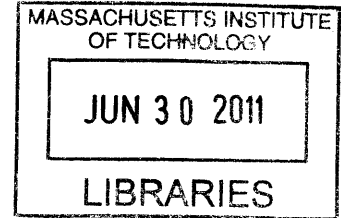Beyond the Ivory Tower:
In Search of a New Form for Campus-Community Relationships

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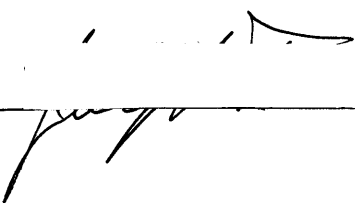
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for Community-University Partnerships

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ABSTRACT

The terms "ivory tower" and "town-gown" have long been used to characterize the relationship between institutions of higher education and the communities in which they reside. While these adversarial phrases reflect the social and physical tension that has historically existed between the two groups, the terms are no longer appropriate as colleges and universities of today are more enlightened, realizing that as fixed and vested institutions, much of their success, and in some cases survival, is dependent on the health of the community in which they reside. The American college campus, where design decisions have come about as a means to engender community and promote learning, is a physical manifestation of the institutional mission and purpose. Therefore, as institutions look beyond their campus edges to consciously engage with their larger community, a shift in the physical representation should follow. In this thesis, I examine the evolution of a new physical form that reflects this changing dynamic by exploring the alignment of the institution's mission to the design and development of the campus edge, where this relationship is most evident. Based on a review of current campus conditions, I develop a sequence of edge conditions based on permeability and relationship between campus and community. I then focus on urban institutions in marginalized neighborhoods that have expanded their mission by embracing their urban setting and engaging with their communities in comprehensive revitalization initiatives. Using two case studies, Clark University and Trinity College, and drawing briefly on several other examples, I consider the relationship between the current and historical mission of the institution and the impact their recent neighborhood revitalization efforts have had on the physical transformation of the campus edges. Applying lessons learned from these efforts, I encourage colleges and universities to reconsider the value of their edges and promote them as an integral part of the overall campus. Finally, I make recommendations to help institutions rethink their campus edges in a way that embraces the evolving community-university dynamic and contributes to the well-being of both their students and surrounding neighborhood.

Thesis Supervisor: Lawrence J. Vale, Ford Professor of Urban Design and Planning

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INTRODUCTION

BEYOND THE IVORY TOWER

Several adverse phrases or terms have come to stand for the complex relationship that exists between the college or university and the community in which it resides. Town versus gown, ivory tower, as well as references to gates and fences are used to indicate the separation that has historically existed between the two worlds. These terms have become a familiar way to simplify a complicated relationship. As metaphors they also provide insight into the way the physical form can speak to the meaning of a place and the connections we make between the two. In few places does this meaning relate as directly to the physical form as it does in the college campus, where design decisions are based on goals of engendering community and promoting learning. As a result, the campus itself has become a symbol of an institution's philosophies, goals, and mission, a way by which it expresses its purpose and intentions for their community, both inside and outside its "fences."

Although such derisive phrases are likely deserved responses to past actions of colleges and universities, today's literature reflects a different tone and direction. Language such as "out of the ivory tower and into the streets,"[1] "abandoned the ivory tower,"[2] "stepping down from the ivory tower,"[3] "breaking down the wall"[4] can now be found in descriptions of universities and colleges. The evolution of these metaphors reveals a transformation in the relationship between institutions and their communities. Colleges and universities have always had an influence on their surroundings, resulting in the often contentious and fragile town-gown dynamic. Yet, today colleges and universities are more enlightened, realizing that as fixed and vested institutions their success, and in some cases survival, is largely

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[1] Judith Rodin, *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
[2] Oscar Riera Ojeda, *Campus & Community: Moore Ruble Yudell: Architecture & Planning* (Rockport, MA: Rockport Publishers, 1997), 9.
[3] Evan Dobelle, "Stepping Down from the Ivory Tower" (presented at the National Press Club, Trinity College, Hartford, CT, February 18, 1999).
[4] Rosalinda DeJesus, "Breaking Down the Wall - Youth Club Part of Trinity Campus," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, June 2, 1999), sec. Town News.

dependent on the cities and towns that they inhabit. They can no longer exist as academic enclaves, but must take an active role in the economic, social, and physical development of their host cities and neighborhoods, providing a potential resource for the development and revitalization of many communities.

For this reason, as the role of the college and university changes and the relevance of the ivory tower diminishes, a new interpretation of old metaphors is appropriate. As these institutions settle into their new role, what new metaphor will emerge? And, how will that metaphor reflect actual physical changes that have occurred – a transformation of the campus that speaks to its new goals and mission for the larger community in which it resides? In this thesis, I explore this evolution as I investigate the following questions: How can universities rethink their edges in a way that contributes to the well-being of both its students and surrounding neighborhood? How can we use physical changes as a tool to facilitate social and organizational change?

In Search of a New Form

In recent history, university-community partnerships have been the subject of a number of symposia, foundation and government grants, and a new body of literature from planning professionals and academics. However, relatively little has been written or discussed in regards to the physical expression of this evolving relationship dynamic. Though physical development is the most visible aspect, and therefore usually the first to provoke controversy and conflict, I instead explore the ways in which it has served to supplement or facilitate a relationship between the two parties. In considering the questions, I focus on urban colleges and universities in marginalized neighborhoods, where the disparity between campus and community is most distinct. Often out of a need for survival, this condition has inspired these institutions to participate in neighborhood revitalization efforts, going as far as to embrace it a mission of the institution. To understand how the campus form has reflected this recent mission shift, I first look at the role of the institution in the city in terms of its physical, economical, and social effects, as well as what forces have been behind that development. Next, I look at how the urban design of the campus has aligned with the mission of the institution and how, through its edges, it has viewed its role in the community, throughout history and today. Based on a review of current campus conditions, I develop a sequence of edge conditions based on permeability and relationship between campus and community. Then, using a case study approach, I explain how two urban institutions, Clark University and Trinity College, have expanded their missions by embracing the urban setting as an extension of the campus. I review the lessons learned from these cases and their implications for the future of both urban institutions and their communities. Finally, I highlight what campus design strategies can be employed that are mutually beneficial for cities and universities; that can foster both effective learning and vibrant community, thereby contributing to the well-being of both the students and surrounding neighborhood.

ONE
CIVIC RELATIONSHIPS

E XPANSION

The change in the perception of the ivory tower is closely tied to the expanding social and physical nature of the university or college campus. Richard Freeland, former president of Northeastern University, explains in the foreword of M. Perry Chapman's book, *American Places: In Search of the Twenty-first Century Campus,* that the "democratization of higher education" has been a driving force of such change. Since the second half of the twentieth century, public policy has fostered a steady increase in the number of Americans students attending institutions of higher education. And the number continues to grow. The Current Population Survey reported that a record-high 70.1 percent of 2009 high-school graduates were enrolled in college in October 2009, up from 68.6 percent in 2008, and 67.2 percent in 2007.[1] Contributions to the continued escalation in attendance include enhanced financial assistance from the government and universities or colleges, the growing

importance of a college degree, and increasing diversity in the demographics of the student population to include people of different ages, backgrounds, and interests.

Surrounding neighborhoods often absorb the growth in the student population, resulting in concerns from nearby neighbors over a declining sense of community, an increasingly transient neighborhood, and a loss of important community anchors.[2] It also results in inflated housing prices, as students can pay more by sharing the costs of family-sized dwellings. However, today many neighborhoods are pushing back and demanding institutions to house more of their students on campus.

Dormitory construction is merely part of a larger building effort as campuses across the United States have transformed into construction sites in recent years. Colleges and universities completed $15 billion worth of building in 2006—an astounding 260% increase since

[1] David Trueblood, ed., "The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2010: Taking Stock in an Uncertain Time" (The Boston Foundation, n.d.), 39.

[2] "Them and Us: Institutional expansion and the neighborhoods," *Architecture Boston*, Spring 2009, 17.

1997.[3] Institutions are increasing their space in recent years by ¾ to 1 ½ percent per year on average, even if enrollment doesn't grow. At 1 1/2 percent, campuses double in 50 years, providing a unique opportunity to recreate their image.[4] Additional growth has resulted from new amenities, sports, and cultural facilities that help set an institution apart from other schools and contribute to efforts to attract students and faculty. The use of the campus as a tool for recruitment is inherent in the idea of the American campus. In defending his ambitious plan for the University of Virginia – a campus that has served as a major precedent for American campus planning – Jefferson wrote, "Had we built a barn for a college, and log huts for accommodations, should we ever have had the assurance to propose to [a] European professor...to come to it? To stop where we are is to abandon our high hopes, and become suitors to Yale and Harvard for their secondary characters."[5] Similarly, more students are looking for amenities like gourmet food courts, cyber cafes, climbing walls, larger and more luxurious housing and colleges and universities are feeling compelled to provide them. A director of residential life observes, "The students say 'What can you offer me? So everybody's building new facilities to keep up with the Joneses.'"[6]

Growth has also resulted from the continually expanding role of universities as researchers, bringing about the need for state of the art facilities to compete for research grants. According to an article in *The Economist*, "Just add cash: The great expanding university," an increase in funding from the National Institutes of Health (NIH) over the last 15 years has been "a fat carrot dangling before universities, encouraging them to spend frantically on new labs in order to win high-profile federal projects."[7] With an inherent role of the university as knowledge generator, such a function may further attract spin-offs, as the many biotech firms clustered around the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) illustrate.

URBAN UNIVERSITIES

The location of a university is also important in attracting students, faculty, and even new companies. David Perry and Wim Wiewel note in their book, *The University as Urban Developer,* that the "search for knowledge, the production of knowledge, and the training of society occurs in large, complex, physically expanding, and economically important environments."[8] They go on to say that although the traditional American conception of the college campus "revolves around the pastoral, often rural, 'campus,' the notion of campus is changing."

Such an idea goes against the traditional notions of the American campus, which was historically sited in rural locations to escape the distractions of urban life. This attitude is

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[3] "Just add cash: The great expanding American university," *The Economist*, November 29, 2007.

[4] Daniel R Kenney, *Mission and Place: Strengthening Learning and Community Through Campus Design* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005).

[5] Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 67.

[6] Kenney, *Mission and Place,* 16.

[7] "Just add cash: The great expanding American university."

[8] David C Perry and Wim Wiewel, eds., *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2005), 5.

aptly illustrated by Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago who described the university as "a haven where the search for truth may go on unhampered by utility or pressure for results." For Hutchins, the search for "truth" was directly at odds with the search for practical knowledge to be used for the public good or for service to society.[9] This notion that the intellectual pursuit of knowledge should remain separate from the real-world concerns of society formed a foundation of the collegiate ideal, prompting the belief that rural locations were preferred and interaction with an urban location was incompatible to the success of the institution.

Though the United States has a long history of small liberal arts colleges and large land grant universities located in rural settings, that ideal is changing. Today an average of 82 percent of all degree-granting public and private institutions are located in urban areas, and in 28 of the 50 states, the percentage is greater than the national average.[10] Urban campuses gain from economic, cultural, and social involvement with the city, and from interaction with its day-to-day life. As Thomas Bender observed in his book about the cultural history of the urban university, *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present*, "We in the United States have been so captured by the tradition of Anglo-American academic pastoralism that we forget how much more common has been the tradition that

associates universities with great cities."[11] In *The Wealth of Cities*, former Milwaukee mayor John Norquist writes, "The best institutions of education in the world are usually located in cities. The size, diversity, and density of cities create a natural advantage attractive to consumers of education. In the United States, the urban education advantage can clearly be seen in higher education."[12] As urban areas in the United States become of a renewed importance in the global economy, their universities have taken on a greater role as well. A 1999 Brookings Institute paper found that in each of the 20 largest cities in the United States, a higher education or medical institution was among the top ten private employers.[13]

The urban location also puts these institutions more in touch with the "real world" and the varied challenges it presents. Denser environments often result in a scarcity of available land, making growth more complicated. It also means that the problems of the larger city are impossible to ignore and more difficult to escape. Due to historical patterns of development and urbanization, "many established, often elite, universities find themselves located in socially and economically distressed urban areas." For universities adjacent to communities perceived as unsafe, a significant recruiting disadvantage results. Parental fears as well as those of potential faculty and staff

[9] *Quoted in* Eric McNamara Horvat and Kathleen Shaw, "Redefining Campus: Urban Universities and the Idea of Place," *New directions for higher education* (Spring 1995): 102.
[10] Yesim Sungu - Eryilmaz, *Town Gown Collaboration in Land Use and Development* (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2009), 4.

[11] Thomas Bender, *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3.
[12] Cited in Judith Rodin, *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 13.
[13] Rita Axelroth and Steve Dubb, *The Road Half Traveled: University Engagement at a Crossroads* (University of Maryland: The Democracy Collaborative, December 2010), 2.

often directly affect the institution's ability to recruit and retain. This is prompting engagement in community development and the ways in which the growth occurs. Recognizing that the well-being and attractiveness of their communities directly correlates to the health of their institutions and vice versa, institutions are following a path many refer to as "enlightened self-interest" and are working to improve their surroundings in an effort to improve themselves. Northwestern University's president, Morton Owen Schapiro, describes the University of Southern California and its president Steve Sample, who he claims has "managed to relocate USC from the ghetto of South-Central Los Angeles to the edge of vibrant downtown L.A. – without moving an inch."[14] In an urban setting, a university's growth and attractiveness is inextricably linked to the vitality and health of the surrounding community. An attractive and safe community helps to attract high-quality students and faculty, who in turn, help to improve and strengthen the academic institution. A successful institution can then better contribute to the overall competitiveness of the broader urban and regional economy.

ANCHOR INSTITUTIONS

With great economic impacts on urban and community development – employment, spending, and work-force development – as well as their ability to attract new businesses and a skilled workforce, universities have become key institutions in their cities. As the United States has shifted from a manufacturing economy to one based on service and knowledge, the economic weight of these institutions has increased as well. In her foreword to Perry and Wiewel's book, *The University as Urban Developer*, Rosalind Greenstein, who chairs a research group at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy called "The City, Land, and the University," wrote "Factories have left the cities. Regional department stores have been replaced by national chains...The suburbs are growing faster than the cities and are rapidly increasing their political clout. Urban universities, however, rarely abandon their cities."[15]

Universities in the United States employ two million workers (only one-third of whom are faculty), enroll more than 15 million students, possess endowments of over $300 billion, hold more than $100 billion in real estate, and purchase hundreds of billions of dollars in goods and services annually. Their economic weight – 3.2 percent of the U.S. economy – significantly contributes to the economic development of the community through such means as purchasing, salaries, and real estate development. If the higher education sector as a whole were a country, it would have a gross domestic product (GDP) of over $350 billion, more than half the entire

[14] Eugene Trani, *The Indispensable University: Higher Education, Economic Development, and the Knowledge Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 59.

[15] Perry and Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer*.

GDP of Mexico.[16] As a result, institutions are powerful players in the development of our cities.

At a time when many universities and colleges in urban locations have grown, industries and locally based corporations have shrunk. After moderating a panel discussion titled "Universities as Urban Planners," Boston Globe journalist, Robert Campbell likened universities to "the industries of today...education is today's equivalent of the production line. It's an economic boon to any city."[17] Likewise, a joint study by Initiative for a Competitive Inner City and CEOs for Cities states, "In many respects, the bell towers of academic institutions have replaced smokestacks as the drivers of the American urban economy."[18] The changes that have taken place in the industrial and corporate structure have left cities with a different set of leaders who have fewer and weaker ties to the region.

Universities and colleges, however, are deeply tied to their settings and are unlikely to move due to mergers and acquisitions. Again Schapiro describes the case of Los Angeles, where the largest private employer is "not a defense firm, not a movie studio, but the University of Southern California.... Unlike other major private employers, USC won't be sold, merged or moved to Phoenix."[19] Such universities and colleges have been described as anchor institutions because they are tied to a certain location by reason of mission, invested capital, or relationships to customers or employees. As a result, the well-being of the anchor institution and the welfare of the community are very much interdependent. Thus, we now turn to higher education institutions to fill the void for local investment that industry and corporations have left behind.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION AND POLICY

Even though universities and colleges are able to effect change, they do not operate independently and are still largely influenced by outside forces. The history of the university has largely followed that of American ideals, initiatives, and policies. Time and again, the direction of higher education has been influenced by outside actors including the federal government, state legislatures, corporate and foundation funders, and social movements. Their role is included here because it is an important factor in the changing landscape, both metaphorically and literally, of the higher education institution.

Although there is much discussion of institutions of higher education "coming down from their ivory towers," the idea of the university being engaged in enhancing social and economic interests is not new. Indeed, the U.S. tradition of the land-grant college, dating back to 1862, was based on a similar commitment. The Act was a large-scale plan

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[16] Steve Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development" (The Democracy Collaborative at The University of Maryland, August 2007).

[17] Robert Campbell, "Universities are the New City Planners," *The Boston Globe*, March 20, 2005, sec. Arts/Entertainment.

[18] *Leveraging Colleges and Universitiesfor Urban Economic Revitalization:An Action Agenda*, Joint Study by Initiative for a Competitive Inner City and CEOs for Cities, n.d., 6.

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[19] Trani, *The indispensable university*, 59.

for the promotion of practical agricultural and mechanical education as well as a broadening of the purposes of higher education to serve all social classes. It became a major force in a shift toward more democratic education in the country. Often referred to as the campaign for the "people's colleges," land-grant institutions were a major force in a shift toward more democratic education in the country.[20] The passage of the G.I. bill after World War II further stimulated the "democratization of higher education" and resulted in a significant increase in the number of students attending college. Although primarily an employment bill, it provided a tuition subsidy for returning veterans that resulted in a rapid increase in enrollments and set a precedent of using federal aid to support higher education.[21] It resulted in a 75 percent increase in enrollment in comparison to pre-war levels, with a total of 2.2 million G.I.s enrolling in courses.[22]

Although, predicated on a noble concept, the application of the "people's college" has shifted over time. A journal article by three authors from *The Democracy Collaborative* at the University of Maryland states:

> Much good work was done, but the honored tradition of public service, the transfer of useful knowledge, skills, and technology to citizens who could apply them in their own lives and communities, and a commitment to addressing, and even helping to solve, social problems directly in the institution's own environment became marginalized.[23]

The marginalization that occurred can largely be attributed to actions of the post-World War II period. After the war, the federal government increasingly began to rely on higher education institutions for scientific expertise. According to David Maurrasse, author of *Beyond the Campus*, "The war highlighted the role of science and technology in modern military strategies, leading to advocate for harnessing the existing resources of universities for scientific ends." Prior to the war, it provided $31 million for scientific research. A quarter of a century later, that figure had multiplied 25 times in constant dollars.[24] Legislation passed in 1950 resulted in the formation of the National Science Foundation, which shifted the focus of research from agriculture and industry to the pursuit of science.

Higher education moved further in this direction when, as M. Perry Chapman writes in *American Places*, the "Soviet Union unwittingly altered the contours of American education when it launched the world's first successful orbiting satellite."[25] It precipitated a massive expansion of federal funding for university research and education. The sense of the crisis is evidenced in a 1958 article in the *Journal of Higher Education* wherein the author, Thomas N. Bonner states, "It is upon education that the fate of our way of life depends...the outcome of a third world war may be decided in the classroom."[26] Characterized by the image of

[20] Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development," 11.
[21] Ibid., 14.
[22] Ibid., 15.
[23] Gar Alperovitz, Steve Dubb, and Ted Howard, "The Next Wave: Building University Engagement for the 21st Century," *The Good Society* 17, no. 2 (November 2,

2008): 69.
[24] David Maurrasse, *Beyond the Campus: How Colleges and Universities Form Partnerships with Their Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 15.
[25] M. Perry Chapman, *American Places: In Search of the Twenty-First Century Campus* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 32.
[26] Cited in Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development,"

the isolated "ivory tower," universities moved away from the regional focus to a more national agenda and retreated from their communities. Ira Harkavy, founding Director of Penn's Center for Community Partnerships, describes the shift in his critique:

> In the decades after World Wars I and II, American higher education increasingly competed...for institutional prestige and material resources. Almost single-mindedly, pursuing their self-centered goals, they increasingly concentrated on essentially scholastic, inside-the-academy problems and conflicts rather than on the very hard, very complex problems involved in helping American society realize the democratic promise of American life for all Americans.[27]

With this increase in enrollment and need for state-of-the-art research facilities, universities and colleges inevitably required the physical expansion of academic, social, and housing facilities. These infrastructure developments placed increased physical and economic pressure on the surrounding neighborhoods. The convergence of federal urban renewal programs and university expansion needs in the 1950s and 60s meant that institutions of higher education became a new actor in the clearing and reconstruction of neighborhoods as part of the controversial federal urban policies.

As institutions continue to expand today, the potential for dispute intensifies, not only over what it contributes – more students,

traffic, and large-scale development - but also over what it does not. Much resentment rises over the tax-exempt status of higher education institutions, especially as the amount of tax-exempt land increases and there is no formal requirement for colleges and universities to contribute back to their host city or town. However, some colleges and universities are beginning to make deals for lump sum payments in lieu of taxes (PILOTs), to their host towns and cities. A survey by the Lincoln Institute found that PILOT programs have been used in 117 municipalities and 18 states since 2000.[28] For instance, in 2003, Providence city officials reached a PILOT agreement with Brown and three other area universities, which agreed to collectively provide the city with $50 million over 20 years to stabilize municipal finances. Other cities that have negotiated similar agreements with their universities include Boston, New Haven, and Ithaca. Yale, for instance, pays the City of New Haven $7 million a year.[29] However, many others still strongly defend their tax-exempt status.

The PILOT programs are an example of a larger shift in the town-gown dynamic to refocus on local priorities and contribution. The reasons are varied, but several factors have been claimed to be behind the shift. Included among them are the following: an intellectual movement that identifies "engaged scholarship" as essential to the university's educational and research missions; increasing pressure to fill social service and infrastructure gaps

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[27] Cited in Lawrence Martin, Hayden Smith, and Wende Phillips, "Bridging Town and Gown Through Innovative University-Community Partnerships," *The Innovation Journal: The Public Center Innovation Journal* 10, no. 2 (2005): 3.

[28] Karin Fischer, "As Cities Seek Payments in Lieu of Taxes, Colleges Are Urged to Work Out Deals," Online Journal, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 29, 2010.
[29] Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development," 84.

that stem in part from the declining revenue base of state and local governments; the end of the Cold War and rise of a global economy, which, as previously mentioned, makes relying on large corporations for economic security riskier and the need for building local economic strength a much higher priority; and a growing realization among many university officials that the health and viability of their institutions is inextricably bound up with the stability of the neighborhoods adjacent to their campuses.[30]

OFFICIAL PARTNERSHIPS

It would be misleading to suggest that all universities had previously ignored the plight of their communities or that all previous relationships were hostile and unproductive. There have been successfully partnerships in the past, as evidenced by the University of Chicago and its relationship to the city's settlement houses, which were opened in the late 19th century in an attempt to improve neighborhood conditions through education and reform and to help immigrants adjust to life in the United States. Unfortunately these examples represent exceptions to the rule or "rare spikes in innovative university-community relations on an otherwise backboard of stagnancy."[31]

Nonetheless, many would agree that universities and colleges have much to offer their host cities and towns and should be more conscious about their contributions. They are not just providers of educational services, but

are also large economic institutions that play a major role in community economic development. By strategically using their resources and leveraging their assets, there is great potential to improve local communities and support the mission of the institution at the same time. The question is how to achieve these goals. From small, private liberal arts colleges in economically distressed urban areas to state-supported land-grant and research institutions, many schools nationwide are taking these challenges head-on, often with government, corporate, or foundation collaboration and support.

Although no large programs have been implemented, over the past two decades several small federal programs have reflected and encouraged this return to locally based strategies. Among them is the Community Outreach and Partnerships Center (COPC) established in the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of University Partnerships in 1994. It provided financial incentives in the form of community-university partnership grants (2- to 3-year grants of up to $400,000 to 16 institutions per year) that target the use of universities' diverse resources to "address the urban social problems that often begin just across the street from campus."[32] COPC grants must be used in urban areas and address the following: homeownership, economic development, neighborhood revitalization, health care, job training, education, crime prevention, planning, the environment, and capacity building. Grantees may contribute to resolving these issues by applying research to urban problems, coordinating

[30] Ibid., 35.

[31] Martin, Smith, and Phillips, "Bridging Town and Gown Through Innovative University-Community Partnerships," 4.

[32] Sam Marullo and Bob Edwards, "Universities in Troubled Times: Institutional Responses," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 42, no. 5 (February 1999): 754.

outreach efforts with neighborhood groups and residents, acting as a local information exchange, galvanizing support for neighborhood revitalization, developing public service projects and instructional programs, and collaborating with other partnership centers.[33] Essentially, the program enlists universities as "allies in urban problem solving."[34] The program, although only active between 1994 and 2005, is credited with establishing well over 100 partnerships. According to The Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland, "Although the COPC program, even at its peak, has always been small, it has had a large influence."[35]

While COPC funding has ended, the OUP programs continue with a focus on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Tribal colleges. The HBCU program has similar goals to the COPC program, requiring each grantee to use a multidisciplinary approach and other resources to partner with community-based organizations, local governments, and the private sector to work in targeted distressed neighborhoods and aid low-income persons. Whereas the COPC programs generally provided assistance or support to nonprofit community agencies in the form of technical and financial assistance, the HBCU program has a significantly stronger tie to direct physical interventions. Funding awards may go toward directly supporting the following activities: acquiring property,

demolishing blighted structures, rehabilitating homes, improving public facilities, providing direct downpayment assistance, assisting community-based development organizations, and supporting public services. [36] Of the 109 HBCUs the majority are "located in areas of high poverty and low economic well-being. HBCUs in these communities tend to be more than simply educational institutions, but regarded as community anchors that provided cultural, recreational, and learning center for local residents."[37]

Financial support from the private sector has also encouraged significant university-community partnership efforts. Private or corporate foundations that fund such efforts include the Fannie Mae Foundation, Ford Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, and DeWitt Wallace Foundation as well as many smaller community foundations. In 1994, Fannie Mae began to open Partnership Offices to work with univerisity partners to expand the availability of affordable housing.[38]

One successful partnership occurred with Howard University and the LeDroit Park neighborhood in Washington, DC. Howard has been able to maximize this partnership with their HBCU grant awards, totaling $4 million dollars between 1996 and 2009.[39] With

[33] "Community Outreach Partnerships Centers Program (COPC)," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d., http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/programdescription/copc.

[34] Maurrasse, Beyond the Campus, 24.

[35] Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development," 31.

[36] "OUP - About HBCU", n.d., http://www.oup.org/programs/aboutHBCU.asp.

[37] Historically Black Colleges & Universities: Three Case Studies of Experiences in Community Development, Volume 1 - Cross Site Report (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research, October 2007), v.

[38] Frances Stanley, "Town and Gown: LeDroit Park and Howard University," Marketwise: A Community Development Magazine from the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2001, 4.

[39] "OUP - Grantee Search Results", n.d., http://www.oup.org/grantee/searchResult.asp.

support from Fannie Mae and working in partnership with Manna, a local CDC as well as the D.C. Housing Finance Agency, Howard helped develop 307 new affordable housing units and helped leverage $65 million in related investment in the surrounding neighborhood.[40] The result has been called DC's most significant redevelopment plan in a quarter century.[41]

Focus on Physical Aspects

The Howard University project is just one of many such initiatives where higher education institutions have used their resources and leveraged their assets to step beyond the historic campus boundaries and become an active participant in their neighborhood. Although the HUD legislation allows for a varied approach to revitalization initiatives, many institutions have included physical changes as an important component in their plan. Judiciously using these investments for maximum impact is a significant challenge and one that requires the attention of planning and urban design professionals.

M. Perry Chapman, a principal at Sasaki Associates, elaborates with his view as a consulting planner for both universities and communities: "Planners and urban designers have a critical place at the table as these [university-community] alliances unfold, because such joint endeavors can significantly affect the shape and character of the localities in which they are taking place." He sees these alliances as a great chance to reshape

communities based on the particular qualities of place that set university communities apart from other places in the country. He goes to claim, "Identifying and building on community character and essence in town-gown projects around the country is among [the] most urgent tasks [of] community planners."[42]

Understanding the importance of this role in similar efforts will be addressed in subsequent sections of this thesis. In the following pages, I look at the historical relationship between the college or university and its physical surroundings to better understand how this relationship has evolved over time and, in the advent of a renewed interest in building partnerships, what it might mean for the future.

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[40] Dubb, "Linking Colleges to Community: Engaging the University for Community Development," 99.
[41] Leslie Milk and Ellen Ryan, "17 Local Heroes", January 2000.

[42] M. Perry Chapman, "Viewpoint," *Planning* 74, no. 3 (March 2008): 62.

TWO
CAMPUS PLANNING & URBAN DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

"Each college or university is an urban unit in itself, a small or large city. But a green city.... The American university is a world in itself."

Le Corbusier, "Everyone an Athlete," in *When the Cathedrals Were White,* 1937

At the time of Le Corbusier's visit in 1935, the American university, its own green city, had developed into a unique experience by the standards of Europe where universities were well integrated into their urban locations. The American university borrowed more from the English prototype of Oxford and Cambridge – individual colleges arranged around multiple separate courtyards – and took full advantage of the available land in the United States to establish a model all its own. Early in America's history, Harvard was established outside Boston and Jefferson located his University of Virginia and its "academical village" in small town Charlottesville. The establishment of liberal arts colleges followed in small New England towns. Nevertheless, great universities were established in urban locations as well. They, however, would struggle to compete with the greater American vision of the rural utopian campus and its revered place in the American psyche.

In the overall organization, many urban campuses have developed in a manner that evokes a rural character, with a signature central open space that disrupts the dense city fabric. MIT has Killian Court amidst the industrial land of Cambridge, and Columbia has its South Field and Campus Walk to break up the New York City grid. Even the term "campus" points to this unique character. Derived from the Latin, meaning "a field," it is now used universally to reference the overall physical quality of higher education institutions. Its first use in the early 18th century has been attributed to a description of Princeton's new campus and the arrangement of its main space, a large open area with the main building set back from the road so as to create its own sort of

village green.[1] The college quad, whether collegiate gothic or modern, came to be a central feature of the campus, seen to exemplify the kind of secluded socialization needed to foster educational development.

As a result, the image we have of the ideal campus environment is based on a distinctive place with physical qualities that evoke a strong sense of community and express our education and social ideals. American institutions have taken on this character to varying degrees based on the principles of their leaders and context at the time of founding, but it has resulted in a standard that has brought about tension for institutions located in more urban settings, often resulting in a confused connection to their urban fabric. Like the campuses of MIT and Columbia, there is a greater focus on creating a clear center to celebrate the intellectual community, leaving the treatment of the edges as secondary and ambiguous.

The struggles and successes that urban locations have had in managing this relationship throughout history will be the focus of this section. In many ways, college and university campuses are living chronicles of the time periods that shaped them and form a very tangible record of our culture. Understanding their past will provide the background by which to understand the development of the urban campus of today and allow us to better plan for its future.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

In the introductory chapter of historian Paul Turner's seminal book, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition,* he states "the American campus, from the beginning, has been shaped less by European precedents than by the social, economic, and cultural forces around it. As a result, it has been the laboratory for perhaps the most distinctively American experiments in architectural planning."[2] The meaning behind those forces can be uncovered by looking more closely at the many layers that have resulted from decades of intermittent development.

Although it took on its own unique physical form, the education model of the American institution was based on that of the English universities, where students study, live and play in an inclusive setting. Such a model is a significant departure from European universities, such as Bologna and the Sorbonne, which focused solely on academics and left living accommodations and social activates to take place in the surrounding city fabric. The American university's holistic focus has required a full system of services that include dormitories, dining halls, and recreational facilities; it has created as Le Corbusier claimed, a self-sufficient 'urban unit.' Yet it is a unique urban unit, created expressly for the purpose of fostering learning both within and beyond the classroom walls. Its physical arrangement diverged from the English precedent with the first American university buildings at Harvard. Unlike the enclosed quadrangles of Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard, founded in 1636, began as a series of separate buildings grouped around

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[1] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984), 50.

[2] Ibid., 3.

Figure 1.1: Harvard University, 1833.
Image Credit: Harvard Map Collection, http://nrs. harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:656686?buttons=y

a central courtyard but open to those passing through. The early composition, described in 1886 by Henry James as lacking the "dignity of high walls and guarded gateways,"[3] resulted from the ideals of its Puritan founders, the support of their larger community, and rejection of the enclosed quadrangle as a symbol of the monastic model.[4] The setting, as described by Turner, possessed both an inward and outward character, evoking an "extroverted attitude toward planning…. While committed to the collegiate ideal of students and teachers living together, the school also considered itself an integral part of the larger community."[5] It was still an alternate community, however. Although its position as an integral community member would change over time, the unique condition of the nation's first college would set the tone for future development and a storied history of community relations.

As the United States expanded west, the need for additional colleges and universities grew. The movement was stimulated by rivalries between newer American communities seeking to attract settlers. The resulting phenomenon, described as "the Booster College" illustrates an early connection between college and community.[6] But just as the country was developing and evolving, so too was the American education system. Its uncertainty offered points of diversion and debate, which resulted in the variety of institutional forms we see today. There were concerns over whether to follow the traditional collegiate system of education or move toward the German model of specialized professional training and research. Similarly, concerns were voiced over what location and physical plant was best suited for the promotion of learning. Philip Lindsley, University of Nashville president in 1829, criticized the rivalry between religious denominations that was largely responsible for the proliferation of new "hilltop" colleges for establishing them in "small villages or retired parts of the country" in order to "control their students' minds more effectively." [7] Others championed the urban environment for its importance in the overall education of the student body. Francis Wayland, president of Brown University in 1842, defended the urban university, stating that the typical American college was "isolated to a great extent from connexion with the community around it, and thus from the salutary restraint of public observation."[8] The strong growth of the collegiate system also brought about optimism

[3] Henry James, *The Bostonians*, Modern Library pbk. ed. (New York: Modern Library, 2003), 229.

