional comprehensive university providing educational access and excellence for their local constituencies," answered one university participant. According to another participant, Frontenac University's mission is aligned with that larger goal.

I think the university typically understood its role to be that of providing access for those typically marginalized by the political economy, by the society so that making certain the working class, immigrant, non-white kids had access to education and there was high quality and provided them tools, you know those kinds of things.

Other participants agreed that Frontenac University's core mission is to offer an affordable four-year college education to undergraduates at a high quality.

None of the university participants seemed to know Frontenac University's stated mission, although they knew it existed. Instead, the participants gave various responses that included several common themes in addition to access and affordability. When asked about the mission, the participants remarked on the university's goal to civically engage its students. "[O]ur mission is to be educating our students about how to be civically engaging and socially conscious" answered one university participant. Another noted that the university takes great pride in encouraging students to engage communities outside the university. He stated,

[T]here's a strong sense of civic engagement in a lot of what we do and across the curriculum from the sciences to the humanities, the arts, you're not going to find a department on this campus that doesn't have some outward-facing program that doesn't involve students in the life of the world and then the life of the community and that's something we pride ourselves in taking the theory out of the classroom and putting it in to practice.

The university participants generally drew connections between the notion of community engagement, which is included in the university's mission and the values of social justice and equity. While these ideals are not included in the university's mission, almost all the university participants identified social justice and equity as university missions. "Civic engagement and social justice has become such a character of our DNA," observed one participant. Another participant reaffirmed that the university was "very much committed to social justice and equity as a mission." Most of the participants seemed to deflect when asked to define the term "social justice" and conceded that the university had no one agreed-upon definition. "It's kind of those we-know-it-when-we-see-it type things," admitted one participant. Yet there was general consensus that Frontenac University's social justice component "mirrored" Windsor City's larger focus on being "civically engaged and socially

conscious.” For instance, several participants remarked on the university’s “history of protests,” which included nationally publicized student strikes and the formation of the nation’s first ethnic studies department. As such, the “social justice” mission seemed to be a natural extension of the university’s history of engaging in and encouraging social activism, political dissent, and advocacy for the marginalized.

When pressed to identify the connection between what they believed to be the university’s mission and the goals of the Campus Improvement Master Plan, Frontenac University participants recognized, as did the Greenfield University participants, that the transformation from a commuter campus to a “destination” campus required the university to make more affordable housing available to students and faculty. Several participants noted that over the past few years the university had begun drawing students from other areas of the state and that these students, in particular, needed access to affordable housing. One participant explained:

Twenty years ago – -it might have been twenty-five years, this was a commuter campus. We had very few residences halls. We had very few people living nearby. We had very few freshman and sophomores and in which we had an average age of 25 years, 26 years for students . . . They had almost no freshmen and no dorms . . . Now we have 5,000 [freshmen].

This participant went on to surmise that the influx of these new, younger students from outside Frontenac University’s local region were likely the result of the Public Western University System’s efforts to “create identities” for each of its campuses. He continued, “There are a lot of [students] who are coming here because some of them like the progressive politics . . . And that is very attractive to a lot of folks that want to go to a place that embraces that.”

In addition to adding more housing to accommodate younger students, most of the university participants commented that the physical redesign of the campus as set forth in the Campus Improvement Master Plan could facilitate more civic and community engagement. For

example, one participant noted that the Campus Improvement Master Plan helped further this mission by “breaking down physical ‘barriers’ between the campus and the community, including a “commitment to opening a path for pedestrians and cyclists through the heart of the campus” to allow people with no affiliation with the university to walk through the campus to take the train, go shopping, or go home. He noted that the university also removed a wall that closed off the campus from some university-owned apartment complexes in order to open up the northern perimeter of campus. Another participant confirmed that the Strategic Plan II influenced her own decision-making about how the physical organization of the campus internally “could better foster connections among the different elements of campus but also bring a greater sense of community among the various members of the community.”

Finally, several participants noted that the Campus Improvement Master Plan’s directive to replace old buildings and improve campus infrastructure was also directly tied to the university’s academic mission. One university participant contended that the mission fully informed the Campus Improvement Master Plan. That participant made the connection between the university’s academic goals and its plans to improve the campus’s aging infrastructure as follows:

I mean, we have aging infrastructure . . . And so, [the campus has] been around a long time and some of the buildings are still the original buildings. And they definitely are in need of refurbishment or replacement. And we have added, the buildings obviously, since that original floor plan, foot print; but there’s a lot in that, that are in need of replacement. And I think that in terms of supporting the academic mission of the university, you got to have up-to-date infrastructure to be able to teach the classes you need and some of our science classes, in particular, really need updated and more modern laboratories and facilities.

Restructuring is also believed to be instrumental in cultivating student life on campus and several university participants, including a former student, commented on the increase in student programming and the development of a “night life” more typical of residential universities.

**The university’s mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by government stakeholders.** When I asked what they believed to be the connection between the university’s mission and the Project, two of the four government participants alluded to the university’s ability to provide more access to higher education. Frontenac University is “a way for kids to go get educated at a reasonable cost,” a city participant stated. “It’s a really incredible pathway for a lot of kids there in our city.” Another participant who works on transportation issues answered this question with a personal observation by stating,

Since I started to work [with the transportation agency] and I tell people about it, I realize that a lot of people went to Frontenac University. You know, I talk to neighbors or someone in my exercise class or someone and it seems like half the people I talk to went to Frontenac University. Probably isn’t that many actually.

A state participant, an employee of the Public Western University System, took a broader view, indicating that, system-wide, campus master plans are linked to campus planning: “[I]t’s all linked to the academic plans, the strategic plan, system-wide goals for enrollment, and so forth.” He also acknowledged that Frontenac University’s focus on student housing seemed to be part of a larger effort to give its campus some sort of identity.

Two of the four government participants did not seem to express a strong opinion with regards to the university’s reputation, goals, or the Campus Improvement Master Plan because they were either not involved in the approval process or they did not hold their current positions at that time.

**The university’s mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by community stakeholders.** Three of the four community participants expressed some involvement with the university beyond the campus expansion plan. They had either attended the university, were related to someone who had attended, or actually taught classes there. Yet when asked what they believed to

be the university's mission, none of the community participants referred to the university's official mission statement. One participant stated that he was aware that the university's mission was "written down," and other participants seemed to agree that the university's role is to educate its citizenry by "prepar[ing] young people to function as educated citizens and workers." Another participant was adamant in his belief that Frontenac University should serve the population of Windsor City. He contended that "it is the opportunity in this city for people, particularly people of working class and low-income means . . . to be able to get a good education." Others spoke of the university's mission within the general context of the role of public higher education. The public university "should be permanently affordable, accessible over the long hall," contended another community activist, who stated that it was a public responsibility to support such institutions to help maintain affordability.

Only one community activist participant identified social justice as a core component of the university's mission and recited a mantra similar to that of the university participants:

Social justice is in the DNA of the faculty, the staff, the administration as being core to who they are. And when I say core of who they are, its core to how they probably think about curriculum, appointments . . . programming.

However, he criticized the university's approach to social justice by concluding that although having a diverse student body and faculty may help achieve social justice, accomplishing such ends on campus may or may not result in economic or social upward mobility for the university's college graduates. "I'd say actually higher education in my humble opinion, doesn't think enough about that at all," he opined.

Two of the four community participants drew direct connections between the university's mission and its campus expansion plans but pointed out that budget shortfalls have hampered the Campus Improvement Master Plan's implementation. As explained by one housing activist:

Frontenac University is largely a commuter school. The vast majority come from somewhere else . . . but they would like to develop - -culturally, they would like to develop much more of an on-site, by the campus-what would you call it? Campus life where people-their life is there on campus like in so many other schools instead of this thing that you go, you're taking classes and you leave. They wanted to develop an identity that was centered on campus, but they don't have the funding to go forward with that.

Another community activist also observed that dwindling public support for public education may lead public universities like Frontenac University to compromise their original missions to serve local students by making higher education affordable and accessible. "One thing that troubles me is that a lot of universities catering to students from outside of the city or outside of their state, probably because of pumping the tuition dollars," he stated.

Another participant warned that efforts by universities to attract students outside of their region could also result in a shrinking local workforce unqualified to work in an increasingly knowledge-based economy. He observed:

And then you've simultaneously got the largest university in the city or your college in the city not catering to locals but catering to whoever can pay the money. You really sort of double hammering the local residents. 'We're here to make money and to make sure we can keep our doors open to whoever can pay our bills.' We're not necessarily thinking about the fact that the local workforce in Windsor City is basically thinning out those who do and don't have necessary education to be in the kind of knowledge sector.

This response was similar to all the responses I received from the community participants when I asked them about the university's plans. They all seemed to situate the role of the university within the larger context of the city's social and economic environment. This common tenor was likely due to the fact that all the community participants self-identified as community organizers, advocates or activists.

**Research Question 2: How does an institution determine which stakeholders are critical in the expansion process?**

To examine how the university determines which stakeholder groups are critical in the approval process, I asked all the participants to describe the community surrounding Frontenac University. Again, I believed that this information would provide valuable context for determining who would potentially have some interest in the Project. I then asked university participants whom they deemed to be the critical and less critical players in the approval process. To determine whether external stakeholders' beliefs stakeholder aligned the university's beliefs, I also posed this question to government and community participants.

**The university community as perceived by the participants.** When I asked the participants to describe the community surrounding the university, I was able to uncover four themes from their responses. These themes include (a) the existence of multiple, distinct neighborhoods, (b) demographic shifts in the Windsor City population, (c) a community of renters, and (d) the city-wide struggle for affordable housing.

***Multiple and distinct neighborhoods.*** When I asked the participants to describe Frontenac University's surrounding community, some of the participants took issue with my presumption that a single "community" actually surrounded the university. As one university participant succinctly observed, "Well, first is that there is no community surrounding Frontenac University. There are multiple neighborhoods. They are divided by issues of class and race." Another university participant confirmed this view by noting that "[t]here are a whole host of different types of communities" close to Frontenac University.

One university participant primarily responsible for community outreach shared a broader definition of the university community by stating, "I think, first and foremost, the entire city. We



really have a city-wide reach.” He based this perspective on the fact that Frontenac University students are generally “coming from all over the city and all over the region.” On the other hand, another university participant contrasted Windsor City to smaller cities like Berkeley, which is associated with a single university. “Windsor City will never be a university town,” he concluded. He went on to explain that the geography around the university included three neighborhoods that differed significantly in terms of race, class and political perspective. These neighborhoods did not relate to each other as a single community, and they did not see themselves as a part of a larger university community.

***Neighborhoods characterized by demographic shifts.*** In response to my effort to define the university community, most participants chose to identify local neighborhoods by names commonly used among those familiar with the areas such as such as “Cliffside,” “Olympia Park,” “Thurgood Terrace,” and “Oceanview Terrace.” They coupled these identifiers with racial and class descriptors not only to demonstrate the neighborhoods’ diversity but also to emphasize the shifts in Windsor City’s population. For example, one government participant answered as follows,

Well, I know that the Cliffside-Olympia Park-Thurgood Terrace area is somewhat mixed as some lower-income areas and is somewhat more African American than, I think, a lot of other neighborhoods. As you move north up the corridor, there’s a range of incomes, pretty heavily Asian-American, especially if you go further north. The incomes kind of range, but fairly middle for Windsor City.

Two participants mentioned that the area around the university had historically been predominantly white and was still “largely” white when compared to the rest of Windsor City. However, most participants observed the area’s changing racial makeup. “It’s an ethnically diverse community that’s been changing over the years with more of an Asian population moving into an area that had been of other ethnicities,” explained one university participant. A community participant who lives in one of the neighborhoods near the university also mentioned that the “old conservative, white older

guard is giving way” to the growing population of Chinese American families. Several university and community participants lamented the diminishing population of African Americans and Latinos as a result of their migration to cities believed to be more affordable than Windsor City.

Participants also noted that while many of the neighborhoods were still inhabited by retirees in their sixties and seventies, the population seemed to be giving way to students, young professionals, and young families. As observed by the community organizer participant who has lived in her Oceanview Terrace neighborhood since 2001,

When we first moved here, we were the only people that had children, and now there are actually quite a few families with young children . . . so I think we’re sort of slowly becoming younger. . . I think what’s basically happening is some of the old people are dying off.

This shift in the age of the population around Frontenac University is not unique to the single family residential neighborhoods. Another community participant noted that the Walnut Heights Residential Complex, the large apartment complex situated on property adjacent to the campus, was “increasingly professional” and “young.” This participant observed that the Walnut Heights tenants “used to be much older retirees, people still protected by rent control. That’s been shifting, changing,” he concluded.

Participants also noted that the shifts in age and ethnicity corresponded with shifts in social and political perspectives. One university participant mentioned that Frontenac University was located in one of the most conservative districts in Windsor City. “It is one of the more politically conservative parts of town and one of the more affluent as well,” he explains. But he was careful to note that Frontenac University students were markedly less conservative than the surrounding residents who seemed more resistant to change than the rest of Windsor City.

Nonetheless, both government and university stakeholders surmised that, with the exception of some neighborhoods, most residents were typically “middle class” by Windsor City standards and

noted that the local neighborhoods were inhabited primarily by “homeowners” of “single family” residences that seemed to be “relatively stable.” “The houses are kind of well taken care of, the people take pride in their neighborhood,” described on community participant.

***A community of renters.*** Most of the participants acknowledged that in addition to the students living in university-affiliated housing, the Frontenac University area includes its share of non-university affiliated renters. Some participants observed that the number of renters increased the closer one gets to the university. “The [communities] with the greater proximity to campus have far more renters on some of their streets,” observed the community organizer participant. Another participant noted that the bulk of the renters living in close proximity to Frontenac University actually lived in the Walnut Heights Residential Complex which continues to house a mix of students, elderly tenants and, increasingly, young professionals. Participants were also careful to note that Windsor City is a rent control city and that the Walnut Heights residents are still protected by rent control.

***Windsor City’s affordable housing challenge.*** Notwithstanding the racial and economic shifts of the surrounding neighborhoods, and the university’s efforts to increase affordable student housing, most participants avoided invoking a gentrification narrative to describe the spillover effects of the Campus Improvement Master Plan. One community organizer specifically alluded to my reference to gentrification in my interview protocol. “You mentioned gentrification in the beginning [of the interview] in your background,” he stated. “There’s not a lot of gentrification out there [at Frontenac University] as far as I see it . . . I mean, not unless I’m totally missing it something, that is not really where gentrification is happening in Windsor City.” In fact, while some of the local residents expressed concern about the possibility of university-generated displacement during the approval process, none of the participants directly attributed gentrification or housing

displacement to Frontenac University specifically. The gentrification narrative wherein an urban university's expansion plans are believed to cause jobs and affordable housing to disappear for long-time, low-income residents may not fit Frontenac University's profile for several reasons.

First, some do not perceive Frontenac University to be a conventional urban institution. Although Frontenac University seeks to become a "preeminent public urban institution," the university participants described the university as being located in a "suburban" part of Windsor City. "Well, so Frontenac University was built in the suburban part of Windsor City and it still in the larger suburban part of Windsor City," explained a university participant. Other participants described the area as having a "suburban feel" because of its low density population and its automobile-centered culture. This suburban mentality seemed to correlate with what participants referred to as general opposition to change. As one participant observed, "Frontenac University is in the area where the opposition to change is not driven by fear of gentrification, it's just fear of change." As a result of this resistance to change, participants concluded that the high-density development that most people associated with gentrification and displacement was not really taking place near the university.

Second, participants were careful to note that the challenge of providing affordable housing for its faculty and students was not unique to Frontenac University. Instead, recent attention has shifted to Windsor City's perceived failure to develop affordable housing for all of its residents, including students. These city-wide gentrification and displacement issues have been attributed not to the universities located in Windsor City but to large companies that attract wealthier workers to the city who, in turn, can afford higher rents. As observed by one university participant, "Windsor City housing prices have always been high and they're only getting higher . . . ." Another observed,

And you know we have this difficulty at Windsor City of- back to developments- of this kind of question for the university to our issues around housing and gentrification is that we are losing people. People are being squeezed out of their neighborhood, out of their homes. They are doubling up and eventually they might just move out of the city and kind of give up on that. And in many respects that is happening because of this new [] work force that is driving up rents.

One community activist indicated that colleges and universities in Windsor City were experiencing a severe shortfall in available beds for students. He observed,

We are losing students – the students we have accepted and they go to other schools where they can get housing far more cheaply than we’re able to offer . . . and our de facto housing policy is – yeah, sure attract all the students here and then [throw them] out on Craigslist and “Gosh, we hope you find something” and it’s just not working.

One government participant and one community activist participant explained that Windsor City recently passed legislation to encourage developers to construct more student housing to partly alleviate the strain on the affordable housing stock.

Finally, Frontenac University’s geographically removed location relative to the rest of Windsor City, as well the uncertain funding for its original Campus Improvement Master Plan, have somewhat immunized the university from community activists and negative publicity. Several participants concurred with the observation made by a community activist participant that the university “functioned like an island” and “didn’t really seem to be connected with the areas around it.” Others noted that, since the approval of the Campus Improvement Master Plan, the attention of local community members has been diverted by plans of the owners of the Walnut Heights Residential Complex to demolish buildings and construct an additional 5,000 housing units near the campus. Comparatively speaking, Frontenac University no longer appeared to be a primary threat to the livelihood of local residents and tenants.

**Critical and less critical stakeholders.** To determine which stakeholders the Frontenac University participants identified as being critical in the approval process, I asked interview

questions that allowed participants to engage in discussions about the individuals and groups they believe influenced the planning process and the negotiation of any related agreements between the university and external stakeholders.

