University Employer-Assisted Housing: Models of University-Community Partnerships

Joseph K. Hoereth, Dwan Packnett, and David C. Perry

**Lincoln Institute of Land Policy
Working Paper**

Prepared by the Great Cities Institute (GCI) at University of Illinois at Chicago for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

Lincoln Institute Product Code: WP07JH1

Abstract

The paper critically explores the potential for EAH programs to not only meet the needs of universities, but also contribute to the improvement of the communities that reside in "the shadows" of universities. The research seeks to uncover the ways in which EAH programs serve to catalyze relationships between universities and those communities. The authors identify the motivations for and common models of university employer assisted housing (EAH) programs, and use these motivations and models as a framework for a scan of twenty-two university EAH programs across the country. The framework is then applied to three more in-depth case studies of university EAH programs at: Case Western Reserve University, the University of Chicago, and Howard University. Analysis of the case studies reveals that EAH can be an effective way for universities to address a housing shortage for its employees, or a particular segment of its staff. However, while most EAH programs are designed to respond to the university need to provide more accessible housing for its staff, the efficacy of EAH as a tool with which to both revitalize a community and improve university-community relationships is not quite as clear. Trust between universities and their neighboring communities is identified as a key factor in limiting or enhancing the community development outcomes of university EAH programs. Universities may be best advised to ensure that EAH is first and foremost a true exercise in partnership; where the first goal is to build relations of trust with the community, rather than just provide housing to their employees.

About the Authors

Joseph K. Hoereth, has management oversight of the daily operation of the Institute and is also responsible for resource development, both for the Institute and in support of the Institute's Faculty Scholars and Fellows. He has a wide range of experience in community development research and evaluation, working for university research centers, non-profits, and private consultants. His core research interests are in affordable housing and economic development strategies. Hoereth holds a B.A. in Economics from the University of California at Berkeley, a Masters, and a Ph.D. in Urban Planning from Rutgers University. He is a board member of the Center for Applied Research and Technical Assistance (CARTA), a national intermediary based in Baltimore, Maryland, that provides research and technical assistance to youth-serving non-profits.

David Perry is the Director of the Great Cities Institute and Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University Of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). He serves as Associate Chancellor for Great Cities and co-chaired UIC's Strategic Thinking 2010 process.

He is the author or editor of nine books, and his work has appeared in such non-academic places as the *New York Times*, *The Nation*, and *Metropolis* magazine. David has served on numerous public boards and commissions, including the City of Chicago Mayor's Zoning Reform Commission, and was recently named Research Fellow at The Queen's University, Belfast and was one of the founding members of the International Conflict Prevention Consortium.

Professor Perry received his Ph.D. from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and went on to teach in the Government Department at the University of Texas at Austin. Perry later chaired the Urban Planning program for the State University of New York at Buffalo. While in New York, he was also a senior faculty fellow of the Rockefeller Institute.

Dwan Packnett is the principal and founder of Trinity Plus One Consultants, Inc. a woman, minority-owned planning, land acquisition, land use and real estate development-consulting firm specializing in implementation strategies and the structure of the development process, land acquisition and community redevelopment. Trinity Plus One Consultants, Inc. coordinates the implementation of revitalization and land acquisition programs for clients, with specific focus on federal and state regulation.. She was the former Director of Planning and Grants Administration with the Atlanta Housing Authority before opening her own firm in 1999. Ms. Packnett has a Bachelor of Science in Accounting from University of Illinois-Chicago and a Doctor of Law Degree from Emory University.

Table of Contents

University Employer-Assisted Housing: Models of University-Community Partnerships

Introduction

The destinies of urban universities and their neighboring communities are intertwined in many ways. The home communities of universities often offer a cultural spirit that does much to define the universities they host. Would the University of California at Berkeley have the same cultural identity were it not located in what is commonly referred to as the "People's Republic of Berkeley", a reference to both the progressive policies of the city government and the history of student protest at the University? Similar questions could be directed to Harvard and Cambridge, the University of Michigan and Ann Arbor, the University of Texas at Austin and Austin, and many other universities and their home communities.

