THE STUDENT GHETTO: PRESERVATION-BASED NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION IN COLLEGE COMMUNITIES

by

GLEN H. BENNETT

(Under the Direction of Mark Reinberger)

ABSTRACT

Colleges and universities are becoming active participants in planning, development and revitalization efforts in their communities to improve ills such as crime, poverty, and homelessness. This thesis highlights the positive role of historic preservation in redevelopment efforts by assessing the role and extent of historic preservation planning and practice at six universities: University of Pennsylvania; Union College; Trinity College; Duke University; Ohio State University; and Mercer University. Included are a synopsis of the history and function of institutions of higher education, overview of the physical college campus, history of town and gown relations, and case studies. Based on this analysis, a series of best practices and recommendations for college and university officials, preservation practitioners, local government representatives and neighborhood advocates is presented as a guide for developing healthy town and gown partnerships to effect preservation-based neighborhood revitalization.

INDEX WORDS: Town and Gown; University-Community Partnerships; Historic Preservation; Neighborhood Revitalization; Campus Planning; Campus Development.

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GLEN H. BENNETT

Bachelor of Arts, University of Florida, 1988

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

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GLEN H. BENNETT

Major Professor: Mark Reinberger

Committee: John Waters Mary Ann Akers Bruce Lonnee

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso Dean of the Graduate School The University of Georgia December 2003

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Many colleges and universities are quickly realizing that they must support and revitalize their host communities to improve ills such as crime, poverty, homelessness and the general decline of the built environment. For well over thirty years, these negative social, economic, and physical conditions have existed just outside the physical campus, or in many instances, encroached upon the campus itself. These conditions threaten the very educational and research missions that define the universities. Traditionally focused inward, universities are rapidly acknowledging that they do not exist in a vacuum and must join with their neighbors to improve the quality of life on campus, in surrounding neighborhoods, and for their community in general. To that end, many universities are becoming more active participants in their communities and are playing a proactive and complex role as leader, facilitator, and broker in planning, development, and revitalization efforts in their larger communities.

As colleges and universities collaborate with community groups and local governments in revitalization efforts, they are increasingly becoming involved with historic buildings as many campuses are located in historic neighborhoods and downtown commercial areas. In addition, colleges and universities are acquiring off-campus historic buildings in their efforts to expand their physical capacity to meet educational and space needs. In these direct and indirect ways, the growing role of colleges and universities in

community revitalization provides new opportunities for increased emphasis on historic preservation in order to better balance the preservation and reuse of historic buildings with the construction of new buildings and other academic facilities. As their role grows in the community development and revitalization process, college and university leaders are becoming significant factors in deciding whether or not historic preservation will be employed as a community revitalization tool. In essence, the choices available when dealing with historic resources are fairly straightforward: demolish existing historic buildings for continued or adaptive use.

As the physical, cultural and economic benefits of historic preservation become better known, and as the cost of materials and labor escalates, the seemingly simple solution of demolishing the old and constructing new buildings is no longer the most desirable or cost effective alternative. However, the choice to build anew or preserve and rehabilitate historic buildings is an ongoing issue facing community and university leaders across the country.

While improvements to both the university and community are necessary, there can be no doubt that physical development and construction pose a challenge to preserving historic buildings. The goals of improving university facilities and services and maintaining the historic physical environment are both intended to provide a wellrounded educational and community experience for students enrolled in the university and residents of the surrounding community. These goals are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, campus and community planning and development based on the practice of

historic preservation only enhances the university's ability to better fulfill its educational mission while enhancing the quality of life of community residents (including students).

Historic preservation does not seek to prohibit new buildings from being built. Instead, it seeks to preserve certain historic buildings representative of our heritage, adaptively use other existing buildings and infrastructure to maximize cost-effectiveness, and guide the design and construction of new buildings in a manner consistent with the physical scale and layout of the campus and community. Preservation calls for the recognition that the historic development of campus and community buildings and their spatial relationships are significant, and that their retention contributes to the functional, aesthetic, and educational success of the university and community.

The record of historic preservation at American colleges has been mixed. At some colleges, relationships with preservationists have been marked by disagreements, strife, and lawsuits. However, other colleges have welcomed and profited from preservation planning. This latter scenario is exemplified by the fact that as of the year 2000, 948 historic buildings or districts owned by institutions of higher education had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places, with 46 percent of those listings coming in the 1980's (Durgin 1). These statistics support the hypothesis that maintaining campus vitality and adaptability while at the same time preserving historic properties need not be opposing goals when both are thoroughly understood and a framework for historic preservation is integrated into master planning.

Colleges and universities have typically been poorly prepared and often reluctant to successfully protect and adaptively use historic resources. This trend presents a challenging opportunity for preservationists to work with administrators and planners to

develop a framework for campus development and growth based on the principles of historic resource management and historic preservation planning.

While it is integral that the framework of campus planning and development, both on and off campus, be based on the preservation ethic, this thesis will analyze the town and gown relationship as universities expand their efforts to assist communities in physical and economic revitalization of neighborhoods adjacent to their campuses. It will begin with a synopsis of the history and function of institutions of higher education, followed by an overview of the physical college campus, including the evolution of the college campus and the elements that comprise the campus. A brief history of town and gown relations will be presented followed by an overview of town and gown relations today. Several cases studies from around the country will be discussed in order to present a general overview of college and university efforts to revitalize neighborhoods adjacent to their campuses. This will be followed by a more in depth analysis of a preservationfocused town and gown partnership currently taking place at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. Based on this analysis, a series of best practices will be offered as guides to developing healthy town and gown relationships to effect preservation-based community revitalization.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY AND CAMPUS

Early Universities

The Latin term *universitas* meant a community or corporation of any kind, but over time it came to mean a center for advanced learning with legal standing and various special privileges (Academic American Encyclopedia 469). The earliest known universities were centers of learning in the ancient civilizations of Greece, Rome, Byzantium, and Islamic countries. One of the earliest known universities, still in operation, is Al-Azhar University founded circa 970 in Cairo, Egypt (World Book 210).

The earliest known European universities were in Oxford, Paris and Bologna in the twelfth century and later Cambridge and Salamance in the thirteenth century (Urban Patterns 79). The university in Paris developed as an institution dedicated to training pupils to become masters in a specific discipline, while the university in Bologna developed as a corporation of students (Academic American 469). Among other early notable universities, Oxford was based on the Paris model of training masters (those students seeking advanced degrees) and became an important center of scholarship in England. In many instances, students and masters would leave an established university and found a new one. This was the case when such a group left Oxford and founded Cambridge in the early thirteenth century (Academic American 469). While these two universities remain the most prestigious, there are today some 90 universities in Britain.

Universities grew out of the monastic life as monasteries were characterized by meditation and study, which was extended to research by scholars intent on the cultivation of professional skills. Over time these universities developed increasing autonomy and established their own methods of self-governance. They selected their own members and leaders and shaped the direction and content of their studies and programs. Research and training in law, medicine and the arts were conducted at the universities, which were assisted by the growing wealth of the merchant class. These universities were critical in the developing cultural and social vitality of the time. Over the time period that included the cultural and artistic awakening of the Renaissance and the upheavals of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, universities were the centers of intellectual stimulation and primary sources of civil and religious leaders.

Universities expanded significantly in the nineteenth century and developed into a contemporary form that has its origins in medieval Europe, including prescribed curricula, formal examinations and degrees. Multiple forces and circumstances existed to cause this development. Education was becoming more secularized and widespread. The influence and control of the Catholic and Protestant churches over centers of learning was reduced as nationalism began to rise and governments began to exert greater influence on, and support for, educational institutions. This increase in nationalism also brought with it the rising notion that each country needed to develop its own unique system of education that reflected its national values and goals. In addition, the rising belief in science and the scientific method spawned a belief in progress, which fueled intellectual activity and university expansion. Germany developed the most successful and widely copied national system of higher education. The jewel in its crown was the University of

Berlin, founded in 1810. Built on the principle of free inquiry for both teachers and students, the University of Berlin attracted scholars from around the world. The seminar, the scientific laboratory, and the monographic study, introduced by the University of Berlin, were widely copied in other countries.

In France, a national system of higher education was established during the Napoleonic regime in 1796. Napoleon centralized education under the University of France, which had responsibility for all education from primary to university levels. Standard curricula, schedules, and examination were the hallmarks. This system was not much emulated by other nations except Spain. Subsequent demands among French university faculty and students in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries centered on gaining greater autonomy and access.

East European and some Asian and other countries experienced growth in universities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Countries in eastern and central Europe, Scandinavia, and the Balkans all fostered new institutions, many of which were modeled on the German method. India, Canada, and Australia also established important centers of learning. Japan established the University of Tokyo in 1877. China permitted some international exchange toward the end of the nineteenth century that promoted growth and change in its universities (Academic American 470).

The university played a central role in transplanting the cultural legacy to the New World during the exploration and settlement of North and South America. By the early seventeenth century, centers of education had been developed in the western hemisphere, including Peru, Mexico, Canada, and New England. The first universities in the Western Hemisphere were founded in the Spanish Colonies, such as the University of Santo

Domingo in 1538 in the Dominican Republic. Two others, both founded in 1551, were the University of San Marcos in Lima Peru and the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

Origins of the Campus

The historic meaning of *campus* is Latin in derivation. The Latin *kampos* was simply "a field" (Webster's Dictionary 232). It was not until the late eighteenth century that *campus* was first used to describe the grounds of a college. Paul Turner notes the use of the term at Princeton around 1770 to describe "the spaciousness of the area between Nassau Hall and the road and the generally rural character of the College. Before this time, Until this, Princeton had used Harvard's word *yard*, or simply *grounds*, to designate the area around the college's main building" (Turner 47). Over the next several decades, other schools borrowed the term campus until it superseded these other terms. In the midnineteenth century, *campus* became the most popular term for college grounds, as evidenced by a "survey conducted at the end of the century that found 320 out of the 359 colleges in America employing the term" (Turner 47). In more modern times, the word *campus* has come to signify the entire property of the college grounds, including both the landscapes and buildings.

In addition, the term has gone beyond these physical connotations to take on other associations. The Latin phrase, *genius loci*, roughly translates as the guardian spirit of a place. This spirit of place refers to the character that certain locations achieve when the natural, the man-made, and the interaction between the two work, in harmony to create a special place. The college campus possesses a strong genius loci, a strong spirit of place that represents the spirit of the school as embodied in its architecture and grounds (Turner

4). On an institutional level, the *campus* denotes the educational and social ideals of the college represented architecturally in its unique physical characteristics. On a personal level, the *campus* symbolizes our individual experience and becomes part of who we are and how we define ourselves. We identify ourselves with the places we love, places where good times were had, where important lessons were learned, where we grew and matured. As a place where we lived and experienced life for a time, or as a place where we may live and work all our lives, the university *campus* provides a link to our personal identity. The physical space that is the campus – the buildings, open spaces, and relationship between the two – come to symbolize our experiences while there and tie our personal identity with the place.

The Evolution of the American College and Campus

While American colleges and their campuses evolved from their English predecessors, campus layout and planning in the colonies was dictated by decidedly different circumstances and ideals. English colleges such as Oxford and Cambridge were formed by placing buildings around the perimeter of a lot, thereby forming enclosed quadrangles and courtyards on the buildings' interiors. While this physical layout was most assuredly based on the prevalent tradition of cloistered monasteries, its use provided a ready defense against potential enemies. These early colleges and universities were required to protect their students and faculty from uninvited adversaries and the threat of disease. As a result, they permitted only a few points of entry, designing walled- and gated buildings clustered around internal central squares (Figure 1). In the mid-sixteenth century, the use of the three-sided quadrangle was first employed at Cambridge.



Figure 1: Plan of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as it evolved from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. (Thomas D. Atkinson, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, London, 1897, p. 344) (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 10)

Citing reasons of improved health and fresher air by its designer, the open quadrangle represented the transformation from the declining monastic tradition to the emerging Renaissance notion of openness and planning that allowed for the placement of focal points along axial site lines (Figure 2). This transition was occurring in England before and during the colonization of America, and would prove to impact collegiate planning in the new nation (Turner 10-12).

Higher education in America began when knowledge was limited, the modern scientific spirit had not yet developed, and early settlers looked upon colleges chiefly as a means of training ministers. Yet education was important to America's founders as evidenced by their efforts to establish colleges immediately upon their arrival in the new world. The earliest college planned in America was in Henricopolis, Virginia. Although this college was authorized in 1619, it was never developed due to the Indian massacres of 1622 (World Book 210). However, there were several colleges developed over the next 140 years, so that by 1776 there were nine degree-granting colleges in the American colonies, including the College of Harvard in 1636; the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693; Yale College in Connecticut, 1701; the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), 1746; King's College (later Columbia) in New York, 1754; the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), 1755; the College of Rhode Island (later Brown), 1765; Queen's College (later Rutgers) in New Jersey, 1766; and Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, 1769 (Turner 17).

All of these colleges were founded and supported by religious groups. Each was led and staffed mostly by clergy and each focused on the education of church and civic leaders. The curriculum of these early colleges included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic,



Figure 2: Emmanuel College, Cambridge. View from Logann's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, 1688. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 13)

rhetoric, ancient history, and mathematics. Scientific topics, modern languages, and literature were added slowly over time. Most learning was by rote through prescribed courses. Teachers were typically young men preparing for the clergy or other professions. Only the college president served for relatively long periods, often combining his duties with preaching in a local church. Unlike the faculty-governed European universities, lay boards of trustees directed the policies and finances of the college through the leadership of the president.

While American colleges still tended to follow the collegiate ideal employed in English universities, where teachers and students lived and studied together in small units, American colleges developed in very distinct ways from English schools. Colleges became representative of the new republic not only in their teachings, but also in the architectural style of their buildings and layout of campuses. Beginning in the colonial era, the physical forms of colleges represented the autonomous nature of each college and began to assume the size and layout of entire communities. Americans first broke with the English tradition by establishing individual colleges in separate locations rather than grouping them together in a university. This autonomy was further strengthened by placing colleges not in cities, but in the country, or on the edge of more urbanely developing areas. Early American colleges were also more open and inviting to the surrounding environment, with individual buildings set in open green space (Turner 4).

Harvard is the oldest college in America, founded in 1636 only six years after the Massachusetts Bay Colony was settled. Harvard was founded by Puritans who firmly believed that higher education was paramount to fulfilling their strongly held beliefs in community cohesion and religious conformity. Harvard's founders were motivated by

their concerns of perpetuating learning and preparing clergymen and other leaders. Harvard developed at the edge of Cambridge, four miles inland from Boston.

The initial college functions were carried out in an existing residential building, known as the Peyntree House, and the multipurpose Harvard College constructed in 1642. Over the ensuing years, several buildings were added for the college, including New College in 1682, Stoughton Hall in 1697, and Massachusetts Hall in 1718-20. These three buildings were sited in a U-shape, reflecting the English tradition of enclosed quadrangles while maintaining the separateness of the individual buildings (Figure 3).

The colonial development at Harvard established three precedents that have guided campus development and planning in America ever since. Harvard's development represents a transition from the English tradition of attached buildings around a central courtyard to the placement of separate buildings related to one another in a more open site plan. This practice also furthered the Puritan sense of community integration and reflects the tradition of the American colleges' external orientation and increasing connections with the surrounding community. Thirdly, Harvard's physical development has been the product of deliberate long-range planning, rather than random responses to rising needs. This type of planned development has become central to guiding the campus growth of American colleges as well as the physical spaces where the college campus intersects the larger community.

Although the College of William and Mary initially followed traditional English collegiate development patterns similar to Harvard, the college's design and development pattern were altered by changing attitudes about collegiate architecture and the broader



Figure 3: Reconstructed view of Cambridge in 1668 with Four Harvard College Buildings in the Foreground (Harvard University Press) (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 21) land and development patterns in Virginia. The resulting experience at William and Mary produced several precedents that impacted subsequent collegiate development in America.

Located in Williamsburg, Virginia, the College of William and Mary was founded in 1693 as an Anglican college with its first building completed in 1700 (Turner 31). This original college building was an L-shaped building that was intended to be part of a fully enclosed quadrangle, in keeping with the traditional English model featured at Oxford. The enclosed quadrangle was never complete due to a shift in design that occurred between 1700 and 1720 away from the uniform enclosed quadrangle toward qualities associated with the Baroque such as openness, directional spaces, and vistas with focal points. This shift in design philosophy is evidenced by the construction of two new separate buildings sited to the east of the existing building in 1720, thus ignoring the original plan to complete the existing building and enclosing the quadrangle. This alternative development pattern served to strengthen the linear nature central to the evolving Baroque style of design. The original building at William and Mary was destroyed by fire and rebuilt on three separate occasions. The building that exists today was constructed during the 1928-33 restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and is based on the second version of the building from 1705 to 1859 (Figure 4).

From the beginning, William and Mary's development was different from that at Harvard. While Harvard developed on the wilderness edge of a relatively large and stable English colony, the settlement of Williamsburg was more of a plantation than a real town. In this distinctly rural setting, the school actually developed before the town,



Figure 4: Wren Building at College of William and Mary. Photograph from Colonial Williamsburg. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 32)

and was reoriented as a response to the newly laid-out plan of Williamsburg to the west in the 1720s and 1730s. Although Williamsburg never developed into a major city, it's original plan called for a mile-long street connecting the college to the west with the Capitol to the east, intersected by public squares and cross-axes at points along the main street. This represents one of the most remarkable examples of early collegiate planning taking place in the larger context of city planning. This combination of collegiate and city planning established a major precedent that has impacted American collegiate planning thereafter, especially at state institutions.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, specialization in knowledge increased and many colleges were created to train students in such fields as agriculture, medicine, engineering, and commerce. Specialization also occurred as the number of students attending college grew and the emphasis on advanced graduate study increased. In response to these demographic changes, many new schools were developed. According to Paul Turner, "the number of colleges in the United States grew steadily, from the nine colonial institutions to about twenty in 1790, and at least forty-five by the mid 1820s" (Turner 53).

During this period, normal schools were instituted in response to a growing demand for elementary and secondary schoolteachers. Many were later expanded into comprehensive colleges or incorporated within universities. Likewise, professional schools for law and medicine were started or incorporated into existing schools. Some leaders saw the need for education that went beyond religious concerns, a concern which led to state universities. Several states began universities, including North Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Virginia.

North Carolina was the first to develop a state university and plan a campus beginning in 1792 with land acquisition and construction of the first building in 1793. Located in a rural setting, the original intent of the founders was to separate the university campus from the state capitol and other urban areas. However, plans for the university included the development of a village adjacent to the campus, which ultimately became the town of Chapel Hill. The plans for the University of North Carolina (UNC) initially included three separate buildings sited in an open quadrangle format facing the village. Early maps of the campus indicated an extension of these lines along a "Grand Avenue" connecting the campus with the village. This concept of the mall – two rows of buildings facing each other across an open space – was first planned at UNC. While the UNC campus did not ultimately develop following the plans for the mall, many schools employed this type of plan.

While the mall plan was first developed at UNC, it was first implemented at the University of South Carolina (then South Carolina College). Founded in 1801 by the South Carolina state legislature, the campus was located in the then newly laid out state capital of Columbus. In 1802, college trustees held what was perhaps the first design competition for an American school. The winning plans were submitted by a young Robert Mills and consisted of a single large building to house all of the college's functions. Despite this winning plan, the college trustees opted for the mall plan of development for the college. Known as the horseshoe, the college's buildings were laid out in what is essentially a mall pattern. The president's house was at one end and the entrance to the town at the other. Early buildings developed at right angles to the president's house and faced one another across the greensward. New buildings on

campus were gradually added along the two sides of the mall until the horseshoe was complete (Figure 5). This type of plan reinforced the notion of placing individual buildings separate from one another in open green space and made the buildings accessible from all directions.

Nearly twenty years later, the mall plan would form the foundation for one of the most lasting campus plans in history. Founded and designed by Thomas Jefferson, the University of Virginia (UVA) is located just outside of Charlottesville, Virginia, and four miles from Jefferson's home of Monticello (Figure 6). Although construction lasted eight years culminating in the university's opening in 1825, Jefferson developed the idea and design of the university over the course of his lifetime. He first proposed the idea of developing a state system of free schools and a state university as Governor of Virginia in 1779. He continued to be involved in educational curriculum and campus design issues throughout his career as Governor, Minister to France, Vice-President and President.

The design of UVA is the physical manifestation of Jefferson's principle of the ideal educational environment. He believed that education was best served when conducted in a familial environment and personal relationships between students and professors could develop. As such, he sought to create an "academical village" in a rural setting (away from the corrupting forces of the city) where professors and students could live together and interact on a regular basis beyond the classroom experience.

The design itself consists of two rows of buildings facing one another across a wide greensward (the Lawn), forming the mall. The buildings along each side of the Lawn house both professors (in the Pavilions) and students in an alternating fashion and are connected by a colonnade running the length of the buildings. The north end of the



Figure 5: 1872 Lithograph Depicting View of South Carolina College. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 59)



Figure 6: 1856 Lithograph Depicting the University of Virginia, Charlottesville in background and Monticello in the Distance on a Hill. Photograph from University of Virginia Library. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 85)

mall terminates in the large domed library known as the Rotunda while the south end is open, essentially forming a wide three-sided quadrangle. Jefferson designed the pavilions to be different architecturally to serve as examples of different architectural styles for the education of students. This was a unique act for the time as it was at odds with the classical principles of uniformity and symmetry so popular at the time. Another important element of the design is that Jefferson provided for the construction of additional buildings by extending the mall linearly in order to provide needed space as the university grew.

Although the reality of professors and students living so closely together on a regular basis proved to be too rigid and demanding for the professors, Jefferson's idea and design of an "academical village" or college town composed of separate buildings situated around a village green set a precedent in American campus design that would greatly influence the residential nature of future campus design and development.

In addition, there were two other elements of Jefferson's plan that indicated changes in American campus design. The first significant element of Jefferson's plan is the omission of a chapel or church on campus. The exclusion of a building devoted to religious principals and use surely represents Jefferson's intent that UVA be a fully secular institution, separate from religious beliefs and influences. As equally precedent setting was Jefferson's inclusion of an extensive library. Books were very important to Jefferson personally, the one item he said he was unable to live without. This importance of books was reflected in his designation of the Rotunda, the campus' main building and focal point, as the library for the university. This inclusion of an extensive library housed in a prominent building was the first time that the library was the central focus on an

American campus. This shift in educational emphasis marked the beginning of the transition of American colleges away from the traditional collegiate experience of learning through rote and repetition toward a truly interactive learning experience involving dialogue between students and professors and research.

The mid-nineteenth century brought significant commercial, scientific, and technical changes, which influenced the formation of new types of schools, including scientific and technical schools; agricultural schools; manual training schools; and women's seminaries. This growth in the number of schools can be generally attributed to the country's population growth, westward expansion, competition among religious sects to each have colleges in these developing areas, and the pervasive ideal of democratic education. Both the Greek Revival and Gothic Revival styles of architecture were employed in college design during this period. While Greek Revival was employed in all types of buildings, it was used predominantly in college buildings as it reinforced the ideal of the classical curriculum embodied in the Greeo-Roman tradition.

The Greek Revival style was not only employed in the temple-like forms of the buildings themselves, but also in their symmetrical and orderly siting and relationship to one another. College buildings during this period were also placed at greater distances from one another, strengthening the independence and temple-like quality each was intended to convey. Although evident at many schools that developed during this period, the University of Georgia represents a good example where college buildings were sited along two symmetrical rows facing one another across an open green space (Figures 7 and 8). A significant development in the growth of colleges and universities in the United



Figure 7: 1854 Print Depicting University of Georgia Campus Circa 1844. (F.N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, Athens, GA, 1984, p. 25)



Figure 8: View of University of Georgia Campus as an Engraving on the Border of James R. Butt's Map of Georgia Published in 1859. (F.N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, Athens, GA, 1984, p. 34)
States was the passage of the Land Grant College Act (Morrill Act) by Congress in 1862 to grant land in new territories for the establishment of schools. While educational opportunities had been available only for the elite, many educators and politicians wanted to make advanced education available and accessible for young people beginning in the 1850's. One such politician was James Morrill, a Congressman from Vermont. Morrill sponsored federal legislation (ultimately named the Morrill Act after its chief sponsor) that was passed by Congress after the southern states secended from the Union. The Morrill Act gave every state remaining in the Union 30,000 acres of public land for every member of its congressional delegation. This resulted in a minimum allotment of 90,000 acres per state, since under the Constitution each state was represented in Congress by two senators and at least one representative. The states were to sell this land and use the proceeds to establish colleges in engineering, agriculture, and military science. Over seventy land-grant colleges were established under the original Morrill Act. Following the conclusion of the Civil War and Reconstruction, Congress passed a second act in 1890 extending the land grant provisions to the sixteen southern states. Land grant colleges and universities were ultimately begun in all 50 states and developed a tradition that included: providing a broad range of applied, scientific knowledge; accessible, lowcost education; a comprehensive curriculum; and a goal of public service to citizens ("Background on the Morrill Act" 1-2).