I also reviewed the interview transcripts in their entirety to glean additional contextual information about how the university engaged various groups in connection to the Specific Plan and the Campus Improvement Master Plan. I included the thoughts or opinions of city and community participant that may support or counter the university participant perceptions.

Finally, I analyzed documents related to the environmental review process to identify additional individual or group stakeholders who may have influenced the university's decision-making process with respect to its campus expansion plans. These documents include relevant newspaper articles and public records obtained from the Windsor City planning department such as public hearing transcripts and written comments about the Project submitted by interested parties during the environmental review process.

***The Public Western University System Governing Board.*** “The [Governing] Board [sic] approves its own master plans,” explained one university participant responsible for responding to community concerns about Frontenac University's Campus Improvement Master Plan. A participant who serves as a Public Western University System employee working in the Chancellor's office confirmed that it was their role not only to “provide support” to these campuses but also to make sure the campuses could answer questions about their master plans before their submission of the plans to the Governing Board for approval. The participant explains,

Well, the role of the Chancellor's office really, in a role, I guess, is – let's say you take master plans, so we kind of need to understand – well, first of all understand the master plan. Ask pointed questions, questions such as, “How is the placed over time?” “What is it going to cost?” “How's it accommodating your academic program?” and, “Is the master plan being done in a way so that you are retaining enough land for academic buildings, I mean, not just

other functions?” “What does it mean in terms of growth, which is the biggie. Is it increasing your target enrollments, – the size of the campus?”

Thus, while no participants other than two university employees and the Public Western University System employee, mentioned the Governing Board as an important stakeholder group in the approval process, it was apparent that Frontenac University could not have moved forward with the implementation of its expansion plans without the support and approval of the employees in the Public Western University System Chancellor’s office. Thus, the Governing Board may be considered Frontenac University’s most critical stakeholder group.

However, several interview participants mentioned that the Governing also served as the regulatory body that certified the environmental quality documents for Frontenac University’s Project. In accordance with state environmental regulations, state universities within the Public Western University System are required to submit their master plans to the Governing Board for regulatory approval and not to the local government. “So we have our own . . . statutory authority,” explained the state participant when asked how the Public Western University System could be authorized to approve its own projects under the state’s environmental quality laws. The employee continued,

So it’s always kind of a balance of we need to make sure we’re covering everything, either meet the requirements WSEPA, making sure we’ve done our stuff there in case there’s litigation we’re covered just like a city would do. On the other hand, we’re the project proponent. We want the project to happen so it’s always these dual roles.

These dual roles evidence the critical nature of the Governing Board’s involvement in Frontenac University’s campus expansion plans. One university participant countered the characterization of the Governing Board as a critical stakeholder by stressing that it was actually the Governing Board’s staff which analyzes the campus expansion proposals and that the Governing Board typically acted

on recommendations made by staff. As such, this participant suggested that the staff for the Governing Board be deemed the most critical stakeholders.

***University faculty and staff and students.*** Faculty members may also be considered critical stakeholders in the Project. During my interviews, several participants commented on the need for Frontenac University to get “buy-in” from its faculty and staff prior to submitting the Campus Improvement Master Plan to the Chancellor’s office for review. This process appeared to involve more than merely requesting faculty and staff feedback to an already completed draft. As explained by one university employee, “most universities have kind of a formal process where they go through several campus-wide meetings to get input on every action.” According to the State participant, the academic departments at Frontenac University were “well integrated into the planning process because they had to be.” The participant stated,

You know, I think many people sometimes see universities as this kind of monolithic entity, but in fact, you know there is tremendous competition for resources and attention, space – there can be a collection of completely warring academic departments.

To address their needs, faculty members were invited to participate on Frontenac University’s master planning committees. One faculty member participant mentioned that they were deeply involved with one of the university’s planning committees for the Campus Improvement Master Plan.

Other faculty members were also willing to go on public record to contest elements of the Campus Improvement Master Plan. My analysis of transcripts taken from two public hearings on the Project in 2007 revealed that several faculty members of Frontenac University, including the then-president of the university’s chapter of the faculty union for the Public Western University System, attended public hearings to publicly comment on what they believed to be Frontenac University’s poor environmental planning for an academic building.



***Elected and appointed officials.*** “As a state agency, we’re not beholden to the city,” explained one university participant who affirmed that Frontenac University did not “have to conform to the requirements of the next level down.” In other words, Frontenac University, a state institution, was exempt from local planning and zoning requirements and did not need to seek the city’s approval of its environmental quality documents for its projects. “The only really governing body that Frontenac University needs to answer to is the Public Western University System,” concluded one university participant another. However, university participants were also careful to note that it was essential to have the support of the local elected officials during the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval process for several reasons. First, elected officials were accountable to constituents who may be adversely affected by the university’s Campus Improvement Master Plan. As explained by one university participant,

Even though we didn’t need the support of our local elected officials, not like for any sort of vote, having them on our side was critically important, because although we have our own state approval system, there are state elected officials who are hearing from their constituents so we were meeting with the state senator locally, the state representative locally . . . making sure they felt informed.

Second, at least one university participant implied that maintaining good relations with elected officials could influence how the legislature allocated public university funding in the future. Third, a court case decided prior to the Governing Board’s approval of the Frontenac University’s Campus Improvement Master Plan determined that public universities were obligated to seek state funding to pay cities for the institution’s fair share of the local infrastructure necessary to serve the campus. As a result, Frontenac University and Windsor City found it necessary to negotiate the terms of a memorandum of understanding to address some of the city’s infrastructure concerns related to the Project. During the course of developing and finalizing the Campus Improvement Master Plan, elected and appointed city officials became increasingly critical stakeholders.

***Transportation agencies.*** Windsor City’s local transportation agencies could also be considered critical stakeholders given the fact that, in light of the court decision, the university and Windsor City felt compelled to address the impacts of the Campus Improvement Master Plan on local traffic and transportation. Additionally, including a plan to mitigate the transportation impacts of the Campus Improvement Master Plan was crucial because the campus was considered by university participants to be a “transit-first” campus in which people were encouraged to take public transportation instead of commuting to the campus in cars. As such, university stakeholders worked with transportation agencies in “accounting for the growth and trying to ascertain how much” demand that would be on their system and on the roadways for cars.

The predominance of the transportation issues during the approval process was confirmed by the government participants who represented the local transportation agencies. One government participant, a transportation planner, described the university administration as being “collaborative partners” with the transportation agencies in working to develop “transportation solutions” for the campus. Another noted that Frontenac University seemed to be a “significant actor in planning issues and transportation issues” and continued to express concern about pedestrian safety issues in relation to the rail line and transit station on Holcomb Avenue.

***Walnut Heights Residents Organization and other local tenants.*** When asked if they could identify any community groups or members of the surrounding community who demanded the attention of the university stakeholders, six interview participants specifically identified the Walnut Heights Residents Organization (WHRO). “[T]hat Walnut Heights Group would be the one we had to really work with to help them because they see you’re doing a master plan to increase your ceiling capacity,” a university participant recalled. Another university participant surmised, “Probably

the Walnut Heights group had the most identity of ‘we’re the university’s neighbors’ because they are across [the street that runs adjacent to the campus].”

The WHRO, a forty-year-old tenants group comprised of renters who lived in the Walnut Heights Residential Complex during the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval process, expressed opposition to the Project by speaking at public meetings and submitting written comments to the university contesting the Project. Through my review of the 2007 public hearing transcripts, I found that three current and past presidents and vice-presidents of the WHRO attended the meetings and provided oral comments on the Project. One university participant confirmed that the WHRO and other Walnut Heights residents were “very strong” and “very vocal” and that he met with them frequently to discuss the Project. Thus, the WHRO could be deemed a critical stakeholder group.

***The city planning department.*** Although the cooperation of the local transportation agencies proved to be absolutely essential for obtaining the approval of the Project, the local planning department did not appear to be a critical stakeholder. When I discussed the approval process with university participants, one university participant acknowledged that the university’s statutory exemption from the local planning regulations was likely a “source of tension” for planning department representatives. “I think they were very critical . . . they thought that our traffic analysis was inadequate,” the university participant recalled. The university participant noted that eventually the planning department stakeholders who were most opposed to the Project seemed to be “outvoted” by other city planning stakeholders and their opposition appeared to “fade away.” I did not interview any stakeholders from the Windsor City’s planning department.

***Neighborhood associations, housing groups.*** Although several participants described Windsor City by referring to its tradition of activism and advocacy, few neighborhood associations

or organizations were perceived by the participants as highly salient, critical stakeholders in the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval process. This could be attributable to a confluence of factors.

First, participants had previously described the residents of the west side of Windsor City as being more conservative and therefore “less engaged” politically than the rest of the city. Second, some participants observed that the opposition to the Project did not appear organized. He observed that “neighborhood associations are very prevalent so probably the neighborhood associations wrote letters and contacted the . . . district supervisor and said this is terrible and ‘this is awful and you’ve got to fight this’ and so it wasn’t organized.” Another university participant noted that some of the poorer local neighborhoods suffered from economic and social instability and therefore lacked the non-profit infrastructure to get involved. Therefore, he concluded that the “university wasn’t regarded with any hostility.”

Finally, with the exception of the Walnut Heights Residential Complex, the perception of Frontenac University as being “geographically further away” from nearby neighborhoods, as one community organizer participant observed, seemed to protect it from widespread opposition. The participant observed that some residents only became engaged with the implementation of the Campus Improvement Master Plan because the public transportation elements of the plan would directly affect their neighborhood. One university participant went so far as to note that the university’s location away from the city’s burgeoning downtown insulated the university from activism “because we’re in this corner of the city . . . the rest of the city ignores us from the standpoint of any kind of activism.” Still, he was careful to note that the university sought the support of smart growth organizations and housing coalitions by asking them to “sign letters of support” prior to approval of the Project.

**Research Question 3: What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with local government stakeholders and obtain regulatory approval of campus expansion plans, and how are these practices perceived by the local government stakeholders?**

Through my research I uncovered three strategies employed by Frontenac University to address potential conflicts with local and state government stakeholders. These strategies include the following: (a) strengthening university-government relationships; (b) satisfying the Public Western University System's regulatory requirements; and (c) negotiating a memorandum of understanding.

**(a) Strengthening university-government relationships.** The university appears to have engaged in several approaches to developing and maintaining relationships with city and government stakeholders. These approaches include maintaining relationships with government leaders, remaining politically neutral, and exhibiting an ethos of collaboration.

When I inquired about the relationship between Frontenac University and the local government, several university participants recalled the deliberate efforts of the university's former president to develop personal relationships with local leaders. One participant noted that the former president's "sense of the university was very much connected to Windsor City and the surrounding areas but Windsor City more specifically." One participant elaborated:

[The former president] was very much in touched with the city government. He was on a one to one basis with the mayors, with the heads of the businesses. He was there at all of the parties and all of the events and . . . he was very influenced by the politics of the city. He tried to play the politics of the city as best as he could for the university.

Two university participants pointed to the former president's effort to connect the university to the city through the formation of the Metropolitan Initiative, an institute funded out of the former

president's own coffers to encourage faculty and student engagement in Windsor City's social and policy issues. Others noted that the university's presidents were "very proactive about being engaged with the city government and city leadership," so that the city understood the university's desire to partner with the city on various efforts.

At least two university participants commented on the university's "deliberate strategy" of remaining politically neutral. Maintaining a bi-partisan stance allowed university faculty to better engage with "the infrastructures of city government" by working through the university's office. "We had very good relations with the mayor's office, the board of supervisors," recalled one former university officer. "We had a kind of nominally non-partisan or bi-partisan status in Windsor City. We weren't supporting one guy as opposed to the other guy," he continued. Another university participant found that maintaining a politically neutral status not only allowed local elected officials to see the university as a resource but also strengthened the school's relationship with those who might, in the future, influence university plans. To illustrate this point, he explained that "all of our state legislators who vote on our budget, all of them were city supervisors."

The university also maintains a Government Relations Office whose responsibility, according to one university participant, was to "do relations both in the city with elected supervisors and state representatives." Although local government officials had little say in the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval process, about four university officers were specifically designated to engage with local and state elected government officials to make sure they understood the Project. As explained by one university participant:

And so we attended any meeting we were asked to go to. We met with every elected official in town. We walked them through the process. We made sure they felt comfortable with it . . . And even though the city has very little control over us, we wanted to act and comport ourselves publicly as if we wanted their blessing-not just their approval, but their blessing.

One of these acts involved the appointment of a community relations director in 2006 to respond to the community's concerns about the university. This particular officer, who also happens to be one of the participants in this study, soon thereafter created a neighborhood task force comprised of "civic leaders, elected officials, city agency heads like people from the police department, like the local captain of the police department, the public utilities commissions' local guy, the head of the local transit authority for this area." Other participants included leaders of local residents associations, nearby neighborhood associations, and university personnel such as the head of student life. By providing information about the Project to city stakeholders early, city participants were able better to respond to constituents' questions about the Project.

Finally, the university appeared to encourage an ethos of collaboration among its city stakeholders. "It would be kind of against our nature to not work collaboratively with the city," one participant stressed. For example, this participant alluded to several agreements made with the city over the past few years in connection with Frontenac University's acquisition of approximately 700 residential units on the perimeter of the campus. Although these units were purchased prior to the approval of the Campus Improvement Master Plan with the intent of housing students and other university-affiliated tenants, the university made a commitment to the city that non-university affiliated tenants could remain. As a result, instead of displacing long-standing tenants, the university still serves as a landlord for both university-affiliates and non-university affiliates.

This practice of acquiring property through attrition led to some unintended consequences that required the university to address tax issues with Windsor City. First, the university is required to pay possessory interest taxes on those leasehold interests held by the university consisting of units used for purposes other than the advancement of the university's educational mission or which were occupied by persons unaffiliated with the university. The city's assessment of these taxes seems to

comport with state tax law, which acknowledges the tax-exempt status of state-owned colleges and universities, as well as non-profit higher education institutions, but which does not exempt these institutions from property tax requirements where the use does not appear to further the institution's educational mission.

Second, the university agreed to absorb certain additional costs associated with the expansion of university policing in its surrounding communities. Such costs would typically be levied against university housing residents, but the city determined that requiring such a fee in addition to the rent was a violation of the city's rent control statutes. The participant explains:

[W]e realized that we have to start pulling a much larger area for a police than we had been controlling so we added a policing security fee, an extra \$23 a month and that did not go over well. The court actually took . . . several cases, probably a dozen, where these legacy tenants filed a claim against the university saying we violated rent control and they found against us.

The university's compliance with the demands of the local governing body indicates the university's unwillingness to "pick a fight" with the city. As explained by another university participant, the university's decision to allow existing tenants to remain in their units was due to "community relations." This is not to say that the university always cedes to the city's wishes. State higher education institutions are widely exempt from local regulations, and university participants implied that the institution continued to walk a fine line between complying with some local regulations and protecting their "sovereignty" as a state institution.

Instead, the university seemed to exhibit altruistic motives. For example, another university participant explained that while the university could elect to increase rents 10% each year, it instead chose to adopt a rent policy consistent with the city "not because we think we have to but because we wanted to do what the city is doing and we want to be good neighbors." To be clear, university



participants did not expressly characterized these *ad hoc* agreements as specific strategies for generating city stakeholder support for the Campus Improvement Master Plan.

**Government perceptions of the university-government relationships.** Some participants, including some current and former university employees, were not yet convinced of Frontenac University’s ability to strongly influence public policy, despite the former president’s effort to create a “preeminent public institution.” One participant who no longer works for the university noted that during his tenure as a university employee “Frontenac University had very little formal relationship with the institutions of power.” Two other participants currently describe the university as a “small fish” in a big pond in terms of its impact in the political arena of Windsor City.

Nonetheless, most of the participants external to the university perceived the university’s relationship with local government stakeholders as being “close” or positive. Two government participants acknowledged that the close working university-government relationship was critical for resolving issues such as housing and transportation. One university consultant participant, who worked with the university on the Campus Improvement Master Plan, commented that the university and the city had demonstrated during the approval process a level of “civility and good faith” higher than any other institution with which he had worked.

**(b) Satisfying the Public Western University System’s regulatory requirements.** Just as city planners were charged with working with Greenfield University stakeholders to develop a Specific Plan to guide Greenfield University’s construction for the next thirty years, Frontenac University worked with the Public Western University System’s departments of finance, campus planning, and environmental review to show that they “have the physical capacity or [they] have a plan for increasing the physical capacity to support an enrollment increase” on the campus. The university participant explained that the role of these departments is crucial:

We kind of need to understand the master plan-ask pointed questions, questions like “how is this placed over time?” “What is it going to cost?” How’s it accommodating your academic program?” and “Is the master plan being done in such a way so that you are retaining enough land for academic building, I mean, not just other functions?”

As noted earlier, Frontenac University involved the Public Western University System early in the planning process.

In addition to circulating the initial environmental report according to State law, Frontenac University exceeded the statutory requirements by holding additional public meetings and gathering public comments. As explained in a November 13-14, 2007, Action Item document posted on the Public Western University System’s official website:

Eight public open houses were held both on and off campus at key milestones in the planning process. A dedicated master plan website . . . chronicled the progress of the plan. University representatives attended meetings of all active neighborhood organizations, made presentations to local planning organizations, and met with elected local officials and city agencies. Beyond those meetings, two formal public hearings were held during the draft [environmental document] comment period, which was extended to 60 days [instead of the requisite 40] in order to receive community input and comment.

At least, twice during the approval process the university held two public meetings in one day to accommodate agency personnel and interested members of the public.