A recent book of case studies, focused on the "university as urban developer," (Perry and Wiewel, 2005) found that the economies of the universities and their neighboring communities are often strongly related. Try as they might, urban universities who seek to insulate themselves from the struggling communities around them are learning that ignoring economically declining neighboring communities eventually returns to haunt them. The story of the upper-tier urban university finding it increasingly difficult to recruit faculty and students due to crime, a lack of quality affordable housing, and low quality neighborhood services in their home communities is a common one. If for no other reason than their own self interest (Weber et.al., 2005, Wiewel and Perry 2005), universities are engaging issues of community decline and urban regeneration in a whole host of areas: including real estate development, improving local schools, better security and policing, and in some cases, the direct provision of community services to residents, faculty, and staff. Their approaches to community engagement and development vary widely: with some universities applying a comprehensive approach and others focusing on one or a few key issues—either joining with the public sector to reframe public policy in the neighborhood or actually undertaking development programs on their own.
One example of this latter, direct approach, is the bundling of benefits commonly known as Employer Assisted Housing (EAH), a program advanced by many universities interested in addressing the lack of affordable housing in their communities—especially as it is a problem for their faculty and staff. At one level this is not a new program—companies and other large employers have been offering "EAH benefits" and the benefits of "company towns" to their employees since the industrial revolution. Even today, university-based Employer Assisted Housing (EAH) programs are not uncommon efforts for urban universities, particularly those located in tight housing markets. Most of these programs offer financial assistance to faculty and staff who purchase a home in the home or neighboring community of the university. As such, these EAH programs offer the potential for a university to support the housing needs of their staff and faculty in a manner that directly benefits the community. In theory at least these programs also offer the university an opportunity to partner with community organizations that address

housing issues. Understanding the ways that EAH programs produce benefits for urban universities *and* the communities that are found "in the shadow" of these universities will shed light on the utility of EAH programs for urban universities working to revitalize their home communities and conversely should give those working for these communities a better idea of when and how to work with universities on such programs.

This report identifies (i) the motivations for and (ii) common models of university EAH programs. We used this identification of motivations and models as a framework for a scan of thirty-eight programs across the country. The framework was then applied to three case studies of employer assisted housing: Case Western Reserve University, the University of Chicago, and Howard University. The purpose of this analysis is to explore more deeply and critically the potential for EAH programs to not only meet the needs of universities, but also contribute to the improvement of the communities that reside in "the shadows" of universities. We are also interested in discovering the ways in which EAH programs serve to catalyze relationships between universities and those communities.

Housing and University-Community Relationships

Housing is often an issue of contention between universities and communities. It can be a wedge issue, with the interests of neighborhood residents and university at odds over the use of houses, land and ultimately the changing character of the community. Large universities are tremendous consumers of the local housing stock, particularly if they have small or downtown campuses. They can create a need for tens of thousands of people to live close by or within commuting distance of campus. These faculty, staff, and students compete with local residents for housing, and in many cases, non-university residents get priced out of the housing closest to campus. Residents and community organizations often see the university as the "eight-hundred pound gorilla" (Dietrick and Soska, 2005), a bully of a neighbor that uses its size and political influence explicitly and implicitly to control the local real estate market and, by extension, neighborhood housing development and broader fixed capital development.

Despite the centrality of such issues to contentious "town-gown" conflict, housing also has the potential to bring universities and communities together. In particular, the issue has become a unifying theme for university communities where skyrocketing housing values have made "affordability" a common housing concern of university and community urbanites – from faculty and staff at the university to low-income residents in the immediate neighborhood or the city at large. In such instances, all sides need affordable housing—even if this need is evidenced by different levels of affordability. Whatever the level of affordability, however, the common enemy of an out-of-reach housing market has become a good rallying point for universities and communities alike. Some universities have endeavored to address their own needs as well as the needs of their neighbors in their real estate development and redevelopment efforts. For example, universities are increasingly creating partnerships providing mixed-income housing developments, offering different levels of affordability within a single building or development, housing faculty, staff at different income levels, and residents unconnected with the university.

These new real estate developments can be a very complex and expensive way for universities and communities to address their own housing needs as well as those of the community. EAH programs are emerging as another mechanism for universities and communities to partner around housing issues. However, the extent to which EAH programs provide benefits to either communities or universities may vary greatly with the type of program offered. Consequently, understanding the different types of programs helps to sort out the resulting benefits.