[4] John Seiler Brubacher, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*, 4th ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 8.

[5] Turner, *Campus*, 31.

[6] Brubacher, *Higher Education in Transition*, 60.

[7] Ibid., 70; Turner, *Campus*, 53.

[8] Turner, *Campus*, 101.

for the future and resulted in grand physical plans that frequently overshadowed financial and even academic matters.[9] By the mid-19th century the approach became more commonplace and such grand plans began to reshape the physical nature of the American institution from the modest plans of Harvard to the collegiate Gothic quadrangles we associate with campuses today.

The system continued to develop amidst this debate, until the passage of the Land Grant College Act in 1862. It revolutionized higher education by promoting farming and manufacturing technologies and in doing so providing education for many young people who could not afford to attend private institutions. It also served to stimulate the founding of universities on large tracts of land, often near state capitals or in suburban and rural university locations that could provide sufficient space. [10] Such large investments also stimulated the need for campus plans and skilled designers. Many turned to Frederick Law Olmsted, who subsequently influenced a generation of planners. In his 1866 plan for what would become the University of California in Berkeley, he writes that colleges should be located neither in the country, where they are removed from civilization, nor in the midst of the city with its distractions. Instead, he believed they should be located somewhere in the middle of this spectrum; as an integral part of a larger community whose special physical character

would promote a beneficial environment for the students.[11]

This shift in the educational perspective brought on by land grant institutions converged with the growing concern over weakness of American scholarship and science. For the answer, many looked to the German university system, wherein most aspects of the collegiate tradition were abandoned in favor of specialized graduate study. Similar to other mainland European schools, there was little official interest in the extracurricular lives of their students and there was little effort to distinguish the physical nature of the schools from the rest of the city or to expend funds on grand architecture.[12] Although the German model had significant influence, with the founding of such schools as Johns Hopkins University in 1867, the collegiate tradition was too strong to be eclipsed, and by the late 19th century the college had assimilated into the American university of today.[13] This system also meant that new buildings were needed to support each department's own academic programs with administrative offices and separate classroom facilities. This enlarged and complex institution evolved from the scale of an "academical village" to a "city of learning."

The growth of campus form in the early 20th century brought a reaction against the large university in an effort to return to the ideals of traditional American college. To bring about this quality of campus community, designers looked back to the traditional cloistered quadrangle model of the English college. The original Harvard campus, hailed

[9] Ibid., 120.
[10] David Nichols, *University-Community Relations: Living Together Effectively* (Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1990), 6.

[11] Turner, *Campus*, 141.
[12] Ibid., 163.
[13] Brubacher, *Higher Education in Transition*, 143.

by Henry James for its lack of high walls or guarded gates, was by 1900 described as "emblematic of cloistral restriction and exclusion" after it erected brick walls and wrought-iron gates around the Yard.[14] The campus form continued to follow this trend when in 1928 President Lowell directed the construction of new buildings in a way that would "cloister the Yard" from the "bustling city."[15] Similar things were happening on other campuses, such as Princeton, where Woodrow Wilson, university president from 1902 to 1910, described the university as "this little world, this little state, this little commonwealth of our own" and believed that the college experience required "a certain seclusion of mind preceding the struggle of life, a certain period of withdrawal and abstraction."[16] His sketches for a campus of separate colleges like those of Oxford and Cambridge was realized at the Princeton campus through the work of architect Ralph Adams Cram, who described his Princeton Graduate College in 1910 as "half college and half monastery."[17]

The influence of this model can be seen at Yale University with the inauguration of a residential college system in the 1930s that divided the university into smaller entities that were seen as more compatible with the collegiate ideal. This manifested as a series of enclosed quadrangles, which included residential, dining and social functions all centered

Figure 1.2: Plan of the Princeton Graduate College
Image Credit: Paul Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition,* p. 234.
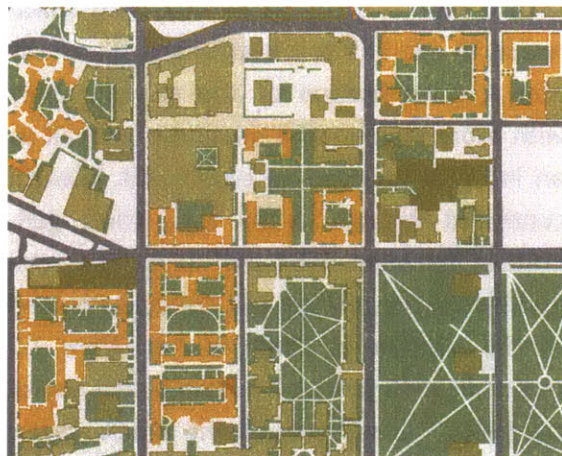
Figure 1.3: Yale Residential Colleges
Image Credit: Yale campus map altered by author

Figure 1.4: Harvard "River Houses"
Image Credit: Harvard campus map altered by author

[14] Turner, *Campus*, 216.
[15] Turner, *Campus*, 245.
[16] Quoted in Frances Halsband, "Campuses in Place," *Places* 17, no. 1, Considering the Place of Campus (Winter 2005): 4.
[17] Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2000), 21.
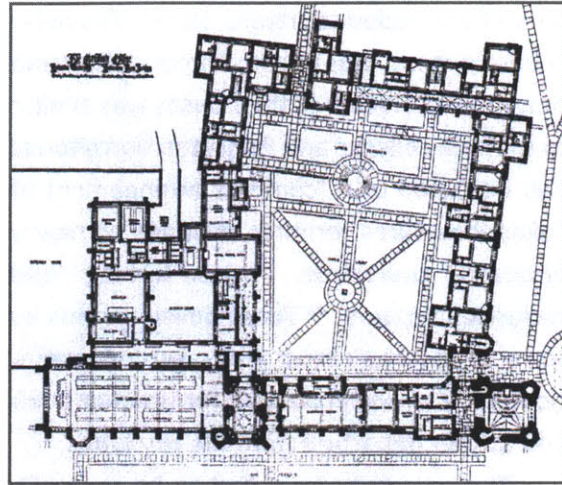
around a secluded courtyard. Harvard's similar "house system" was initiated around the same time. The character of the houses was similar to the Yale colleges and Princeton dormitories and consisted of a "compact arrangement of linked structures forming enclosed or nearly enclosed courtyards, inward-turning and reclusive in nature."[18] These developments by some of America's most well regarded institutions set a strong precedent for isolated plans and further departure from the city fabric.

The university form had to be reconsidered once again as escalating enrollments due to the post WWII G.I and corresponding Korean War bills drastically increased space needs. In addition to the veterans, there was also a diversification of the student body with more women and minorities as well as an increase in graduate enrollment. Growth continued through to the baby boom generation. Between 1963 and 1975, the total number of universities and colleges doubled as the number of students rose from 2.7 million in 1955 to over 7 million by the end of the 1960s.[19] Combined with the need to invest in new facilities at a frenzied pace after little new construction during the 1930s and 1940s, this brought a great change to campus form.[20] It was in this period that campuses, driven by continual growth in enrollment, began to significantly impinge on their surrounding neighborhoods, serving one group at the expense of another.

Growth also resulted from a general change in the scope of higher education as federal grants fostered new scientific research programs, beginning during WWII and continuing with the space race and scientific revolution.[21] This phase of growth has been described as the "Ivory Tower" period of higher education, a metaphor used to critique institutions for focusing on the promotion of nationally based research and publication, serving to further separate them from the local concerns.[22] New facilities were supported by the Higher Education Facilities Act, which was passed by Congress in 1963 to provide financial support for construction of dormitories and other academic facilities.[23] Unfortunately, the combination of unprecedented enrollment and a refocused purpose served to distance institutions from the issues in their own backyards, even as they expanded into them, and would develop into a major stumbling block for community relations.

A TRANSITIONING ROLE

As the scale and scope of universities changed, more complex planning problems emerged. Institutions were now dealing with another magnitude of issues involving population densities, conflicting land-use patterns, traffic congestion, and opposing interest in different segments of the population. To meet

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[18] Turner, Campus, 241.

[19] Muthesius, The Postwar University, 14.

[20] M. Perry Chapman, "Social Change and American Campus Design," Planning for Higher Education 22, no. 1994 (Spring 1994): 2.

[21] Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 37.

[22] Lawrence Martin, Hayden Smith, and Wende Phillips, "Bridging Town and Gown Through Innovative University-Community Partnerships," The Innovation Journal: The Public Center Innovation Journal 10, no. 2 (2005): 3.

[23] Brubacher, Higher Education in Transition, 232.

Figure 1.5: "Ring-road" type plan at Brandeis University
Image Credit: Brandeis campus map altered by author

these unprecedented needs, schools began to look for development methods that were more flexible and could continue to accommodate a changing scale and scope. Joseph Hudnut of the School of Design at Harvard expressed this view:

> We must set them [universities] free to develop their environment in whatever way may best suit their existing needs...The task to be performed in university buildings and the methods by which they are built constantly change. Their nature tomorrow cannot be predicted...Let's imagine the university, as the city planners imagine the city, as a growing organism whose form is partly in the past, partly in the future. Our university will never be completed.... If we make a master plan then, it must be in such general terms as will admit of new interpretations and unexpected development.[24]

These ideas played out through the emergence of modern architecture, resulting in a major departure from the traditional setting of the quadrangle and historically minded building. Not only did the lack of a master plan allow institutions to be noncommittal, it also left neighbors anxious, unsure when the

next expansion might take over their property. New construction at the campus edges was frequently large in scale to accommodate the substantial growth, and often took the form of Brutalist concrete buildings – a favored architectural style of the time – that were in stark contrast to the traditional residential scale of their surroundings.

New concerns also developed at this time regarding the inclusion of the car on campus. Parking lots began to claim large areas of land and vehicular access created a 'ring road' type of plan, in which vehicles were mostly kept outside the pedestrian oriented campus core. In turn, this created a dead zone and buffer around the campus periphery, further distancing the institution from its neighbors and leaving them with unsightly views. Outside the campus, commuter traffic and spillover parking were disruptive to the lives of nearby residents. Overflowing dorms left many students to find their own housing off-campus, infiltrating neighborhoods and causing tension with homeowners, especially during the 1960s when the lifestyle of many students collided with that of their "straight" neighbors.[25] The unmet need for student housing also brought in speculators in rental housing. They often became absentee owners, charging high rent prices and providing poor conditions, which devalued both property and family lifestyles.

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[24] Turner, *Campus*, 260.

[25] Robert Lloyd Carroll, *University-Community Tension and Urban Campus Form* (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1972), 62.

Urban Renewal & Its Lasting Effects

Close adjacencies to neighbors made expansion significantly more complex for urban universities than for their rural counterparts. For those schools in declining inner-city neighborhoods, they saw their problems as even more complicated. They felt that such conditions were putting them at a disadvantage, making it difficult to compete for the best talent. In 1957, a meeting took place among the presidents of MIT, the University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Penn to discuss how they, as institutions, could improve their respective urban neighborhoods. They felt that significant steps were needed to address the situation and thus became heavily involved in the period of urban renewal that marked cities across the nation.[26] Institutions took advantage of their growing role and esteem and were able to get the federally funded program expanded to include institutional use. The University of Pennsylvania's largest expansion occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, and was facilitated and mostly financed by federal urban renewal. They were further supported by the city of Philadelphia with the Redevelopment Authority acquiring and

[26] Judith Rodin, *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 30.
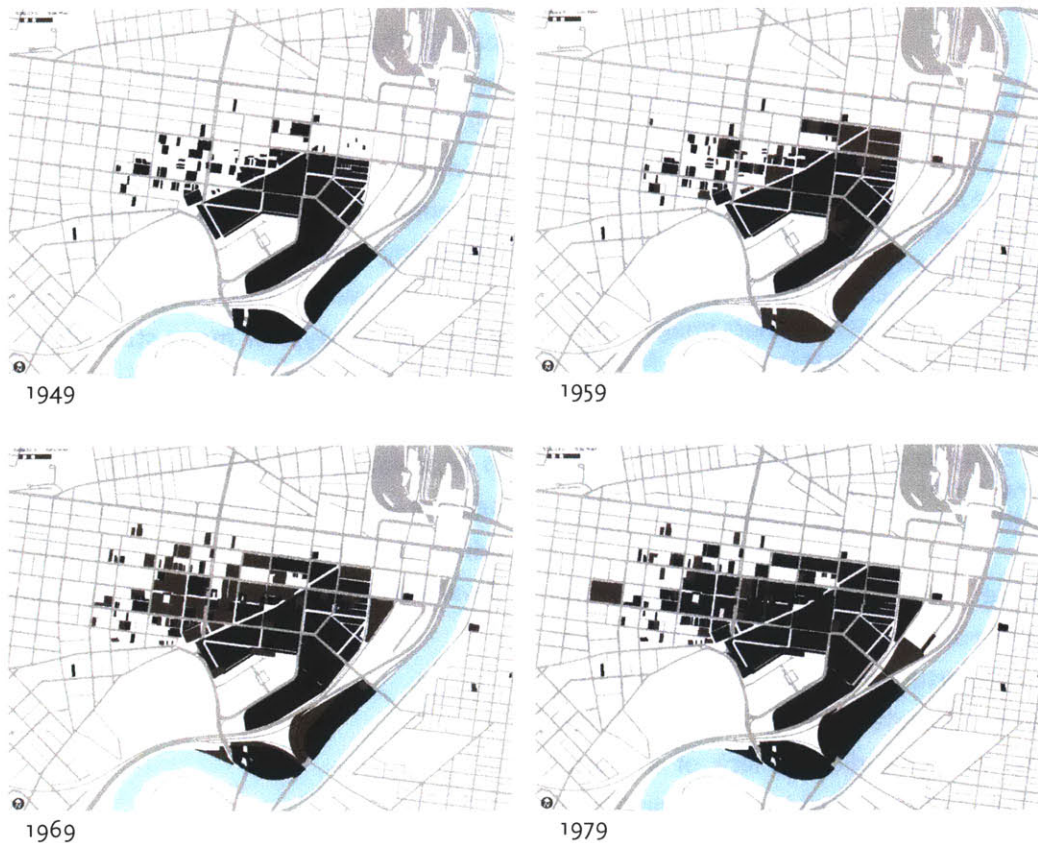

1949

1959

1969

1979

Figure 1.6: University of Pennsylvania expansion during the years of urban renewal.
Image Credit: Images based on data obtained at: http://venus.cml.upenn.edu/MappingPenn/

Beyond the Ivory Tower: In Search of a New Form for Campus-Community Relationships

demolishing city blocks to accommodate their growth. Penn built almost six million square-feet during this time, moving into the West Philadelphia neighborhood with super-block developments that were significantly out-of-scale to their row house neighbors.[27]

For these inner city institutions, growth generated more tension as many residents were displaced and those who stayed behind were faced with an unfriendly neighbor whose growth resulted in a new face of parking lots and the turned backs of buildings. It was also a time that many cities created new inner-urban campuses such as the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) in 1965. Urban renewal was used as a way to clear large tracts of land for their use. Overall the intentions may have been good – to "spread higher education to the urban masses, for whom out of town campus was too expensive."[28] However, it came at the expense of the local communities who lost their neigh-borhoods to the universities. Decades later we know the failure of urban renewal as many of the diminished neighborhoods still struggle, while the universities continue to thrive. Negative memories continue to tarnish the relationship and persist in effecting decisions in today's relatively enlightened planning en-vironment.

TODAY: THE UNIVERSITY AS CITY PLANNER & ITS EVOLVING ROLE IN PLANNING BEYOND CAMPUS BORDERS

"The campus expresses something about the quality of academic life, as well as its role as a citizen of the community in which it is located. The campus also represents many different things to various groups of people who live learn, teach, or visit there. It plays the role of home, museum, place of employment, social center, park, arena for dissent, and forum for the search for truth."[29]

Roger B. Finch
President of
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1971

In the 1960s, the promise of federal funds lured urban universities into the role of city planner. Today it is often the lack of such funds that have prompted their involvement and investment in the city. Many institutions have reliable capital at a time when cities have little. They are able to use their resources to make plans and effect change when cities are losing staff and the ability to establish a proactive presence. Many higher education institutions serve as economic engines, creating job op-portunities and providing intellectual capital. Institutions such as University of Pennsylvania, Yale, Johns Hopkins and Notre Dame are the largest employers in their respective regions.[30] This is especially true in those cities that have seen the loss of industry or a changing industrial and corporate structure that has left

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[27] E. John Rosenwald et al., "Universities as Urban Plan-ners," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 58, no. 4 (July 1, 2005): 16.
[28] Muthesius, *The Postwar University*, 201.

[29] Richard P. Dober, *Campus Architecture: Building in the Groves of Academe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 47.
[30] M. Perry Chapman, *American Places: In Search of the Twenty-First Century Campus* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 145.

them with a different set of leaders with fewer and weaker ties to the region. Many of these same institutions are finding themselves in the midst of depressed and disinvested neighborhoods, making it difficult to attract students and faculty. The university, however, with its history and traditions embedded in its campus, maintains strong ties to the place. Institutions are also maintaining steady growth in facilities at an average of 1 – 1 ½ percent per year regardless of enrollment growth, furthering their commitment to the physical location.[31] As a result, the institutions must step up and fill the leadership void, taking a more active role in the development of healthy communities. Omar Blaik, who was part of Penn's revitalization initiatives, asserts that universities "cannot remove themselves from the exercise of community and urban planning, but they in fact must take it on as a core mission."[32] With steady growth, they are already investing capital, but they now have an opportunity to use it in a way that also benefits the community of which they are a part. Universities have moved from simply being "in" a city to being "of" the city, and as a result are a major driver of urban development.

Boston Globe architecture critic, Robert Campbell, expands on this concept in his article, "Universities are the New City Planners." He refers to descriptions of municipal planning departments as AWOL and toothless and claims that serious planning is being done by our universities, comparing them to great aristocratic families of the past who were able to develop large tracts of land into full-scale neighborhoods.[33] The *Chronicle of Higher Education* branded this trend, "The College President as Urban Planner" in reference to a large-scale plan by Franklin and Marshall College – with help from Lancaster's major hospital, grants from state and federal governments, and support of public officials – to redevelop an old factory and industrial ground on the edge of its Lancaster, Pennsylvania campus into sports fields and a nursing college. It is an example of the direct shift happening in many Rustbelt towns as manufacturing gives way to education and health care institutions.[34] Such new large-scale projects provide precedent and lessons for the many institutions facing similar situations as well as for opportunities for growth in old industrial areas. However, not all institutions have the experience, resources, or land opportunity for such large-scale investments. Others have taken a more incremental approach to the revitalization and reconfiguration of their surroundings. The subsequent sections of this thesis focus on this variation of universities as city planners.

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[31] Daniel R Kenney, *Mission and Place: Strengthening Learning and Community Through Campus Design* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005), 23.
[32] Rosenwald et al., "Universities as Urban Planners," 16.

[33] Robert Campbell, "Universities are the New City Planners," *The Boston Globe,* March 20, 2005, sec. Arts/ Entertainment.
[34] Scott Carlson, "The College President as Urban Planner," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 24, 2010).

Learning from Planning Practices

To be effective with their plans, large or small, institutions can learn from many of the established practices of the planning profession. To use their growth in a way that enhances the city as a whole, they must build positive relationships with their communities to understand their needs. Neighborhoods are always changing, but with an institution in the midst, it is easy to turn the focus on that who is making the most obvious change. However, it is important to make sure that the focus is on the neighborhood as a whole and finding commons goals and solutions that will improve conditions as opposed to just looking for the next development or design opportunity.

Although not without fault, city planning has processes in place to provide for participation and transparency with mayors, council members, and citizens providing input and approval on new development. Campus development, on the other hand, has occurred mostly within the confines of the university, often under the impulse of the college president and supervision of the board of directors. Previously, discussions of campus growth and change occurred through closed doors without structure or set approaches for dealing with neighbors. According to Brian Kelly, architecture professor at the University of Maryland and campus-planning practitioner, "many college campuses were run like medieval fiefdoms when it came to planning and project design. A small number of senior officials, working with physical-plant managers and consultants, directed the process. Meaningful input from the people who were directly affected was often minimal."[35] Some municipalities, such a Boston with 34 higher education institutions, have intervened in an effort to make the process more transparent by requiring master plans from its institutions.[36] The master plans must show plans for projected growth and are then made known to officials and neighbors alike. However, Boston is an unusual case with a large number of institutions in a tight land market where it becomes necessary to spend scarce resources to take on such a role.

Others have learned the lesson the hard way. When the University of Notre Dame began a process to close a road – a plan they had been discussing for thirty years – the project team learned of the importance of communication and planning with the community. In 2001, the university made a concerted effort to be in contact with their neighbors and to share their proposal, which was met with welcome reception from residents who had never been told what the university's plan was and wrongly feared their homes would be taken over in campus expansion. They ended up supporting the plan and stood up in support of the university at a project approval meeting with the city. Director of Community Relations, Jackie Rucker, recalls getting hugs from residents when sharing the master plan and recalls it as one of her and the university's greatest learning lessons.[37]

For a successful development process, the social forces of university-community

[35] Turner, *Campus*, 120.
[36] "Them and Us: Institutional expansion and the neighborhoods," *Architecture Boston*, Spring 2009, 20.
[37] Jackie Rucker, "Interview with Director of Community Relations at University of Notre Dame," phone, February 22, 2011.

tension need just as much consideration as the physical ones. The processes and dynamics of interaction that go into the physical changes can easily cause conflict and result in poor relations. Alternatively, they also offer a great opportunity for cooperation and improvement in historically strained town-gown relations.

RELATIONSHIP OF CAMPUS PLANNING TO CITY DESIGN

"The academic campus is among the greatest American inventions...few things better embody American values at their best or have produced more great spaces. The American campus is our democracy, our sense of progress, and our ability to take diverse identities and create communities....It is a physical model of what America wants to be."[38]

Aaron Betsky
Architect and Director of the
Cincinnati Art Museum

If Betsky's claim is true, then campuses can also provide many lessons for cities. With its smaller scale and more centralized mission, the campus has been described as "a role model and antidote for society," for its ability to integrate a variety of diverse disciplines more effectively than cities.[39] Because it has many of the positive attributes of an urban environment without many its complications, it can better focus on things such as

placemaking and promoting the importance of principles like identity, programming, connectivity, and accessibility that contribute to the creation of communities as Betsky claims. In the foreword of a portfolio of work by the firm of Moore Ruble Yudell, the introduction states "...the cries for 'lost community' in our cities and suburbs are getting louder. And as new buildings rarely achieve the power to symbolize and inspire today's society, architects debate whether there remains any role for their profession at all...In the United States, we find a unique resource for this work: the American college campus."[40]

Although one might argue that there are, in fact, many justifications for the architectural profession, most would agree that the campus is a place where the elusive quality of community has been protected and sustained. However, as campuses grow, maintaining this quality becomes more difficult and the expanding edges have often been left to mediate between the campus and community with little guidance from the urban design world. Thus, it is important to review how campus design principles can serve both the institution and surrounding community by rethinking edges in a way that contributes to the well being of both. Lessons from our urban planning heroes, Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs, help enlighten our relationship to the edge condition and clarify how the physical form translates into our understanding of a place.

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[38] Aaron Betsky, "American Dream: In form and function, the school campus is our greatest contribution to architecture and urban planning," Online Magazine Publication, *Architect: The Magazine of the AIA*, September 13, 2010.
[39] *The Built Environment: A Collaborative Inquiry into Design and Planning*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2007), 241.

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[40] Oscar Riera Ojeda, *Campus & Community: Moore Ruble Yudell: Architecture & Planning* (Rockport, MA: Rockport Publishers, 1997), 6.

LESSONS FROM URBAN DESIGN LITERATURE

The problem of edge conditions is not one that has gone unnoticed by urban design scholars of the past. Both Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch have addressed the topic and their insights prove invaluable in furthering the quest to bring campus and community into a successful coexistence. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs addresses the problems of edges as barriers in a chapter titled "The curse of border vacuums." Along with railroad tracks, civic centers, and large parks, she characterizes large single-use institutions as the cause of divide in the city fabric. She comments on how curious it is that these quiet and clean spaces, which might normally be associated with successful economic and social districts, are instead "extraordinarily blight-prone, and how frequently, even when they are not smitten by physical decay, they are apt to be stagnant – a condition that precedes decay."[41] This condition is partly explained by her observation that these areas form dead ends for most users of city streets and create barriers between sections of the city. The singular purpose also results in little intermingling between different communities making the area "infertile for economic enterprises." As a result, people tend to avoid the area, its emptiness feels unsafe, and the problem perpetuates itself into a state of decline resulting in the " border vacuum." Although at times such districts aid in orienting people within a city, they are detrimental when only serving to fragment it.

Kevin Lynch addresses orientation within the city in his book, *The Image of the City.* He organizes one's impression of the city into five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. He claims that clarity or legibility is of special importance when considering environments at the urban scale of size, time, and complexity and to understand it, we must consider how its inhabitants perceive the city. The physical environment becomes important in providing emotional security and the opportunity for establishing a harmonious relationship with the outside world. It is important for establishing a framework for communication and can bring new depths to everyday experience. There are certain difficulties in the city image that can cause discomfort, such as weak boundaries, isolations, breaks in continuity, ambiguities, branchings and lacks of character or differentiation. Edges as border vacuums are certain to be included in this list. For Lynch, edges are distinguished from paths by the observer. They are boundaries between two phases, or linear breaks in continuity, and include shores, railroad tracks, edges of development, and walls. They may function as barriers, impenetrable as Jacobs's border vacuums, closing one part of the city off from the other, or they may be seams, which serve to join two regions together. Regardless of which, edges often play a strong organizing role in understanding the city.

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[41] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 258.

Edge Conditions

These two formative figures in urban planning provide a foundation upon which to further evaluate the edge conditions – from border vacuums to seams – of a college or university within its urban context. Jane Jacobs frames an understanding of what conditions engender poor environments while Kevin Lynch provides background for understanding how different conditions are perceived.

Current practitioners are building upon this foundation by raising questions and concerns over the role of the edge condition in today's changing town-gown dynamic. Frances Halsband, architect and educator asserts, "Many of the most difficult issues faced by universities are apparent at their perceived edges. It is here that the characteristic tension between the university's desire to be both included and separated from the large polis becomes most apparent....Have we lost clarity or are new typologies of mixed-use places for research and learning emerging?"[42] Similarly, Perry Chapman claims:

> As more campuses become more integrated into the urban fabric, we will see hybrid forms of town and gown where borders are dissolved. The institutional mandate as an agent of social and economic change will surely intensify in the knowledge-based economy of the twenty-first century, as will the interdependencies between town and gown."[43]

Others claim the importance of maintaining campus identity and providing structure in the urban realm to aid in orientation and understanding of the place. In *The Urban* *University and its Identity*, author Herman van der Wusten explains that throughout history, universities have tried to close their doors to the outside world to a larger or smaller extent. He continues on to say, "Although the optimal degree of closure is hard to find, complete closure is out of the question and complete openness by its nature dissolves the university as a distinct unit."[44] Finding the right balance is a difficult task.

Together these ideas and viewpoints help frame how one might think about addressing solutions to this complex condition. Using these insights along with my own observations, I have categorized existing edge conditions in terms of permeability. Again Kevin Lynch provides wisdom on the importance of making these observations:

> There is dogma and there is opinion, but there is no systematic effort to state general relationships between the form of a place and its value. If we have some ground for understanding what cities are, we have practically no rational ground for deciding what they should be, despite a flood of criticism and proposals.[45]

With a greater comprehension of existing conditions, one can then begin to generate more appropriate solutions, as design is not a "one size fits all" approach. The following breakdown of edge condition, ordered from most to least permeable, is the beginning of an attempt to address this concern.

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[42] Halsband, "Campuses in Place," 4.
[43] Chapman, *American Places*, 146.

[44] Herman van der Wusten, ed., *The Urban University and Its Identity: Roots, Location, Roles* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), 4.
[45] Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 99.

1. Blurred Edge/Seamless. When walking through these edges, it is hard to tell where the university ends and the neighborhood begins. They coexist. Such things as contextual building form, appropriate scale, and strategic use of materials contribute to this effect. This is often found in dense urban locations where the urban fabric already maintains a larger scale, such, but it can also occur at smaller scales.

    a. New York University

    b. George Washington University

    c. Boston University

2. Seam. A corridor or axis that brings the two sides together, often through shared retail. It is the opposite of the border vacuum.

    a. University of Pennsylvania's 40th Street

    b. Yale University's Chapel St.

    c. Harvard Square

3. Frame. Set of buildings or series of fences and gates that define the campus edge, but do not impede the urban fabric. They are often still open and encourage traffic to flow between. It is connection of bounded space.

    a. Harvard Yard

    b. Marquette University

4. Islands and Bridges. Areas of concentrated off campus student housing or ancillary offices or centers either related to or influenced by the institutions. The destinations provide paths of activity through the community.

    a. University of California, Berkeley

    b. Housing initiatives by many of the insti tutions listed here.

5. Bubble Break. Where the university edge is broken or opened outwards, often for a multi-purpose or combined university-community use. It promotes the movement of people across a portion of the traditional campus border while maintaining the other edges.

    a. University of Notre Dame's Eddy Commons and Irish Green

    b. Ohio State's South Campus Gateway

6. Hurdle. Either a topographical/natural boundary or man-made break in the urban fabric such as an expressway or park. It is in-herently difficult to traverse. Intervention that might allow one to do so is often prohibitive financially or politically.

    a. Marquette University (expressway)

    b. University of Notre Dame (lakes, golf course)

    c. Johns Hopkins University (park)

The previous conditions are alternatives or solutions for addressing the last type, a "wall.

7. Wall. A severe break between campus and city often resulting in a border vacuum. Caused by jumps in scale, fences, parking lots or large tracts of unpopulated land or uses. Often limits street continuity and the ease of pedestrian and vehicular traffic to pass through.

    a. University of Pennsylvania (before changes)

    b. University of Chicago's southern edge

Figure 1.7: Evolution of Clark University

Image Credits and References

1. New York University: official campus map
  Columbia University: Taylor, Crossing Beyond.
2. Harvard Square: http://philip.greenspun.com/
    images/20061019-boston-aerials/harvard-square.
    tcl
  Yale University: compilation of official campus maps
3. Harvard Yard Gates:
  (upper) http://www.news.harvard.edu/
    gazette/2006/02.09/05-apply.html
  (lower) http://www.flickriver.com/photos/
    eileansiar/3091389352/
  Marquette University: author's photo
4. UC-Berkeley: Marthinsen, Shaping Campus Edges.
5. Ohio State: see http://campuspartners.osu.edu/
  Notre Dame: http://newsinfo.nd.edu/news/15154-
    notre-dame-to-celebrate-communiversity-day/
6. Marquette University:
  (upper) author's photo
  (lower) advertisement for law school, http://law
    .marquette. edu/cgi-bin/site.pl
7. University of Chicago: official campus map
  Columbia University: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/
    File:lab.JPEG

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[46] Marilyn, Taylor, "Crossing Beyond the Boundaries: Columbia University in West Harlem," Places 17.1 (2005), 50.

[47] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964), 100.

[48] John Kromer and Lucy Kerman, West Philadelphia Initiatives: A Case Study in Urban Revitalization (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 52.

[49] Emily Marthinsen, "Shaping Campus Edges at UC Berkeley," Places 17, no. 1, Considering the Place of Campus (Winter 2005): 43.

1 Blurred / Seamless
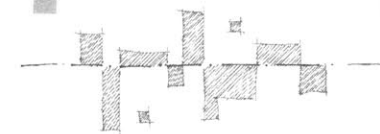
When walking through these edges, it is hard to tell where the university ends and the neighborhood begins. They coexist. Such things as contextual building form, appropriate scale, and strategic use of materials contribute to this effect. This is often found in dense urban locations where the urban fabric already maintains a larger scale, such, but it can also occur at smaller scales.

    a. New York University
    b. George Washington University
    c. Boston University
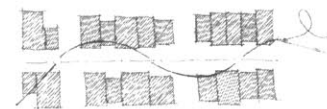

NYU Campus Map

Rendering of **Columbia University** proposal with a ground floor **"urban layer"** [46]

2 Seam

A corridor or axis that brings the two sides together, often through shared retail. It is the opposite of the border vacuum.

    a. UPenn's 40th St.
    b. Yale's Chapel St.
    c. Harvard Square

Foot traffic along the 40th Street retail corridor increased by 86 percent between 1995 and 2002. [47]
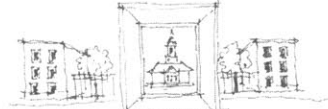

Chapel Street at Yale University

3 Frame

Set of buildings or series of fences and gates that define the campus edge, but do not impede the urban fabric. They are often still open and encourage traffic to flow between. It is connection of bounded space.

    a. Harvard Yard
    b. Marquette University

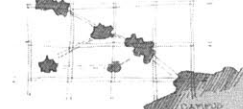Students and Cambridge residents traverse Harvard Yard

Entrance Gates at Marquette University

"An edge may be more than simply a dominant barrier if some visual or motion penetration is allowed through it - if it is, as it were, structured to some depth with the regions on either side." [48]

    - K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*

4 Islands & Bridges

Areas of concentrated off campus student housing or ancillary offices or centers either related to or influenced by the institutions. The destinations provide paths of activity through the community.

    a. UC Berkeley's southern edge
    b. Housing initiatives by
       many of the institutions
       listed here

UC Berkeley's Southern Edge where "students streamed back and forth between the [residential] units and the campus." [48]
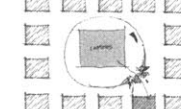
    - Marthinsen, Places
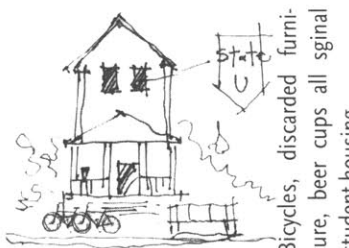
Bicycles, discarded furniture, beer cups all signal student housing

5 Bubble Break

Where the university edge is broken or opened outwards, often for a multi-purpose or combined university-community use. It promotes the movement of people across a portion of the traditional campus border while maintaining the other edges.

    a. Notre Dame's Eddy Commons and Irish Green
    b. Ohio State's South Campus Gateway
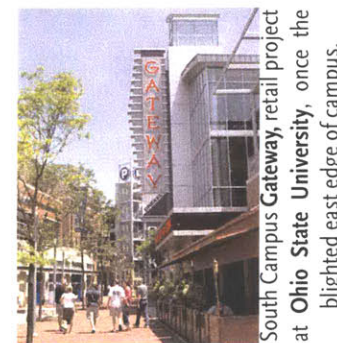
South Campus **Gateway** retail project at **Ohio State University**, once the blighted east edge of campus.