Despite these advancing technologies and new schools, the physical plan of American campuses remained relatively unchanged relative to these discoveries. The intrusion of the city into the daily life of the academic community reinforced the traditional belief that the campus should be removed from its urban context. Campus

architectural plans were strongly influenced by a university's relationship to its natural environment. It was considered desirable to be removed from the city, and the beauty of open space and its natural qualities were increasingly valued.

The twentieth century has seen a widely expanded number of institutions of higher education, as well as the number of students enrolled and the variety of programs of study available. While there were approximately 1,388,000 students attending 1,708 colleges and universities in 1940, there were approximately 14,280,000 students enrolled in 3,688 colleges and universities in 1994 (Academic American 470). Several legislative initiatives and demographic shifts have greatly impacted enrollment in colleges and universities in the twentieth century. Many World War II and Korean War veterans returned home and attended college through the G. I. Bill of Rights passed by Congress in 1944. Additionally, the "baby boom" that followed World War II dramatically increased enrollment in American colleges and universities beginning in the 1960's.

The late twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed continued demand for higher education in America. Not only are more Americans of all ages attending an institution of higher education, but many people from around the world are coming to America to attend a college or university. In addition, the advent of computers and advanced telecommunications, the explosion of knowledge in all disciplines, and a rising sense of the world as a global community, have put colleges and universities under tremendous pressure to provide the physical and academic resources necessary to fulfill their missions.

During this time, the introduction of the automobile into American society also had a significant and lasting impact on the physical characteristics of college campuses. The

devaluation of open space and its use for parking lots and buildings with large footprints and towering heights, has exacerbated a loss of form and tradition. With the advent of the automobile on campus, universities further developed as communities unto themselves and were increasingly required to provide multiple services to students. The American college campus included much more than just classrooms, libraries, and other academic space. It included dining halls, dormitories, recreational facilities, and gathering places such as student centers, auditoriums, and stadiums, among others. All of these physical entities require campus planners to do much more than simply design individual buildings; they must plan and design for the creation of an entire community. "Indeed, the term *campus* sums up the distinctive physical qualities of the American college, but also its integrity as a self-contained community and its architectural expression of educational and social ideals" (Turner 4).

The strength of the university today lies in this complex relationship between the physical buildings and spaces on campus and the relationship between the campus and surrounding community. The university campus has always been a special place where individual expression and the search for new ideas can peacefully coexist with deeply regularized patterns of life based on tradition and heritage. The university is essentially a community, defined by the character of people and place in an intricate social, cultural and institutional fabric. The best universities are places where communal cohesion and strength are inherent in the physical plan of the campus as well as from the lessons and values that are conveyed. "The university today is a community striving to preserve its past, its heritage and finest traditions and legacies, while building a bold, exciting and dynamic future" (Berdahl 3).

CHAPTER 3

FUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN CAMPUS

The opportunity for higher education is a centerpiece of the American experience, as evidenced by the 3,587 accredited American colleges and universities that have enrolled an estimated 40 percent of the American population as degree-seeking students (Dober, *Campus Design* 3).

While the traits of campus planning described above have contributed to the distinctly American character, they also required that new forms of physical planning be developed to create college campuses that facilitated learning as well as a sense of belonging -- in other words, college campuses that were successful.

Clearly, these universities have served as vital resources affecting the lives of many people in a multitude of ways -- as places to learn, work, conduct scientific research, receive health care, and experience art, cultural, and other entertainment activities. Indeed, "whether as a requirement for survival or simply as a means to the next plateau onto which a maturing civilization must scramble, we have committed ourselves to using colleges and universities for training all our professionals, conducting much of our pure research, and providing the main body of community, state, and national leadership" (Dober, *Campus Planning*, Foreword). In order for colleges and universities to facilitate such a variety of social, economic, and cultural interactions between people, the physical forms of colleges and universities must embody a wide range of human activity and habitation. Of course, this level of human activity requires buildings, thus immediately beginning the process of altering the landscape that always accompanies man's presence on the land.

To this extent, every university campus is a humanized landscape that possesses an ambiance all its own. It is a landscape created and re-created through a process of planning, designing, and building that is based on our perceptions of what the campus should be, our aesthetic sensibilities, and the physical needs and space requirements necessary to accommodate the goals and population of the institution. It is a place, much like the theme park or historic district, that we want to go to, to be in, and to identify with. We are attracted to its strong sense of place that promotes learning through interaction and exchange. Indeed, the campus landscape itself can be considered a specific landscape type -- possessing its own distinctive form, characteristics, forces of interaction and manipulation at work upon the landscape, and multiple interpretation of meanings and values associated with the landscape. But what makes such a place work? What makes it successful? What makes us want to go there? It is aesthetics -- those qualities that make for an attractive and pleasing physical environment. In *The Campus* as a Work of Art, Thomas Gaines states: "a good campus consists of a group of harmonious buildings related by various means (such as arches and landscaping) that create well-proportioned and diverse urban spaces containing appropriate furnishings -benches, pools, fountains, gazebos, and walk-ways" (Gaines 1-2).

The Horseshoe at the University of South Carolina is such a space -- a pleasing composition of outdoor scale, landscaping, and Federal style architecture (Figure 9). The quadrangle located on the University of Georgia's north campus is another such space. While the scale of this space is somewhat larger than the Horseshoe, it is a space pleasing



Figure 9: The Horseshoe at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C. Photography from the University of South Carolina(Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 2)

to all the senses -- where the architectural evolution of the campus can be seen along its borders, and where the harmony and openness of nature can be felt.

While it is important to the successful campus that its design include the proper manipulation of buildings, fences, plantings, monuments, and walkways, including respecting natural phenomena such as hills, trees, and watercourses, the success of a campus is not determined by these elements alone. Instead, the success of any campus can be measured in terms of the human interaction encouraged by these design features. In other words, the design and siting of campus buildings and spaces has a direct bearing on the type, amount, and quality of interaction of people -- students, faculty, alumni, and other visitors -- with each other and the landscape. This interaction underlies the entire purpose of the college campus, and is a direct result of the relationship between our perceptions of what the college campus should be, how we conceptually plan and design the physical space, how we execute that plan through architecture and landscape architecture, and the relationship between the campus and the surrounding community at large.

Our Perception of the Campus

At the heart of any campus lies the image that we seek to create in its physical landscape. The task at hand is to create the physical campus that best represents our ideal image of what it should be. Campus design should seek to convey a sense of place that will be recognized and remembered because the campus works well functionally, is aesthetically attractive, embodies the history of the school, and relates to the surrounding community. But what is this sense of place that makes the college campus so special? Is it something that is inherent in the natural landscape? Can it be planned, designed, and

built? Does it come from the connection to the place that evolves as we grow accustomed to and familiarize ourselves with the place around us?

The answer to all of these questions can be found in the humanized evolution of the campus landscape itself. Yes, features in the natural landscape convey a sense of place. That is why the initial site for a university or a town is chosen on a knoll of high ground looking out over a river, or is sited along a natural ridgeline, or some other naturally advantageous siting. These are considered to be optimal sites for building, and inherently contain a positive sense of place.

Yes, a sense of place can be planned, designed, and built. The natural topography of the land can be retained and enhanced by controlling land use, establishing circulation networks, siting specific buildings, retaining open spaces, and employing certain architectural styles and building materials.

Yes, a sense of place is definitely strengthened by our connection to that place that develops from our being a part of it. The more time we spend there and the more that happens to us while we are there, the greater our sense of belonging to that particular place. In addition, our own beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, feelings, morals, and biases affect our connection to a place, whether university, town, or both. If we perceive ourselves to be an integral part of the place, we are going to feel better connected to it and thus have a stronger sense of the place and our position in it.

Based on these observations, sense of place is a combination formed from these various sources. The university campus, larger community, and transitional spaces are places that, by their very nature, possess and convey a strong sense of place to those who

set foot on their grounds. Perhaps Richard Dober says it best in his book, Campus

Design:

Each college and university should have an appropriate image of its own making, an amalgam of buildings and landscapes that communicates a distinctive sense of place, functionally suitable for the institution's particular purposes. The image and reality should promote community, allegiance, and civility, while at the same time encouraging diversity in discourse and vision which gives our colleges and universities a special status in a humane and civilizing world (Dober, *Campus Design* 8).

Campus Planning and Design

While it is important to identify the sense of place that serves as the ideal image for any college campus, this recognition alone does not insure its manifestation in the physical landscape. Indeed, because university landscapes and buildings begin to change as soon as they are built and used, campus image must be integrated into campus planning and design processes if any continuity of that image is to be achieved. In order to facilitate this continuity amidst the tremendous growth pressures present on many college campuses today, most campus administrations employ a campus plan meant to control campus growth and produce a broad picture of future physical changes.

While campuses are much more likely to be planned today than in the past, there has been a great deal of planning and design forethought put into the creation and adaptation of college campuses throughout the history of higher education in this country. Paul Turner states, in his book *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*:

It is often assumed that until recently, and with a few exceptions like the University of Virginia, colleges have simply grown haphazardly, without conscious design. In reality, campus planning in America has a long and full history. Planning, of course, can mean many different things, ranging from the design of a single building to the creation of a master plan involving many structures, their surrounding environment, and the gradual execution of the plan over a period of time. But even by the most demanding definitions, college planning can be shown to have existed in America from the earliest period (Turner 5-6).

Despite this precedent for campus planning, the effort to guide growth and change on the college campus is not present at all colleges and universities. There are certainly instances where campus development has more to do with immediate needs, the college administration's artistic sense, the success of fund raising efforts, and often times mere chance. However, a campus should be the collaborative product of college/university officials, community leaders, neighborhood residents, students, planners, architects, landscape architects, and others.

The process of campus planning and design combines elements of traditional town planning and urban design techniques, contemporary participatory planning, and the ecological and visual aptitude of landscape architecture. Although this process is conceptual in nature, there are a multitude of graphic representations that attempt to convey the concepts behind the process. Figure 10, for instance, is a very simple conceptual diagram of campus design factors from planning studies conducted in 1990 at Bates College (Figure 10). This figure represents the image of the campus at its core, achieved through the broad considerations of land use, building locations and circulation networks represented in the outer ring, and the more specific physical elements of landmarks and building materials contained in the inner ring. It also represents the elements that must be considered in order to create a campus that best bridges the gap between image and reality.



Figure 10: Conceptual Diagram of Campus Design Factors at Bates College. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)

Another useful graphic tool is the campus landscape map (Figure 11). This image depicts the main landscape areas -- lakes, drives, quadrangles, fields, paths, etc. -- of the campus at Colgate University. This type of map reveals the siting of campus buildings and spaces, and serves as a template to consider land use questions, circulation patterns, siting and topographic changes in the landscape, among others.

The Physical Campus

While these graphic representations are integral features of campus planning and designing processes, they are still only methods to convey abstract concepts. In order for the campus to become real, these abstractions must be made tangible in the form of the physical components that comprise the campus.

It might seem obvious that the primary physical components of a campus are buildings, landscapes, and circulation patterns. But these can be further broken down into landmarks, architectural style and materials, and specific landscapes such as meeting places and pedestrian pathways, to name only a few. It is the "conceptualization and orchestration of these physical attributes which give a campus a visual uniqueness appropriately its own and produce a campus with a strong image" (Dober, *Campus Design* 5).

Landmarks

Landmarks are prominent physical features on a college campus and can take the form of architectural elements, buildings or other structures, monuments, and special landscape features. Landmarks often serve as both orientation points and gathering places for students, faculty and visitors. These landmarks play a vital role in connecting the history of the college to its present physical campus. A prominent feature at UNC in



Figure 11: Campus Landscape Map for Colgate University by Dober, Lidsky, Craig and Associated, Inc. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)

Chapel Hill is the Old Well, both a central orienting point on campus and symbolic element of the entire university (Figures 12, 13 and 14). The Old Well is such a wellknown visual structure at UNC that it is also used as the University logo. When viewing the Old Well, people automatically identify the University of North Carolina as well as the town of Chapel Hill. The Old Well has seen many changes over the years. For example, in 1897, the old structure was remodeled based on the Temple of Love at Versailles (Powell 129). In addition, there have been several landscape and circulation changes associated with the Old Well. Throughout these changes, the well has come to serve as a visual symbol to students, as well as the official logo for the university.

At the University of Georgia, the arch located at the north boundary of the campus is a well-known historic physical feature of the campus. Adopted as the logo for the university, the arch immediately identifies the university as well as the city of Athens (Figures 15, 16 and 17).

Likewise, Mercer University has adopted a logo based on the architectural elements of several campus buildings. The logo is based on the towers and spires of such campus buildings as the Administration Building (Figure 18). In addition, this imagery is used as part of the university's signage at entryways onto the campus (Figure 19).

Just as these physical campus features and elements have become landmarks and logos for their respective schools, so too do many architectural details, building forms and landscape elements serve as the symbols of other colleges and universities (Figure 20). Building forms provide a major source of campus symbols, as seen in the image of the Wren Building at William and Mary, and others at Boston College, Hartwick College, Trinity College, and Vassar College. Specific architectural elements can sometimes serve



Figure 12: Old Well in 1897, Before and After Remodeling. (William S. Powell, *The First State University*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972)



Figure 13: Old Well in 1955. (William S. Powell, *The First State University*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972)



Figure 14: Old Well in 1991. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 6)



Figure 15: View of the Arch, Iron Fence and Library Building on the University of Georgia Campus in 1875. (F.N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, Athens, GA, 1984, p. 49)



Figure 16: University of Georgia Arch and Downtown Athens in 1950. (F.N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, Athens, GA, 1984, p. 165)



Figure 17: University of Georgia Arch, Broad Street and Downtown Athens in 1997. (Photograph by author)



Figure 18: Mercer University Administration Building. (Spright Dowell, A History of Mercer University 1833 - 1953, Macon, 1958, p. 211)



Figure 19: Entryway and Signage at Mercer's Historic North Quad. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 20: Images of Building Forms and Landscape Elements as Campus Symbols. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)

as the symbol of a college, as in the arched window at Illinois Wesleyan University. Another major source of campus symbols are landscape features, such as the mountains of Northern Arizona University, or trees of Kennesaw State College, Guilford College, and Daytona Beach Community College. Sometimes these symbolic images can be a combination of both landscapes and buildings, as seen in the building set among a grove of trees at Winthrop College, or the winding path leading to Susquehanna University in the distance.

Many of the physical characteristics of our college and university campuses serve dual purposes. Many become campus landmarks, serving as orienting points and gathering places in the physical realm. Additionally, many take on a symbolic meaning that come to represent the college itself. These symbols for our colleges and universities come from the physical landscape of the campus itself. Through this transformation from physical campus features to university symbols, these places and spaces take on a greater idealistic meaning and connect the physical campus landscape to our image of what the university means to each of us on an individual, personal basis. The symbol itself comes to represent our experience at the school and elicit a powerful connection between our personal experience and the institution itself.

Architectural Style & Building Materials

Architectural style and building materials are powerful tools in connecting campus image to campus reality. While many colleges boast a mosaic of architectural styles, at some colleges, the articulation of a single architectural style can serve as a defining characteristic of the college. Although there are many styles represented in America's collegiate architecture, two of the most prominent are Georgian, the style of Connecticut

Hall at Yale, Massachusetts Hall at Harvard, and Old College at the University of Georgia, and Gothic, the style of collegiate buildings at Mount Holyoke College (Figures 21 and 22).

Another university that exemplifies the power of both architectural style and building materials in establishing and communicating its sense of place is the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Hodgin Hall, the oldest surviving building, was built in 1890 of brick and sandstone in the Richardsonian Romanesque style (Figure 23). In 1908, the building was completely reconstructed in the Pueblo style with a flat roof, rectangular windows, flaring walls and use of adobe-like colors (Figure 24).

The reconstruction was ordered by then University President William Tight because he felt that this style better connected the university to its regional architectural history derived from Native American construction and Spanish Colonial architecture, a unique position for the university to take at the turn of the twentieth century (Dober, *Campus Design* 155). President Tight eventually lost his job over this issue, but not before several other buildings were constructed in the Pueblo style, such as the Kwataka Men's Dormitory (Figure 25). President Tight's vision lived on long after he was gone (Dober, *Campus Design* 157).

Parks and Other Meeting Spaces

As places for students to convene and interact, parks and other meeting spaces are indispensable in the campus landscape. The Horseshoe at the University of South Carolina is a space that has governed the development of the college since the siting of its initial buildings (Bryan 29). Although it is a broad and linear space, it maintains a pleasing balance between the larger outdoor scale and the smaller human-scale necessary



Figure 21: Old College at the University of Georgia in 1875 Photo from Davis' Souvenir Album. (F.N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, Athens, GA, 1984, p. 12)



Figure 22: Mount Holyoke College Campus. (Photograph by Clemens Kalischer). (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 141)



Figure 23: Hodgin Hall at the University of New Mexico Circa 1890. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)



Figure 24: Hodgin Hall Reconstructed in the Pueblo Style Circa 1908. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)



Figure 25: Kwataka Men's Dormitory at the University of New Mexico circa 1910. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Design*, New York, 1992)

for a functional meeting place. This balance is achieved through landscaping, the siting of the Maxcy Monument, building placement, and the Federal architectural style, thereby creating a fully functional space for human interaction.

The Price Campus Center at the University of California at San Diego is another space designed to facilitate human interaction, although its architecture is more modern in style (Figure 26). Like most campus centers, this space occupies a central site and is designed to serve all residents of the campus community by providing a forum for various extracurricular activities. This space consists of a piazza framed by two campus center buildings, a bookstore, and food court, and is traversed by a major pedestrian path allowing pedestrians to move into and through the space. The space, designed to fit into the natural topography of the site, combines paved areas with open green spaces meant to "create a beguiling visual setting that attracts students and enlivens the campus scene" (Dober, *Campus Design* 79). This space also contains design features that are intended to balance the outdoor scale with the human scale. One of these features can be found in the food services building, which includes roll-up doors that allow a merger between inside and outside space" (Dober, *Campus Design* 79).

The outdoor amphitheater is a predominant gathering place on many college campuses. It is typically a natural area set into a sloping hillside, and is present in both rural and urban campus settings. A place modeled on the ancient theaters of Greece, the collegiate amphitheater serves as both a venue for the performing arts, a campus landmark and directional feature, and a gathering place for students (Figures 27 and 28).



Figure 26: Price Campus Center at the University of California at San Diego. (Richard P. Dober, *Campus Architecture: Building in the Groves of Academe*, New York, 1996)



Figure 27: Scott Outdoor Amphitheater at Swathmore College. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 46)



Figure 28: Gettell Amphitheater at Mount Holyoke College. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 47)

Pedestrian Pathways

Inherent in the success of both of these campus landscapes are pedestrian paths that allow people to move about the campus safely and unencumbered. Pedestrian paths are one form of the many circulation systems that move pedestrians, bikes, cars, buses, and other vehicles from one place to another. Paths, whether long or short, bent or straight, give direction and order to circulation by connecting buildings and spaces. Paths "unite, coordinate, and orchestrate the sequence of visual experiences that inflect a sense of place" (Dober, *Campus Design* 212). Because of the time-oriented structure of the school day, these thoroughfares can be very busy one minute, and virtually deserted the next.

The walkways at the Rochester Institute of Technology expand and contract, forcing students together in places and apart elsewhere. One such path narrows as it nears the gap between two campus buildings, subtly bridging the change in width from the open landscape into the built landscape (Figure 29). Another good example of an ample walkway that bridges a deep depression in the natural landscape is the pedestrian bridge leading to the Woodruff Library at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia (Figure 30). One other path worthy of noting is that of the main walkway and fountain at the University of Washington (Figure 31). This walkway is also the main axis of the campus, and is aligned with Mt. Rainier in the distance.

The university campus is a highly humanized landscape, conceived and shaped based on our aesthetic sensibilities and physical and space requirements. Through this development process of planning, designing, and building, we seek to accommodate our changing sensibilities and needs over time. The extent and repetition of the campus



Figure 29: Walkway at the Rochester Institute of Technology. Photo from the Rochester Institute of Technology Communications Department. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 143)


Figure 30: Walkway to the Woodruff Library at Emory University. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 98)



Figure 31: Drumheller Fountain Along Main Campus Axis Sited on Mt. Ranier at the University of Washington. Photograph from the Special Collections and Preservation Division at the University of Washington Library. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 113)

development process reflects the commanding stature of the university as a civic institution in our society. Indeed, the university embodies the meaning and significance of our age, and its connection to our modern culture has been likened to that of the Greek agora, Roman forum, medieval cathedrals and town square, Renaissance palaces, and nineteenth century grand capitols, opera houses, and railroad stations (Dober, *Campus Architecture* X).

It is clear here at the beginning of the twenty-first century that the opportunities provided by colleges and universities for higher education will continue to be a centerpiece of our society. However, it is also becoming more increasingly evident that colleges and universities do not exist separately from the larger communities in which they exist. If universities are to continue to serve as the primary resources for learning, research, and community service, they must strike a balance between the forces of continuity and change. Campuses must be designed to anticipate and accommodate new roles, functions, and ideas, while preserving and enhancing the traditional places that comprise these placed-based institutions, while integrating seamlessly with their surrounding communities (Dober, *Campus Design 229*).

In many cases, the boundaries between colleges and universities and their larger communities have blurred as the connections between the two become more fluid. For example, Harvard Square is a four-mile area in Cambridge, Massachusetts that includes Harvard College, Lesley College, Cambridge College, Longy School of Music, and the Cambridge Center for Adult Education. Harvard Square also contains approximately 400 retail stores, including 20 bookstores that support these educational institutions. In addition, the Square contains a wide range of arts and entertainment venues and

restaurants. Harvard Square combines these many activities to provide a quintessential urban village focused on the educational institutions. The green is a similar area in New Haven, Connecticut, home to Yale University. The entire western side of the green is comprised of the university's campus, and free guided campus tours daily from the green. Like Harvard Square, the green is home to many arts and entertainment venues, including the Yale Repertory Theatre and Yale University Theatre. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Temple University's main campus lies along the northern end of the Avenue of the Arts. The Avenue is Philadelphia's main arts and entertainment district, and includes theaters, galleries, and performance spaces along Broad Street. Located along the Avenue are Temple's Esther Boyer School of Music, the School of Communications and Theater, the Tyler School of Art, and the university's nationally known jazz station, WRTI. As these examples indicate, colleges and universities are becoming more open to their larger communities as the campus and community become integrated.

CHAPTER 4

TOWN AND GOWN RELATIONS

History of Town and Gown Relations

While colleges and universities often function as entities unto themselves, their presence in larger communities has always impacted the residents of that community. In his book, *Campus, An American Planning Tradition*, Paul Turner tells of Thomas Jefferson's goal in designing the University of Virginia as an "academical village (Turner 3). As Turner states, "this term expressed Jefferson's own views on education and planning, but it also summarizes a basic trait of American higher education from the colonial period to the twentieth century: the conception of colleges and universities as communities in themselves – in effect, as cities in microcosm" (Turner 3). In fact, colleges and universities and the towns and cities where they are located have grown up together, supporting and complementing one another. The very phrase "college town" evokes this unique relationship.

The relationship and conflict between town and gown is not new and will continue to evolve as we proceed through the twenty-first century. From the moment that universities were established in communities, there has been conflict between the institutions and the host communities. In medieval Europe, masters and students lived scattered throughout the town as tenants and lodgers in private houses. They put a strain

on accommodations and services. Townspeople tried to capitalize upon the demand and boosted prices. Students, youngsters released from the restraints of home and filled with a lust for life, sometimes ran wild. There were clashes with townsfolk, drinking and gaming (Giebner 2). The early histories of Oxford and Cambridge abound in incidents of town and gown antagonism leading to fighting, warfare, and murder on both sides (Turner 10). The flow of new students into communities and the resultant complaints of noise, human and traffic congestion, lack of space and parking, substandard and overly expensive housing, and objectionable student lifestyles and behaviors have continued to be of concern since the 1300s (Durgin 1).

While these problems may sound familiar, a major difference between medieval and modern town and gown conflicts is that the former took place for the most part between different segments of the population, as the medieval university was not so much a physical entity as it was an intellectual one. As Giebner points out, our universities and colleges today are both intellectual and physical entities. Conflicts have expanded to include confrontation for the very turf held or sought by university, town, and residents. Whereas the problem was once only a people to people problem, it is today one of people to institution, involving institutional and community leaders (Giebner 2).

