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**Perceptions of Change in the Urban Core:  
A Case Study of a Satellite Campus in Kitchener, Ontario**

**By**

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**BEd., York University 2005  
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**THESIS**

Submitted to the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the Master of Arts degree  
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## ABSTRACT

The university satellite campus is a recent planning instrument used to revitalize struggling downtown cores. The satellite model, however, is not without controversy. To gain an insight into the debate, this study focuses on the perceptions of groups involved in bringing the Lyle S. Hallman Faculty of Social Work satellite campus to downtown Kitchener, Ontario. Approaches to revitalization since World War II are examined together with the current downtown revitalization initiative of bringing university satellite campuses to downtowns. The strengths and weaknesses of the university and community dynamic are highlighted as they relate to the main university campus and host community. Based on interviews with participants from a diverse range of interested groups, the study focuses on addressing the strengths and weaknesses of a university-community arrangement. Results confirm that the satellite campus appears to be a good 'fit' in Kitchener's downtown, and may contribute to a reversal of the city's post-war urban/economic decline.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Tables & Figures.....	vi
List of Acronyms.....	vii
<b>1. PROBLEM STATEMENT .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. RESEARCH CONTEXT .....	1
1.2. RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES .....	3
1.3. DEFINITIONS.....	5
1.4. THESIS ORGANIZATION .....	5
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	7
2.2. POST-WAR DOWNTOWN RETAIL CHANGE .....	9
2.3. POST-WAR APPROACHES TO DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION.....	11
2.4. POST-INDUSTRIAL REVITALIZATION: SATELLITE CAMPUSES MOVE TO THE DOWNTOWN.....	14
2.5. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY DYNAMIC ....	16
2.6. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING THE UNIVERSITY IN THE DOWNTOWN .....	22
2.7. CONCLUSION .....	24
<b>3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1. CASE STUDY .....	25
3.2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK .....	33
3.2.1. FRAMING THE RESEARCH .....	33
3.2.2. RESEARCH STRATEGY.....	34
3.2.3. DATA COLLECTION.....	35
3.2.4. APPROACH TO DATA ANALYSIS .....	40
3.3. CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS WITH DATA COLLECTION.....	42
3.4. CONCLUSION .....	43

<b>4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>45</b>
4.1. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS.....	45
4.1.1. THE PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF THE SATELLITE CAMPUS MOVING TO THE DOWNTOWN.....	46
4.1.1.1. SECONDARY BENEFITS.....	50
4.1.2. THE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SATELLITE MODEL IN DOWNTOWN KITCHENER.....	51
4.1.3. THE SATELLITE CAMPUS AS A PUBLIC SPACE.....	55
4.1.4. DOWNTOWN DISPLACEMENT CONNECTED TO THE SATELLITE CAMPUS.....	58
4.1.5. APPROACHES TO THE UNIVERSITY AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP.....	65
4.1.6. PUBLIC-PARTICIPATION IN BRINGING THE SATELLITE CAMPUS TO THE DOWNTOWN.....	66
4.2. CONCLUSION .....	69
<b>5. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>72</b>
5.1. SUMMARY.....	72
5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE KITCHENER SATELLITE CAMPUS.....	73
5.3. PERSONAL REFLECTIONS.....	74
5.4. FUTURE RESEARCH.....	75
<b>6. APPENDICIES .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>7. REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>80</b>

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1	The Strengths and Weaknesses of the University-Community Dynamic
Table 2	Interview Matrix
Table 3	Participant Abbreviation Breakdown

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1	Map of the Kitchener Downtown Districts
Figure 2	Lyle S. Hallman Faculty of Social Work in Downtown Kitchener



## LIST OF ACRONYMS

DC	District of Columbia
DKPC	Downtown Kitchener Planning Committee
EDGE	Encouraging Development for Growth Efficiency
EDIF	Economic Development Investment Fund
UW	University of Waterloo
WLU	Wilfrid Laurier University
WWII	World War Two

## 1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

### 1.1. Research Context

The introduction of university satellite campuses to downtowns has become a broadly occurring trend. These smaller campus arrangements are often sold to the public as tools of revitalization for declining downtowns and as engines in fuelling competitive economic growth in the new economy (Calder & Greenstein, 2001). In recent years, planning policies for revitalization have abandoned large scale, grandiose redevelopment projects to focus on a multi-functional approach to downtown decline (Robertson, 1995 and Bunting, Fillion, Frenette, Curry & Mattice, 2000). Although a one-size fits all approach to core decline is no longer practical, universities represent a unique opportunity to participate in downtown revitalization for cities big and small. This variety of planning instrument is not exclusive to a particular size of city. Across Southern Ontario, cities of varying size are forging relationships with universities. Lakehead University has partnered with the City of Orillia, Wilfrid Laurier University with the City of Brantford and more recently the City of Kitchener. The University of Waterloo partnered with the City of Cambridge to bring a School of Architecture to the downtown and has recently established a School of Pharmacy in downtown Kitchener.

One way to increase a city's competitive nature and enhance its human capital is to draw benefits from institutions of higher learning. The university, it has been argued, is one of the key drivers of the knowledge economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005:313 and M'Gonigle & Starke, 2006). It produces research that fuels industry and also creates a class of knowledge workers; "in the knowledge economy, it is literally the mother of all industries" (M'Gonigle & Starke, 2006:36). The focus of this research is to establish a

case for examining the role of a satellite university in a downtown which has experienced severe economic decline.

North American urban landscapes bore the brunt of restructuring as part of the shift in capitalism from the 1970s onward. Rising unemployment, deindustrialization and loss of investment were important consequences. The inner cores of classical industrial cities were cluttered with abandoned buildings, broken glass and boarded up windows; barely reminiscent of the prosperous period just years before under Fordism. Cities which have followed this traditional pattern of economic change are now attempting to compete in the knowledge-based economy. This has not been an easy transition and many cities have struggled for years with a stagnant local economic base. Kitchener, Ontario is a salient example of a middle-size city that is facing these issues.

The City of Kitchener has a population of just over 200,000 and is located in South Western Ontario. The metropolitan area includes the two neighbouring cities of Waterloo and Cambridge which comprise the Region of Waterloo (City of Kitchener, 2007). Kitchener, has like many medium (or mid)-size cities (population 50,000-500,000) undergone economic and urban change as a result of the move from a Fordist industrialist economy to the more flexible phase of the post-Fordist or post-industrial era. Sikora (1989) argues that Kitchener has never enjoyed the same benefits as cities that were able to advance in the post-industrial era. Massive waves of deindustrialization combined with suburbanization and failed attempts to revitalize an ailing downtown core were the major impacts of this shift on Kitchener's urban landscape.

In response to these changing conditions, cities such as Kitchener are trying to repackage themselves. Redevelopment projects in Kitchener include the conversion of

old abandoned factory buildings into new living arrangements like downtown lofts, in addition to emphasizing a mixed-use development style in the downtown. In similar ways, cities repackage themselves by turning to universities to support their efforts for comparative advantage in the new economy (Calder & Greenstein, 2001 and Weber, 2002). In this thesis, I argue that the City of Kitchener is relying on the university satellite model as a redevelopment tool for the downtown in order to attract people and eventually business and retail back to the core.

The body of literature which examines the impact of satellite campuses in downtowns is somewhat limited, particularly from a Canadian perspective. Nevertheless, this research operates under the assumption that the university satellite model is not without controversy since current research on main university campus and community relationships suggests it is an arrangement that possesses both strengths and weaknesses. This research expands the corpus of literature on the university satellite model and using a case study approach illustrates the ways it is similar to the existing main campus and university model uncovered in previous studies. This study also contributes to our knowledge on this important aspect of urban revitalization.

## **1.2. Research Question and Objectives**

This thesis examines the perceptions of key downtown representatives in the City of Kitchener with respect to the move of the Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU) Lyle S. Hallman School of Social Work to the downtown. The focal point of this research is to address the question: what are the perceptions of key groups of people associated with the university's move to downtown Kitchener and are these perceptions identified in the current literature on strengths and weaknesses of the university-community dynamic.

This study shows that the same strengths and weaknesses that apply to main university campus and community relationships can be applied to the satellite model. The limitation of the research goal is that the findings are measured based on the “perceived” impacts of those most affected by university-community involvement. Since the current literature is devoid of any analysis on the impact of satellite campuses on downtowns this study will provide new empirical evidence suggesting satellite and main campuses encounter similar strengths and weaknesses during interaction with their host community. Also, case-specific findings are uncovered with Kitchener’s downtown satellite campus that are not directly related to the university-community strengths and weaknesses framework.

The study methodology builds on Cox’s (2000) work which identifies the parties most involved in a university-community relationship as neighbourhood residents, businesses, universities, social service agencies and local government leaders. A series of interviews were conducted with members of these constituencies from the City of Kitchener. They include: city employees and politicians, university faculty and students from the School of Social Work, community members, downtown business owners, community development workers, and interviews with an additional party known as ‘town and gown’ workers, who are usually municipal employees specializing in facilitating the formal dialogue between all of these parties. ‘Town and gown’ is a term used to describe the two communities of a university town; ‘town’ which is the non-academic population and ‘gown’ which is the university community. Including members from both of these diverse groups will expand the discussion to include perspectives from a broad group of interested parties focused on the issue of urban change and revitalization.

The objectives of the research are to:

1. Document downtown change and subsequent approaches to downtown revitalization which have come to include the university satellite campus;
2. Establish a case for a limited corpus of literature on university satellite campuses in downtowns to illuminate the need for this study;
3. Illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of the main university campus and community relationship and identify gaps in the literature;
4. Apply a case study approach to uncover how key downtown constituents perceive the impact of the university satellite campus moving to downtown Kitchener; and
5. Determine how and in what way the university/community literature informs the Kitchener case study.

### 1.3. Definitions

In this study four terms will be used that require clarification:

**main campus** means full-service campus that is a major, central, chief and most important campus of a higher education institution (Lewis-Campbell, 2003).

**satellite campus** refers to a branch, outpost, or settlement of a larger institution (Lewis-Campbell, 2003). These campuses typically provide fewer academic and student oriented services on site.

**middle or mid-size city or small metropolitan region** refers to a city or region with a resident population between 100,000 and 500,000.

**downtown** is synonymous with core area, and/or Central Business District (CBD).

### 1.4. Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into five chapters including this introductory chapter. A summary of relevant literature on downtown change and revitalization in addition to the strengths and weaknesses of the university and community relationship is offered in Chapter 2. The focus of Chapter 3 is on the case study and the qualitative research methodology. Chapter 4 presents the study's findings. This chapter offers a discussion

and examines how the case study informs the university and community literature. The final chapter summarizes the major findings and significance of the study. It also presents a series of recommendations for communication between these two bodies in addition to adding some personal reflections. It ends by highlighting gaps in the current literature and suggests areas for future research.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, downtown change is examined as it relates to retail trends. Framing the debate on downtown change in this way illuminates post-war approaches to downtown revitalization as identified by Abbott (1993) and Filion, Hoernig, Bunting and Sands (2004). A more recent alternative to traditional post-war approaches to downtown revitalization are the formal and informal alliances established between universities and communities (Patterson, 1999). Little research has been conducted on how university satellite campuses are keys to economic core growth and revival in the new knowledge based economy, but they appear to be a growing trend in the urban cores of many cities. Along with examining the strengths and weaknesses of the university-community relationship, this review will provide the foundation for measuring these strengths and weaknesses under a relatively new area of study which considers the introduction of university satellite campuses to downtowns. The review also provides the conceptual framework for analyzing how the construction of a new university satellite campus is perceived in downtown Kitchener.

Before downtown change under retailing is discussed it is important to develop a clearer understanding of the links between major economic change and its relationship to the central business district. Industrial factories typified the landscape of many North American cities during the period known as the 'golden age', immediately after WWII to the early-1970s. The world economy experienced its most robust growth ever under the Fordist capitalist system of production and exchange (Harvey, 2005). North American Fordism was characterized by widespread home ownership and rapid suburbanization



which led to unprecedented economic growth because it fuelled demand for lumber, glass, durable goods and cars (Donald, 2002:2132 and Filion, Bunting and Gertler, 2000:9). The effects of suburbanization were devastating for the urban form and function of cities. Suburbanization of people and jobs was responsible for declining household incomes which led to less money being spent on goods in the CBD. The impact on the CBD was severe (Beauregard, 1986). Middle-class suburbanization also caused a filtering down of the inner-city housing stock and led to an increase in low-income households in the inner city thus further eroding the economic vitality of the downtown area (Bunting & Filion, 1996:26). Urban planners responded to decline with single-focused CBD approaches which were largely unsuccessful, and often made a bad situation much worse. Fordism was followed by a dramatic paradigm shift in the capitalist system that led to a reorganization of production and a new era of capitalism (Jessop, 2002:83 and Knox, Agnew and McCarthy, 2003).

Faced with plummeting profits and increasing threats to their economic stability by the mid-1970s, industrial corporations in the core economies were forced to adopt flexible production systems, reorganize themselves, and redeploy their operations (Knox et al. 2003). Under post-Fordism a new mode of regulation emerged with flexible forms of work organization and labour practices. Automated machines completed work faster and required less labour. Thus, urban core deindustrialization became a major consequence of technological change. North American deindustrialization “was signaled by absolute declines in manufacturing employment and output” out of which grew urban chaos as “...many communities... found themselves abruptly abandoned, or held to ransom, by industrial capital” (Peck, 2000:134). By the early 1980s, economic problems

plagued the majority of North American cities (Hall, 1998). In Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver job losses were high as manufacturing employment dropped by 16% between 1975-1985 (Broadway, 1995:4). Acting counterintuitively, planners continued to pursue large-scale single focused CBD redevelopment projects to compensate for deindustrialization (Bunting & Millward, 1998). This form of reactive planning exacerbated the problems of downtown decline.