A Typology of University EAH programs

Employer assisted housing programs can be viewed as an historical extension of the "company towns" built by companies during the late 19th and early 20th centuries: two historic examples being Pullman, Illinois (which later became part of Chicago), and Hershey, Pennsylvania. Large manufacturing companies with labor-intensive production systems were motivated to construct these towns by the need to house a large number of employees nearby, often more employees than the local housing market could support. In the second half of the 20th century, EAH programs became a perk for corporate executives—giving them supported access to upscale housing (Shwartz, Hoffman, and Ferlauto, 1992). By the 1980s, EAH programs had won new favor with companies looking to attract and retain employees, and some companies began to extend this benefit to non-management employees (Shwartz, Hoffman, and Ferlauto, 1992).

Like corporations, universities seek to lower the cost of housing for their employees. They also attempt to ensure that their campuses and their surrounding communities are healthy, safe and stable. A good way to understand the EAH programs of universities is to begin with an assessment of what "motivates" universities to undertake them. These EAH programs can be best delineated as "models" or types that are derived from such purposive context or motivations. What follows is a four part study: (i) beginning with the identification of four institutional motivations for university-based housing programs such as EAH and four models of such programs; (ii) followed by a national scan of thirty eight university EAH programs organized through the framework of motivations and models; (iii) from which we identify and study in depth three particular cases of EAH; and (iv) conclude with a summary of our findings and assessment of lessons learned.

'Enlightened Self Interest' – Motivation and the Four 'R's

While there are certainly different reasons stimulating the adoption of EAH programs in both the corporate and public sectors, the institutional motives for EAH can be best summarized under the heading of "enlightened self interest." For the entire history of EAH, dating back to company towns, EAH has been less about providing a social benefit for employees and more for ensuring the stability, cost and productivity of labor. To the extent that EAH serves as a form of investment in the urban fabric these programs also contribute to economic development, the revival of struggling real estate markets and serving as a public private mix of investment in sites of urban regeneration. In the 1990s, as home costs have risen, urban sprawl has become increasingly a feature of metropolitan growth and the issues of place of work and place of residence have become more apparent, EAH has made its way into the lexicon of regionalists and smart growth advocates as well as corporate labor and commodity chain strategists. In short there are many corporate and policy discourses employing an EAH logic, but they all carry a strong element of "enlightened corporate self interest." This self interest can also be characterized more particularly by four categories of "motivation" that are often used by corporations and universities, alike, that offer these programs (Joint Center/NRC):

a) recruitment,
b) retention,
c) revitalization, and
d) community relations.

a) Recruitment and b) Retention

Two key purposes or "motivations" for employing EAH are ***recruitment and retention***. Typically they are used together by universities when suggesting the development of EAH programs, the logic being that universities must devise every possible advantage when competing, nationally, for faculty and staff. EAH programs are an additional enticement to attract and keep talented staff, especially for university employers located in high priced housing markets such as Boston, Chicago, the District of Columbia, New York, and San Diego. Universities with this motivation recognize that they need to provide some housing assistance in these markets to make housing affordable for their employees. An EAH program is a straightforward way to address this goal.

c) Revitalization and d) Community Relations

Revitalization and improving community relations are more complex motivations for an employer who creates and EAH program. A university may use EAH to directly contribute to community revitalization efforts and may be paired with broader revitalization efforts, either by the university or in partnership with community or private organizations. An EAH program can contribute to the revitalization of a community because it provides improved housing, attracts "stable" homeowners, and can be a catalyst for new investment in the community. The university provides incentives for university employees to live in such a "revitalized' community: in part the result of a housing development partnership between the university and the community based organizations. Community relations can be improved by an EAH motivated by revitalization because new homeowners directly linked to the university are more likely to be sensitive to the needs of the university and is a visible way that the university can show its commitment to the community. The revitalization and community relations motivations are more complex because they can be affected by longstanding community tension associated with the University's relationship with the community.

Therefore, in the United States, many large institutional employers, including increasing numbers of universities and hospitals, have developed a better understanding of the potential of the EAH tool. Just like any modern active corporate employer, they are motivated by the need to recruit and retain quality employees and ensure that their immediate environment is safe, healthy and stable. However, universities are not just any corporate entity; they are academic institutions with educational and civic missions that combine to produce a distinct if not also inherently high degree of public purpose. These institutions have the potential to be more open to exploring ways they can help to revitalize their communities and improve their relationships with these community and constituents. For universities, in particular, the motivations of community revitalization and improving community relations are often consistent with the modern view of the role of the university in society. Universities, and especially public universities, are now expected to contribute to their neighboring communities at a high level of engagement and direct involvement in those communities. Operating at this level of "enlightened self-interest" means that universities are more likely to be explicitly motivated by all four 'R's.