**Government perceptions of the regulatory process.** My review of the public records including the comments submitted by city stakeholders to the Governing Board in connection with the environmental review revealed that one state agency and ten local agencies submitted letters commenting on the university’s original Campus Improvement Master Plan documents. These agencies included the city’s planning department, which expressed concern about what it perceived to be Frontenac University’s contribution to the city’s housing stock problem. Another city supervisor expressed little confidence in the university’s ability to pay its “fair share” of mitigation costs. Other comments included concerns about the university’s initial inability to respond to

neighborhood issues as well as concerns about the “scale and appropriateness” of the proposed hotel and conference center.

The city’s planning department specifically raised questions about Frontenac University’s exemption from local land use jurisdiction and requested that the Governing Board provide additional legal citations permitting such exemption (Letter dated April 2, 2007). Planning department stakeholders even discussed the exemption in local media outlets. “We’re hoping that they follow the good-neighbor policy and that we’ll have the opportunity to get involved,” one city planner was quoted as saying.

Finally, the city attorney of Windsor City invoked the *Marina* decision to legally challenge the Governing Board and the university to execute an agreement outlining the university’s obligations to pay its fair share for Project-related mitigation measures (Letter dated March 30, 2007). The resulting Memorandum of Understanding is discussed below. Furthermore, the city attorney questioned the exemption of the proposed hotel and conference center from local regulations, claiming that city land use controls would likely apply to any activities not related to educational purposes.

**(c) Collaborating with city stakeholders on a memorandum of understanding.** At the direction of the Public Western University System’s Governing Board, Windsor City and Frontenac University executed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to address the foreseeable impacts of the Campus Improvement Master Plan on the local community and the city. One university participant noted that the Governing Board had requested that the MOU be negotiated prior to the Governing Board’s approval of the Campus Improvement Master Plan in an attempt to avoid future litigation and demonstrate the university’s willingness to pay its “fair share” to the city. As pointed out by a university consultant participant, the MOU primarily addressed two main impacts of the Campus Improvement Master Plan. These issues included (a) the congestion created by the

projected increase in vehicle traffic and (b) the projected increase in transit ridership on public transportation.

I reviewed a copy of the final MOU provided to me by a university participant and through my review of the document, I noted that the MOU terms included, among other things, the following provisions: (a) the university's agreement to pay its fair share of any capital improvements needed to mitigate significant effects of the Campus Improvement Master Plan; (b) the creation of a transportation demand management plan to "ensure that adequate measures are undertaken and maintained to minimize the transportation impacts of increasing the number of students by 5,000 FTE and expanding the number of employees by 771"; (c) the distribution of a "statistically significant cordon [traffic count] survey of campus commuters during the PM peak hour" every three years to monitor the effects of the Campus Improvement Master Plan; (d) the university's agreement to promote the use of public transportation at key campus locations; (e) the city's agreement to "provide free transfers for all individuals including the university affiliates" between the campus and a major rail station; and (f) the university's commitment of approximately \$2 million to address rider comfort, crowding, and pedestrian safety on Holcomb Avenue.

One university participant noted that the MOU focused primarily on monitoring the Campus Improvement Master Plan's transportation implications and described how the MOU has been enforced since it was first executed in 2007:

That agreement set out a lot of the terms about how we interact with the city and the things we continue to do to ensure that we are mitigating our growth, the impacts of our growth in a very positive way. Then we have a transit-first campus, that we are really encouraging people not to drive in single passenger vehicles to get here, and that MOU had essentially monitoring built into it. So every three years, we do a transportation study. We did a baseline in 2008. We did another in 2011. We would do another one this spring.

Despite the fluctuations in the economy, the change in university leadership, and the potential revisions to the university's Strategic and Master Plans, the MOU remains a primary document for guiding university-city collaboration with respect to the transportation implications of the Campus Improvement Master Plan.

University participants seemed to attribute the successful negotiation of the MOU to the “political will” of key appointees in the local government to negotiate a feasible agreement. As recalled by one university participant, “There was a team of five on campus and a team of five from the city, different city agencies that met regularly to hammer out an MOU about how we could avoid what happened at *Marina*, what was our fair share and how are we going to meet the requirements of it without having litigation.” Another university participant noted that, with the exception of a few individuals in the planning department, people were “pretty collaborative” when working on the MOU, including certain city stakeholders who specialized in urban and environmental planning.

**Government perceptions of the Memorandum of Understanding.** Participants external to the university seemed satisfied with the terms of the MOU, but their reasons for this varied. The university consultant participant who worked on the transportation aspects of MOU considered the document to be well-drafted because it was “outcome-based” and “flexible” enough to allow the university to use various measures to reduce vehicle trip counts to the campus. While the consultant participant called the MOU a “model” document, claiming that other universities within the Public Western University System are “really impressed,” the state participant cautioned that memoranda of understanding must be specific to their locale in order for them to be successful. He stated, “I'm not sure it can be replicated for other cities or not . . . It kind of depends on how receptive the city is, how much money they have.”

Six years following the adoption of the MOU, the government participants in this study continue to work with university stakeholders to address the transportation issues. For example, when reflecting on the university's obligation to do transportation surveys, a government transportation participant confirmed that "they have to do a survey every year . . . But I think that has been something that's worked out really well and Frontenac University's auto mode share is very low relative to most other things out there." This participant considered the university administration to be "collective and collaborative partners" who were interested in generating solutions for the campus. Another government transportation participant asserted that the university's commitment of approximately \$2 million for future rail improvements, in accordance with the MOU, had made them such a "significant partner" that they, along with other large property owners and transportation agencies, were continue to be consulted throughout the transportation planning and design process.

**Research Question 4: What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with the community and garner community stakeholder support for campus expansion plans, and how are these strategies or practices perceived by community stakeholders?**

Frontenac University engaged in several strategies for addressing conflicts with community stakeholders. The strategies include the following: (a) strengthening university-community relationships; (b) satisfying the Public Western University System's regulatory requirements; (c) engaging in additional outreach efforts; and (d) eliminating barriers between the campus and the community.

**(a) Strengthening university-community relationships.** When I queried participants about the university's relationship with the surrounding community, one university participant concluded that the university's relationship with neighbors "really isn't a challenge for us." The participant partly attributed this lack of conflict to the university's isolated location. In addition, several participants identified the university's community initiatives as successful examples of university outreach. They referred to the Metropolitan Initiative and other university-sponsored, community-focused programs to show that the university had a positive impact on its surrounding neighborhoods and on Windsor City. For example, one former university employee explained that these efforts had led to a favorable perception of the institution. He stated,

Frontenac University and their constituents is far better known and far better regarded as an ally than 20 years ago. So housing people, mental health, all of them, not only do they hire the social workers and the mental health workers [from Frontenac University] but they also get their analytics done, they know the people. There's affection for the university.

Much of this "affection" for the university also seems attributable to the fact that although the university is perceived by some to have no formal relationship with the "institutions of power" in Windsor City it is perceived to produce much of Windsor City's skilled labor. The former university participant explained,

Yet, the vast majority of engineers, 70% of the teachers, 50% of the nurses, I mean a huge amount of the accountants, the business people below the executive level are Frontenac University's graduates. So in terms of the practical real significance of the university on the political economy of the city, it's an absolutely integral, integrated part of the city.

As a result, Frontenac University graduates are, in a sense, the community, which according to one participant, is consistent with the mission of a public university.

Several university participants believed that the university's hiring of a community affairs director in 2006 was a positive step for engaging the university's immediate community. This

appointment may have served two purposes. First, prior to 2006, the university had no director of community relations. As its enrollment increased, more students found housing immediately off-campus and in the surrounding communities. Yet nearby neighbors and tenants had no one to contact on campus when they had concerns about student conduct. As explained by one university participant, “I think people found that the [former president] was very non-responsive, they found students were just horrible neighbors.”

As explained to me by the participant hired for the role: “In 2006, when I was hired, it was because the neighbors would ask for a community relations person. We hadn’t had anyone in that role so I was hired in response to that request.” The participant then became the contact person for the university’s external community members and invited community members to participate on the Good Neighbor Task Force. According to an official university news website, the director also made readily available for the students the official student code of conduct in an effort to remind students that “they are living in a diverse community comprised of residents from a broad spectrum of life stages” (Spring 2007). The Good Neighbor guidelines remain posted on the university’s official website.

The second purpose of the community affairs appointment was to help shepherd the university through the public review process of the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval. Prior to 2006, the university appeared to have no clear strategy for addressing campus-community relations. “I think that there was a certain naiveté on the part of the university as well as just a history of not having much push back from the neighborhood or even much interest,” asserted one university participant. This participant recalled attending a community meeting in 2006 regarding the Campus Improvement Master Plan and noted that community participants seemed angry and uninformed. The participant observed,



We had one community meeting at the very beginning and an open house and I think we were relying on the university communications to send out notices to neighbors and at the time there was no one in the [community affairs position] . . . We were told that there really would not be any problems with neighbors . . . I have to say [the university] was rudely awakened when people showed up to that first environmental review hearing and expressed their displeasure.

This participant noted that the neighbors used the opportunity to vent about issues unrelated to the Campus Improvement Master Plan and attributed some of this vitriol to what she believed to be the community's pent-up anger about the development plans of the nearby Walnut Heights Residential Complex. Nonetheless, the university's community engagement strategy quickly evolved with the appointment of the new director and university stakeholders began to engage in a deliberate community outreach campaign to inform the community about the Campus Improvement Master Plan.

To encourage community feedback on the plan, leaders of local residents associations and nearby neighborhood associations were invited to participate on the newly formed Neighborhood Task Force. The university participant recalled that the task force met approximately 50 times prior to the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval. Seven years later, the task force continued to meet to "vet" other university-related issues.

**Community perceptions of university-community relations.** The government and community participants seemed to believe that the university's relationship with its surrounding communities was positive. The state participant described Frontenac University as being relatively more "active in terms of community relations" than other campuses. One community activist participant explained that the university was "well-integrated" into the community. He explained as follows,

I think [the relationship between the university and the community] is successful. I think there's a recognition. There's so many Windsor City families had children or had attended

themselves and so I've never gotten . . . [the] sense that they're a foreign body . . . I think it's pretty well except – it's “Oh God, there's a lot of people here and they fill up the neighborhood with cars, they park on our streets” – but they're college students and I think they're pretty well-integrated into the community . . . I think I can give them a lot of credit for being aware that they are part of the community.

Other participants seemed more ambivalent. Another community activist participant stated as follows,

I think they're not that visible, except that a lot of professors, and this may be due to Frontenac University's social justice mission playing itself out, but they do a lot of projects focused on Windsor City neighborhoods . . . but this does not translate to “boots on the ground.”

The idea that the university's social justice mission did not always translate into direct engagement with its immediate neighbors was confirmed by a university participant who noted that, although the university had “tons of programs . . . in collaboration with Windsor City,” it was not always engaged with its immediate community. Another government participant stated that he had “no impression of the university,” while the community organizer participant who resided in one of the neighborhoods near the university explained that the university “never comes off in a negative way.” Finally, a current university participant who was once an external stakeholder recalled thinking that the university had done a great job representing itself to the community with a “unified voice” during the campus expansion regulatory approval process. Observing that universities can often have trouble working together, he praised Frontenac University for its “great teamwork.”

**(b) Satisfying the Public Western University System's regulatory requirements.** The university hosted two public information meetings in one day in the fall of 2006 to provide the public an opportunity provide the university with feedback about the Campus Improvement Master Plan's environmental implications. To inform the community about the meetings, university representatives also attended the meetings held by local neighborhood associations. As mandated by

law, university representatives subsequently responded to all the written comments in writing. The formal public hearings on the Campus Improvement Master Plan and the environmental report yielded 48 written comments from organizations, groups and individuals. University and government participants agreed that the environmental review process remains the primary vehicle for dissatisfied local governments, groups, and individuals to attempt to alter, impede, or even halt the university's campus expansion plans.

**Community perceptions of the regulatory process.** Few community participants spoke directly about the community's perception of the university's compliance with the environmental review laws. One university participant felt that the university representatives may not have provided sufficient notice of consultation for the public meetings early in the process. Moreover, this participant explained that during that first session in 2006, the community members seemed confused about the process. She recalled,

We had our scoping session for the environmental review process and the neighbors just went nuts. They were just –I mean they were really upset about the idea that Frontenac University was expanding, they just used it as a forum to vent their wrath about bad student behavior and the stuff that goes on.

To understand how community members reacted to the environmental review process, I acquired and reviewed the transcripts of the final two formal public hearings held in the spring of 2007. The community members who provided oral comments at the hearings included officers and members of the WHRO, university professors and students, and a representative from an architectural preservationist organization.

Once again, some of the community members seemed confused about the process and expressed dismay that the university's representatives could not directly respond to their concerns during the meeting (March 2007 Transcript, p. 42). One officer of the WHRO complained that not

only was the Public Western University System trying to push the campus expansion plans through by keeping them “undercover” but also that the period allowed to review the environment document was inadequate. He testified as follows,

I don't think anybody here will be able to read through this and understand exactly everything itemized in here, let alone be able to look at it and really study and understand everything additionally that's in here and be able to respond in a timely fashion to what you guys have said.

At the same meeting, one university representative conceded that the earlier public workshops “weren't as well attended by the surrounding community” as hoped (March 2007 Transcript, p. 119) and noted that additional public workshops had been set up to hear questions and provide responses.

**(c) Engagement in additional outreach efforts.** In addition to the creation of the Neighborhood Task Force, engagement in the public environmental review process, and attendance at local resident meetings, the university created and posted an extensive Project-specific website that included information about the university's proposed Campus Improvement Master Plan and an artist's renderings of the proposed development. The university did not engage in a social media campaign, but this is likely due to the fact that digital social media may not have been widely perceived as an advocacy tool in 2006.

The university also seemed to direct much of its attention to the Walnut Heights residents. This stands to reason when one considers that one university participant identified the Walnut Heights Residential Complex as the only community where “there's a little bit of back and forth” with the university because students often moved in the neighboring apartments and occupied a lot of parking spaces. Another university participant confirmed the tension between the university and the Walnut Heights residents, stating, “I would have community meetings in Walnut Heights where

the average age of attendees would be 70 and they'd be pissed off because inevitably whatever the university was going to do there'd be more parking," he recalled. "There was just contradiction" he further surmised. "You know, we were a state agency and not answerable to them in the same way that they might have wanted us to be."

**Stakeholder perceptions of additional outreach efforts.** The city and community participants did not speak much to the perceptions of the university's outreach efforts for the Walnut Heights Residential Complex. My review of articles from the local press, blogs, and online news sources reveals that Walnut Heights' residents and tenant organizations often used the media to voice their dissatisfaction with the university. For example, a November 21, 2006, article in the *Frontenac Guardian* reported that one current Walnut Heights tenant who also happened to be a former university student argued that the university had not taken into consideration "the people who live next door to the students" when the university evaluated the environmental impacts of the Campus Improvement Master Plan. This view was reiterated months later during a spring 2007 public hearing in which a former president of the WHRO complained that, although the university's environmental presentation made references to "adjacent neighborhoods," nowhere in its entire presentation did the university specifically identify the Walnut Heights Residential Complex as an adjacent neighborhood (March 2007 Transcript, p. 27).

**(d) Eliminating barriers between the campus and the community.** Three university participants commented on the university's need to create a greater sense of community between the university and its surroundings. One of the participants explained that one strategy for addressing the concerns the immediate neighbors harbored about being adjacent to a large institution was to "dissolve" the real and perceived barriers between the campus and community. He discussed some of these perceived barriers thusly:

So, like all universities, there is some town and gown friction. So, one of the things that the university found, both at its own community relations work, but also that we found we'll be doing public outreach for the master plan, is some of the immediate neighbors of the university saw the downsides of being adjacent to a big institution. You know, traffic and young people running around – and weren't really seeing so many upsides in terms of, for example, the programming. There's a ton of programming going on at Frontenac University and the university wasn't necessarily advertising it's programming to the broader community.

Another university participant contemplated that although people attended some of the events on campus, such as performing arts programs and chamber music series, the campus's isolated geographical location did not make it easy. She explained, "People don't wander through the campus because it's not that easy to get to – it's cut off by the surrounding streets."

University participants also discussed the need to break down physical barriers to the campus through the implementation of the Campus Improvement Master Plan. These measures included "opening up" the campus by removing walls along the northern perimeter of the campus and committing to creating a footpath through the campus that would connect the core campus to some university housing. Moreover, the footpath was also thought to be a way for non-university-affiliated pedestrians and cyclists to travel through the "heart of the campus" in order to take public transportation, go shopping, or get home.

**Stakeholder perceptions of the university's efforts to eliminate barriers.** The community organizer participant who lived in one of the neighborhoods adjacent to the campus acknowledged that she often received university-generated communication about its programming, yet she admitted that she had never attended an event. Another community activist participant also expressed deeper reservations about the university's ability to attract attendees to its events and also indicated that its geographical location may have posed a challenge. "It takes a long time to get there," he explained. He lamented that anyone who wanted to attend an event on the campus "would end up trying to drive" because transportation to and from the campus was not convenient.

I did not specifically ask the community participants about the footpath, although it is thought to be a success by university participants. One community activist participant, however, did suggest that the university could go further in dissolving barriers between the university and the community by demolishing some fencing along the campus to create more space for pedestrians and bicycling. Moreover, the university's effort to eliminate perceived and physical barriers appears to be ongoing, as the university continues to partner with the city and nearby property owners on transportation planning. However, both university and community participants alike indicated the belief that the university no longer had the resources to implement the physical changes called for in the original Campus Improvement Master Plan. "It was hit very hard by the recession," concluded a university consultant participant, "and so a lot of their aspirations they were unable to fulfill typically because there wasn't the money to do so."

University and community participants agreed that new physical development on campus may require the university to generate funding through public-private partnerships. Although another participant commended the university stakeholders for adjusting to post-recession financial realities, a new president, a new strategic plan, and an infusion of state funding, such changes may or may not result in a reconceived master plan. As one university participant conceded, "The master plan is a roadmap but you often take detours and even the destination could change."