## **2.2. Post-War Downtown Retail Change**

Those studying urban change tend to emphasize the gradual decline of the downtown during the latter half of the twentieth century (Robertson, 1995:430 and Isenberg, 2004:8). This decline was the result of dramatic postwar shifts in the system of economic organization that paralleled changes in the nature of urban form in many North American central cities (Beauregard, 1986) and because the urban economy is restructured in the most radical way when confronted with changes in the world economy (Harris, 1997:1696). This meant that the decline of Fordism, a period of mass production and consumption of durable goods, was devastating for traditional industrial cities. Thus it is no surprise that Bunting and Millward (1998:140) argue that urban structural shifts since World War Two (WWII) are in large part responsible for retail decentralization in Canadian downtowns. There are many ways to frame a debate on downtown change; this thesis chooses to discuss downtown post-war change under the umbrella of retail trends in Canadian downtowns. Bunting and Millward (1998) note that although retailing is only one aspect of the downtown economy it is a common denominator to downtowns everywhere. As such, retailing is a good indicator of the relative health of the downtown over time.

The suburbanization of people and employment fuelled by the automobile is recognized as central to the changing nature of the built form in the central core. Associated with suburbanization have been retail changes. Filion and Hoernig (2003:31) note that middle-class flight to the suburbs subsequently led to retail decline in the urban core. Traditionally, city centres have been important retail foci but that is no longer the case in many urban centres (Hall, 1998). Prior to WWII, retail transformations had played a significant role in increasing the number of people travelling to the downtown (Filion & Gad, 2006). After WWII, the downtown still remained the most accessible place within the metropolitan region and its retail concentration far exceeded that of the suburbs (Filion & Hoernig, 2003). The post-war downtown later experienced the impact of retail suburbanization when planners embraced downtown shopping malls. These malls were generally unsuccessful and led to a sharp decrease in the importance of the downtown core (Filion et al. 2000 and Troy, 2000:547). During this time, it became apparent that the vitality of the downtown was dependent upon its ability to retain its unique character and differentiate itself from the suburban landscape (Robertson, 1995 and Filion & Hoernig, 2003). For these reasons downtowns embraced alternative types of development initiatives such as office development and underground shopping concourses (Gad & Matthew, 2000:253; Filion et al. 2004; Filion & Gad, 2006:173).

Downtowns have most recently felt the loss of retail with the arrival of big box stores and mega superstores in the suburbs. At the same time, Filion and Gad (2006:174) argue there has been relatively little large-scale office or retail development in large-city Canadian downtowns in the 1990s and early 2000s. This has resulted in unemployment and retail activity stagflation. However, today's downtown is not in a slump (at least not

in Canada's largest cities) as Filion and Gad (2006:174) argue, but rather on a trajectory of qualitative change. This change can be seen through the massive boom in condominium tower development in cities such as Vancouver and Toronto which has brought people back to the downtown (Filion & Gad, 2006 and Lehrer, 2006), potentially stimulating modern retailing in the near future. Modern retailing is about offering flexible shopping times to suit a variety of lifestyles, and a resurgence of lifestyle retailing by "dechaining" the chain stores (Fitzgerald & Green Leigh, 2002:135). Stores are moving away from the uniform chain phenomenon to individualizing stores to further suit the needs of all customers (Fitzgerald & Green Leigh, 2002:135). However, planners have realized that cities need a comparative advantage to ensure a successful core area. This recognition has placed greater emphasis on plans for a multi-functional downtown (Robertson, 1995). A review of strategies that have been used to revitalize struggling downtowns during the recent past will help to make sense of these changes.

### **2.3. Post-War Approaches to Downtown Revitalization**

Historically post-war planning approaches to downtown revitalization, whether in large or small metropolitan regions, can be grouped into three distinct phases as elaborated on by Filion et al. (2004) and identified by Abbott (1993). From the first phase onward they include adaptation to automobile accessibility, head-on competition with the suburbs and the accentuation of a distinct core identity (Filion et al. 2004). Abbott (1993) identifies the first phase from 1955-1965 as *downtown as a failing business center*. This era was focused on efforts aimed at removing the physical blight from cities caused by suburbanization. The next approach to revitalization lasting from 1965-1975 was focused on *downtown as a federation of everyday environments* (Abbott, 1993). Here city

planners focused on a variety of functions and attractions that would pull people back downtown. Planners focused people's attention on the multiple experiences downtown had to offer over the suburbs (Abbott, 1993). These earlier approaches to downtown renewal were largely unsuccessful in revitalizing downtown cores because they were single-focused CBD projects. Abbott (1993) elaborates upon the final phase of the accentuation of a distinct core identity, in two phases. From 1975-1985 the downtown was promoted as *a set of individual experiences* rather than a set of distinct social experiences. Downtowns added "arts centers, arts districts, waterfront redevelopment, downtown open space, historic districts, rehabilitated hotels, and museum/aquarium complexes" (Abbott, 1993:17). By 1985 the *downtown as a command post* meant downtowns were re-created to be unique centers anchored by service economy workers. Robertson (1995) also elaborates on revitalization strategies of the last twenty years. This multi-functional approach has come to include pedestrianization, indoor shopping centres, historic preservation, waterfront and office development, and special activity generators such as stadiums and transportation enhancement.

Today the success of a core area still depends upon its ability to remain unique from the suburbs (Filion & Hoernig, 2003). This is accompanied with the awareness that a one-size fits all approach to planning is no longer practical. As Filion et al. (2004) argue "small-metro downtowns deserve distinct treatment over the problems they face" (Filion, et al. 2004:329). Armed with an understanding of their strengths and weaknesses, cities are continuing to expand on the strategies discussed by Abbott (1993) and Robertson (1995) not only in order to counter downtown decline but to remain competitive in the new economy.

In their study Filion et al. (2004) found that the middle-size cities of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Kingston, ON and Victoria, BC have healthy successful downtown cores. They exhibit an urban form which is consistent with pedestrian friendly urban design, historic and tourism amenities, seats of government, cultural activities, natural amenities such as a waterfront and the presence of a university or hospital in or close to the downtown (Filion et al. 2004). However, they are successful in so far as the traditional built environment has not been extensively redeveloped. These cities have relied on the historic flavor of the downtown to account for the features of a successful downtown outlined above (Filion et al. 2004:332). The mid-size City of Kitchener which has experienced massive urban decline is relying on its historic flavour, in so far as it is re-using old abandoned factory buildings to repackage the core with new redevelopments. The WLU Lyle S. Hallman School of Social Work which is moving into the historic century old St. Jerome's College/High School is an example of this type of adaptive re-use.

The downtown core is seen as a command post in the new economy but to be successful planners need to plan for a multi-functional downtown that accommodates living, working and playing space (Abbott, 1993 and Robertson, 1995). As such, the focus of new revitalization strategies has been on efforts such as the main street approach, whose aim was to strengthen the central business district (Fitzgerald & Green Leigh, 2002) and the "24 hour" city which is geared to operating business, leisure, and shopping experiences at flexible times (Birch, 2005). A more recently used policy response to downtown decline has been revitalization through partnerships (Carmon, 1999). The 'town and gown' approach refers to partnerships that are forged between a

university and host community (Lederer & Seasons, 2005). The following section explores this phenomenon.

#### **2.4. Post-Industrial Revitalization: Satellite Campuses Move to the Downtown**

Set against the backdrop of the knowledge economy, the introduction of university satellite campuses to downtowns is a broadly occurring trend. Cities such as Burlington, Ontario are currently deciding whether they will partner with McMaster University to bring a campus to a downtown parking lot (Hemsworth, 2007). Satellite campuses are being sold to the public as tools for downtown revitalization and economic growth. This excerpt, taken from a University of Waterloo or UW Research Bulletin in 2002, illustrates this assertion; “Establishing a second Waterloo campus in a renovated industrial building in downtown Cambridge will revitalize the economy” (University of Waterloo, 2002). This marketing approach is occurring outside of Canada as well. An Arizona State University (ASU) document from 2006 states, “ASU is partnering with Phoenix to build a campus in the city’s downtown district as part of a larger plan to revitalize and redevelop the city’s urban core” (The Magazine of Arizona State University, 2006). This approach not only bodes well for North American downtowns which have had a difficult time advancing in the post-industrial era, it also works under the assumption that to remain competitive cities have had to try to (re)position themselves in terms of the new knowledge economy. As Jessop (2002) puts it “Cities should develop their stock of indigenous ‘human capital’ and their local labour markets in order to promote local well-being as well as international competitiveness” (Jessop, 2002:119). If human capital is the engine of economic growth then the university is the key driver of that growth in the knowledge economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005:313).

Evidence heralds these campus arrangements as successful tools for downtown revitalization strategies. This has been identified locally in Brantford, ON. Since 1999 the Wilfrid Laurier satellite campus has been critical to fuelling a turnaround and renewal process of downtown Brantford (Adventus Research Inc., 2005:8). The economic impact of Laurier Brantford on the city is estimated to be between \$20 million and \$27 million annually from 2006-2010 (Adventus Research Inc., 2005:7). Lederer (2007) suggests that economic spin-offs are estimated to be around \$3 million annually for downtown Cambridge since the establishment of the UW School of Architecture in 2004. The literature falls short in not identifying whether these satellite campuses operate alone to create these economic impacts or if they are part of a wider strategy of development initiatives in the downtown.

Another less cited benefit is that downtown satellite campuses are a popular alternative to crowded main campuses. Dr. Robert Rosehart, President of Wilfrid Laurier argues that main campuses are full and municipalities have a considerable amount of available money to fund satellite campuses in downtown sites (Pender, 2005).

In addition to WLU partnering with the City of Kitchener, the University of Waterloo and McMaster University have entered into similar agreements and will open a combined campus in a downtown location in Kitchener, ON. Recent similar partnerships include Lakehead University with the City of Orillia, Nipissing University with the City of Brantford and Simon Fraser University with the City of Vancouver.

Although the overall impact of these satellite campuses has proven to be beneficial for downtown revitalization strategies, additional impacts of downtown campus initiatives such as these have not been extensively examined in the literature. However, we do not



know enough on how universities interact with their host community with their arrival to a downtown. The impact of satellite campuses on downtowns is still very much unknown. They can contribute to revitalizing the downtown but do they have the potential to create a successful downtown? Out of this uncertainty grows a host of questions on the strengths and weaknesses of universities and communities who operate in close association with one another. With the understanding that this literature is limited in scope as it relates to satellite campuses the following section outlines the existing documented strengths and weaknesses of the university and community relationship. This sets the stage for the central argument of this thesis which argues that the perceived impacts of the Kitchener satellite university are similar to the impacts of the main university campus and community experience.

## **2.5. The Strengths and Weaknesses of the University-Community Dynamic**

Following the work of Bok (1982); Meyer and Hecht (1996); Cox (2000); Calder and Greenstein (2001); Perry and Wiewel (2005) and Lederer and Seasons (2005) the guiding hypothesis is that there are strengths and weaknesses in a university-community relationship. These relationships, once formalized, are then referred to as 'town and gown' partnerships or more recently 'alliances'. Alliances are the new type of partnership which promotes collaboration through two or more organizations without joint ownership. Alliances have replaced the member exclusive and program issue driven partnerships which tend to be ad-hoc arrangements due to limited resources and time constraints. These member inclusive alliances involve multiple constituents, operating under conditions of equal control over decision-making, who come together to address issues of common concern, (such as noise, litter, parking and housing issues) that may

affect both a university and community (Lederer & Seasons, 2005). Whether or not universities and communities have an established alliance there are costs and benefits for communities in close association with a university (Lederer & Seasons, 2005). The most commonly claimed strengths and shortcomings of the university-community dynamic are summarized in Table 1 as they relate to the frequently cited issues of economic impacts, community relations, and academic outreach.