The history of town and gown relations in the United States reflects this relationship between the people of the communities and the collegiate institutions. Colleges and universities were respected institutions in America's early history as vital and welcome elements in their communities. When veterans from World War II and Korea returned to campus under special government incentive programs, colleges and universities were presented with an explosion in the number of students on campus that

put a severe strain on their facilities. The schools were often not able to accommodate the large numbers of returning veterans, who were quite often married with children. The most immediate problem associated with these large numbers of students was providing adequate housing. Because there was typically not enough housing on campus, the solution was to transform neighborhoods surrounding the campus for student housing. The resultant consequences ultimately served to undermine the stability of these neighborhoods. Some homeowners moved away immediately or very soon after the students began to move into the neighborhood. Other homeowners, recognizing opportunity, converted single-family houses into multi-family apartment units to maximize their return on rental income. As a result, adjacent neighborhoods fell into decline due to the high numbers of rental units in these neighborhoods and the associated problems of minimal maintenance, upkeep and oversight that typically do not exist with owner-occupied housing.

With the passage of the National Housing Act in 1959, the federal government inadvertently increased tensions between colleges and universities and their communities. Under the pretense of assisting in community development, the National Housing Act was adopted to assist urban areas in clearing blighted sections of communities and replacing it with newly constructed housing. In addition, 1961 amendments to the act made it possible for this funding dedicated to urban renewal to be used by educational institutions in expanding their physical plant facilities. Thus, the late 1950s and 1960s saw colleges launch aggressive plans for campus development due to growing college populations and expanding research opportunities. It was during this time that

institutional planning, construction, and maintenance became the significant activities for most colleges and universities that they are today (Durgin 1).

Giebner reports that although the intent of these programs was to improve the greater community, areas in which students were previously able to find inexpensive housing, now blighted slums, were replaced with educational facilities. The ultimate impact of these forces on communities was often destructive for the community. Although the college and university improved its ability to meet the needs of its growing student population, these facilities were constructed at the expense of previously-existing building stock, which often weakened the community by undermining its social and cultural continuity and in other cases, destroying the community entirely.

Aided by the infusion of federal funds, this proclaimed "era of modernization" resulted in the demolition of many historic buildings and numerous inappropriate additions or renovations. This practice of expansion at the expense of the community created a climate of distrust and suspicion that has continued to determine the way many local neighborhoods and communities relate to their institutional neighbors (Durgin 1-2).

It should not be surprising that the town and gown controversy was magnified in the turbulent 1960s, an age of protest in which all authority and institutional thinking was challenged. On campus, students protested not only against American involvement in Vietnam, but also against "in loco parentis" rules and regulations. Students got their way on many issues, including courses, programs, and housing. Local residents, finding students successful in protesting issues, soon learned that they too could band together to engage the colleges and university on the issues that had begun to unravel their communities (Giebner 3).

Also during this time when people flocked to the suburbs, many universities abandoned downtowns while others stayed and built physical and/or psychological barriers around themselves. Some universities became so big, they often became a community unto themselves and saw no need to relate to the neighborhoods around them, beyond what that community forced them to do.

Town and Gown Relations Today

Institutions of higher education range from local community colleges to large international research institutions. While the former usually provide basic education services to local residents, the latter typically started on a small scale before evolving into world-renowned institutions. Universities continue to play a large role in shaping their surrounding communities and neighborhoods, especially since the campus has taken on different forms. In addition to universities comprised of a campus containing all their buildings and facilities, many universities today utilize buildings located off the main campus in the surrounding community and even maintain buildings in satellite campuses located in other cities and counties. The physical requirements of a university campus can involve as much as a full square mile to accommodate and house the many students, faculty members, and activities multiple-degree programs involve. University representatives need to develop the resources necessary to meet their educational and research-oriented missions. This means that new educational buildings, laboratories, and other physical facilities must be built in order to accommodate growing student populations and advancing technologies. Unfortunately, universities often operate independently of the local community when expanding and building these facilities. In

fact, university representatives have been accused of being arrogant and without respect for the needs and physical context of the community in which they reside.

That being said, it is difficult to argue that the economic advantages of having a large institution of higher education in the community are many, as it offers programs that attract students and faculty from all over the nation and the world. It is also a major cultural center, offering many programs that involve the general public, including libraries, theaters, and museums.

However, in striking contrast to university administrations, local community officials and residents are often poorly focused and subject to a wide variety of opinions and reactions on the multitude of complex issues that arise when a university is located within the community. In addition, opponents are often so focused on individual interests that they cannot or will not consider the broad community issues that may need to be addressed. Additional problems can occur when different neighborhood residents have different agendas since they tend to look out for their own interests at the expense of others. Because there are typically several neighborhood or community groups, it is difficult for them to speak with unity and a clear definition of their goals. In addition, members of these neighborhood groups must not only deal with university decision makers, but also with local government officials. Historical town-gown antagonisms, coupled with the high expectations that communities hold for universities, mean that good will is more easily eroded than earned. For example, in the mid-1990s, without public input or consultation, Marquette University decided to close a major thoroughfare to traffic and create new green space for the campus. Although the plan was never carried

out, the university lost much of the good will it had gained through earlier, highly successful development projects (Calder 3).

Despite these challenges, communities are increasingly holding universities accountable for their development actions that affect the surrounding neighborhood. For neighborhood and community advocates, the keys to successful interaction with both university and municipal officials are organization, commitment, established dialogue, professional expertise, access to legal knowledge, financial backing, and support from appropriate political entities. A very important component of organization is group unity – while allowing for multiple opinions, the group should resolve potential internal conflicts and develop a unified position on issues before engaging in external communication with the university, local government, or other outside entities. Neighborhood activists must also strategically utilize the print, radio, and television media as allies in any conflict with the university or local government as both entities seek to avoid negative publicity.

Types of Town and Gown Conflict

With this expanding presence of universities and their campuses in our communities, the incidence for town and gown conflict has grown. Conflicts between town and gown assume several forms. They can relate to economic relationships, functional impacts such as parking, traffic and the provision of government services, social problems such as noise and crime, and physical expansion. The dynamics of conflict are influenced by such factors as community size, institution size, whether the institution is public or private, whether the institution is located in an urban or non-urban setting, the quality of institutional and community leadership, and land ownership.

Generally speaking, though, the degree of conflict is directly related to the size of the institution relative to the size of the town (Giebner 4).

Universities contribute to and benefit from a community's economy. This economic interrelationship generally includes the purchasing power of students, faculty, visitors, guests, and staff; provision of jobs for local residents; purchase of goods and services from local retail and other providers; utilization of local contractor and other construction-related industries; and housing purchase and rentals (Durgin 2).

While the economic relationships and impact of colleges and universities within communities can be beneficial, they are not always so. Oftentimes, businesses respond to market demands by changing services and products to cater to student or other universityrelated populations, thereby creating niche establishments that many members of the wider community are reluctant to shop in, eat at or visit. In addition, universities affect the amount of revenue that municipalities can generate through property taxes when properties are effectively removed from the tax rolls when acquired by the public or nonprofit institution. This is especially draining on communities as colleges expand their holdings of land and buildings beyond campus boundaries and thereby increase the number of properties exempted from local property taxes. Community residents are then left to pay the full cost of local services (Durgin 3).

Often causing the economic conflict described are functional impacts such as parking, traffic and the provision of government services that are affected by the influx of a larger student population. While most resident-owner homes are single-family occupancy and generate a limited amount of traffic, single-family homes converted to student rentals generate much more traffic. The physical impact is greater than most

neighborhoods can comfortably accommodate. Laws and regulations limiting occupancy, increased building code requirements and rental housing inspections, enforcement of environmental restrictions governing noise and litter, animal control and increased public safety services are frequently demanded as a response to students in the community (Durgin 2). In some communities, colleges make voluntary payments in lieu of taxes to help defray the costs of municipal services. Town leaders point to a shrinking tax base as one of their major concerns and frustrations when colleges expand their ownership into neighborhoods (Durgin 3).

Social problems such as noise and crime can also start when colleges and universities enroll more students than can be housed on campus. Noise is probably the most frequent neighbor complaint. The nature of student life typically involves late hours and heightened noise. While resident property owners have a vested interest in the stability of the neighborhood and maintenance of a certain quality of life, an influx of students into the surrounding area can transform traditional family neighborhoods into scenes of rowdy late-night parties, traffic and parking problems, and alcohol-related disturbances. Some families decide to sell their homes to move away from these disruptions, until ultimately the once stable neighborhood of owner-occupied houses consists of absentee-owned property occupied by student renters. Certainly with some exceptions, most students have never been responsible for real property. Because demand for housing is high, landlords do not feel obligated to apply rental income to maintenance or landscaping services; students do not demand those services, and neighborhood associations cannot mandate them. Therefore buildings and grounds are neglected

(Giebner 4). Once this situation takes hold, the often-historic houses soon begin to deteriorate due to overcrowding and poor maintenance.

These types of problems occur wherever students become residents, whether the property is university-owned or privately owned. However, despite sharp criticism often directed toward the university for not controlling these problems, community residents often fail to understand that the college or university typically does not have any jurisdiction over the student population when they live in non-university housing. The institutions are often legally restricted from controlling students who live off-campus, and the question of control becomes one that must be addressed by the neighborhood and municipality.

Universities are increasingly acquiring properties in surrounding neighborhoods to develop new or upgraded facilities such as laboratories, classrooms, other academic spaces, administrative offices, student housing, and athletic fields. Purchases made by universities in surrounding neighborhoods generally fall into several categories: small, residential buildings; large individual homes often associated with a college or community leader; and, especially in urban areas, a mixture of residential and commercial properties. Some universities have purchased buildings in downtown locations not contiguous to the campus, while others acquire undeveloped tracts of land either adjacent to or removed from the main campus for future expansion needs. If not to meet immediate needs, these purchases are often made in anticipation of future demands. Acquisitions sometimes are the result of a gift or bequest and are often opportunistic, made to prevent others from owning desired facilities or areas of potential future interest. Often these acquisitions are made over a lengthy period of time and buildings are not in

pristine condition. In many cases, these purchases include historic properties or properties located in historic districts (Durgin 3).

With a history of the types of town and gown problems described above, the slightest hint that a college or university might be interested in acquiring additional property in the community for purposes of expansion can send shock waves through the population. Any university action interpreted as an expansion beyond existing boundaries is threatening and can serve to intensify residents' apprehensions and lead to complicated land use, housing, and transportation disputes (Calder 1).

For these, and other, reasons, it is often difficult for representatives of a college or university and the community to establish lines of communication, let alone an open and continuous dialogue with one another. This is especially ironic when the people representing the college or university are often the same people who live in the community and contribute to its stability, economic health, and physical growth. While ironic, the fact that all of these people are essentially neighbors in the same community offers the opportunity to develop and nurture lines of communication between town and gown (Giebner 5).

Changing Times and the Opportunity for Partnership

It is these very problems that are causing the viewpoints of university administrators and community leaders to change and seek mutually beneficial opportunities for partnership. As Jim Leonard points out in the article, "When Town Meets Gown," town and gown relationships are being redefined as colleges and local city governments pursue community investment partnerships" (Leonard 2-3). Universities and cities share the incentive of joining forces to revitalize neighborhoods to create

economically healthy communities that benefit both by providing a vibrant community for residents as well as a competitive advantage for the university in attracting students. In many cases, rather than ignoring or contributing to neighborhood decline, universities have responded to disinvestment and dilapidation in their neighborhoods by forming partnerships with local government, other universities and educational institutions, and private entities. Through these partnerships, universities are using their intellectual and financial resources to acquire and rehabilitate historic residential and commercial buildings, redevelop vacant properties, support faculty and staff home ownership, and improve local public services, including public schools and public safety programs. New development often requires a fresh approach to architecture and urban design, since historically many institutions deliberately cut themselves off from their neighbors. Steve Cottingham, of Marquette University in Milwaukee, refers to this new approach as "weaving in, rather than welling out" (Calder 1).

A major inducement to forming these town and gown partnerships is the growing tension between universities and cities due to fiscal and physical constraints. Institutions expanding beyond their traditional boundaries have an increased need for city services. Changing facility uses, extended hours, and increased traffic and parking demands also have placed additional burdens on host communities. Cites and towns, no longer able to shoulder the financial burden of their institutions, are seeking to gain a fairer share of revenue.

Another important factor driving involvement of universities in community development is the dwindling municipal budgets that exacerbate the cycle of poverty and decline in many areas. This situation has forced municipalities to attempt to seek

revenues and taxes from tax-exempt institutions, including universities. Rather than paying these taxes, universities are taking the initiative to revitalize surrounding neighborhoods by forging new interdisciplinary partnerships to improve their common environment and quality of life.

A third factor is that universities have a profound impact on the economic stability and cultural viability of their host cities. University towns are gaining in popularity as places to live and retire because of what they offer the resident population: employment; intellectual and cultural stimulation; new learning situations; and entertainment and recreation.

Universities attract various types of public and private funding to their communities. The university, through state appropriations for education, research, medical, and public services, often receives public funds. Likewise, universities attract private funding for similar purposes, as well as from alumnae and friends. These funds ultimately support the community and local economy as university departments, employees, faculty, students, and visitors, purchase goods and services from local providers. In these ways, universities are vital economic engines through the attraction and leveraging of funds within the local economy.

These factors provide an opportunity for universities and communities to create partnerships that generate economic development in the forms of retail, residential, office, and light industry. A major reason leading to these types of partnerships originates with mutual development or redevelopment goals between the university and community. Often, the university and community will be motivated by the need for joint facilities, such as shared athletic and cultural facilities. Other times the two will partner to revitalize

a downtown business/commercial district located close to the university campus. In still other situations, university and community will work together to revitalize an adjacent neighborhood or series of neighborhoods in a residential area to provide affordable housing for university faculty, staff, students and community residents alike.

In all of these instances, universities sometimes rehabilitate historic buildings on campus and in the surrounding community for adaptive uses. Historic buildings traditionally used for one purpose are physically rehabilitated and then used for other purposes that more closely meet the university's functional and space needs. Historic buildings used as offices are transformed into much needed classroom space. Buildings formerly used as classroom space are converted to dorm and recreational uses. Historic dormitories cycle in and out of residential usage depending on the demand for living space on campus. Historic single-family residential buildings located off campus are adapted for multi-family residences, classroom and research facilities, and other nonteaching uses such as administrative offices, alumni services, and guest accommodations for visiting faculty. In still other instances, historic buildings are rehabilitated and retained for their original use. Buildings that traditionally served as the meeting spaces for college clubs, debating societies, and the general student body, along with historic housing for administrators, faculty, and students are maintained for those same uses today. Taken together, many colleges and universities maintain their historic buildings for continued and adaptive uses, thereby preserving and communicating the institution's heritage as represented through the physical environment of the campus while guaranteeing the ongoing vitality of these important buildings as productive facilities. This approach enables the campus character, as embodied by the relationship of historic

and new buildings to one another and all buildings to the overall campus landscape, to accurately represent the tradition and history of the university to administrators, faculty, students and parents, alumni, and the general public.

CHAPTER 5

OVERVIEW OF TOWN AND GOWN PARTNERSHIPS

As has been noted, many college and university leaders are finding it vital to the continued success of their schools to develop partnerships with local governments and community groups to improve the quality, condition and appearance of the neighborhoods outside their campuses. In growing numbers, these colleges are supporting community efforts to improve economic, physical and social conditions by providing volunteers, research, programs, and funding. There are a variety of activities that colleges and universities are pursuing in their efforts. Some cases involve a comprehensive approach to revitalize the entire community, while others focus on specific neighborhoods. Others utilize their financial and human resources to facilitate economic development projects such as commercial and retail developments in historic areas. Others include the rehabilitation and adaptive use of individual historic buildings for academic or research purposes. Still others focus on providing affordable housing and homebuyer programs such as mortgage assistance and homeowner education classes. Others are providing a range of non-academic support activities such as job and leadership training, local advocacy techniques and training, and day care and after school programs. Others focus their efforts on providing educational assistance in neighborhood public and private schools, as colleges and universities are obviously well equipped to

assist in this area by providing tutoring and in-school learning services by their students to the younger generations of future college students.

The following examples of town and gown partnerships taking place at the University of Pennsylvania, Union College, Trinity College, Duke University, and Ohio State University highlight several different examples of partnerships taking place around the country. While by no means exhaustive, these examples were chosen based on the institutions' commitment to neighborhood revitalization through town and gown partnerships. Background on the institution's history and development are presented, followed by a synopsis of the partnerships employed in neighborhood revitalization efforts. At the conclusion of this section, a summary will be offered outlining typical programs and assessing the role of historic preservation where applicable and discernable.

University of Pennsylvania

The University of Pennsylvania is one of the oldest schools in America, older than all save Harvard, William and Mary, Yale and Princeton. It originated in thought and print in 1749 when Benjamin Franklin presented his vision of a different kind of school than those that existed in the colonies up to that time. In his pamphlet, *Proposals for the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, Franklin proposed a school that would focus on preparing students for lives of business and public service in addition to teaching the classics in the traditional focus on education for the clergy. The school opened in 1751 as the College of Philadelphia ("Penn's Heritage" 1).

During the American Revolution, the state of Pennsylvania took control of the College of Philadelphia in 1779. The revolutionary-minded state government viewed the

college leaders as Tories sympathetic to the British crown. The state changed the school's name to the University of the State of Pennsylvania, thereby creating the country's first state school and university at the same time. The new school reflected our new nation's rising egalitarianism in both its multi-denominational board of trustees and non-sectarian faculty. Once the fervor of the revolution began to settle, the university was again made private and its current name, the University of Pennsylvania, was established in 1791 (Friedman 1).

Another significant change occurred at Penn in 1872, when the campus was moved from its location near the center of Philadelphia to a site west of the Schuylkill River (Friedman 2). Although this site was farther from the center of the city, it still had a largely urban character (Turner 223). In the 1890's, a plan and several buildings were designed for the new campus by Philadelphia architects Walter Cope and John Stewardson that represented an advancement in the use of the traditionally English collegiate quadrangle design in America. The architects designed dormitories utilizing the enclosed quadrangle design scheme, unique for its arrangement of irregular buildings and spaces necessary to fit the odd-shaped site (Figure 32). One of the main entryways into the campus was through the Memorial Gateway Tower (Figure 33).

True to the intentions of Franklin and its early leaders, the university has evolved into a modern research institution offering a broad array of academic disciplines to people of all persuasions. Today, the university's history is reflected in this 269-acre urban campus in West Philadelphia. The campus includes several historic landmarks, including Houston Hall, the nation's first student union; and the oldest collegiate football field still in use, Franklin Field. There are two National Register Historic Districts on the



Figure 32: 1895 Drawing of Design for Residence Halls by Cope and Stewardson. (*The Brickbuilder*, December 1907, p. 223) (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 225)



Figure 33: Memorial Gateway Tower in Residence Hall Designed by Cope and Stewardson. Photograph by Buford Pickens. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 225)

campus, the University of Pennsylvania and Sansom Row Historic Districts. There are four other National Register-listed buildings on campus, including College Hall and the Fisher Fine Arts Library. In addition, these and eighteen other historic buildings are listed on the City of Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. These and other buildings were designed by noted architects Robert Venturi, Frank Furness, Eero Saarinen and Louis Kahn ("Penn's Heritage" 1-2).

Like many other institutions of higher education, Penn's leaders have come to understand that the health and vitality of the university are inextricably linked to the quality of life in Philadelphia and particularly the residents of neighborhoods adjacent to its campus. In a rising spirit of cooperation, Penn has been making a substantial contribution to the community for the last two decades through its West Philadelphia Initiative. Through this initiative, Penn seeks to make neighborhoods safer, attract and support local neighborhood-based businesses, encourage homeownership among existing residents, and improve public education in neighborhood schools ("Penn and Philadelphia" 1).

Penn is sited adjacent to residential neighborhoods that contain many historic resources, including such building types as brick row houses, single-family houses, and pre-World War II apartment buildings representing a wide range of architectural styles ("Improving Housing and Home Ownership" 1). A main component of the Initiative is to improve the quality of housing and encourage homeownership in these neighborhoods following many years of neglect and disinvestment. Working with community and neighborhood associations, other entities, and private investors, Penn's efforts include supporting homeownership through mortgage incentives, encouraging home

improvements, rehabilitating historic properties, maintaining moderate rental housing options, and creating new market rental opportunities. Penn's efforts have provided results. Penn faculty and staff utilizing the mortgage incentives have purchased some 270 homes. Many homes have received exterior improvements through Penn's Home Improvement Loan Program. The university has also rehabilitated approximately 20 of the most distressed residential buildings in otherwise stable neighborhoods and then resold them as private homes ("Improving Housing and Home Ownership" 1).

Penn and members of the West Philadelphia community have also been busy reknitting the urban fabric that links the community together. Recognizing the degradation in the public spaces and streets and the resultant rise in crime and insecurity of the area's residents, the university initiated a coalition of community groups, residents, businesses, and other local organizations to support improvements to the neighborhood's physical appearance and security. Improvements have included improved street lighting and tree planting, increased police presence, and neighborhood safety ambassadors. In addition, a public-private partnership was formed as the University City District (UCD), funded voluntarily from its member institutions that include the university, other major area institutions, businesses, community organizations, and commercial and residential property owners. As a result of these efforts, entire blocks have been reclaimed by existing and new residents, who walk safer, well-lit streets. Overall, crime has dropped 36 percent from 1996 to 2001, including reductions of 74 percent in auto thefts, 62 percent in robberies, and 54 percent in physical assaults ("Clean and Safe Streets 1-4).

In addition, Penn works to enhance West Philadelphia through the Center for Community Partnerships. Founded in 1992, the Center is an outgrowth of the Penn

Program for Public Service, which was created in 1989. The Center works to improve the internal coordination and collaboration of all university-wide community service programs and to create new and effective partnerships between the university and community. The Center's main focus is on the public school as the educational and neighborhood institution that can best serve as the primary means for making positive change and innovation in the community. The Center assists residents in establishing university-assisted neighborhood schools that function as centers of education, services, engagement, and activity for students, their parents, and other community members.

The Center is also active in community development through its Community Outreach Partnership Center. Supported by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of University Partnerships, the Center works in West Philadelphia to develop neighborhood level planning, rehabilitate brownfield sites, promote minority entrepreneurship, and build local non-profits and community development corporations ("Center for Community Partnerships" 1-3).

While challenges remain, the University of Pennsylvania has become a major partner in revitalizing West Philadelphia. Penn's President, Judith Rodin, says that "West Philadelphia is a different place today than it was a decade ago. The streets are safer and cleaner. Many homes have been lovingly restored. Property values have risen significantly. Local public schools have improved and are now joined by an innovative Penn-assisted PreK-8 public school. There are dozens of new businesses both large and small in the area's commercial core" (Rodin 1). Indeed, other urban universities now look to Penn's efforts as a model to develop their own plans and programs for civic engagement in their own communities.

Union College

Union College is a small 100-acre private college located in Schenectady, New York. Tracing its beginnings to 1779, the idea for a college in northern New York developed only two years after the colonial victory at the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 ("A Brief History of Union College" 1). The effort to establish a college lasted for sixteen years, when Union was the first college chartered by Regents of the State of New York in 1795. From its beginnings, Union represented many of the liberal ideas in American education of the time. The college's name directly reflects the sentiment of the new nation that was developing at the time, and its founders' intentions to avoid the narrow sectarianism characteristic of early American colleges in favor of a more inclusive makeup of several religious and national groups. These early efforts make Union one of the oldest nondenominational colleges in the country ("A Brief History of Union College" 1).

Union College also represents the evolving liberalization of the classical college curriculum as well as the practice of comprehensive planning for American college campuses. In 1804, Eliphalet Nott became Union's president and would go on to be the longest serving college president in American college history, serving 64 years in the position. Nott continued to expand the college curriculum at Union beyond the classical emphasis prevalent at the time, introducing a bachelor's degree with greater emphasis on history, science, modern languages, and mathematics in 1820 ("A Brief History of Union College" 1). In addition, Nott strengthened the school's collegiate character by developing a campus plan that would create a communal environment where students and professors would live set apart from the general community (Turner 68). Nott engaged French architect, Joseph-Jacques Ramee, in 1813 to develop one of the most ambitious

college plans of the time. Although the original plan was not executed in its entirety, the plan was partially completed and still constitutes the core of the campus today (Figures 34 and 35).