BURSTING the BUBBLE
COMMUNIVERSITY DAY 2010

Advertisment for the first annual CommUniversity Day at the **University of Notre Dame**, a day of service, campus tours, campus festival, & neighborhood picnic.

6 Hurdle
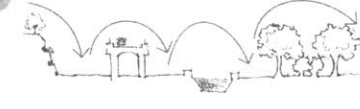
Either a topographical/natural boundary or man-made break in the urban fabric such as an expressway or park. It is usually predetermined and prohibitive to alter.

    a. Marquette (expressway)
    b. University of Notre Dame (lakes, golf course)
    c. Johns Hopkins University (park)

Marquette University Interstate edge of expressway used in advertisements for their law school as pictured here.

Johns Hopkins University and Wyman Park

7 Wall
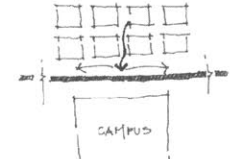
A severe break between campus and city often resulting in a border vacuum. Caused by jumps in scale, fences, "moat-like" parking lots or large tracts of unpopulated land or uses. Often limits street continuity and the ease of pedestrian and vehicular traffic to pass through.

    a. UPenn (before changes)
    b. University of Chicago's southern edge
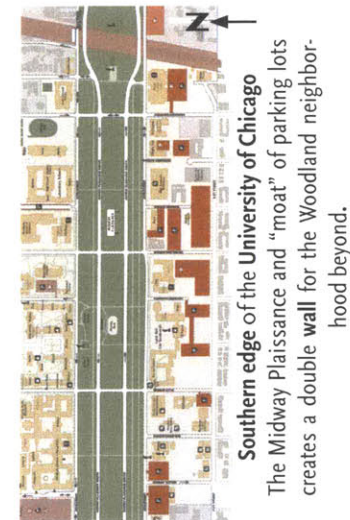
Southern edge of the **University of Chicago**. The Midway Plaissance and "moat" of parking lots creates a double **wall** for the Woodland neighborhood beyond.

Columbia University, School of International Affairs, 1970

THREE
CASE STUDY EVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

A lecture titled "UniverCities: Higher Education and the Making of 21st Century Cities" was recently given by the Raether Distinguished Professor of American Studies at Trinity College. The woman who introduced the lecture, which focused on development around the University of Chicago, did so by comparing two schools which have dealt with many of the same concerns regarding their urban locations: "of course, Trinity and Hartford might not quite be Chicago and Chicago or Columbia and New York, but still, what can we learn from them?"[1] But I would ask, what can they learn from you?

The two institutions used as case studies – Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts and Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut – may be lesser known, but have still gained notoriety for their extensive neighborhood revitalization efforts and can provide important lessons for many institutions facing similar

[1] Davarian Baldwin, *Universities: Higher Education and the Making of the 21st-Century City*, Podcast recording, Trinity College: Inaugural Paul E. Raether Distinguished Lecture (Hartford, Connecticut, 2011).

challenges. They are both smaller schools located in inner city neighborhoods of mid-sized New England cities that have suffered, like many U.S. cities, from a loss of industry and the rapid suburbanization of the 1960s. However, unlike Chicago and Columbia, Clark and Trinity do not have substantial capital to invest and therefore have had to be especially judicious about how and where their resources are used. The institutions, similar in many ways, have taken somewhat different approaches in their revitalization efforts. They came from different backgrounds and ideologies, which played out in the creation of two distinctive campus typologies and starting points from which to engage their neighborhoods.
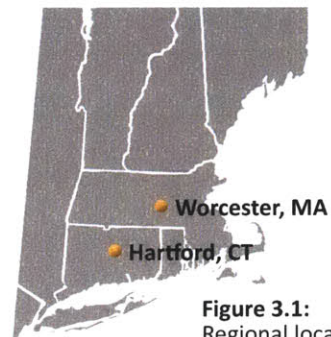
Figure 3.1:
Regional location map

Beyond the Ivory Tower: In Search of a New Form for Campus-Community Relationships

CLARK UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

The Clark University campus is situated in the Main South neighborhood of Worcester, MA. It is an area marked by abandoned factories and the decline of a neighborhood reliant on their economic support. A few grand Victorian structures, the legacy of prosperous businessmen, interrupt a landscape of worn triple-decker apartments, home to an ethnically diverse population, 30 percent of whom live below the poverty line.[1] It is also the home to Clark University and its approximately 3,000 graduate and undergraduate students. While the two prospered in tandem as industry spurred Main South's growth, when industry left Worcester in the 1960s, as it did many New England cities, the neighborhood was hit hard by the loss. Between 1960 and 2000, 35 percent of the neighborhood's population left.[2] The area was in such a state of decline that in the 1980s, Clark University, which is so vital to the

neighborhood now, considered leaving too, as prospective students and parents began citing Clark's location and related issues of safety as major concerns.[3]

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[1] Data from 2000 Census. The two census tracts are 7312.01 and 7313. Clark University occupies a third tract, 7312.02.

[2] "Congressional Record, V. 151, Pt. 4" (Government PrintingOffice, March 17, 2005), 5182.

[3] Jack Foley, "Interview with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services," In Person, January 20, 2011.

Clark University Campus

Boundary of Focus
Area for Neighborhood
Revitalization Initiatives

Extent of Surrounding
Neighborhoods

Figure 3.2:
City location map

Figure 3.3:
Evolution of Clark University

Image credit: Compilation of Sanborn maps and
campus maps from the Clark University archives.

[1] Milton Valencia, "Neighborhood Partners: Clark Uni-
versity seeks right blend with Main South," *Telegram &
Gazette* (Worcester, October 3, 2004).

1889
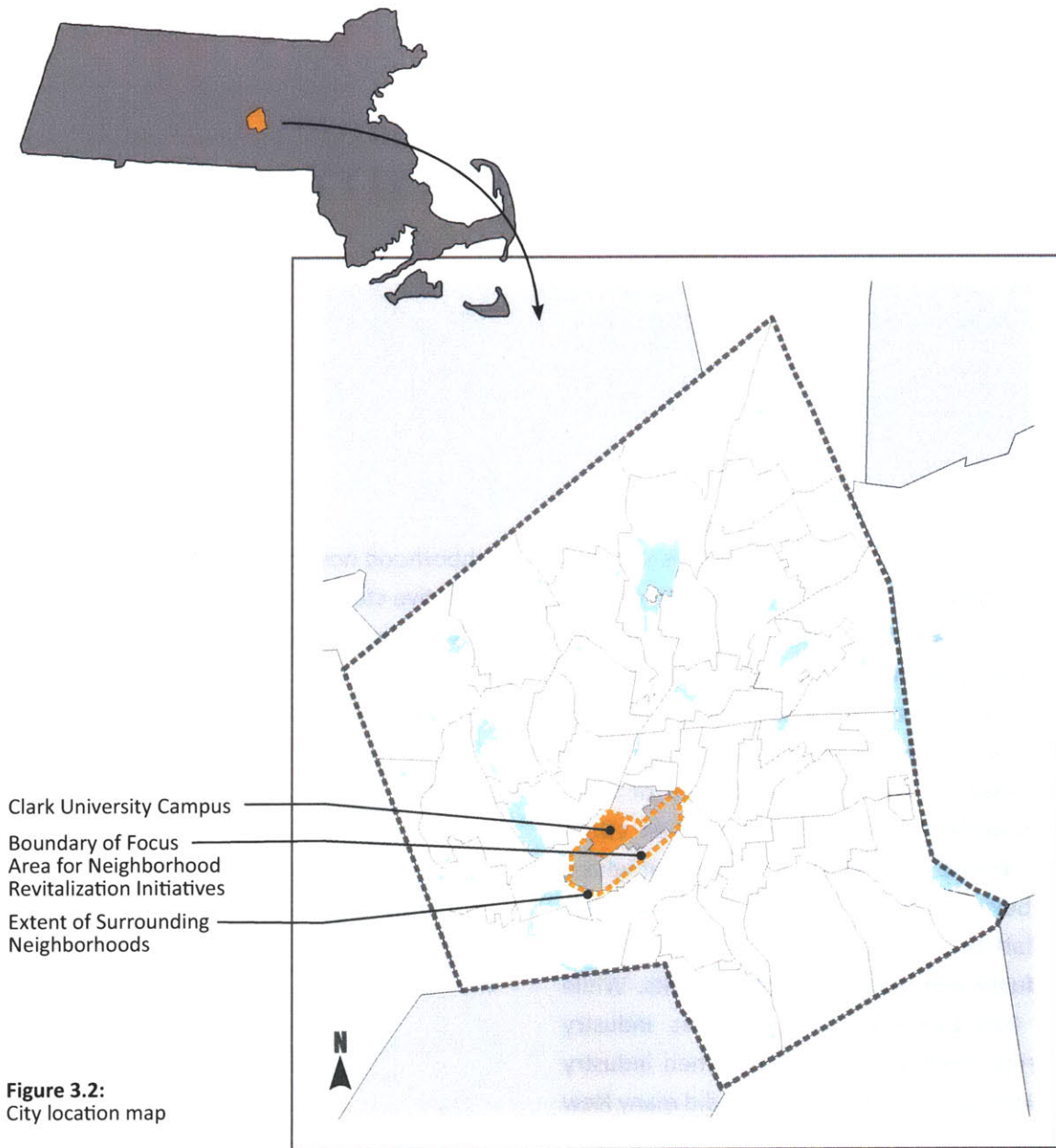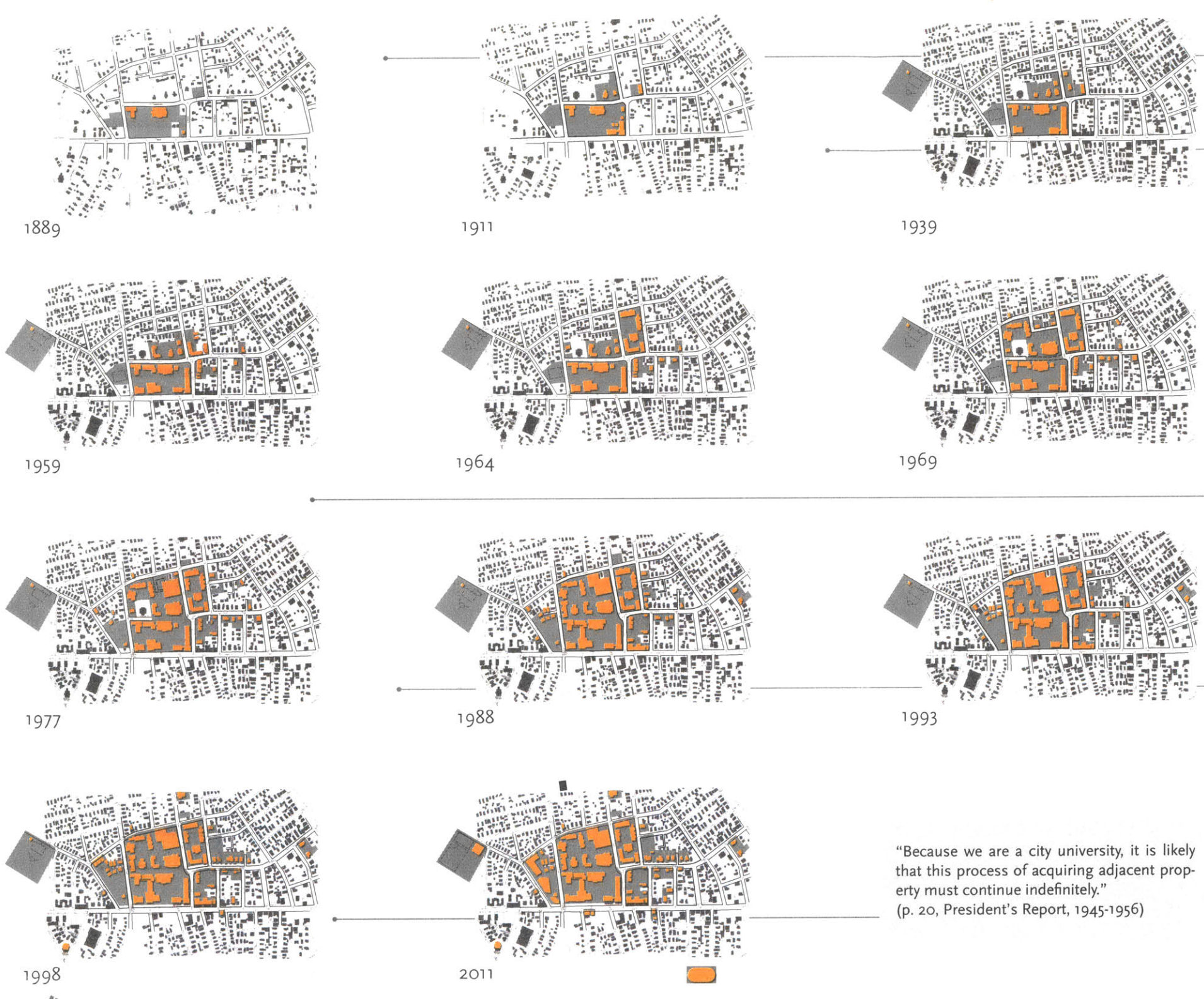
1911

1939

1959

1964

1969

1977

1988

1993

1998

2011

N

1887 Clark founded. Opens in 1889 as first all-graduate institution in the United States.

1900 1903: First separate library building, now the Jefferson Academic Center, is completed.

1917: Worcester population doubled since 1891.

1920 1924 Alumni raise money to buy seven acres of land on the corner of Beaver Street and Park Avenue for an athletic field.

1925: Administrative Report suggests cloistered plan or moving to outskirts of Worcester.

1938: Atwood Hall is built and Alumni Gymnasium is constructed.

1940 1947: Post WWII saw an enrollment jump from 830 in 1946 to 1,023. Soon begins most extensive building program ever.

1950: A Student Union, complete with a soda fountain donated by alumni, is created in a professor's barn on Downing Street.

Mid-1950s: Worcester suffers from suburbanization. Main South in "distress."

1959: The women's dormitory, later renamed Bullock Hall, and men's dormitory, later renamed Wright Hall, open.

1960 1962: Master Plan Report by TAC Triple-deckers acquired and demolished, contributing to strained relations.

1964: New residential complex by TAC completed.

1966: President's house moved from Main south due to construction for Goddard Library.

1967: The Dana Residence Center quadrangle opens.

1980 1984: Dick Traina begins 16-year presidency.

1987: Clark responds to initital neighborhood concerns with the construction of a parking garage and additional dormitory.

1995: The University's commitment to improving Main South is formalized under the UPP.

1996: President's house moves back to campus Creation of Main South CDC .

1998: UPCS opens.

2000 2002: Traina Center for the Arts opens in the former Downing Street School.

2003: Dolan Field House opens on Beaver Street.

2005: Lasry Center for Bioscience opens.

2007: Blackstone Hall (apt. style residence hall) opens.

"Because we are a city university, it is likely that this process of acquiring adjacent property must continue indefinitely."
(p. 20, President's Report, 1945-1956)

... "The whole campus melts into the neighborhood. Clark does enough in the community where people don't resent the institution. It is a neighborhood."
- Clark student Emma Dassati[1]

Figure 3.4: Worcester, MA, 1878. Site of current campus location is noted.
Image Credit: Boston Public Library

A History of Clark University and Main South Relations

However, the university did not leave, but reasoned, just as it had several times before, that its urban location, while bringing its own set of issues, was key to its identity. Furthermore, moving would not align with the university's mission as envisioned by its founder and Worcester entrepreneur, Jonas Clark, who, in 1887, established the school "in and for" the Worcester community. The conflict between town and gown that caused such concern in the mid-1980s had plagued the institution from its start. Before the initial construction began, the project provoked city residents, who felt that the money Clark proposed to give for the school's founding should instead be used to advantage existing institutions, as there were already numerous other colleges in New England.[4] As a result,

there was a resounding lack of local response from local business leaders to Clark's call for financial support. A reporter from Boston, who had come to investigate rumors of a failed initiative, found them to be false, but reported "one thing is certain, the university is not a popular institution in Worcester." Clark lessened community concerns when it announced that the university would follow a different model of higher education, one that focused on graduate studies. This focus followed the recent founding of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore and the growing influence of the German university system.

Internal conflict arose between new president Stanley Hall, who, coming from Johns Hopkins University, strongly supported a

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[4] "Worcester's University: Expected to be open for stu-

dents next October," *The New York Times* (Worcester, Massachusetts, December 31, 1888).

strict graduate school offering, and Clark, who continued to seek a program that would serve the community more directly. In the end Clark succeeded with the establishment of a three-year undergraduate program. Implemented in the early 20th century, the condensed program would widen access for many students whose families could not afford most New England colleges by offering a unique three-year curriculum. Clark College would exist alongside Clark University until their merger in 1920. The college would also support "practical and useful educational values that would fit students for citizenship as opposed to the traditional American college with its emphasis on bookish form of culture."[5] In fact, it did largely serve this population as most students were the first in their families to attend college, with strong representation from Worcester's East Side, mostly sons of recent immigrants, as well as students from working-class and white collar families in surrounding small towns and less affluent neighborhoods. The percentage of those coming from afar increased so that by 1908 the institutions recognized their "responsibility for those who come from a distance to pursue their college studies in Worcester... when the Clark men lived in homes scattered about the neighborhood of the University." It is an early mention of a concern that would come up again and again for a growing and diversifying school that had been originally founded for local and graduate students.

Worcester in general was growing at that time, as manufacturing started making its presence felt. Between 1891 and 1917,
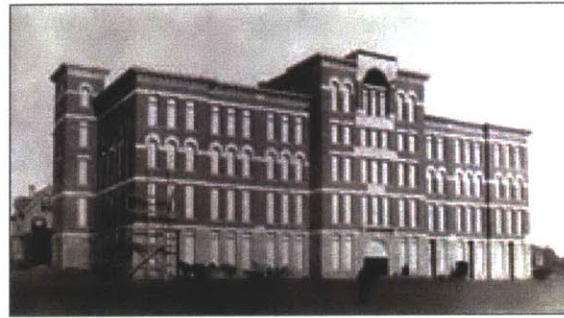
Figure 3.5: Jonas Clark Hall, late 1880s
Image Credit: Clark University archives

Worcester's population doubled, infused by immigrants, many of whom came to Main South to work in the factories.[6] The design of the first university building, undertaken by Jonas Clark himself, may have fit well into this changing context; according to university legend, the building was designed as a shoe factory should the university experiment fail.[7] However, the Main Building would not stand alone for long, as the university undertook more programs and thus needed more space. The 1925 "Administrative Report of the President" describes two possibilities for dealing with this growth and the "changing nature of education." The first alternative recommended following a "plan similar to that of many European universities that were similarly located in the midst of large cities, and erect about the margin of the main campus a nearly continuous line of buildings." It suggested a "solid phalanx of buildings" on Main Street to aid in the prevention of noise from traffic and disturbance of work. The alternative plan provided "a much more inspiring outlook" and suggested the purchase of land in Worcester's outskirts for a new campus, that would never come to be in a congested district and would

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[5] William Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987: A Narrative History* (Worcester; Hanover, NH: Clark University Press; University Press of New England, 1987), 91.

[6] "University Park Newsletter", February 7, 1995.
[7] Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987*, 22.

"retain for all time a park-like environment for the University."[8]

This plan was again mentioned in the 1945 "Administrative Report" as guiding the placement of new buildings. It goes on to say that when the quadrangle was completed, it would provide privacy, as would "a series of gates which can be closed and locked [which] will help in protecting much of the property of the university from intruders." Whether it was because this plan didn't fit in with the original purpose of the university or because the funds were not available, it never came to fruition. In 1937, a change of attitude was mentioned in the "Administrative Report," which stated that the "facilities have not sought the cloistered seclusion of its academic studies and lecture rooms, but have accepted full measure of civic responsibility and participation in community affairs." It cited such programs as a Fine Arts course open to the city, an extension course for teachers, and a summer school for "young folk of the neighboring community."

The changed attitude toward civic responsibility would be well tested as the campus grew. Post WWII saw an enrollment jump from 830 in 1946 to 1,023 in 1947.[9] The drastic increase put pressure on existing housing. Even rooms for rent in nearby houses filled rapidly and were soon overcrowded, forcing many to commute from outside of the city. The physical plant of the university would take several years to catch up with enrollment, leaving the surrounding neighborhood to accommodate their growth in the meantime. Demand persisted as

Figure 3.6: A "solid phalanx of buidings." Proposed scheme for Clark University, c. 1920
Image Credit: Clark University archives
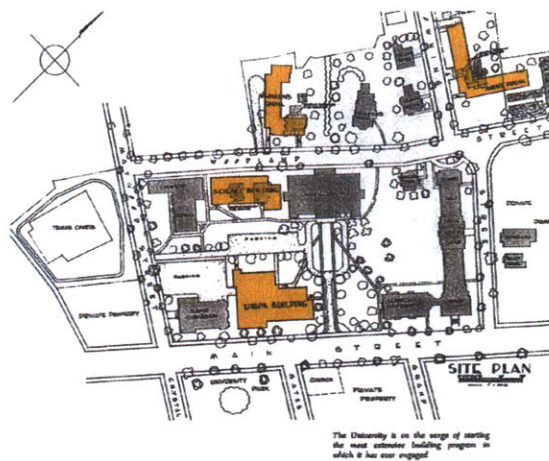
Figure 3.7: Campus map showing proposed construction, 1956
Note text: *"The University is on the verge of starting the most extensive building programs in which it has ever engaged."*
Image Credit: Clark University Archives. "President's 10 Year Report 1946-1956," p. 23

attendance surged after the Korean War and the student body continued to diversify. In order to accommodate its growth, the university would begin its most extensive building program ever, the total investment of $2.5 million approximate to the book value of all the university's buildings and real estate at that time. To meet the growing student needs, Clark took advantage of federal government loans from the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency to build a new men and new

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[8] *Administrative Report of the President: 1920 - 1925*, April Bulletin 1926 (Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University, April 1926).

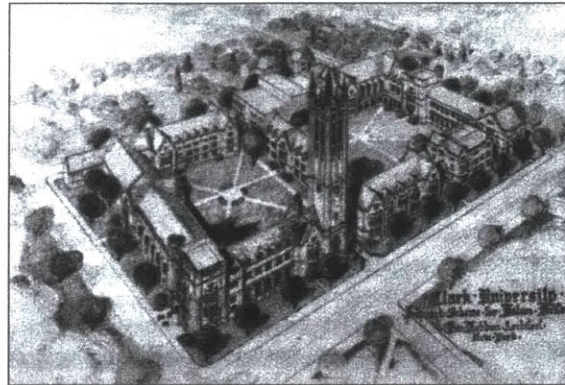[9] Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987*, 167.

women's dormitory in 1959. The structures were described as simple and cheap, and althought they served their purpose, they did so with little response to the needs of the students and creation of a campus. Such changes also led to the establishment of a master plan committee that year, composed of 70 people from the faculty, administrators, trustees, alumni, and community. A 1960 report from the Development Council working group, advocated the need for a plan to address the lack of unity and form in the present campus:

Where is Clark's campus? Where does it begin and end? Except for the entrance on Main Street, there is no approach, which gives one the feeling of being on campus…. Buildings differ in style, design, and scale….the campus is ringed and occasionally invaded by private, non-university dwellings….several public streets carry heavy traffic across the heart of the campus, thus removing the last vestige of a feeling of campus identity in the neighborhood. As a result, Clark's campus not only fails to provide a physical sense of academic community, but also appears cramped – if not stifled – by its environment.

The report also addressed larger concerns for Clark's future growth, which it projected at 3,000 before the year 2010 (on target), and thus there was a need for flexibility and potential for expansion. While it considered a vast campus expansion to "provide the missing greensward," it reasoned for a more appropriate compact campus that would be conducive to the kind of activities held there, including evening programs and educational and cultural events. The study also addressed the need for real estate acquisition, a challenging task, and awareness regarding the manner

of acquisition, as it would have "much to do with the success which it enjoys." The group expected neighbor hostility and called for a carefully planned program and full consideration of fears and needs as well as "a willingness to do its share in helping to improve the area about the campus." However, what that might have entailed is not fully addressed in the report.

These recommendations were taken and addressed in the 1962 "Master Plan Report" by The Architects Collaborative (TAC). It also dealt with parking, a common concern for campuses of that time. New properties would need to be acquired for parking, which could then provide land for new buildings as the university pushed outward in the future. The plan recommended closing off Woodland Street to create a campus street as well as a series of new dormitories to be constructed as a unified group. Such suggestions were fulfilled in a new residential quadrangle designed by TAC and completed in 1964. Again, the project
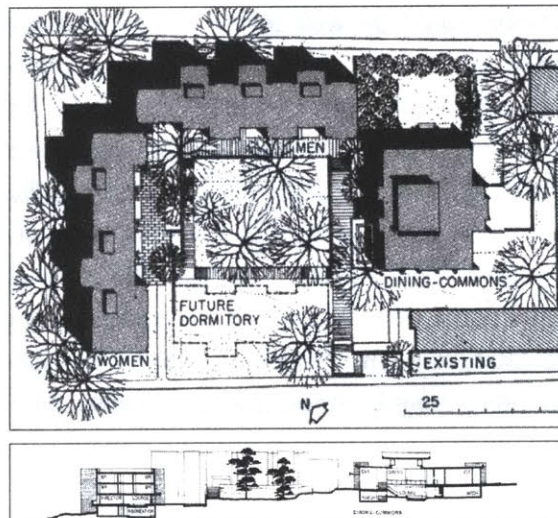

Figure 3.8: TAC plan and section for new residential quadrangle
Image Credit: *Architectural Record*, 1965

was financed almost completely by a long-term loan from the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency. The project was successful for its economical price – similar to those built in 1959 – as well as for its design, landing TAC and Clark on the cover of *Architectural Record* in May 1965. The article praised the new buildings for their contribution to a new campus character:

> Clark has a distinguished academic tradition, but it never used to set much store by a collegiate atmosphere. Founded originally as a graduate school, and with many of its students commuting from homes in the surrounding area, Clark has tended to confine itself to the essentials of education, leaving its more social aspects to take care of themselves. Clark however is going through a period of expansion; and part of the instructions to TAC, when the master planning studies began, was the University's desire to give the undergraduate colleges a residential campus character. The dormitories and commons, the first of the new buildings to be executed, do all that and more.[10]

This was also a time of distress in the Main South neighborhood. A middle-class, upper-middle-class neighborhood before WWII, by the 1950s most of the middle class had moved to suburbia and the neighborhood was described as "dowdy."[11] The public schools deteriorated and many faculty and staff moved out of the area. When, in 1966, construction plans called for removal of the president's house, located there since 1902, the university

purchased replacements in an elite area far from the Clark campus.[12] The departure served as a symbol of the break and disengagement of the campus in the community.

Although the 1962 plan may have been perceptive to the needs of the campus' growth and its effects on the neighbors, it did not show consideration of this in its physical plan. Numerous triple-deckers were acquired and demolished for new construction. In retrospect, this action was seen as critical in saving Clark, yet the process is also recognized as a major contributor to the divide created between Main South and Clark at that time.[13] Strained relations were acknowledged in the 1970 "Report of the President," which devoted a section to the university's inevitable involvement in the community and its problems. It explained that in some areas, Clark's effects were deliberate and the result of conscious policies designed to make an impact, but in other areas, the impact was significant and perhaps anticipated but essentially unplanned. According to the report, Clark deliberately encouraged students in geography, sociology, and government to use the local community as a living laboratory for learning about social organization, class attitudes, ethnic politics, and the structure of power in the community. It had opened the evening college to "deprived" Worcester adults and city inmates without charge. It was also actively involved in research and evaluation for the Model Cities Program, studying community participation in decision-making. Although these could all certainly be

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[10] "Architecture that transforms a campus," *Architectural Record*, May 1965, 159.
[11] John Brown and Jacqueline Geoghegan, *Bringing the Campus to the Community: An Examination of the Clark University Park Partnership after Ten Years* (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2007), 2.
[12] Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987*, 184.
[13] Foley, "Interview with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services."
[14.5] Based on data found in demolition section of project specifications, TAC archives, MIT Rotch Library.

Clark University

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS

1. Jonas Clark Hall
2. Jeppson Laboratory
3. Science Building
4. Alumni Gymnasium
5. Jefferson Hall
6. Visitors Parking
7. Geography Building
8. The Library
9. Atwood Hall
10. Blakeslee House
11. The Robert Hutchings Goddard
    Library (to be completed in 1968)
12. Downing Administration Center
13. University Infirmary
14. Psychology Nursery School
15. English House
16. Conference Center
17. Estabrook Hall
18. Wright Hall
19. Little Commons
20. Sanford Hall
21. Johnson Hall
22. Bullock Hall
23. Hughes Hall
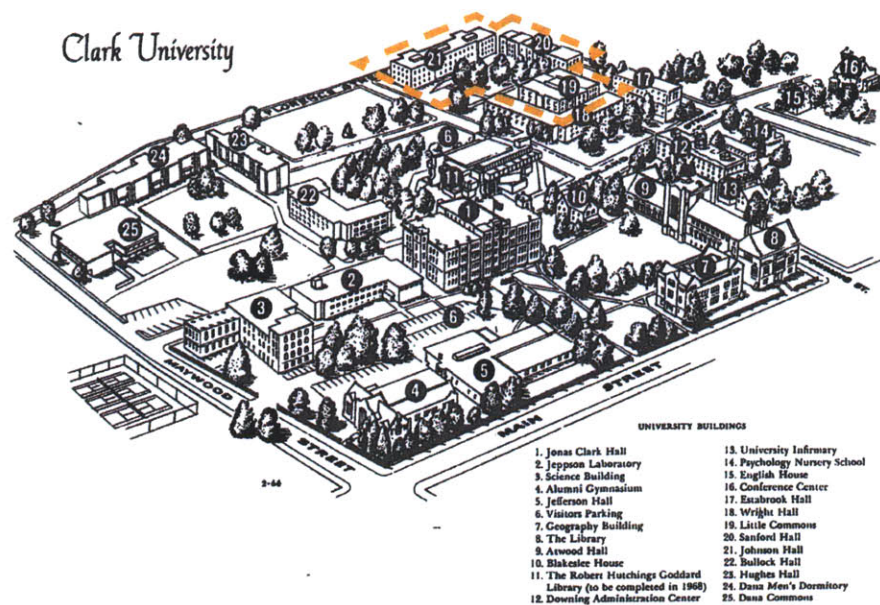24. Dana Men's Dormitory
25. Dana Commons

Figure 3.9: 1968 Campus map. Notice new TAC dormitories (#19, 20, 21). TAC was also responsible for a second quadrangle completed in 1968 (#23, 24, 25). The construction of the second quadrangle required the demolition of 12 homes,[14,5] contributing further to strained community relations.
Image Credit: Clark University Archives

lessons for application in their own backyard, Clark seems to have avoided any direct or proactive involvement.

Clark had many unplanned effects as well, including an increasing number of students living off campus and proximity to public schools whose students had easy access to campus, buildings, and recreational facilities, causing problems of friction, and security concerns. The university addressed some of the problems by making the gymnasium available to neighborhood youths at certain times under supervision. Nonetheless, crime and poverty between the university and downtown began to be perceived as a serious problem and the security force was increased to a dozen officers, comparative to the size of a police force in many New England towns.[14] Though the university acknowledged that

these were real problems, they also admitted in the report that they "had not yet developed a really comprehensive program in this area."