**Table 1: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the University-Community Dynamic**

<b>Area of Engagement</b>	<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Challenges</b>	<b>Study</b>
<b>Building on knowledge based economy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-economic engines which anchor additional development</li> <li>-act as city growth poles helping aid local economy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-education is reduced to a economic production function</li> <li>-abandonment of teaching mission of universities</li> </ul>	Meyer & Hecht, 1996; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Pocklington & Tupper, 2002
<b>Establishment of University - Community Alliance/ Partnership</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-increases community outreach</li> <li>-improves quality of life for residents</li> <li>-offers neutrality from local political structure</li> <li>-evaluations can be undertaken under formalized conditions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- university interests lie in keeping constituents happy therefore may be difficult to please all stakeholders</li> <li>-challenge is to consider both university and community interests</li> </ul>	LeGates & Robinson, 1998; Rubin, 2000; Lederer & Seasons, 2005; Perry & Wiewel, 2005

Area of Engagement	Strengths	Challenges	Study
<b>University as Community Researcher</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-university contributes to understanding local community</li> <li>-community is highlighted regionally etc.,</li> <li>-universities have facilities to deliver training and education programs</li> <li>-students can develop skills in professional practice</li> <li>-increased funding for universities from research done in community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-could lead to universities studying community not actively participating in social fabric</li> <li>-research activity too academic to be of use locally</li> </ul>	Cisneros, 1995; LeGates & Robinson, 1998; Gilderbloom & Mullins, 2005
<b>University as tool for Revitalization</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-benefits are wide-ranging (intellectual, economic, cultural, social)</li> <li>-creates a stronger downtown, more social cohesion</li> <li>-improve neglected neighbourhoods</li> <li>-creates spin-offs for surrounding area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- university can make residents apprehensive of displacement</li> <li>-lifestyle conflicts i.e. noise complaints</li> <li>- demands on local services include increased traffic and rising housing costs</li> <li>-local tax payers contribute to cost of urban campuses</li> <li>-insensitive campus development could mean adjacent buildings become obsolete and unsuited to new surroundings</li> </ul>	Berube, 1978; Cisneros, 1995; Calder & Greenstein, 2001; Webber, 2005

There are interesting findings emerging from Table 1. On the positive side universities can significantly contribute to the local economy, an activity not traditionally associated

with the ivory tower (Sherry, 1995). Hecht and Mayer (1996) found that between 1981 and 1991 Canadian Universities acted as growth poles for their immediate region with respect to employment rates, average house value and median income. A classic example of the university as an economic anchor is the University of Waterloo which “generates over \$1 billion annually in economic impact throughout the Waterloo Region” (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:8). A study conducted in Philadelphia argues that universities are economic resources which “...have significant purchasing power, attract substantial revenues for their surrounding economies, invest heavily in local real estate and infrastructure, are major employers, and help to train the workforce and nurture new businesses” (Greater Philadelphia Regional Review, 2003:5). In addition to local economic generation, universities are shifting their agendas as increasingly they are being told to invest in research and campus development to remain competitive (TD Bank Financial Group, 2004). There are obvious advantages to this strategy, but on the downside it could lead to education becoming an input-output system thereby reducing it to an economic production function (Olssen & Peters, 2005:324). Under pressure to remain competitive universities run the risk of becoming more like an assembly line producing knowledge workers.

Formalized university-community engagement is difficult work. Communities can gain from forging partnerships or alliances with universities because it provides them with access to more resources while the academy is able to become actively involved in the welfare of the community (Cox, 2000 and Brukardt, Holland, Percy and Zimpher, 2004). Lederer and Seasons (2005) emphasize that universities “have the facilities to deliver training and education programs as well as host cultural programming and recreational

venues” (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:8). However, these partnerships are not always tapped into. For example, as of the fall of 2005 many downtown constituents such as community groups were not aware of the potential to harness student volunteers to help organize city wide events at the Wilfrid Laurier Brantford downtown satellite campus (Adventus Research Inc., 2005:9). Other instances suggest universities have ignored their host community. This can be evidenced in the case of University of Waterloo, who only recently established stronger ties with the community by building a research park to increase regional employment (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:15). Feld (1998) argues they “cannot remain isolated from their neighbors’ problems” or be “gated islands of affluence” (Feld, 1998:285). In fact, Bok (1982:217) notes that universities located in small cities are often to blame for the economic and social pressures of their neighbours, since they tend to dominate the local economy. This may have led Harris and Harkavy (2003:150) to suggest that universities are the key to initiatives such as successful anti-poverty strategies. Although at times it can be a delicate relationship, it should be possible for the university to “see the community as a source of multiple assets, not overwhelming problems” (Brukardt et al. 2004:9). The strength of engagement through a formal arrangement is only useful for the community if the academy is willing to participate.

The research capacity of universities can be a benefit to host communities. LeGates and Robinson (1998) point out that many communities welcome the experience and energy from students provided that they are not “temporarily invaded by culturally different faculty and students with little or no knowledge about or interest in the community beyond a course assignment or academic research project” (LeGates &

Robinson, 1998:315). This may be difficult when “[F]aculty are naturally inclined to study a community rather than work directly to improve it” (Lederer, 2004:56).

Communities could further feel underappreciated by universities if faculty apply their expertise elsewhere (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:8). Nonetheless, “communities recognize that professors of disciplines such as...*social work*...can contribute expertise the city or community-based organizations may not possess” (LeGates & Robinson, 1998:314). Given this study’s focus on the School of Social Work in Kitchener, this study by LeGates and Robinson (1998) has particular relevance. Lederer and Seasons (2005) note the strengths found in the research capacity of universities, “[F]aculty and students have the financial resources, advanced research skills, the luxury of critical thinking, and usually an objective and neutral approach to problem-solving that communities lack” (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:9).

A significant portion of the literature on the university and community focuses on its role as a tool for urban revitalization.

As centers of research and scholarship, institutions of higher learning can focus their academic energies to address some of the urban problems that lie just beyond their gates. As major economic entities, universities can create job opportunities for local residents, provide contracts for local businesses, invest in low-income housing, and provide other forms of economic support to their surrounding communities (Cisneros, 1995:4).

In an effort to understand the university’s role as a developer and as a tool for revitalization it is important to note that the university is dependent on the local community for the protection of their interests (Calder & Greenstein, 2001:2). This means that if the community suffers disinvestment then the university runs the risk of floundering as well. Consequently, the quality of the surrounding environment must be suited to “attracting and retaining the best students and faculty” (Calder & Greenstein,

2001:2). In his doctoral dissertation Lederer (2007) outlines numerous partnerships existing across the United States that have focused on the university's role as a revitalization tool. Examples include Howard University teaming up with the Washington, D.C. government to build housing in crime-ridden neighbourhoods close to the University, and the role that Yale University of New Haven, Connecticut has played in creating a thriving retail core in its downtown (Lederer, 2007). But building an attractive environment based on the presence of a university can also have negative effects. These may include increases in residential real estate values thereby displacing poorer urban residents (Calder & Greenstein, 2001:2; Webber, 2005:76). Conversely, university lands may be impacted by falling real estate values as a result of adjacent substandard student-housing which can lead to an overall deterioration in the housing stock (Calder & Greenstein, 2001:2). Real estate values are also compromised when downtown residential and commercial development becomes exclusively related to student interests in ways that suggest there is nothing more downtown than student housing, coffee shops, pubs, and bookstores. Thus, the university can act as a potential mechanism for the displacement of people and restructuring of residential and commercial properties in the rush to revitalize urban areas.

For their part, universities offer communities many tangible economic and social benefits. Conversely, there are potential problems that can emerge as a result of university-community partnerships.

## **2.6. A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing the University in the Downtown**

This section conceptually frames the analysis; “the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationship among them” (Miles &

Huberman, 1998:18). The literature will be tied together by examining the perceived impact of a university satellite campus in Kitchener. This city has experienced many of the worst impacts of economic change and is now trying to reverse core decline through revitalization, and the establishment of a knowledge and education creation cluster in the downtown. In this case, the satellite campus is part of a broader initiative including the construction of lofts in the downtown.

The significance of the literature discussed as it relates to this study is found in the limited body of published work on the impact of satellite campuses on downtowns, beyond accentuating their role as a tool for downtown revitalization. Current research on university and community relationships suggests it is an arrangement that possesses both strengths and weaknesses. This study shows that the same strengths and weaknesses that apply to these arrangements can be applied to satellite campuses. The obvious limitation of this study is that this is measured based on the “perceived” impacts on those most affected by university and community involvement, given that the satellite campus has been open for only a very brief period. Nonetheless, the study provides empirical evidence suggesting that satellite campuses encounter similar strengths and weaknesses as main campuses. A further purpose of the study also is to expand our theoretical knowledge by highlighting gaps in the current framework and building on it with new evidence from this case study. The literature poorly emphasizes the role of universities in the displacement of marginalized or impoverished residents from the urban core when main campuses are located near here. This study examines whether or not displacement is a perceived issue in downtown Kitchener thus prompting the need for a discussion that could be expanded upon in future research. Finally, based on the findings, this research



will offer recommendations to the City of Kitchener on what could be done to ensure a harmonious relationship between the university and the community upon its arrival to the downtown.

## **2.7. Conclusion**

This review has established the context for undertaking this research on the perceived impact of a university satellite campus in downtown Kitchener. Key findings indicate that downtown change has fuelled various approaches to revitalization since World War II in cities large and small. Together with these findings is the current downtown revitalization initiative of bringing university satellite campuses to downtowns. The literature has little to say on the cost and benefits of this relationship. However, a larger corpus of research examines the non-satellite university-community dynamic which possesses documented strengths and weaknesses. The following chapter presents a detailed discussion of the case study in addition to the research methodology and challenges encountered in data collection.

### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to determine the perceived impact of a university satellite campus in downtown Kitchener. For this, a well-developed research methodology is needed since there is a gap in the literature on how to evaluate the satellite model. This chapter begins by discussing the history of downtown Kitchener's post-WWII decline and then moves on to discuss the methodology.

#### 3.1. Case Study

Kitchener's central business district has been the subject of a considerable amount of academic, professional and public interest for many years because of its seemingly endless struggle to overcome extensive physical and functional blight (e.g. deteriorating property conditions and poor vehicular and pedestrian circulation) (Curtis, 1996a:137).

The City of Kitchener has experienced considerable difficulty advancing in the post-industrial era. Sikora (1988) notes "a medium-sized, blue-collar city, Kitchener has not enjoyed the privately-sponsored style of high-quality redevelopment and restoration projects found in cities that have advanced well into the post-industrial era" (Sikora, 1988:122). Kitchener, a city with a population of 204,668 in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007) thrived as a major industrial Canadian centre from as far back as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Large factories typified the landscape in and around King Street South specializing in the manufacture of furniture, rubber, leather, and buttons. The diversification of industry helped to cushion the effects of the Depression of the 1930s and the city enjoyed strong economic growth as demand for goods increased during the War years (City of Kitchener, 2007). As the world economy began to experience its most rapid growth immediately after WWII, downtown Kitchener experienced a similar form of healthy growth, but by the 1960s downtown merchant owners began to place profit

making ahead of building maintenance, parking, and other customer amenities, resulting in the deterioration of the urban landscape in the CBD and a decline in its economic prosperity (Sikora, 1988:123). The post-WWII boom, which had created the conditions for thriving urban cores, eventually led to a shift in economic activities resulting in the 1960s flight of the middle class to the suburbs (Bunting & Filion, 1988). Residential suburbanization was followed by the relocation of industry, other businesses and retail to the periphery. Activities once concentrated in the CBD such as warehousing, and manufacturing relocated to the suburbs, and today industry has become almost exclusively a suburban activity (Bunting & Millward, 1998:144). During this time the retail sector in the urban core was faced with strong suburban competition as the construction of expressways, specifically the Conestoga Parkway and the Highway 7/8 link to the 401 expressway, aided in transferring downtown consumers to the new regional suburban Fairview Park Mall (Bunting & Millward, 1998). Their study cites the construction of two suburban regional malls as contributing to a small mixed downtown labour force and a decaying inner city. This was accompanied by extensive filtering down of core neighbourhoods as higher income families continued to move to newer and larger homes in the suburbs. In response to these shifts Kitchener began actively pursuing downtown revitalization projects as early as 1963 but many of these initiatives were ill-conceived and contributed to the problems of downtown (Bunting & Millward, 1998).

In 1993 Filion and Bunting co-authored a study tracing three decades (1960-1990) of attempts to revitalize Kitchener's CBD. They concluded that three mitigating factors accounted for the city's failed attempts at achieving inner core vitality over the years. Impediments to renewal initiatives included obstacles associated with increasing

suburbanization, competing political agendas, and the influence of local neighbourhood associations dictating what revitalization should look like (Filion & Bunting, 1993). An increase in suburbanization refocused planners' efforts by promoting urban development in the periphery at the expense of renewal initiatives in the core. Over the years politicians acted in favour of federal and senior governments interests over the local municipality and therefore the much needed funds for redevelopment never trickled down to cities such as Kitchener. Finally, a strong wave of public participation in Kitchener was responsible for limiting redevelopment possibilities in central neighbourhoods (Filion & Bunting, 1993). Curtis (1996b) points out that the initiatives during these years were largely unsuccessful because of economic regime change.

CBD decline is inevitable as cities evolve from manufacturing-oriented, monocentric, compact urban areas to service-oriented, polycentric, dispersed urban areas in response to society-wide processes of change (Curtis, 1996b:iv).

However, several large-scale projects left some short-lived impacts on the core, including the construction of a multi-million dollar shopping mall (King Centre) along King Street in the late 1970s and a new centrally located downtown transit terminal and City Hall during the 1980s (Filion & Bunting, 1993). The overall immediate effects of these initiatives were favourable in setting a positive tone for downtown redevelopment but they did not reverse the decline. For instance, by 1989 the King Centre was close to being commercially vacant and reduced to bargain-mall status (Filion & Bunting, 1993).

In recent years, compounding the abandonment of economic activity and buildings has been a combination of new core area problems including an active bar scene and video arcade and pool hall culture, a highly visible street population, and vagrancy which has fuelled the severe erosion of goods and services available in the downtown (Bunting et al.

2000). Kitchener is recognized as having more acute problems than those of other mid-size metropolitan areas because it is "...doubly disadvantaged by nearby intervening opportunities that exist in Uptown Waterloo, which hosts a growing amount of retail activity and office employment" (Bunting et al. 2000:148). The City of Waterloo, Kitchener's neighbour, has diversified its economy through niche marketing anchored by high-tech and information industries.