Experiencing periods of decline and revival throughout its history, Union administrators realized in the mid-1990's that prospective students and their parents were rejecting acceptance at the college because of a widespread perception that the surrounding neighborhoods were in a deteriorated condition (Durgin 13). Union's President, Roger Hull, was joined by corporate and community leaders to form a group of college and local volunteers intent on revitalizing these areas around campus. The Union-Schenectady Initiative was established in 1998 to create a broad-based plan to revitalize the College Park neighborhood immediately west of the historic campus ("Union-Schenectady Initiative" 1). A major component of the revitalization plan includes efforts to stimulate home ownership in the area in order to create a strong community based on stable home ownership. The initiative includes \$10 million for the rehabilitation of neighborhood housing stock. The college also offers loan and mortgage guarantees for college faculty and students, as well as local residents. The mortgage program includes no down payment or closing costs; the opportunity to have the mortgage payment made through payroll deduction; a fixed interest rate two percent below local bank rates; and the availability of additional loan funds for home improvements ("Incentives for Union Employees" 1). In addition, free tuition to the college is being offered for children of families who purchase homes in the neighborhood (Durgin 13).



Figure 34: Union College Site Plan Designed by Joseph Jacques Remee in 1813. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 58)



Figure 35: Circa 1990 Aerial View of Union College Including Schaffer Library and South Hall. (Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art*, Westport, Connecticut, 1991, p. 59)

The Initiative also seeks to restore the historic neighborhood to its past prosperity by affecting rehabilitation of historic homes in the neighborhood. The college has purchased approximately 40 homes in the neighborhood for renovation and resale to single-family owners. In addition, Union faculty, staff, and students partner with members of the College Park Neighborhood Association to upgrade and maintain historic sidewalks and lighting, and implement crosswalks and other traffic calming methods in the neighborhood. In addition, the neighborhood association has established guidelines to manage design and aesthetic issues associated with both the rehabilitation and new construction that is taking place in the neighborhood. This group is also working closely with college and local government officials to provide other maintenance and security services that enhance the quality of life for neighborhood residents ("College Park Neighborhood Association 1").

Trinity College

Trinity College is a private liberal arts college located in Hartford, Connecticut. Founded in 1823 as Washington College (the name was changed in 1845), the school was the second college in Connecticut after Yale. As with many colleges, Trinity's founding had its motivations in religion. A thirty-five year struggle by the state's Episcopalians to establish a college separate from the Congregationalist-controlled Yale culminated in the founding of Trinity ("Trinity College History" 1).

Originally located in a section of Hartford known as "College Hill," the college sold its original campus in 1872 (for a new state capitol) and moved to a new site outside of town in 1872. In 1874, a master plan was developed for the new campus by architect William Burges that was heavily influenced by the English collegiate architecture of

Oxford and Cambridge. Burges proposed an elaborate design consisting of a series of four enclosed quadrangles extending north and south from a central chapel. The quadrangles were to be enclosed by buildings constructed in the late-Romanesque and early-Gothic architectural styles. Access into and between the quadrangles was to be provided only through small arched gateways (Figure 36). However, Burges' plan was never executed to its full extent due to financial considerations. Instead of constructing one of the quadrangles in its entirety, the portion of Burges' plan to be constructed was the buildings along the western side of two of the adjoining quadrangles (Turner 219). Known as the "Long Walk," this portion of the original campus is comprised of Jarvis and Seabury Halls and Northam Towers (Figure 37). Although only a portion of the buildings were constructed, they are typically viewed as the earliest examples of the Collegiate Gothic style of architecture in the country ("Trinity College History" 2). In addition, despite not being fully implemented, Burges' overall design of enclosed quadrangles was widely influential for the later design of colleges such as Stanford University and the University of Chicago toward the end of the nineteenth century (Turner 219).

Today, Trinity is involved in the formulation of a new campus master plan that will culminate in a comprehensive campus revitalization project. The purpose of the new master plan and revitalization project are to "create a campus that better supports Trinity's educational mission and enriches the lives of all who study and work on campus" ("Campus Master Plan" 1). It appears that Trinity's leaders and master plan consultants are committed to preserving the historic buildings and open spaces that



Figure 36: William Burges' 1873 Master Plan for Trinity College. (New England Magazine, 1897, p. 517) (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 221)



Figure 37: The "Long Walk" During Construction in 1878. Photograph from the Trinity College Archives. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 221)

comprise the college's architectural legacy as part of the master plan and revitalization process. Professor Ronald Thomas, Chair of the Design Review Committee, states:

The Master Plan is more than just a series of new buildings to add to the best of Trinity's historic architecture. It is a comprehensive plan for the College that will enable our campus to facilitate and reflect our academic mission in a new way. Even as our implementation of the Master Plan seeks to preserve what is most beautiful and lasting about our great buildings and greenspace, we also have ambitions to essentially turn our campus inside out through new construction and design. That is why one of the central principles of the plan addresses the orientation of the campus – complementing an inward-looking orientation fashioned around the cloistered effect of academic quadrangles with an outwardlooking engagement of our city and our world (Thomas 1).

This engagement with the larger community is well under way. Beginning in 1995, the college began to devote attention to the needs of the neighborhoods around its campus, which were suffering from many of the social and economic problems typical of late twentieth century American cities. In 1996 Trinity College leaders, faculty and students began an extensive effort to revitalize a 15-block area of the neighborhoods adjacent to the college's campus. Known as the Trinity/Southside Institutions Neighborhood Alliance (SINA) Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, the mission of the program is to create a safe, viable, and vibrant neighborhood around the college through community-based and institutional collaborations. This \$175 million program includes institutional partners such as Trinity, Hartford Hospital, the Institute of Living, Connecticut Children's Medical Center, and Connecticut Public Television and Radio ("Trinity/SINA Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative" 1-2).
Trinity President, Evan Dobelle, outlined the reasoning for the college's

leadership and participation in the partnership stating:

Trinity has assumed leadership of this effort because we have a profound sense of obligation to Hartford and we intend to honor it. And this obligation is not at odds with our fundamental educational mission. In fact, the two are closely aligned and complementary. It is vital to this college's future that our neighborhood turn itself around. We have led this initiative because it is the right thing to do. It would be morally bankrupt for Trinity to teach the liberal arts on our campus and ignore what is happening across the street. How can we call our students to leadership if we lack the courage and vision to lead? How can we speak of the pursuit of truth if we turn our back on the truth that is our neighborhood? How can we encourage individual responsibility if we as an institution behave irresponsibly (Durgin 14)?

The neighborhood revitalization plan, focusing on the area between the campus and the hospitals, includes the rehabilitation of housing and retail properties and provision of three public educational institutions (an allied health and technology center, a woman's hospital, and a job-training center) as major components. Neighborhood-based programs focus on increasing the availability and affordability of housing, improving public infrastructure and public safety, encouraging neighborhood retail businesses, alleviating crime, and providing education and jobs for neighborhood residents. In addition, efforts are in place to ensure neighborhood stability and sustainability, including rehabilitation of existing housing, programs to assist with homeowner financing, and homeowner education classes (Durgin 15).

Despite the efforts and successes in Hartford, the Trinity project highlights the conflict that sometimes exists between the goals of historic preservation and community revitalization. Unlike more traditional historic preservation efforts in which existing historic buildings and infrastructure are saved and adaptively used to meet the needs of

university and community residents, the Trinity project included the demolition of historic buildings. Leslie Durgin, in the National Trust publication, *Partners in Preservation: Institutions of Higher Education*, notes that removal and reconstruction were far more prevalent in Hartford than in other cases of neighborhood revitalization (Durgin 15). Durgin goes on to say that "historic preservation interests competed with forces for demolition and new construction, neighborhoods with National Register buildings were lost, and attempts to save and rehabilitate historic buildings were thwarted" (Durgin 15). Durgin describes the prevailing view associated with the Trinity project by stating that "in the community's view, supported by many leaders and advocates, the need for major physical, economic, and social rehabilitation overwhelmed the efforts of preservationists to retain and restore some of Hartford's historic and cultural resources" (Durgin 15).

Duke University

Duke University, a private four-year university located in Durham, N.C., began as the Union Institute in 1838 in rural Randolph County, North Carolina. The college was moved from Randolph County to the more urban setting in Durham in 1892 where leaders believed the college's future development would be enhanced by its increased ability to attract students, faculty, and financial support for the college. The university has been supported throughout its existence by a number of sources, including Methodist and Quaker families initially, the state of North Carolina for a period of time, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and most recently and substantially by members of the Duke family (King 1). The Duke family has supported the university since the initial nineteen million dollars donated to the school by James Duke in 1924. This funding was used to rebuild the original Durham campus and create a new campus that became the west, or Gothic, campus approximately one mile away (Figures 38 and 39). At the urging of then university president, William Few, the name of the school was changed to Duke University, as a memorial to the Duke family (King 2).

Today, Duke University is a leader in neighborhood revitalization and affordable housing efforts in the Durham community. Duke President Nan Keohane identified as one of her first goals upon taking leadership that the university should become a better neighbor in its hometown. After establishing this desire for community partnership as one of six priorities in Duke's 1994 long-range plan, the Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership was created in 1996 (Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership 1). Administered by the Duke Office of Community Affairs, the Partnership is an effort to improve the quality of life in the twelve neighborhoods nearest the Duke campus along with student achievement in the seven public schools that serve these neighborhoods.

The initiative involves collaborative relationships between the university, community and neighborhood associations, local government, the private sector, and other educational institutions. In addition to Duke's human and financial investment in these neighborhoods, the university has raised over \$8 million to support Partnership efforts (Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership 3). The university seeks to leverage its investment in these neighborhoods by securing additional financial support from project partners, including foundations, corporations, nonprofit groups, and governmental agencies (Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership 2).



Figure 38: Circa 1925 Rendering of Master Plan for Duke University by Horace Trumbauer. Photo from Duke University Archives. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 247)



Figure 39: Center of Duke University Campus. Photo from Duke University Archives. (Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, p. 247)

The university is a major partner in the revitalization of the Trinity Heights neighborhood, located adjacent to Duke's east campus ("Trinity Heights" 1). This neighborhood is designated both as a National Register Historic District and a local historic district with the City of Durham (Durgin 16). One of Durham's first planned residential developments, Trinity Heights is comprised of houses, apartment buildings, and condominiums representing a variety of architectural styles from the early twentieth century ("Trinity Heights" 1). Following a general decline in the neighborhood that occurred in the 1950s and 60s, the neighborhood experienced a revitalization in the 1980s with people rehabilitating the neighborhood's historic houses in order to live close to Duke and other in-town amenities.

During this time, the university owned much of the low-value rental and vacant property in the neighborhood. The social concerns that often accompany a high level of rental and/or vacant buildings (such as crime and vagrancy) understandably caused concerns among the growing number of homeowners living in the neighborhood. In response to these concerns, Duke officials developed a comprehensive redevelopment plan that included selling its rental properties to private owners with owner-occupant deed restrictions ("Trinity Heights" 1). In addition, Duke is in the process of constructing 40 new single family homes and townhouses on vacant lots in the neighborhood. These homes are being designed and constructed in a way that respects the physical characteristics of the existing architecture and community character, and are compatible with the neighborhood's historic architecture (Durgin 16). Again focusing on the benefits of owner-occupied housing, these home are being made available to university faculty and staff under a covenant agreement that they remain owner- occupied.

Duke is also involved in one of the nation's largest affordable housing initiatives in Walltown, an historically African-American neighborhood located one block from the university's east campus ("Duke in Durham 1). Established in the late 1880's, Walltown is comprised predominantly of narrow shotgun houses and other small residences that historically housed workers at Duke (then Trinity) and Liggett & Myers, American Tobacco, and other local tobacco companies ("Walltown" 1). Due to the strong desire for community involvement and neighborhood improvement, Walltown residents make logical partners for Duke. Through financial support from the university, 39 rental homes have been purchased, rehabilitated, and resold for affordable family ownership. A majority of these homes have been purchased by African-Americans, more than one-third by Duke University employees, and many by single mothers ("Duke-Durham Partnership" 3).

The most important aspect of the Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership is that partnership priorities and goals are set by the local residents that live in these neighborhoods, and local residents are at the center of the decision-making process. The Duke example provides a strong model of how institutions of higher education can work with others to enhance the sustainability and quality of life in their communities that benefit all involved.

Ohio State University

Ohio State University was one of the early colleges to be established following the passage of the Land Grant Act in 1862 ("Ohio State History & Traditions" 1). The Land Grant Act was the result of a long debate in America about the availability and role of higher education in the country. Leading up to, and culminating soon after, the Civil

War, there was a growing desire among educators, politicians and writers to make higher education available to more people. Likewise, many of these proponents of expanding the constituency of higher education also decried the uselessness of the traditional collegiate curriculum and espoused a more practical curriculum that taught scientific and agricultural subjects (Turner 129).

The first of these national educational issues prompted Ohio's General Assembly to established the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1870. The second issue led to an intense debate among Ohio's educators and politicians once the new college was legally established. One group favored the teaching of agriculture and mechanical subjects only, while the other favored a broader, more blended program that taught these practical subjects but included elements of the classical curriculum such as ancient and foreign languages. This latter group won the day and thus established one of the early broad-based liberal arts programs in the country. Following the conclusion of this debate, the college's first classes were held in September 1873 with twenty-four male students at the old Neil farm located two miles north of Columbus. In 1878, the college's name was changed to Ohio State University, and the new university graduated its first class of six men ("Ohio State History & Traditions" 1).

The new university was also at the forefront of another major nineteenth century development in higher education. With the passage of the Land Grant Act and the ensuing debates about educational availability and content, American women began to assert a desire to receive these benefits of higher education as well. There were educational opportunities for women prior to this time and many all-women colleges would be founded in ensuing years. However, co-educational facilities were relatively

unheard of in the early nineteenth century. Perhaps not surprisingly, two private colleges in Ohio were among the first nationally to admit women on a co-educational basis and construct living quarters for women on campus. Oberlin College began admitting women in 1837, and neighboring Antioch College in Yellow Springs included women beginning in 1853. Not long after, Ohio's new state university graduated its first female student in 1879, one year after graduating its first (all male) class ("Ohio State History & Traditions" 1).

Although OSU's campus was located a few miles out of town, the campus and greater Columbus have grown together over the years. Today, Ohio State has 48,500 students and 16,000 faculty and a 400-acre campus ("Revitalization Plan Concepts" 2). The area around the campus, known as the University District, is an inner-city commercial and residential area of 2.5 square miles on 1,500 acres, 400 of which are on the OSU campus. The residents of these neighborhoods have encountered many challenges in the appearance and maintenance of their residential and commercial structures, as well as in their safety and quality of life. Although the University District is a vital center of activity for Columbus, it continues to experience significant development pressures, and the neighborhoods continue to experience trends of disinvestment, declining home ownership, and a loss of security ("Revitalization Plan Concepts" 1).

These problems occurred over a period of time. The following is a brief overview of developments in the area. The conversion of single-family homes to multiple person living arrangements began in the neighborhoods around OSU when the City of Columbus instituted a higher allowable density zoning category in 1959. The conversion from single family to rooming houses and high-density apartment buildings was swift. Over the

ensuing years, the neighborhoods in the University District declined due to the increasing lack of owner-occupied housing and resultant loss of individual responsibility that accompanies high rates of renter-occupied housing. Likewise, incidents of burglary and personal crime increased, resulting in both a real and perceived lack of personal safety ("Timeline of Important Milestones for University District Improvements" 12).

As these conditions persisted over the next several decades, several entities and programs were developed to guide planning and activity in the University District, including the University Community Association, the University District Organization, the University Area Commission, the Citizens Crime Reporting Program, and the University Community Business Association. In the late 1970's, housing, zoning, and building code enforcement were consolidated to coordinate development, and several areas within the University District were down-zoned to reduce the number of houses being demolished and promote single-family ownership. Beginning in the late 1980's, several planning measures were adopted to revitalize the University District while managing new growth in the area. The University District Zoning Overlay was adopted and extended to reduce density, increase parking, improve compatibility of new development, and improve the overall quality of the area. A demolition moratorium was adopted and the University Area Review Board was created to implement appearance review in the residential areas adjacent to the university ("Timeline of Important Milestones for University District Improvements" 1-2).

These developments led to the creation of Campus Partners for Community Urban Redevelopment in 1995. Incorporated by OSU as a non-profit community redevelopment corporation, Campus Partner's mission is to encourage neighborhood improvements in

the areas adjacent to the campus. The organization's priorities are to develop a comprehensive neighborhood revitalization plan and to actively promote projects and programs that have an immediate positive impact on the neighborhoods. The University Neighborhoods Revitalization Plan was developed with the coordination of a multidisciplinary consultant team and with input from the neighborhoods, university, and city. Completed in 1996, the plan focused on four major themes: improve rental housing and the quality of life in the predominantly student neighborhoods; increase the level of home ownership in the University District; revitalize the retail market serving these neighborhoods through a variety of learning and service activities. Campus Partners has initiated projects in the areas of affordable housing, home ownership, commercial revitalization, and historic preservation ("Campus Partners History and Organization" 1-2).

Campus Partners is working to restructure approximately 1,300 units of Section 8 public housing, 550 of which are located in the University District. The plan is to improve the housing through major rehabilitation and to manage the properties under new, non-profit, community-based ownership and management. In addition, it seeks to effect broader neighborhood revitalization by providing residential services and integrating a portion of the subsidized housing with market rate housing in the larger community to promote a mixed-income housing pattern over time ("Campus Partners History and Organization" 3).

Campus Partners also promotes neighborhood stability through the implementation of a home ownership program. Campus Partners administers a \$500,000

employer-based home ownership incentive program in the form of down-payment assistance to university faculty and staff to buy homes in the University District. The financial assistance is comprised of a zero interest forgivable loan in the amount of \$3,000 that can be applied toward the down payment, closing costs and/or reduction in principal amount. Those receiving financial assistance through the program are required to remain in the house for a period of no less than five years. The loan is forgiven at a rate of 20 percent per year until the full amount is retired at the end of the five-year period. Should a recipient vacate the house before the five-year period is up, the owner is responsible to repay the remaining prorated balance of the loan to the university. In addition, Campus Partners has partnered with the Northside Development Corporation, a local non-profit housing corporation, to provide several vital services to potential homeowners. Services include financial and credit management assistance, first-time homeowner education courses, and technical preservation assistance as well as contractor and product information for those rehabilitating historic properties within the neighborhood ("The Ohio State University Faculty and Staff Homeownership Inventive Program" 1-4).

With support from the City of Columbus, Campus Partners undertook an effort to enhance the character of High Street, the University District's Main Street commercial area. Working through a broad-based advisory group, Campus Partners hired a consultant that provided the project report, "A Plan for High Street: Creating a 21st Century Main Street." The plan included recommendations for a special improvement district, traffic circulation improvements, establishment of a parking authority, as well as strategies to encourage a healthy mix of retail, service, office, and entertainment uses in the

commercial area. In addition, the plan established a set of urban design standards to guide the physical compatibility of rehabilitating existing buildings as well as constructing new buildings.

Campus Partners is not intended to be the master developer of the entire University District. On the contrary, Campus Partners encourages private developers to undertake projects consistent with the area's revitalization plan, while undertaking projects that will serve as catalysts for strengthening health and well-being in the neighborhoods and improving the area's economic environment. To that end, Campus Partners secured a private developer to build a major, mixed-use urban redevelopment project on High Street. Located in the Weinland Park neighborhood south of campus, the 500,000 square foot University Gateway Center is a major project in Campus Partner's revitalization efforts. Campus Partners is working with the city on land acquisition, public improvements, traffic measures, and employment initiatives related to construction of the project. In addition, Campus Partners was notified in March of this year that it will receive \$35 million in New Market Tax Credit allocations for construction of the University Gateway Center. The purpose of the NMTC program is to stimulate investment, growth, and job creation in low-income communities. According to the 1990 census, 59 percent of Weinland Park residents live below the poverty level and earned less than 30 percent of the metropolitan area's median income. In addition, the Center's site is located in a federally designated Columbus Empowerment Zone and is also part of a Small Business Administration-designated Historically Underutilized Business (HUB) zone. The NMTC allocation will be an extremely valuable source of financing for the

Center, providing greater flexibility in achieving success for the project ("Campus Partners Selected to Receive \$35 Million in New Market Tax Credits" 1-2).

In addition to the design guidelines that are being utilized both in the residential and commercial areas of the University District, the City of Columbus undertook a historic resources survey project, "Taking Stock: An Inventory of the University Neighborhoods' Historic Resources." There are approximately 10,000 buildings within the university neighborhoods. Of these, 80 percent are said to be original and 40 years old or older. The goal of the "Taking Stock" project is to reverse the negative impacts on the historic housing stock due to neglect and insensitive rehabilitation by utilizing preservation planning and practice in the rehabilitation of the area. The project intends to create a permanent record of the area's physical characteristics and help residents understand the uniqueness of their neighborhoods. Volunteer residents – middle school students, neighborhood residents, college students, retirees, and others - were trained to survey the housing stock utilizing the Ohio Historic Inventory Form. Over 1,000 historic buildings were surveyed and additional research was conducted by surveyors to compile a social history of the neighborhoods. Recognizing the insight and understanding that preserving the past provides for current and future planning efforts, the survey information is compiled in a customized computer database for use by Campus Partners, the City of Columbus Preservation Office, and others for future revitalization and redevelopment projects ("Taking Stock: An Inventory of the University Neighborhoods' Historic Resources 1-2).

As summarized from the University Neighborhoods Revitalization Plan, the vision for the University District is to be a high quality city within a city that is a model

for university-community relationships. Taken together, the elements of Ohio State's involvement directly and through Campus Partners in the revitalization of the neighborhoods adjacent to its campus represent one of the most comprehensive approaches to town and gown relations found in the country. Just as the college/university was at the forefront of changing educational circumstances in the midnineteenth century, so too is it at the forefront of the changing nature of town and gown relations today.

Overview Summary

As these examples indicate, universities are helping to improve the economic, social, and physical conditions of their neighboring communities through creative partnerships with community-based organizations, local governments, school districts, public housing authorities and others. In the process, colleges and universities are providing opportunities for students and faculty to apply academic knowledge to realworld conditions. They are integrating these partnerships into their curriculum, academic studies, and student activities, making them part of their ongoing mission.

These examples also outline a variety of goals common to both college and university leaders as well as community residents and leaders. In some instances, the focus is on revitalizing the neighborhoods adjacent to the campus. In others, the emphasis is on revitalizing multiple neighborhoods or the entire community. Still others are focused in improving educational levels of area children by providing tutoring and mentoring assistance in neighborhood schools. Others are focused on reducing crime by developing community-policing programs. Others are interested in providing affordable housing for neighborhood residents, as well as university faculty, staff and students. Still

others have focused their efforts on rehabilitating and adaptively using existing historic commercial buildings for university purposes. Finally, many provide a wide range of assistance such as job training, homebuyer education, leadership and advocacy training, and economic development services.

Whether focusing on only one of these goals, or a combination, each of these examples includes the practice of historic preservation in some form as a main component of the partnership. Historic preservation seeks to revitalize communities by utilizing historic buildings adaptively for new uses and constructing new buildings that are dimensionally and stylistically compatible with the existing buildings and overall setting of the area. In this manner, historic preservation requires a delicate balance between retaining the historic character of the area and providing the necessary resources for new community needs, thereby achieving economic and social rehabilitation that retains and conveys the cultural heritage of the community.

Neighborhood revitalization based on historic preservation is a proven method of improving the overall economic condition of these neighborhoods while involving and retaining existing residents. Preservation facilitates the enhancement of the neighborhood's physical characteristics while retaining the architectural heritage that makes the neighborhood unique. Preservation enables us to convey the social and developmental heritage of the neighborhood and its residents so that it is part of the larger community's cultural knowledge and available to share with future generations. Historic preservation is employed across a range of levels. Some colleges and universities more readily acknowledge its positive role and employ preservation tools in their efforts. In other cases, preservation may be employed informally when convenient and not utilized

when it conflicts with other priorities. And in some cases, neighborhood revitalization takes place in spite of the benefits of historic preservation -- by demolishing historic buildings and constructing new buildings in their place, thereby destroying not only the buildings themselves, but also the neighborhood's heritage that they represented and conveyed.

The examples discussed represent these various degrees of preservation practice. As we have seen at Union College in New York and Ohio State University, preservation is a key component of neighborhood revitalization efforts. At Union, design guidelines have been developed to guide the rehabilitation of existing historic buildings as well as construction of new homes in the neighborhood. At OSU, the approach underscores the value of historic neighborhood housing stock in providing a broad range of structures, historic character, and neighborhood setting for people with different interests and incomes to enjoy an urban lifestyle. Not only does the approach at OSU rely on design guidelines to guide development, but planners also initially undertook a historic structure survey to identify the historic buildings in the project area. The inclusion of these steps in the revitalization process represents a strong preservation component in the project and bodes well for a comprehensive and inclusive revitalization process.