## **Summary**

Through the analysis of the data, I first concluded that the strategies employed by university stakeholders to identify and manage internal and external stakeholders during the Campus Improvement Master Plan approval process reflected Frontenac University's status as a public institution. For example, most of the external and internal stakeholders believed that the university's primary mission was to provide access to quality and affordable university education to students

within its region. This mission is consistent with the missions of all of the institutions operating within the state's Public Western University System. As a result, city and community stakeholders seemed to understand the connection between the Project and Frontenac University's desire to create a destination campus by providing, among other things, affordable student and faculty housing near the university.

Moreover, the university was not perceived by the participants as a threatening, well-funded landowner attempting to take over a community. Due to its coexistence in Windsor City with at least 15 other higher education institutions and countless large, private companies, Frontenac University was perceived as just one of many players fighting for more space and resources. Strong opposition groups did not fully mobilize against Frontenac University and, unlike the demands made of Greenfield University by city and community stakeholders, few demands were made of Frontenac University.

I also concluded that most of the strategies employed by Frontenac University's stakeholders for obtaining community support for its Project seemed to grow out of the university's existing efforts to maintain positive relationships with its community. Of course, the university was legally obligated to hold the public hearings under WSEPA, yet other efforts such as the hiring of a community liaison, the formation of a neighborhood task force, the cultivation of political relationships and the collaborative planning of a new system of transportation surrounding the campus all evidence the university's broader efforts to collaborate with its surrounding community. This is not to say the Frontenac University did not face much opposition to its campus expansion plans. Several elements of the Project, including the size of the hotel and conference center, were modified throughout the approval process as a result of public comments and ongoing negotiations with the city. However, the stakeholder groups eventually seemed to recognize that the university, as



a public institution, had limited resources with which to bargain and opposition groups from the community never galvanized to the point that the university had to rely on adversarial strategies to sway external stakeholders.

Frontenac University's most critical stakeholders reflect its exemption from local regulatory and zoning laws. The internal stakeholders, such as faculty and staff, as well as those government stakeholders working within the Public Western University System to ensure the Project's feasibility, were the most critical stakeholders in the approval process. The university's exemption from local zoning and planning laws meant that external stakeholders such as the city planning department and community residents were less critical. As such, the levels of stakeholder salience attributed to Frontenac University's stakeholder groups were more predictable and therefore more static.

## CHAPTER SIX: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I provide a summary of my findings by engaging in a cross-case analysis of the two universities. In Chapters Four and Five, I described the data I collected from 30 interview participants on two campuses. This data was intended to represent the perspectives of three sets of stakeholders on each campus who either influence, or may have some influence, on the campus expansion approval process. One stakeholder group, the university stakeholders, included institutional leaders, faculty, staff, students, and university consultants. A second stakeholder group, the government stakeholders, included elected and appointed city officials and government employees. Members of the community comprised the third group of stakeholders. The term community member was broadly construed in this study to include those who live or work in close proximity to the campus, community organizers, community activists, and business owners. The data collected through the participant interviews was transcribed, coded, and analyzed. To augment my research, I also collected and analyzed data through a review of relevant documents and archival data such as university publications, public records, legal documents, news sources, community activist publications, and social media sources. Finally, I visited both campuses and took over 100 pictures of campus buildings, open spaces, construction sites, off-campus facilities, campus perimeters, and student activity.

This chapter includes an analysis of my findings across the sites, and I highlight some major similarities and differences between the two campuses with respect to their approaches to the project-approval process. First, I briefly compare Greenfield University and Frontenac University

with respect to their educational and historical contexts. I focus on the similarities and differences between the student populations, the tenure of the university presidents, their emphasis on community service, and the historical contexts of the universities' relationships to their communities. My cross-case analysis is then organized according to my research questions.

**The campuses: educational and historical contexts.** Greenfield University, a private institution, and Frontenac University, a public university, are both located in large urban cities and both serve undergraduate and graduate students. Greenfield University's graduate student population exceeds its undergraduate student population by approximately 4,000 students while Frontenac University, which at one time primarily educated graduate students, now has a student population of over 20,000 full-time-equivalent undergraduate students.. Both universities provide student housing for undergraduate students on their core campuses, although university participants from both campuses admit that the availability of student, faculty, and staff housing near both campuses falls considerably short of increasing demand.

At the time of this writing, the current presidents of both institutions are still considered to be relatively new. The immediately preceding presidents of each institution, however, served fairly long tenures during which the Projects discussed herein were conceived and developed. Greenfield University's former president served approximately 20 years in office while Frontenac University's former president served approximately 25 years. Both former presidents have been credited with establishing extensive community service initiatives to engage with their respective surrounding communities. These initiatives, which not only required the universities' commitment of university resources, but also allowed for development of research opportunities for faculty and service learning opportunities for students, were incorporated into what Leiderman et al. refer to as the "institutional culture and infrastructure" of both universities (Leidermann et al., 2004). For example,

Greenfield University's former president is well-known for his neighborhood initiatives, including the Community of Schools program, which focused on developing partnerships with local public schools to encourage and support college-bound students and their parents. Featured in a national magazine in part because of its extensive community outreach efforts in the early 2000s, Greenfield University's core campus now boasts over 200 community programs.

Through the establishment of the Metropolitan Initiative, Frontenac University's former president earned a national reputation for facilitating working relationships among university faculty, local government, and community organizations in Windsor City. The program, considered a key partner in community service learning and social engagement, is recognized for "bridging the campus and the community" by empowering local neighborhood organizations with resources to achieve economic and social justice. In the mid-Nineties, Frontenac University was thought to operate over 100 community-related programs, institutes, and centers. One among many current community programs, its extensive community service learning program is believed to cultivate civic knowledge and social responsibility among its student participants.

As is now common among many large universities, Greenfield University and Frontenac University have government relations offices to develop and maintain relationships with appointed and elected government officials and government staff. Both institutions also employ administrators and staff specifically for the purpose of addressing the universities' relationships with their communities (Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2009)

To provide some context for my data concerning campus-community relationships during periods of campus expansion, I believed that it was first necessary to inquire about the universities' relationship with their communities. Some colleges and universities are criticized for ignoring the needs of local residents while other institutions are lauded for creating local employment

opportunities, driving economic development and facilitating social change (Weill, 2009). In this study, participants from both sites concluded that the current relationships with their communities were generally positive, yet they also seemed compelled to discuss the histories of their respective institutions. Greenfield University participants seemed to interpret my questions about campus-community relations in the more immediate sense – i.e., as relationships with those who lived and worked near the campus. Some Greenfield University participants mentioned that, in the late 1960s, the institution could have elected to move from its current location within the city to a more bucolic, suburban location in the state. The decision to remain in the city was often portrayed by the participants, and in some of the literature, as evidence of Greenfield University's commitment to its urban community. Yet these same participants also acknowledged that the university had developed an infamous reputation in the Sixties for acquiring land around the core campus through a city-supported program of condemnation and eminent domain. Current university stakeholders explained that they were often reminded of this history during the Project approval process as Greenfield University continued to attract the disdain of long-time residents who viewed the university's current real estate development efforts with suspicion.

Some Frontenac University participants, on the other hand, broadly interpreted my question about campus-community relations as having relevance to the university's history of political activism. Participants proudly pointed to the institution's tradition of social protest, and their responses often included references to highly visible instances of political activism, such as nationally publicized sit-ins on the university's campus. Participants also mentioned the university's pivotal role in helping to advance the social, political and economic agendas of marginalized communities within Windsor City as well as the broader national community.

**The projects and their relationship to the universities' missions.** My review of Greenfield University's Specific Plan and Frontenac University's Campus Improvement Master Plan (collectively referred to herein as the "Projects") revealed similarities and differences between the campuses with respect to their motivation for engaging in a campus expansion agenda. In this section, I discuss the more prominent similarities and differences between the Projects and address the perceptions held by external stakeholders.

First, both universities sought to integrate new academic buildings into their core campuses by constructing new buildings and rehabilitating existing structures. This is consistent with Wiewel et al.'s findings that academic space tends to be the focus of "mission-related" growth on university campuses (2007, p. 9). The incorporation of these buildings was thought by university participants to facilitate the addition of a considerable amount of square footage for academic purposes. Second, both universities sought to meet some of the demand for on-campus or near-campus housing by seeking to provide more housing for students, faculty, and staff. Third, core documents of both institutions mentioned the need to increase the universities' permeability through physical design. Finally, both universities proposed the development of a hotel and conference center near the campuses.

However, although the universities shared similar development goals, the size and scale of the Projects were markedly different. Greenfield University is a private institution and its Project is purported to cost over \$1 billion in private funding. The Project includes the development of over 2 million square feet for academic and university uses. Greenfield University also proposed to add over 5,000 additional beds and its proposed hotel and conference center was much larger in scope than that proposed by Frontenac University. Frontenac University, a public institution, proposed to develop over 1 million gross square feet of non-residential use and speculated that new and

converted residential units would accommodate approximately 1,600 university-affiliated individuals and families. Frontenac University's proposed hotel and conference center was scaled through the course of the approval process and the university proposed to fund its Project through state-allocated funds, bond measures, donations, and rents.

**The university mission and campus expansion efforts as perceived by university stakeholders.** The data indicated that university stakeholders were able to reconcile their Projects with the articulated missions and goals of their respective universities. University participants on both campuses believed that their campus expansion projects served to advance the universities' core missions of educating students through the addition and reconfiguration of academic buildings. For example, university participants viewed their physical expansion plans as one means of achieving the academic goals of their strategic plans. While Frontenac University sought to become a "premier public urban university," Greenfield University sought to raise its profile as a premier research institution. Moreover, participants indicated that the provision of additional housing on or near the campus was essential for transforming their universities into "destination" campuses to further enhance the student experience. Finally, participants of both institutions expressed a desire to create "connectivity" with their surrounding communities through architectural design elements such as pedestrian pathways and community-serving retail. For example, Frontenac University participants expressly emphasized their university's desire to break down physical barriers between the campus and the community to encourage non-university affiliated community members to engage regularly with the campus.

**External stakeholder perceptions of the relationship between the mission and the Project.** Government participants from both sites were also able to identify a relationship between the universities' primary mission to educate their students and the campus expansion projects. For

example, government participants at Frontenac University focused on the notion of access, a clearly delineated element in their mission. These participants seemed to understand Frontenac University's goal of expanding the campus to accommodate an additional 5,000 FTE students as a means of increasing access to quality university education. On the other hand, government participants at Greenfield University seemed to focus on what they believed to be the university's goal of becoming a premier research university. Although they acknowledged Greenfield University's need to provide more student housing and increase the square footage allocated for academic use, they also believed that such changes were ultimately intended to help raise the university's academic standing and reputation.

As to whether community stakeholders were able to identify a relationship between a university's mission and its campus expansion plans, the data yielded mixed results. Those participants who were members of the "organized community" appeared to be able to make the connection between the Projects and the universities' missions. These community stakeholders included community activists, community organizers, and members of neighborhood organizations. Their awareness of the universities' missions may have been the result of past working relationships between the universities and these particular stakeholders. For example, most of the community participants I interviewed from Greenfield University had previously worked with university stakeholders on other community-related projects. Other community participants mentioned that they had either sat on university-sponsored committees related to community issues or participated on planning and advisory committees directly related to the Greenfield University's Master Plan. Consequently, these participants understood Greenfield University's desire to improve its students' academic experience and construct more university housing.



The data from the “organized community” of Frontenac University yielded similar results. Most of the community participants from Frontenac University who could be considered a part of an “organized community” were also able to articulate ideas about the university’s mission. These participants, who worked with community organizations that focused on issues like housing and economic development, reiterated the university’s goals to encourage “access,” “affordability,” and “social justice” for its students and the community. They also mentioned some previous involvement with university stakeholders, such as attending the university in the past, teaching classes at the university, working with university administrators on specific residential issues, or participating on university committees. In addition, they also exhibited some familiarity with the institution’s overall desire to accommodate more students and develop a campus identity. Perhaps not surprisingly, the organized community groups were also better equipped to challenge the universities’ Projects and demand concessions (Austrian & Norton, 2005).

The data yielded no indication that many unorganized stakeholders were familiar with their university’s mission. It is not possible to determine whether this was the result of the institutions’ failure to communicate their missions effectively during the approval process or of the external stakeholders’ failure to understand the connection between the mission and the campus expansion plans. Nonetheless, some community participants exhibited a deep knowledge of the specific elements of their university’s project. Two Greenfield University merchant participants were able to articulate some of the specific construction goals within the Project during my interviews, but a Frontenac University community organizer, who also happened to be a local resident, claimed to have no involvement in the approval process for Frontenac University’s Master Plan and, therefore, claimed not to know much about it. Members of the unorganized stakeholder groups for both

universities likely learned of the specific Project elements through public hearings, town halls meetings, media sources, or the communication efforts of the organized stakeholder groups.

**Stakeholder identification and the determination of stakeholder salience.** In this section, I address several common themes revealed through my analysis of the data regarding how universities determine which stakeholders warrant attention and how university stakeholders choose to address the external stakeholders' concerns about projects. First, the data reveals that stakeholder groups deemed critical by the university are both internal and external to the institution. Second, existing state and local laws and regulations inform the decisions of university stakeholders for identifying a stakeholder group as more or less critical to the approval process. Third, organized stakeholder groups are more likely than unorganized community stakeholders to be perceived as critical stakeholders. Fourth, the political, social, and economic contexts of a university's particular community may influence stakeholder salience levels.

First, university participants on both campuses indicated that it was essential for the university personnel responsible for developing campus expansion plans to address the concerns of stakeholder groups internal to the institution. These groups included university leadership, faculty, staff, and students. My analysis of the data revealed that both universities considered the Board of Trustees and the Governing Board to be critical stakeholder groups primarily due to the fact that university core documents such as specific plans, strategic plans, and master plans often required the imprimatur of these governing bodies. Moreover, attendant agreements such as Greenfield University's Development Agreement and Frontenac University's Memorandum of Understanding also required the approval of the respective Boards prior to the final approval of the Projects.

University faculty in both colleges were considered to be an internal stakeholder group, yet the two institutions seemed to differ with respect to the level of importance placed on faculty

feedback. Frontenac University participants said that faculty approval of the Master Plan was an essential step in the approval process. One government participant affirmed this by stating that it was the generally the practice of universities in the Public Western University System to get the approval from faculty before moving forward with any physical master planning on campus. Another faculty participant confirmed this view when she explained that Frontenac University faculty members were integrated into the planning process for the Master Plan. My review of the data did not uncover a similar level of commitment by the faculty of Greenfield University. Although one Greenfield University participant mentioned that the university's specific plan had been presented to its Academic Senate for approval, other Greenfield University participants pointed to a low level of faculty involvement in the Project. It is not clear from the data why the faculty at the private institution was perceived as less critical than that of the public institution, although one could speculate that faculty at the public institution was unionized and could therefore make it difficult for the public university to move any major university initiatives forward if they were dissatisfied.

In addition to identifying and appeasing critical internal stakeholders, institutional stakeholders may look to the existing legal frameworks for guidance as to who constitutes a critical external stakeholder. Because it is subject to local zoning and planning regulations, Greenfield University considers the city council as well as the city's planning department to be among its most critical stakeholder groups. Frontenac University, on the other hand, must seek the approval of the Public Western University System's Governing Board in accordance with state law. As such, the Governing Board along with the Public Western University System planning and environmental staff can be considered among Frontenac University's most critical stakeholder groups. Ultimately, any institution, including a public university, would be remiss if it ignored the concerns of its city

stakeholders. The public hearing requirements mandated under the state's heavy environmental regulations requires property developers to respond to the concerns of their stakeholders, including those of the local government.

Moreover, existing case law requires developers to identify and mitigate any potentially significant adverse environmental impacts on the local community. As such, local governments and city planning departments will always be considered critical stakeholders regardless of whether a university must comply with local or state regulations to garner project approval. Had Frontenac University failed to comply with the statutory public hearing requirements or failed to negotiate with its local government agencies to mitigate the negative impacts of its development, the Project would have been adversely affected. At best, a project could merely be stalled as university and government stakeholders negotiate an agreement to address the negative effects of the project. At worst, a university could find itself in court, the subject of a legal battle initiated by the city, another public agency, or any other individual or stakeholder or group having legal standing to challenge the project or accuse the university of failing to pay its fair share to mitigate the adverse effects of its project.

Community stakeholders who are a part of organized stakeholder groups seem more likely than unorganized community stakeholders to be perceived as critical to the approval process. As articulated by one Greenfield University participant, the organized community must always be reckoned with when engaged in university projects because those are "the rules of the game." For example, Greenfield University found it prudent to negotiate a labor agreement with labor unions even before it finalized a development agreement with the city. Frontenac University engaged its own faculty, who are also unionized, in the master planning development early in the process.

Housing activists, tenant rights' organizations, social policy groups, and neighborhood groups could also be considered a critical organized community, although their levels of salience

seemed to vary. At Frontenac University, the Walnut Heights Residents Organization warranted the university's immediate attention because of their close proximity to the campus and because university-affiliated tenants also resided in the complex. The data does not indicate that Frontenac University stakeholders determined that other organized community members warranted the same level of attention.

Conversely, the organized community surrounding Greenfield University seemed to demand more attention as the approval process progressed because housing activists and social policy groups seemed to grow stronger by doing two things: (a) organizing opposition campaigns and (b) creating alliances with other neighborhood organizations. The fact that Greenfield University executed a Development Agreement, which included concessions for the community's benefit, as well as a Non-Opposition Agreement to preclude certain legal challenges from opposition groups, reflects the university's belief that such groups possessed high levels of stakeholder salience.