MAKING AMENDS: IMPETUS, INSTITUTION & PROJECT STRUCTURE

A comprehensive program would not come until much later. The 1980s saw another difficult time for the already hard hit Main South neighborhood. City Councilor Barbara Haller describes the time period, "… when large manufacturing companies like Crompton and Knowles left the area in the early '80s, they took thousands of jobs with them. That emptied out the triple-deckers, the factories and mom and pop stores. It really created a sense of abandonment and flight in Main South, and in Worcester." The early 1980s also saw Boston housing prices rising at 30 percent

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[14] Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987*, 238.

a year, bringing speculative investors further out of the city and into Main South. Most of these new owners were absentee landlords, spawning an increase in the number of poorly managed properties at prices many families, who were seeing their incomes decrease, could not afford, and thereby further contributed to the erosion of the neighborhood's stability. Again the university discussed its alternatives: moving the campus, putting up gates, purchasing more land and using parking lots to withdraw itself and create a moat around the campus, or becoming involved in bringing about change. "It was definitely a discussion we had in the early-mid '80s," says Jack Foley, Vice President of Government and Community Affairs for Clark, "As you saw the neighborhood decline, what was happening is that, a lot of the blight, a lot of the crime, a lot of the abandoned properties were moving from the north, closer to Clark."[15]

Steps had been made toward a relationship and would be solidified under the vision of former president Richard (Dick) Traina, who began his tenure in 1984. He felt that if the university did not become more engaged in improving their neighborhood, its viability would be threatened as decline continued. He emphasized that people – not necessarily institutions – make change and that while the institutions serve as leaders, true change must come from the people themselves. He affirmed, "For the plan to succeed, Clark University and its partners must be willing to let go of the illusion of control and trust in the process of neighborhood decision-making."[16]

His leadership and commitment to the program would become a driving force behind its success, and the signature of his 16-year tenure.

Over the next several years a neighborhood action group came together. Consisting of neighborhood residents, Clark representatives, and local businesses, it explored how they could take a more active role in their community. The process started slowly, taking nearly three years to overcome a relationship described as 'miserable' by Main South CDC director Steve Teasdale, with neighbors still suspicious decades after Clark's expansion.[17] The purposes of the two groups were different, but they were able to build on their common interests and goals of a revitalized Main South; the neighborhood representatives were concerned about crime, continued disinvestment and blight, whereas the university was concerned about attracting students and faculty.[18] Clark professes that its involvement had much to do with "enlightened self-interest" a term employed by Jack Foley to describe Clark's interest in the success of their neighborhood. The group held regular meetings wherein the university heard from residents worried about off-campus students driving up rents as well as concerns over congested neighborhood parking. Traina recalls the major concerns raised when asked what the university could do to help the neighborhood, "...the first things they said were noise and parking, which in our mind didn't have a lot of vision, but it

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[15] Tim O'Keefe, "Is Main South really headed north?," *Worcester Mag*, June 3, 2010.
[16] Richard Traina, "Partnership is a key word in Main

South," *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, MA, January 3, 1996), sec. Commentary.
[17] Steve Teasdale, "Interview with Executive Director of Main South CDC," In Person, January 20, 2011.
[18] Ibid.

was something we could in fact address."[19] The university came up with a plan to meet these concerns over the course of two years, which resulted in the construction of a parking garage and a dormitory for 225 students. While these efforts were important in helping the university gain trust and in improving its relationship with their neighbors, by 1987, the university's centennial, "the direction of the neighborhood and the university's power to affect it in any substantial way, remained problematical."[19.5]

With no significant change seen from its investments, Clark decided that it needed to address the deeper issues affecting the neighborhood and began to develop a more comprehensive long-term strategy. Its efforts would receive a boost in the mid-1980s when Clark and the neighborhood organization was invited by SeedCo, a non-profit affiliate of the Ford Foundation, to participate in its Urban Institutions Partnership Program, which encouraged the development of mutually beneficial partnerships between institutions and community groups. The partnership was awarded the grant and immediately used it to hire their first consultant to assist them in shaping their plan. After studying the immediate conditions of Main South as well as the state of the surrounding areas, the consultant recommended that they proceed by establishing a CDC. Not long thereafter the Main South Community Development Corporation (MSCDC) was born. MSCDC was structured to be completely autonomous from the university, which took just one seat out

of fifteen on the board of directors, with the hope that long-term sustainable change would result from the involvement of the other fourteen seats, populated by members of the community. The first plans focused on affordable housing, cleaning up derelict properties, and further organizing the community around Clark's campus. Over the next decade, the MSCDC acquired over 20 abandoned properties and renovated them for a total investment of approximately $9.5 million.[20] Clark was able to use its strong credit rating to help the CDC get a construction line of credit in its early days as well as provide gap financing as needed, whereas the CDC could use its knowledge of the neighborhood to target and acquire critical properties.

However, the partnership was still not seeing any significant transformation beyond their own investments in the scattered physical interventions. They began to consider the initiative on a grander scale and drafted a strategic plan in 1995 that became known as the University Park Partnership (UPP). Still being implemented today, the plan was a joint effort between Jack Foley of Clark and Main South Director, Steve Teasdale, to evolve their efforts from 'brick and mortar' into a multi-faceted approach that addressed five areas of consideration: physical rehabilitation, education, public safety, economic development and social/recreational development. They timed their plan well, fortunate to complete it just as the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of University Partnerships (OUP) announced a joint

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[19] "Remembering Richard Traina: A Final Interview," *Clark University: Clark Voices*, January 7, 2011, http:// clarkvoices.clarku.edu/2011/03/09/dicktraina/.
[19.5] Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987*, 351.

[20] Brown and Geoghegan, *Bringing the Campus to the Community: An Examination of the Clark University Park Partnership after Ten Years*, 3.

development grant through the Community Outreach Partnership Center (COPC). Clark and the Main South CDC supplemented the UPP plan with additional context and applied for a grant. In 1996 they were one of just five schools awarded $2.4 million in unrestricted funds to jump-start their efforts, the only year a grant of that size was awarded. Over the years, Clark has also contributed $10-14 million of their own funds - mostly in the early phases of the effort to provide gap financing – and has judiciously used that contribution to leverage over $100 million in funding to turn the UPP plan into a reality.

University Park Partnership

- 🟥 New construction and rehabbed property
- 🟦 Clark property
- 🟩 UPP target area
- 🟩 + 🟩 MSCDC target area

Geographical areas of emphasis reflect Clark University's level of investment and interest.

UPP target area: "Within this priority area, we will strive to encourage greater owner occupancy of homes and to stimulate a "gentrification of values" emphasizing personal safety, civility, and education." Includes approximately 300 properties.

MSCDC target area: Includes the remainder of the University Park neighborhood. It was the plan's expectation that over time the programs in Priority Area 1 would be expanded here.
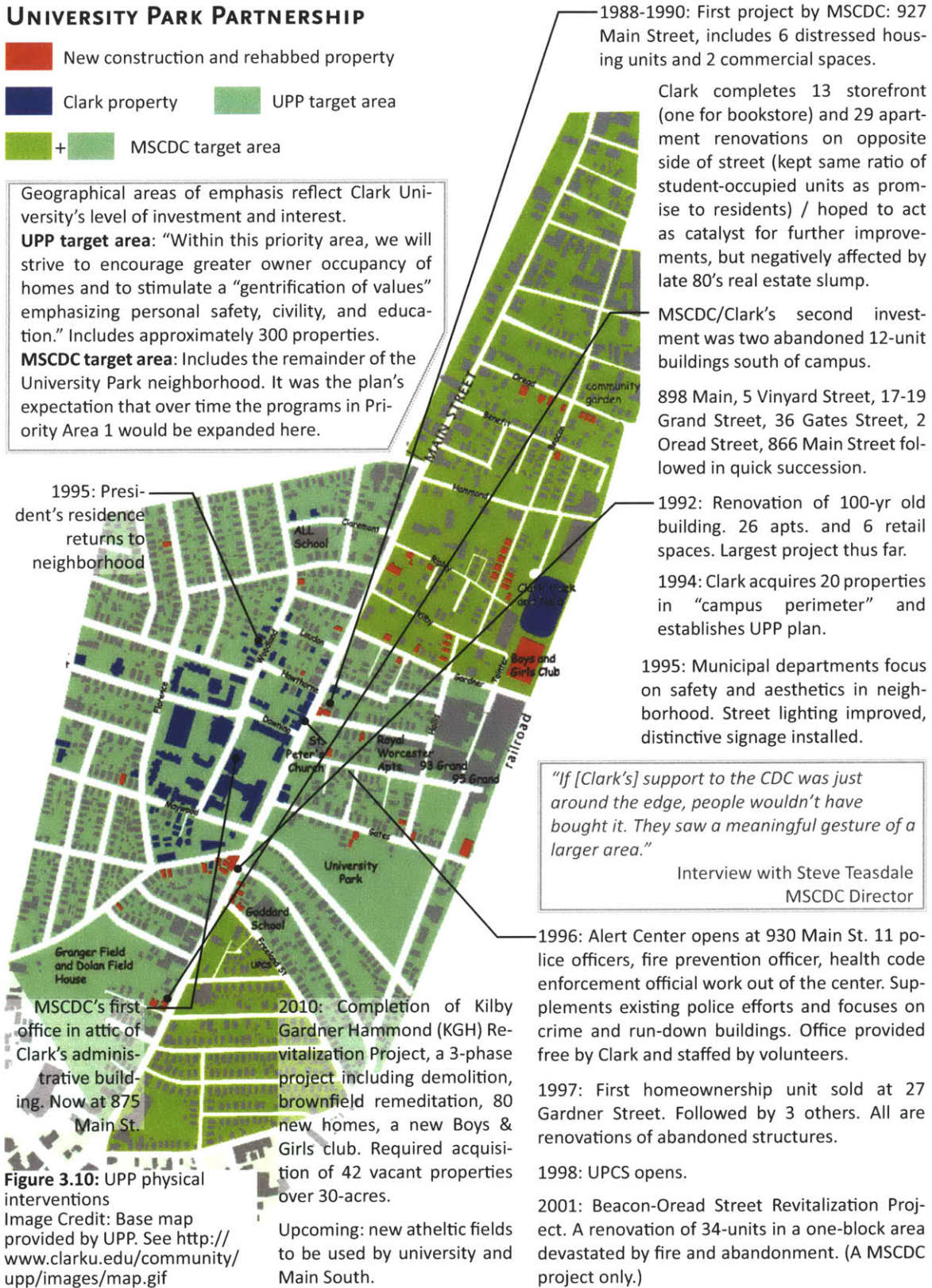
1995: President's residence returns to neighborhood

MSCDC's first office in attic of Clark's administrative building. Now at 875 Main St.

Figure 3.10: UPP physical interventions
Image Credit: Base map provided by UPP. See http://www.clarku.edu/community/upp/images/map.gif

2010: Completion of Kilby Gardner Hammond (KGH) Revitalization Project, a 3-phase project including demolition, brownfield remediation, 80 new homes, a new Boys & Girls club. Required acquisition of 42 vacant properties over 30-acres.

Upcoming: new atheltic fields to be used by university and Main South.

1988-1990: First project by MSCDC: 927 Main Street, includes 6 distressed housing units and 2 commercial spaces.

Clark completes 13 storefront (one for bookstore) and 29 apartment renovations on opposite side of street (kept same ratio of student-occupied units as promise to residents) / hoped to act as catalyst for further improvements, but negatively affected by late 80's real estate slump.

MSCDC/Clark's second investment was two abandoned 12-unit buildings south of campus.

898 Main, 5 Vinyard Street, 17-19 Grand Street, 36 Gates Street, 2 Oread Street, 866 Main Street followed in quick succession.

1992: Renovation of 100-yr old building. 26 apts. and 6 retail spaces. Largest project thus far.

1994: Clark acquires 20 properties in "campus perimeter" and establishes UPP plan.

1995: Municipal departments focus on safety and aesthetics in neighborhood. Street lighting improved, distinctive signage installed.

"If [Clark's] support to the CDC was just around the edge, people wouldn't have bought it. They saw a meaningful gesture of a larger area."

Interview with Steve Teasdale
MSCDC Director

1996: Alert Center opens at 930 Main St. 11 police officers, fire prevention officer, health code enforcement official work out of the center. Supplements existing police efforts and focuses on crime and run-down buildings. Office provided free by Clark and staffed by volunteers.

1997: First homeownership unit sold at 27 Gardner Street. Followed by 3 others. All are renovations of abandoned structures.

1998: UPCS opens.

2001: Beacon-Oread Street Revitalization Project. A renovation of 34-units in a one-block area devastated by fire and abandonment. (A MSCDC project only.)

Revitalization Program

"...can't rebuild a neighborhood with just bricks."

Jack Foley[21]

With little change happening beyond Clark and the Main South CDC's initial physical interventions, the UPP plan was created to target all aspects of the rebuilding efforts, using a holistic approach to get residents involved and connected to their community and help to make a lasting change. Those initiatives and Clark's role in them are addressed in the following pages.

Housing & Physical Rehabilitation

The UPP vision statement declares, "If we can give those families who have made our neighborhood their home encouragement to stay, and build the base with committed families and individuals willing to be participants in the rejuvenation of our neighborhood, we can rebuild a strong community." To do so they would need to provide a better housing stock to attract new residents and increase the quality of life for those already there. Clark and the Main South CDC recognized early on that homeownership was critical to neighborhood stability. Poorly managed, multi-unit housing was the cause of many problems for residents and a major contributor to blight in Main South. To overcome this challenge, the Main South CDC targeted the most dilapidated housing,

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[21] Foley, "Interview with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services."
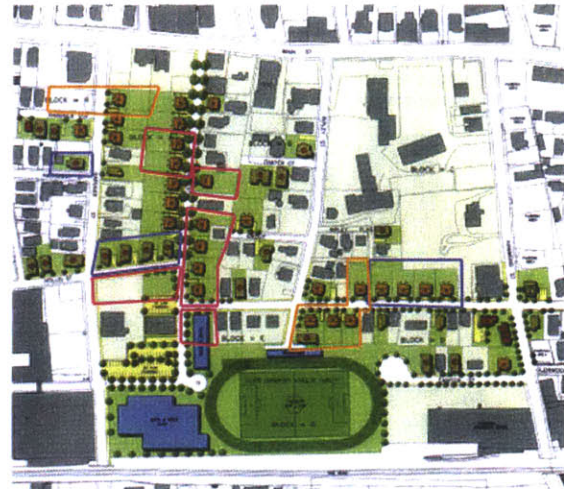

Figure 3.11: Kilby-Gardner-Hammond Project
Image Credit: Main South CDC website: http://www.mainsouthcdc.org/KGH_PhaseIII

converted it into affordable units and then helped residents buy or rent the new housing. Clark supported this effort by offering a line of credit to the Main South CDC in the early years of development. Since the mid-1990s, the program has become more ambitious with the redevelopment of two particularly downtrodden areas with large-scale multi-million dollar projects involving demolitions, remediation, renovation, and new construction. The first, the Beacon-Oread project, was competed in 2001 and consisted of 34 units. The second, the Kilby-Gardner-Hammond (KGH) project, tackled some of the most crime-ridden areas in Worcester, replacing 40 vacant lots and properties in the 30-acre site with a the Boys & Girls Club, athletic fields for Clark, and 80 affordable homeownership units. Over the years, the Main South CDC has renovated over 200 units of housing. Today the Main South CDC manages nearly 175 affordable rental units and since its founding has sold over 100 homeownership units in roughly 40 properties.

Figure 3.12: Target area and location of housing purchases. The Kilby St. purchases (upper right) were part of the KGH revitalization project, for which Clark made an exception to the established boundary. Image Credit: Compiled by author with information provided by Jack Foley.

Figure 3.13: President's residence, Woodland Avenue, 2011
Image Credit: Photo by author.

In addition, Clark offers a home-buying incentive program, encouraging faculty and staff to move into the neighborhood with the offer of subsidized down payments. Clark provides full-time faculty and staff $5,000 at closing and the employees must agree to remain employed at Clark and live in the property for at least five years. For each year the buyer remains in the property, they receive a salary bonus of 12 percent, up to $4,000 a year for seven years. Approximately 25 people (6 faculty and 19 staff) have taken advantage of the program.[22] While the program has not been as successful as hoped, its downfall has not been attributed to the incentive, but to the

lack of single-family housing stock. With only one-tenth of the housing stock consisting of single-family units, there is limited selection and many are deterred from taking on the role of landlord.[23] For those who already own homes, Clark offers a similar program for renovation and restoration work.

Of the housing initiatives, one of the most simple yet most important has been the relocation of the Clark president's residence to the neighborhood. The residence, moved to a 22-room mansion in an upper-class section of Worcester in the 1960s, was far removed from the world of Main South. Former president Dick Traina felt that returning to Main South was an important gesture to the community, symbolizing Clark's commitment as a true neighbor of Main South. A house located at the campus edge on historic Woodland Street was renovated and expanded to serve the purpose.

[22] Jack Foley, "Interview #2 with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services at Clark University," In Person, March 7, 2011.

[23] Brown and Geoghegan, *Bringing the Campus to the Community: An Examination of the Clark University Park Partnership after Ten Years*; Foley, "Interview #2 with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services at Clark University."

EDUCATION

> The lush, main quad of Clark University stretches just beyond the hard-edged Main South neighborhood. Yet for children who grow up here, many in broken homes on glass-strewn streets, college, especially a selective one that costs nearly $40,000 a year, often seems like another world.[24]
>
> The Boston Globe, 2007

Figure 3.14: University Park Campus School, 2011
Image Credit: Photo by author

The University Park Campus School (UPCS), a quaint brick building just a block from Clark's campus, is perhaps the most innovative and rewarding piece of the partnership between Clark and Main South. A joint venture between Clark and Worcester Public Schools, the 7th-12th grade school opened in 1997 as a public school alternative for students from the challenging inner-city neighborhood and has earned national recognition for its success in overcoming the gap between urban and suburban schools. Like many inner-city schools the gap between its suburban counterparts is large with 88 percent of the students qualifying for free lunch and 65 percent coming from homes where a language other than English is spoken.[25] Reflecting the ethnic composition of the surrounding neighborhood, 45 percent of the students are Hispanic, followed by approximately 18 percent Asian American, and 11 percent African American. Many of the white students are from families who have recently immigrated from Eastern Europe.[26] There is no requirement for entry and students are chosen from neighborhood applicants by lottery. The vast majority of students enter at least two grade levels behind in reading and math, but all students are placed on the same untracked honors path. The school promotes "a relentless culture of high standards and tough love, and intensive personal instruction from dedicated staff," as keys to its extraordinary success. Among the drivers of the intense work ethic is the expectation that every student will go on to college. Since 1997, 95 percent have achieved this goal and 99 percent have passed Massachusetts' graduation exam, performing in the top 10 percent of all schools – both urban and suburban – in the state.[27]

Approximately 35 UPCS students have gone onto college at Clark, which offers free tuition to any Main South student, provided they have lived in the neighborhood for five years prior to enrolling, meet admission requirements, and have completed necessary applications for other grant programs. Although for Clark, this has largely meant a reshuffling of financial aid that many of those students would already receive, the idea of free tuition makes

[24] Peter Schworm, "Town-gown triumph: In poorest part of Worcester, Clark helps put children on path to college," *The Boston Globe* (Boston, November 22, 2007).

[25] Ricci Hall, "Interview with Principal of University Park Campus School," In Person, April 19, 2011.

[26] "University Park Campus School/Clark University - Institute for Student Success", n.d., http://www.upcsinstitute.org/.

[27] Ibid.

the process easy to understand; the idea of college becomes real. It becomes even more real for UPCS students who become part of the Clark world early on in their school career.

The UPCS school is small; built with no library, gym or assembly hall, students must walk the block to Clark's campus to use its facilities. While a lack of such amenities may be seen as a hindrance to some, it has been a successful method for bridging the gap between Clark and the UPCS, literally extending the Clark campus to the school. UPCS Principal, Ricci Hall, describes the connection:

If you watched the school from outside, you would see a steady stream of kids back and forth from the university to here and you would see a steady stream of university students from there to here. I think the term campus in our school's name is really appropriate, because this particular campus is an extension of the campus of the university.[28.5]
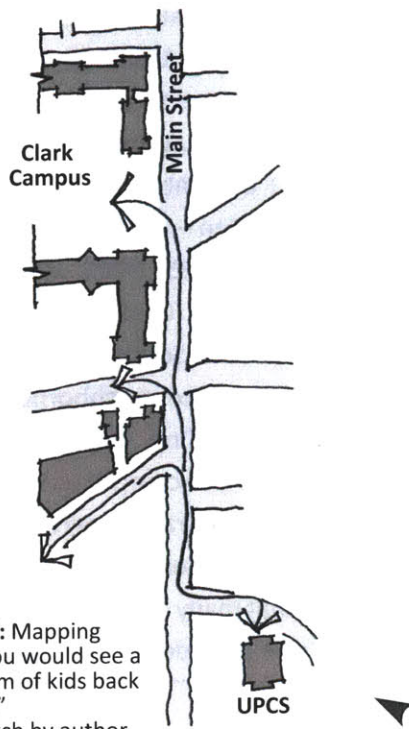
Students begin their UPCS experience as seventh graders, coming together on Clark's campus for the month of August to prepare for the school experience. It is seen as an important part of the plan to impress upon students that they will succeed in college. Former Clark president John Bassett explains, ..."I have to think that some of the students' new ambition is inspired by walking through the Clark campus everyday to get to school."[28] Each student holds a Clark ID, their teacher's aides and student teachers are Clark students as are their after-school mentors. The relationship also provides the rare opportunity for UPCS students to participate in college level work while in high school. Students can take courses for credit in the 11th and 12th grade tuition free. If they choose not to take a course for credit, they are then required to sit in on at least one class, complete the course work, and meet with the professor. Such programs help to ease students into the college environment, to let them see that college students are not so different from themselves and that college is not of another world, but of theirs.

SAFETY

According to the original UPP plan, surveys had determined safety to be the highest priority concern for current residents as well as for those considering moving into the neighborhood. Although all the UPP initiatives are important, safety it is undoubtedly a

Figure 3.15: Mapping paths. "...you would see a steady strem of kids back and forth..."
Credit: Sketch by author

Clark Campus

Main Street

UPCS

[28] "Campus and Community Collaboration: First Person with John Bassett," *Communities and Banking (Federal Reserve Bank of Boston)*, Spring 2005, 26.
[28.5] Ricci Hall, "Interview with Principal of University Park Campus School."

critical piece in overcoming many of the other issues. To get people to want to buy homes in the neighborhood or walk to the neighborhood store – to overcome the "border vacuum" – they need to feel safe. Former President Dick Traina sums it up, "In Main South, we want many more active landlords...We want a safe and inviting neighborhood where, as Thomas Merton once said, streets are for more than "traffic passing through.""[29]

To aid in making this change, the UPP, together with the city, established a neighborhood alert center. Although the center closed when funding support expired, the UPP had, in the meantime, established a local public safety group, which is still very active and holds monthly meetings at the Main South CDC. Clark also absorbed the extra officers into its budget and there is continued close cooperation between the Worcester and Clark police. For example, during the night shift, a Worcester city police officer walks the neighborhood with a Clark University police officer to ensure student safety at the campus edges as well as to limit disturbances that students' late night hours might have on residents.[30] Lastly, lighting was also a major concern in terms of safety. In a joint effort by the city, Main South CDC and Clark, steps were taken early on to increase the lumens in areas identified by neighborhood residents as poorly lighted.

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[29] Traina, "Partnership is a key word in Main South."
[30] Foley, "Interview #2 with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services at Clark University."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The stimulation of economic growth and related well-being of Main South residents is also a key piece in the UPP plan. These initiatives, mostly accomplished through the work of the Main South CDC, focus on providing residents with enhanced opportunities for training and education as well as providing finance and technical assistance to help new business get established in Main South. The Main South CDC administers small business loans from a revolving loan pool and works with Clark's Graduate School of Management and its Small Business Development Center to provide the necessary technical assistance. Finally, the Main South Workforce Development Training Center, located at the MSCDC offers education and employment training as well as job placement services and related workshops.

SOCIAL & RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The UPP plan stressed the need to "recreate the sense of community that existed when this area was strong." The partnership has attempted to do so by engaging youth in educational and recreational activities as well as welcoming neighborhood residents onto the campus. A free summer recreation program held on campus grounds serves over 100 neighborhood children and is coordinated and staffed by Clark staff and students with UPCS students as junior counselors. Clark will soon begin on the construction of new athletic fields and track next to the Boys & Girls Club in the Kilby-Gardner-Hammond project area.

The facility will be available to the Club and community when not used by Clark's intercollegiate and intramural teams. In addition, there are a variety of volunteer opportunities for Clark students such as assisting elderly Main South residents with chores and providing music lessons to neighborhood children. The Traina Center for the Arts, opened in 2002, was both a physical and cultural contribution to the neighborhood. The project, which encompassed the renovation of a former school within the neighborhood fabric as well as the construction of a new recital and lecture hall, serves a site for public concerts, films and other programs. The Center is not only a cultural asset for the campus, but for the neighborhood and the city as well.

Figure 3.16: Boys & Girls Club and athletic field site, 2011
Image Credit: Photo by author

Figure 3.17: Traina Center for the Arts, Downing Street, 2011
Image Credit: Photo by author

THE FUTURE OF CLARK AND MAIN SOUTH

"I'm not sure it will ever be done. When are you ever done with a project like that?"[31]
Jack Foley

Sixteen years after its creation, pieces of the UPP plan are still being implemented. Today, the Boys and Girls Club fields are still awaiting development and plans for improvements to University (Crystal) Park are just being realized. In 2010, the Clark administration agreed to a payment in lieu of taxes (PILOT) to the City of Worcester, but qualified its use to University Park improvements, public safety initiatives in Main South, and supporting the Worcester Public Library.[32] Currently a public visioning process, led by the city councilor and her Clark student intern, is underway for the design of University Park. Although considered unsafe and mostly avoided by Clark students now, the park has the potential to become an extension of the campus, another quad or green that it shares with the community. The city has also approved the closing of a portion of Downing Street, which runs through campus and has been deemed a safety hazard due to through traffic. The effect of this on the campus's integration into Main South remains unseen, but it has been described as a "pedestrian plaza for the students and the neighborhood."[33] This project is to be done in conjunction with the

[31] Richard Nangle, "Neighborhood Revival: Main South Partnership Tasting Fruits of Its Labors," *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, Massachusetts, July 15, 2007), sec. News.
[32] Nick Kotsopoulos, "Clark to pay city $6.7M," *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, Massachusetts, September 20, 2010).
[33] Ibid.

design and construction of federally funded streetscape improvements for Maywood, Main, Downing and Beaver streets with the aim of creating a Main South "gateway."

Finally, Main South is one of 21 communities nationwide that has received a Promise Neighborhoods Planning Grant. The proposal, led by the United Way of Worcester in partnership with Clark University, the Worcester Educational Collaborative, Main South Community Development Corporation, Worcester Public Schools and the Office of the Mayor, has the potential to become the next strategic planning effort for the neighborhood. The action plan is based on the successful "Harlem Children's Zone" model that "combines education and wrap-around human services so all children can succeed, in turn creating a new vibrancy for the neighborhood."[34] During summer 2011, the team will be applying for the implementation grant, which holds the possibility of $10 to $20 million in future federal investment. If awarded, this plan would become the next chapter in Main South's community development efforts, providing the opportunity to further build upon past accomplishments and provide new energy where needed.

CONCLUSION

Clark University is an encouraging example of university-community partnerships. Founded to be a university "in and for" the Worcester community, Clark's mission has been expressed physically through an open campus that is very much a part of the neighborhood. Although physical relationships will be compared later in the thesis, the openness of the campus has contributed to the university's ability to engage the community and contribute its strength to the success of the neighborhood, helping to fulfill Clark's current mission statement, "Challenge convention and change the world." As Clark and its partners move forward with the upcoming streetscape initiatives, they should continue to let their mission inform the physical changes, employing them in a way that further incorporates Clark's vitality into the neighborhood while also successfully contributing to a sense of place on Clark's campus.

The relationship between Clark and Main South has improved significantly since its low point in the mid-1980s. Its turnaround and subsequent endeavors provide useful lessons for those engaged in or looking to begin similar efforts. Jack Foley of Clark claims that one of the biggest obstacles to getting the process started was finding true neighborhood representation, individuals who were willing to represent "the" community and commit to the process.[35] However, waiting for those leaders to surface was deemed necessary in gaining trust and reversing previous trends. Clark and the Main South CDC also strongly believe in a

[34] "$456K United Way planning grant holds promise for Main South | Clark News Hub," Clark University News & Media Relations, October 5, 2010, http://news.clarku.edu/news/2010/10/05/456k-united-way-planning-grant-holds-promise-for-main-south/.

[35] Foley, "Interview with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services."

partnership that is neighborhood based, driven by the community at large, and supported by the university when necessary. Although such an approach takes time "in the long run, they are much more successful than those that are developed by a top-down approach."[36]

Clark and the Main South CDC have also benefited from strong and continuous leadership. Both Jack Foley of Clark and Steve Teasdale of the Main South CDC have been working together since the CDC was founded, and thus provide a strong history of the neighborhood and understanding of its many players. The institutional structure of Clark, whereby all things related to community affairs go through Jack Foley's position as Vice President, has also been lauded as best practice, and, based on the success of Clark, this seems to hold true. Former Clark President John Bassett emphasizes this point, "...the point person on the community partnership project must have direct access to the president to prevent holdups in communication."[37] Omar Blaik, who was senior vice president of facilities and real estate services at the University of Pennsylvania during its large-scale revitalization efforts states, "Institutions need to reorganize and establish departments of external affairs – their own State Departments – where all things that touch the neighborhood and touch the city come to one senior vice president. Until then, we will continue to have this distance between what institutions profess they want to do and what they actually do."[38]

Although Clark was and still is an important player in the development of Main South, its involvement has shifted over the years. Although the Main South CDC has some frustration with Clark's current level of involvement in their partnership, as it has fallen off from the initial stages, Clark feels that it achieves true success when something positive or productive happens in the neighborhood that has had nothing to do with the university.[39]

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[36] Teasdale, "Interview with Executive Director of Main South CDC."

[37] "Campus and Community Collaboration: First Person with John Bassett," 27.

[38] "Them and Us: Institutional expansion and the neighborhoods," *Architecture Boston*, Spring 2009, 25.

[39] Foley, "Interview with Vice President of Government and Community Affairs and Campus Services."; Teasdale, "Interview with Executive Director of Main South CDC."

TRINITY COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION

A 2002 article in *The New York Times* referred to Hartford, Connecticut as "the most destitute 17 square miles in the nation's wealthiest state." In a city where 30 percent of the residents live below the poverty line and earn an income nearly half that of their metro area counterparts, Hartford's condition reflects the larger issues of its state. Connecticut typically ranks among the wealthiest states in the nation, but suffers from extreme disparity between its affluent suburbs and struggling cities.[1] The edges of the Trinity College campus illustrate this disparity. Sitting on a bluff, the idyllic campus overlooks the troubled neighborhoods of Frog Hollow and Barry Square, where 42 and 34 percent, respectively, of the families live below poverty level.[2]

When Evan Dobelle, president of the college in the late 1990s, arrived at a downtown hotel upon an initial visit to Hartford, he was confronted with the neighborhood's view of the college. The doorman, who lived near the campus, provided his interpretation of the community-college relationship, "Well, the sidewalks there kinda run uphill."[3] It was a sentiment felt by many in the poverty-stricken neighborhoods below. However, Trinity, while appearing as an island of elitism, protected from the neighborhood decline by its wrought-iron fences, was suffering as well. Violent shootings and prostitution occurred just across the street. Applications to the college had dropped significantly, and students cited the college's location as the major deterrent for enrolling. Thus, the fences no longer served to protect it from the surrounding decline. Trinity would have to look beyond its historic fences and find a new strategy to address its Hartford neighbors.

[1] Paul Zielbauer, "Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Can Hartford Ever Recover?," *The New York Times* (New York, August 26, 2002).

[2] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan", November 12, 1996.