In other cases, such as the University of Pennsylvania and Duke University, the schools themselves are purchasing historic buildings, rehabilitating them and reselling them as private owner-occupied residences. In addition, Duke University officials are constructing new infill housing that is physically compatible with the adjacent historic houses in the Trinity Heights neighborhood. In other cases, historic preservation efforts are being combined with affordable housing efforts to produce a win-win situation for the

historic resources and low to moderate-income homeowners. In the Walltown neighborhood adjacent to Duke University's campus, former rental homes have been rehabilitated and sold for affordable family ownership. In addition, Ohio State planners are rehabilitating Section 8 public housing and transferring ownership and oversight to a new non-profit entity. These homes will be integrated with rehabilitated and new market rate homes to create a mixed-income neighborhood where the focus will not be on one's income level per say, but on an integrated and heightened quality of life for all residents.

There are other examples of neighborhood revitalization in which preservation does not play a key role. In fact, historic buildings are demolished in order to provide space for new buildings. While there is certainly occasion for demolition for new construction, a revitalization effort based on this approach undermines the concept of continuity implicit in revitalization and may result in an economically vibrant neighborhood, but not necessarily a culturally revitalized one. The example at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut highlights this scenario, where revitalization took place at the expense of existing built and human resources as many historic building were torn down and existing residents were forced to move as a result of the revitalization efforts.

These examples highlight the underlying role of historic preservation in neighborhood revitalization efforts. Preservation can be a unifying force in a community, creating partnerships between town and gown and focusing financial and human resources on revitalizing the neighborhood. The following table highlights the various activities and programs taking place at each college or university (Figure 40).

Figure 40: Table Outlining Major Components of National Case Studies. (Compiled by author, 2003)

University of Pennsylvania	Union College	Trinity College	Duke University	Ohio State University
National Historic landmarks and districts and local landmarks on campus. Historic neighborhoods adjacent to campus.	Union-Schenectady Initiative - broad- based plan to revitalize the College Park area west of campus.	Trinity/South-side Institutions Neighborhood Alliance - \$175 million program with Trinity and other institutional partners.	Duke-Durham Neigh- borhood Partnership – administered by Duke Office of Community Affairs.	University District is an inner-city commercial and residential area adjacent to OSU of 2.5 square miles on 1,500 acres.
West Philadelphia Initiative: improve quality of housing and encourage home ownership.	Neighborhood revitalization plan based on increased home ownership.	Focus on increasing the availability and affordability of housing & improving public infrastructure and safety.	Improve home owner-ship in twelve neighborhoods & student achievement in seven public schools.	Non-profit "Campus Partners for Community Urban Redevelopment" created to encourage improvements.
Mortgage incentive program for Penn faculty and staff.	College provides \$10 million for the rehabilitation of neighborhood housing stock.	Encouraging neighborhood retail businesses, alleviating crime, and providing education and jobs for neighborhood residents.	Involves collaborative relationships between the university, community groups, local government & private sector.	Developed master plan to improve rental housing; increase home ownership; revitalize retail market; promote learning and service activities.
Home improvements through Penn's Home Improvement Loan Program.	Mortgage incentive program for Union faculty and staff.	Plan includes rehabilitation of existing housing & homeowner financing/ education.	Duke contributes human and financial investment and has raised over \$8 million.	\$500,000 down- payment assistance program for OSU faculty and staff. Provide financial and credit manage- ment assistance and homeowner education.
Penn rehabilitated 20 of the most distressed residential buildings in neighborhoods and resold as private homes.	College provides free tuition for children of families who purchase homes in the neighborhood.	Project highlights the conflict that often exists between preservation and community revitalization.	Duke sold vacant and rental property to private owners with owner-occupied deed restrictions.	Restructuring 1,300 units of public housing through rehabilitation and community-based ownership and management for mixed-income housing pattern.

University of Pennsylvania	Union College	Trinity College	Duke University	Ohio State University
I emisyivama	Conege	Conege	University	University
Penn-initiated streetscape and security improvements - street lighting; tree planting; police and safety ambassadors.	College purchased approximately 40 homes in the neigh- borhood for rehabilitation and resale to single- family owners.	Project included the demolition of historic buildings – widespread removal and reconstruction of historic structures.	Duke constructed 40 single family homes s on vacant lots – compatible design with existing architecture and community character.	Design review for both residential and commercial properties based on design guidelines.
Public-private University City District (UCD) created by Penn, area institutions, businesses, community organizations and commercial and residential property owners.	Union faculty, staff, and students partner with residents to up- grade historic sidewalks and lighting, and implement crosswalks and other traffic calming methods.	Historic preservation interests competed with forces for demolition and new construction.	Duke purchased 39 rental homes for rehabilitation and resale for affordable family ownership.	Conducted historic resource survey – identified 80 percent of the UD's 10,000 buildings as historic.
Center for Community Partnerships – focus on public schools as the primary educational and neighborhood institution that can best serve as the primary means for making positive community change.	Established design guidelines to manage design and aesthetic issues associated with rehabilitation and new construction. Providing maintenance and security services that enhance neighborhood.	The need for major physical, economic, and social rehabilitation overwhelmed the efforts of preservationists to retain and restore some of Hartford's historic and cultural resources.	Provides a strong model for public- private partnerships to achieve sustainable and quality communities based on strong public participation and input.	Provide technical preservation assistance & contractor and product information for those rehabilitating historic properties.

CHAPTER 6

MERCER UNIVERSITY: TOWN AND GOWN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION THROUGH HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Introduction

Mercer University is serving as a primary partner in the revitalization of the intown neighborhoods adjacent to its campus in Macon, Georgia, a medium-size town of approximately 120,000 residents located approximately 90 miles south of Atlanta. The area around that eventually became Macon was home to the Creek Indians and their ancestors some 10,000 years ago. The Creeks settled and lived along the Ocmulgee River until the first Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century. The native Creeks and settlers continued to occupy this area until the Creeks eventually ceded their lands and moved west between the years 1803 and 1828. In 1806, Macon was established as a trading post on the site of the Ocmulgee Old Fields. After the Creeks ceded their lands, Georgia's state government planned three major cities to be centers of trade for the new areas of settlement in middle and western Georgia. Milledgeville, Macon, and Columbus were located at the fall line, or "head of navigation," on the Oconee, Ocmulgee, and Chattahoochee Rivers, respectively. From these points, agricultural products could be easily shipped downriver to ports on the coast. Also, goods could be brought upriver to these locations for distribution throughout the interior of the state ("Macon Historic District" 30).

In 1823, the Georgia General Assembly reserved 21,000 acres of land along both sides of the Ocmulgee river for the city of Macon. The town's plan was laid out in a grid pattern by surveyor James Webb. Macon's plan called for 60 city blocks, each covering four acres. A block was divided into one-half acre town lots for building houses or businesses. Along the river were partial lots. The original plan extended west to Pine Street, north to First Street, and south to Seventh Street. Macon's plan also included garden lots on the edge of town and a public common reserved for the city's future growth. Macon was named for North Carolina statesman Nathaniel Macon. As planned, Macon developed as a center of transportation and commerce due to natural topography, state sponsorship, and expanding settlement patterns. Although Macon prospered in its early years with an active barge trade on the Ocmulgee River, it was the advent of rail traffic that solidified its future prominence and success ("Tindall Heights Historic District" 9). The first railroad line, the Monroe Railroad from Forsyth, came to Macon in 1838. The Central Railroad from Savannah reached Macon in 1843 and provided an important link for shipping to coastal ports. In addition to shipping and trading companies, factories, retail stores, banks, and hotels thrived in Macon. The upper-class citizens of Macon began building fine houses on the large hill to the northwest of the commercial center in the 1830s to take advantage of the cooler higher elevation and the splendid view of the city below ("Macon Historic District" 30).

The Civil War brought little military action to Macon. After a general cessation of development during and shortly after the war, Macon began to grow again during the 1870s. Residential development continued to expand southwest of downtown and the College Hill area ("Macon Historic District" 30). Early on, Macon's planners kept

aesthetics in mind. Using the ancient Gardens of Babylon as their guide, local leaders designed a city marked by wide streets and large squares of garden parks, earning Macon the title "The City of Parks." In the nineteenth century, a bustling economy earned Macon the name of "Queen Inland of the South," primarily due to the proximity of the Ocmulgee River and the accessibility of the railroad ("About Macon").

The next major development to spur Macon's growth was the relocation of Mercer University to Macon in 1871. Founded in 1833, the school was initially named the Mercer Institute, for prominent Georgia Baptist leader Jesse Mercer. Originally located in Penfield, Georgia, a sleepy little town located in Greene County, the school's board made plans to relocate the university after the war ("About Mercer University"). While other cities were vying for the university to come to their city, "the city of Macon offered a suitable site valued at \$25,000 and \$125,000 in municipal bonds" to attract Mercer University to move to Macon (Dowell 129). In 1871, the mayor of Macon officially " presented to President David E. Butler of the Board of Trustees bonds in the amount of \$125,000 and the title deed to six acres adjacent to Tatnall Square Park in the City of Macon" (Dowell 133). The relocation of Mercer to Macon prompted the construction of new homes around Tattnall Square during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, extending residential development from downtown Macon to the new campus.

University Growth and Neighborhood Decline

The first university building to be constructed on campus was the administration building. Constructed between 1872 and 1874, this four-story brick building was built in the Gothic Revival style of architecture. The building was designed by Gurdan P.

Randall, an architect from Chicago who specialized in the design of college and church buildings ("Mercer University Administration Building" 2). Today, like Macon, Mercer University has grown tremendously with an enrollment of more than 7,300 students. The university consists of its main campus in Macon, as well as the Cecil B. Day Graduate and Professional Campus in Atlanta and educational centers in Douglas County, Griffin, Eastman, and Covington, Georgia. Mercer has also added to its original College of Liberal Arts to include the Walter F. George School of Law, the Southern School of Pharmacy, School of Medicine, Eugene W. Stetson School of Business and Economics, School of Engineering, James and Carolyn McAfee School of Theology, Tift College of Education, and the Georgia Baptist College of Nursing. Mercer is today the second largest Baptist affiliated institution in the world ("History of Mercer University").

While the university was growing and prospering, the economic, social, and physical health of the historically residential intown neighborhoods adjacent to the campus did not fare as well. These neighborhoods include Huguenin Heights, Tatnall Square Heights, Beall's Hill and Tindall Heights/Central South (Figure 41). As recently as 40 to 50 years ago, these neighborhoods were stable, relatively prosperous. However, like many intown neighborhoods across the country, they suffered general decline beginning in the late 1950s and 1960s as the cycle of flight to the suburbs, chronic disinvestment, concentrations of poverty, crime and drug abuse, and the physical decay of the homes, shops and parks took hold in Macon (Bohl 1). The residential exodus to the developing suburbs led to a reduction in owner-occupied homes, which, in turn, resulted in increased ownership by absentee property owners and landlords. Many houses were subdivided to provide low-rent apartments while others were abandoned altogether and



Figure 41: Map of Macon Intown Neighborhoods. Neighborhoods and sites are represented as follows: Mercer University in Red; Tatnall Square Park in Green; Huguenin Heights in Silver; Tatnall Square Heights in Orange; Beall's Hill in Blue; Former Oglethorpe Homes Site in Yellow; and Tindall Heights/Central South in Brown. (Compiled by author, 2003) left vacant. The general appearance of the neighborhoods also suffered as property maintenance all but ceased, resulting in overgrown lots and littered yards and streets. Increasingly, criminal activity became normal in these neighborhoods and a steady decline ensued.

Until the mid-twentieth century, Mercer faculty and staff lived in these neighborhoods adjacent to the university and students rented apartments and houses there as well. However, as the neighborhoods declined in the 1960s and 1970s, Mercer had very little official relationship with the neighborhoods. "During the 1980s and early 1990s, the university turned inward as the neighborhood became increasingly inhospitable, protecting itself from the increasing blight" (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something" 2). The University essentially turned its back on the neighborhood, closing streets, fencing property, and buffering property with parking lots, plants and facilities. Part of the intown neighborhood was demolished to make way for Mercer's School of Medicine" (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something" 2).

These were difficult times for neighborhood institutions and residents in Macon. Despite these declining conditions, Macon's intown neighborhoods were nonetheless supported by the stabilizing presence of its existing residents, churches, and Mercer University. While many had turned their attention elsewhere – inward toward their own affairs or outward to new houses in new suburbs - there was a group of people who quietly valued these neighborhoods for their extensive collection of rich historic buildings and the community heritage they represented. Although these neighborhoods had declined economically, socially and physically, this group of people recognized that the neighborhoods still contained important community resources such as existing

housing, roads, sidewalks, electrical equipment, and people. This small group of dedicated preservationists recognized the potential physical, economic and social benefits of revitalizing these once vibrant intown neighborhoods through a "commitment to preserve the best of the past while infusing neglected areas with new life, new residents and new investment" (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something" 4).

Macon Heritage Foundation's Preservation-Based Efforts

In 1994, the Macon Heritage Foundation (MHF) was approached by a group of longtime residents of Macon's intown neighborhoods who were interested in exploring ways to revitalize their neighborhoods. Macon Heritage is a private, non-profit membership organization formed in 1975 to promote the preservation, restoration, and revitalization of Macon's historic districts. By utilizing grants, donations, and a revolving fund, Macon Heritage partners with the community to rehabilitate commercial buildings, residential properties, and entire neighborhoods. In addition, MHF sponsors tours and lectures highlighting important historical and architectural sites in the community. MHF also serves as a resource for those interested in restoring historic properties, including providing information on rehabilitation tax credits and listing on the National Register of Historic Places ("Mission of the Macon Heritage Foundation" 1).

Up to that point in time, Macon Heritage had primarily focused their efforts on preserving and rehabilitating individual historic properties in the community. Recognizing the tremendous opportunity to revitalize these once vibrant neighborhoods while preserving their historic buildings and character, Macon Heritage turned their attention to developing a comprehensive preservation-based neighborhood revitalization plan. This was a big step for the non-profit organization. As Kay Gerhart, chair of the

Macon Heritage Neighborhood Revitalization Committee at the time, stated, "Macon Heritage had never undertaken a big neighborhood project. It was pretty scary to make that sort of commitment of our assets and time" ("Waking Up the Neighborhood" 1). However, having made this organizational commitment, Macon Heritage set out to rehabilitate the neighborhood's historic buildings and resell them as owner-occupied residences. They believed that these goals, once achieved, would restore the vibrancy of the neighborhoods and improve the residents' overall quality of life. As homeownership increased, residents' pride in and care of their neighborhoods would increase and in turn raise property values, reduce crime and improve the physical character of both private and public property ("Macon Heritage Foundation's Huguenin Heights Partnership is a Model for Other Preservation Organizations" 1).

Huguenin Heights

Macon Heritage initially set their sights on Huguenin Heights, one of the earliest neighborhoods in Macon developed after the Civil War. Huguenin Heights developed shortly after Mercer moved to Macon in 1871. Located between Mercer University and Interstate 75, the neighborhood borders the Mercer University campus and is adjacent to Tatnall Square Park (Figure 42). The houses in Huguenin Heights date from the early 1880s to the 1910s and represent Italianate, Queen Anne, and Folk Victorian styles of the later nineteenth century as well as the early twentieth century styles of Colonial Revival and Craftsman ("Macon Historic Districts" 3).

Huguenin Heights was a solidly middle-class neighborhood for many years. However, like many urban neighborhoods around the country, residents began moving to newer suburban neighborhoods beginning in the 1960s. The neighborhood was then



Figure 42: Streetscape from Huguenin Heights Along Adams Street Toward Mercer University. (Photograph by author, 2003)

bisected by the construction of Interstate 75 in 1970. With the departure of the more stable homeowners, many of the single-family residences were subdivided as rental units for nearby Mercer University students and others. With the increasing number of renters in the area, property maintenance decreased. By the early 1990s, the overall condition of the area had declined such that many of the neighborhood's houses were in substandard condition and vacant, and crime rates had risen substantially.

The Huguenin Heights project focused on a five-square block area (Figure 43). MHF staff developed a comprehensive revitalization plan focusing on this five-square block area (Figure 44). Initial assistance was received from the National Trust's Community Partners program, designed to assist preservation organizations, local governments, developers, and community development corporations in revitalizing historic buildings and neighborhoods. The Community Partners program consists of several interrelated programs, including the Community Partners Network, Inner City Venture Fund (ICVF), Heritage Property Services, and Bank of America Historic Tax Credit Fund. Services provided by Community Partners include debt and equity financing, technical assistance, and real estate consulting services.

As part of the Community Partners Network, Macon Heritage received technical and financial assistance from the National Trust. Trust staff worked with Macon Heritage to create homeownership programs. In addition, two lines of credit were extended from the Trust to Macon Heritage totaling \$450,000 ("The National Trust Community Partners Program" 1). One line of credit was earmarked for the acquisition and stabilization of properties, which provided Macon Heritage the capital to begin acquiring and stabilizing the historic properties in the neighborhood. The second line of credit was utilized for the



Figure 43: Map of Macon Heritage Foundation Revitalization Activity in Huguenin Heights. Red stars indicate houses that have been rehabilitated and resold by MHF. Green stars indicate vacant lots owned by MHF available for infill. (Courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation, 2003)



Figure 44: Huguenin Heights Neighborhood Revitalization Plan/Board. (Photograph by author, 2003)

rehabilitation work on the properties prior to being resold to preservation-minded homeowners (Gerhardt, Interview). The grant funds were utilized to hire a construction manager to directly oversee the rehabilitation process as the program progressed ("Waking Up the Neighborhood" 1).

To date, MHF has rehabilitated seventeen houses in the Huguenin Heights neighborhood. Several of the houses rehabilitated by MHF were in deteriorated states prior to rehabilitation (Figures 45 and 46). Others were in better condition and required less extensive rehabilitation efforts (Figures 47, 48 and 49). MHF has followed the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation in all of their projects and have sought to retain the buildings' historic materials. In addition, MHF is marketing a vacant lot in the neighborhood for compatible infill construction. Macon Heritage staff are also in the process of acquiring two additional historic houses along Adams Street (fronting on Tatnall Square Park) for rehabilitation and resale as single-family homes (Figure 50). Macon Heritage's efforts have sparked the rehabilitation of additional houses by their current owners (Figure 51).

While it was the initial assistance from the National Trust that made this project possible, it has been the strong local partnerships that Macon Heritage has built with residents, businesses, banks, foundations, city government, and others that have made it successful. In addition to partnering with the National Trust, Macon Heritage has developed partnerships with the Peyton Anderson Foundation, Porter Foundation, Bank of America, First Liberty Bank, the City of Macon, and Mercer University. The Peyton Anderson Foundation awarded a \$50,000 grant to Macon Heritage that was used to buy and rehabilitate a "model house" for marketing use. The Porter Foundation awarded



Figure 45: 1225 Linden Avenue Prior to Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 46: 1225 Linden Avenue After Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 47: 1147 Adams Street Prior to Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)


Figure 48: 1147 Adams Street During Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 49: 1147 Adams Street After Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 50: 1191 and 1177 Adams Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 51: Private Rehabilitation at 1623 Lawton Avenue. (Photograph by author, 2003)

approximately \$20,000 in grants for the project. Bank of America (Nations Bank at the time) funded a portion of the ICVF loan and grant assistance and along with First Liberty Bank, waived or reduced closing costs for eligible buyers. The City of Macon waived landfill fees, provided on-site construction dumpsters for rehabilitation projects, and made its subsidies available to assist moderate-income home buyers ("The National Trust Community Partners Program" 1).

Mercer University's contributions were integral to the success of Macon Heritage's efforts. Recognizing the deteriorated state of the neighborhoods adjacent to the university campus and the negative impact on the university, Mercer entered into a joint venture with Macon Heritage to offer a major incentive towards home-ownership in the neighborhood. Mercer's commitment to the neighborhood revitalization project was the establishment of an employer-assisted housing program that provided subsidies in the form of cash incentives to encourage professors and administrative staff to buy homes in Huguenin Heights rehabbed by Macon Heritage (Bette-Lou Brown, Presentation to National Symposium on Preservation-Based Community Development).

Mercer's home purchase assistance package featured a stipend of 5 percent of the final purchase price of the rehabilitated house up to a maximum purchase price of \$150,000, which could be used towards the required mortgage down payment. Additionally, Mercer offered to pay an additional .5 percent of the final closing price up to a maximum purchase price of \$150,000 per year for the next five years as long as the employee continued to reside in the dwelling during that five-year period ("Huguenin Heights Redevelopment Opportunity"). Seven of the 17 houses sold by Macon Heritage in Huguenin Heights were sold to Mercer employees utilizing the homeowner assistance benefits offered by the university. These served as strong catalysts to the comprehensive revitalization of the neighborhood.

This focused effort to improve a substantial number of properties in the neighborhood in a relatively short period of time served to first stabilize the neighborhood and second "jump-start" revitalization throughout the entire neighborhood. "The impact of the sale of so many properties in a small community has increased appraised values from \$35 to \$60 per square foot, making rehabilitation feasible without public subsidy" ("Macon Heritage Foundation's Huguenin Heights Partnership is a Model for Other Preservation Organizations" 1). Likewise, the percentage of houses occupied by single-family owners has risen from 46 percent to 66 percent since the project began ("Neighborhood Revitalization Overview"). Crime has been reduced by 85% based on a comparison of the number of police calls recorded over a six-year period, 189 in 1992 to 29 in 1997 ("Macon Historic Districts" 3-4). In addition, property values have more than doubled in the neighborhood. Perhaps most importantly, the efforts by Macon Heritage, Mercer University, and other project partners have served to increase neighborhood spirit and pride among existing and new neighbors, as evidenced by the manner in which they maintain the condition and quality of their homes and properties. The project and partnerships that made it possible have also garnered state and national acclaim. Huguenin Heights was the site of a special National Trust tour in 1998 and the neighborhood/project was featured on HGTV's "Restore America" program. In addition, The Georgia Trust presented an Excellence in Rehabilitation award to Macon Heritage for the Huguenin Heights project in 2001 ("Macon Historic Districts" 4).

Tatnall Square Heights

As Macon Heritage neared completion of the Huguenin Heights project, plans were already in the making for the revitalizing the Tatnall Square Heights neighborhood. This seven-square block neighborhood is located adjacent to Huguenin Heights and across Tatnall Square Park from Mercer University (Figure 52). The neighborhood was developed between 1897 and 1930 and consists of primarily one and some two-story Queen Anne and late Victorian vernacular cottages ("Neighborhood Revitalization Overview").

Beginning in 1999, Macon Heritage staff and volunteers conducted an extensive survey of the neighborhood. From this survey, MHF staff determined that the neighborhood consisted of 82 properties, including 18 owner-occupied houses, 36 non owner occupied houses, 24 vacant lots, and 4 commercial structures ("Macon Historic District 4). The survey revealed that at least 50 percent of the houses in this area were in sub-standard condition due to leaking roofs, deteriorated porches, rotten siding, antiquated electrical and plumbing systems, and/or inadequate heating, cooling, and insulation ("Neighborhood Revitalization Overview"). Based on these results, MHF staff developed a revitalization plan for the neighborhood (Figure 53).

Like Huguenin Heights, this neighborhood had suffered economically, socially, and physically due to the cumulative lack of financial investment and deferred maintenance that characterized the area over the preceding forty or so years. Also like Huguenin Heights, Macon Heritage set out to revitalize the neighborhood through a preservation-based program to raise the percentage of owner-occupied housing to 60% by rehabilitating existing historic homes and selling them to current and new neighborhood



Figure 52: Map of Macon Heritage Foundation Revitalization Activity in Tatnall Square Heights. Red stars indicate houses that have been rehabilitated and resold by MHF. Purple stars represent newly constructed infill housing. Green stars indicate vacant lots owned by MHF available for infill. (Courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation, 2003)



Figure 53: Tatnall Square Heights Neighborhood Revitalization Plan/Board. (Photograph by author, 2003)

residents. In addition, Macon Heritage planned to construct new homes on existing vacant lots that would be sensitive to existing design and physical characteristics of the neighborhood.

Mercer University again committed the university's resources to supporting revitalization of the neighborhood by offering financial assistance. Mercer is offering full-time faculty and staff a stipend of 12 percent of the closing price of a home in the neighborhood, up to a maximum selling price of \$80,000. On the date of closing, Mercer will pay seven percent of the final closing price, and an additional one percent on the anniversary of closing for the next five years. In order to insure that speculators do not take advantage of the program, homeowners are required to occupy the house as their primary residence for the five-year period. Should this cease to be the case, no further annual payments will be made and the employee must refund to Mercer a pro-rated share of the initial seven percent payment ("Tatnall Square Heights" 1).