Having never experienced downtown Kitchener's socio-economic challenges, Waterloo has become a leading Canadian city in which to do business. However, the City of Kitchener's severe economic decline has been shaped and structured by other levels of government. Downloading by the Federal Government to the provinces hit a critical mass in 1992 when the Federal Government announced it would end its national social housing program thus ending decades of federal support for the provision of housing for low-income families (Hackworth & Moriah, 2006). In addition, the Provincial Government downloaded aspects of welfare provision and other services that were not accompanied by a downwards shift in money. For cities like Kitchener, whose blue-collar working-class population was adversely effected by deindustrialization, this meant doing more with less. Kitchener now had more responsibility overseeing provisions such as social housing and welfare distribution but with reduced funding. This challenge was further exacerbated by the fact that social service agencies attract vulnerable people which in turn attract more social service agencies; a trend which is difficult to reverse. This helps explain why the majority of social service agencies are located in and around downtown Kitchener, while very few are located in Waterloo. Therefore, the City of Kitchener

cannot be looked at in isolation from the Region of Waterloo and senior level governments when it comes to downtown decline.

Despite the hardships of economic change and reactive planning in Kitchener's urban core, the City is attempting to reorient its economy to post-industrial functions. There is a greater recognition today that cities are distinct and require unique solutions to a more realistic path of improvement (Bunting et al. 2000). This study recognizes the findings of Filion et al. (2004) that those smaller metropolitan downtowns such as Kitchener, which are set against larger regional populations between 100,000 and 500,000, are different from their larger counterparts and require distinct treatment. Yet cities of varying sizes appear to be employing the university satellite strategy as part of a revitalization program.

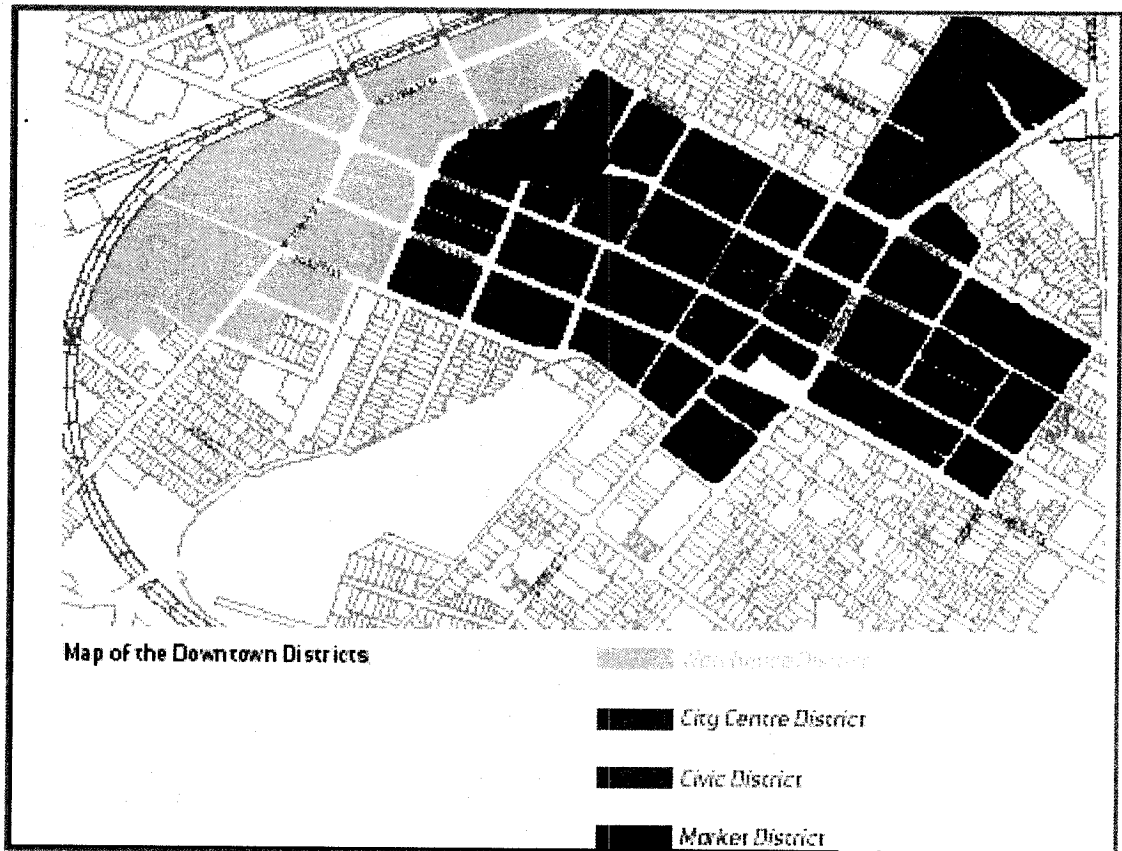
In order to draw people and businesses back to the core several diverse initiatives are being implemented to serve downtown Kitchener and the Region of Waterloo. The City's vision is as follows:

Over the next few years, the City will invest more than \$86 million in downtown Kitchener, helping to bring to life two new university campuses, a new central library and streetscape improvements that are destined to transform this city centre into one of the country's finest. Add to that loft condominiums, a new children's museum, a vibrant new urban market, major companies relocating to the core and plans for even more housing and retail opportunities and you have a recipe for success. Downtown Kitchener is on the edge of a new frontier (City of Kitchener, 2007).

Clearly, the university is one specific initiative within a package of many others. The funds for this multi-functional approach come from the 2004 creation of the Economic Development Investment Fund (EDIF), a \$110 million fund that was raised through a special 10-year tax levy (City of Kitchener EDIF, 2005). The City then created the Kitchener EDGE (Encouraging Development for Growth Efficiency) which is a package

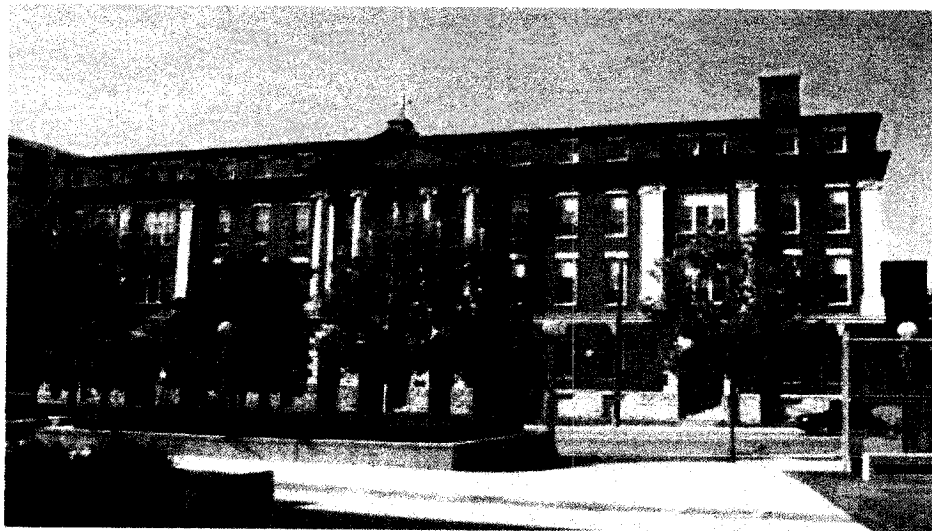
of incentives for developers involved in constructing the projects named above (City of Kitchener EDGE, 2004). Kitchener is committed to growing a competitive city and has invested resources aimed at establishing a knowledge-and education-creation cluster in the downtown through two unique partnerships. The first is with the University of Waterloo and McMaster University which, in January 2008, is launching a joint Health Sciences Campus anchored by a School of Pharmacy and a Medical School in the warehouse district downtown (City of Kitchener, 2006). The second, which is the study site, is with Wilfrid Laurier University which opened the Lyle S. Hallman Faculty of Social Work in the city center district in September 2006 (Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006). On the following page Figure 1 illustrates the four distinct downtown districts in downtown Kitchener. These include the City Center district located strategically in the centre of downtown, appropriately marked by the arrow. This district includes the site of the new Lyle S. Hallman Faculty of Social Work seen in Figure 2 also on the following page. The university now occupies the former century old St. Jerome's High School at 120 Duke Street West in Kitchener.

**Figure 1: Map of the Kitchener Downtown Districts**



**Source: City of Kitchener: Downtown Strategic Plan Volume II**

**Figure 2: Lyle S. Hallman Faculty of Social Work in Downtown Kitchener**



**Source: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006**



The City's EDIF fund contributed \$30 million to the University of Waterloo and \$6.5 of an \$11.5 million total to Wilfrid Laurier for these projects (City of Kitchener EDIF, 2005). Projected spin-offs of the Wilfrid Laurier campus include \$1.5 million in increased annual economic activity through spending by students, staff and faculty members in addition to bringing 300 students and professional staff to the core each day (City of Kitchener EDIF, 2005). An independent report suggests the following:

In short bring university campuses into the core of the city and with them will come a stable institutional presence, well-educated aspiring young people, new residents and pedestrian traffic, and millions of dollars in economic growth (Marshall & Montague, 2006).

Robertson (1995) would approve the incorporation of multi-purpose buildings as part of an approach to downtown revitalization. The lofts in particular are a suggested way of improving the downtown. "...the more populous core neighbourhoods are, the better the CBD will perform economically" (Bunting et al. 2000:146).

This section reveals that Kitchener has a long history of very real problems in its downtown core and hence has good reason to want to change the status quo. To recall a sentiment of the past; the downtown is the heart of the city and if the heart is not healthy then neither is the community (Curtis, 1996a). The university represents a unique opportunity to participate in Kitchener's downtown revival. However, on the basis of the literature review this research hypothesizes that the satellite model is not without controversy. This research assumes that the perceived opinion of the satellite campus moving to the downtown will be positive. However, interview participants will likely have concerns such as those illustrated in previous studies on the university-community dynamic. The following section outlines the research methodology.

### **3.2. Methodological Framework**

This research examines key constituent's opinions in the Faculty of Social Work's move to downtown Kitchener. For this a qualitative methodology was applied. Qualitative research is defined by Strauss and Corbin as "any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (1998:10-11). A qualitative approach is used because it allows the researcher to gain an understanding of the phenomena rather than merely identify it, and because a quantitative approach does not support examining the context surrounding peoples' perceptions. The qualitative approach is particularly useful for this study since a varied group of individuals were interviewed to collect their views on a significant urban issue. This is achieved through the process of analyzing the text to search for recurring material related to concepts and developing repeated themes to identify the phenomena. The following section describes the general approach to framing the research, the research strategy employed, data collection methods and analysis procedures.

#### ***3.2.1. Framing the Research***

This study grew out of an interest in wanting to understand the background to recent downtown change in Kitchener. Once it became apparent to the researcher that Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU) was relocating its School of Social Work to the downtown in an effort to aid revitalization attempts, the study's focus became more structured. The decision to move the Faculty of Social Work to the downtown was influenced by the fact that it was an autonomous professional program without an undergraduate program and was of a suitable size to be accommodated in its new building. A decision was made to focus the thesis on uncovering how local stakeholders have perceived the move of the

satellite campus to the downtown. In an effort to bring together a varied sample group the selection process for interviewees relied on correspondence initiated at the Downtown Kitchener Planning Committee (DKPC) meetings. This group, set up by WLU in late 2003, formalized the dialogue between key stakeholders prior to the downtown move. Interview participants included City of Kitchener representatives, community members, faculty, staff and students from the WLU School of Social Work. The researcher attended these monthly meetings from February 2006 to May 2007 as a WLU student interested in studying the move. Here the researcher was welcomed by the community and relationship building took place. Through the meetings the researcher gained insight as to what the make-up of such a group should look like. This was useful when it came to building on the constituent group framework outlined by Cox (2000).

### ***3.2.2. Research Strategy***

As a research strategy, case studies are preferred "...when the focus is on a contemporary phenomena within some real-life context" (Yin, 2003:1). With this in mind a single case study design was chosen to address the research question. Employing the case study approach is more valuable over others because it focuses attention on developing a study that has a human face. As the researcher, I critically deconstructed the collection of interviews out of which grew a descriptive narrative about the university moving to downtown Kitchener. Yin (2003) identifies rationales for choosing a single case study design where one appears to fit best within the context of this study:

"...a third rationale for a single case is the *representative* or *typical* case. Here, the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation. The lessons learned from these cases are assumed to be informative about the experiences of the average person or institution" (Yin, 2003:41).

This rationale fits well with this study as it attempts to uncover the opinions and experiences of people as they encounter a Social Work satellite campus opening in downtown Kitchener.

### **3.2.3. Data Collection**

With the insight gained from the DKPC meetings on appropriate constituent groupings, six key groups representing different interests were chosen for this study. They consisted of 1. City of Kitchener employees and politicians, 2. university faculty and students from the School of Social Work, 3. community members, 4. downtown business owners, 5. community development workers and 6. town and gown workers (the group who facilitates the formal dialogue between the academic and non-academic parties). These participants are similar to those described by Cox (2000) as being most impacted by a community-university partnership dynamic. The exception to the groups of constituents are the town and gown workers who were not present at the DKPC meetings or mentioned by Cox (2000). This researcher felt that it was important to include this group as they might have the additional experience needed in order to understand specific groups interests in university-community arrangements such as Kitchener's. For reasons of confidentiality a further breakdown of those interviewed cannot be stated here thus an interviewee matrix is offered in Table 2 on the following page.

**Table 2: Interview Matrix**

<b>Participant Group</b>	<b>Number of Interviews</b>
City of Kitchener Employees and Politicians	6 city employees, 1 politician
Faculty and Students from the School of Social Work	4 faculty, 4 students
Kitchener Community Members	3 community members
Kitchener Downtown Business Owners	2 business owners 1 member from business association
Kitchener Community Development Workers	6 community development workers
Town and Gown Workers	3 from field of town and gown

**Note:** Although 31 interviews were conducted, one interviewee's data was not used due to technical difficulties with the audio recorder.