[3] Lisa Prevost, "Mending Town Gown," *Common-Wealth Magazine*, August 1, 2000, http://www.commonwealthmagazine.org/News-and-Features/Features/2000/Summer/Mending-Town--Gown.aspx.
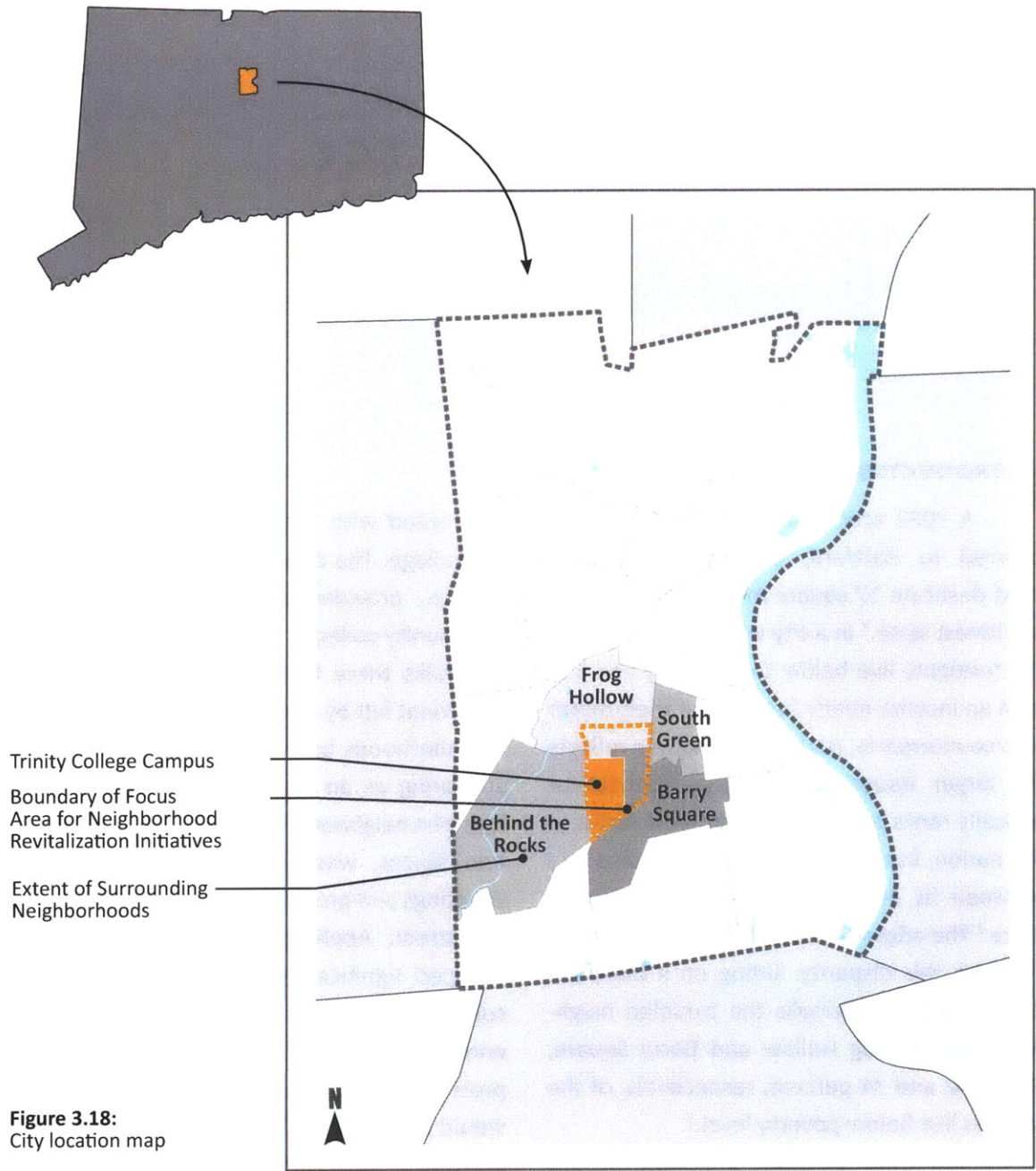
Figure 3.18:
City location map

Trinity College Campus

Boundary of Focus
Area for Neighborhood
Revitalization Initiatives

Extent of Surrounding
Neighborhoods

Frog
Hollow

South
Green

Barry
Square

Behind the
Rocks
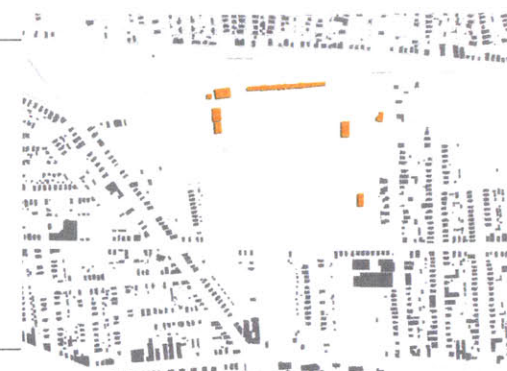
N

Figure 3.19:
Evolution of Trinity College

Image credit: Compilation of Sanborn maps and
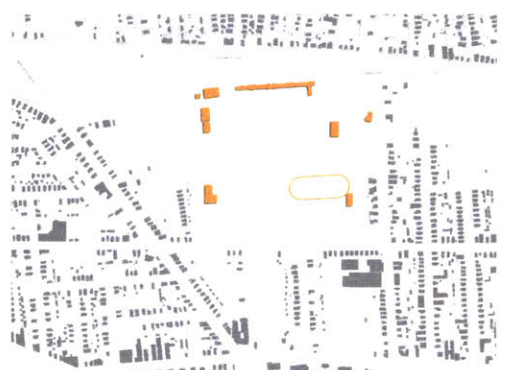analysis from the 1997 Campus Master Plan
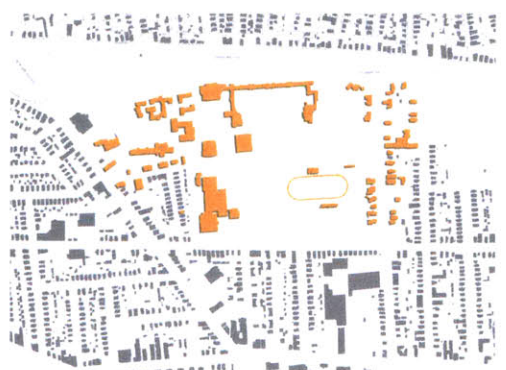
1874 Burges Plan
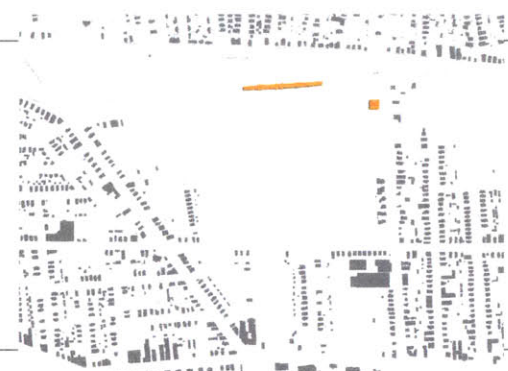
1881

1900

1920

1940

1960

1980

1997

2011

1823 — Trinity founded. Opens in 1824 in downtown Hartford.

1870

1872: Sells land to city for new State Capital and moves to its present Summit Street location six years later.

1874: Having never seen the site, English architect William Burges proposes an ambitious master plan consisting of three interconnected courtyards. Although not implemented, it influences later campus plans of University of Chicago and Stanford.

1883: Original Burges plan adapted by local architect, Francis Kimball. Resulted in the construction of three buildings known as the "Long Walk."

1900

1914: Several buildings (now all demolished) constructed without consideration of the Burges/Kimball scheme.

1920

1923: Trowbridge & Livingston propose master plan, based on Burges-Kimball scheme, in order to reconcile recent ad-hoc construction.

1938: Two new dorms constructed to accommodate increasing numbers of undergradautes and avoid the "danger of [becoming a] day-school."

1940

1940: The Chapel completes the central green's north edge. A series of buildings by McKim, Mead, and White fill in much of the south side. (completed between 1930 - 1940)

Post WWII: GI Bill results in influx of students and rapid physical expansion. Results in loose organization of buildings: engineering lab., dorms, field house, and library.

1960

Mid-1960s: a growing consciousness of Hartford's decline develops. Effects of suburbanization and industry loss become apparent in neighborhoods around campus.

1967: Doxiadis report, "The Trinity Community," received, but proves too far reaching for implementation.

1978: Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) established.
1979: Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill prepare a Landscape Master Plan.

1980

Late 1980s: Hartford hit by extreme job losses. Accelerates population loss and decline of property values.

1990: Fourth quadrangle formed by the Mathematics, Computing and Engineering Center designed by Cesar Pelli.

1994: Vernon Street closed to vehicular traffic and street abandoned to college by City of Hartford.

1995: Evan Dobelle begins 6-year tenure as president. Charged with leading neighborhood revitalization efforts.

1997: Campus master plan completed. Recommendations include opening Vernon Street entrance as "ceremonial front door," highlighting companion points of entrance, and construction of a new studio arts building to be sited where campus and neighborhood meet.

1998: Trinity Boys and Girls Club opens.

2000

2000: Learning Corridor opens. Trinfo.Cafe established.

2000-03: Major new constructionbuilding program includes: Summit Residences (2000), Admissions and Career Services Building (2001), major library addition (2003).

2002: Vernon Street refurbished as interior campus street.

2007: New campus master plan completed to account for new land acquisitions and address needs a more modest scale.

2007: Koeppel Community Sports Center opens.

Figure 3.20: City of Hartford with proposed design for Trinity College, 1877. Its previous site, now home to the State Capitol, is also visible.
Image Credit: Boston Public Library

A History of Trinity College and Hartford Relations

The physical barrier of the wrought-iron fence is a symbol of a seemingly fraught relationship; one the college would struggle with throughout its long history, as its city location often brought it into discord with its predominantly elitist ideals. It is ironic then that Trinity's urban Hartford location arose from the support and goodwill of the city. Established in 1823 as Washington College (name changed to Trinity in 1845), it was welcomed and even persuaded to locate in Hartford. With offers of financial contributions as well as building materials and labor from local citizens, the Trustees agreed to locate the state's second college in Hartford, referencing the city's "most cordial interests in their enterprise" as a factor in their decision. Trinity's founding was seen as a victory for Connecticut's Episcopalians who had struggled to establish their own institution as an alternative to the Congregationalist-controlled Yale.[1] (The college is unaffiliated today.)

The college was originally located in the city center, but in 1872 its "College Hill" campus was sold to the City of Hartford. The centrally located hilltop location was ideal for the proposed State Capitol building that the city hoped would solidify its role as the permanent state capital, which until that time had been shared with New Haven. The hill was also deemed inappropriate for long-term growth by the college president, who supported the sale and ultimately secured approval for the

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[1] "Trinity College - College History", n.d., http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/pubrel/development/retired_pages/about/history.html.

move from the college Trustees.[2] Students' reaction to the sale was a "subdued feeling of anger, anxiety, and indignation."[3] Despite their reaction, six years later Trinity moved to its present 100-acre hilltop location in south Hartford. After consulting with Frederick Law Olmsted, who provided general selection criteria, the Trustees purchased the Rocky Ridge site for $300,000.[4] The new location was favored for being sufficiently removed from the distractions of the city, but close enough to provide the cultural benefits of an urban location. Bounded by a rocky ridge on the west and gently sloping fields on the east, the elevation of the site contributed the added benefits of proper drainage and cooling breezes.[5]

The Trustees chose William Burges, a distinguished English architect, to design the new campus. Never having seen the site, he proposed a sophisticated scheme of four enclosed quadrangles along the west side of the campus. The scheme, described as epitomizing "the High Victorian ideal of a college campus in splendid isolation" was located along the site's ridgeline.[6] Francis Kimball, a local architect who had been sent by the college trustees to work with Burges, brought the designs back to Hartford in 1874. Unable to afford the costs associated with the elaborate plan, Trinity hired Kimball to revise the scheme to better adapt it to the site and to account for the college's
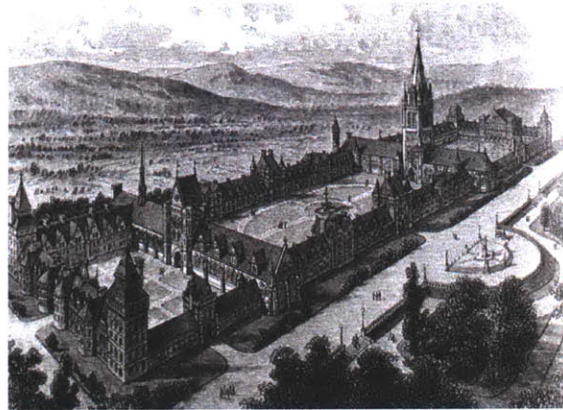

Figure 3.21: Burges proposal for new campus, 1874
Image Credit: Trinity College archives

financial restrictions.[7] The revisions resulted in a partial construction of Burges's design, two halls and a central tower known today as the "Long Walk." Though reduced to a portion of its intended grandeur, the Burges plan became an important precedent and inspiration for American college architecture.[8]

As Trinity settled into its elaborate new hilltop campus, physically removed from the activity of the city, its social ties to the surrounding community suffered. How much it was to be a "college of the city" would continue to trouble the school for most of its history. The college prospered through the 1880s and 1890s, but faced more difficult times as it entered the new century. Due in part to notoriety surrounding a decision to suspend the entire sophomore class for six weeks as punishment for the brutal hazing of freshmen, enrollments declined sharply (only six students graduated in the Class of 1904), and the college began to look increasingly to the Hartford area for many of its undergradu-

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[2] Peter Knapp, "Interview with Trinity College Archivist," In Person, April 27, 2011.
[3] Peter Knapp, *Trinity College in the Twentieth Century: A History* (Hartford, CT: Trinity College, 2000), 30.
[4] Ibid., 31.
[5] Knapp, "Interview with Trinity College Archivist."
[6] Cooper Robertson Ltd., "Trinity College Campus Master Plan", October 1997.

[7] Knapp, "Interview with Trinity College Archivist."
[8] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984), 217.
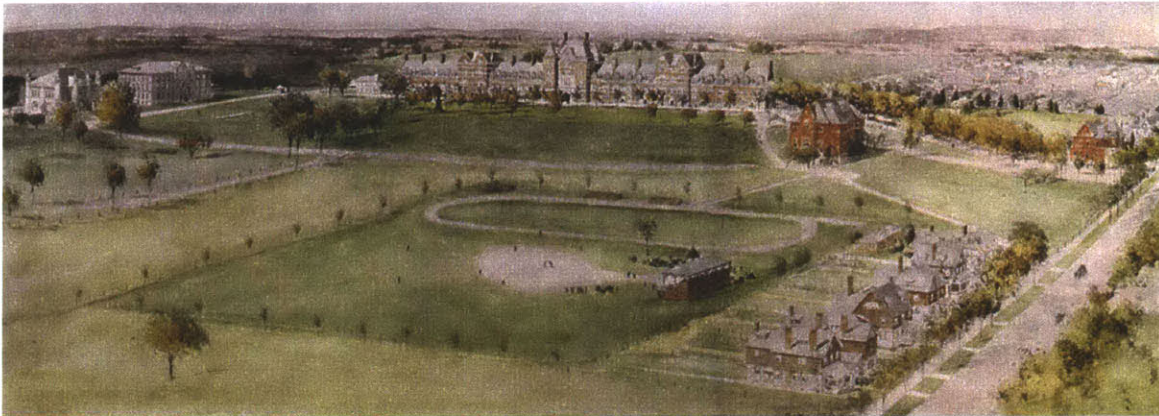
Figure 3.22: View of Trinity campus from the northeast, circa 1920. The houses in the foreground were constructed by the college for faculty.
Image credit: Trinity College website: http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx

ates.[9] By 1918, 50 percent of the student body came from Hartford, leading some to refer derisively to the college as the "Hartford Local." This change was not well received by alumni, who felt that the heavy local orientation of the student body had an adverse effect on Trinity's reputation in comparison to its small New England competitors in rural settings. They called for higher academic standards and an admission policy that would make the institution as "socially prestigious" as it had been in the 1880s and 1890s.[10]

Nevertheless, the college was moving forward, celebrating its centennial with a fund drive and series of events that included a second master plan for the college. Completed in 1923 by Samuel Trowbridge, a Trinity graduate and principal architect of the New York firm Trowbridge and Livingston, the new scheme attempted to reconcile the arbitrary layout of recent construction and confirmed the earlier campus character and its influential architecture. The plan resulted in the construction of

the Chapel as well as a chemistry building and two dormitories by McKim Mead and White. These new buildings were constructed in a compact layout, contributing to the insular nature of the college within the ample campus grounds. Despite being physically located in the city, the school remained tied to its hilltop location and withdrawn from the surrounding neighborhood; perhaps a separation kept to compensate for the moniker it had been given and to reinforce its elitist ambition.

Although alumni may not have appreciated the reputation their school had received, the early 20th century was still a prosperous and formative period for Trinity. As the model of the modern university began to evolve and reshape higher education, Trinity reaffirmed its commitment to remain a liberal arts college. At the same time, it laid out an objective to support expansion from a Hartford-area college to a regional institution, and increase enrollment to an optimum of five hundred students.[11] Trinity's relationship to its rural counterparts and continued

[9] "Trinity College - College History," education site, *Trinity College*, n.d., http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/pubrel/development/retired_pages/about/history.html.
[10] Knapp, *Trinity College in the twentieth century*, 51.

[11] "History of Trinity College," education site, *Trinity College*, n.d., http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx.

dialogue regarding its own urban location was addressed in the 1935-1936 "Annual Report," where it was noted that Trinity was "like the other small colleges of New England...(with) a definite tradition of being a resident college.... (However) we are the only college of our group located in a city rather than in a small town or village.... Trinity, therefore, could "welcome into our fellowship young men of Hartford, who bring cloistered seclusion into touch with the throbbing life of a city...."[12] Alumni seemed to find this sentiment acceptable as long as the number of Hartford students was kept to a minimum.

Trinity's role in the community would remain ambiguous throughout the 1930s and 1940s as the nation struggled with the effects of the Depression and WWII. However, the period of the Depression was surprisingly one of strength for the college. Enrollment increased from 280 in 1929 to 525 in 1938. As a result, two new dormitories were constructed on campus in order to keep the number of resident students in the majority and avoid the danger of becoming a "day-school or a city college."[13] Trinity and its architecturally significant campus became a tourist attraction for the city. In addressing the college, the president noted Trinity's many additional "intangible contributions" and claimed that Hartford should "bind the city to us with hoops

Figure 3.23: View of Trinity campus from the southwest, 1930s
Image credit: Trinity College website: http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx

of steel."[14] Such sentiments developed into an attempt at actual programmatic contributions in 1944 when the new president expanded on Trinity's relationship with Hartford by promising to continue to admit young men from the city, expand extension and summer school programs and "try to take an even greater interest in the life and activities of the community."[15]

Any concerted effort to partner with Hartford was thwarted by the influx of veterans after the passing of the G.I. Bill. In 1946, 799 undergraduates from 26 states enrolled, bypassing the estimated 575, and the number rose to 924 by 1950-1951. To accommodate the increase in students, the college had to remain on a year-round schedule and functioned almost around the clock.[16] The physical campus struggled to keep up with the growing number of students as well as address addi-

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[12] Knapp, *Trinity College in the twentieth century*, 91.
[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 94.
[15] Ibid., 119.
[16] Ibid., 120.

tional needs postponed during the depression and war. Soon the campus sported a new engineering laboratory, dorm, field house, and library. The college's initial 100-acre site provided the opportunity to expand mostly within its confines, avoiding contact with the surrounding neighborhood. However, the division between local students and those who lived on campus continued. A 1953 editorial in the college paper called for a reduction in the student body by increased selectivity and by drastically cutting the number of Hartford area students.[17]

The establishment of the University of Hartford in 1959 lessened the pressure to admit more local students, supporting the conviction of the president at that time who thought that the college should draw its students from a national rather than local applicant pool, even though it was located in a heavily populated area.[18] By 1960, attendance was at 1,000 students, resulting in a continued need for new housing. For the first time, the college sought assistance from the government and borrowed funding for a new dormitory from the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency. Students referred to the new dorm on the north end of campus, as an example of the "neo-chicken coop" style, as it fit in to neither the campus nor the residential community at the campus edge. As construction continued in order to meet the considerable demand, the college would seek $3 million in federal loans for dormitory construction. Unfortunately, construction was happening at such a quick pace that it was threatening the character of the collegiate
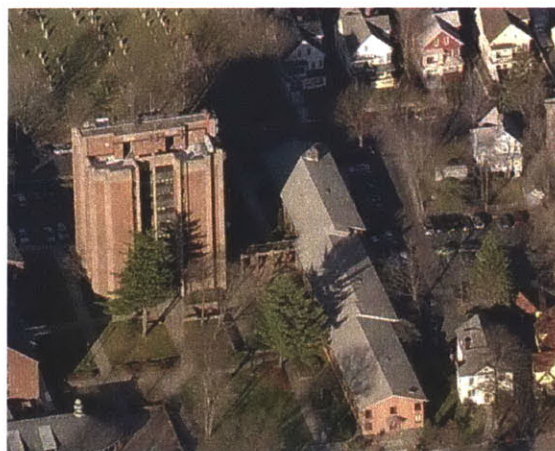
[17] Ibid., 194.
[18] Ibid., 240.

Figure 3.24: "Neo-chicken coop" style dormitories, completed 1968
Image Credit: Bing maps

gothic campus.[19] A student evaluation from the 1960s asserts that continued use of an architectural style that departed from previous standards, would imperil "the architectural harmony which gives Trinity its traditional character and makes it one of the most distinctive small college campuses."[20]

By the mid-1960s, a growing consciousness of Hartford's decline developed in the college community as the effects of suburbanization and loss of industry became apparent in the neighborhoods around the campus. The heightened awareness of Trinity students was aligned with a national movement. Students were more conscious of inequality and civil rights and sought "to counter pervasive forces of gloom and devastation present on the national or international front." Further influence at the time came from a prominent urban planner, Constantinos Doxiadis, who delivered three public lectures on cities in March 1966. His visit made a big impression on the Trinity community, evidenced in a college newspaper editorial, where a student writes,

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 271.

Figure 3.25: Analysis from Doxiadis report showing the neighborhood's "deficiences."

Using Federal Urban Renewal (Title I) criteria, the Doxiadis team rated the structural condition of buildings on a block basis. The report noted that structural conditions were generally good, but many of the worst blocks did qualify for clearance treatment (50% or more of the buildings were substandard).

They also considered the following: excessive dwelling unit densities, lot coverage, light, ventilation, incompatible land use relationships (residential and commercial), and lack of adequate school and recreational facilities.

ENVIRONMENTAL DEFICIENCIES
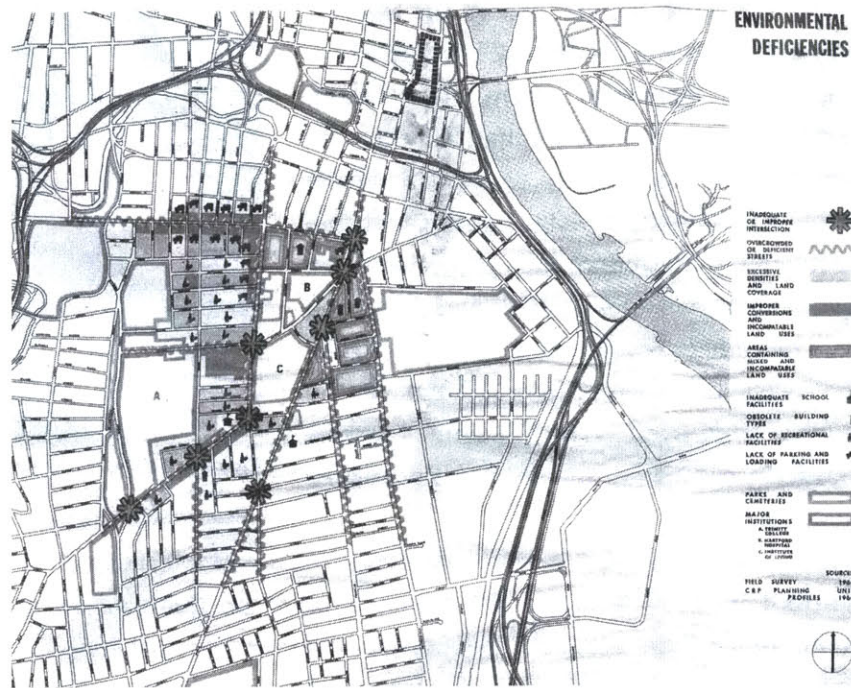
"Perhaps no other single person in recent years had such a profound effect on the college community as Dr. Doxiadis, and very few who had the opportunity to listen to him will ever look at cities, transportation, architecture, and society in the comfortable limited way to which they had formerly been accustomed."[21]

In the aftermath of the visit, the college announced that Doxiadis would undertake a feasibility study to determine how Trinity and its neighboring institutions, Hartford Hospital and its mental health component, the Institute of Living, could undertake an urban renewal project, a prevalent solution at that time for many Hartford neighborhoods under similar distress. The Doxiadis report, titled "The Trinity Community," was received in April 1967. It opens with an excerpt from a speech given by the Dean of the college in June 1966:

The basic concept [of the plan] is the creation of a village in a city. In that village housing would be available, for some of our faculty, and for some of the professional staffs of our distinguished neighboring institutions. Recreation, cultural, and shopping facilities would have to be provided for this community, but they could also serve the students of the College community just as such facilities as our Arts Center would be available to our new neighbors. If we planned in that way, our students could rub shoulders with a sophisticated adult community, could be a part of that community.[22]

That vision would guide the plan for an area described by Doxiadis as "confused" due to transitions that occurred between residential and mixed-use areas without "direction and with great vulnerability to local market pressures." Despite this, the report highlighted the location for its "relation to major centers of

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[21] Ibid., 297.

[22] Doxiadis Associates, *The Trinity Community* (Hartford, Connecticut: Trinity College, April 1967).

employment and Central Business District, and institutions of national prominence" and saw it as offering "tremendous potential for restoration into a vital and exciting community."[23] The study states its goal:

> To provide the means by which a desirable living environment may be created in this confused area, furnishing the needed direction and focus without disturbing the more desirable uses, structures, and development patterns, and without creating an impenetrable barrier of institutional uses between a strengthened and redeveloped Study Area and basically sound areas which encircle it to the south.

It goes on to say "Accomplishment of these purposes will require sacrifice"[24] and according to the April 1967 trustee minutes, the plan's "ultimate feasibility has chances of success only within the context of considerable physical change, including both structural revision and a basic reordering of the skeleton of the area."[25] The recommendations were in fact so far reaching and would require such large-scale interventions that the institutions were not able to coordinate an action plan.[26]

In spite of the inability to move forward with physical interventions, the college president in 1968 issued a call to action, "Trinity affirms its commitment to consider new programs directly related to public service and to work closely with other groups in the Hartford community in creating a better environment for all citizens of the area."[27] An Office of Community Affairs was created

in 1969 and the Trinity Office of Community Service, a student-run center organized to assist community organizations, put together volunteer activities, and arrange courses in urban related topics, was founded in 1970.

IMPETUS & PROJECT STRUCTURE

Despite efforts by students and the call to action, interest gradually lessened after the Doxiadis plan, and by the 1970s Trinity's direct role in Hartford's revitalization had largely dissipated. The previous generation of alumni, who had moved into leadership positions in the city and served as trustees, had largely passed and many thought of Trinity as having, at best, little to do with the city.[28] As the area continued to decline, residents began to push for more involvement by the neighborhood institutions in dealing with some of the negative issues happening in the community.[29] The same group that assembled for the Doxiadis plan – Trinity College, Hartford Hospital, and the Institute for Living – met again to discuss the concerns, and formed a coalition in 1976 to work with residents of the immediate neighborhood on developing a common community agenda. This led to the establishment of the Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) in 1978. After seeing the success of HART (Hartford Area Rally Together), a neighborhood alliance formed in 1975 by residents and clergy, which had successfully organized a network of neighborhood block clubs, SINA decided to follow their success and expand upon it. Privately capitalized by the member

[23] Ibid., 74.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Knapp, *Trinity College in the twentieth century*, 304.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., 331.
[28] Ibid., 432.
[29] Luis Caban, "Interview with Executive Director of SINA", January 30, 2011.

institutions, SINA saw its role as working cooperatively with and making connections between existing groups, as well as providing them with organizational knowledge and political support. Additionally, it contributed to the revitalization by strategically leveraging resources of its member institutions, which makes up the board of directors and equally funds the budget.

Today the neighborhoods of Frog Hollow and Barry Square are fortunate to have many active organizations with a variety of resources. For example, Frog Hollow has the following community based organizations: H.A.R.T., La Casa de Puerto Rico, the Connecticut Puerto Rican Forum, the Broad Park Development Corporation, the Park Street Development Corporation, SINA, and the Hispanic Health Council. In addition, churches and civic organizations are also active in many neighborhood initiatives.[30] With many needs already covered by these organizations, SINA builds on their efforts by focusing on developing and reinforcing relationships. The parent entity of SINA is a 501(c)(4), under which SINA, Inc. operates as a 501(c)(3). SINA declares its core competency to be its collaborative partnering style, financial independence and political access. In working with existing organizations, it contributes its organizational knowledge as well as its ability to both give and get political support, using well-developed advocacy skills to support local community organizations.[31]

Although there is strong community organization now, there was still much work

to be done at the time of SINA's founding. With the support of SINA, Trinity began a strategic planning effort in 1983 that included an emphasis on Hartford relations. The plan focused on improving the physical aspects of the college's immediate neighborhood by renovating housing stock in the one-block area surrounding the campus, investing in streetscape improvements as well as working through SINA to support mortgage programs for employees [32] It evolved in 1991 to a subsidy program, where through HART HOME, Trinity provided up to $10,000 in down payment and closing cost assistance for those who bought an owner occupied home adjacent to the campus.[33] Although some employees and faculty did take advantage of the program, Alden Gordon, a Trinity professor, recalls lost money in investments and several burglaries, which deterred others from making a similar commitment.[34] In the mid-to-late 1980s, Trinity opened the Community Child Center to fill a need for affordable early childhood education in the neighborhood.[35] The Center, which is housed on its campus, continues to offer early childcare schooling to both neighborhood and Trinity families. It was also at this time that Trinity appointed Eddie Perez, a Trinity alumnus and Hartford local (and future SINA director and Hartford mayor), to the newly created position of Director of

[30] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 10.

[31] "2004-2006 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan", 2006 2004, 4.

[32] Knapp, *Trinity College in the twentieth century*, 468.

[33] "History of Trinity College in the Community," *Trinity College: Community and Institutional Relations*, n.d., https://www.trincoll.edu/UG/UE/OCIR/History.htm.

[34] Alden Gordon, "Interview with Trinity Professor and Former Director of Planning for Capital Projects and Master Plan Task Force Committee," Via Phone, May 1, 2011.

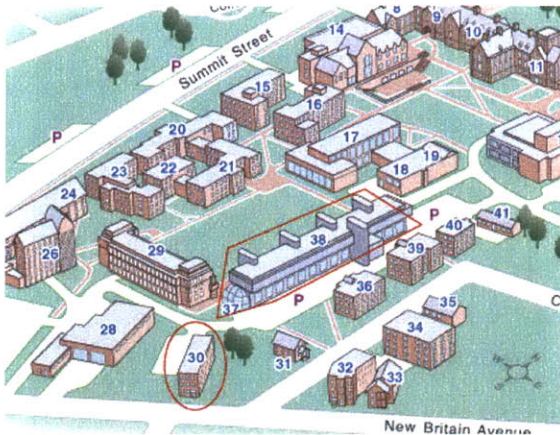[35] Jason Rojas, "Interview with Trinity College Director of Community Relations," In Person, January 30, 2011.

Figure 3.26: Location of Community Child Care Center on Trinity's campus
Image Credit: http://www.tc4.org/?page_id=21

Community Relations.[36] During this time, SINA also assisted HART with the establishment of the Frog Hollow Revitalization Committee, which served to promote commercial and residential redevelopment in the neighborhood.

Unfortunately, many of these gains would be undone by the weak economy of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Hartford was extremely hard hit by job losses in the insurance and banking industries, resulting in loss of almost 300,000 jobs between 1988 and 1995.[37] It accelerated population loss (40 percent loss between 1950 and 2000) and provoked a decline in housing values. The city became fraught with vacancies, a large contributor to a 45 percent loss in the tax base between 1980 and 2000.[38] It was a major shock to an already struggling city.

Moreover, the retreat of major industry resulted in losses beyond those associated with employment. Referred to as "paternalistic

bishops," the industrial and business leaders had long presided over Hartford affairs and had been relied on to support the city's cultural organizations and community groups.[39] Hartford was not only facing a major blow to its economy, but its foundations were crumbling as well. Ken Greenberg, an urban planner for both Trinity and Hartford, described the situation, "Things that happened everywhere seemed to happen here with greater drama and intensity and rapidity. All that left a sense of vacuum, a sense of loss or purpose, a loss of role, and that has been difficult to counter."[40] As a result, drug and gang activity in Hartford escalated, much of which was focused in the Frog Hollow neighborhood. Former Trinity College president, Tom Gerety, described the atmosphere at the time, "It was desperation. The neighborhood seemed like hell on wheels."[41] Desperation brought Gerety to go as far as to suggest the college move out of Hartford to such a location as the Avon Old Farms Boarding School, just west of the city. The chairman of the board of trustees rejected the idea, but the story illustrates the gravity of the situation.[42] Such feelings on campus escalated when, in 1994, a shootout and a gang-related murder occurred just across Broad Street from where Trinity students were practicing lacrosse. The heightened fear brought the college to desperate measures,

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[36] "History of Trinity College in the Community."
[37] Cooper Robertson Ltd., "Trinity College Campus Master Plan," 6.
[38] David Lamb, "Once-gilded city buffing itself up," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA, June 15, 2003).

[39] William Reynolds, "Interview with Secretary of Trinity College," In Person, March 14, 2011.
[40] Editorial Board, "'You just need to get started.': A conversation with Ken Greenberg," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, March 3, 2002).
[41] Gene Maeroff, ed., *The learning connection : new partnerships between schools and colleges* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 120.
[42] Reynolds, "Interview with Secretary of Trinity College."

Figure 3.27: Locked gateway on Broad Street, 1997
Image credit: Trinity College Master Plan, Phase One:
Analysis, Trinity College archives

prompting it to extend its wrought iron fence across the Vernon and Broad streets entrance. The street was abandoned by the city, closed to vehicular traffic, and the neighborhood in crisis beyond.