While the goal of Macon Heritage's efforts is to revitalize the neighborhood, that goal does not include forcing long-time residents to move in the process. On the contrary, Macon Heritage staff work with existing residents to achieve revitalization for all. In order to avoid gentrification, many of the rehabilitated and infill houses sold by Macon Heritage are priced for moderate and low-income homebuyers. Income restrictions are placed on the purchase of particular houses in order to make them more affordable. For example, the maximum income for a one-person family might be \$28,600, while the income for a four-person family is \$40,900. The specific purpose of selling some houses to moderate and lower-income people is to make homes available to residents who already live in the neighborhood as well as to provide work force housing for people who

desire to live closer to their place of work. Providing houses for people across a broader range of income levels also promotes a healthier mixed-income neighborhood. While Macon Heritage offers houses to people across a range of income levels, the City of Macon offers financial assistance to low and moderate-income homebuyers through the Home Purchase Program (HPP) and Affordable Housing Program. In addition, the local government offers assistance through the Home Improvement Program (HIP) and Rental Property Improvement Program that help make home improvement affordable for low and moderate income homeowners and elderly residents, first-time homebuyers, and landlords. These assistance programs are provided in partnership by both private and public entities ("Economic and Community Development").

With the help of partners such as Mercer University, the city of Macon, and other community entities, Macon Heritage is well on its way to success in Tatnall Square Heights. Fifteen historic houses have been rehabilitated, including 948 Tatnall Street (Figures 54 and 55), 895 Tatnall Street (Figures 56 and 57) and 842 Tatnall Street (Figures 58 and 59). Macon Heritage is currently working to rehabilitate "The Beast," the largest house in the neighborhood located at 986 Adams Street (Figure 60). In addition to rehabilitation projects in the neighborhood, MHF has constructed three infill houses, including 930 Tatnall Street (Figures 61 and 62), 853 Tatnall Street (Figure 63) and 1419 Chestnut Street (Figure 64). Two of these infill houses were built on vacant property and the house at 1419 Chestnut replaced two historic houses that were not salvageable due to their advanced deterioration (Battin, Interview). In addition to owning two other vacant lots, Macon Heritage is seeking to purchase other vacant lots in the area as part of phase II of Tatnall Square Heights (Bette-Lou Brown, Interview). In



Figure 54: 948 Tatnall Street Before Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 55: 948 Tatnall Square After Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 56: 895 Tatnall Street Before Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 57: 895 Tatnall Street After Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 58: 842 Tatnall Street Before Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 59: 842 Tatnall Street After Rehabilitation. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 60: "The Beast" – 986 Adams Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 61: 930 Tatnall Street Before Infill. (Photograph courtesy of Macon Heritage Foundation)



Figure 62: 930 Tatnall Street After Infill. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 63: 853 Tatnall Street After Infill. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 64: 1419 Chestnut Street After Infill. (Photograph by author, 2003)

phase II, Macon Heritage staff are working with the City of Macon to transform a portion of vacant land in the flood plain into a neighborhood park. Macon Heritage is also in the process of acquiring two additional properties in the neighborhood along College Street (Figure 65). In addition, there are several historic commercial buildings in the neighborhood along College Street that are currently housing commercial enterprises. These historic buildings possess tremendous potential as "corner stores" providing necessary services and retail for neighborhood residents (Figure 66).

An excellent example of the success of MHF's efforts is Tatnall Square Heights resident Darlene Carson. Employed with the Bibb County Board of Education, Ms. Carson spent a significant amount of time commuting to work and transporting her children to school. She had searched for a house for two or three years that was closer to work and school, but could not find anything. When first approached about purchasing a home in Tatnall Square Heights, Ms. Carson had concerns about the neighborhood. However, once she visited the neighborhood and toured several of the historic houses available for rehabilitation, she purchased a house originally constructed in 1889. Following the rehabilitation of the house, Ms. Carson and her two daughters moved into their "new old" house in July 2001. When asked how she feels about the neighborhood now, Ms. Carson replied "I love the neighborhood! It's quiet, the people are friendly, and the old and new neighbors are getting to know each other" ("Macon Heritage Foundation Welcomes Newest Resident to Tatnall Square Heights").

Role of Historic Preservation in MHF Efforts

To date, the preservation-based program developed by Macon Heritage Foundation, Mercer University and other community partners has served as a catalyst for



Figure 65: 1001 & 1005 College Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 66: 894 College Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)

\$4,220,000 of investment in these neighborhoods ("Neighborhood Revitalization Overview"). While providing affordable housing to numerous first-time homebuyers, these partners have stimulated the physical and economic revitalization of Mercer's intown neighborhoods utilizing several key historic preservation tools.

Revolving Fund

A revolving fund generally consists of funding that is dedicated to the costs associated with providing alternatives to demolition or neglect of architecturally and historically significant properties by affecting their rehabilitation and purchase by preservation-minded buyers for rehabilitation and continued use. A revolving fund typically accomplishes this goal by either accepting property donations or by purchasing options on endangered historic properties. Any proceeds generated from the sale of a property are returned to the fund, thereby "revolving" the use of the initial capital and sustaining the fund ("Revolving Fund Frequently Asked Questions").

The Macon Heritage Foundation created its revolving fund in the early 1980's, and it was initially used to save individual endangered historic houses. As the neighborhood revitalization project developed, the revolving fund was divided into two funds, one continuing to focus on individual properties, and the other focused on neighborhood efforts. At the outset of efforts in Huguenin Heights, \$30,000 from the revolving fund was dedicated to the project as "a safety net to be used if necessary" (Battin, Interview). These funds were utilized to purchase options on properties, and on occasion, to purchase properties outright until funds were received from the National Trust line of credit. These funds were used to operate the bulk of the program. Once a house was sold that had been purchased with National Trust funds, the National Trust was reimbursed and additional funds were drawn down to begin on the next house. Once

this process began to show some positive results, Macon area banks became willing to loan funds for rehabilitation projects in the neighborhood (Battin, Interview).

Preservation and Use Covenants

An important component of successful revolving funds are protective covenants and/or easements that are attached to the deed of a historic property to ensure that the integrity of the structure or the land on which it is situated is protected once the property is sold. The entity that holds the covenant/easement possesses the legal authority to review physical changes and monitor the condition of the structures.

All of the rehabilitated and newly constructed infill houses sold by Macon Heritage were sold with protective covenants attached to the purchase and sale agreements, thus ensuring that the historic materials and character of the houses will be maintained and that the houses will remain in single-family use (Bette-Lou Brown, Interview). These covenants extend for twenty years and run with the land so that they remain in effect even if the property is sold (Gerhardt, Interview). As the local historic preservation organization intent on maintaining the physical quality that comprises the value of the historic buildings and overall neighborhood, Macon Heritage (the seller) receives assurance from the homebuyer (the purchaser) that they will abide by several measures protecting the physical presence and characteristics of their houses. First, the purchaser covenants that the exterior of the building (including paint and landscaping) will be maintained in condition above the average for buildings in the historic district that are certified historic structures. Second, the purchaser covenants that the building on the property will not be demolished or moved without the express consent of the seller. Third, the purchaser covenants that all exterior alternations must be approved by the

seller, the Historic Review Board, and the city's Planning and Zoning Commission. Lastly, the purchaser covenants that the property will not be subdivided or used for any other purposes than single-family, owner-occupied residential without the express permission of the seller. These protective covenants are enacted at closing as part of the purchase and sale agreement. As the holder of the covenant, Macon Heritage retains the right to enforce the covenants. A violation of any of these covenants entitles Macon Heritage to seek injunctive relief and to receive attorney's fees and costs incurred in seeking injunctive relief ("Purchaser Covenants").

Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties were initially developed by the Department of the Interior to determine the appropriateness of proposed project work on registered properties within the Historic Preservation Fund grant-in-aid program. However, the standards have been widely used over the years, most particularly to determine if a preservation project qualifies as a certified rehabilitation for federal and/or state tax purposes. In addition, the standards guide federal, state and local government officials in reviewing rehabilitation proposals and have been adopted by historic district and planning commissions across the country. While the intent of the standards is to assist the long-term preservation of a property's significance through the preservation of historic materials and features, they are a series of concepts about maintaining, repairing and replacing historic materials, as well as designing new additions or making alterations ("The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties"). As such, all of the rehabilitation work

completed by Macon Heritage follows the Secretary's Standards for the Rehabilitation of Historic Properties (Battin, Interview).

National Register District Designation and Tax Incentives

To be certified for tax purposes, a historic resource must meet two criteria. First, the historic resource must be listed in the National Register of Historic Places (federal taxes) and the Georgia Register of Historic Places (state taxes) either individually or as part of a historic district. Second, as mentioned above, the preservation project must meet the Secretary's Standards and be qualified by the Secretary of the Interior as being consistent with the historic character of the structure(s) and/or the historic district in which it is located.

The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's official list of buildings, sites, districts, structures and objects significant in American, state or local history, archieology, architecture, engineering or culture. Individual structures are listed on the National Register, but entire neighborhoods or areas can also be designated as a National Historic District. To qualify, the area must retain architectural integrity and reflect an aspect of the area's history. A historical overview of the entire district is needed. The purpose of the overview is to provide a background history of the area and to justify the significance of the district. Historic resources survey documentation is required for all proposed districts, which involves photographing and mapping all buildings in the district, recording their architectural characteristics, and assessing whether or not they contribute to the historic character of the district ("What Is the Difference Between the National Register of Historic Places, a National Historic District and a National Historic Landmark?").

Designation as a National Register District becomes an important factor in the neighborhood revitalization process if the property owners intend to qualify for available preservation tax credits. In Georgia, preservation tax incentives are available for any project that the Secretary of the Interior qualifies as certified rehabilitation. Because both Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square Heights are located in the Macon National Register Historic District, residential homebuyers are able to apply for Georgia's state historic preservation property tax abatement program. This program allows owners of both commercial and residential property to freeze their property taxes at the pre-rehabilitation value for eight years, before the assessment returns to the full market value of the property in the tenth year of ownership. Rehabilitation work must follow the Secretary's Standards for Rehabilitation and be certified by the National Park Service through the Georgia Historic Preservation Division. All of the historic houses that have been rehabilitated by the Macon Heritage Foundation in both Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square Heights have qualified for this tax savings program (Bette-Lou Brown, Interview). Thus, the designation of the neighborhood as a National Register Historic District and the adherence to the Secretary's Standards have together provided a major financial incentive to both Macon Heritage and individual property owners to rehabilitate the neighborhood's existing historic buildings. All of these individual efforts, in turn, serve to facilitate the overall revitalization of the entire neighborhood.

Local Historic District Designation and Design Review

In addition to National Register historic districts, neighborhoods or areas with similar physical developments and characteristics can be designated as local historic districts under city or county ordinances that seek to retain the character of the building

or area. To receive local designation, a building or district must be historically, architecturally or culturally significant and retain most of its character. A historic preservation commission reviews and comments on projects affecting designated buildings. Under most local laws, property owners of designated properties cannot demolish, move or change exterior features of the structure without permission from the preservation commission ("What Is the Difference Between Local Landmarks or Historic Districts vs. the Georgia Register of Historic Places?").

Local historic districts are one of the oldest and strongest forms of protection for historic properties. The historic district movement began in the United States in 1931, when the City of Charleston, South Carolina, enacted a local ordinance designating an "Old and Historic District" administered by a Board of Architectural Review. This early ordinance said that no changes could be made to exterior architectural features that were subject to view from a public street or way. Today there are over 2,300 communities across the country that have adopted preservation ordinances, with 107 in Georgia alone ("Early Models of Local Historic Districts").

Local district designation has significant benefits for both the designated neighborhood and larger community. Local districts protect the investments of owners and residents, providing greater certainty that property values will remain stable over time. This certainty is provided because by their very nature, local historic districts encourage better design and innovative use of materials. Likewise, the real estate stability and appealing aesthetics supported by local district designation serve to enhance economic development opportunities for the community. Companies and visitors are drawn to the historic district by the physical history that is represented as well as the

higher quality of life. And central to all the benefits mentioned, local districts strengthen social bonds and create an empowered population as residents make community decisions through a structured participatory process rather than behind closed doors or without public comment ("Benefits of Local Historic Districts").

Most often, historic preservation commissions or design review boards are guided in their decisions by a set of design guidelines. These guidelines work best when tailored to the physical characteristics of the specific area to which they are being applied, and cover a wide range of design issues such as building heights, set backs, roof shape and pitch, as well as other physical building and siting characteristics. These guidelines help homeowners, planning staff, and review board members create the most historically appropriate changes and additions to buildings in the district.

While Macon has three locally designated historic districts, they do not have a historic preservation commission (Mason, Interview). Instead, local district designation and design review are legally enacted through the Macon-Bibb County zoning code. Initially created as an overlay zone in 1978, these planning tools were ultimately incorporated into the zoning code itself. Through the zoning code, a Design Review Board was created as a sub-body of the Macon-Bibb County Planning and Zoning Commission (Mason, Interview). The Design Review Board oversees physical changes to the historic buildings in the locally designated districts, including the Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square neighborhoods (Battin, Interview). All new construction and any modifications to the exterior or existing structures must go before the Design Review Board (Gerhardt, Interview). Local district designation and design review are supporting and enhancing efforts to revitalize Macon's intown historic neighborhoods.

This model of preservation-based neighborhood revitalization focuses on the retention and rehabilitation of existing private and public resources as the foundation for designing new development so that it complements this historic base. The preservation tools described above are used to guide new development so that it is compatible with the quality and character of existing historic areas rather than prevent it altogether. As Dan Becker, Executive Director of the Raleigh, North Carolina Historic Districts Commission, points out, "development that enhances the character of our historic districts is encouraged. We recognize that change is an important element in the city's evolution, an indicator of a healthy, vital neighborhood, and reflects the pride of residents in their community" ("Benefits of Local Historic Districts").

By combining technical and financial resources to develop a comprehensive approach, and focusing on rehabilitating existing resources and preserving the historic character of the neighborhoods, the Macon partners have leveraged their individual contributions to achieve a much larger success. Again, Macon Heritage member, Kay Gerdardt says it best when she says that "this has exceeded our wildest expectations for the project. It just makes sense to revitalize existing housing in an area" ("Americans Show Strong Support for Preservation as a Form of Smart Growth" 16). The strength of this model is in the partnerships formed between Macon Heritage, Mercer University, the City of Macon and other community partners.

Mercer Center for Community Development

Connection Between MHF Work and Mercer Creation of MCCD

Growing out of their involvement with the hard work and success of Macon Heritage's initial neighborhood revitalization efforts, many Mercer faculty, staff, and students came to recognize the inherent residential quality and vitality contained in Macon's intown historic neighborhoods as well as the University's ability to help bring about their revitalization. Additionally, they came to recognize the inherent connection between the physical, social, and economic health of these neighborhoods and the mission of the University "to contribute campus resources in partnership with other institutions and agencies to improve the educational, social and economic development of the community" ("Mission of the University" 1).

This growing insight was capped off when "in 1996, former Macon Mayor Jim Marshall and Chester Wheeler, his director of community development, invited Kirby Godsey, president of Mercer University, to take a ride through the Beall's Hill neighborhood directly across the railroad tracks from the university" (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something" 1). As will be described in greater detail below, what the participants on this tour witnessed was not only the declining physical and social conditions evident in this neighborhood, but also its close proximity to Mercer's main campus. As Dr. Brown goes on to say, "the tour was a wake-up call for our president. Godsey committed the university to seek ways to cooperate with neighborhood residents and the city for the revitalization of Beall's Hill. Within two years, he founded the Mercer Center for Community Development, and I became its first director (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something" 2).

Overview of MCCD and Tindall Heights/Central South

The Mercer Center for Community Development (MCCD) was founded in July 1998 "to coordinate University outreach aimed at neighborhood revitalization and University research on issues bearing on social, education, and economic improvements

in our community" ("Center for Community Development Leads Local Revitalization Effort" 5). To date, MCCD has focused its efforts on the Tindall Heights neighborhood (more recently known as Central South). Despite its depressed condition, MCCD identified it as their first project neighborhood because of its "interesting history, significant resources, and strategic location" ("Mercer University 1998 Executive Summary/Progress Report"). Situated adjacent to the Mercer campus and one mile southwest of Macon's central business district, this 60-block neighborhood is bounded on the north by Oglethorpe and Maple Streets, Second Street on the east, Anderson and Plant Streets on the south, and on the west by Little Richard Pennyman Boulevard, College Street, and the Central of Georgia Railroad.

Tindall Heights/Central South is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district containing approximately 1,120 historic buildings, including churches, stores, homes, and a school. This area of Macon is historically significant at the statewide level in the areas of architecture and community planning. The neighborhood district is significant architecturally because of its "large, intact collection of residential, commercial, and community institutional buildings constructed from circa 1870 to 1942 and because it contains one of the largest and most intact collection of urban Georgia house types from this period" ("Tindall Heights Historic District" 7).

The district's residential buildings are mainly framed houses representing such architectural styles as Queen Anne, Craftsman, Italianate, Classic Revival, Bungalow, Romanesque, Colonial Revival, and Folk Victorian. Historic commercial buildings, located throughout the district, are primarily one- and two-story brick buildings, with fewer front-gabled, wood-framed buildings. Many of these buildings are combination

residence/stores, including first floor storefronts. Many are located on corner lots for easy access and represent a good opportunity for rehabilitation as small neighborhood-oriented corner markets and service businesses such as cleaners and tailors. The churches range from large brick, Romanesque Revival style buildings to smaller, wood-framed Colonial Revival style structures. A large, two-story neighborhood school is constructed of brick in the Colonial Revival style and is a good example of an early twentieth century urban educational facility ("Macon Historic Districts").

This area is significant in the area of community planning and development because it represents a period of enormous expansion in the growth of Macon. Beginning with the development of industrial buildings and uses in the 1850s, residential development followed in the 1870s and continued into the 1940s. For the most part, Tindall Heights was developed for Macon's riding middle class and was separated from the upper-class housing and central business district by physical features such as the railroad, the hilly plateau, and the industrial corridor. This neighborhood was annexed into the Macon city limits in 1910, and received streetlights and other city services shortly thereafter ("Tindall Heights Historic District" 10). This neighborhood developed into a prosperous, mixed-class neighborhood with many railroad, mill, and postal workers, as well as African American professionals.

Tindall Heights prospered for well over seventy years, and remained fairly stable until just prior to World War II. By 1939, an area in the neighborhood was cleared for construction of a public housing project called Oglethorpe Homes. By 1942, three more housing projects were constructed in the area – Felton Homes, Bowden Homes, and Tindall Heights ("Tindall Heights Historic District" 11). Over the next five decades, the
neighborhood declined as middle-class residents moved out of the inner city, as owneroccupied housing became rental property when elderly owners died, and dilapidated housing was abandoned, demolished, or burned. The neighborhood now faces many familiar urban problems, including substandard housing, crime, unemployment, and a high dropout rate from school. While the majority of housing in Central South was originally built for owner occupancy, the homeownership rate has declined to only 26.4 percent, half the citywide rate of 50 percent. Despite this slow decline, Tindall Heights/Central South still has important assets and resources to aid in its revitalization, including numerous churches, two elementary schools, two Boys and Girls Club facilities, an active public housing tenants association, and a new and promising neighborhood association (Peter Brown, "The Community Outreach Partnership Center Program").

MCCD Areas of Focus

Building on the neighborhood's assets, MCCD is working in partnership with the residents of Tindall Heights/Central South and the city of Macon to develop and initiate an innovative and comprehensive neighborhood revitalization program. MCCD has put into action an energetic plan for the University's role that focuses on five broad areas of activity: capacity building; educational needs; crime prevention; community health care; and neighborhood revitalization. As Dr. Brown notes, "this isn't a sort of Band-Aid project where you are here today and gone tomorrow. It's a work in progress that seeks to motivate and change the neighborhood at every level – educational, social, physical, and

economic. It's a long-term commitment that will benefit the neighborhood, the city, and the University itself" ("Center for Community Development Leads Local Revitalization Effort" 5).

MCCD Funding from HUD's Office of University Partnerships

In 1999, MCCD received a \$400,000 Community Outreach Partnership Center grant from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development's Office of University Partnerships. After "recognizing the crucial role that America's institutions of higher education can play in rebuilding communities large and small," HUD established the Office of University Partnerships (OUP) in 1994 "to encourage and expand the efforts of institutions of higher education that are striving to make a difference in their communities" ("About the Office of University Partnerships"). OUP serves institutions of higher education, researchers, and students through grant programs, interactive conferences, and related research. The three central goals of OUP are:

- •To recognize, reward, and build upon successful examples of universities' activities in local revitalization projects;
- •To create the next generation of urban scholars and encourage them to focus their work on housing and community development policy; and
- •To create partnerships with other Federal Agencies to support innovative teaching, research, and service partnerships ("About the Office of University Partnerships").

One of OUP's primary initiatives is the Community Outreach Partnership Program, which provides three-year grants of up to \$400,000 to encourage institutions of higher education to join in partnerships with their communities. The goal of this program is to bring the tremendous physical and economic resources of America's colleges and universities, as well as the knowledge, creativity, and energy of their faculty and students, to bear on the physical, social, and educational problems of America's communities. If designated as a Community Outreach Partnership Center, recipient organizations "are expected to play an active and visible role in community revitalization by applying research to real urban problems, coordinating 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 COPC's" (Peter Brown, "The Community Outreach Partnership Centers Program").

Mercer has designed its COPC grant "as a demonstration to initiate the revitalization of Central South and serve as a model for inner-city residential redevelopment in other Macon neighborhoods and for other mid-size cities across the country" (Peter Brown, "The Community Outreach Partnership Centers Program"). The grant funds will be used to increase neighborhood capacity and involvement, raise the educational level of neighborhood residents, reduce the level of crime in the neighborhood, provide better access to affordable health care for neighborhood residents, and revitalize the neighborhood by improving the housing stock and increasing the level of homeownership. Total project cost for these efforts is expected to be \$2,958,560, consisting of \$400,000 in federal funding through the COPC grant, \$549,705 in community matching funds, and \$2,088,855 in matching funds from Mercer University ("Mercer University 1999 Executive Summary/Progress Report").

Capacity Building

MCCD is pursuing the enhancement of community capacity as a major strategy for effecting positive change in the neighborhood. Enhancing community capacity means mobilizing university and other resources to strengthen existing community assets, such as local churches, schools, and other non-profit community organizations ("Mercer Center for Community Development").

At the outset of MCCD's efforts, Tindall Heights/Central South already boasted a number of strong community institutions, including the Second Street Boys and Girls Club, the residents associations of Tindall Heights and Oglethorpe Homes, and nineteen churches. In addition to these, and with the support of MCCD, neighbors in the area formed the Willing Workers Association of Central South (WWACS) as an organization seeking to represent all residents of the neighborhood ("Mercer University 1999 Executive Summary/Progress Report").

WWACS is guided by a nine-member board of directors and has approximately 50 active members and a mailing list of 150 neighborhood residents throughout Tindall Heights/ Central South and meets bi-weekly. Since the organization was founded in July 1998, its members have sponsored seasonal festivals featuring information on jobs and health screenings and conducted neighborhood clean-ups attended by Mercer students and faculty, local residents, and delegations form the City Fire Department and Sheriff's Office. In addition to these activities, Willing Workers members receive a variety of training in general management, financial management, negotiating skills, computer training, community outreach and public relations, credit counseling, as well as housing counseling training so they can work as Fair Housing Advocates with MCCD.

MCCD also offers WWACS matching grants up to \$10,000 a year for specific projects in order to develop organizational capacity for the neighborhood and its residents" ("Training Community Association Members").

The Willing Workers Association is partnering with MCCD on a variety of capacity-building programs and projects. The Adopt-a-Grandparent Program pairs elderly neighborhood residents with students who volunteer to do errands and small chores to assist their neighbors (Korson 59). Another joint project is the neighborhood assets mapping project in which MCCD is assessing the human assets that exist in Tindall Heights/Central South. An information form/ survey was disseminated to neighborhood residents by the Willing Workers Association and the Macon Housing Authority. The data collected will be collated and analyzed by both the WWACS and MCCD. The results will produce a comprehensive inventory of entities in the neighborhood and help direct public involvement in the ongoing neighborhood revitalization project. MCCD and WWACS have also partnered to form the Central South Task Force, which is composed of the executive officers of each neighborhood group from within Tindall Heights/Central South. The task force works to identify community needs and develop projects to address those needs ("The Central South Neighborhood Task Force").

Educational Programs and Services

As an institution of higher education, Mercer prides itself on being connected with its community and has a very strong interest in promoting improved educational opportunities in local neighborhoods. Through MCCD, Mercer focuses on improving the condition of the neighborhood by raising the educational level of its residents. In partnership with other Mercer departments, MCCD coordinates tutoring, educational

programs, and service learning activities that utilize university faculty and staff in elementary schools, public housing, and churches throughout the neighborhood ("Educational Opportunities and Initiatives"). In addition, each school within the university has a strong community service component. For example, the medical school trains physicians who provide adequate medical care where it otherwise does not exist in the community. The college of education features extension programs that provide continuing educational opportunities for working adults in the community ("Mercer University Sees Civic Engagement as Its Signature" 1).