Over the course of eight months from June 2006 until January 2007, 31 open-ended focused interviews were conducted in Kitchener/Waterloo. Yin (2003) notes that focused interviews are usually short in length and involve a certain set of predetermined questions. The interviews are often open-ended in nature and are more like guided conversations in which you can ask the key respondents about facts and opinions (Yin, 2003:90). The decision to interview participants in person, rather than by telephone, was so the researcher could take advantage of what Silverman (2001) calls naturally occurring data; data that are an artifact of the research setting. Everything from participants' non-verbal cues to their work setting could be noted from face-to-face interviews. This helps when conducting qualitative research as it enables the researcher to develop a greater level of detail of the phenomena being studied. Potential participants were contacted via e-mail and asked to read the research study information letter to determine whether or not they would agree to participate. If they agreed, the researcher followed up with a subsequent e-mail finalizing the logistical particulars of the interview. All interviews were conducted in spaces that were suitable to the interviewee. In other words, certain interviewees did not want to be interviewed in public spaces in which they might be

forced to explain what they were doing if a colleague or friend approached them while being interviewed. Most occurred at their place of work during regular business hours in downtown Kitchener or Waterloo. All interviews, except for one where two interviewees were present, were conducted with only the interviewer and an interviewee in attendance. In total, 46 people were invited to participate. This was done anticipating a lower response rate of agreeable participants.

Participants were contacted over a period of time as is the case when using a snowball interviewing technique, which is discussed in further detail below. The 15 who did not participate did so for a variety of reasons. Although no person contacted outwardly declined to be interviewed, ten individuals did not respond back to initial and follow-up e-mails, three agreed to participate but did not respond to follow-up e-mails trying to organize an interview, one person responded on behalf of an intended participant on holidays and no further contact was made, and lastly one person who agreed to be interviewed failed to arrive at the intended meeting spot on three separate occasions. In addition, one interviewee's data was not used due to technical difficulties with the audio recorder. A follow-up interview did not take place.

Each interview lasted an average of 45 minutes. Participants were asked to respond to twelve open-ended questions (Appendix 1). Topics covered included opinions on the benefits, potential problems, and overall feelings about the satellite campus moving downtown, whether interviewees thought of the School as a public space or not, and if gentrification was likely to occur in surrounding areas close to the university. Participants were also asked to comment on approaches to relationship-building between the university and community. These questions were framed so that responses would build

on the research of the university-community dynamic, thereby informing the study in a balanced way. For instance, when respondents were asked about the perceived positive impacts of the university in downtown they were also asked about the perceived negative impacts. To illuminate the idea of displacement through gentrification, largely absent from the literature, interviewees were given the opportunity to talk about displacement under the line of questioning indicated above, and were probed about it directly in a separate question.

All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Consent was first gathered from the participants before any recording began. Due to technical difficulties with the voice recorder two interviews had to be recorded manually mid way through the interview. The interviews were transcribed verbatim for coding purposes. Although the stakeholder group framework was predetermined, the interviewees were not. At the closing of each interview the researcher asked the participant to suggest in confidence names of additional people who might be interested in participating and who were part of one of these groups. Referrals, it was asked of participants, should ideally be participants that were varied in their opinions and viewpoints. In other words, Kitchener has a close-knit group of active individuals in the downtown. Thus, if an interviewed participant recommended a potential interviewee they most likely knew how this person would approach the interview. This encouraged a diverse participant sample. Participants also aided the researcher by providing suggestions to improve the way in which questions were posed or the information they contained. In some instances a question was reworded or re-phrased when posed to interviewees based on their suggestions.

Data were also supplemented by additional sources of evidence. Yin (2003:8) notes that "...the case study's unique strength is in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews and observations." Additional data came from the examination of documents and other material from the City of Kitchener revitalization literature and Power Point presentations, minutes from DKPC meetings and newspaper articles from both the university campus newspaper *The Cord*, and Kitchener's daily newspaper the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. Sifting through and examining these documents was an important reminder of how much energy was behind the move of the school downtown. Further data came from direct observation. The researcher took walking tours of Kitchener to familiarize herself with the environment. I was able to note the landscape changes in downtown such as the abandoned and graffiti painted factories brought about by years of economic disinvestment. I also saw changes taking place in downtown Kitchener with the adaptive re-use of buildings and the construction of loft condominiums. Furthermore, I was fortunate to be a part of a pre-opening tour of the new Social Work School in May 2006. From this, I was able to contextualize the situation of the university to its surroundings. In other words, I took a walk around the block and noted that the neighbourhood surrounding the school is diverse with a mix of people living in a variety of housing arrangements, some of which are quite run down. The university does feel like an ivory tower in this neighbourhood.

Direct observations also included those taken from DKPC meetings. For instance, faculty members around this table felt strongly about the availability of parking in the downtown area. Consequently, the researcher created an interview question that specifically targeted parking in the downtown (parking issues, however, did not appear to



be a contentious topic in the larger findings). Finally, as a participant observer I made frequent visits to Kitchener where I passed many of the interviewees on the street, and saw them in restaurants or at festivals. This was helpful to confirm interview data that indicated they spent a lot of time in Kitchener's core and took part in the social fabric of the downtown. This quality of data would not have been attainable by telephone interviews.

Yin (2003:98) highlights the utility of data triangulation stating "...any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information." These additional sources of data were used to corroborate information obtained in the focused interviews and vice versa when data verification was required. This additional data will also be useful in the thesis discussion when interviewee responses can be verified through this additional material.

#### ***3.2.4. Approach to Data Analysis***

There are a variety of ways in which researchers choose to analyze qualitative data and most strategies point to organizing, managing and retrieving the most meaningful bits of data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Qualitative analysis is about representing and reconstructing social phenomena thus making analysis of case study evidence difficult. Much of the analysis depends on "...an investigator's own style of rigorous thinking, along with the sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations" (Yin, 2003:110). Similar to Yin (2003), Strauss and Corbin (1998) note that "analysis is the interplay between researchers and data" (1998:13). This being said it is still necessary to have a broad analytic strategy prior to data analysis.

Grounded theory methodology grew out of a need to get out into the field and discover what was really going on rather than try and theorize it before-hand (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:9). The decision to choose grounded theory rather than another approach was because of the need to understand phenomena rather than just describe it. Grounded theory provides a way to meaningfully offer insight, enhance understanding and provide guides to action by moving from specific to more general (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:12). This study supports the inductive analysis of data, meaning that the critical themes or observations emerge out of the data and are not predetermined before hand. However, there are study propositions which are previously assumed and help to guide the research. This study's main proposition is that with a university moving to downtown Kitchener there are bound to be differing opinions as to how key groups of people perceive the move.

Data analysis began with a process of manual open-coding in which the material collected in the interviews was read and tags or labels were manually assigned to identify a unit of meaning (Miles & Huberman, 1994:56). Open coding is an inductive approach outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as "the analytical process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:101). As data were being coded, categories (or phenomena) and subcategories emerged, out of which grew the need for axial coding. This refers to the process whereby "...categories are related to their subcategories to form more precise and complete explanations about phenomena" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:124). Next, pattern coding was applied to the data analysis process.

Pattern coding helps to identify emerging themes by pulling together data into more meaningful units of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994:69). The researcher approached the analysis by first coding and summarizing data from each participant group then identified the themes emerging from these groups. This was followed by identifying the common themes emerging from all groups in order to establish the overall findings. The researcher found that data analysis was an ongoing process and in practice often had to revisit certain stages of the analysis procedure.

### **3.3. Challenges and Limitations with Data Collection**

Challenges were encountered during the data collection process. The first challenge was associated with contacting local politicians who made up one of the key stakeholder groups. Kitchener City Councilors were contacted during the fall of 2006 but due to the municipal elections taking place at the time many were difficult to get hold of. As such, a limitation of this study is that only one politician was interviewed making this a small sample size for this group. Consequently, this politician's opinions should not be considered representative of the views of all politicians in Kitchener.

There were challenges associated with omitting certain stakeholder groups that may have added a different perspective to this study. For instance, those people who are marginalized in downtown Kitchener were not contacted as the researcher did not feel comfortable taking on the additional ethical permission that may have been needed given the small window for field work. To the researcher the word "marginalized" refers to those people without a home, who may live in a group home, who may be suffering from mental illness or addiction issues etc. This may have limited the study's findings as questions were asked that in some instances concerned this group. However the

researcher was aware of this limitation and formed the stakeholder group of downtown community development and outreach workers to make sure the voices of the marginalized were heard.

A further limitation to data collection concerned the timing of interviews. Although a few interviews began before the School opened to students, the majority of interviews took place in the fall of 2006 once students had arrived. Many participants that were invited to participate were on summer holidays prior to the opening of the school. Those interviews that took place prior to the students moving in were posed in the future tense and interviews that took place after the students arrived in September 2006 were framed in the present tense. It was easier to frame the question this way so it did not confuse the interviewee. Preliminary analysis indicated that phrasing the question either in the future or present tense did not make much difference because most participants answered in the present tense.

A final limitation to data collection was that the researcher's identity may or may not have had an impact on the results. I was familiar with many interviewees before-hand either from previous interactions at the university and/or from involvement with the DKPC. Therefore, as insider participants could have couched their responses in a way they thought I wanted them to answer. It is uncertain if the results would have been different if I had not known any of the participants.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

This chapter presents the case study as well as the research methodology. Kitchener is a salient example of a city which has had a history of downtown decline and is now relying on a multi-functional approach to revitalization; with university satellite

campuses leading the way. The methodological choices reflect the careful consideration taken in approaching how the research question should be best addressed. The following chapter, Chapter 4, presents the findings.

## 4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1. Discussion of the Findings

This chapter presents the findings as they relate to key constituents perceptions of the move of a new satellite campus to Kitchener's city center. The findings are discussed thematically in addition to grounding the data in the literature and illustrating some practical implications for this study. Emerging from the data are six themes that guide this discussion, they include *the Perceived Benefits of the Satellite Campus Moving to the Downtown*, *the Potential Problems Associated with the Satellite Model in Downtown Kitchener*, *the Satellite Campus as a Public Space*, *Downtown Displacement Connected to the Satellite Campus*, *Approaches to the University and Community Relationship*, and *Public-Participation in Bringing the Satellite Campus to the Downtown*. Table 3 summarizes the abbreviations used for each participant in a group.

**Table 3: Participant Abbreviation Breakdown**

\*Translation = City Employees (CE) numbers 1 though 6 and Politician (P) number 1

<b>Participant Group</b>	<b>Abbreviation for Analysis</b>
City Employees and Politicians	CE1-CE6 (City Employees), P1 (Politician)*
Faculty and Students from the School of Social Work	F1-F4 (Faculty), S1-S4 (Students)
Kitchener Community Members	C1-C3
Kitchener Downtown Business Owners	B1
Kitchener Community Development Workers	CD1-CD6
Town and Gown Workers	TG1-TG3

Not all interview questions and the respective interviewee's answers were considered when bringing the analyzable data forward. This was because the initial questions were needed to contextualize the interview conversation. To reference the interview questions asked versus those considered for this analysis refer to Appendix 1.

#### ***4.1.1. The Perceived Benefits of the Satellite Campus Moving to the Downtown***

Participants identified several common benefits to the university moving to downtown Kitchener. However, the two most salient benefits that cut across all stakeholder groups were *increased business and retail services in the downtown* and *community engagement by the university faculty and students*.

The common belief amongst the interviewees is that the university is an economic engine fuelling downtown commerce and development. One city employee said:

What we need to do is sort of be in a competitive position when it comes to the new economy. Studies show, across North America, cities that have succeeded are the ones who first of all create their own talent and secondly create an urban environment which retains the talent and now the businesses are going to want to locate there because they've got the most valuable resource at hand, people who are talented. CE5

In the same vein, a faculty member indicated her support:

I think that it is a smart strategic move on the part of any municipality to include an academic unit into the downtown because the research shows that academic units provide creativity, physical space, they contribute to the local economy. F2

These viewpoints are congruent with the broader literature arguing that the university is central to developing cities in the knowledge economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Community development workers also recognize the potential benefits of more businesses in the core as a result of the relocation of the university. However, one

participant in particular was apprehensive about those goods and services not catering to the homeless population (Kitchener, like most cities large or small, has a visible homeless population living in its downtown). The current program of revitalization in downtown Kitchener aims to provide goods and services to a new demographic of middle-class earners. Evidence of this is found in the development of high-end loft condominiums and in the city's drive to attract high-end retailers instead of bargain outlets. Community development workers know this type of development does not cater to the population they work with:

You can see the Kaufman lofts, all of the old factories that they're tearing down and redoing into higher end living areas which is a good thing sort of. The fact is that the lower income people that I work with won't be able to afford any of those things. CD1

Nonetheless, a city employee was excited at the prospect of this demographic of middle-class earners coming downtown and what this would mean to downtown development:

*What we really need downtown is a youthful image and an image of people who are walking the streets who are quote unquote 'normal'. We have a lot of people downtown that wouldn't fit into the category of normal like you and I and when you've got a small segment of the population like that and they're highly visible and it's mostly what you see on the street it can have a depressing effect on further investment. It [the university] brings a bit of normalcy, it's an injection of family life downtown which is something we all need. ...other properties around it are now attractive, when previously they weren't. CE4*

It stands to reason that the community development worker would be concerned about marginalizing the homeless population however this view is not shared by the city employee whose vision was emphasized to draw attention to the fact that he feels some of Kitchener's downtown residents have no role to play in repackaging the city.