The data reveals that individuals and members of unorganized stakeholder groups were perceived as less critical to the approval process. For Greenfield University, the College Centre merchants, the university faculty and students, African American residents, and those not affiliated with the university or an organized group seemed to demand relatively less of the university's attention when compared to the attention directed at the organized community. My analysis of the data from Frontenac University was even more striking. When asked who they deemed to be critical stakeholders, few participants specifically identified other potentially critical stakeholder groups in the approval process, with the exception of the Walnut Heights Residential Complex tenants. This perhaps reaffirms one participant's assessment that Frontenac University had no one community surrounding its core campus. Nonetheless, of both universities it could be argued that even those stakeholders perceived to have little direct influence on the approval process were still availed

opportunities to voice their concerns about the Projects through the requisite public hearing process as well as through the numerous meetings hosted by university stakeholders and concerned community groups. It follows that even stakeholders considered less critical by other stakeholder groups in campus expansion projects can still be considered somewhat salient.

**University strategies for obtaining stakeholder approval of the campus expansion project.** The findings for both universities indicate that universities engage in various practices and strategies to obtain regulatory approval for their campus expansion projects. My review of the data collected from both campuses reveals that universities employ project-specific strategies to influence the decision-making process of government stakeholders directly during the approval process. University participants also spoke of ongoing practices they rely upon for fostering nurturing relationships with government and community stakeholders. While these practices were not particularized to any specific university project, university participants seemed to believe that such practices were essential for mustering political and public support for the university and its real estate development efforts.

To be clear, no formal mechanism exists in state law requiring real estate developers to obtain a community's official "approval" of a real estate development project. However, because institutions realize that concerned community stakeholders are empowered through state environmental laws to stall or even prevent such projects from coming to fruition, universities may determine that it is in their best interest to "lobby" their surrounding communities just as they would their regulatory bodies in order to garner support for their campus expansion plans. The review of the data from both campuses reveals that some university strategies for garnering community approval are intertwined with its strategies for achieving regulatory approval. These methods are included in the discussion that follows.

**Relying on committed university and government leadership.** Strong university leadership appeared to be essential for promoting and advancing the universities' expansion agenda, finalizing the universities' expansion plans and negotiating key agreements with the government stakeholders. In both cases, my review of the presidential speeches and other presidential communiques on both campuses reveals that the university presidents seemed to understand the need to not only convey clearly the need for campus growth, but to articulate for the stakeholders the direct relationship between their Projects and the universities missions in order to justify the universities' real estate development practices. More importantly, however, participants attested to the fact that strong leadership on all sides was necessary to finalize the fair share agreements. One Greenfield University government participant conceded that regardless of all the efforts by university and government staff to negotiate the Development Agreement, it was not finalized until the city's mayor, along with a select group of negotiators, including a high-level political appointee with an expertise in housing, met with the university's president and his team to work out the details. The participants of Frontenac University also credited the work of the university's provost, high-level city appointees, and transportation experts for leading the successful negotiations of the Memorandum of Understanding. I believe that the stakeholders' reliance on strong, committed leadership to guide all of the stakeholder groups through the process constitutes a critical project-specific strategy for achieving success in the project approval process.

**Working with planning staff.** Another project-specific strategy for obtaining approval of campus expansions plan involved university stakeholders working with city and state agency planners to obtain the entitlements to construct the real estate development project. Regulatory mechanisms such as land use ordinances and zoning restrictions allow some cities to exercise regulatory control over university development (Taylor, 2007). Even prior to submitting the development plans to the

regulatory agencies for final approval, the city and state participants I interviewed from both campuses mentioned the importance of working with university stakeholders to ensure that the projects met the needs of the universities while comporting with the overall planning goals of the governing bodies. My findings revealed that university stakeholders from both universities understood that the planning process is often lengthy and bureaucratic. University participants from both campuses all seemed to understand that the campus expansion construction plans and the design elements would likely be modified during the approval process in response to concerns expressed by city and community stakeholders. Yet, the participants I interviewed also acknowledged that the planning process was rife with conflict. City and university participants connected with Greenfield University indicated that the relationship between city planning stakeholders and university stakeholders was often contentious and time-consuming. Thus, I would characterize Greenfield University's final, approved Specific Plan had to the product of intense negotiations between city and university stakeholders.

Frontenac University also experienced some conflict with its local planning department although Windsor City's planning department had little power to dictate the terms of Frontenac University's campus expansion plans. However, city stakeholders from the planning department not only voiced their opposition to certain elements of the Project but also submitted public comments about the Project under WSEPA. Yet, because the Public Western University System's Governing Board also serves as Frontenac University's governing body, the planning staff of the Public Western University System and the university stakeholders appeared to work toward mutually agreed-upon goal-the improvement of Frontenac University's physical campus for the purpose of advancing Frontenac University's mission as well as the larger mission of the Public Western University System. While the planning stakeholders employed by the Public Western University



System ultimately represented the interest of Governing Board, there was no indication from any of the participants that the relationship between Frontenac University and the Public Western University System was adversarial. Instead, Frontenac University's final Specific Plan could be characterized as the product of a collaborative effort between university stakeholders and the stakeholders working in the Public Western University System's planning department.

**Designating roles for government and community relations.** I contend that staffing government relations offices constitutes a practice that, although not directly tied to a specific project, serves to facilitate ongoing relationships between the universities and government decision-makers. This existing organizational structure appeared to be essential for helping university stakeholders navigate the approval process because the structure helped to clarify the lines of communication for external stakeholders. Both universities staffed community relations offices or departments for the purpose of cultivating relationships with members of their surrounding communities. To reiterate, I posit that maintaining such offices constitutes a university practice that, although not directly tied to a specific project, served to facilitate ongoing relationships with community members throughout the duration of the campus expansion approval process. For example, Frontenac University's appointment of a community relations director came specifically in response to community concerns about student conduct, yet the director also became the liaison between the university and the community during the campus expansion planning process. Greenfield University's community service officer became a key figure in that university's campus expansion efforts because of his existing relationships with community stakeholders and his experience with galvanizing supporters for various university-related policies and programs. For both campuses, the community relations staff appeared to serve as the university's face for its external stakeholders.

**Going beyond the regulatory requirements.** Participants from both universities mentioned that they went beyond the statutory public hearing requirements of WSEPA and held additional public meetings to gather feedback from city and community stakeholders. University stakeholders on both campuses also extended the time period for receiving public comments on environmental documents. Creating venues for the public to voice their concerns about the projects provided university stakeholders with an opportunity to listen and even affect changes to the Project throughout the approval process (Peterson, 2008). University and government participants from Greenfield University acknowledged that the additional meetings and the extended public comment periods were implemented at the request of government stakeholders. Regardless of the motivation, the inclusion of more public hearings and the time extensions appear prudent considering the magnitude of the Projects and the potential for conflict and legal challenges. Although Frontenac University stakeholders held considerably fewer meetings than Greenfield University, participants from both campuses indicated that they tried to attend any meeting they were requested to attend.

**Negotiating statutory and ad hoc agreements to mitigate significant effects of development and appease external stakeholders.** Pursuant to case law, both universities negotiated agreements with their local governing bodies to address concerns about the possible adverse effects of master plan implementation (Nelson, 2010; Taylor, 2007; Baker-Minkel, et al., 2004). My review of Frontenac University's Memorandum of Understanding and Greenfield University's Development Agreement revealed strikingly different parameters in scope and cost. In short, in addition to outlining a method for making fair-share contributions to public projects, Frontenac University's Memorandum of Understanding focused primarily on issues of public transportation, traffic measures, public utilities, and the environment. At the outset, Frontenac University must contribute approximately \$2 million dollars to a new transportation project. On the

other hand, Greenfield University's Development Agreement calls for a \$20-million allocation to the city for housing preservation and production, a grocery store, a community rooms, a new fire station, streetscape improvements, job training, and small business assistance, among other things.

Universities also appear to be willing to make concessions to external stakeholders to ease community relations. Greenfield University's Labor Union Agreement and its Non-Opposition Agreement clearly seem to evidence its willingness to clarify ongoing expectations on the part of both the university and the community. For example, Greenfield University's agreement to relocate a fire station and provide legal assistance to affordable housing tenants served to demonstrate its concern for the well-being of its community members. Frontenac University's willingness to acquire solely by attrition remaining university-owned units still occupied by non-university tenants prior to the commencement of its Master Plan approval process served to affirm symbolically that institution's desire to be perceived as a good neighbor, as opposed to a purveyor of gentrification and displacement.

Unclear from the data is whether the difference in the scope of all of these agreements can be attributed to Greenfield University's status as a private institution as opposed to Frontenac University's status as a public university. Researchers have found that the type of construction completed in university real estate development projects differs between public and private universities as well as the size of the projects (Wiewel, et al., 2007). For example, Wiewel et al. found that the larger projects were often implemented by public universities. However, the time frame for the university projects in this study was set between 1998 and 2005, prior to the 2008 recession. Moreover, additional factors, including the type of community in which the expansion takes place, may explain the differences in the real estate development approaches. For example, each of the final agreements addressed in this study may be a reflection of the historical relationship between

the city and the university, the availability of city resources, the strength of the city's infrastructure or the city's political, social and economic philosophy and history. Yet, city and community participants connected with Greenfield University seemed to believe that the negotiations for the Development Agreement gave the city the opportunity to address some of the issues traditionally under the purview of local government, such as affordable housing, workforce development, and transit-related issues. The fact that Greenfield University assured stakeholders that it would fund its Project with private funds may have given external stakeholders the impression that it also had the financial wherewithal to accommodate some of their requests for community benefits. Moreover, Greenfield University seemed willing to carry the cost of such concessions in order to obtain Project approval.

A public university, on the other hand, may not be perceived by its stakeholders to have such resources. Frontenac University's Project was intended to be funded through various funding sources ranging from state funds to rent revenue. Even so, one government participant who continues to work on the transportation issues with the university indicated that some community stakeholders believed that the \$2 million promised by Frontenac University was a paltry sum compared to the sums to be contributed by its private partners in public transportation development. Finally, unlike Greenfield University, Frontenac University was not generally perceived to be a proponent of displacement or gentrification.

**Campaigning by communicating the university's value.** Greenfield University appears to have engaged in a full-fledged campaign to galvanize community support for its Project. By focusing on getting large "numbers" of parent supporters to attend the public meetings and by training community parents to voice their support for the university's neighborhood programs, Greenfield University stakeholders seemed to influence city and community decision-makers by communicating the university's value to its surrounding community.

Frontenac University did not appear to have engaged in a similar campaign. For example, although one participant mentioned that the university had ongoing partnerships with the local schools, no data indicates that Frontenac University could rely on such relationships to demonstrate community support for its Project. Moreover, another participant stated that the university did not effectively communicate information about its programming to external stakeholders. While most of the Frontenac University participants seemed aware that the university educated a significant population of the Windsor City workforce, the data did not indicate that university stakeholders strategically publicized this information to specifically garner community support for its Project.

**Additional outreach efforts.** To generate support for their projects and allay opposition, both universities engaged in additional outreach efforts to provide information about the Projects and elicit feedback from their communities. Frontenac University's Neighborhood Task Force evolved into a mechanism for encouraging collaboration between all the stakeholder groups with regards to the Project. Although the task force maintained a membership roll, anyone could attend the meetings. Greenfield University's advisory councils were formed specifically to encourage discussion about Greenfield University's Project and its obligations to its neighbors, yet Greenfield University's social media efforts, which included the use of Facebook and Twitter to document support for the Project, did not appear to generate much response from the community. It does appear that as the approval process continued, community stakeholders learned to harness the power of social media to maintain an online presence and convey information to the community about the Project.

CHAPTER SEVEN:  
DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study explored the campus-community relationships of two urban universities engaged in campus expansion and development projects. Specifically, I examined how universities identify and manage stakeholders during the regulatory approval process when they seek to physically expand their campuses. This chapter begins with a discussion of the findings within the context of the existing literature. Next, I address the limitations of my study and suggest directions for future research. Finally, I provide some practical recommendations for colleges and universities engaged in campus planning and expansion efforts.

**Discussion**

In Chapter Three, I focused on four specific areas of campus expansion literature. These areas included: (a) the institutional motivations for engaging in land development and campus expansion; (b) the various approaches used by higher education institutions to communicate their value to local and regional communities; (c) the legal framework guiding the development process in this Western state; and (d) several theoretical frameworks based on organizational management, stakeholder theory, and conflict resolution that may assist campuses in identifying stakeholders and addressing stakeholder during periods of expansion planning.

In this section, I discuss four themes that emerged from my case studies that may serve to challenge or support this existing literature. This discussion is not intended to serve as a summary of the findings but is instead intended to illuminate some of the underlying beliefs about the role of higher education institutions as set forth in the data. These emergent themes include the following: (a) the university as a responsible, mission-driven institution; (b) the university as a “valuable”

institution; (c) the university as a developer; and (d) the university as a stakeholder manager. I align these emergent themes with the four areas of existing literature I set forth in Chapter Two in order to discuss the implications of my study for universities engaged in campus growth and expansion process.

**The university as a responsible, mission-driven institution.** Austrian and Norton (2005) suggest that an institution's motivation for real estate acquisition and development can affect the relationship between university and community stakeholders. Through an analysis of the data I collected for my first research question, I sought to determine what motivated these two higher education institutions to expand their campuses and whether university stakeholders could articulate a relationship between the university's mission and its motivation for campus growth. I assumed that university stakeholders who are better able to communicate to their external stakeholders the relationship between the institution's mission and its motives for campus expansion may have more success in garnering approval for their projects.

University stakeholders engaged in the campus planning process for both universities, from the university president to the community affairs liaison, appeared to have a clear understanding of how their expansion plans advanced the missions of their institutions. This connection between expansion plans and university missions appeared to be less clear, however, for external stakeholders who were a part of unorganized communities, especially those who have no affiliation with the university. Both Projects included provisions for including new mixed-use and retail development on university property, yet most Greenfield University participants in particular indicated that the areas of conflict over the Project involved the type of retail proposed (and the number of jobs generated by such retail) as opposed to whether such uses could be considered "educational." Aside from a broad understanding that colleges and universities generally desire to improve the academic

and non-academic lives of their students on and near the campus, most external stakeholders, at least in the case of Greenfield University, seemed more concerned with *what* universities were doing as opposed to *why* they were doing it. On the other hand, stakeholders from the organized communities, such as community activists, took issue with how the proposed Projects comported with the universities' missions.

Clearly articulated mission statements and the promise of better retail options may not completely absolve universities of an expectation that they can contribute even more to their communities. As Austrian and Norton explain, stakeholders are more likely to accept a development project if they believe there is some community benefit (2005). In fact, the seemingly broad latitude granted to universities by external stakeholders to develop property for conventionally non-academic uses (i.e., constructing hotel and conference centers and creating leasing property for retail purposes) seems to be coupled with an expectation that universities provide benefits to those communities to help improve the quality of life.

This idea that a university is somehow obligated to contribute to the social and economic development of its surrounding community is two-fold. First, universities are, indeed, often deemed responsible for any negative residual effects of their campus expansion plans. Several Greenfield University city and community participants mentioned that the university had a responsibility to address the seemingly adverse effects of its expansion plans on the availability of affordable local housing stock and open spaces within the community. Second, large, urban universities, by virtue of their looming and permanent presence in communities, may be deemed responsible for remedying other social ills and municipal shortcomings. As another university stakeholder observed, "They vent at us like they vent at the city . . . because we're so big." He explained that some residents complained to the university about city lights and trash pick-up. He continued, "They look at us as



another level of government.” Such perceptions are, of course, reminiscent of the industry towns of old, where a single corporation was perceived to control much of the resources, but my analysis indicates that neither of these universities seemed to be broadly perceived as having such power.

Although a public university’s perceived obligation to its community may be different from that of a private institution, it appeared to be no less important to its external stakeholders. This is evident in two examples. First, external stakeholders may also believe a public university is responsible for the residual effects of its growth. Almost all the Frontenac University participants acknowledged that a major campus-community point of contention was the university’s lack of available parking for students. For example, university stakeholders had rejected the entreaties of nearby residents to have the university pay for the residents’ parking permits because university students parked on their residential streets. On a broader policy level, at least two community activist participants wondered whether Frontenac University’s focus on attracting students from outside its region would cause it to veer away from its obligation to serve local students and encourage social justice. The latter questioned whether Frontenac University should “play any kind of role in the public policy arena as an academic citizen beyond just providing core education to its citizenry.”

The question as to what extent a university is responsible to its community will not be settled in this study, yet the discussion is an important one for campuses contemplating growth. As more universities promise benefits such as job training, improved public transportation, and streetscape improvements, Jongbloed et al.’s caution against mission overload should be heeded (2008). As universities seek to garner support for their own projects by relying on strategies such as executing ad hoc agreements and promising to fund community benefits like job training, I believe they run the risk of attempting to be all things to all people. In turn, these community engagement

efforts may result in the creation of an even broader network of stakeholders to whom the universities are now accountable when making decisions about campus growth. University stakeholders responsible for university development may be able at present to articulate how the university's mission drives its campus expansion plans however universities should question whether their campus expansion efforts, and the attenuated responsibilities, will eventually drive the university's mission.

**The university as a “valuable” institution.** As discussed in Chapter Three, existing literature reveals that universities elect to demonstrate their value to local and regional communities for a number of reasons including bolstering support for state funding, soliciting donations, and even fending off criticism (Siegfried et al., 2007). Universities that seek to demonstrate their value as means of building support for their campus growth initiatives should not give short shrift to the means by which they choose to do so.