REVITALIZATION PROGRAM

The erection of the fence was a short-term answer to the problems Trinity faced and would not keep the college a prisoner it its own gates for long. According to Bill Reynolds, current college secretary and former trustees member, Gerety had begun "to focus the college and board on the idea that the college's own long term interests are tied to the health and the economic and educational well-being of the community at-large and the community immediately surrounding the campus." When he voluntarily left, an enlightened board of trustees, led by a New York City real estate investor who understood urban issues, decided that his departure was an opportunity to hire
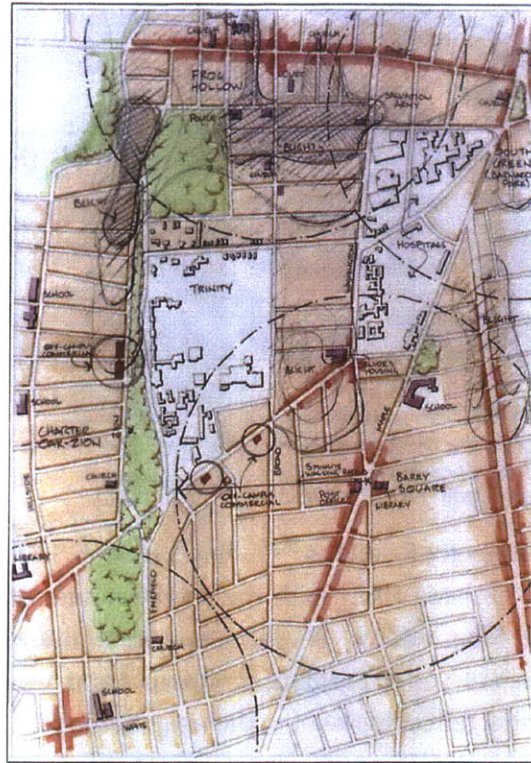

Figure 3.28: Areas of decline and vibrancy
Image credit: 1997 Campus Master Plan

someone who was "schooled in things other than strictly scholarly academics" and could lead and effort to revitalize the neighborhood.[43] In 1995, Trinity hired a new president charged with taking on the challenging issues lying beyond its fences. Described as an "unortho-dox college president, more slick politician than tweedy academic," Evan Dobelle came from a varied background with experience in education (president of two community colleges), politics (mayor of Pittsfield, MA) and government service (chief of protocol in the Carter administration), an appropriate mix for the task ahead. His experience, political clout, and visionary ideas would be instrumental in moving the efforts forward.[44]

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

He believed strongly in furthering Trinity's role in Frog Hollow and Barry Square, going so far as to call community revitalization a moral obligation of higher education.[45] In remarks to the National Press Club in 1999, he stated, "The time has come to awaken the conscience and assert the moral authority of academic institutions. We have an obligation to look beyond our gates and to step down from the ivory tower. We are privileged communities of learning. We also, however, belong to the much larger community that extends beyond our campuses."[46] He went on to say, "The 21st century will not countenance an academic community...that hides behind the sanctity of scholarship as an excuse for campus isolation, and that sacrifices moral authority on the altar of institutional arrogance."[47]

Figure 3.29: Early map of initiatives and proposals, (undated)
Image credit: Trinitiy College archives

The seeds of change had already been established when Dobelle was chosen for the presidency, but he thought big and soon became the face of the new initiative. With the support of the Trustees, he galvanized the college and its SINA partners, emboldening them to face their problems head on. In a joint effort with the SINA partners – including its newest additions, the Connecticut Children's Medical Center and Connecticut Public Television and Radio – a new Strategic Plan was developed that sought to encompass all

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[45] Prevost, "Mending Town Gown."
[46] Evan Dobelle, "Stepping Down from the Ivory Tower" (presented at the National Press Club, Trinity College, Hartford, CT, February 18, 1999), 8.
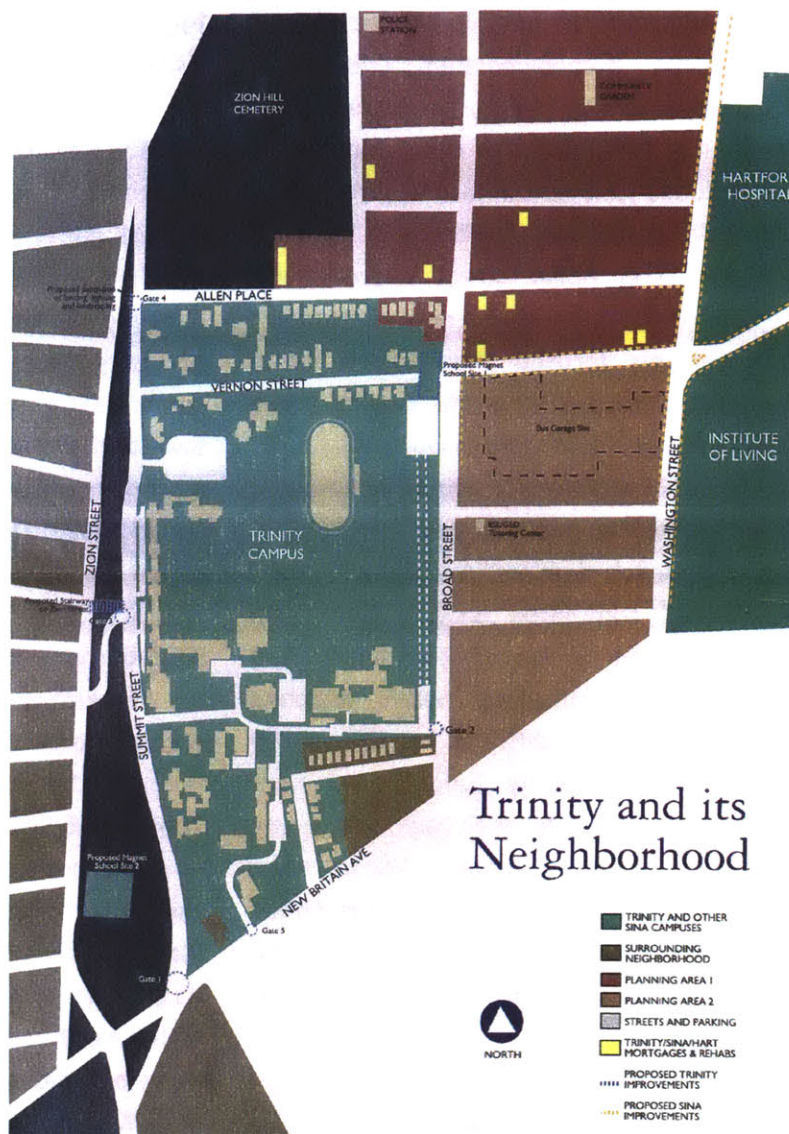[47] Ibid., 10.

aspects of healthy community life: education, employment, homeownership, commercial retail, public safety, health, youth, and leadership. The first efforts to come out of the plan included new school facilities, revitalization and construction of affordable housing, a multi-million dollar street improvement project and the opening of a new job center.[48] SINA partners focused their efforts on a 15-square-block area (it works beyond those boundaries, as circumstances warrant).

The $175 million effort would be heralded as an innovative public-private partnership. Under Dobelle's leadership, Trinity's board of trustees committed $5.9 million from its endowment to launch the effort. The SINA partner institutions nearly matched their contribution with an additional $5 million. The remaining funds came from city and state bonds, mortgage and home renovation subsidies through Fannie Mae, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Those funds would be used for a variety of initiatives as summarized in the following pages.

HOUSING & PHYSICAL REHABILITATION

To gain support for this elaborate plan, the first thing Dobelle did – even before his first football game – was to raze four dilapidated buildings on the campus's eastern border. The known crack houses, which had been the site of a gang assassination the previous year, had come to symbolize the "cancer that was eating away at the neighborhood."[49] Dobelle was able to convince the college board of trustees to spend $600,000 on the demolition. Such quick action, characteristic of Dobelle's presidency, was according to him "needed to have the neighborhood know that this is for real."[50]

Nevertheless, these houses were just a small portion of the deserted and derelict buildings that lined the neighborhood streets. Trinity and SINA's work was just beginning. In order to create the stability needed to see the other initiatives succeed, the Strategic Plan established homeownership as one of its primary goals, proclaiming that the future of the neighborhood rested in expanding the mass of residents who felt they had a stake in it. With a 24 percent citywide homeownership rate, Hartford was already the lowest in the state. But the target area, with a rate of 20 percent in Barry Square and only 8 percent in Frog Hollow, would provide an even greater challenge. The report also cited overcrowding and a median monthly rent higher than that of the city as a major motivating factors

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[48] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 4.

[49] Prevost, "Mending Town Gown."
[50] Patricia Seremet, "No ivory tower at street level: Trinity president on course to rebuild neighborhood," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, October 13, 1998).
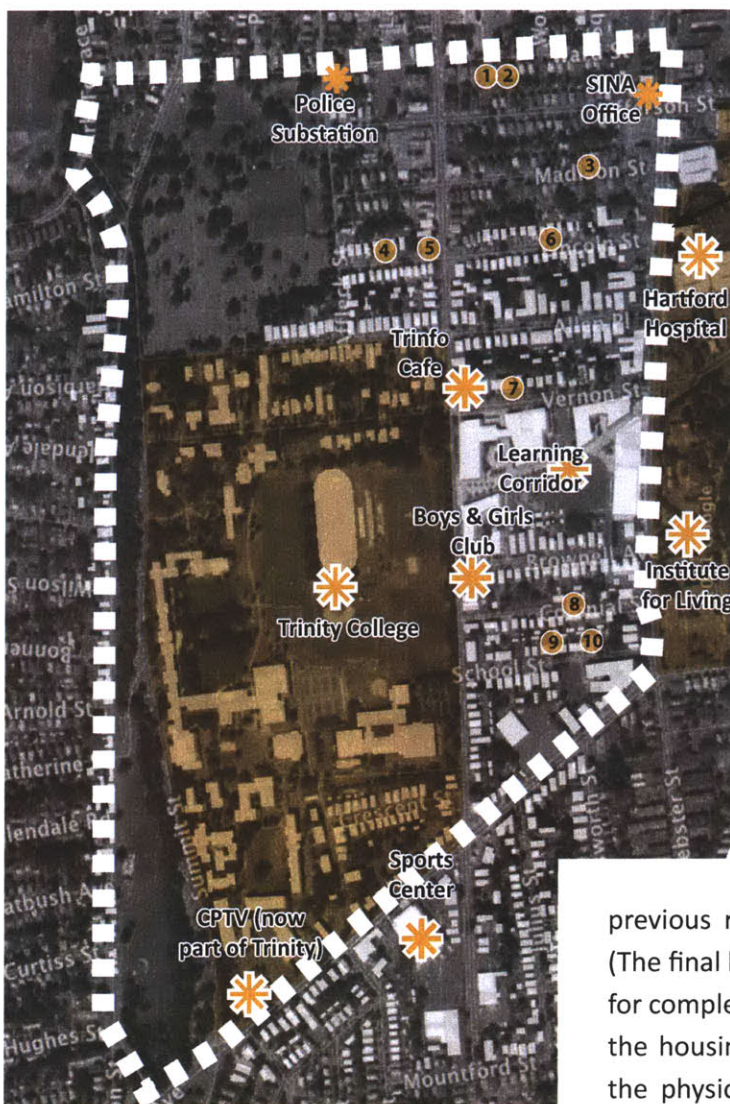
Figure 3.30: SINA Partners and neighborhood investments
Image credit: map by author based on SINA data. See http://www.sinainc.org/community_impact/Regional_Map/regionalmap.htm

— Boundary of 15-block Focus Area

Key: SINA Housing Initiatives

1. - 2.)
83 & 87 Ward Street. Renovation of multi-family rental buildings
3.) 32 Madison Street. Six-unit housing renovation.
4-6.) Cityscape Homes on Lincoln Street.
7.) 42 Vernon Street. Renovation of a multi-family rental buildings.
8.) Homeownership: new construction of 18 houses (26 units) on School and Colonial Streets
9. & 10.) 50 & 37 School Street. Renovation of multi-family rental buidings.

behind their efforts.[51] The concern was so great that SINA decided to move beyond its facilitator approach to tackle the issue directly and formed a partnership with Broad-Park Development Corporation to form a developer LLC, Pope Park Zion. It committed to completing 51 affordable homeownership units and 71 affordable rental units within the 15-block target area in four stages. The background of the homes' new residents vary, but many are previous renters from the city of Hartford.[52] (The final homeownership units are scheduled for completion in 2012.) SINA has championed the housing effort for its ability to transform the physical character of the neighborhood. Using a "target block" approach to its housing development activities, it has chosen sites by zeroing in on most blighted properties and dealing with them as one project, thereby making the biggest impact.[53] It has used the affordable rental units to transform a dozen dilapidated buildings into 74 units of quality affordable rental apartments and has converted entire streets of mostly vacant lots into a neighborhood.

[51] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 8.

[52] Caban, "Interview with Executive Director of SINA."
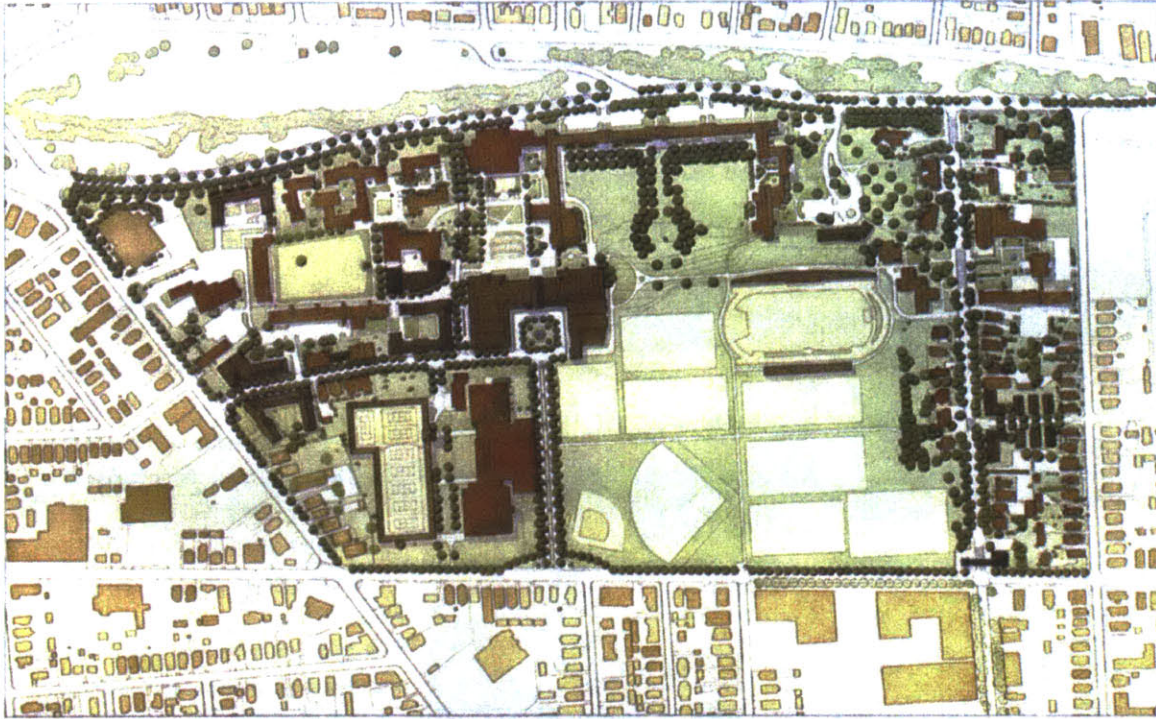[53] "2004-2006 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 5.

Figure 3.31: Trinity College Campus Master Plan by Cooper Robertson, 1997

CAMPUS MASTER PLAN

As part of an overall process of reexamining its educational policies and priorities Trinity commenced a Strategic Planning Process in 1995, which called for "using every advantage of Trinity's location to provide a distinctive liberal arts education." As part of the process Trinity called for a master plan to help "articulate in physical terms this new educational vision of an extended community of learning, to facilitate its many exciting and distinctive programs drawing on Hartford, and to compete with the very best of its peer institutions." A faculty member at the time writes of the importance of such an endeavor, "What we need is an effort to make Trinity and the initiative a part of the neighborhood. What we don't need is a series of buildings, which yet again are inward oriented and serve to "admit" the neighborhood to Trinity's "realm" on Trinity's terms while continuing to separate "us" from "them.""[54]

To answer such a call, Trinity assembled an experienced and talented campus master plan team. Led by Cooper Robertson of New York City, the effort included six other consultants, including William Rawn of Boston and Berridge, Lewinberg, Greenberg, Dark, Gabor (now Urban Strategies, Inc.) of Toronto, as well as advisors from Hartman-Cox Architects in DC and the Yale School of Architecture. The goal of the 1997 plan was to complement the strengths of the Burges and Trowbridge plans, to redress some problems, which resulted from the unplanned development of the 1950s–1990s, and "for the first time to consider the campus

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[54] Michael Niemann to Evan Dobelle, "Master Plan Task Force", December 13, 1996, Trinity College archives.

in its urban setting in the city of Hartford." It described the current conditions as a "diminution of campus character corresponded with deterioration of the surrounding neighborhoods – erosion of campus and retrenchment from its surroundings." The goal of the plan was to regain this lost ground by physically engaging the surrounding neighborhoods as a catalyst for local area improvements.

In order to do so, the plan identified a number of strategic moves to open up the college to the neighborhood, more clearly articulate the college's physical relationship, and extend its influence outward. Among the main objectives of the plan were suggestions to address long-standing problems such as the need for a well-defined main entrance to the college from the Hartford side (the only one having just been closed), as well as a clearer articulation of the campus in its relationship to the neighborhood. It set out 13 design principles, including the creation of a "ceremonial front door" to "dramatically transform a currently barred and gated space into a welcoming entrance," creating "companion points of entrance on the southern edges," and " a new studio arts building to be sited where campus and neighborhood meet to provide a symbolic gateway to Trinity's surrounding community."[55]

The reopening of Vernon Street was seen as a critical element in Trinity's efforts to engage with the neighborhood. Evan Dobelle described the significance, "I think that is really very symbolic to the community and the neighborhood...that the college no longer is circling the wagons." The Frog Hollow Neighborhood
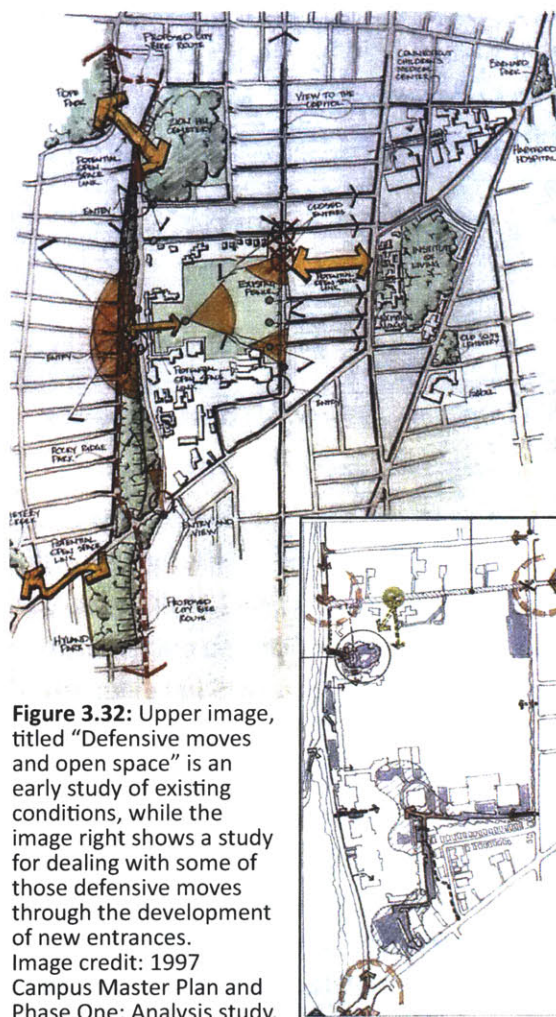

Figure 3.32: Upper image, titled "Defensive moves and open space" is an early study of existing conditions, while the image right shows a study for dealing with some of those defensive moves through the development of new entrances. Image credit: 1997 Campus Master Plan and Phase One: Analysis study.

Revitalization Zone chairwoman echoed his sentiments, "Keeping up gates and closing streets would just mean Trinity is interested in isolating itself. Taking it down is going to be one of the most important statements they ever make to the neighbors."[56]

In November 1997, the board of trustees passed a $94 million campus improvement project involving new buildings and renovation and the reopening of the Vernon Street gateway

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[55] Cooper Robertson Ltd., "Trinity College Campus Master Plan."

[56] Robert Frahm, "Trinity opening its gates to city - new entrances are part of the $94 million renovation plan," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, November 21, 1997), Statewide edition, sec. Main.
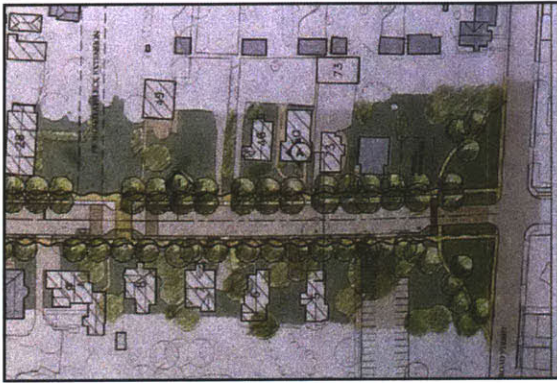
Figure 3.33: Proposal for Vernon Street with opened entrance
Image credit: 1997 Campus Master Plan

Figure 3.34: Vernon Street gate, 2011. View from Broad Street
Image credit: Author's photo

as well as the addition and redesign of other entrances to connect the campus with the city. However, over time the situation of the college changed and many of the recommendations were not fully realized. With the departure of Evan Dobelle in 2001 and a series of failed presidencies that followed, momentum for the effort was lost. Priority projects such as a new dormitory and admissions building had been expensive and a downturn in the economy made additional fundraising difficult, especially with a destabilized administration. Many of the projects were seen as too ambitious under such conditions. The board of trustees also got cold feet over the reopening of the Vernon Street gate, worried about safety due to the danger of cars from the neighborhood driving through at very high speeds.[57] It was however, reopened to pedestrian traffic, its design incorporated into larger landscape improvements for Vernon Street.

Following on the heels of the campus planning work, Trinity's Office for Community Relations, in conjunction with SINA, initiated

the SINA Neighborhood Planning and Design Project led by Ken Greenberg of Berridge, Lewinberg, Greenberg, Dark, Gabor. They were charged with preparing sector studies of the neighborhoods surrounding campus to assist the college in bridging the campus-to-city physical boundaries. The group, which included neighborhood residents, the Small Merchants Associations, and Neighborhood Revitalization Zones, came together three times over the course of several months for two-day long charrettes to "plan the neighborhood they wish[ed] to see emerge."[58] The effort brought community groups together under the direction of Eddie Perez and was described as a "phenomenal" experience by those involved. Unfortunately, a comprehensive effort dissolved in 1999, attributed by one participant to "petty turf issues."[58.5] Even though specific elements of the plan were not implemented, consultant Ken Greenberg did continue working in the area. He was subsequently hired to do a successful revitalization

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[57] Gordon, "Interview with Trinity Professor and Former Director of Planning for Capital Projects and Master Plan Task Force Committee."

[58] Alden Gordon to Evan Dobelle, November 10, 1997.
[58.5] Unfortunately, the final plan also seems to have dissolved; a copy could not be located in archive material nor from SINA partners or consultants.
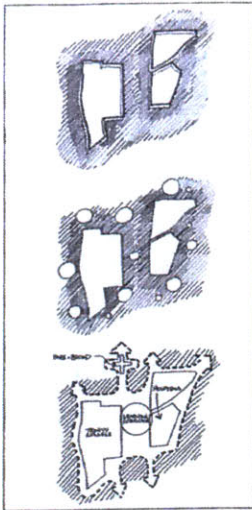
Figure 3.35: The overarching strategy of the neighborhood plan was to coordinate interventions that build upon existing successful areas. An early study states, "The few existing active uses, which have survived the scouring of urban blight should be considered magnets onto wich new vibrant uses can be grafted."

Image credit: Trinity College Master Plan, Phase One: Analysis, Trinity College archives

plan for the major commercial thoroughfare in Frog Hollow as well as to continue in advising SINA housing initiatives. He still heralds the college's efforts and describes the neighborhood as "a world apart from where it was."[59]

Finally, the SINA partners in conjunction with the City of Hartford initiated a major street-improvement program with the goal of making the neighborhood more attractive, safer, and more welcoming. The projects focused on improving sidewalks, intersections, and traffic flow. Completed in 1998, phase one of the effort consisted of a $1.3 million program focused on the edges of the campuses of Trinity and its hospital partners, with the goal of creating a "seamless campus" in the neighborhood. Phase two, supported by $1.6 million in federal funds, aligned the street improvements with other area investments. In addition, the projects included new and improved street lighting, replacing a chain link fence around Zion Hill Cemetery with a wrought iron one, landscaping, and signage.[60]

"Unless that supporting human and social infrastructure is in place, the bricks and mortar are unlikely to have an enduring impact on the neighborhood."[61]

SINA Strategic Plan, 2004-2006

EDUCATION

"It had to succeed for the children who are this city's and this nation's future, children who needed to be inspired to believe that there is a path – a corridor, if you will – that can lead them from preschool all the way to college and beyond."[62]

Evan Dobelle,
Former Trinity College President, 1995

The closure of Trinity's Broad Street entrance, while a reaction to a violent crime, was most likely also due to an abutting tract of land long plagued by drug dealers and prostitution. The abandoned and contaminated property, formerly occupied by the Connecticut Transit Company's bus garage, served as a major source of blight and divide between the neighborhood institutions and surrounding community. The size of the site and magnitude of remediation required for it to be used had prevented an intervention for decades. Even the 1967 Doxiadis plan had targeted the site, calling it a "Pole of Attraction" and recommending its acquisition and redevelopment into "residential uses, with ancillary commercial and open space and with cultural activities drawing on the resources of the institutions."

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[59] Ken Greenberg, "Interview with SINA Neighborhood Plan Consultant," Via Phone, April 28, 2011.
[60] Christine Palm, "Good Fences, Good Neighbors," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT, August 22, 2004), sec. Place.
[61] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 2.
[62] Evan Dobelle, "This is Hartford's triumph," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, September 3, 2000), sec. Op-Ed.
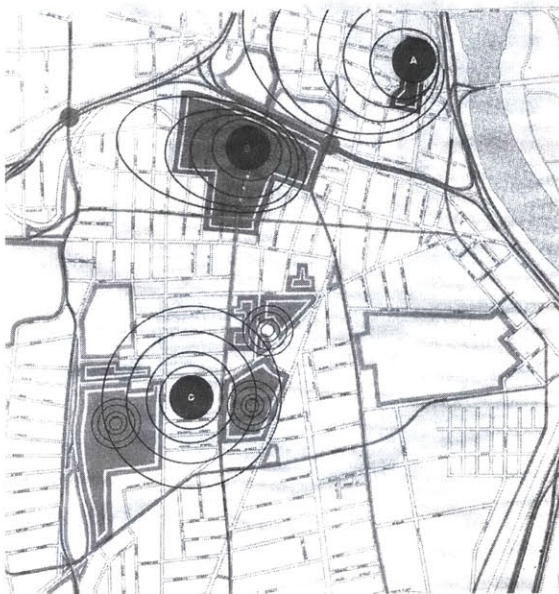
Figure 3.36: "Poles of Attraction." The bus site is the third pole for the city.
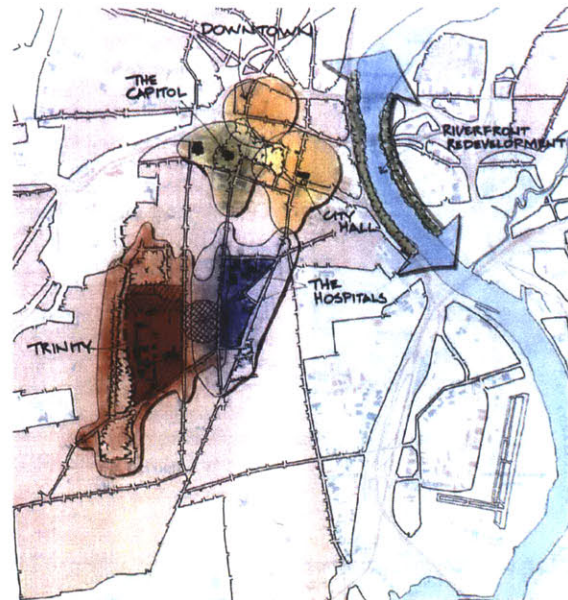Image credit: Doxiadis Associates Plan, 1967. Trinity College archives

Figure 3.37: "Zones if Influence." A similar study by the 1997 consultant team.
Image credit: Trinity College Master Plan, Phase One: Analysis, Trinity College archives

It went on to say, "No other site offers the number of assets for such development as that selected. No other type of development which could be considered offers the potential for creating an impact sufficient to reverse the downward spiral characterizing the Study Area."[63] Unfortunately, the site stayed vacant for another 30 years, and the area continued to spiral downward.

Its potential to become something special and link the neighborhood back together was finally realized by Evan Dobelle, who announced in his 1995 inaugural address that he had already begun a plan to revitalize the area with the creation of a "village of learning." Dobelle's vision would become the central piece of the SINA neighborhood revitalization initiative. The design of the site, which was included in the scope of Greenberg and SINA,

centered on a diagonal corridor that stretched from the college to the hospitals and neighborhood beyond. It was a metaphor for "an extended community of learning stretching from the college to the neighborhood."[64] That link, and the site as a whole, became known as "The Learning Corridor," a campus created with four schools – an interdistrict Montessori-style public elementary school, a magnet public middle school, a science, mathematics, and technology high school and the Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts.

The project, completed in 2000, was originally heralded for realizing the need for a local school. That goal, however, became subordinate to the city's regional school choice program, which has filled many of the schools' slots with students from Hartford's suburbs and other city neighborhoods. Students are

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[63] Doxiadis Associates, *The Trinity Community*, 78.

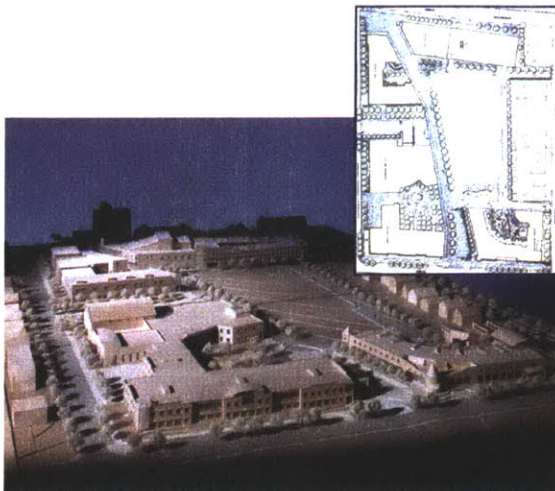[64] Trinity College, "Strengthening a Neighborhood from Within" (Trinity College, 1998), 4.

Figure 3.38: Learning Corridor design proposal, looking toward Trinity College
Image credit: "Strenthening a Neighborhood from Within."

chosen for the schools by lottery and in some cases auditions and academic performance standards. The diversity of the school population is seen as one of its great social and educational successes, but as the local newspaper reports, for local residents "there's something in their backyard that's really special but their children are left out."[65] The 2004-2006 SINA Strategic Plan addresses this inequity by including among its goals the need to increase neighborhood access to the Learning Corridor's campus and facilities, as well as increasing the number of SINA neighborhood youth attending the schools. Of the four campus schools, the only one to meet this goal is the CREC Montessori Magnet School, which gives neighborhood preference for students who lives within ½ mile radius of the school, but does not reserve a certain percentage of seats.[66]

The Learning Corridor was originally operated by the SINA organizations through the Learning Center Corporation (LCC), wherein each partner institution was responsible for part of the funding and management of the facility. However, the organization suffered from funding losses and challenges associated with distributing funding and management responsibilities evenly among the institutions. As a result, the Learning Corridor was turned over to the control of the individual schools – Hartford Public Schools and Capitol Region Education Council (CREC) – and the Hartford Parks and Recreation Department. According to former LLC Director of Communications and Community Relations, Aura Alverado, the new structure has resulted in a disconnect from the area community. Under the LCC, connection and service to the community was centered in one place, but with current management now happening in pieces, the initial purpose has faded.[67] Nevertheless, facilities are still used by a variety of groups including the Boys and Girls Club, the YMCA, which holds weekly community swims, and many neighborhood families who take advantage of the playgrounds and open space.

The Learning Corridor's proximity to the college makes it easy for Trinity students to volunteer their time in tutoring and mentoring. The Marie and John Zimmerman Fund of New York awarded Trinity a $330,000 grant in 2001 to establish an official program where Trinity undergraduates work with Hartford Magnet

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[65] Rachel Gottlieb, "Learning Corridor celebrated - but some neighbors feeling deprived of access to specialized school," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, October 14, 2000), sec. Connecticut.
[66] Rojas, "Interview with Trinity College Director of

Community Relations."
[67] Aura Alverado, "Interview with Director of Communications & Community Relations, Capitol Region Education Council," Via Phone, April 15, 2011.

Middle School children. The program, referred to as Rising Stars, provides homework assistance and mentoring to students twice a week. About 40 Trinity students serve as mentors.[68] The program provides a unique and important opportunity for Trinity students to encounter the world outside their campus, a fact not lost on the students. One writes, "Our five-minute trek across campus twice weekly to HMMS becomes a journey into a whole new world."[69] Another student tells of the M.D. Fox Mentoring Program – an elementary school in Barry Square – as a way to find "solid common ground between two schools so seemingly different, the M.D. Fox Mentoring Program builds a bridge over this gap and benefits all those who cross it."[70] Furthermore, Trinity is in the process of working with the Hartford Magnet Middle School to offer an early college high school model. Similar to the program with Clark and UPCS, students would have Trinity IDs and access to its facilities as well as opportunities to be involved in the coursework there. Finally, Trinity aims to keep its promise to welcome more Hartford students into its community by providing $985,000 in direct financial aid to undergraduate students who are Hartford residents as well as a limited number of tuition waivers each year to qualified employees of the City of Hartford and hospitals. These community-based educational opportunities are indeed a change from its earlier days, where it fought the name

"Hartford Local." The institution is now trying to balance a student body where 70-80 percent come from outside of Connecticut as well as contribute its greatest asset, education, to a troubled Hartford school system.[71]

SAFETY

There is a clear visual boundary surrounding the SINA member institutions' respective campuses. That physical boundary can increase the perception of decline and disorder as the orderliness of the institutional properties contrast strongly with the sense of disorderliness on the surrounding streets. The physical image of the neighborhood has a definite impact on the economic strengths and future of the SINA institutions.