Given that key downtown groups have different opinions about the process of development, disenfranchised groups need to be involved in revitalization decision-making processes as they are the ones most affected when any new development occurs (Lederer, 2007). The viewpoint, expressed by the city employee, is strongly criticized by both students and community development workers who claim that displacement of poorer urban residents will occur if city planners are not careful about considering all people in the development process. A closer examination of these ideas will be discussed in the section on *Downtown Displacement Connected to the Satellite Campus*.

The optimism of the university as an economic generator was also shared by downtown business owners. One business owner hopes:

...that some of these people [students] will shop. We have that downtown employee discount program which is to kind of to enhance or entice people out of their buildings. B1

However, this enthusiasm about the economic boost to downtown is not shared by all. Students, who are expected to be the primary customers at downtown establishments, have a contrary view of their role as economic generators:

We all got a downtown Kitchener card for money off, I don't see a lot of people using it because I think, I don't know why people don't go out. A lot of places in downtown Kitchener are kind of, I don't know if they are off the beaten path. There's a parade of people leaving the campus to their cars, so does anyone really stay in the downtown core. I think they kind of misled the community in that way of how much they were going to provide because right now they're not doing a lot. There's obviously not a strong connection there yet. S2

Another student agreed that the public was misled about the benefits:

I think that it's little bit misleading to say that the Faculty of Social Work will bring over 300 students and professional staff into the core each day. Not all 300 are at the school Monday to Friday. S3

Both the City of Kitchener and Adventus Research Inc., (2004) argue that that “WLU School of Social Work should result in an estimated incremental economic benefit to the City of Kitchener of \$1.48 million annually” (2004:3), generated from the over 300 students and professional staff who are arriving in the core each day. It stands to reason, therefore, that downtown business owners would get excited about the potential for increased sales. However, the downfall of the study conducted by Adventus Research Inc., (2004) is that it does not specify from where this economic benefit is to be generated. Compounding this is evidence that not all 300 students and faculty are coming to the downtown campus everyday in addition to the fact that they are not residing in the downtown:

Some students come in from Toronto and some come from wherever. I mean why would you want to come here. I don't think they're living in this community. That's where their friends are [Waterloo] that's their community, this is not their community, they work here. We don't even have faculty living here. F3

The problem is that although the discrepancy in numbers of students and faculty travelling to the downtown is never articulated by business owners, they may have geared their projected sales for a more consistent flow of customers based on the literature published by the City. A practical implication of this finding is that a soured relationship could arise between the City and downtown business owners if they do not see the tangible benefits they were promised from the School's relocation.

Another proposed benefit of the Faculty of Social Work moving to the core was increased engagement. Most of the stakeholder groups think that faculty and students will engage with the community, in particular with those who utilize community outreach services. An example of engagement is inviting the public to participate in workshops

that address social issues. As well, faculty members feel the School will create a space for dialogue, engage the public, and be closer to the social agencies. One faculty member interviewed said:

...benefits for us are that this school is located right in the midst of a whole number of welfare agencies. So we can engage with those people in this community. F3

Similarly, community development workers see the School promoting public dialogue:

I think that if the school can raise the level of debate and discussion that's a positive role. If they ignore that or don't become educated about the issues in the core and don't participate then I think that that's a loss. CD5

These interviewees appear to support the satellite campus being a School of Social Work rather than a School of Business and Economics which would be less inclined to engage with the community in this way.

#### ***4.1.1.1. Secondary Benefits***

Though not as important to all the stakeholders in this study, the re-use of a derelict and abandoned property was cited by city employees and downtown business owners as another positive impact of the university development. One city employee was delighted that the School has restored and re-used a dilapidated building but hesitantly added that it had sat vacant for the last 15 years with nothing occupying it except the birds and the homeless. Students have a problem with displacing people as a result of coming to the downtown. When one student heard that the School's move was displacing homeless people she had this to say:

A number of us were kind of wondering, they didn't address what happened to those people. It kind of seems ironic that we would be bumping homeless people out of the building and then social workers moving in. Also I think, in

terms of “look how far this building has come”. This is who was here before pigeons and homeless people, you guys are here, it’s a beautiful building. If you’re going to bring something like that up in orientation there should be some form of explanation, especially for social workers, who some of us are going to be dealing with that population. S4

Other participants such as community development workers and city employees also fear residential displacement.

An interesting finding emerging from this section is that the majority of people view the university as an economic developer for the downtown in addition to providing opportunities for engagement. However, students and community development workers were more skeptical about the impact these benefits would have given the number of students and faculty travelling to the downtown and the impact of high-end retail on the lower-income people living here.

#### ***4.1.2. The Potential Problems Associated with the Satellite Model in Downtown Kitchener***

Interviews show that all parties identified a single major concern with the university moving to downtown. Most interviewees questioned whether the university will have a smooth transition to the downtown given that a Social Work Program is moving to an area which is already seen by community members, downtown business owners, and politicians as saturated with social agencies and people with social disorders. One downtown business owner described her opinion about the impact of social service agencies on downtown business:

My hope is that the region will at some point understand the need to spread out the services all over the region, it's regionally provided and it's a regional problem. It's not just in downtown. Unfortunately I think the businesses downtown sometimes suffer because of that specifically for that reason. B1

A politician supported her view arguing that social agencies can have a depressing effect on the downtown and need to be spread throughout the Region of Waterloo:

There is a certain concentration . . . of them that brings with it some social ills. I refuse to be the dumping ground of the Region of Waterloo. P1

Although city employees argued against the possibility that the School will attract more people with social disorders, community members are not as convinced and feel it will increase the social work component of downtown. In other words, they fear there will be an increase in marginalized people and in social service agencies. Community development workers and town and gown workers are quick to warn that the satellite campus could be responsible for emphasizing this social work component of the downtown if they are to use the community as their laboratory experiment:

If you [students] look upon downtown Kitchener as being a ripe laboratory for studying human need then there will be huge problems because it is not, it is a community. CD6

Clearly, it is this community development worker's hope that students will not perceive the downtown as a laboratory, but some politicians already do:

The social agencies that are here become a laboratory for students. That, I think, is a benefit to the students. P1

Politicians like this have the power to send the community a message that the School moved downtown to give students the opportunity to study the population when in fact this is not how students perceive the move. The literature warns that communities welcome the experience and energy from students provided that they are not "temporarily invaded by culturally different faculty and students with little or no knowledge about or interest in the community beyond a course assignment or academic research project"

(LeGates & Robinson, 1998:315).

The students who participated in this research do not perceive Kitchener as a study laboratory but rather as a forum for engaging with the community and sharing knowledge and expertise about social issues. Adding to this debate, other constituents, such as this community member, denounced the move and argued that the faculty and students are not aware of their potential impact as researchers on the downtown:

I was not opposed to a campus but I wanted a campus that was reflective of the arts. I was incredibly devastated when they chose the School of Social Work. I predicted that this would be seen as an incubator, that the downtown with all of its problems would be seen as an incubator by the professors and the faculty. I also predicted that faculty would be afraid to come downtown because of the negative perception of the downtown. Unfortunately I was absolutely dead right. My understanding is that 50 percent of the students did not want to be located down here. The Faculty of Social Work has the sheer audacity to make those kinds of statements tells me they don't have a clue of what are impact is, they don't have a clue what they're doing. C2

Community members who fear the scenario of the university treating the downtown as a laboratory experiment may be justified in their views because this appears to be a view that is shared by some faculty members and politicians. One faculty member believes that it is the responsibility of social workers to solve the social problems of Kitchener:

There's a disconnect yet, we're wonderful but out there ain't. What I see more as a problem, which is what my colleagues have addressed from the outset, which is that they themselves may develop a discontent about the environment in which this building sits and that's relative to where they've come from. They've come from Waterloo, a good chunk of our faculty come from Toronto, where it's a wonderful city with wonderful neighborhoods that have tackled similar issues and they've succeeded and we've got to do something soon, very soon. F1

She offers further insight:

I'm just so proud of what New York has done, in a complete turnaround which is what I think is parallel to what we would need. They just took a city that was very undesirable and had a vision and reworked it and it worked, including Central Park which used to be filled with bag people, homeless, they slept on the benches and they just cleaned it up, and we can do that very easily. F1

Smith (1999) would imply that this line of thinking has come to represent the revanchist 1990s attitude. In its most well developed case, homeless and other less desirable New Yorkers such as prostitutes and squeegee kids were socially attacked by the white-middle class for disrupting social order. In other words, the revanchist 90's was about the criminalization of the poor and disenfranchised. A community development worker confirmed this faculty member's (F1) viewpoint. Taken from his perspective, Kitchener is creating an atmosphere downtown that excludes lower income people. This finding has practical implications for the City of Kitchener. If other faculty members have a similar view of the downtown this could be harmful for those living on very little income in the core. For instance, if shared by the larger Faculty these views might prevent faculty members from engaging fully with the community. Moreover, the findings have further implications which speak to a broader area of economic thinking. They have neoliberal undertones based on Magnusson's (2000) argument:

The social identity inscribed through participation in Canadian universities is often an elitist one, and the citizenship practices that are shaped within the discursive forms of the institutional practice are those that are consistent with neoliberal economics (Magnusson, 2000: 9-10).

Universities are traditionally considered affluent institutions (Cisneros, 1995 and Patterson, 1999). A consequence of this is that those who are involved in its daily activities at the professional level could be exposed to its elitist leanings. Magnusson

(2000) feels that these professionals have views that are consistent with neoliberal economics which include the desire to push less desirable folk out of sight. In this sense, the neoliberal discourse relies on a supposed free market-driven approach to development. This presents a significant challenge to the development of an alliance between the university and the community if poorer residents are seen as marginal by the faculty and staff of the university.

Forging a relationship based on acceptance between the university and community could be further threatened if the supply of affordable housing in the downtown shrinks and displacement of people occurs. The shortage of housing to accommodate low income families has been identified by both community development workers and students as a potential problem. The positive relationship between the university and the community could also be threatened if tensions over parking come to fruition and community members resent faculty and students taking up parking spaces in downtown.

#### ***4.1.3. The Satellite Campus as a Public Space***

There was significant stakeholder support to allow meeting rooms and the School's auditorium to be utilized as public space for community events or professional use. One city employee summed up the underlying opinion of most stakeholders:

I think the Faculty of Social Work, the mindset of the people there and the business they're in, they're very concerned that they do appear to be open. CE1

Not all interviewees were convinced that they would be able to access the universities facilities in the same way as students and faculty. A city employee felt that the space is private rather than public:



I can't see the public actually calling up the front desk and saying could I book a room for a meeting. CE4

This is not the attitude that students or faculty want the public to have about the School.

To them the university is a public space that the community is welcome to use:

Definitely our common room, our classrooms our auditorium should be most available to our community partners and people who are our neighbours, most absolutely, this is a publicly funded piece of an institution and as such we should be available and open to us extending our public space. F2

Community development workers, the group most likely to favour the university as a public space since their professional work is most closely aligned with the School's, have mixed feelings about the university's public function. One community development worker questioned the accessibility of space at the School and the attitude of members of faculty:

I think the barriers to using the public space will not be physical, the barriers to using the public space will be intellectual, emotional, and relational. Does the faculty really want to integrate into the downtown or do they want to be in their silo? CD2

The notion of engagement is brought forward again. Faculty members who were interviewed for this study agreed that their impact on the downtown will be positive because their expertise on social issues can lend an added benefit to downtown. However not all faculty members are convinced that it is their job to integrate into the community. This is an example of what Cox (2002) argues when he says individual interests may co-opt common goals of members in university-community partnerships. Fuelling the fire for the community development workers position, this faculty member states:

This building is full of faculty and they are here to do usually three things, to teach, to do research, and to publish. I know some of our faculty do research in the community and there may be more of that, but not everybody does. They're not here to necessarily to link up with the community. F1

Thus, a finding from this section reveals that a challenge to establishing the university as a public space is its link to community engagement. If the university is willing to engage in the community then it is largely conceived as a public rather than private space. However, this creates a paradox based on previous findings. If faculty engage with the community they are also considered to be using the downtown as an experimental laboratory, if not, they are not sufficiently engaged with the community. Exchanges from the Downtown Kitchener Planning Committee (DKPC) meetings reveal that community development workers stressed the need for the Faculty to consider how they wanted the space to be presented:

The outreach workers asked the faculty to think about how we wanted to present our building. There was intolerance of street people by businesses. Would people be allowed to use the washroom facilities, get water, or get relief from the cold or heat? This may mean that people would wander through the halls. It was noted that there would be no access to the whole building and the public is limited to the ground floor (DKPC, February 8, 2006).

The literature points to the need to consider the technical side of how universities should engage with the community, especially if as in this case faculty members do not see engagement as being part of their role. Mayfield has a solution to promoting an engaged university:

One way of supporting the principles of the engaged university is to affect the reward system within the university. Nearly all universities pay lip service, on paper, to three attributes for faculty tenure and promotion: research, teaching, and service. Most, however, do not weigh service (outside the community) in promotion and tenure decisions (Mayfield, 2001:237).

Other findings suggest the university is seen by many as a public space in the community which is in line with how the interviewed faculty and students perceive the

university's role. This has important implications for fostering a mutually symbiotic relationship.

#### ***4.1.4. Downtown Displacement Connected to the Satellite Campus***

A challenge to the university moving to downtown Kitchener relates to its capacity to cause neighbourhood displacement. Interviewees refer to displacement as either forcing people out of their homes due to rising housing costs or gentrification in the housing market, as a result of the satellite campus coming to the downtown. Another form of displacement can occur if the arrival of the university, along with other redevelopment initiatives, encourages gentrification of the downtown thereby shifting the type of goods and services offered and excluding lower-income earners and marginalized people.