Approximately 250 Mercer students participate in a tutoring program for first, second and third grade students at nearby John W. Burke and Ingram-Pye elementary schools. While providing one-on-one tutoring for 24 weeks per year, the program has contributed to a significant improvement in students' reading skills over the last few years. Burke student's ranking on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills went from sixteenth out of 30 Bibb County schools in 1994 to second place in 1998 and first place in 1999 ("Tutoring in Elementary Schools" 1).

In addition to tutoring in the Central South neighborhood, Mercer has set up the Servant Leadership Scholars program, which offers as many as four full-tuition scholarships per year to highly qualified students who live in the Central South neighborhood. Each scholar is required to complete at least 60 hours of community service per year, and "will enter into partnership with their home neighborhoods to act as agents for positive change, revitalization, and self-help" ("Mercer University 1999 Executive Summary/Progress Report" 1).

Mercer is also committed to service learning. Mercer students participate in neighborhood clean-up projects and conduct valuable research projects that benefit the neighborhood. A significant project is the "Oral History of the Central South Neighborhood." Directed by Dr. Sarah Gardner, a professor in the Department of History, Mercer American History students are conducting research for the project that is documenting changes in the Central South neighborhood over the last six decades. The overall purpose of the project is "to recapture a common understanding, among Central South residents, or the neighborhood, of its history, and its human assets" ("Central South Oral History Project" 1). While being trained in the fundamentals of oral history, the students are compiling an archive of local history by conducting oral and videotaped interviews with neighborhood residents. Once complete, the recorded oral history interviews and transcriptions form an anecdotal history of the neighborhood will be housed in the Genealogical Room at the Washington Library in Macon.

Crime Reduction and Prevention

"According to Mercer's 1995 Consolidated Plan, many Central South residents view drugs and crime as the single biggest barrier to inner-city investment and revitalization. During the past 3 years, 15.6 percent of all Macon's drug-related criminal activity occurred in Central South, according to the Macon Police Department. In addition, 17 percent of all homicides, 16 percent of all aggravated assaults, 12.4 percent of all robberies, and 33 percent of all rapes in Macon occurred in Central South, whose population is only 7.4 percent of the city's total population" ("Campus Police Patrol Neighborhood" 1).

While these statistics are daunting, Mercer is helping to reduce the incidence of crime in the neighborhood by increasing the presence of police. The Mercer University Police Department, consisting of 17 officers, is providing nine patrols per day in Central South. Officers will also meet with the Central South Neighborhood Watch and Citizens on Patrol block captains on a regular basis.

In addition to utilizing Mercer police to patrol the neighborhood, Mercer through MCCD is also supporting two initiatives to encourage Macon police officers to make their homes in the neighborhood. In an effort similar to Mercer's mortgage assistance program for its faculty and staff, the university is offering police officers 7.5 percent of the purchase price of a rehabilitated or new house as an incentive to live in the neighborhood. Additionally, MCCD is facilitating the donation of a house in the neighborhood for a resident police officer. Working through the Youth Enrichment Service, a cooperative effort with Macon's Economic and Community Development Department, the resident officers provide 24 hours per month to work with 10 to 14 year old, at-risk youth in return for free rent. The resident officers serve as role models and mentors for 30 youngsters while leading them in enrichment activities ("Encouraging Police Officers to Live in Target Neighborhoods" 1).

Affordable Health Care

Another major problem in the Central South neighborhood is the lack of adequate health care for its residents, as identified by the residents themselves. This problem is further evidenced by the neighborhood's federal designation as a Medically Underserved Area (MUA). Despite being bordered by the Medical Center of Central Georgia and the

Mercer Medical School and Health System Clinic, the area lacks a coordinated health care system to meet the needs of its residents.

In an effort to increase and coordinate the capacity of these facilities to provide health care services, the Mercer Center for Community Development has begun a community health planning initiative. "MCCD will work with the Mercer School of Medicine, Community Health Works, and other entities to build a partnership to examine the status of health care in Central South, and bring much needed health care services to the medically underserved area" ("Awarding of Second HUD Grant Takes MCCD in New Directions" 1).

MCCD's funding for this initiative is coming from a grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Community Outreach Partnership Center grant for New Directions is a 2-year, \$150,000 grant to universities who have previously been designated as a COPC to continue their work in a new community or to pursue different activities in the neighborhood in which they are currently working. This grant will facilitate the health planning initiative to increase the capacity of and coordination between health organizations in order to create the access to health care that is so vital to the revitalization of the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Revitalization

In addition to programs geared towards improving the social capital of Central South, MCCD is also seeking to physically revitalize the neighborhood by increasing the availability of neighborhood commercial businesses, improving the housing stock, and raising the level of homeownership among neighborhood residents. To achieve these goals, MCCD has fostered commercial and residential redevelopment plans,

neighborhood clean-ups, vacant property cataloging through the delinquent property task force, homeownership marketing, and the establishment of a community development corporation to focus on the micro-neighborhoods within Central South.

In the first comprehensive effort to plan for commercial redevelopment beyond Macon's central business and industrial districts, MCCD is developing a commercial redevelopment plan focused on providing neighborhood commercial development in Central South. The residents of Central South are desperately in need of jobs, with more than half the residents unemployed. The nominal unemployment rate for the neighborhood is 9 percent, which is 83 percent higher than the overall rate of 4.9 percent for the city. Despite these statistics, significant potential for economic improvement exists for the residents of Central South. As has been pointed out, the neighborhood is strategically located between Mercer and downtown Macon, with more than 5,000 downtown workers a mere four blocks away. The neighborhood is also only eight blocks from the emerging museum district, which features the Georgia Music Hall of Fame and Georgia Sports Hall of Fame in addition to two local museums. Finally, Central South will become the primary southwestern gateway into downtown as part of a major countywide road improvement project ("Commercial Redevelopment Plan" 1-2).

The first step in drafting the commercial redevelopment plan is to work with residents and business owners to produce a development profile. This profile will describe the socio-economic characteristics and trends, physical characteristics, history and current development patterns, existing supply characteristics, and potential market demand for commercial uses of property in the neighborhood. Depending on the specifics outlined in the profile, the neighborhood's economic opportunities and challenges will be

analyzed. The final step will be to develop a concept plan and strategies for achieving successful redevelopment opportunities within the neighborhood.

The majority of the housing stock in the neighborhood was initially built as owner- occupied residences. However, the rate of homeownership in the neighborhood has declined to 26.4 percent over the years, with most of the owner-occupied housing currently occupied by elderly residents. As these owner occupants die, investors purchase the properties and convert them to lower quality rental housing, thereby accelerating the physical and social decline of the neighborhood. This cycle of diminished homeownership and gradual decline becomes institutionalized over time because the neighborhood ceases to have any natural stakeholders and leaders focused on its stability.

In the absence of this neighborhood-based leadership class, the initiative to revitalize a neighborhood often falls to other entities. In the case of Central South, Mercer University has seized the initiative by developing a public-private partnership to focus on revitalizing the Central South neighborhood. Project partners include the City of Macon, Renaissance Housing Partnership, the Macon Area Habitat for Humanity, the Macon Heritage Foundation, First Liberty Bank, Wachovia Bank, First Union Bank, the Macon-Bibb County Land Bank Authority, and the Macon Housing Authority. Residential redevelopment plans for three micro-neighborhoods in the larger neighborhood are being developed as demonstration areas for public and private, neighborhood-based development partnerships. Based on the results of a residential market study of the neighborhood, these plans will be coordinated with other planning efforts, such as the City of Macon's 5-Year Parks and Recreation Plan that includes two parks and two recreational facilities in the neighborhood ("Residential Redevelopment Plan" 1-2).

The general clean up of both public and private property in the neighborhood are integral to initial revitalization efforts. Many of the houses in the neighborhood are covered with vines and trash, and other debris is strewn about both private and public property. MCCD has coordinated multiple neighborhood clean-up days involving hundreds of Mercer faculty and students. In addition to cleaning up trash and removing vegetation from buildings, participants in the clean-up days have assisted existing residents with fix-up projects ranging from small maintenance tasks to the exterior painting of houses.

Another vital effort in the initial phases of the revitalization processes is identifying the presence, condition, and occupancy of the houses located in the neighborhood. As part of the residential redevelopment plan, Mercer law school and undergraduate students are cataloging unoccupied buildings and vacant lots in the neighborhood. Working in consultation with the Macon Land Bank Authority and the Willing Workers Association of Central South, the student researchers locate unoccupied buildings and vacant parcels through physical surveys and an analysis of property records. Properties are identified by ownership, and property tax valuations are determined in order to assist property owners in rehabilitation efforts or in some cases, to purchase the properties for rehabilitation and resale. These efforts have revealed that more than 16 percent of the houses are unoccupied and 39 percent of the property is vacant ("Cataloging Vacant Property" 1).

The results of this research are being entered into a database that will be available to the Land Bank Authority, Macon Housing Authority, Macon Area Habitat for Humanity, the City of Macon's Economic and Community Development Department, as

well as interested nonprofit and private developers ("Cataloging Vacant Property" 2). These efforts are part of an overall effort to help people understand that the problem is not that properties are vacant or in poor shape, but that the property owners are allowing the properties to sit vacant or deteriorate. According to Dr. Brown, MCCD is trying to change the situation so that people realize that the problem is often people. He offers the example of absentee landlords, who often do not take responsibility for the condition of their property" (Korson 58).

Another important function in the revitalization process is to communicate with the public and potential homebuyers about the positive changes taking place in the neighborhood. Mercer business students are working with neighborhood residents to identify barriers to marketing housing to low-to-moderate income and first-time homebuyers. These marketing students are gathering data from housing and finance programs, conducting focus groups with neighborhood residents, and interviewing those residents progressing toward owning their own home. The students will develop a marketing plan based on their research for use by project partners in their efforts to assist these residents in obtaining financing for homeownership ("Marketing Homeownership" 1).

CORE Neighborhood Revitalization, Inc.

Establishing a Community Development Corporation

Another key Mercer University/MCCD goal was to create a community development corporation (CDC) to focus its efforts in Central South. This goal was realized when CORE Neighborhood Revitalization Inc., a private, non-profit community and economic development corporation, was created in June 2001 ("Core: Gearing Up to Paint More Homes In Beall's Hill" 2). CORE plans and builds communities for

comprehensive, mixed-income, neighborhood projects in inner-city neighborhoods. According to Lawrence Williamson, CORE's Executive Director, CORE focuses "on housing redevelopment, in-fill housing, neighborhood beautification, empowering residents, and creating a visually appealing community with a good housing stock" ("Core Neighborhood Revitalization, Inc.: Gearing Up to Change the Face of Central South" 1). CORE is governed by a seventeen-member Board of Directors that consists of Central South residents, banks, business owners, and other community representatives. CORE's Focus on Beall's Hill

CORE is focusing its initial efforts on the Beall's Hill, a 32-block historic neighborhood (Figure 67). Beall's Hill is a gateway to downtown Macon, strategically located between Mercer University and the Medical Center of Central Georgia (Figure 68). The neighborhood contains a variety of housing types representing a wide range of architectural styles, including Greek Revival, Prairie, Craftsman, Queen Ann, Folk Victorian, Colonial Revival and others (Figures 69 and 70).

CORE offers several programs to assist existing and potential homeowners, including the Façade Grant Program, Neighborhood Maintenance Project, Neighborhood Cadets Program, and Individual Development Account Down Payment Assistance Program. CORE provides the materials, contractors, and volunteers to assist homeowners with minor home improvement repairs and exterior painting of their homes. Many of the volunteers who work with the program are Mercer students ("Core: Gearing Up to Paint More Homes In Beall's Hill" 2).



Figure 67: CORE Map of Beall's Hill. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 68: Ash Street in Beall's Hill Looking Toward Mercer University. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 69: Facades Along Orange Terrace. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 70: Folk Victorians Along Elm Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)

CORE is part of a larger public-private-nonprofit partnership with Mercer University, Macon Heritage Foundation, Macon Housing Authority, Habitat for Humanity, Macon-Bibb County Land Bank Authority, and Renaissance Housing Partnership. While financing has come from the project partners, the City of Macon and Mercer University have the most extensive roles. The City of Macon is the lead agency and is responsible for the coordination of all project planning, design and implementation. The City also serves as the major funding source, providing construction financing for nonprofit developers such as CORE.

As a central member of this partnership, CORE plans to facilitate the rehabilitation of more than 60 existing homes and the construction of 100 infill houses in the neighborhood (Williamson, Interview). CORE's activity to date includes the construction of an infill house in the Orange Terrace section of Beall's Hill. This house was built on a vacant corner lot in the neighborhood and has spurred rehabilitation of several adjacent houses, including the one next door (Figure 71).

In addition, CORE staff is in the process of acquiring targeted real estate in the neighborhood for both rehabilitation and additional infill projects (Williamson, Interview). One of the first projects expected to take place is a combination rehabilitation and infill project along Ash, Ross and Shamrock Streets just blocks from the Mercer campus (Williamson, Interview). CORE, the City of Macon and Mercer University all own property associated with this project. Through this project, these entities plan to rehabilitate existing historic housing stock (Figure 72), construct new infill housing on vacant parcels, and demolish several historic houses to build new houses and reconnect an old lane with Ash Street (Figure 73).



Figure 71: CORE Infill at 810 Orange Terrace and Adjacent Private Rehabilitation at 820 Orange Terrace. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 72: Vacant House at Ash and Ross Streets Identified for Rehabilitation. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 73: Vacant House at Ash and Ross Streets Identified for Demolition for Infill. (Photograph by author, 2003)

As part of this project, the City of Macon, through its Neighborhood Challenge Program, has identified approximately twenty historic houses to be demolished. These houses have been deemed to be in such poor condition that with demolition is the only course of action (Figures 74, 75, 76 and 77).

However, the Macon Heritage Foundation is working with city officials to develop a plan to rehabilitate some of these identified houses in their historic location. Absent success in these efforts, Macon Heritage staff are developing a plan and proposal to relocate several of these houses to vacant lots in the Tatnall Square Heights neighborhood as part of phase II of their project in that neighborhood. While this is not the ideal solution for a historic house, it is often the last resort in situations such as this. In this case, the setting and character of the "new" neighborhood are very similar to that of the original neighborhood.

Once again, Mercer University is a major partner in ongoing efforts to revitalize this intown neighborhood. In addition to Mercer's role in the project described above, the University owns and maintains several properties in the neighborhood, including two historic houses that essentially serve to connect Bealls Hill with the Mercer campus along Ash Street. These houses have both been sensitively rehabilitated by the university and serve as the Mercer and Tift College Alumni Houses (Figures 78 and 79). Mercer also owns the Mercer Family Therapy Center located at 857 Orange Terrace, although this historic house has been insensitively altered by enclosing the front porch with brick and windows uncharacteristic to the period and style of the house (Figure 80).

In addition, Mercer University through MCCD is the lead agency in addressing the social needs of neighborhood residents and is again promoting the rehabilitation and



Figure 74: Vacant Historic House at Calhoun and Hazel Streets. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 75: Vacant Historic House at 820 Ash Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 76: Vacant Historic Houses at 826, 832 and 838 Ash Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 77: Vacant Historic House at 858 Ash Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 78: Mercer Alumni House at Ash and College Streets. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 79: Tift College Alumni House at Ash and College Streets. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 80: Mercer Family Therapy Center at 857 Orange Terrace. (Photograph by author, 2003)

sale of the homes in the area by providing financial assistance to its faculty and staff. The Mercer down payment assistance program provides matching funds to Mercer employees for the down payment for a home in the Beall's Hill neighborhood ("Questions Answered Regarding Plans for Beall's Hill" 2).

Role of Historic Preservation in Beall's Hill

Historic preservation has been proven to play a vital role in the physical and economic revitalization of historic neighborhoods across Georgia and the country. However, preservationists have also come to recognize that historic preservation efforts alone can force out existing residents of moderate and low economic means through rising property values. For this reason, Macon Heritage Foundation has focused their efforts on providing rehabilitated historic housing to existing neighborhood residents in Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square Heights through homeowner assistance programs and moderately priced home prices for lower-income residents. Likewise, Beall's Hill planners are focused on revitalizing the neighborhood without gentrifying existing residents. The partners in this project have repeatedly stressed "that the success of Beall's Hill depends on the social and economic vitality of residents already there" (Beverley, "Community Leaders Told That Residents Key to Beall's Hill" 1).

That being said, ongoing efforts to revitalize the Beall's Hill neighborhood are considered to be one of the most ambitious redevelopment projects in Macon's history. Utilizing new urbanist principles of city planning, planners from the City of Macon, Mercer University and CORE Neighborhood Revitalization, Inc. are seeking to facilitate a pedestrian-friendly residential and retail community in which a wide range of housing types are available to both existing and new residents of all economic means. As such,

those planning the project are seeking a wholesale change in redevelopment approaches dealing with land use, zoning and design issues.

City, university and non-profit planners recently requested that the Macon-Bibb County Planning and Zoning Commission adopt special guidelines for Beall's Hill in order to facilitate the revitalization process. Planners are concerned with street widths, allowance for on-street parking and other traffic calming design techniques that address the flow and speed of traffic through the neighborhood. In addition, planners seek changes in the zoning requirements dealing with set-backs, lot widths, and allowable housing densities in order to provide the range of housing types necessary for mixed-use redevelopment. Planners are also seeking to alter the design review process for new construction in the historic district. As Dr. Brown of MCCD states, "orchestrating a pedestrian-friendly neighborhood will require some customizing of the planning and zoning guidelines. Many of the existing codes were designed with 19th century factories or 1950s suburbs in mind and are not well suited for new urbanization. The success of the neighborhood depends on being able to address more than one block at a time" (Beverley, "Beall's Hill Partnership" 2).

Like Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square Heights, the Beall's Hill area is included in Macon's local historic district, and any changes to historic buildings as well as new construction are subject to review by the Design Review Board. As part of the request to modify planning and zoning guidelines for the neighborhood, planners are asking that the commission pre-approve 13 designs for new infill construction in the historic district for a period of five years. The architectural firm of Urban Collage was hired to analyze the architectural features of the neighborhood and design housing

prototypes that would be compatible with the historical character of the neighborhood ("Mayor Announces Beall's Hill-Central South Neighborhood Master Plan" 1). The thirteen prototypes include plans for a 530-square foot starter home, San Francisco-style lofts, and a three-bedroom house, among others (Beverley, "Zoning Planners Look at Beall's Hill Idea" 2). Planners state that this proposal will expedite the permitting process for new construction in order to entice developers to the area while providing guidelines for appropriate siting and design features that complement the existing historic buildings (Beverley, "Zoning Planners Look at Beall's Hill Idea" 1).

While members of the Planning and Zoning Commission generally want to support revitalization efforts in the neighborhood, several cited concerns with the proposal for pre-approval. Kamal Azar, member of the Planning and Zoning Commission and Chair of the Design Review Board, stated that "he feared blanket pre-approval would allow developers to saturate the market with the least-expensive housing" (Beverley, "Beall's Hill Partnership Asks for P&Z Help" 2). Azar and other members of the commission also stated that the proposed guidelines were too restrictive and did not allow enough for contemporary designs. "Those moving into the neighborhood, while adhering to historic guidelines, should have more flexibility than the proposed guidelines recommends" (Beverley, "Zoning Planners Look at Beall's Hill Idea" 2). Commissioners were also leery about pre-approved site-specific design review authority because of potential unforeseen circumstances that may arise at a later date (Beverley, "Zoning Planners Look at Beall's Hill Idea" 2).

To date, a comprehensive review of the proposal is taking place by Planning and Zoning Commission staff, and several working meetings between neighborhood planners

and commission members have taken place. Planning staff and commission members are attempting to develop a compromise that will allow planners to proceed with development plans for the neighborhood but retain design review authority for each project. Planning staff is drafting new zoning regulations for the neighborhood in the form of a planned unit development. The planned unit development would outline different regulations relating to land use, parking, densities, setbacks, etc., and allow preapproved house plans at the staff level. However, any changes to the pre-approved plans would require that the plans be reviewed by the Design Review Board (Mason, Interview). This issue of pre-approving design plans highlights the delicate balance between preserving the historic characteristics of a building and neighborhood while allowing the necessary flexibility needed by developers and investors.

There are several other projects taking place in Beall's Hill that further highlight the balance between preserving the historic character and quality of the neighborhood while allowing for change in the form of additions to historic buildings and new construction. Brief assessments of Habitat for Humanity's activities, Oglethorpe Homes redevelopment, and the Alexander II Elementary School renovation follow.

As a partner in the Beall's Hill Revitalization Project, the Mercer Chapter of the Macon Area Habitat for Humanity has recently built the first new house in the neighborhood in over 40 years (Figures 81 and 82). Working in partnership with the Macon Area Habitat for Humanity, this house is also the Mercer Student Chapter's first building project in the neighborhood. Mercer, through President Godsey, committed 75 percent of the funding for the project, which left the student chapter to raise the remaining \$11,000.



Figure 81: Habitat for Humanity House at 928 Elm Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 82: Habitat for Humanity House and Private Rehabilitation at 916 Elm Street. (Photograph by author, 2003)
Although Habitat for Humanity has a normative design and materials for building its houses, this house is different from any of the previous 46 houses the organization has built in Macon. Because Beall's Hill is a designated local historic district, Habitat for Humanity, like any other home or property owner in the district, followed the established process of presenting its plans to the city's Design Review Board to make sure they complement the physical characteristics of the existing houses in the neighborhood. In receiving approval from the review board, Habitat for Humanity agreed to several exterior changes to their standard design and materials. The front-gable roof has a steeper roof pitch than the normative design in order to better blend with the shape and massing of the existing homes. The Habitat House will have a full front porch running the length of the front façade instead of the standard partial front stoop found on Habitat Houses. The exterior siding of the house consists of hardy plank instead of the usual vinyl siding, better complementing the wood clapboard siding found on the majority of the existing homes. These changes in design and material produced a completed house that is in keeping with the architecture and character of the neighborhood ("Mercer Habitat Chapter Builds Neighborhood's First New House in Over 40 Years" 2). Interior changes to their typical house include the inclusion of an additional bathroom and a dishwasher in the kitchen (Beverley 2). According to Michele Neely, Macon Habitat's Executive Director, these differences added between \$3,000 and \$5,000 to Habitat's three-bedroom average of \$46,000 (Beverley, "Latest Habitat House Features New Kind of Urban Renewal" 1). However, the costs are worth the effort to Habitat officials because "Habitat is trying to build homes to revitalize communities" (Beverley, "Latest Habitat House Features New Kind of Urban Renewal" 2).

Through these efforts, Habitat for Humanity has combined its mission to provide safe and affordable housing with preservation-based efforts to further the revitalization of this in-town historic neighborhood. Macon Area Habitat for Humanity plans to construct additional in-fill houses in Macon's intown neighborhoods to assist this revitalization ("Mercer Habitat Chapter Builds Neighborhood's First New House in Over 40 Years" 2). Plans include 12 additional homes to be constructed in the neighborhood with partial funding for each house in the amount of \$5,700 coming from a grant from the Federal Home Loan Bank (Beverley, "Latest Habitat House Features New Kind of Urban Renewal" 1).

A major project taking place within the overall Beall's Hill Revitalization Project is the redevelopment of Oglethorpe Homes, a public housing project in the neighborhood. Located in the heart of Beall's Hill, only blocks from Mercer's campus, Oglethorpe Homes was constructed in 1941 as one of Macon's original public housing facilities (Figure 83). Originally constructed for whites only, Oglethorpe Homes was more recently home to 188 of the city's poorest black families (Peter Brown, "People Have to See Something").

The City of Macon received a \$20 million HOPE VI grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to redevelop the public housing complex. With the HOPE VI grant, the Macon Housing Authority has demolished the 188 units of public housing and will redevelop the site with 97 units of mixed-income multi-family housing ("Mayor Announces Beall's Hill-Central South Neighborhood Master Plan" 1). One-third of the units will be market rate and two-thirds will be affordable, with sales prices ranging from \$90,000 to \$200,000 (Donilla 2). In addition,



Figure 83: View of the Oglethorpe Homes Site After Demolition. (Photograph by author, 2003)

funds from the grant will be utilized to construct 25 single-family units that in the Central South neighborhood that will be available on a lease-to-own basis ("Oglethorpe Homes Residents Say Goodbye" 1). The new development, expected to total \$70 million, will be designed based on new urbanist principles. The houses on the periphery of the site will be constructed as duplexes and triplexes that have the look of large houses, while the smaller townhouses will be located on the interior lanes of the site (Beall's Hill Charrette 2).