My analysis of the Greenfield University data reveals that, over the years, Greenfield University stakeholders have elected to convey its value to the community in various ways. In early speeches, the former president referred to the university as an anchor institution. In subsequent addresses, the university was portrayed as having contributed millions of dollars to the local and regional economy. More recently, the university has framed its worth to the community in terms of its extensive number of community outreach programs. To garner support for its Master Plan, the university not only capitalized on its community outreach efforts but also re-characterized itself as an anchor institution by asserting that its Project will eventually generate over 12,000 jobs and make available to the community thousands of additional affordable housing units.

But is it possible for a university to convey the value of a campus expansion project to the community accurately? As Axelroth and Dubb warned, the development strategies used by anchor

institutions to enhance their neighborhoods actually run the risk of encouraging gentrification and discouraging community diversity through increased rental values or rising property taxes (2010, p. 2). Community activist participants external to Greenfield University reiterated this concern by asking what good the community outreach programs were for the community if the community could no longer afford to live near the university. On the other hand, a university's fair share payments may exceed the "burden of local public services not provided by the institution" (McHenry et al., 2012, p. 79). For example, in some cities, the residents may not recognize that certain university police patrol community areas outside of the campus borders (McHenry et al., 2012).

Public universities, like Frontenac University, on the other hand, may need to do more than private universities to communicate their value to the community even if they are not subject to local planning regulations. In garnering support for their campus expansion plans, it may be possible that public universities are conveying too little information about their value to their communities and external stakeholders may underestimate the public institutions' value to their communities (Swanson, 2009). It may not be enough for public institutions like Frontenac University to justify campus expansion initiatives by broadly contending that these projects will help advance the mission of increasing access and diversity to higher education. These are certainly noble and vital goals. However, I believe that as more public universities seek to engage public-private partnerships to augment dwindling state funds, they may have to become more sophisticated about how they convey their value not only to city and community stakeholders but also to potential investors. One option would be to better communicate the value of the public university's contribution to the local workforce. Neither Frontenac University nor its city or community stakeholders would be likely to characterize the university as an anchor institution. In fact, when questioned about whether the

university considered itself an anchor institution, one Frontenac University participant seemed reluctant to characterize the university in that manner. Although its Project was eventually approved, university stakeholders may, in the future, wish to consider strategically expanding their message to include a broader and more deliberate discussion about its value to Windsor City's local workforce. According to Abel and Gabe, the higher rates of college degree completion among the residents in a university's local area correlate to higher wages and higher levels of gross domestic product per capita (2011; Moretti, 2004). While this must be measured against the number of graduates who eventually leave the area (Faggian & McCann, 2009; Avel & Dietz 2009 rev. 2001), this information may prove useful during any process that may be influenced by external stakeholders.

Hence, the strategies employed by public institutions for identifying and managing stakeholder groups may be undermined. Because public universities are not beholden to their local governments, they may not perceive an urgent need to tout their economic impacts during discussions with external stakeholders. However, such information may go a long way toward building community and government support for their missions and their future campus expansion projects.

**The university as a real estate developer.** The characterization of the university as a real estate developer is not a new concept. In Perry and Wiewel's *The University as Developer*, fourteen case studies are presented highlighting various aspects of university real estate development in urban areas (2005). Austrian and Norton's in-depth analysis of five universities across the United States revealed that public and private universities engage in similar strategies for fostering university-community relations during their real estate acquisition and development activities (2005). As a result, whether or not universities can or should be perceived as real estate developers may be a foregone conclusion. Nonetheless, this study revealed that stakeholders seemed more likely to

characterize Greenfield University, as opposed to Frontenac University, as a real estate developer. Yet, it may be more judicious for both types of institutions to accept this characterization if it means that city-university relationships during the approval process can be improved.

When asked if Frontenac University had been perceived by external stakeholders as a developer, one Frontenac University participant stated that during the Master Plan approval process, there were attempts to “create a narrative in the community” that characterized the university as a developer. It is unclear whether such a characterization was meant to be pejorative. However, the participant also admitted that the Project’s slowdown after the 2008 recession likely rendered it a “fairly docile university” in the eyes of the community. Of course, this begs the question as to whether Frontenac University would have been perceived as a real estate developer if it had the financial resources to move forward with its original Master Plan. I suggest that there are three primary reasons Frontenac University was not characterized as a developer by the participants. First, public universities are presumed to be largely responsible for providing local students with access to higher education. This perception may immunize the institutions like Frontenac University from allegations that they seek to profit from its campus expansion activities. Second, Frontenac University’s exemption from local planning regulations separates it from other private developers who are required to engage with city planners by going through the entitlement process. Third, when compared to the massive development projects occurring adjacent to its campus (i.e., the Walnut Heights development) and throughout Windsor City, the Frontenac University does not seem to attract the kind of publicity often generated by large developers.

On the other hand, at least five city and community participants referred to Greenfield University during the interviews as a “developer,” a term more typically aligned with private businesses and real estate development companies. For Greenfield University in particular, this

characterization had several implications. First, both city and community stakeholders observed that although it was a higher education institution, Greenfield University failed fully to understand its role as a developer during the approval process. City and community stakeholders criticized university stakeholders for underestimating the planning process by assuming that the process would move quickly and with few challenges. “I think they assumed the process was going to be an easy and uncomplicated one for them,” stated one city participant. Second, the mere perception of the university as a private developer led to certain city and community stakeholders to believe that the university stakeholders responsible for moving the plans through the city’s regulatory process would possess a level of political savvy comparable to that of private developers with respect to the local political and planning process. However, one of the main criticisms of Greenfield University during the approval process was that the university seemed not only to not fully understand its role as a real estate developer but also seemed to lack knowledge about the way the city’s entitlement process worked.

Moreover, participants from all three stakeholder groups seemed conflicted about Greenfield University’s characterization as a real estate developer. At least one university participant seemed to resist this label. He explained:

[A large international developer] had a lot of bells and whistles. . . but people in the City would tell us you need to be more like [them] and their project. You need to hire all these consultants. We didn’t want to . . . The goal was that we’re a university and we’re completely different.

One city participant sympathized with this view to a certain extent:

I’m trying to figure out how to put it diplomatically but they’re kind of quasi-status as developers. I don’t think they really... understood themselves as developers when they were and it’s kind of understandable. Higher education institutions are not about that.

Another city participant drew a distinction between Greenfield University and other private developers, stating “this is not just any developer. It’s a university and the largest private employer in the city, by the way.” This participant concluded that certain political sensitivities about the university’s status as an educational institution prevented the city from requesting more concessions from the university than it ultimately received.

Nonetheless, an institution that proposes to create one of the largest development projects in the city by promising to create thousands of jobs, develop retail space, and contribute to the city’s affordable housing stock may be perceived by its external stakeholders as not really being all that different from large private for-profit developers. As one community activist participant asserted, “We were not against [Greenfield University] as an academic institution, but they’re taking on the role as a developer. For us, that’s where we want to hold them accountable.”

Private universities that wish to implement ambitious campus expansion plans may have to strike a fine balance between fulfilling their responsibilities as academic institutions and recognizing their responsibilities as real estate developers. Public universities, on the other hand, may not be perceived as private developers by virtue of fact that they are government entities existing for the purpose of serving the educational needs of the local populace. Nonetheless, despite the perception that they may lack the resources to pursue ambitious development goals, public entities still possess more power than private institutions to implement their expansion plans. Moreover, as the financial resources of public universities begin to increase through the allocation of more state resources or through the engagement of more public-private partnerships, external stakeholders may come to expect public universities to contribute community benefits similar to those offered by private universities.

**The university as a stakeholder manager.** Higher education institutions, their communities, and their local governments are becoming increasingly interdependent. The success or failure of an institution's campus expansion project may depend on how well these interdependencies are managed. In Chapter Three, I proposed that stakeholder theory could provide the foundation for an analytical framework that could allow us more realistically to examine the relationships between a college and its non-institutional constituents during the implementation of campus expansion projects.

This study illuminated several themes in relation to the potential for operationalizing stakeholder theory (Magness, 2008) within the context of the campus expansion approval process. First, the influence exercised by the governing boards of both universities indicates that governing boards will likely be identified as highly salient stakeholders in any university real estate development project. This group possesses the characteristics of a definitive group in that, (a) they demand managerial attention because they have the power to dictate the university's strategic planning, (b) they possess legitimacy because of their social standing as university leaders, and (c) managers must respond with urgency to the governing board's demands (Mitchell et al., 1997; Gifford, 2010). Second, similar stakeholder groups at different universities may possess different levels of salience. The faculty at both universities may be considered legitimate stakeholders considering their role in advancing the institution's academic mission. However, while Frontenac University stakeholders indicated that its faculty possessed power to influence planning decisions, Greenfield University's stakeholders did not indicate that its faculty possessed the same level of power.

Third, the extensive public hearing processes and information campaigns implemented by universities for reviewing expansion plans reflect a broad understanding of what it means to be a stakeholder in a campus expansion project. Freeman and Reed's broadened definition of a



“stakeholder” mandates that managers take into account all external groups whether they are believed to have a legitimate interest in the campus expansion project or not (Zakheim et al., 2008). I would also argue that the rights afforded to potential stakeholders under the public hearing requirements renders all stakeholders legitimate even if they don’t possess the attributes of power or urgency. For both universities, the public comment process as well as the community meetings served to operationalize the stakeholder identification model by uncovering critical external stakeholders who may have initially been perceived as non-critical by university stakeholders. As a result, external stakeholder groups that may have been deemed latent according to Mitchell et al.’s theory of stakeholder salience (1997) can become expectant or even definitive by aligning themselves with other definitive stakeholders. For example, at Greenfield University, the College Centre merchants were originally deemed less salient because they were not organized and therefore possessed little power. Moreover, the university stakeholder’s lack of attention, according to some participants revealed a lack of urgency in addressing their concerns. Not until they aligned with Housing United near the end of the approval process did they become more critical. The Development Agreement eventually included a provision for providing relocation assistance to College Centre merchants with the help of a newly appointed ombudsman. This example affirms Gifford’s assertion that stakeholders can achieve high levels of salience even if they do not possess high levels of power, legitimacy, or urgency (2010).

Fourth, the pervasive perception that higher education institutions are responsible for their surrounding communities supports a normative view of stakeholder management. Donaldson and Preston presuppose that stakeholders have “intrinsic value” that must be recognized by institutional managers (Zakheim et al., 2008, pp. 67-68; Donaldson & Preston, 1995). This perspective is based on a pluralistic theory of property rights wherein various groups may be thought of as having a “moral

interest” in the affairs of the university (2008, p. 68). As the authors explain, corporations may determine that “the stake of people living in the surrounding community may be based on their need, say for clean air or the maintenance of their civil infrastructure” (p. 68). Indeed, university participants exemplified this idea when they mentioned the importance of being “respectful” and being a “good neighbor” to external stakeholders. In this light, although the process of stakeholder identification can be somewhat systematic and descriptive, the decision-making of university stakeholders with regards to garnering the approval of external stakeholders may be value-laden. Thus, university stakeholders may feel compelled to provide certain benefits to their communities when they are not legally compelled to do so but because it is the “right” thing to do.

Finally, stakeholder salience is situated within a university’s historical, geographical, political, and socio-economic context, but it can be fluid. Benneworth and Jongbloed posited that systemic, multi-level stakeholder analysis is necessary to avoid the trap of determining stakeholder salience only by observing binary relationships between the campus and the community (1995). Salience is, instead, situational and therefore subject to influence by societal and political forces. This may have several implications for university stakeholders. For both universities, the planning and approval process extended over a period of several years. During those periods, construction plans were modified were, communities experienced demographic transition political leaders left office or changed positions, the economy experienced a recession and, in the case of Greenfield University, key government staff came and went. The fact that a community has been active or inactive in the past may have no bearing on how invested they feel about a current campus expansion project. Determining stakeholder salience is dynamic process and university stakeholders may need to examine how societal and political forces continually shape current campus-community relationships so that their responses to stakeholder concerns are timely and appropriate.

## Summary of Discussion

My findings with respect to the institutional motivations for engaging in campus expansion projects seem to be consistent with the existing literature. The universities in my study also sought to physically grow their campuses to accommodate more students through the provision of more student housing and academic spaces (Legislative Analyst Office, 2009; Trani, 2011; Chapman, 2012). Moreover, the universities' desire to create, through master planning and architectural design, a residential experience within an urban environment mirrors the development efforts of other large urban universities across the United States (Chapman, 2012; Trani, 2011; Austrian & Norton, 2005). Researchers acknowledge that university campus expansion efforts are presumed to be aligned with universities' missions (Goldstein & Drucker, 2006; Weiwel et al., 2007), however, I found that for most stakeholders in this study, it was important for university stakeholders to be able to effectively communicate how their campus expansion plans comported with the primary mission of the university-to provide their students with a quality education. Although neither mission examined in this study addressed physical expansion, stakeholders still believed that the university mission guided the university's strategic planning efforts.

My findings also reaffirm the idea that universities engaged in campus expansion projects can benefit from adopting a broader understanding of what it means to be a stakeholder (Zahkem, et al., 2008; Freeman & Reed, 1983). Stakeholder theory has been criticized for being too broadly applied (Stoney & Winstanley, 2001) and too focused on the perspectives of higher education leaders (Mainardes et al., 2010) to be truly operationalized by in higher education institutions. However, this study attempted to reflect the perspectives of several stakeholder groups and my findings indicate that when universities are encouraged to take into account all groups that may have an interest in their expansion projects, they are better equipped to identify and address the concerns

of the stakeholders according to their level of salience. This became evident through the findings in two ways. First, under the current regulatory climate established by WSEPA, any individual or group interested in the campus expansion project was assigned legitimacy because the regulatory statutes and existing case law in the Western state allows them participate in a public hearing process. This process, along with the voluntary meetings, allowed university stakeholders at both campuses to not only identify their critical and less critical stakeholders but allowed them to make determinations about how to best address the stakeholders' concerns.

Second, I found that the perception some of the stakeholders held of the universities as real estate developers was consistent with the manner in which researchers perceived universities who are engaged in large scale campus expansion project (Wiewel & Perry, 2005; Lane and Johnstone, 2012). My research revealed that some university stakeholders were reluctant to fully embrace this characterization. They reiterated that fact universities were different from developers because of their status as higher education institutions. However, my findings indicate that for the external stakeholders, this may be a distinction without a difference. When universities such as those in this study, propose to construct convention centers and hotels, contribute money to city coffers for housing, collaborate on transportation design and create jobs, it appears as if they are pursuing agendas not unlike those pursued by local governments and private entities. As such, a framework based on a broad view stakeholder theory can be useful for university stakeholders who must effectively identify, prioritize and address the expanding list of stakeholder expectations (Freeman et al., 1983).

## **Recommendations**

To generate a list of recommendations, I asked the participants to reflect on the project approval process and share any lessons learned as stakeholders. I also reviewed the interview transcripts to uncover any positive or negative reflections on the university stakeholders' management efforts or recommendations. Finally, I reviewed the six guidelines of Susskind and Field's mutual gains framework for collaborative problem-solving, which I first addressed in Chapter Three (1996). I determined that the concrete actions uncovered through the interview data fit squarely within the mutual gains framework that requires businesses and governments to "think of the interaction with the public as a multi-party, multi-issue negotiation" (Susskind & Field, 1996, pp. 13, 38). The following recommendations are based the interview data and are supported by the existing literature.

**Recommendation 1. Start meaningful relationship-building early.** University stakeholders should "look beyond their immediate situations" to develop long-term relationships (Susskind & Field, 1996, p. 41). One university participant indicated that if universities plan on doing something down the road requiring community support or approval, they should start with "meaningful relationship-building." For this participant, building relationships meant more than just giving away scholarships. Instead, the participant suggested that universities could accomplish this by developing a "robust community engagement department that is truly connected with programming." One city participant suggested that the university increase the number of scholarships awarded to neighborhood students and expand after school programs. This type of investment, suggested the participant, would allow the university to feel more ownership of the

community. On the other hand, as suggested by another government participant, “personal relationships are a big part of it.”

**Recommendation 2. The university should be trustworthy.** The issue of trust became a common theme among some Greenfield University stakeholders. At least six participants from all the stakeholder groups noted that Greenfield University had to acknowledge the community’s “distrust” in its efforts to galvanize support for the Project. One university participant indicated that it was necessary to get past its perception as an “untrustworthy” university in order to have meaningful discussions about the elements of the Project. As Susskind and Field noted, “trust relates primarily to expectations” (1996, p. 40). In Greenfield University’s case, this lack of trust was not simply attributed to the university’s reputation as an aggressive property buyer. Others believed that the university cultivated even more distrust during the approval process by presenting spokespersons who failed to relate effectively to the community. One city participant even attributed the distrust to the differences in economic and education levels of university stakeholders versus those not affiliated with the university. Although none of the Frontenac University participants identified trust as an issue during the campus expansion process, one participant cautioned that the “profound differences in class” which underlie the communities in Windsor City should always be acknowledged when thinking about the expectations the community holds about the role of public universities.

If university stakeholders have a better understanding of how they are perceived during the campus expansion approval process, they may have more success managing the expectations of their external stakeholders, and they may be less likely to be perceived as untrustworthy. I would, therefore, recommend that universities aim to develop sincere relationships. University participants in this study cautioned that a university’s community engagement efforts must be timed in such a

way as to communicate that the university is sincere in its motives to engage with the community. By waiting until they need the community's support to advance a project, university stakeholders run the risk of appearing disingenuous. "You don't want to look like you're using the community," warned another university participant.