Most participants admitted that residential displacement could occur but understood this process as unfolding in different ways. One third of all participants argued that the university will be removed from or be directly associated with displacing people. Study participants cite reasons for displacement other than the Faculty of Social Work's relocation. They include other redevelopment projects such as the downtown lofts and the University of Waterloo School of Pharmacy and McMaster Medical School which makes the School of Social Work move only one variable in the displacement process. The following statements illustrate the larger role redevelopment is expected to play in displacing people:

...if what we anticipate is going to happen, is you're going to have all these pharmaceutical research companies come downtown [anchored by the University of Waterloo] because they are very affluent and if they decide to live close and live in one of these older neighborhoods you're going to see values go up. I think their [people working in lower tier jobs downtown] ability to afford housing is going to drastically change. CE3

I don't know that it's the students [doing the displacing] but I think it's the redevelopment that will cause housing values to increase and I would certainly say that that's going to happen in Kitchener, absolutely. I mean it's the direction that the council is heading. F3

The downtown area might become the place to live and work, [because of redevelopment] and if that's the case it's going to displace a lot of people right now that are living down here because it's within their means to live down here. CE6

Community development workers support the notion that displacement will occur around the university:

...across from where the new Faculty of Social Work is there are at least four houses there that are run-down and you can see that there are lower-income families living there, but I have the suspicion that over the next five-six years that those places are going to get bought by Laurier or bought by the City. CD1

These findings could present significant challenges to people living on fixed-incomes in downtown Kitchener who may face higher rents or increased property taxes. Since the quality of the surrounding environment must be suited to attracting and retaining the best students and faculty this can lead to increased housing prices when a university is in close proximity (Calder and Greenstein, 2001:2). Further findings lend support to the school displacing downtown residents. When asked if there has been any discussion at the city as to where people will go if they are displaced one city employee replied:

I don't think so. CE4

He then went on to identify what he considered were the added benefits of displacement and gentrification taking place as a result of the satellite university moving to the downtown:

Who wants to move in next door to a building that's got homeless and pigeons in it, not a whole lot. But once that situation is corrected the other properties around them are, become far more attractive. And a good example of this is the little three-story concrete brick building right beside the School of Social

Work. It's the one with all the mattresses all piled out back right now and the reason for that is the building is worth more now because of the School. Currently it's a group home they're moving out and the reason they're moving out is because people want that building now for something of bigger and higher better use. CE4

These findings indicate that city employees have not talked about displacement issues but agree it is happening. This shows a lack of adequate planning on behalf of the city. These findings are consistent with the literature suggesting adjacent buildings may become obsolete and unsuited to their new surroundings with the arrival of a university and as the area then becomes more attractive displacement of urban residents is likely to occur (Calder & Greenstein, 2001 and Webber, 2005). These findings indicate a need for collaboration on behalf of the City of Kitchener and the University to develop a more comprehensive affordable housing strategy by building on the one already in place in the Region of Waterloo. This study is not suggesting that the School should address affordable housing issues in Kitchener. But the School of Social Work should be an active participant in understanding its role in the redevelopment of the downtown. Additionally, this study re-emphasizes that the Region of Waterloo must actively participate in addressing downtown Kitchener's lack of affordable housing. The idea of collaboration is explored in further detail under the theme *Approaches to the University and Community Relationship*.

Once again, these findings have added empirical value to support the broader corpus of neoliberal literature; in this case discussing transformations in the built environment brought about by a satellite campus. Brenner and Theodore (2002) note that roll-out neoliberalism is signaled by the "adoption of the principle of highest and best use as the basis for major land-use planning decisions." (2002:24). These findings imply that there

are undercurrents of neoliberal thinking in Kitchener's downtown development policy as evidenced by the acknowledgement of the on-going displacement by low-income residents and the lack of planning for more affordable housing. This idea of highest and best use is also supported by previous evidence indicating that homeless people were displaced when construction began to convert the old high school building into the satellite campus. Like city employees, downtown business owners see the benefit of displacement in terms of generating revenue:

Maybe there will have to be some movement [displacement] and that's not a bad thing. I'm hopeful that the people who do go into the lofts [Kaufman Lofts] if they are perceived to be quote unquote higher income could be part of the returned success for the downtown business owners. It's a struggle. It doesn't happen easily and wouldn't it be nice to just have a passerby, anybody, walk by traffic that could potentially be spending traffic as opposed to some of the individuals. B1

Lower-income people appear to be negatively affected by the City of Kitchener's downtown revitalization initiatives. Emphasizing this point again are community development workers:

The city needs to be aware that some of the programs they've started and some of the plans for the future will directly displace people. CD5

You can't help but think that they're trying to get rid of the lower income and the street population because nothing that they've built in the last little bit is aimed for that. What is it that you're doing and who is it that you're doing it for? CD3

This last quotation indicates that community development workers would support the creation of an affordable housing strategy integrated into the current development initiatives. Minutes from the DKPC reveal that community development workers were concerned about affordable housing and displacement even before the university's move:

In reality, choices are limited, [for affordable housing] and students could displace low income populations with fixed incomes. The downtown Community Association welcomes FSW students but has concerns over housing conversions destabilizing neighbourhoods (DKPC, February 8, 2006).

Other participants either admit the possibility for displacement exists citing it as a sign of the times, that gentrification could occur, or that no such process will come to fruition.

One faculty member in particular had a difficult time picturing displacement:

Displacement implies a move from that which is home, that which is comfortable, that which is secure. I'd rather not see it as a displacement but a relocation. Yes, downtown Kitchener is diverse, and yes there are homeless, and there are people who are sleeping in buildings that are being remodeled. If we work with the means we may find that we can relocate those people into more comfortable secure settings. F1

The question is why 'those' people need to be relocated and why are they not welcome in her space? Evidence of why 'those' people need to be relocated can be found in the opinions of a town and gown worker studying university and community relations. She notes that displacement could occur because "...it's the direction that council is heading" and that price and rent increases are "...certainly people's measure of success." These thoughts imply that if a city planner, councilor, or policy maker's measure of success is an increase in rents this would mean they favour the elite's consumption practices at the expense of more marginalized groups.

This faculty member's (F1) interest in relocating people suggests the need to consider if Kitchener residents should have been included in the decision-making process determining which Faculty would move to the downtown. Interview data suggests they were not included:

I don't recall their being much public discussion about this project, it was kind of like it's done, we've agreed to it, it's going to happen. Council didn't really ask the public to comment on you know should they spend 6 million dollars or

whatever it was to do it, it was just it's going to happen, we're going with it, accept it and move on. CE3

A community development worker and a city employee thought a better choice for an institution could have been made. In particular, the city employee felt that an institution reflective of the arts could have led to more direct economic and social benefits for the downtown. Implications of public participation in decision-making concerning the university are discussed further under the theme *Public-Participation in Bringing the Satellite Campus to the Downtown*. Nonetheless, these findings above suggest that the debate on the displacement issue is not over. The matter is likely to resurface in the future as more low income people are displaced. The neoliberal literature referred to earlier further informs the process of displacement and gentrification which helps to contextualize this broader impact of redevelopment.

Brenner and Theodore (2002) note that neoliberalism can be identified through the “construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns” and the “rolling forward of the gentrification frontier and intensification of socio-spatial polarization” and lastly through “representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:24:25). Also of importance here is that mega-projects such as condominiums or, in this case, loft condominium development, are seen to fit into neoliberal planning practices (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). This suggests that the satellite campus or other large downtown redevelopment initiatives in Kitchener, such as the Kauffman Loft development, could act as examples of large-scale megaprojects that might fall into Brenner and Theodore’s (2002) neoliberal ideas about transforming urban space and re-representing the city. This would eventually lead to displacement as argued



by the parties. Like Brenner and Theodore (2002) this faculty member is also critical of this type of exclusionary development:

What makes the specificity of a society is the fact that there are all kinds of people walking down King Street in downtown Kitchener and they are bankers and lawyers and University professors and students and they are also homeless teenagers and homeless adults and people who are inebriated and prostitutes and these in my opinion are simply individuals who are victims of the capitalist society, so where are they going to go? They have nowhere to go, they are home. ...instead of burying our heads in the sand we will have to make it work and I'm sorry to say that the City of Kitchener has not yet understood that problem. F3

The interviews reveal a disconnect between faculty members and the city on the issue of displacement. It could be argued that city employees are supporters of displacement by admitting that it is happening but by having never discussed the implications for the displaced or planned for their future. Conversely, apart from one faculty member, the majority of faculty are aware of displacement and appear to be genuinely concerned that they are pushing people out of the downtown. Although, the odd participant identified that not many students were living downtown and that a moratorium on certain types of student housing arrangements (triplexes) was in place to curb displacement.

A final salient finding indicates that except for the community development workers, no other participant identified displacement of residents as a foreseeable problem with the arrival of the university satellite campus in the downtown core. However, when prompted about displacement one third of all interviewees indicated it was probable. There are obvious negative connotations associated with the word displacement. Note the faculty member who preferred the use of the word "relocation" of people rather than displacement. Could this be the reason that displacement was not cited by many of the participants except by those working with people that could be potentially displaced?

This finding shows that initially stakeholders may have genuinely not considered displacement as a foreseeable problem or they knew the potential was there and did not care to comment because of its negative implications.

#### ***4.1.5. Approaches to the University and Community Relationship***

Relationship building is very important to sustaining a healthy urban environment in cases involving a university and community (Brukardt et al. 2004). Local community residents such as the Kitchener community members in this study are concerned with issues associated with universities like student ghettos and tensions over parking. If a good relationship exists there is an opportunity for both sides to respond to and alleviate these concerns. The value for universities in sustaining a comprehensive and symbiotic relationship is outlined by Harkavy (1998):

Why should American universities actively, wholeheartedly adopt collaboration with schools and communities as their categorical imperative for the new millennium? Because they will then be better able to fulfill their primary mission of advancing and transmitting knowledge for a democratic society (Harkavy, 1998).

It is encouraging that the majority of interviewees felt very strongly about the need to create a town and gown (the term used to describe the two communities of a university town; the academic and non-academic population) organization or an arrangement of a similar nature even if it was to be less formal. The town and gown would give downtown groups a platform from which to share ideas and address issues associated with the downtown location of the school. Potential issues could include parking and displacement of people from residential properties. The DKPC meeting minutes reveal that as early as June 2, 2004, invited guests from the satellite campuses of the Waterloo School of

Architecture and Laurier Brantford spoke of the benefits of the university and community collaboratively working together. Meeting minutes from February, March and April of 2006 further reveal that the guest's comments prompted dialogue and support amongst regular attendees for the town and gown model in these later meetings. The interview findings reveal that some participants share concerns over which institution, the city or the university, should go the extra mile in forging a relationship given that the university is part of the redevelopment of the downtown.

Equally important findings emerging under this theme explore the ways in which this relationship should be fostered and encouraged. One community development worker suggests using restorative justice or mediation techniques to approach problem solving but clearly points to evidence which would suggest the need for a town and gown alliance and an engaged university:

I think the mayor and whole bunch of other people wish that a lot of us would disappear and then they'd think all the people in the downtown core that have mental health issues or addiction issues are going to disappear, the actual fact of it is we're working very hard to stabilize those people. CD2

Another community development worker suggests that if community organizations do not take on relationship building they do not know who will. These feelings point to the need for a town and gown alliance to address common concerns of the university and community dynamic.

#### ***4.1.6. Public-Participation in Bringing the Satellite Campus to the Downtown***

A final recurring theme emerging from the data concerns the \$6.5 million made available through the Economic Development Investment Fund (EDIF) and spent by the city in order to bring the School of Social Work to the downtown. Findings suggest that the majority of interviewees see the positive aspects that the university satellite campus

can bring to the downtown. However, some stakeholders recall that there was very little public participation into the decision-making process that determined what initiative the money would be spent on:

I don't recall there being much public discussion about this project, it was kind of like it's done, we've agreed to it, it's going to happen. Council didn't really ask the public to comment on you know should they spend 6 million dollars or whatever it was to do it, it was just it's going to happen, we're going with it, accept it and move on. CE3

There was a little bit of talk about how the City spent the money to the school, prior to the school moving down. ...in terms of why the City spent \$6 million to restore and did not consult with the residents. B2

...the only thing I remember was it going through the City Council and the City Council giving some money to the School Social Work, it sounded like a done deal.

Evidence suggests participants were not disgruntled about the lack of consultation before the move. This is an interesting finding since many interviewees were fearful of the satellite campus's role in displacing low income residents yet none felt the need to voice their opinion prior to its relocation. Growing out of this is an interesting perspective from a faculty member who is more worried about what it means to be bought by the city:

...we have to as an academic unit protect our integrity as a freethinking entity and I'm not so sure that that's going to be possible when we have been bought by the city and what I mean by that is that they have paid for this wonderful building i.e. what would be the degree of enthusiasm of the city of Kitchener if the faculty of social work would take a stand on a political issues which we disagreed with them? F3

A parallel example can be drawn from this scenario and applied to this study. For instance, Faculty and students may concentrate on research that challenges the capitalist agenda (i.e. residential displacement) and if so, Magnusson (2000) argues that this work is marginalized over Faculty and student work that is aligned with market relations.

Moreover, support for public participation may have been difficult since if what the participants outline above is true (no platform for participation was ever provided) then there would not have been many opportunities to raise this issue with the media.