SINA 1996 Strategic Plan

The safety of its students and faculty prompted Trinity to become directly involved in revitalizing its neighborhood. The shooting that happened just outside their fence was indicative of a much larger problem harbored in the vacant lots and rundown buildings of the surrounding neighborhood. For many, Frog Hollow seemed to be "ground zero" for gang wars in 1995, a period described as Hartford's worst outbreak of gang violence ever.[72] The construction of a new police substation in Frog Hollow, as well as the introduction of police bike patrols, coordinated with Trinity campus security, were part of the efforts to control the outbreak. SINA donated several of the police bicycles, which are commended for helping to give officers a more visible presence

[68] Office of Communication, *Trinity's Engagement in Greater Hartford* (Hartford, Connecticut: Trinity College, November 2010).
[69] "MD Fox Mentoring Program," *Trinity College Office of Community Service and Civic Engagement*, Fall 2010, 9.
[70] Ibid., 8.

[71] Rojas, "Interview with Trinity College Director of Community Relations."
[72] "1996 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan."

and to make them more approachable, thereby increasing contact and trust with the community. SINA also supported an expansion of HART's Block-watch Programs as well as the public safety activities of the Neighborhood Revitalization Zone committees.[73] In addition, the 2004-2006 SINA Strategic Plan credited physical improvements for generating feelings of safety, "...The cleanliness of streets surrounding the institutions and the Learning Corridor and better lighting were all cited [by residents] as contributing to these perceptions."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As part of Trinity's comprehensive efforts to recast itself and market its urban spin on liberal education, it began several innovative projects. With assistance from a $5.1 million grant from the Kellogg Foundation in 1998, awarded to help the surrounding neighborhood and integrate Trinity's earlier projects into one seamless whole, the college created the Smart Neighborhood Project to bridge the digital divide between Trinity and its neighbors. The project consisted of many smaller initiatives, the most successful and long lasting of which is the Trinfo.Cafe. Established with grant assistance in 2000 as a neighborhood technology center, it is now part of Trinity's budget (over $170,000 annually) and is staffed by Trinity students and staff. It continues to offer training classes, and support for local residents and small businesses in the area. Averaging 25,000 visits annually, it has also donated

Figure 3.39: View of Trinfo.Cafe from Vernon Street gateway
Image credit: photo by author

refurbished computers to over 300 families in south Hartford, including all SINA Cityscape homeowners.

Additionally, Trinity supported curriculum initiatives that encouraged participation in larger community issues. Initially this happened through the Community Learning Initiative (CLI), a classroom-based project that combined traditional coursework with service learning and "real world" application, more fully incorporating urban themes into the curriculum. It was part of an effort begun in 1997 with the goal of making "more extensive use of Hartford as an educational resource while recognizing both increasing importance of urban studies and an urgent need to attend to urban problems."[74] Today CLI involves almost all of the college's academic departments, more than 80 community organizations in Greater Hartford, and about half of Trinity's students (roughly 1,100).[75] The Trinity Center for Neighborhoods (TCN), which assists neighborhood organizations in conducting research,

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[73] "2004-2006 Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Strategic Plan," 12.

[74] Mark Warren McLaughlin, "Curricular Connections to a Capital City," *Trinity Reporter*, February 1997, 21.
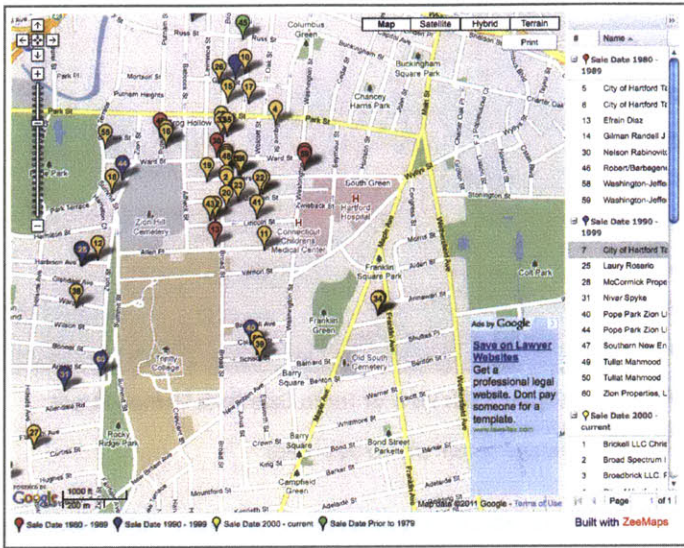[75] Office of Communication, *Trinity's Engagement in Greater Hartford*.

Figure 3.40: An example of a Trinity Center for Neighborhoods Project: **"Problem Properties"**

The stated purpose of the map was to link abandoned buildings directly to their owners. The partnership organization, HART, offered the owners rehabilitation assistance and used the publication of the data to provide motivation for the owners to act. The project had the ultimate goal of linking addresses with the frequency of 911 calls, and documenting the costs of such structures to the city.

In conjunction with two other community groups, TCN developed a manual and supporting documents to assist in collecting data about the properties and to help owners get the issues resolved.

Image credit: A screen shot taken from http://prog.trincoll.edu/gis/projects/fymashups/problem_properties.htm

was one such initiative. The center, originally funded in 1994 through HUD's COPC program, conducted research on questions of concern that came from neighborhood community groups. Faculty and student provided research capabilities, training, and data-resources to assist these groups in community problem-solving and strategic planning efforts. The center completed more than 45 applied research projects until it closed in 2005. Today such initiatives include a mural on the side of the Trinfo.Cafe, a performance collaboration between a dance class and Hartford public school and a website designed to inform parents about school choice.[76]

SOCIAL & RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Adjacent to the Learning Corridor is the first Boys & Girls Club to be affiliated with a higher education institution. Initiated by a large donation from Ann and Thomas Johnson

('62 and Board of Trustees Chairman), additional support quickly materialized from local corporations, foundations, and individuals. The club was dedicated in a 1998 ceremony featuring General Colin Powell, U.S. Army (Ret.) a member of the Board of the Boys and Girls Club of America. It continues to be supported by the college with a yearly payment of $30,000 as well as with the help of Trinity student volunteers.

In 2010, Trinity celebrated the 13th anniversary of Dream Camp, which provides 5 weeks of recreational and academic activities at no cost to about 250 Hartford children each summer on Trinity's campus. Many camp counselors are Trinity students and about 60 children continue working with Trinity students through the academic year in an after-school tutoring program. The relationship is important for both parties, according to Trinity President James Jones: "Our Dream Campers and their counselors begin to understand that they are

[76] Ibid.

Figure 3.41: Mural on side of Trinfo.Cafe. Completed in April 2011.

Figure 3.42: The Koeppel Community Sports Center, 2011
Image credit: Photo by author

not just passing through Trinity and Hartford, but are part of an educational community."[77]

A recent addition to the Trinity campus is the Koeppel Community Sports Center, an ice rink and athletic facility located across from the campus proper. Charged with many purposes, it is seen as link between campus and community as well as catalyst for economic development on the Broad Street and New Britain Avenue corridor. Opened in December 2006, the center offers a new venue for cultural events, conferences, and camps for the community. It provides a safe space for recreational opportunities for area children groups such as the Boys and Girls Club and builds on other Trinity efforts, such as linking Learn-to-skate and youth hockey programs with academic tutoring. These programs are held with the goal of increasing children's exposure to, and likelihood of attending college. The $15.5 million facility was funded by private donations as well as a $2 million state bond, issued in exchange for providing

15 hours a week for community usage, thus another incentive for Trinity to open the facility to their neighbors.[78] Financially, the facility is self-sustaining and is therefore often rented out for outside activities.[79] It benefits Trinity as well by providing a recruiting advantage for its successful men and women's hockey teams as well as providing additional recreational opportunities for its students, faculty, staff and families. To help ensure optimal community access and programming, a Community Advisory Board has been created with an equal number of members appointed by SINA and Trinity College. It serves as an important communication conduit between the community and facility.

Lastly, in the fall of 2010, the college dedicated the Paul Assaiante Tennis Center. The facility, which is located on Trinity's campus, provides another opportunity for Trinity students and neighborhood children to interact. It has hosted Learn-to-Play-Tennis

[77] "Trinity's Dream Camp Celebrates 10 Years," Press Release, *Trinity College*, July 25, 2007, https://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/News_Events/trinity_news/070725_dreamcamp.htm.

[78] Tom Yantz, "Trinity Hockey: N-ice To Be Home," *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut, November 16, 2006).
[79] Rojas, "Interview with Trinity College Director of Community Relations."

sessions with the men's and women's tennis teams and children from the Boys & Girls Club. Additional college-community programs are planned with children who attend the Learning Corridor Schools and Trinity's Dream Camp.[80]

FUTURE CHANGES

Trinity completed a new campus master plan in 2007 with the express purpose of matching "the college's facilities with its mission, and that mission is primarily academic." The plan "recognizes and supports Planning Principles that promote meaningful, memorable interaction at the scale of the individual, the community, and the city,"[81] but there appears to be little – with the exception of the new hockey rink – that explicitly achieves this goal with the city. The plan came as a response to new land acquisitions on the southern edge of campus, part of the efforts to consolidate an "ad hoc" assembly of buildings and realize suggestions made in the 1997 plan. Furthermore, the college felt the need to address changes on a more modest scale than the 1997 plan allowed.[82] The college is currently embarking on the first steps of realizing those suggestions by demolishing a number of Trinity-owned multi-family structures to the south of the campus to be replaced by more modern dormitory accommodations. The
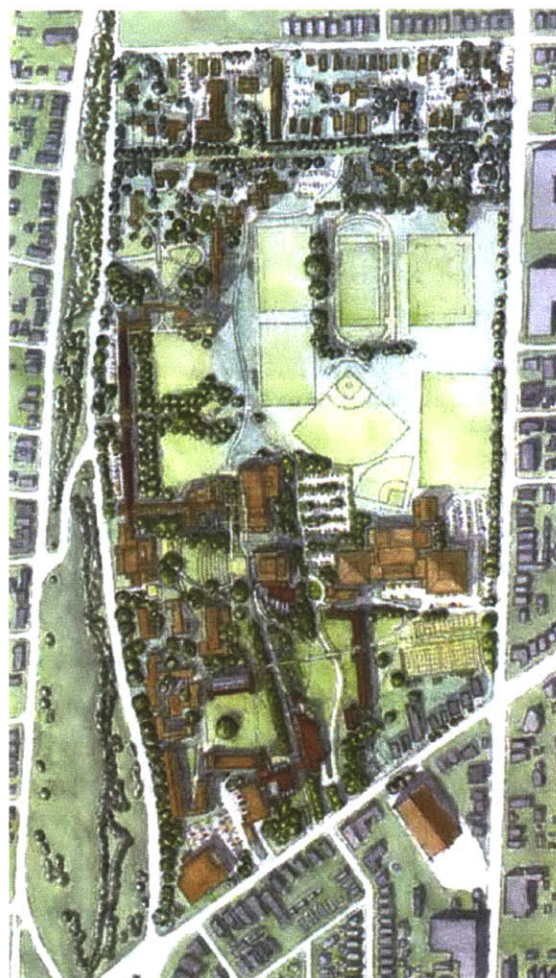

Figure 3.43: 2007 Campus Master Plan by Bohlin Cywinski Jackson
Image credit: 2007 Campus Master Plan

college provided moving cost assistance and hired a relocation agent to address the needs of over two dozen residents, several of whom were "truly unhappy" about the move.[83] The change, however, will realize a long envisioned extension of the campus that has been foreseen since the Doxiadis plan, which stated, "Trinity College would eventually... absorb the Crescent Street enclave, on its

[80] "Trinity Athletics: New Tennis Center Dedicated At Trinity College In Honor Of Coach Paul Assaiante," Press Release, *Trinity College*, October 19, 2010, http://athletics.trincoll.edu/sports/mten/2010-11/releases/men-s_tennis_21011.

[81] Bohlin Cywinski Jackson, "Trinity College: Master Plan 2007", 2007.

[82] Reynolds, "Interview with Secretary of Trinity College."

[83] "Trinity College Looking To Build New Dorms," Television News Station, *WFSB Hartford Eyewitness News*, July 1, 2010, http://www.wfsb.com/news/24111801/detail.html.

southeast,"[84] and the 1997 Cooper Robertson plan, which also planned for its incorporation. As this corner of the campus provided a rare opportunity to encounter the neighborhood, it is important that what takes the place of the former apartments, not only acknowledges the neighborhood connection, but celebrates it.

CONCLUSIONS

The shifting goal of the 2007 master plan is reflective of the shift in focus of the current administration. Under Evan Dobelle, the college made significant progress in addressing its role in the city and led several impressive initiatives of which it should be proud. Yet, once Dobelle left (to lead the University of Hawaii system) the institution floundered under the lack of leadership.[85] After a series of three temporary leaders in as many years, the momentum built up in the late 1990s died and continuity was lost. Today's administration refocused the attention of Trinity back to its primary mission as a liberal arts institution and the college is struggling to understand its role as an intellectual participant in the difficult issues that exist in Hartford, a city still battling unemployment, poverty and extreme disparity between its suburban counterparts.[86] The concerted effort to become a part of the revitalization efforts has waned and while some aspects have been weaved into the DNA of the college, many died out once initial

[84] Doxiadis Associates, The Trinity Community, 58.
[85] Gordon, "Interview with Trinity Professor and Former Director of Planning for Capital Projects and Master Plan Task Force Committee."
[86] Reynolds, "Interview with Secretary of Trinity College."

funding expired. The college's story, therefore, provides an important lesson in the need to plan for the future and make deeper connections to the mission and work of the institution for lasting impact.

The model of the SINA partnership is unique to this case and provides an example of a more top-down approach whereby the institutional actors are implementing the plan with little direct feedback from the community. This approach was critical in getting the Learning Corridor approved and funded, and thus made a big impact quickly. However, the lasting impact on the neighborhood itself is unclear as the voice of the neighborhood was more difficult to decipher in this case.

Moreover, the Trinity case study provides important lessons for why certain visions were not achieved. A prominent group of consultants was assembled for the 1997 master plan and thoughtful recommendations were made that aligned the physical realm with the larger strategic planning goals and visions for the college as an important part of its neighborhood fabric. Unfortunately, very few of the suggestions were actually implemented. This is a function of several factors, including the recent recession where many institutions saw their endowments drop dramatically, shifting needs, additional land assets, as well as the change in leadership. However, just as the original Burges plan for Trinity's campus inspired other colleges, so too did the 1997 initiative. The Learning Corridor and proposal to remove the Vernon Street gate set about a wave of articles, bringing attention to the overall efforts and Dobelle's message; thereby inspiring numerous other institutions.

Trinity also has the added difficulty of its starting point as a relatively isolated institution with an undergraduate student body that is tied to the campus grounds. To overcome this and engage the neighborhood requires larger scale interventions, which are more difficult and expensive. Fortunately, the new dormitory proposed for the Crescent Street corner is just the large-scale initiative needed. Consciously directing students to this corner of campus will build off the success of the hockey rink, help support retail along New Britain Avenue, and further engage the neighborhood by adding more vitality to this campus edge.

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

UNDERSTANDING THE EDGE CONDITION

In explaining what he calls "epitome districts," Grady Clay, journalist and long-time editor of *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, describes a place in a city that is:

> ...crammed with clues that trigger our awareness to the larger scene – things around the corner, processes out of sight, history all but covered up. They stand for other things; they generate metaphors; they are the sort of places that, ideally, help us get it all together.... They offer, I think, the most compelling evidence of present and future change, providing we know where to look and how.[1]

In many ways campus edges function as epitome districts. By looking at the edge conditions of Clark and Trinity discussed here, one can begin to see the institutions' history, mission, and civic relationships expressed through its physical form. Seeking out these connections, the following analysis helps to explain where one should look to better un-

derstand their physical environment and the potential it might hold.

Clark and Trinity, two institutions founded on quite different ideologies, found themselves over time in a similar situation as they struggled to survive in their urban environments. The treatment of their campus edges speaks to the role of mission and place and how urban design and the physical form reflects the principles behind both historic and current efforts, shedding light – from successes and lessons learned – on what new form may replace the ivory tower.

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[1] Grady Clay, *Close-up. How to Read the American City* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 38.

Analysis of Case Studies

However circuitous it may be to start off an examination of edge conditions by first discussing centers, it is important in understanding the holistic picture of a campus's mission and culture, providing clues to how urban design and development is approached. University marketing materials often highlight their most iconic structures and memorable spaces, usually the center of the campus and heart of the institution. As a visitor, it is typically here that you get the best sense of the campus and the institution that stands behind it. The spaces are often historic in context, home to the original campus building constructed at the institution's founding. With a large open lawn from which to take in these structures, the spaces immediately form a sense of place and pervading character for the campus. Although certainly not always the case, these spaces often serve as precedent for the architects and campus planners that follow, influencing their approach to the design and development of the campus whole; creating a special kind of coherence and community.

As a result, the campus edge, in many instances, has much to do with the campus center. Such a correlation can most easily be seen at small institutions, where the distance between the two, both metaphorically and physically, is small. As much as centers are important for gaining an understanding of the place and community within, edges are critical is seeing the mission as it pertains to the edge and the community beyond. The Clark and Trinity campuses have clear centers, which pervade the sense of place for the campus as a whole.

Mapping Exercises

My observations, however carefully considered, are still those of an outsider. They cannot take the place of those that experience the place on a daily basis. Kevin Lynch expresses the importance of this in his text, *Good City Form*:

Most difficult of all, perhaps, and quite at the heart of the city experience, is to find some objective way of recording how residents think about the place in their minds: their ways of organizing it and or feeling about it. Without some knowledge of this, one is hard put to make an evaluation, since places are not merely what they are, but what we perceive them to be.[1]

Therefore, I have also incorporated the perceptions of those who live, work, and learn in these places. Their experiences are revealed in the drawings herein.

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[1] Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1984), 354.

Note: Current campus maps are included on pages 102 and 103 for reference purposes. All images included in this section are credited to the author, unless otherwise noted.

At Clark University (Figure 4.1) this center took form around their Main Building. Erected in 1887, the structure was supposedly designed by the University's founder, Jonas Clark, with modifications taking place during construction under the guidance of the school's first president, G. Stanley Hall, who had been recruited from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Such a simple building, designed not by an architect but by university officials, seems to have set the stage for further development, most of which maintains a modest scale and architectural style. A story, as told in a narrative of the university's history, recounts two farmers passing by the Main Building. When one of the men identified it as the new Clark University, the other is said to have responded, "Christ, I thought it was the jail."[2] The character of the building has been attributed to influence from the German university model, which had recently taken root in the United States at Johns Hopkins. As described by Paul Turner in *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, "these buildings usually had a plain and utilitarian character that reflected a scientific, down-to-earth reaction against the collegiate tradition."

Conversely, Trinity College (Figure 4.2) boasts a grand original design, significant in the history of campus architecture and planning and an influence on later plans for such schools as Stanford University and the University of Chicago. Using the colleges of England as precedent, the initial plan by architect William Burges consisted of a series of three quadrangles, fully enclosed by structures,

[2] William Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887-1987: A Narrative History* (Worcester; Hanover, NH: Clark University Press; University Press of New England, 1987), 23.

Where is the edge?

"Clark is woven into fabric of who we are. It's hard to know where we stop and Clark begins.... The relationship is so symbiotic that it's not programmatic...It's campus walls, if you can call them that, are hard to define."
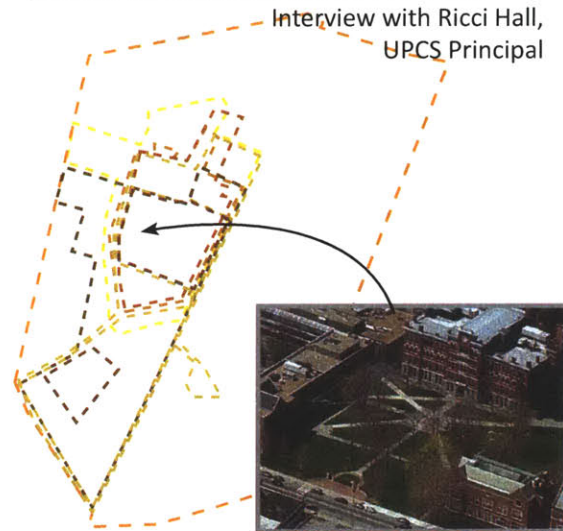
— Interview with Ricci Hall, UPCS Principal

Figure 4.1: A compilation of maps based on sketches from Clark and UPCS students and staff shows that while Main Street remains a fairly clear edge, the others are more ambiguous.
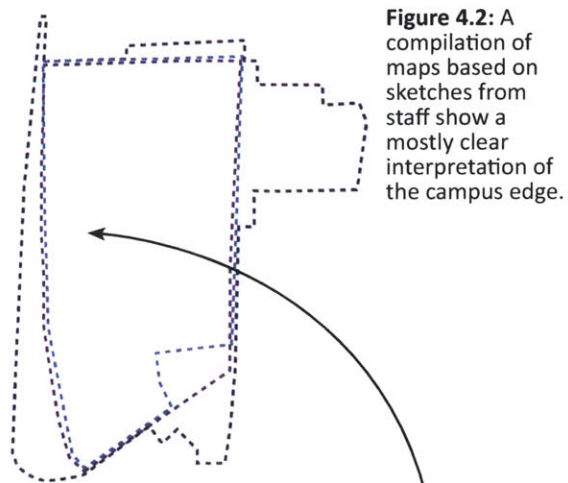

Figure 4.2: A compilation of maps based on sketches from staff show a mostly clear interpretation of the campus edge.

with small arched gateways opening into the adjacent quads and country outside. As previously discussed, the plan was only partially executed; resulting in a long row of structures along the western edge referred to as the Long Walk. This series of buildings functions as the center or heart of the campus and is the image one associates most with the college.

The ambitious plan with its enclosed courtyards was never completed; instead the space beyond the Long Walk opens up to Hartford, the skyline of which one can see
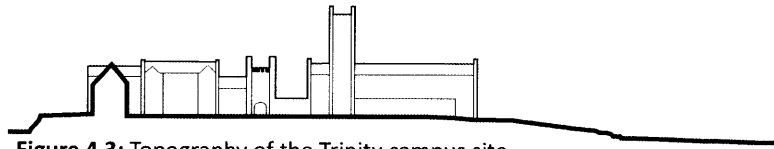

**Figure 4.3:** Topography of the Trinity campus site

from its place at the top of the ridge. This ridge and its steep change in topography separates the western edge from the Behind the Rocks neighborhood beyond (Figure 4.3). It serves as an naturally occurring geographic break from the city form and creates a *hurdle* that must be overcome to access the neighborhood below. Even though subsequent campus development

was more humble in scale, the monumental quality of the initial structure's collegiate gothic architecture exists in stark contrast to the city fabric beyond. Such a distinction seems to have made future development and the resulting campus form difficult to relate to its surroundings.

Whereas Trinity's Long Walk and ridgeline edge serves as the focal point and symbolic entrance for the school, at Clark University it is a stretch of Worcester's Main Street that serves this purpose. Part of this edge functions as a *seam*. The university portion is composed of the main quad *framed* by the original campus buildings and a fence that bounds the open side along Main Street (Figure 4.5). One can often find Main South residents using this quad and its plaza known as the "Red Square," considered a center of activity on campus. On my initial visit to Clark, I initially drove past the entrance not registering the campus. Although this mistake was aided

Figure 4.4: Author's interpretation of the edge conditions at Clark University
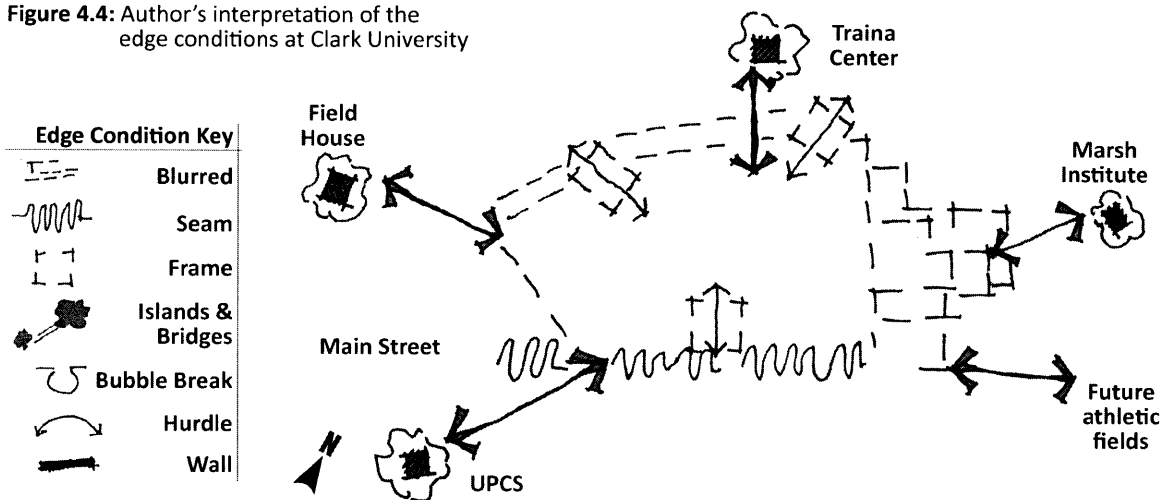
by difficult to find signs, hidden from view under piles of snow, it is also an indication of the fairly modest feel of the campus and its integration into the city fabric. The main quad and buildings are bounded by retail establishments, the northeast of which are owned by Clark, and house local businesses as well as the university bookstore (Figure 4.6). Restaurants and shops bring students and neighborhood residents alike together on common ground. One student tells of her experience working at the Clark Thrift Store on Main Street (Figure 4.7). With nearly 50 percent of its patrons coming from the neighborhood, it provides a comfortable environment in which she can get to know the residents.

Though the architecture of the rest of the campus takes on many different forms, from the brutalist Goddard Library to Victorian homes repurposed as classrooms, the scale of the campus as a whole is relatively "down-to-earth." The physical implementation of Clark's neighborhood revitalization strategies seems to have followed in a similar vein. Through the purchase and redevelopment of small properties, they attempted to knit the neighborhood fabric back together. Without a physical master plan to guide development, Clark's expansion seems to have evolved organically. Clark's northeast edge has altered over time through the incorporation of neighborhood houses as classroom and office space. By repurposing these large Victorian structures, the university maintained the scale of the neighborhood and created a blurred edge or *seamless* transition with the neighborhood (Figure 4.8). This area also became the home of the President's residence when it was relocated
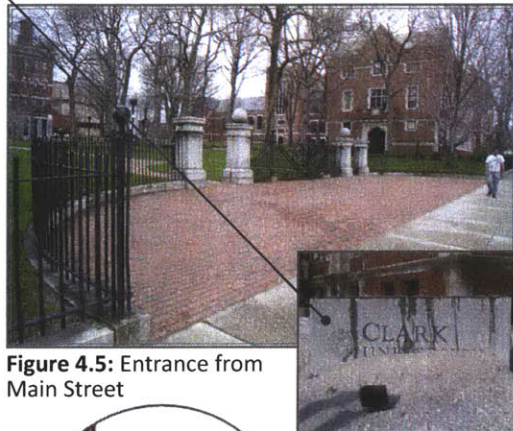

Figure 4.5: Entrance from Main Street

Figure 4.6: Clark University bookstore (above) and retail and apartment buildings (right)

Figure 4.7: Clark University Thrift Store across from the main campus entrance on Main Street. It is a student run operation that serves the campus and Main South Community.
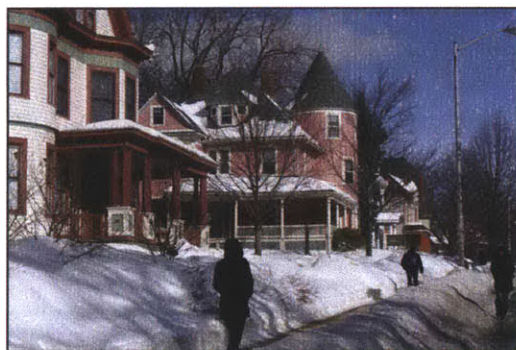

Figure 4.8: Students walk to class along Woodland Avenue.

Figure 4.8: Florence Street, north edge.

Figure 4.9: Northwest corner of campus. Florence and Maywood Streets
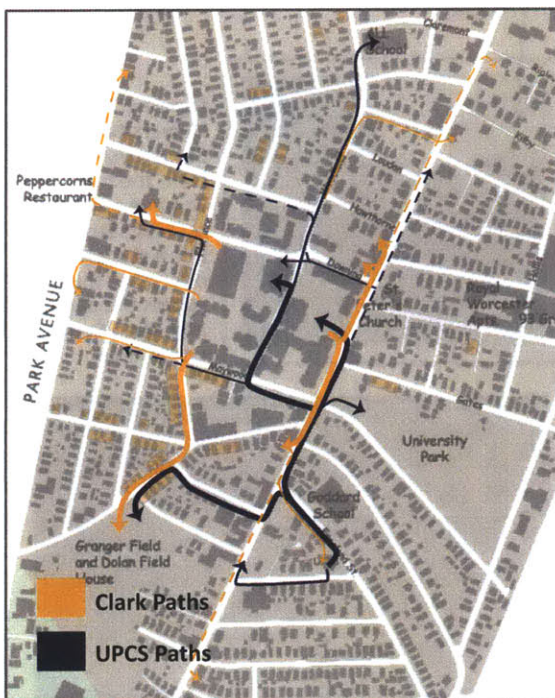

Clark Paths

UPCS Paths

Figure 4.10: Tracking Paths. The paths of Clark students and staff and UPCS students do not adhere to strict campus boundaries and thus serve to break down campus-community edges.
- Based on sketches from Clark students, the location of student housing was also mapped here. Although not exact, it begins to give a sense of where students are traveling and where their influence might be felt.

from Worcester's west side during the early stages of the revitalization initiatives. The move, initiated by then President Dick Traina, was important in expressing the University's intention to be a good neighbor and a true resident of Main South.

The characteristics of this area are different from that of the northern side of the campus where four-story dormitories form the campus edge (Figure 4.9). Although, the campus buildings do not address the neighborhood, I didn't feel tension between the two on my visit there. The breaks between the structures maintain openings to the campus within, with the buildings serving to *frame* the open spaces. Also, along this edge is the University's parking garage – part of a promise to the community to alleviate the spillover burden – and triple--deckers filled with many (barely) off-campus Clark students (Figure 4.10).

Beyond the campus edges are other *islands* of influence. The Traina Center for the Arts, housed in a renovated school building, the Center for Counseling and Health Services, as well as the athletic fields and field house are situated within the neighborhood. Clark's presence is also felt across Main Street at the University Park Campus School. Although not physically marked, the relationship is well known and emphasized by the UPCS students who travel the path between the two – effectively forming a *bridge* – to take classes and use the Clark recreational facilities. This will also be the case when Clark students travel to the shared athletic field under construction at the Worcester Boys and Girls Club.

While Clark's neighborhood revitalization initiatives took on a more modest incremental style, Trinity College approached their efforts at a much larger-scale, beginning with the redevelopment of the vacant land on their eastern edge into the Learning Corridor. Similar to the college's initial quadrangle plans, this project continued to the history of ambitious thinking with its large-scale proposal and consultant team. On either side of the Learning Corridor's Broad Street facade are two of Trinity's outreach programs, the Boys and Girls Club and Trinfo Café, creating a mass of investment and significant presence in this block (Figure 4.14). Such a massive transformation was an answer to the decades of disinvestment. When current SINA director Luis Caban began working on the project in the mid-1990s, the vacant bus depot lot was marked with signs warning of the punishments for picking up the prostitutes who had claimed the territory. As the farthest removed area from the activity of campus, this stretch of Broad Street - still consisting of a fence and long expanse of playing fields - most likely saw little traffic and had few eyes on the street during off hours, forming a *wall* between the campus and community. It is here that one might have seen the realization of Jane Jacob's border vacuums and their consequences. In the early 1990s, this distinction between campus and community was more powerfully felt when Trinity closed Vernon Street, on the eastern edge of campus, to outside vehicular traffic. Citing the safety of students from through traffic as the impetus, one might also wonder what role the neighboring abandoned lots and concentrated crime played in the decision.