**Recommendation 3. Acknowledge inequities in power to ensure balanced dialogue.**

"By maintaining an open dialogue between the university and the community," one community participant instructed, "all the voices that, hopefully, need to be heard, can be heard." Susskind and Field stress the need to be able to look at an issue from the other's standpoint (1996). Three city and community participants mentioned the need for dialogue between the university and the community, but they cautioned that the relationship should not be one in which the stakeholders assume that only the university has resources or power. For example, one city participant struggled with the university's use of the term "outreach" because the notion connoted power inequities between the university and the community. The term "outreach," the participant contended, is "just as it suggested. It's not a dialogue. It's not a discourse. It's not a relationship. It's not an engagement." Nonetheless, because it occupies the position of power, the responsibility to reach out to the community will always fall to the university (Miller & Hafner, 2008).

**Recommendation 4. Understand others' perception of the institution as a developer.**

In large, urban communities where real estate construction appears to be a constant, higher education institutions are competing with other developers for the time and attention of city officials and staff. I believe that a university's non-profit status, or its reputation as an educational institution, may no longer be enough to exempt it from characterization as a real estate developer, especially if that institution seeks to engage in construction that is not traditionally considered by some to advance the university's academic purposes. Hence, even if the university is not perceived as

a developer, the scope of an expansion project may require that universities utilize more university stakeholders with extensive planning expertise and political savvy. Thinking of themselves as developers may result in institutions being more “engaged” in the entitlement process, thus making the approval process more navigable. In fact, one Frontenac University participant suggested that universities could benefit from having someone on staff who possessed both vision and master planning experience.

**Recommendation 5. Understand and use the data.** City participants with both universities mentioned the importance of using data to guide the negotiation of fair-share agreements. Near the end of Greenfield University’s approval process, but prior to finalizing the Development Agreement, the city commissioned a study better to understand the effects of the university’s presence on housing and jobs in the surrounding community. This study differed from typical university-sponsored economic impact reports in that it was Project-specific. The results of this research prodded city stakeholders to demand more concessions from the university with respect to affordable housing and job development. This study exemplified what Susskind and Field refer to as joint fact-finding (1996), wherein the information upon which decisions are based is thought to be more credible because the data was gathered and analyzed by the parties involved. One city planning participant lamented that even more could have been done earlier in the process had the stakeholders had more information. “Planning doesn’t occur in a vacuum,” he explained. “[W]e should have known more about what the community is missing and then geared our development agreement toward that.”

At Frontenac University, a government participant found that data-driven planning helped to strengthen the credibility of the stakeholders responsible for drafting the Memorandum of Understanding. Frontenac University stakeholders relied on the knowledge and expertise of



transportation experts to help influence the decision-making of city stakeholders responsible for guiding future transportation development around the university. Even after the Project's approval, Frontenac University continues to rely on such expertise to regularly monitor the effects of its growth on the transit in its surrounding community.

**Recommendation 6. Accept responsibility. Negotiate the costs.** University stakeholders should consider accepting responsibility for their actions, admitting mistakes for any missteps, and sharing power with external stakeholders to cultivate goodwill (Susskind & Field, 1996). Participants with both universities acknowledged that certain elements of their initial plans changed after considering the input of external stakeholders. For example, Greenfield University stakeholders modified their redesign of the College Centre, while Frontenac University stakeholders reduced the footprint of the proposed hotel and conference center.

In some campus expansion projects, accepting responsibility may mean providing monetary compensation. Susskind and Field (1996) have suggested that corporate actors “offer contingent commitments to minimize impacts” and “promise to compensate for unintended but knowable effects” (p. 39). For university campus expansion projects in the state, statutory and case law provide the framework for implementing this principle by requiring universities to mitigate the Project's significant environmental effects. However, *ad hoc* agreements may also be mutually executed to account for those unintended but knowable impacts that are unrelated to the environment –hence, Greenfield University's agreement to provide job training assistance and Frontenac University's agreement to avoid the displacement of longtime residents living in university-owned housing.

**Recommendation 7. Adopt a unified communication strategy early.** In instructing other institutions to develop good communication practices, one Greenfield University participant acknowledged that the university did not have a good communications strategy until midway

through the entitlement process. In fact, almost all the stakeholders I interviewed indicated that some of the frustrations experienced during the entitlement process often resulted from poor communication. Universities should focus on, (a) creating internal consensus early in campus expansion matters to avoid sending conflicting messages, (b) creating a central message by designating fewer points of contact with external stakeholders, and (c) choosing spokespersons who are familiar with the community, who can communicate with community stakeholders clearly, and who, according to one city participant, can exhibit some expertise in land use and community organizing to build campus-community relationships around planning and land use.

These strategies comport with the mutual gains approach in primarily two ways. First, Susskind and Field (1996) stress that proper application of the framework requires “effective leadership” (p. 224). This means that even those leaders unaware that they are applying the principles are willing to forgo conventional public relations wisdom (i.e., stonewalling, downplaying public concerns, obfuscating the truth) in favor of a communication approach that prioritizes trust, cooperation, information-sharing, listening, and reasoned debate. This approach sets the groundwork for implementing the mutual gains approach with external stakeholders. Second, effective leadership requires mutual gains proponents to “be effective advocates within their own agencies and organizations” (p. 232). For university stakeholders engaged in campus-community relations during periods of campus expansion, this not only means university leadership should lead the charge to address community concerns in a non-perfunctory manner, but it also means that the approach could be used to ensure that university stakeholders achieve internal consensus about how the elements of an expansion project and how the university’s message about its project are communicated to the public.

## **Limitations of the Study and Possibilities for Future Research**

In this section I identify some limitations of my study, and I propose ideas for future empirical studies on campus-community relations during periods of campus expansion. The first limitation of this study is its scope. I only considered two large, urban universities, and both are located in the same Western state. However, this particular study could be replicated for other types of institutions such as those located in suburban and rural areas. As indicated by the findings related to Frontenac University, higher education institutions need not be located in “purely” urban localities in order to attract the attention of external stakeholders who may find their campus expansion plans problematic. Institutions located in cities and states with strong regulatory mechanisms that are intended to protect the environment may find that they must not only address questions about gentrification and displacement but also inquiries about transportation, housing, and the cost of additional municipal services necessitated by campus growth. Such concerns are not restricted to urban areas. Suburban and rural institutions that may have seen little opposition to campus growth plans historically may now find that they must think more strategically about campus construction and development, especially in those cases where institutional expansion goals call for the accommodation of more students.

Moreover, I did not compare the stakeholder identification and management strategies of these institutions with those of institutions located in other states. This is significant for several reasons. First, the state’s regulatory structure, along with its public hearing process, allows for any dissatisfied individual, group, or entity legally to challenge or even thwart a campus expansion project by contesting the project based on environmental considerations. The possibility of such disruption is always in the back of the university decision-makers’ minds. A study comparing the stakeholder management decisions of this state’s institutions with those of institutions in states with

different environmental regulations may better inform our understanding of campus-community relations.

The second limitation of this study involves the timing of my research project. During my data collection process, Greenfield University had just recently received approval of its plans from the local government. Frontenac University, on the other hand, had obtained the regulatory approval of the Public Western University System approximately five years prior to Greenfield University's approval and just prior to a recession. Hence, any cross-case comparison between the sites is limited to the extent that the approval processes took place in different economic and political climates. We cannot draw any conclusions from this study as to whether stakeholder management decisions would have been different had Greenfield University sought final approval of its project closer to the time of the 2008 recession or had Frontenac University sought final approval during a period of economic recovery. Researchers in the future may wish to identify campuses in which the approval process takes place as concurrently as possible.

Additionally, the timing of my data collection could serve as a limitation. At both sites, the primary sources of my data were the interviews, which were conducted once with each participant at the end of the approval processes. Some time had elapsed since the two universities first introduced their campus expansion plans to external stakeholders. Because both Projects were eventually approved, participants, especially university stakeholders, may have been more likely to conclude that the university's stakeholder management strategies were positive and, therefore, successful. A longitudinal study in which participants are interviewed more than once during the approval process could also be conducted in order to document stakeholder relations from the beginning to the end of a project in real time. This would also inform our understanding of how university stakeholders

identify other stakeholders and implement strategies during the process and how they readjust their approach when these strategies fail.

Finally, although I collected extensive qualitative data through the interviews and augmented this research with document analysis, the interview participants from the community stakeholder group may not have been representative of the community perspective. This could be due, in part, to my recruitment methods, which included direct solicitation of local residents, business owners, and employees as well as the placement of recruitment fliers at local business and community venues such as the YMCA and recreation centers. These direct methods yielded few individual community participants. Instead, community stakeholders from organized groups were more likely to respond positively to my requests to be interviewed. Moreover, my snowball method of identifying potential participants often yielded individuals referred to me by members of the university and government stakeholder groups. As such, the perspective shared by these participants could have been subject to some bias.

A future study could be replicated to expand the number of community participants who are not a part of an organized group. By including more of these community voices, data would possibly be richer, and data analysis could uncover additional stakeholder groups not identified by university stakeholders but uniquely affected by campus expansion plans. Also, the additional data could serve to validate existing perceptions of the university's stakeholder management strategies.

## **Conclusion**

With this study I sought to explore the strategies used by colleges and universities to identify and address the concerns of city officials and community members that arise as a result of colleges' campus expansion plans. I hypothesized that colleges that successfully cultivate positive relationships

with city officials and community members may find the regulatory approval process for campus expansion to be more collaborative. I also assumed that colleges that fail adequately to identify and address the interests of their constituents may find their campus growth plans hindered by lawsuits, regulatory roadblocks, and negative publicity. My analysis of the qualitative data generated by these two cases now leads me to believe that the process is more complicated than I initially assumed. I maintain that higher education institutions may benefit from the application of stakeholder theory as a framework for identifying potential stakeholders in the campus expansion approval process because such a framework allows for university stakeholders to anticipate potential areas of conflict. But the research also affirms the need for universities to ensure that the process is normative (Donaldson & Preston, 1995) and multi-leveled (Benneworth & Jongbloed, 2009) to ensure that all potential stakeholders concerns are addressed. By understanding who stakeholders are in a “wide sense” (Zakheim et al., 2008, p. 51; Freeman and Reed, 1983), university stakeholders can “formulate strategies for meeting stakeholder needs and concerns” (p. 52). A university’s failure to engage in thorough stakeholder analysis may not always result in an unsuccessful bid to obtain regulatory approval for its campus expansion plans. Nevertheless, a more thorough stakeholder analysis process may lend itself to a less contentious, and less expensive, approval process and to more collaboration between “town and gown.”

## APPENDICES

Appendix A

Units of Observation Table

| Research Questions  | Data Needed to Answer RQ   | Sources of Data  | Units of Observation  | Contact for Access |
|---|--|--|---|--------------------|
| <p>1. How do the campus expansion efforts of higher education institutions reflect the mission and the role of the institution as perceived by the institution, the city stakeholders and the community stakeholders?</p> | <p>Understanding of college mission, understanding of views about the college’s mission, responses from community about what they believe to be the mission of the college, responses from city officials about their understanding of the mission of the college, master plan, campus expansion plans</p> | <p>Semi-structured interviews with university stakeholders, city stakeholders, community stakeholders</p> <p>Document analysis of university websites, university public relations materials, master plans, campus expansion plans, strategic plans, long range development plans and school goals</p> <p>Document analysis of public records, local and national newspapers, community generated websites</p> <p>Coded meeting transcripts obtained through observation</p> | <p><b>Missions:</b> Education is the core mission of the university. The University recognizes the importance of its location in the City and seeks to link its research and teaching to the vast resources of a great metropolis.</p> <p>To bring the resources of the University to all segments of society through continuing education, extension, and public service activities.</p> <p>To build an engine of intellectual, social, and economic development for all of the state.</p> <p>To serve others, contributing to the good of our local and global communities.</p> <p>Our first priority as faculty and staff is the education of our students, from freshmen to post-doctorals, through a broad array of academic, professional, extracurricular and athletic programs of the first rank.</p> <p>We also serve the public interest by being the largest private employer in the city. Improve student quality of life.</p> <p><b>Perceptions of missions:</b> We don’t know if it will be good for the community or just the students. If they only cater to high end students, they will lose community support and involvement. Our homes and quality of life are threatened by expansion. Public universities should make special efforts to accommodate greater diversity. The university is privileged and disregards minority communities. University planning processes lack accountability and clarity.</p> |                    |



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|  |   |   | Universities are their own empires and fail to consult local and state agencies. The local community should not be expected to subsidize the institution. Removing obstacles to university growth makes good economic policy.  |  |
| 2. How does an institution determine which stakeholders are critical in the expansion process?   | Information regarding how university officials identify community stakeholders that warrant consideration when seeking community support, evidence of stakeholder advocacy, understanding of how stakeholders are prioritized, understanding of conflicts, understanding of current and historical relationships between the university and its community | Semi-coded interviews with university stakeholders, including university real estate directors, university community relations directors<br><br>Document analysis of public records, community newspapers, university publications, university websites, video images                         | College personnel making contacts with community members, being attentive to the needs of the public, examples of college seeking to understand problems in community, seeking to understand economic realities of community, identification of minority populations, take into account impact of expansion on community, relationships with business community, lawsuits threatened against university  |  |
| 3a. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with local government stakeholders and obtain regulatory approval of campus expansion plans? | Understanding of regulatory requirements for master plans, knowledge of municipal regulations for development, zoning regulations, knowledge of WSEPA requirements, understanding of any conflicts between university and local governments, information regarding negotiations and concessions made to gain regulatory approval,                         | Semi-structured interviews with university stakeholders city stakeholders community stakeholders<br><br>Document analysis of university websites, university public relations materials, master plans, campus expansion plans, strategic plans, long range development plans and school goals | <b>Conflicts:</b> University ignores the social and economic needs of the community. University planning does not fit with municipal planning. University plans include design that is out of character with the surrounding community. The university is not forthcoming with information. There is no formal mechanism for universities and local governments to work together. The university has not respected the city's needs historically. The university does not pay its fair share in property taxes. The university students have made the neighborhood unaffordable. The university has not mitigated traffic and/or environmental concerns. The expansion plans do not provide for enough |  |

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|   | information regarding compromise   | <p>Document analysis of public records, statutes applicable to the university community, local and national newspapers, community generated websites</p> <p>Coded meeting transcripts obtained through observation</p> | <p>parking. The university is acting too much like a private developer.</p> <p><b>Strategies:</b> Ensure campus development plans align with municipal plans. Understand the public review process. Maintain flexibility in face of needs of the city. Develop more effective relationships with city constituents. Prepare and distribute economic impact reports evidencing positive social and economic benefits. Make commitment to engage and support local community. Emphasize capital improvements in the expansion plan. Request variances to local zoning ordinances. Provide city officials early notice of campus expansion plans. Agree to engage in local economic development partnerships. Agree to provide affordable housing. Agreement share facilities for cultural events. Agree to mitigate traffic and environmental challenges. The university fails to engage in any structured means for dialogue. Agree to engage in concerted community outreach. Enter agreement requiring payments in lieu taxes. Modify development plans to address local government concerns. Engage in joint planning between university and city agencies. Engage university leadership (i. e., president) to convey expansion vision. Employ university liaison/intermediary between university and local government. Engage in joint financing with city partners.</p> |  |
| 3b. How are these practices perceived by the local government stakeholders? | Understanding of how the government perceives the university and the university's efforts to gain approval for expansion | <p>Semi-structured interviews with local city stakeholders</p> <p>Document analysis</p>  | <p>The university is not willing to engage in compromise. The university does not care about the safety and welfare of members of the community. The university is not transparent. The university positions themselves as adversaries. The university</p>  |  |

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|   |   | <p>of public records, local and national newspapers, community generated websites</p> <p>Coded meeting transcripts obtained through observation of public hearings and meetings between stakeholders</p> | <p>engages in poor planning. The university is being uncooperative. The strategies to attain agreement do not take into account the character of the community.</p>   |  |
| <p>4a. What strategies or practices, if any, are employed by higher education institutions to address conflict with the community and garner community stakeholder support for campus expansion plans and</p> | <p>Understanding of conflict between community and university, understanding methods and strategies to get community members on board</p> | <p>Community stakeholders including local residents, neighborhood groups, community activists, community-driven publications, websites</p>   | <p><b>Conflicts:</b> Community members not allowed on campus, or campus action is restricted. There are often rifts between students and community. Community members complain about traffic, loud students, parking. University students are victims of crime. Community members protest the unfair advantages granted to university for various reasons. University is racist and classist. The university is “pushing out” the community members by raising rents The property values are negatively affected. The university will “take” our property through eminent domain. The increase is students will lead to increasing rents, noise safety concerns. The students do not respect community or local businesses.</p> <p><b>Strategies:</b> Understand the public review process and attend public hearings. Maintain flexibility in face of needs of the city to make compromises. Develop more effective relationships with community constituents through neighborhood meetings. Provide service learning opportunities. Provide business development support. Establish university-sponsored community programs. Emphasize capital improvements in the expansion plan that improve the community. Agree</p> |  |

|   |   |  |   |  |
|---|---|--|---|--|
|   |   |  | <p>to engage community members in local economic development partnerships. Agree to provide affordable housing. Agreement to open access to campus facilities. Agree to mitigate traffic and environmental challenges. Agree to engage in formal community outreach. Modify development plans to address local government concerns. Engage university leadership (i. e., president) to convey expansion vision. Employ university liaison/intermediary between university and community. Settle lawsuits. Construct facilities for community use. Form informal partnerships. Form formal partnerships.</p> |  |
| <p>4b. How are these strategies or practices perceived by community stakeholders?</p> | <p>Evidence of positive or negative reaction from individuals and community groups regarding the university's efforts to engage community in campus expansion plans, evidence of acceptance of university expansion plans</p> | <p>Community stakeholders including local residents, neighborhood groups, community activists, community-driven publications, websites</p> | <p>University ignores needs of "poorer" community members. The university is rich so they can "afford" to do more. University representatives talk down to community members. The university thinks it knows best. Notice was not provided early enough. The university is not responsive. Universities don't pay their fair share. University makes contributions to neighborhood. University behavior takes on racial overtones. The university doesn't understand the community. The university does not care about the community.</p>   |  |

## Appendix B-1

### Interview Protocol of University Informants

#### (Real Estate Managers, Community and Government Relations Managers)

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I appreciate your time. As you know, I'm learning about the strategies used by universities to get approval of university expansion plans from the city government and from the community. I am primarily interested in how universities determine who the relevant stakeholders are and how they address these stakeholder concerns about college expansion. Please understand that I would like to record this interview using two separate devices. May I have your permission to record this interview? I may also take notes throughout the interview. Nevertheless, the identity of the institution and your identity will remain confidential. (Delete – you select the pseudonym) Would you like to choose a pseudonym before we get started? Okay, I will choose one for you. Also, please sign this consent form wherein you acknowledge that I've informed you of the confidentiality. Thank you. Let's get started.