Nonetheless, city employees and politicians argue that there were opportunities for participation:

It was never put to plebiscite. ... [But] Consultation was there but they [the public] wanted more of a consultation they had all kinds of opportunities in terms of public meetings and delegations to come voice their opinion. CE4

We went to probably one of the biggest public consultation processes we've ever had and in fact we had a panel of about twenty citizens selected randomly of those people who were interested in this. P1

The City of Kitchener literature also refers to the extensive public engagement process in which council established the \$110 million dollar EDIF through a special 10-year tax levy (City of Kitchener EDIF, 2005). However, how 'public' is a panel of twenty citizens selected randomly with the decision to increase the public's taxes (albeit by a small percentage) over ten years. As an aside, but in support of the previous finding, a community member argues that Kitchener has not always been forthcoming in terms of garnering public input for downtown projects:

There are some pretty sad stories of how the City of Kitchener and the elite of Kitchener has made decisions behind closed doors and not included the public. The most famous being the old City Hall, which is now the clock tower, that's all that's left. C3

Moreover, the implication of these findings suggests the university could avoid responsibility for potential problems. If the public are jaded for not being considered in decision making-process they may direct their negative attention solely toward the city for failing to consult with them about the move. Thus, this case study also points to the

need to consider if Wilfrid Laurier University should have done more in terms of involving the public in the Downtown Kitchener Planning Committee (DKPC) meetings before and after their arrival to the downtown. This may have been worthwhile since the satellite campus is a new planning instrument for downtowns and the City of Kitchener appears to have a questionable track record regarding public consultation.

#### **4.2. Conclusion**

The most critical finding emerging from this discussion and one which ties the themes together is that the satellite campus is not a separate community within the community. There are not many definitive or new findings uncovered in this research not identified in previous studies on the strengths and weaknesses of university-community alliances. The perceived impact of the satellite campus by key parties is reflected in the current literature, which makes Kitchener's situation a compelling example. However, case-specific evidence reveals that the Kitchener example is somewhat unique from the literature as interviewees identify coming to terms with issues of public space and public participation with regard to the satellite campus. Additional findings indicate that those interviewed demonstrate a willingness to accommodate change in downtown Kitchener. Therefore, the satellite campus appears to be a good 'fit' in Kitchener's downtown. On the other hand, the findings suggest that the satellite model is not without controversy in the downtown core.

The most contentious theme appears to be *Downtown Displacement Connected to the Satellite Campus*. The majority of participants see the potential for displacement to occur some time in the future. For Kitchener, the effects of the potential displacement could mean that over time a more homogenous middle-class neighbourhood is created around

the School, with little income diversity as low-income people are priced out of the housing market. Others already admit the immediacy of this process as identified by the city employee (CE4). It must not be overlooked, however, that displacement has already occurred. Homeless people experienced immediate displacement in order for the School to locate there. Only one student showed concern over the effects of immediate displacement of homeless people (S4). The larger concern, not within the scope of this study, should be to evaluate what the Region of Waterloo and the province of Ontario are doing to provide affordable housing for those without homes.

Lastly, the results of this study demonstrate the need for future research that explores the potential of the university to act as a conduit for evoking neoliberal undercurrents in the downtown. There was a tendency among Social Workers and City of Kitchener employees to use a neoliberal discourse when discussing the relocation of the satellite campus. In this case, the neoliberal discourse refers to a market-driven line of thinking. Neoliberal undertones were not rampant among the participants' responses but the neoliberal agenda was evident in a few cases, especially in those cases where the School is considered to be part of the 'urban clean-up' of the downtown.

A final point emerging from the discussion is that those who study and are involved in town and gown projects were the participants who offered very little in terms of practical comments and solutions to the everyday problems that the university and community could face. The significance of this finding might lead one to consider the utility of forging a relationship between the School of Social Work and downtown Kitchener to begin with.

In the final chapter of this thesis new understandings emerging from this study will be considered. Also, the significance and implications of this overall study will be highlighted. Some constructive and meaningful suggestions as to what can be done to promote a smooth transition of the university to downtown Kitchener will be made. Lastly, in addition to offering some personal reflections, recommendations for future research will be provided.



## 5. CONCLUSION

### 5.1. Summary

The move of the Lyle S. Hallman School of Social Work to downtown Kitchener provided a unique opportunity to assess the impact of a university satellite campus on a downtown. At first, it is not unlikely to assume that since a satellite campus is smaller from its main campus there would be different strengths and weaknesses to report on as compared to the traditional model. However, the most significant finding of this research is that the strengths and weaknesses of a university-community dynamic uncovered by previous studies are mirrored, albeit on a smaller scale, by the satellite campus in downtown Kitchener. As such, this study advances theory by showing the findings are transferable to the current framework. The additional importance of this study is that it builds on the small but growing corpus of literature on university satellite campuses in downtowns. It confirms that the satellite model is not without controversy. This study is also significant for City of Kitchener policy and decision makers. This is because the established literature ultimately encourages formal partnerships between universities and communities and given that this case study mirrors much of that literature there is strong evidence that forging a town and gown alliance in Kitchener is recommended. To date, no formal arrangement has been created in downtown Kitchener.

The interviewed groups show no particular discontent with the satellite campus coming to the downtown. Issues of common concern, however, range from the School's image as a public space, to the downtown being thought of as a laboratory experiment, and finally the displacement of existing residents. Nonetheless, the participants interviewed in this study demonstrate a willingness to accommodate change in downtown

Kitchener. The satellite campus is perceived to be a good 'fit' in Kitchener's downtown and may contribute to a reversal of the city's urban/economic decline in the post-industrial era.

## **5.2. Recommendations for the Kitchener Satellite Campus**

The most contentious impact associated with the move to the downtown is displacement of people in rooming houses or on fixed incomes surrounding the School. The fear with rooming houses is that they will be gentrified or converted back to single-family dwellings. This is an area in which there are significant gaps. Nonetheless, this study found evidence of the process of displacement with regard to the satellite model. These findings suggest the need to form a formal town and gown alliance in downtown Kitchener to address this underresearched area. A town and gown alliance would also presumably find strategies to protect the individuals who are being adversely affected. Collaboration is not a new phenomenon to the downtown. Forming a new alliance or better yet building on one of the established groups such as the Kitchener Downtown Community Collaborative and/or the Downtown Neighbourhood Alliance would be the most constructive plan of action. These groups, although working independently of one another, are made up of multiple stakeholder interests that address issues in Kitchener's urban core and the neighbourhoods that surround it. Lederer and Seasons (2005) provide a recipe for alliance success:

“...alliances should begin with a clear purpose, specific targets of action, well-articulated goals and objectives, and the means to support the goals. Similarly, alliances should accommodate ambiguities and changes in partner's identities, relationships, and separate/common purposes. Finally, a nurturing environment must be provided that promotes growth and the continuing development of the alliance” (Lederer & Seasons, 2005:6).

Given the contentious nature of issues such as displacement, this study recommends following Lederer and Seasons (2005) guidelines to setting up a formal alliance. This study further recommends that if an alliance is formed that it takes on a similar stakeholder make-up as the one used in this research first adopted by Cox (2000). It is only through establishing a multi-group approach that the interests of every person affected in downtown Kitchener will be considered. The research findings clearly support this suggestion as each group has a different opinion about how it will be impacted. In a different but similar vein, this study also suggests that more research be undertaken in other locations that considers the voice of different persons affected in a university-community relationship, whether to do with a satellite campus or not. Very little about this arrangement has been written that considers multiple perspectives.

### **5.3. Personal Reflections**

In my opinion I think that the move of the School of Social Work is a positive step for the downtown. I believe that the UW Health Sciences Campus will create more direct economic spin-offs than Wilfrid Laurier. This is because the School will anchor more profitable investors such as Pharmaceutical Research and Development. Higher student enrollments will also create increased tangible benefits associated with student spending. However, the education and knowledge creation cluster is only one significant component of the process of fundamental change in the downtown. University satellite campuses are not the sole recipe for a successful downtown. The impact of loft development and other residential units will aid significantly in the urban renewal of downtown Kitchener. Once people move downtown, they will work downtown, and then shop downtown. This multi-functional infrastructure incorporating the residential,

commercial and retail sectors will build up over time and is much needed in downtown Kitchener. However, the City of Kitchener must be careful about the nodes of activity that they create in the downtown. Kitchener's downtown follows a linear pattern but is unusually large, stretching almost one mile. Therefore, if city planners are not careful to space out new redevelopment then certain sections of the downtown could experience new and/or further 'hollowing out'. The decline of the core did not happen overnight and neither will the revitalization. Urban regeneration is a long process which requires constant attention in the face of the uncertainty of urban processes under capitalism.

#### **5.4. Future Research**

This study has helped to illustrate the gaps in the existing literature on the impact of satellite campuses on downtowns. Future inquiry may add to this study given that new research would strengthen the body of literature on cities that are experiencing similar forms of economic struggle and using this type of planning instrument. Future research might uncover different findings depending on which Faculty moves to a downtown location. For instance, if a School of Business and Economics had moved to downtown Kitchener could we have anticipated the same results? A School of Business and Economics might engage with the host community in different ways. Faculty members might provide more opportunities for small businesses to become established and could link graduating students with local entrepreneurs. It is hard to predict what impact this type of interaction would mean for the downtown.

Additional research would also be useful since this study inventoried the perceived impact of a satellite campus rather than undertaking an impact assessment of a satellite campus already established in a downtown. A final extension for further research could

examine the impact of satellite campuses on the downtowns of mid-size cities. Mid-size cities are unique because the challenges they encounter are unlike those faced by larger metropolitan areas or smaller urban areas (with less than 100,000 residents). Mid-size cities face serious economic decline due to their dispersed urban form and their near total dependence on the automobile (Filion et al. 2004:330).

As it was alluded to in the discussion there is an association that can be made between the move of the university to downtown Kitchener and a particular style of development. In several instances, the neoliberal literature was drawn upon to illuminate findings associated with development, including political orientations and displacement. Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as an economic project to restore power to the elites. In this sense, the neoliberal discourse found in the responses of a few participants, relies on a market-driven approach to development. In other words, there has been shift in power from the collective to the individual in cities which has had a detrimental impact on vulnerable, downtown populations. For example, the previous, usually low-income, occupiers of space in downtown Kitchener are being replaced by new users who can afford the high-end loft prices and the high tuition fees of a university satellite campus. It would be interesting to determine to what extent neoliberal urban undertones might re-surface in Kitchener with the arrival shortly of the University of Waterloo and the larger redevelopment projects such as the loft condominiums. The role of the university (whether satellite or not), in neoliberalizing the downtown urban environment is not discussed in the current literature on redevelopment initiatives.

In the end, time will tell whether the School of Social Work satellite campus will reverse the long legacy of economic decline in the City of Kitchener. It has been difficult

for many industrial cities to orient their economies to post-industrial functions and to attract investments associated with the new economy. However, the university satellite campus is a unique and welcomed component to downtown change and should work in favour of achieving and sustaining a healthy urban core so long as downtown stakeholders are mindful of potential displacement and possible neoliberal undertones which could arise as future development continues.

## 6. APPENDICIES

### Appendix 1 Interview Questionnaire

(Note: All interview questions were posed to each participant however only the bolded questions here were considered for analysis in this study. Questions 11 and 12 were asked together and the results were presented together in the analysis under the abbreviated heading of 'Relationship Approaches')

#### **General Information**

1. Are you a resident of the City of Kitchener? (If not, what city do you live in?)  
(Skip questions 2-3 if answering "no" to question 1)
2. How long have you been a resident of the City of Kitchener?
3. What neighbourhood do you reside in?
4. Who is your current employer?
5. What do you like/dislike about downtown Kitchener?
6. What do you know about the revitalization of downtown Kitchener? Can you provide some examples of current revitalization efforts taking place?
7. Have you attended any public or neighbourhood meetings that addressed these plans for revitalization? How were you involved? Explain.
8. What is your opinion of these plans? Do you think these plans will impact you? Explain.

#### **Wilfrid Laurier School of Social Work**

9. In July 2006, Wilfrid Laurier University is relocating its Faculty of Social Work to downtown Kitchener's Civic District (the university and municipality have undertaken this partnership). It will be located at 120 Duke Street West, home to the former historical St. Jerome's College/High School. It will bring over 300 students and professional staff into the core each day.
  - A) Were you aware of this relocation?
  - B) Have you attended any public or neighbourhood meetings that addressed these plans for revitalization? How were you involved? Explain.
  - C) **What types of benefits do you think the Faculty of Social Work will create for downtown Kitchener? Explain.**

- D) Do you see problems occurring in downtown Kitchener between the community and university? Explain.**
  - E) What is your opinion of these plans for relocation? Do you think these plans will impact you? Explain.**
  - F) Once relocated downtown, do you see the Wilfrid Laurier Faculty Social Work as a public space? Explain.**
  - G) Do you think parking in downtown Kitchener is an issue? Do you think it will be more of an issue when the Faculty of Social Work arrives in the core? Explain.**
  - H) Do you think the students will take up their social work placements in downtown Kitchener, providing outreach services to the needy?**
- 10. A number of social and environmental changes can occur by large numbers of students concentrated in core areas of a city. Do you think that locals living in downtown neighbourhoods adjacent to the Faculty of Social Work may have to the potential to become displaced from their neighbourhoods as a result of such revitalization efforts? Explain.**
- 11. Who should be responsible for mitigating conflict if it arises in the above circumstance? Explain.**
- 12. In your opinion, how should the City of Kitchener accommodate for both students and community members living in downtown Kitchener's Civic District neighbourhood, home to the Faculty of Social Work. (i.e. in terms of parking, community and university concerns, housing availability etc.,).**



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