Figure 4.11: "Nolli Plan." Many Clark and Trinity facilities are available for use by the public, including the library and Traina Arts Center at Clark and hocky rink and Trinfo.Cafe at Trinity. With the help of students and staff, these spaces were identified and a secondary public realm emerged. These areas provide opportunites for the university/college and neighborhood communities to interact.
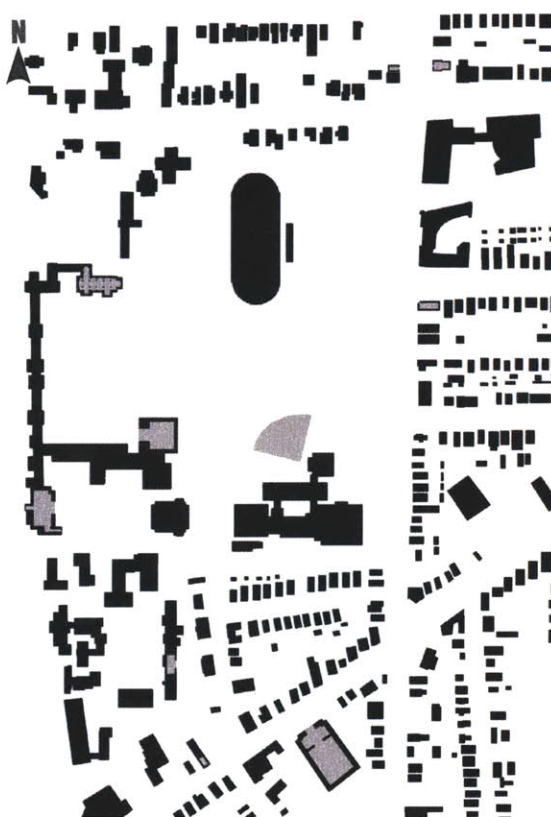
Figure 4.12: North edge of campus, Vernon Street

Figure 4.13: Tracking Paths. Trips outside the campus are limited mostly to the north and south of campus with the occasional visit to volunteer at the Learning Corridor and eat at restaurant on Zion Street.

Figure 4.14: A concentration of investment greets you outside the Vernon Street gate.

Although President Evan Dobelle supported opening the street back up, Trinity did not end up following through, but instead focused on building up the school zone, which serves as a buffer between the campus and neighborhood fabric.

The rest of the Trinity College campus is largely closed from the surrounding neighborhood with some mixing of uses occurring at the northern and southern edges. The northern edge is composed of mostly smaller structures serving as offices and group student housing, many retrofitted into former faculty and fraternity houses (Figure 4.12). By reusing these buildings and keeping with the small scale, the college merges into the adjacent city fabric, blurring the edge between the two. However, no official college uses occur on the northern side of Allen Place, making the edge between the two fairly clear if looking at a map. However, no signs or other treatment distinguish the Trinity property and had I not been told what the uses were, I would not have distinguished the boundary with just an outsider's eye.

A similar condition occurs at the southern edge, but with more integration of city and campus. Crescent Street, an L-shaped cut into

an otherwise well-defined system of street boundaries, contains student dormitories alongside typical multi-family buildings (Figure 4.15). For the visitor, the only hints that the buildings are Trinity housing are gleaned from security signs on the exteriors and student activity advertisements on the doors. It is also on this side of campus that Trinity chose to put the Koeppel Community Sports Center, a shared recreational sports facility for the College, local high schools, and the community. As a symbol of the partnership between Trinity and SINA, the building provides a collegiate ice hockey rink for the varsity programs at the college and community recreation space for the city of Hartford. While benefiting Trinity's athletic and recreational programs, it also provides a new local venue for cultural events and gathering for the community and the rare chance for Trinity students and staff to mingle with the neighborhood residents on a non-formal basis, serving to *break* down the campus *bubble*.
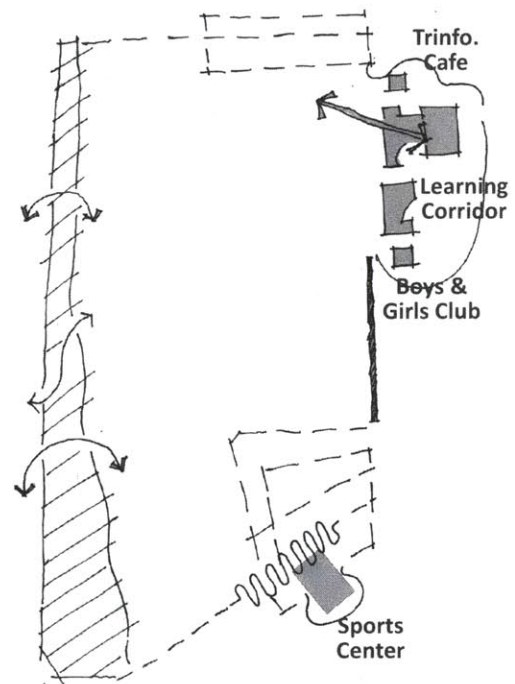

Figure 4.15: South edge of campus, Crescent Street

Figure 4.16: Author's interpretation of the edge conditions at Trinity College

Edge Condition Key

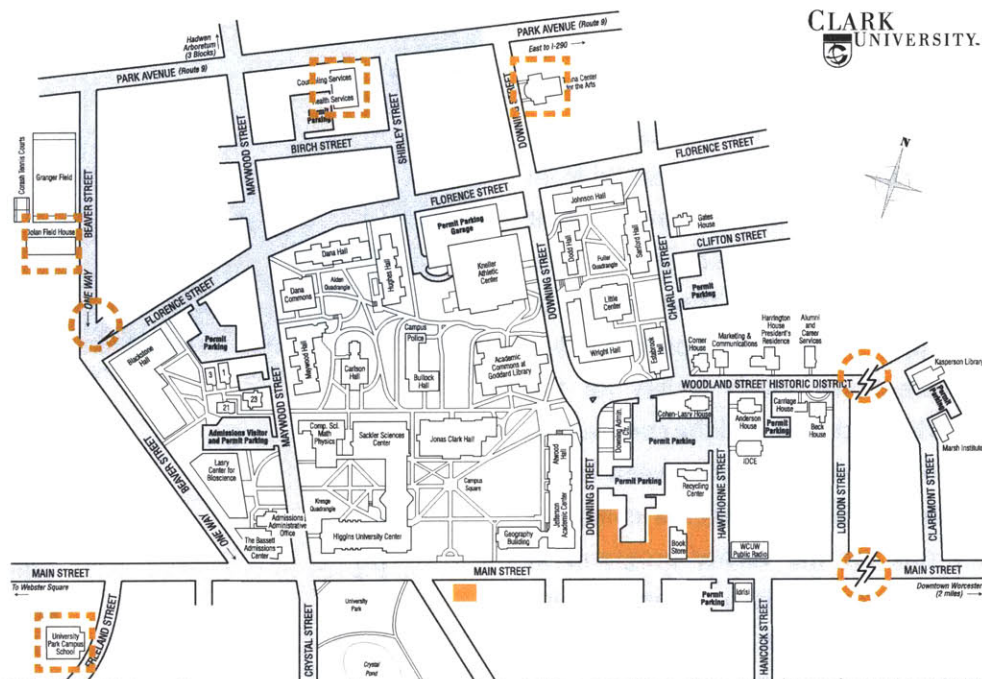|	
	Blurred
	Seam
	Frame
	Islands & Bridges
	Bubble Break
	Hurdle
	Wall

Figure 4.17: Clark University campus map. The self-representation provides clues into how the university views itself amid the Main South neighborhood.

SELF REPRESENTATION

While personal observations and information collected from students and staff help enlighten an outsider to the connection between the campus and community, the self representation of the university and college also imparts valuable insights into this relationship.

CLARK UNIVERSITY

In the Clark map, several modifications of actual conditions illustrate the importance of including such an evaluation. The following changes were noted:

- the exclusion of two blocks between Loudon and Claremont
- the omission of Clark owned retail and housing on Main Street

- a shifting in of the University Park Campus School toward Main Street. A street between the two was also left out.
- Beaver Street is rotated in toward the campus and only a hint of Oliver Street is shown.
- The blocks between Park Avenue and Florence Street have been shortened to half their length.

Together, these modification of existing conditions, in combination with the omission of the urban fabric, allude to a more traditional and consolidated campus plan that in reality is more spread out and dispersed within the neighborhood.

TRINITY COLLEGE

Although understandably difficult to read, the text and descriptions of the campus walk are important in telling the story of

Trinity College
HARTFORD · CONNECTICUT

Koeppel Community Sports Center **87**

New Britain Avenue
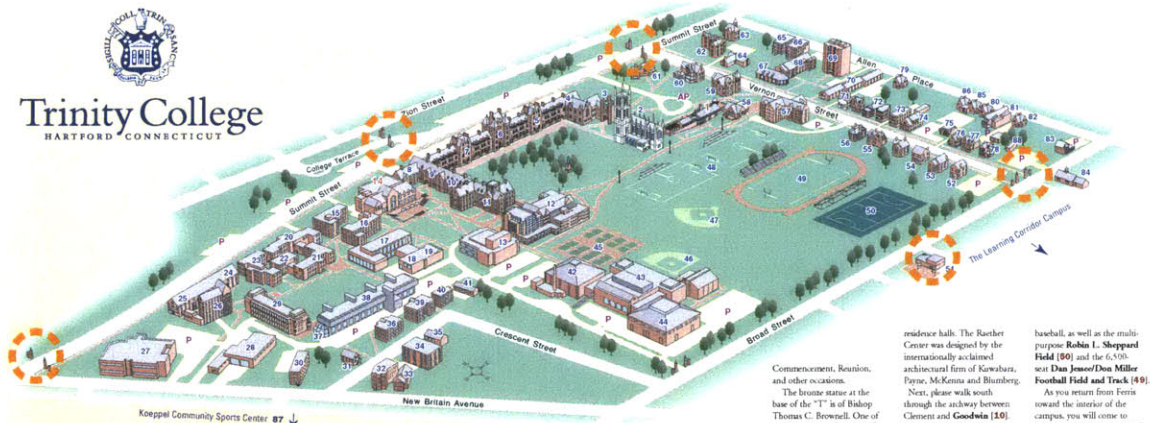
Academic and Program Offices

Aetna Quantitative Center (MCEC) - **29**
Albert C. Jacobs Life Sciences Center - **38**
Allen K. Smith Center for Writing and Rhetoric (English Dept. Building) - **59**
Austin Arts Center (Garmany Hall, Goodwin Theater, Widener Gallery) - **13**
Clement Chemistry Building - **11**
Center for Teaching and Learning (Smith House) - **60**
Center for Urban and Global Studies, 70 Vernon St. - **60**
Crescent St. Academic Building (Sociology and Women, Gender, and Sexuality) - **35**
English Department Building, 115 Vernon St. - **59**
Graduate Programs (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Halden Hall - **18, 19**
Human Rights Program, 70 Vernon St. - **77**
Individualized Degree Program (IDP), 133 Allen Pl. - **85**
Information Technology Center (Raether Library and Information Technology Center) - **12**
Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture, 71 Vernon St. - **54**
Interdisciplinary Science Center (Clement Chemistry Building) - **11**
International Programs, 66 Vernon St. - **78**
Internship Office (Admissions and Career Services Center) - **1**
Leonard E. Greenberg Center for the Study of Religion in Public Life, 71 Vernon St. - **54**
Mathematics, Computer Science, and Engineering Center (MCEC) - **29**
McCook Academic Building - **17**
Painting Studio, 62 Vernon St. - **88**
Raether Library and Information Technology Center (RLITC) - **12**
Seabury Hall - **7**
Social Sciences Center (Williams Memorial) - **4**
Special Academic Programs: Adult Programs, 133 Allen Pl. - **85**
Theater and Dance Studios (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Trinity Commons, 240 New Britain Ave. - **27**
Watkinson Library (RLITC)- **12**
Wiggins Sculpture Studio - **41**

Administrative Offices

Academy of Life Long Learning, 133 Allen Pl. - **85**
Accounting (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Admissions and Career Services Center - **1**
Advancement (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Alumni Relations (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Budget Office (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Calendar and Special Events Office (Mather Hall) - **14**
Campus Life-Residential Services (Hamlin Hall) - **8**
Campus Safety, 76 Vernon St. - **75**
Career Services (Admissions and Career Services Center) - **1**
Central Services (Williams Memorial) - **4**
Communications Office (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Community and Institutional Relations, 70 Vernon St. - **77**
Community Service and Civic Engagement (Mather Hall) - **14**
Counseling Center, 135 Allen Pl. - **86**
Cultural Programs in Italy, 86-88 Vernon St. - **74**
Dean of Faculty (Williams Memorial) - **4**
Dean of Students (Hamlin Hall) - **8**

Downes Memorial - **3**
Environmental Health and Safety, 190 New Britain Ave - **33**
Facilities, 238 New Britain Ave. - **28**
Financial Aid (Admissions and Career Services Center)- **1**
Finance Operations (Trinity Commons) - **27**
First-Year Program (MCEC) - **29**
Health Center (Wheaton Hall) - **20**
Hamlin Hall - **8**
Human Resources (Williams Memorial) - **4**
Media Technology (RLITC) - **12**
Multicultural Affairs Office (Hamlin Hall) - **8**
President's Office (Williams Memorial) - **4**
Registrar's Office (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Student Accounts (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Student Activities (Mather Hall) - **14**
Women and Gender Resource Action Center (Mather Hall) - **14**

Residence Halls

Anadama Hall - **34**
Boardwalk Hall - **66**
Clemens Hall - **30**
Cook Hall - **9**
Doonesbury Hall - **73**
Elton Hall - **15**
Frohman-Robb Hall - **39**
Funston Hall - **23**
Goodwin-Woodward Hall - **10**
Hanson Hall - **57**
High Rise Hall - **69**
Jackson Hall - **21**
Jarvis Hall - **5**
Jones Hall - **16**
Little Hall - **36**
North Campus Hall - **70**
Northam Towers - **6**
Ogilby Hall - **62**
Park Place Hall - **65**
Smith Hall - **22**
Stowe Hall - **32**
Summit Suites East - **26**
Summit Suites North - **24**
Summit Suites South - **25**
Vernon Place - **68**
Wheaton Hall - **20**
Wiggins Hall - **40**

Stores, Restaurants, and Services

The Cave Café (Mather Hall) - **14**
College Bookstore (Mather Hall) - **14**
Food Service Office (Mather Hall) - **14**
Function Café (Raether Library and Information Technology Center) - **12**
Koeppel Student Center/The Bistro, 109 Vernon St. - **58**
Mather Dining Hall (Mather Hall) - **14**
Post Office (Mather Hall) - **14**
Smith House, 123 Vernon St. - **60**
Trinity Community Child Care Center - **37**
Underground Coffeehouse (Mather Hall) - **14**

Greek Organizations

Cleo Society, 98 Vernon St. - **72**
Psi Upsilon (The Columns), 81 Vernon St. - **56**
Delta Psi (St. Anthony Hall), 98 Summit St. - **63**
Alpha Delta Phi (The Fire Society), 122 Vernon St. - **64**

Miscellaneous

Boys & Girls Club at Trinity College, 500 Broad St. - **51**
President's House, 133 Vernon St. - **61**
Trinfo.Café, 1300 Broad St. - **84**
WRTC, Trinity Radio Station (High Rise Hall) - **69**

Information for Visitors

Admissions and Career Services Center - **1**
Mather Hall Front Desk - **14**

Parking

Admissions Parking - **AP**
Park in any area marked **P**

Arts and Cultural Venues

Austin Arts Center - **13**
Broad Street Gallery, 1283 Broad St. - **83**
Chapel - **2**
Cinestudio - **11**
Clement Chemistry Building - **11**
Garmany Hall (Austin Arts Center) - **13**
Goodwin Theater (Austin Arts Center) - **13**
Hamlin Hall - **8**
Mather Art Space (Mather Hall) - **14**
Performance Lab (Trinity Commons) - **27**
Underground Coffeehouse (Mather Hall) - **14**
Vernon Social Center, 114 Vernon St. - **67**
Washington Room (Mather Hall) - **14**
Widener Gallery (Austin Arts Center) - **13**

Athletic Facilities

Baseball Diamond - **47**
Dan Jessee/Don Miller Football Field and Track - **49**
Ferris Athletic Center (Swimming Pool, Trowbridge Fitness Center, Kellner Squash Center) - **43**
Koeppel Community Sports Center, 175 New Britain Ave. - **87**
Memorial Field House - **44**
Oosting Gymnasium - **42**
Robin L. Sheppard Field - **50**
Soccer and Lacrosse Fields - **48**
Softball Diamond - **46**
Tennis Courts - **45**

Multicultural, Religious, and Social Centers

Asian American Student Association (AASA), 85 Vernon St. - **82**
Bayt al Salaam, 115 Allen Pl. - **82**
Chapel - **2**
Gallows Hill Community Lounge (Halden Hall) - **19**
Interfaith House, 155 Allen Pl. - **79**
La Voz Latina (LVL), 69 Vernon St. - **53**

The International House, 104-106 Vernon St. - **71**
The Mill, 79 Vernon St. - **55**
The Treehouse, 125 Vernon St. - **80**
Queer Resource Center, 114 Crescent St. - **31**
Umoja House, 72 Vernon St. - **76**
Underground Coffeehouse (Mather Hall) - **14**
Vernon Social Center, 114 Vernon St. - **67**
Washington Room (Mather Hall) - **14**
Women and Gender Resource Action Center (Mather Hall) - **14**
Zachs Hillel House, 74 Vernon St. - **81**

A Walking Tour of the Trinity College Campus

This self-guided walking tour of the Trinity College campus takes approximately 45 minutes. We hope please allow more time if possible. You'll find appealing spots along the way where you may want to linger a bit.

The tour begins at the front entrance of the **Admissions and Career Services Center [1]**, which also houses the Financial Aid and Internship Offices. Ahead of you, on your right at the top of the rise, is the **President's House [61]**, the traditional home of Trinity's president and the setting for many College events. **Smith House [60]**, the sunny yellow building to the right of the President's House, has four guest rooms and several function rooms available to visitors by reservation. Next door is the three-story Victorian academic building that is home to the **English Department [59]**. A few steps further is **The Bistro**, **Koeppel Student Center [58]**, which offers a delicious alternative to Mather Dining Hall.

To your left, the archway of **Downes Memorial Clock Tower [3]** is a gateway to the main Quadrangle and the beginning of your walking tour. As you start, you will observe a characteristic feature of the Trinity campus—the harmonious and imaginative blending of 19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century architecture.

As you walk through the Downes Arch, you enter the main Quad. With its brownstone buildings dating back to 1878, this is the oldest part of campus. The Quad's park-like expanse provides panoramic views of downtown Hartford and the Connecticut River Valley. **The Chapel [2]**, directly on your left, is a center for interfaith dialogue as well as a beloved Hartford landmark. Completed in 1932, the structure was designed in the English Perpendicular Gothic style by Philip Frohman, architect of the National

Cathedral in Washington, D.C. Particularly noteworthy elements of the Chapel include the Rose Window, hand-carved pew ends, the majestic Austin pipe organ, and a 49-bell carillon housed in the 165-foot tower.

Now turn to the right and begin your stroll down the Long Walk, considered to be Trinity's architectural masterpiece. Its design was adapted from a grand, four-quadrangle plan for the campus drawn up by noted English architect William Burges. The newly restored and renovated Long Walk buildings house classrooms and residence halls, as well as faculty and administrative offices. **Jarvis Hall [5]** and **Seabury Hall [7]**, the oldest buildings on campus, were completed in 1878. According to architectural historian Henry Russell Hitchcock, the Long Walk— the only example of Burges's work in America—is "the best example anywhere of Victorian Gothic collegiate architecture."

On your way down the Long Walk, look for two markers commemorating presidential visits. The 1954 visit by President Dwight D. Eisenhower is noted in a Greek inscription within a triangular planting in front of Downes Memorial Clock Tower. The second marker, commemorating the 1918 visit of President Theodore Roosevelt, is midway down the Long Walk and adjacent to the Fuller Arch and the Wall of Honor. The Latin inscription is embedded in the sidewalk in front of **Northam Towers [6]**. Each president gave a speech and was presented with an honorary degree from the College.

Notice how the trees on the quadrangle are arranged in the form of a "T" for Trinity. Most of the original elms succumbed to Dutch elm disease and have been replaced by ash or maple trees. But the elms live on through the Trinity College alma mater, "'Neath the Elms," which is sung at the President's Convocation, Matriculation,

Commencement, Reunion, and other occasions.

The bronze statue at the base of the "T" is of Bishop Thomas C. Brownell. One of the Episcopalian founders of Trinity in 1823, Brownell was the College's first president. Commencement ceremonies are held each May in front of the Brownell statue, which was created by Chauncey Ives of Rome and received by the College in 1869. Although Trinity's roots are grounded in the Episcopal faith, the College is an independent, nonsectarian institution that welcomes students of all backgrounds, faiths, and religious traditions.

Just past Seabury Hall, you will find the **Hamlin Hall [8]** entrance to the offices of the Dean of Students, Residential Services, and Multicultural Affairs.

Cinestudio [11] is situated at the southeast corner of the Long Walk, in the **Clement Chemistry Building [11]**. The first and only student-run professional movie theater in the country, Cinestudio began operating in 1970. With its balcony, red-and-gold decor, and signature rampant lion, Cinestudio has the feel of an old-time movie palace. It draws not only Trinity students but also a faithful following of moviegoers from the Greater Hartford area.

When you follow the short path around the Clement Chemistry Building, you will come to the **Raether Library and Information Technology Center [12]**, one of the finest small-college facilities in the country. The library has almost 1,000,000 books and periodicals, an on-line catalog, and computer access to almost 2,000,000 holdings through a consortium with Wesleyan University and Connecticut College. Rare book and archival resources are available in the Watkinson Library, which is located on the lower level and is open to researchers from the general public. The Watkinson contains materials from the Middle Ages to the present, including the Enders ornithology collection.

The new technology center features an array of state-of-the-art electronic resources such as digital media labs for viewing and production, multimedia stations, videoconferencing capabilities, and fully wireless study spaces. The Computing Center is also located here, providing technical support for the fully networked campus, including all student rooms in

residence halls. The Raether Center was designed by the internationally acclaimed architectural firm of Kawabara, Payne, McKenna and Blumberg. Next, please walk south through the archway between Clement and **Goodwin [10]**. As you emerge from the arch, you will see **Austin Arts Center [13]** on your left. Dedicated to serving the teaching and presentation needs of academic departments in the performing and visual arts, the center hosts more than 80 theatrical, dance, and musical performances each season. Exhibitions by students, faculty members, and professional artists are on display in the Widener Gallery during the academic year.

On your right is **Mather Hall [14]**, bordering on Summit Street. This hub of student life contains the College's main dining hall, as well as administrative offices for many student organizations. Here, you'll also find the campus information desk, a full-service post office, the Cave Café, and the College Bookstore.

To the east, behind Austin Arts Center, is **Ferris Athletic Center [42-44]**, a large complex extending to the Broad Street side of campus. Ferris has an Olympic-size swimming pool; the best collegiate squash facilities in the country, with eight international-size courts and eight American-size courts; a fully equipped exercise room; crew tanks; an indoor track; basketball courts; and a field house. Adjacent to Ferris are 19 acres of playing fields for soccer, lacrosse, field hockey, and

baseball, as well as the multi-purpose **Robin L. Sheppard Field [50]** and the 6,500-seat **Dan Jessee/Don Miller Football Field and Track [49]**.

As you return from Ferris toward the interior of the campus, you will come to **Halden Hall [18]** on the left. Halden is home to the fine arts department.

Behind Halden Hall you will find the **Albert C. Jacobs Life Sciences Center [38]**, named after Trinity's 14th president. This building houses biology, neuroscience, psychology, and sociology classrooms, faculty offices, and laboratories. You'll pass the botany lab and adjoining greenhouse at the building's southwestern corner. Look closely at the large stones placed outside the northwest and southwest sides of the Life Sciences Center and you will discover fossilized dinosaur tracks. To the right of the Life Sciences Center is the **Mathematics, Computer Science, and Engineering Center (MCEC) [29]**, designed by noted architect Cesar Pelli, and home to modern electrical, mechanical, and biomedical labs, as well as the optical diagnostics and communications lab. Trinity is one of just a handful of top liberal arts colleges that offers degrees in engineering.

Just west of the MCEC are the College's **Summit Suites [24-26]**, designed by world-renowned architects William Rawn.

The walking tour of campus concludes at this point, but we hope your connection to Trinity College is just beginning.

Trinity's self representation. The text heavy plan is telling to the pride Trinity holds in its history and architecture, details of which are provided in the walking tour. This is most likely also the motivation behind the axonometric representation of the campus. Like Clark, the Trinity campus map does not show any of the context buildings, omitting structures on both Crescent Street (perhaps foreshadowing their upcoming demolition) and Allen Place. It is also interesting to note the inclusion of entrance gates in the drawing, and the recognition of their importance in the overall depiction of the campus .

Beyond the Ivory Tower: In Search of a New Form for Campus-Community Relationships

FIVE

REFLECTIONS & CONCLUSIONS

In his seminal book, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Paul Turner concludes:

> As a kind of microcosm, it [the campus] has been shaped by the desire to create an ideal community, and has often been a vehicle for expressing the utopian social visions of the American imagination. Above all, the campus reveals the power that a physical environment can possess as the embodiment of an institution's character.[1]

As higher education institutions come to understand how important a healthy host city is to their success, what will this enlightened appreciation mean for the next chapter of campus planning? I began this thesis in search of urban design strategies that institutions of higher education can use to engage with their communities in a mutually beneficial way. Although the two case studies employed for this task, Clark University and Trinity College, had similar intentions, the outcomes and legacies of their efforts varied. Yet, the thesis is not just about their specific results, but about

[1] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984).

how they exemplify and frame the larger phenomenon. What do they teach us – planners, policy-makers, designers, institutions, communities – about enriching the town gown relationship and reinventing a new typology for the ivory tower?

INTERDEPENDENCY

In an interview, Joshua Lederberg, a Stanford University geneticist, Nobel Laureate, and recently appointed (at the that time) president of Rockefeller University in New York City, was asked how it felt after many years in suburban California to return to the city in which he grew up. His response provides a valuable insight into the nature of cities and universities:

> New York played a special role in my scientific career. It was, and is, a communication network. New York is a super university. Evolutionists will tell you that you get the most rapid diversification of species where you have an archipelago-where you have islands that are not totally isolated from one another but have sufficient isolation

so that each can develop its distinctive flavor and sufficient communication; so that there is some gene flow between them. That's how I would characterize the intellectual environment of the city.[2]

Indeed, the city and the university share many common traits and can greatly benefit from one another. However, it is important to emphasize the subtlety of this interaction as expressed in Lederberg's remark. While it is essential to strengthen the linkages between campus and community, one should not discount the importance of the campus center and its ability to provide a sense of identity and engengender community within the college or university. As a result, there is a danger in applying the *blurred edge* to every condition. The American campus is a unique place that provokes special feelings for those who are a part of it. It should continue to do so. However, it must not turn its back to those on the periphery, but be, as Lederberg says, in "sufficient communication." The focus then should be on effectively breaking the campus out of isolation by highlighting the *bridges and frames*; encouraging the free flow of people and information and thereby allowing the city to come in and the campus to come out. The institutions can aid this process by being conscious of where they site shared facilities and nodes of activity as well as what programs they advocate and involve themselves in. In this way, they are seeding the city and should therefore make sure it encourages life and growth for both the institution and the city.

MISSION AND PLACE

Encouraging freedom of movement and exchange is one important part of a healthy relationship. This becomes especially important in those relationships where there is a strong disparity between the institution and the community. As two professors at Temple University in Philadelphia state, "As we approach the next century, the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" continues to widen. The wealthy and well-educated erect real and symbolic gated communities with which to keep the rest of the world at bay."[3] In order to counter this trend, it is important that institutions realize the importance of the campus as a physical representation of their mission, and value the entirety of the campus, including its edges, as a place of learning. *Seams* should be used as a medium for communication with the outside world. Additionally, opening up *walls* and gates, providing a permeable border across which to engage the city and the larger populace, is important in providing lessons of inclusiveness, not only for their students, but for society as well.

CHANGE IS INEVITABLE. PLAN FOR IT.

Richard Freeland, former president of Northeastern University, explains that the push for colleges to prepare students for careers "[has] led to a dramatic increase in the role that off-campus experiences of many kinds — internships, cooperative education, service learning — play in undergraduate education,

[2] *The Urban University and Its Identity: Roots, Location, Roles* (Dordrecht [Netherlands]: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), 17.

[3] Eric McNamara Horvat and Kathleen Shaw, "Redefining Campus: Urban Universities and the Idea of Place," *New directions for higher education* 105 (Spring 1995): 101-107.

and this change has inevitably eroded the traditional psychic barrier between the world of the campus and the world outside."[4] In addition, programs such as COPC have aided in the promotion of institutionalizing community involvement, encouraging a trend, which has gained solid ground in the framework of the institution's mission. If the roots have already been established, then institutions should make the relationships more official and foster their success. An active physical setting that invites integration between campus and city can be a catalyst for that mission. Similarly, providing an open, welcoming campus also serves to invite the community into the campus, promoting public awareness and education, thereby advancing the institution's inherent mission as well.

EDGE TYPES AND THEIR PERMEABILITY: THE NEXT CHAPTER

Just as the campus edges of Clark and Trinity manifested the institution's original mission and position on education, new campus growth will exhibit the evolving viewpoint of the enlightened institution, allowing for interconnection and interaction with the urban context. How can we best prepare and use the growth that is occurring to successfully meet these goals?

The appropriate edge condition should be unique to the situation; therefore it is presumptuous to suggest a single correct answer. Instead, I propose principles that allow for a

variety of responses that can be employed as the typology dictates:

1. Recognize that the existing edge conditions indicate different responses and potential for development. Some are more conducive to incremental expansion, like MIT's surrounding industrial area or the repurposing of poor housing stock into academic facilities at Clark. Others that are in a tighter context might consider leapfrogging, which is still a valuable way to enliven the *bridges* between an area as students, staff, and faculty traverse the boundaries. Working within the constraints contributes to creative design solutions and a unique sense of place.

2. Respect the scale and character of the existing city fabric. For example, in a new construction project, it was decided that a Columbia University residential building should be faced in the tawny color brick of neighborhood versus the red brick of the university to better fit in to its context. Again, such juxtapositions often provide an interesting challenge to designers, but a challenge from which great solutions can be made. It is here that *blurred* edges (or *seams* depending on the larger context) can be appropriate so as not to disrupt the existing urban fabric.

3. Highlight public spaces and mixed-use areas. Encourage use by both the institution and community. *Seams* in the form of retail corridors or open spaces are simple methods for engendering healthy connections between campus and community that have little impact on community center of

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[4] M. Perry Chapman, *American Places: In Search of the Twenty-First Century Campus* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006), x.

the campus but provide great benefits to the community.

4. Avoid *walls* or continual barriers such as parking lots, turned backs of buildings and impenetrable fences. Where fences or lines of buildings are used, the open spaces should be *framed* and the connection to the public celebrated. Remember that the back door of the campus is the front door to the neighborhood. This space should be treated like any other urban street frontage.

5. Ensure that students and off-campus uses are not a detriment to the surrounding area, but instead contribute as *islands and bridges* to the activity and vibrancy, and thus safety of the surrounding area. Keeping housing or uses concentrated in certain areas minimizes disruption. Shared policing and communication between the institution and city is important in helping to reduce negative impacts.

6. Emphasize the *bridges* and encourage traversing of the border, be it by faculty and staff living in the area or joint school programs such as UPCS and the soon to be Hartford Magnet Middle School. Use them in a way that can contribute where street activity is most needed.

7. Sites shared facilities in a way that both campus and community can easily use them. Doing so provides a common ground, encouraging integration by drawing community residents to the campus and students and faculty to the community.

PLANNING EFFORTS AND LONG-TERM ENGAGEMENT

The case studies also illustrate what is frequently harbored within the edge - a precursor to future expansion. Often the undefined and ambiguous space that results from an integrated edge conceals future growth opportunities for the institution. These *blurred* edges are not just unclear physically, but also leave one unsure about what the future holds. Such is the case with Trinity's southern edge, as well as past expansion at Clark.

To avoid the dangers of hidden expansion, it is important to have a plan in place. Doing so not only serves as a guide to future development, but also contributes to improved relations between neighborhoods and institutions by serving as an avenue to realize and focus on common interests. It is also important that neighbors know the intentions of the institution. Communication not only helps to maintain a healthy relationship, but when plans are unknown, there is danger that neighbors will be hesitant to invest in their property. If growth is thought to be imminent, it attracts speculative investors hopeful that the university will buy them out, which only serves to destabilize the area. Although this thesis focused on institutions that got involved in revitalization efforts for their own survival, their successes present important lessons in the benefits that partnerships can provide. Other institutions should be encouraged to bring parties together early on, not only when faced with severe economic and social decline.

INFUSE THE PARTNERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS

For enduring partnerships to succeed, connections must be made and reinforced at all levels. To make certain this happens, it is important that the engagement plan is institutionalized at a high level within the university structure. Doing so ensures that all aspects of the institution are focused on a singular mission and that it is infused into the culture. If all decisions refer back to same mission statement, then the physical realm should eventually align as well. If part of the mission, the physical campus will be part of the package in attracting like-minded faculty and students as well as promoting their work and contributing to their overall experience. For many, this is a new way of thinking and therefore leadership must often come from the highest levels. Rebecca Barnes, former chief planner of Boston and director of strategic growth at Brown University, sums it up well, "The leadership inside the institution establishes its priorities, including how it communicates and interacts with its neighbors and the city. Leadership matters — the differences can be dramatic."[5]

Indeed, leadership is a key part of building lasting community-university relationships. However, the decisions of many players, from policy makers to design consultants, contribute to their ultimate success. Therefore, all those involved should be able to take valuable lessons from the cases and information presented in this thesis to think about how they are engaging with each other on all levels, including at the campus edge. Doing so will ensure that community-university relationships continue to move in a positive direction, progressing beyond the ivory tower to an expression and celebration of true engagement.

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[5] "Them and Us: Institutional expansion and the neighborhoods," *Architecture Boston*, Spring 2009, 18.

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PART THREE: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

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