An important concern prior to the decommissioning and demolition of Oglethorpe Homes was the relocating of its existing residents. Mayor Ellis stated at the beginning of this project that the current residents who will be relocated as a result of the grant will be "taken care of and no one will be left without a home" ("Mayor Announces Beall's Hill-Central South Neighborhood Master Plan" 1). In fact, the Macon Housing Authority has worked hard throughout the transition process entitled, "Moving to Success." One hundred and eighty-eight families have been successfully relocated. Since moving, many have received job training and secured jobs, while others have purchased their first homes. Additionally, MHA will work with those existing residents who wish to move back to the area once the redevelopment is complete (Thomas 1).

Another significant project taking place in Beall's Hill is the rehabilitation of the Alexander II Elementary School. This project is important because it links two of revitalization's goals: education and historic preservation. Originally constructed in 1902, Alexander II is a two-story brick educational building designed in the Classical Revival style (Figure 84). Several additions have been made to the original building over the years, most of which are considered to be historic ("Feasibility Study of Alexander II Elementary School for the Bibb County Board of Education" Section I. B.).



Figure 84: Historic Alexander II School Building During Rehabilitation (Photograph by author, 2003)

Not only is the school highly significant architecturally, it is also important educationally as it has remained in continuous operation as a school facility since it was constructed. The school currently houses an elementary science and math magnet program, and has been named a Georgia School of Excellence on three separate occasions in recent years. Based on this record of excellence, the school not only serves as a prime resource serving the residents of the neighborhood, but also as a catalyst for revitalization of the neighborhood itself ("Feasibility Study of Alexander II Elementary School for the Bibb County Board of Education" Introduction).

This was not always the case. The Bibb County School Board and Georgia Department of Education have approved a facilities plan that calls for the construction of a new school to house 525 students, an increase of approximately 175 students from current enrollment. This plan would require the demolition of the original building and construction of a new, larger school on an expanded site. Because of local support to maintain the historic building, the school board then considered retaining a portion of the original building façade while completely reconstructing the interior space of the building. Soon thereafter, Alexander II was listed on the National Trust's Eleven Most Endangered List. Following this wide public exposure, the school board decided to not only retain the façade, but also reuse the original building, including architectural elements and overall original fabric ("Feasibility Study of Alexander II Elementary School for the Bibb County Board of Education" Introduction).

This project represents the balance that must be achieved between preserving the historic buildings that best represent our past while providing updated and new facilities to meet the evolving needs of modern life. While the classrooms in the historic school

building will require updated systems to meet today's classroom standards, the renovation will retain many of the existing historic architectural elements such as moldings, wainscots, and doorway transoms. Likewise, while the original historic building will be rehabilitated, a substantial addition will be made to provide additional classrooms and other spaces such as a kitchen/cafeteria, media center, gymnasium, and administrative offices. The addition will be designed and constructed in a manner that respects the physical features and architectural elements of the original building (Figure 85). The rehabilitation of the Alexander II Elementary School represents a wonderful opportunity for providing a state-of-the-art educational magnet facility while respecting the character of both the original building and the surrounding residential neighborhoods. Alexander II will continue to serve the children and residents who live in Macon's intown neighborhoods ("Feasibility Study of Alexander II Elementary School for the Bibb County Board of Education" Conclusion).

In similar fashion to Huguenin Heights and Tatnall Square Heights, the Beall's Hill Neighborhood contains several historic neighborhood-commercial buildings that historically housed corner stores and other retail-oriented businesses (Figures 86 and 87). These buildings represent the potential for continued rehabilitation of the neighborhood's physical resources. In addition, they represent the potential to contribute to the economic revitalization of the neighborhood by again providing necessary products and services as retail and service-oriented establishments catering to neighborhood residents.



Figure 85: Additions to the Historic Alexander II School Building. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 86: Neighborhood Commercial Store at Calhoun and Hazel Streets. (Photograph by author, 2003)



Figure 87: Neighborhood Commercial Store at Cole and Oglethorpe Streets. (Photograph by author, 2003)

Mercer Summary

The ongoing Macon story highlights the complexity of activity that often comprises efforts to revitalize neighborhoods that have declined over time. There are many entities involved in these efforts, and it is often difficult to know if they are working together or if their activities are complementary to one another. The following table highlights the various activities, programs and partnerships taking place in Macon's intown neighborhoods (Figure 88).

The deterioration of historic intown neighborhoods in Macon and the resultant disconnection between Mercer University and those neighborhoods is not unique. What is unique is Mercer's commitment to and role in efforts to revitalize these neighborhoods and reconnect with the larger community. As Peter Brown states, "rebuilding neighborhoods is the key to the entire community renaissance. We have to be partners in sustaining the vitality of the place where values are shaped and cultures are built. This project is a joint effort that transcends disciplines, departments and schools. There is literally something to do for everyone" ("Center for Community Development Leads Local Revitalization Effort" 5).

Even more unique are the combined efforts of Mercer University and the Macon Heritage Foundation. Together, these groups have arrested and begun to reverse the spiral of decline that occurred in these intown neighborhoods. Thanks to the ongoing efforts of so many partners, Macon's intown neighborhoods are on the road to economic revitalization. An analysis of these, and other, efforts provide helpful insight when assessing positive neighborhood revitalization solutions for other communities.

Figure 88: Table Outlining Revitalization Programs in Macon Intown Neighborhoods. (Compiled by author, 2003)

	Huguenin Heights	Tatnall Square Heights
Mercer University and Mercer Center for Community Development	•Employer-assisted homebuyer program - 5% of purchase price up to \$150,000	•Employer-assisted homebuyer program -12% of purchase price up to \$80,000
Macon Heritage Foundation	 Developed revitalization plan Utilized revolving fund Used preservation covenants Followed rehab. standards State property tax freeze Local historic district & design review Provided below market rate housing 	 Developed revitalization plan Utilizing revolving fund Using preservation covenants Following rehab. standards State property tax freeze Local historic district & design review Providing below market rate housing
CORE Neighborhood Revitalization, Inc.		
Macon Area Habitat for Humanity and Mercer Chapter		•Plan to construct compatible infill housing in neighborhood
City of Macon/Macon Housing Authority	 Home Purchase Program (HPP) Affordable Housing Program Home Improvement Program (HIP) Rental Property Improvement (RPIP) Waived landfill fees Provided on-site garbage dumpsters 	 Home Purchase Program (HPP) Affordable Housing Program Home Improvement Program (HIP) Rental Property Improvement (RPIP) Waived landfill fees Provided on-site garbage dumpsters
Bibb County Board of Education		
National Trust Community Partners Program	 Provided line of credit to MHF Provided technical assistance 	
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Office of University Partnerships		

	Tindall Heights/Central South	Beall's Hill
Mercer University and Mercer Center for Community Development	 Comprehensive revitalization plan Capacity building – Willing Workers Association; Adopt-a-Grandparent; Neighborhood Mapping Project; Educational assistance – Service Learning; In-school Tutoring; Servant Leadership Scholars program; Oral History project. Crime Prevention – Sharing university police/security; Public safety officer homebuyer assistance program. Affordable health care – Community health planning initiative Neighborhood revitalization – Commercial and residential development plans; Neighborhood clean-ups; Vacant property cataloging; Homeownership marketing; Establishment of community development corporation 	 Comprehensive revitalization plan Employer-assisted homebuyer program Donated 75% of funds to construct Habitat for Humanity House in neighborhood (see below). Educational assistance – Service Learning; In-school Tutoring; Servant Leadership Scholars program; Oral History project. Crime Prevention – Sharing university police/security; Public safety officer homebuyer assistance program. Affordable health care – Community health planning initiative Neighborhood revitalization – Commercial and residential development plans; Neighborhood clean-ups; Vacant property cataloging; Homeownership marketing; Establishment of community development corporation
Macon Heritage Foundation		 Partner in comprehensive revitalization plan Trying to save, rehabilitate and resell houses identified for demolition
CORE Neighborhood Revitalization, Inc.		 Partner in revitalization plan Market and affordable housing developer/provider Façade grant program Neighborhood maintenance project Neighborhood cadets program Individual development account down payment assistance program
Macon Area Habitat for Humanity and Mercer Chapter		 Constructed first Habitat House in neighborhood Plans to construct twelve (12) additional Habitat Houses in the neighborhood
City of Macon/Macon Housing Authority	 Partner in comprehensive revitalization plan Neighborhood Challenge Program 	 Partner in comprehensive revitalization plan Neighborhood Challenge Program Redevelopment of Oglethorpe Homes public housing site as mixed-use and mixed-income development utilizing HUD Hope VI funds (Macon Housing Authority).

	Tindall Heights/Central South	Beall's Hill
Bibb County Board of Education		•Rehabilitation of and addition to Alexander II Magnet Elementary School for continued school use
National Trust		
Community Partners		
Program		
U.S. Department of	Community Outreach Partnership	
Housing and Urban	Grants and New Horizon Grant to	
Development – Office of	MCCD	
University Partnerships		

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF BEST PRACTICES

Conclusion

As we become more aware of the negative effects of sprawl, we have come to recognize that sprawl not only wastes farmland and open space for new development on the "growing" edges of our communities, but also drains resources away from existing, often historic, communities. Sprawl leads to the loss of individual historic buildings and it erodes a community's character – the architecture, landscapes, and people that make each place unique unto itself ("Sprawl and the Preservation-Revitalization Connection"). A 2000 survey conducted by the National Survey on Growth and Land Development and commissioned by Smart Growth America revealed strong support for historic preservation as a primary tool for effecting smart growth. As defined by the pollsters, smart growth is "giving priority to improving services, such as schools, roads, affordable housing and public transportation in existing communities, rather than encouraging new housing and commercial development and new highways in the countryside"

("Americans Show Strong Support for Preservation" 1).

As preservationists, we seek to preserve and strengthen our community character through the identification, appreciation, protection and utilization of our nation's diverse cultural resources. In doing so, we have learned that historic preservation is a powerful community and economic development tool because "it creates jobs, enhances property

values, revitalizes existing neighborhoods and boosts tourism, all without adding to sprawl or destroying open spaces within and around existing communities" ("Americans Show Strong Support for Preservation" 16). Historic architecture, diverse neighborhoods, and scenic communities are just a few of the assets that can be built upon for successful and long-term economic revitalization.

While many examples of revitalization around the country have had the preservation of historic architecture as their foundation, communities are also coming to recognize the direct connection between smart growth and historic preservation in achieving the economic and social revitalization of their neighborhoods. All of the partners reviewed in these case studies employ the rehabilitation and reuse of existing resources as a centerpiece of their efforts to revitalize the neighborhoods adjacent to their campuses.

The deterioration of historic intown neighborhoods in these cities and the resultant disconnection between the colleges/universities and their adjacent neighborhoods is not unique. This situation occurred across America as public and private colleges and universities grew apart from their communities and became entities unto themselves. However, what is unique is the commitment and role in efforts to revitalize those neighborhoods and reconnect with the larger community.

This model of preservation-based neighborhood revitalization provides positive outcomes for all involved. By preserving the neighborhood's existing historic buildings and landscapes, this preservation-based model conveys the neighborhood's history in the built environment. This model also regenerates and fuels the neighborhoods' economic engine through increased property values, an active and healthy real estate market, and

heightened property tax collections for the city. It saves both natural resources and money by reusing historic buildings and infrastructure as the need to demolish buildings and build new ones in their place is minimized. This not only saves transportation and energy costs associated with transporting the demolished building materials to the landfill, but also saves natural resources and money that would otherwise be used to produce the building materials necessary to construct the new buildings. When new buildings are needed to complement the existing buildings, they are constructed in a manner that respects the existing physical character of the neighborhoods that make them a desirable and positive place to live.

The preservation-based efforts are intended to improve the overall quality of the neighborhood while allowing individual property owners to improve their own property. When property owners seek to expand, build new buildings, or create parking areas, these changes in the physical character of their buildings and landscapes should be designed in ways to help restore the neighborhood character rather than further erode its historic fabric. The measure of success is whether each individual action has the positive effect of enhancing the fabric of the neighborhood's historic streets, walkways, gathering places, homes, churches and schools.

In Macon, this preservation-based partnership created between Mercer University, community-based organizations and the residents of these intown neighborhoods represents the best of positive town and gown relationships today. As Charles Bohl states:

The image of the walled campus or the church as a refuge, of a place set apart from the everyday world dedicated to higher learning and reflection, is not a recent invention, but a concept that has been integral to churches and universities for many centuries. As such, it is important to recognize their existence as semi-autonomous realms within cities that are first and foremost responsible for the well being of their students, staff, faculty and congregations. At the same time, churches and universities have always influenced the character and identity of surrounding neighborhoods and of the city itself. This is the notion of a "college town" in which the identities of the institution and the community become intertwined and interchangeable (Bohl 11).

Mercer President, Dr. Kirby Godsey, indicates the importance of these interchangeable roles of town and gown when he says "I have come to the increasing conviction that the University's responsibility for the well-being of its neighbors is unequivocally bound to the University's overall well-being. Rebuilding the neighborhood is building an endowment for Mercer" ("Excerpt from President's Report to Board of Trustees" 1).

Historic preservation provides the balance of incentives and regulatory tools necessary to rehabilitate the physical elements, revitalize the economic elements, provide the wide range of housing types for all residents, and celebrate and convey the cultural heritage of these neighborhoods. As these examples have shown, colleges and universities are powerful forces in their host communities, and can direct the inclusion of historic preservation in community revitalization projects. College and university leaders are generally embracing the role of historic preservation in neighborhood and community revitalization, rather than ignoring or thwarting its usefulness.

A central theme revealed through these examples is the growing connection between the revitalization of the physical environment through historic preservation and the provision of educational and other social services. All of these efforts are essential components in revitalizing an economically and socially distressed area. Historic preservation is an excellent revitalization method because it stresses the retention of both

existing buildings and residents, which maintains a visual and cultural continuity essential to a vibrant neighborhood and community.

These examples also reflect the tremendous work yet to be done in conveying the importance of historic preservation practice in broader revitalization efforts. Even today, urban renewal projects are proposed by public leaders who want to improve the living conditions and quality of life of their constituents. Historic preservation offers a way to learn about the past from our built environment, pay homage to those who came before us, and plan for a future that expresses the continuum of time in the physical environment. As the quintessential place-based institution in our society today, what better mission for a college or university to undertake than to convey knowledge and practice from one generation to the next? As these examples show, many have come to recognize their ability to fulfill this mission, and have embraced the role of implementing preservation-based neighborhood revitalization efforts.

In this environment, preservation advocates and community leaders must understand the organizational structures and forces impacting higher education in order to form positive partnerships between community and educational decision-makers to address current and future historic preservation opportunities and needs. And colleges and universities, above all others, have a responsibility to preserve their historic buildings for posterity, as well as set an example for the community to do so as well. Just as the buildings we erect today reflect our priorities as a people, so do historic buildings reflect the priorities of those of our ancestors. This is nowhere more evident than in our university communities. College and university leaders must continue to confront, resolve, and balance the forces of continuity and change. Our communities must be

planned, designed, constructed and maintained to anticipate and accommodate new roles, functions, and ideas, while carrying on and integrating those traditional and conventional activities that deserve preservation and enhancement.

Summary of Best Practices

There are several practices and programs that need to be evaluated when assessing whether or not a university and community have achieved a complementary town and gown relationship. These practices and programs are steps that each constituency can take in order to create a complementary town and gown partnership that results in a vibrant and healthy community. These steps are offered as recommendations in a set of best practices based on the analyses of town and gown neighborhood revitalization efforts at the University of Pennsylvania, Union College, Trinity College, Duke University, Ohio State University, and Mercer University. They are organized based on which constituency is the most logical to undertake each role in the overall process.

Historic Preservation Organization and Community/Neighborhood Organization

These steps are most likely taken by a local historic preservation organization and community/neighborhood organization interested in revitalizing their neighborhood based on the practice of historic preservation.

Partnership Building and Community Involvement

The importance of partnership building through community involvement cannot be overstated. These steps should be taken well in advance of the beginning of revitalization activity, as they establish the preservationists and neighborhood advocates

as legitimate participants in the campus and community planning processes. Success in these areas is paramount to successful revitalization activity at a later date.

- Identify neighborhood(s) appropriate for revitalization efforts based on developmental history of community, existing physical design characteristics, as well as current economic and social conditions
- Identify potential partners such as local government, corporations and other businesses in the community, neighborhood groups and other place-based institutions.
- Get involved in municipal and college/university master planning processes.
 These processes provide the opportunity to be informed about municipal and college/university plans and to provide input on solutions. Involvement in these processes is important in forming positive town and gown relationships.

Real Estate Analysis

Initially, these tasks will most likely be performed by the local preservation organization and community/neighborhood organization in order to develop an overall assessment of the neighborhood(s). These activities are integral to understanding the economic factors that define the real estate market in the neighborhood. The information developed from these steps will ultimately be utilized by the private sector entities involved in rehabilitation activities. The real estate assessment activities determine the economic circumstances present in the neighborhood and determine the baseline for home values, rehabilitation costs and resell potential.

• Conduct survey to identify occupied and vacant housing as well as vacant property/parcels.

- Conduct title search of neighborhood properties to determine levels of homeownership and rentals in the neighborhood.
- Identify levels of absentee landlords owning property in the neighborhood.
- Conduct inspections and appraisals to determine basic value of neighborhood houses and potential prices for non-rehabilitated and rehabilitated houses.
- Secure options on as many identified properties as possible before publicly announcing the intent and scope of the revitalization project. This will allow the college/university as well as non-profit and private sector partners to secure options at lower prices, thereby extending their "buying capacity" before the real estate process begins to raise prices in the area.

Historic Preservation Analysis and Planning

These activities should be conducted by the local preservation and community/neighborhood organization. These activities are vital to understanding the developmental history of the neighborhood as well as determining the historic significance of the buildings comprising the neighborhood. The historic resource assessment complements the real estate assessment and together form the holistic approach to neighborhood revitalization through historic preservation.

- Conduct historic resource survey to identify number of historic resources in neighborhood as well as building types and architectural styles.
- Based on this analysis, identify historic properties to be rehabilitated by partners.
- Identify potential groups of properties along specific blocks or at street intersections if appropriate. This focused rehabilitation creates a critical mass of

activity at key nodes in the neighborhood that promotes a synergy among other residents that sparks additional rehabilitation.

- Identify historic commercial buildings for rehabilitation as neighborhood markets and service businesses such as cleaners and tailors. These promote pedestrian mobility and convenience for neighborhood residents.
- Encourage rehabilitation and maintenance of existing neighborhood schools. For historic neighborhood schools that no longer serve an educational purpose, encourage the local government and school board to return them to educational or other public uses. This promotes neighborhood cohesion and pedestrian mobility for young people and their parents in the community.
- When rehabilitating and reselling properties to new owners, attach a façade and/or use easement to the property deed at closing. The façade easement prevents incompatible changes to the buildings exterior that are not in keeping with the historic character and materials that comprise the building's historic significance. A use easement guides the use of the property, typically ensuring that the property will remain in single-family use and ownership. A local or statewide historic preservation organization will often hold the easement and conduct the appropriate annual easement inspections to monitor the historic properties.

Community and Campus Planners

The following recommendations are primarily intended for local community and campus planning entities, and highlight the importance of recognizing the role of historic preservation in the overall community and neighborhood revitalization process. Inherent in the success in this area is the importance of communication between the community and campus planners. It is of paramount importance that these entities develop and maintain a positive working relationship so that planning efforts can be complementary to one another.

- Incorporate a preservation component into the community's comprehensive planning format, equal to and integrated with the land use, transportation and other comp. plan components.
- Develop a comprehensive neighborhood revitalization strategy for neighborhoods that focus on the long-term economic, social and physical sustainability of the neighborhood.
- Actively engage neighborhood residents through churches, schools, neighborhood associations, and other groups in developing the overall plan and strategy.
 Include residents in decision-making process about what assistance is to be provided to the neighborhood by the college/university, local government and other project partners.
- Involve community-based organizations as partners from the planning stages through the implementation stages of the project.

Local Government

Zoning and Traffic Controls

Local government has the authority to facilitate community and neighborhood revitalization through the implementation of zoning and traffic measures. These steps are thus necessarily undertaken by local government, often with the insistence of community/neighborhood organizations and general constituents.

- Through the zoning code, create an zoning overlay district for the areas adjacent to the college/university campus that alters allowable densities as appropriate to the particular situation in order to improve compatibility of new development and improve the overall quality of the area.
- Institute a demolition moratorium in the neighborhood for a period of time to stop the demolition of historic properties while the above referenced assessments are conducted. This measure is often necessary when an inordinate amount of demolition is taking place in a historic neighborhood because people do not yet understand the positive role of historic preservation and smart growth planning. The moratorium provides time for the planning and political processes to unfold.
- Implement traffic calming measures in order to control the speed and flow of automobiles through the neighborhood and address parking issues by sharing available parking between organizations. Create a series of directional signage scaled to both motorists and pedestrians that connects the college/university campus with the neighborhood and other resources in the nearby community.

Historic Preservation Practice

These are steps that must be implemented through local government function. However, they often require the support of multiple entities and constituents in order for governmental interaction. These steps are integral to accessing the federal and state tax credits that can serve as an economic catalyst to community and neighborhood revitalization.

- If neighborhoods are not already designated as historic districts and are considered potentially eligible, work to secure both National Register and local district designation. The National Register will enable owners who rehabilitate income-producing historic properties to take advantage of the 20% federal rehabilitation tax credit and the soon-to-be implemented 10% and 20% Georgia state rehabilitation tax credits for residential and income-producing historic properties respectively.
- Establish a design review board to review proposed changes to historic buildings in the neighborhood as well as new buildings proposed for construction. To provide grassroots representation and design-related expertise, members of the board should include residents from the neighborhood as well as representatives from fields such as urban planning, architecture, real estate, and law.
- Develop design guidelines to assist review board members in assessing designs for compatibility with existing historic buildings and overall neighborhood character. Design guidelines should address the rehabilitation of existing historic buildings and the construction of new infill in the neighborhood.

Colleges and Universities

As has been discussed throughout this thesis, colleges and universities can play a major role in community and neighborhood revitalization. Colleges and universities can contribute to revitalization efforts by offering financial incentives, technical and other programmatic services and educational and volunteer support assistance through servicelearning opportunities.

Financial

- Initiate a financial incentive program that encourages faculty and staff to purchase rehabilitated (formerly vacant) and new infill houses in the neighborhood(s).
 Also encourage other institutions, for example, hospitals, local governments (administrative employees, police officers, firemen and other public safety officials), school boards (administrative employees and teachers) and corporations in the community to implement such programs. Increasing homeownership by these groups should supplement (but not displace) the existing residents in the neighborhood.
- Create and fund façade assistance or home improvement loan programs. This funding supplements private sector incentives to improve property by providing funding to existing homeowners to improve the exterior and/or mechanical systems in their homes. The funding can be minimal and require a small percentage match. In addition, college/university faculty and staff can provide some of the physical labor to complete the improvements.
- Work with local governments, housing authorities and other nonprofit housing providers to maintain low and moderate-income homeownership and rental housing options even if property values rise. Programs can consist of mortgage and rental assistance programs.

Technical Assistance and Services

• Partner with local government, community groups and neighborhood associations to conduct regular neighborhood clean-up days. Activities can include: trash collection and removal; landscaping of public spaces; painting of light poles,

signs and other public facilities. Faculty and students can provide the bulk of labor for these activities. Students can receive academic credit for their participation.

• Partner with local governments to provide or bolster community policing in the neighborhood. College and university security can patrol the neighborhoods adjacent to campus to assist local policing efforts. This creates a greater police presence and is an obvious symbol of a town and gown partnership.

Educational Assistance and Volunteer Support Through Service Learning Opportunities

- Create service-learning opportunities that help the community while providing real-world educational experience for students.
- Encourage faculty involvement and work that benefits the surrounding community. Recognize this community work as career enhancing, equal to the traditional activities of teaching and research.
- Applied research activities should relate to college and university outreach activities and be useful in facilitating those activities.
- Assistance to neighborhoods should be provided primarily by the faculty and students of the college or university partner, and to a lesser extent by community-based organizations funded by the university.
- Develop tutoring and other educational assistance programs in neighborhood schools high, middle and elementary to improve educational levels of neighborhood children.

These recommendations are intended to provide a guide for developing healthy town and gown partnerships to effect preservation-based community revitalization. The experience of these colleges and universities provides many examples of tools and programs that can be utilized to revitalize neighborhoods. It is hoped that these recommendations will assist communities – historic preservation organizations, community and neighborhood organizations, local governments, and colleges and universities -- in efforts to implement and/or improve their own preservation-based efforts in the revitalization of historic neighborhoods.

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