#### 1. Introduction

- a. How long have you worked at [\_\_\_\_\_]? How long have you worked in this capacity?
- b. Tell me about your role with respect to campus planning and expansion.

#### 2. Current Campus Expansion Plans

- a. Tell me about the current expansion plans and why the university needs to expand.
- b. How do you think the expansion plans relate to the mission or role of this university?
- c. What state or local requirements are the university subject to with respect to campus planning?
- d. When was the last time this institution engaged in an expansion plan?
  - i. Was the project successful or unsuccessful and why?

- ii. In what ways did that project affect the university's approach to the college expansion process?
3. Community Stakeholders-First, I'd like to ask you about the various community groups and community members involved (or not) in campus expansion.
  - a. How would you describe the university's surrounding community such as the residents in the community, the businesses and the culture?
  - b. How would you characterize the relationship between the university and the community currently? Historically?
  - c. Who are the effective key players in the city with respect to the expansion construction? What city departments do you work with the most?
  - d. In relation to expansion issues who are the community groups you must respond to? Why? How do you engage them?
  - e. Are there other groups that you believe are less critical but still important to the expansion process? Who are they? How do you engage them?
  - f. If conflicts have arisen with the community with respect to the expansion plan, what are they and how has the university addressed these conflicts? How do you feel about how the university addresses these conflicts?
4. City Stakeholders- Now, let's move on to a discussion about the university's relationship with local government-
  - a. How would you characterize the institution's current relationship with the city? In the past?
  - b. Who are the effective key players in the city with respect to the expansion construction? What city departments do you work with the most?
  - c. If there are the current conflicts related to this plan, how are these conflicts being addressed?
  - d. What are the concessions and/or agreements made with the city to get approval? How do you feel about these?
  - e. Are there any additional strategies used by the university to engage with the city to address conflicts and gain approval?
5. What lessons have you learned as you continue through this process? What else would you like to share about the process?

## Appendix B-2

### Interview Protocol of Community Informants

#### **(individuals, residents, activists, business owners)**

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee

#### Opening Statement

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I appreciate your time. As you know, I'm learning about the strategies used by universities to get approval of university expansion plans from the city government and from the community. I am primarily interested in how universities determine who the relevant stakeholders are and how they address these stakeholder concerns about college expansion.

Please understand that I would like to record this interview with two separate devices. Do I have your permission to record this interview? I may also take notes throughout the interview. Nevertheless, the identity of the institution and your identity will remain confidential. I will use pseudonyms to consume your identity. Thank you. Let's get started.

#### MUST DISCLOSE EMPLOYMENT, MUST GIVE ASSURANCES OF CONFIDENTIALITY

##### 1. Introduction Questions

- a. How long have you lived in this area? What do you do?
- b. How would you describe your community?
- c. What do you know about the college/university? How do you feel about how the college relates to your community?
- d. What do you like (if anything) about having the university in your community?
- e. What do you dislike (if anything) about having the university in your community?
- f. Describe any activities sponsored by the university that you have participated in.
- g. What are your experiences with the university (alumnus, student, employment, supporter)? What are the experiences of people you know who are in some way connected with the university (spouse, parents, children)?

2. Perceptions about College Expansion Plans

- a. What do you know about the college's plan to expand? How do you feel about the campus expansion plans?
- b. How did you find out about the college's plans? What have you heard about how others feel about the plan?
- c. Who do you think this plan affects the most? Do you believe that they are given a chance to discuss who they feel about the plan with the college?
- d. Are you aware of any community groups or are you a part of any groups who support or oppose the plan?

3. Perceptions about University's Handling of Community Relationships?

- a. If you know of anyone or a group who doesn't like what the college is doing what are they doing to challenge the construction?
- b. What has the college done to address any conflict? Do you think the college's efforts have been effective? Why or why not?
- c. Do you have any thoughts about what should be done by the college in the future in terms of expansion planning?



## Appendix B-3

### Interview Protocol of City Informants

**(city planners, transportation, elected officials, city liasons)**

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee

Opening Statement

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I appreciate your time. As you know, I'm learning about the strategies used by universities to get approval of university expansion plans from the city government and from the community. I am primarily interested in how universities determine who the relevant stakeholders are and how they address these stakeholder concerns about college expansion.

Please understand that I would like to record this interview with two separate devices. Do I have your permission to record this interview? I may also take notes throughout the interview. Nevertheless, the identity of the institution and your identity will remain confidential. I will use pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity. Thank you. Let's get started.

1. Introduction
  - a. What is your position/role here with the City? How long have you been in this position?
  - b. How would you describe the community surrounding the university?
  - c. How would characterize the current relationship between the university and the city? In the past?
  - d. What is your perception of the university's role/mission within the community?
2. Expansion Plans of the University-Let's talk about university campus expansion projects-
  - a. Can you tell me about your role with respect to campus expansion?
  - b. Are you aware of why the university is currently trying to expand? Why do they need to expand? How do you feel about their reasons for expansion?

- c. What is your role with respect to the university's expansion/construction plans?
- 3. Conflicts and Strategies
  - a. Are you aware of any current challenges or conflicts/issues between the city and the university with respect to the university expansion plans?
  - b. What strategies have been used by the city and the university to address these conflicts? Has the city requested any concessions from the school? What are they?
  - c. Do you believe these strategies are effective?
  - d. Are there other strategies or approaches you would suggest for working together on campus expansion projects?
- 4. City's Perceptions of University Efforts to Identify Community Stakeholders
  - a. In relation to expansion issues what community groups do you believe the university must engage with or respond to?
  - b. What efforts have been made by the university to engage members of the community in the university's expansion plans?
  - c. Are there some members of the community who may be less critical but still warrant the university's attention when it comes to campus expansion?
- 5. Please describe any lessons learned as you continue through this process?

THANK THE INDIVIDUAL FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS INTERVIEW. ASSURE HIM OR HER OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF RESPONSES AND POTENTIAL FUTURE INTERVIEW

## Appendix B-4

### Sample Information Form

University of California, Los Angeles

Graduate School of Education & Information Science

#### **INFORMATION SHEET for NON-MEDICAL RESEARCH**

*Negotiated Communities: Identifying and Managing Stakeholders*

*During Periods of University Campus Expansion*

Dorine Lawrence-Hughes, J. D., M. A. (Principal Investigator) and Dr. Linda Rose from the Graduate School of Education & Information Science at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) are conducting a research study.

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are familiar with the recent efforts of [\_\_\_\_\_] University to increase the size and capacity of its campus and you have expressed a willingness to discuss your views about the relationship between campuses and their surrounding communities. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

#### **Why is this study being done?**

This purpose of this study is to explore what happens to the relationship between universities and their surrounding communities when universities decide to enlarge their campuses. The investigators want to understand how universities identify key groups in the city government and in the community to get their approval for their campus expansion plans. Specifically, the investigators want to understand how the perceptions of the college that are held by different groups affects the failure or success of these campus projects.

#### **What will happen if I take part in this research study?**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- Meet with the researcher at a designated location
- Participate in an interview where you will be asked your opinion about the relationship between the university and the community and express your views about the growth activities of the university
- Review your interview responses
- Participate in a 10-15 minute follow-up interview, if possible

#### **How long will I be in the research study?**

Participation will take a total of about 60-90 minutes for this interview. You will also be contacted by the investigator within a week for a follow-up interview during which the investigator may ask

you additional questions to clarify some of the data collected for this study. This follow-up interview may take up to 10-15 minutes. You will also have the opportunity to review the transcript of your interview to make clarifications.

**Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?**

- There are no anticipated risks or discomforts.

**Are there any potential benefits if I participate?**

You will not directly benefit from your participation in the research. The results of the research may help universities, cities and communities better collaborate on university real estate development projects to meet the needs of those affected by campus growth.

**Will I be paid for participating?**

- You will receive a \$25 gift card whether or not you complete the initial interview, or even if you are withdrawn from this study. You will receive an additional \$10 gift card if you participate in a follow up interview.

**Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?**

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of the use of pseudonyms/fictitious name and the deletion of any personal identifiers from the transcripts. The code sheet linking your name to the pseudonym will be kept in a lock box separate from the transcripts. Your name will not be recorded.

Only the members of the research team and the University of California, Los Angeles may access the data.

**What are my rights if I take part in this study?**

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.
- Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty to you, and no loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled.
- You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

**Who can I contact if I have questions about this study?**

- **The research team:**

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to the one of the researchers. Please contact:

Principal Investigator:

Faculty Sponsor:

Faculty Sponsor:

- **UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP):**  
If you have questions about your rights while taking part in this study, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers about the study, please call the OHRPP at [\_\_\_\_\_] or write to:

UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program

11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 211, Box 951694

Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694

***You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.***

## Appendix C

### Document Summary Form

Name or Description of Document: \_\_\_\_\_

Document Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Site: \_\_\_\_\_

Date Retrieved: \_\_\_\_\_

Event or Contact, if any, with which the document is associated:

Significance of importance of the document:

Brief Summary of Contents:

Is the Document Central or Crucial to Particular Contact:

Reflections (questions, thoughts, implications for research):

## Appendix D

### Case Study Protocol Form

#### Case Study Protocol for Data Collection and Analysis

**Pilot Interviews** (conducted on site currently engage in city-university partnership to accommodate an increase in FTE students for a larger urban/suburban university)

Conducted on university campus with university planning officer

Conducted at local city with local city planner

#### Data Collection

Interviews (In-Person and By Telephone)

Participant Identification

Contact university staff in planning divisions-staff must have some knowledge of campus expansion project

Contact university staff in real estate division and community/government relations division to request interviews

Do internet search of community groups and activist

Identify public officials with ties to project (city council members, board supervisors, commissioners, planning staff)

Visit public facilities and distribute recruitment flyers

Distribute recruitment flyers to local businesses

Email Communication with Potential Participants

Draft introductory email, ask for permission to interview, ask for ideas for other data sources, thank them for their time

Interview Consent

Distribution of Information Sheet in person or by email

Interview Protocol (in offices of participants or by telephone)

Ask about lessons learned

Ask about possible contacts

Ask for any relevant documents such as agreements

Recording- with two devices-LiveScribe Pen and Smartphone

Documents

University-Generated Sources

Review Campus Expansion Plan (Master Plan or Specific Plan)

Review Mission Statements

Core Documents (ie., strategic plans)

Presidential Speeches

University-Project Specific Websites-websites dedicated to discussion of the project

University Impact Reports

Public Documents

Environmental Impact Reports

Public Comments and Letters

Community Benefits Agreement/Fair Share Agreements related to the Project

Meeting Agendas

Community Organization and Neighborhood Organization websites

Legal Sources-Cases and Explanations of Current Environmental Law

Online news sources- Large Papers and smaller, alternative online news sources including online real estate blog

Online Video Sources- YouTube and Local news outlets

Online Social Media Sites such as Facebook and Twitter and online forums connected to local newspapers and student media sources

Field Observations (for context, necessary as participants describe local communities)

Visit sites on multiple occasions at different times of the day

Observe campus buildings, open spaces, construction sites, off-campus facilities, campus perimeters, including their points of entry, and student activity.

Take pictures of campus, construction sites, ingress and egress, campus perimeters, adjacent streets and malls, adjacent apartments, university offices, public transit,

### **Data Analysis**

Submit recordings for transcription to transcription service, sign confidentiality agreements

Review transcripts for errors and free-write comments before coding

Code transcripts according to initial code list

Identify quotes by stakeholder group-city (g), community (c), university (u)

Manual Coding

Develop and add new codes as new themes emerge

Develop list of in vivo codes

Recode and reorganize quotes according to research questions

Maintain research journal

Informal field notes before and after interviews and during campus emerging concepts and patterns

Personal feelings about progress of research study

Ideas for new in vivo codes

Outlines for Organizing findings

Review transcripts again for additional themes



## Appendix E

### Pre-Structured Case Outline and Start List of Codes

#### **Initial Start List of Codes**

|  |                   |                 |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Institutional Mission and Role</b>      | <b>IM</b>         | <b>RQ 1a</b>    |
| IM: Mission Statement                      | IM-MS             |                 |
| IM: Institutional Goals                    | IM-IS             |                 |
| IM: Strategic Plan                         | IM-SP             |                 |
| IM: Master Plan                            | IM-MP             |                 |
| <br>                                       |                   |                 |
| <b>Perception of Institutional Mission</b> | <b>PIM</b>        | <b>RQ1b</b>     |
| PIM: University Perspective (Leadership)   | PIM-LD            |                 |
| University Real Estate Officer             | PIM-RE            |                 |
| University Employee                        | PIM-UE            |                 |
| PIM: Local Government Leadership           | PIM-CL            |                 |
| Local Government Planning Body             | PIM-PL            |                 |
| Local Government (Other)                   | PIM-OT            |                 |
| PIM: Community Leadership                  | PIM-CL            |                 |
| Community Individual                       | PIM-I             |                 |
| Community Business                         | PIM-B             |                 |
| Community Activists                        | PIM-CA            |                 |
| Community Partners                         | PIM_CP            |                 |
| <br>                                       |                   |                 |
| <b>Stakeholder Salience</b>                | <b>SS</b>         | <b>RQ2</b>      |
| SS: University Perspective                 |                   |                 |
| Definitive                                 | SS (U)-PLU        |                 |
| Expectant                                  | SS-(U)-PL, UL, PU |                 |
| Latent                                     | SS-(U)-PL, UL, PU |                 |
| SS: Local Government Perspective           |                   |                 |
| Definitive                                 | SS (G)-PLU        |                 |
| Expectant                                  | SS (G)-PL, UL, PU |                 |
| Latent                                     | SS (G)-LAT        |                 |
| SS: Community Perspective                  |                   |                 |
| Definitive                                 | SS (C)-PLU        |                 |
| Expectant                                  | SS (C)-PL, UL, PU |                 |
| Latent                                     | SS-(C)-PL, UL, PU |                 |
| <br>                                       |                   |                 |
| <b>Nature of Conflict:</b>                 | <b>NC</b>         | <b>RQ3a, 4a</b> |
| NC: Property                               | NC-PROP           |                 |
| NC: Costs                                  | NC-MON            |                 |
| NC: Motives                                | NC-MOT            |                 |
| NC: Business                               | NC-BUS            |                 |
| NC: Environment                            | NC-ENV            |                 |
| NC: Community Needs                        | NC-CN             |                 |
| <br>                                       |                   |                 |
| <b>Strategies for Regulatory Approval</b>  | <b>RAS</b>        | <b>RQ3a</b>     |
| RAS: Development Processes                 | RAS-DEV           |                 |
| Development Variances                      | RAS-VAR           |                 |
| Aligned Planning                           | RAS-AP            |                 |
| Mitigation                                 | RAS-MIT           |                 |

|      |                       |           |
|------|-----------------------|-----------|
|      | Community Benefit     | RAS-CB    |
| RAS: | Relationship-Building | RAS-REL   |
|      | Early Notification    | RAS-ENOT  |
|      | Outreach              | RAS-OUT   |
|      | Leadership            | RAS-LEAD  |
| RAS  | Compromise            | RAS-COMP  |
|      | Partnership           | RAS-PART  |
|      | Ad Hoc Agreement      | RAS-ADHOC |

**Perceptions of Regulatory Strategies**

|      |                    |         |
|------|--------------------|---------|
|      | Collaborative      | PRS     |
| PRS: | Adversarial        | PRS-COL |
|      | Entitled (Insular) | PRS-ADV |
|      | Positive           | PRS-INS |
|      | Negative           | PRS-POS |
|      |                    | PRS-NEG |

**RQ3b**

**Strategies for Community Approval**

|      |                        |           |
|------|------------------------|-----------|
|      | Regulatory Requirement | CAS       |
| CAS: | Relationship-Building  | CAS-REQ   |
|      | Outreach               | CAS-REL   |
|      | Early Notification     | CAS-OUT   |
|      | Leadership             | CAS-ENOT  |
| CAS: | Compromise             | CAS-LEAD  |
|      | Partnerships           | CAS-COMP  |
|      | Community Benefits     | CAS-PART  |
|      | Ad Hoc Agreement       | CAS-CB    |
|      |                        | CAS-ADHOC |

**RQ4a**

**Perceptions of Community Strategies**

|      |                    |         |
|------|--------------------|---------|
|      | Collaborative      | PCS     |
| PCS: | Adversarial        | PCS-COL |
|      | Entitled (Insular) | PCS-ADV |
|      | Positive           | PCS-INS |
|      | Negative           | PCS-POS |
|      |                    | PCS-NEG |

**RQ4b**

**Additional Themes Generated**

Lessons Learned  
Community Leadership/Empowerment  
Perceptions of Project Outcomes  
Description of Community  
Trust  
Role as Developer  
Internal Relations  
Responsibility/Obligation  
Context (historical, economical  
Messengers  
Campaigning  
Adversarial  
Class

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