In the next section of this study we suggest how these motivations lead directly to particular types (models) or mixes of types (or what we call later in this report "hybrids") of EAH programs. For example, an employer motivated only by recruitment and retention may offer financial assistance, but not engage any community partners and more than likely will not try to directly develop new market-rate or mixed rate housing. Another more broadly motivated employer might use direct financial assistance as a benefit that complements a wider effort to revitalize the community, including the creation of new housing units. These are very different types of EAH programs that result from different motivations. However, despite varying motivations, there are some fundamental similarities across EAH programs. Table One provides an overview of 24 university-based EAH programs, using the framework of the motivations we have discussed so far and the four models or types of EAH programs we are about to discuss. A quick review of Table One shows that most universities target their benefits for homeownership in their home neighborhoods, offer some sort of down payment or other assistance to make mortgages more affordable, and partner with a financial institution, usually Fannie Mae. While the list in Table One is not exhaustive, it does provide a sense of the types of benefits offered by these programs and serves as a backdrop against which to review the following section on "program models."

Table 1. University Employer Assisted Housing Programs, Models, and Motivations.

University	City, State	Benefit	Partners	Comments	Motivation Type	Model Type
Howard University	Washington, DC	Home-Buying Assistance: Down payment assistance, closing cost assistance, below-market loans for homes purchased in LeDroit Park	Fannie Mae, National Capital Revitalization Corporation, D.C. Housing Finance Agency, community	Also available to police officers, firemen, and teachers	recruitment/retention revitalization	Developer
Scranton, University of	Scranton, PA	Homesteading Rental Properties: university-owned rental properties Home-Buying Assistance: 3-year forgivable loan up to $5,000 for properties located in Hill area.	Fannie Mae; Neighborhood Housing of Scranton		revitalization	Financial partner, connector/facilitator
Miami University	Oxford, OH	Home-Buying Assistance: 7-year forgivable loan up to $10,000 in Historic Mile Square; up to $4,000 within City limits.	Neighborhood Housing Service of Hamilon (NHS - non-profit program administrator)		recruitment community relations	Financial partner
Case Western Reserve University	Cleveland, OH	Home-Buying Assistance: grant up to $10,000 (Year 1 - $5,000; Year 2-6 - $1,000); grant up to $15,000 for Wards 6,7,8,9 (Year 1 - $7,500; Year 2-6 - $1,500) Exterior Renovation Assistance: grant up to $1,000 on projects costing over $5,000. Financial/Realty Services: at preferred rates	City of Cleveland; University Circle; Fannie Mae; local CDCs; local lenders (Third Federal Savings and Loan, Fifth Third Bank, Key Bank, National City Bank, Ohio Savings Bank); local real estate services (Realty One)		recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner, connector/facilitator
St. Louis University	St. Louis, MO	Counseling: housing information & education services Financial Services: at preferred rates Home-Buying Assistance: 5-year forgivable loan up to $5,000 or 5% of purchase price (whichever is less)	Fannie Mae	Expanded; also available for professional students; http://record.wustl.edu/ news/page/normal/1859.html	revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner, service provider
Kentucky, University of	Lexington, KY	Home-Buying Assistance: forgivable loan up to $15,000 for properties located in designated areas. Counseling: housing information & education services	LFUGC, Samaritan Hospital, Fannie Mae, local counseling agencies (Community Reinvestment Alliance of Lexington, Resources Education & Assistance for Community Housing, Community Ventures Corporation), lenders (Bank One, National City)	Must participate in Homeowner Education Program	revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner, service provider

University	City, State	Benefit	Partners	Comments	Motivation Type	Model Type
George Washington University	Washington, D.C.	GW Loan Program: up to $5,000 loan Monetization Loan Program: $2,500-5,000 based on income	Riggs Bank, Fannie Mae, District of Columbia Housing Finance Agency	Riggs Bank, Fannie Mae, District of Columbia Housing Finance Agency	recruitment/retention community relations	Financial partner

Table 1. University Employer Assisted Housing Programs, Models, and Motivations.

		Lender Credit Program: $250 for first 40 buyers Counseling: housing information & education services				
Tulane University	New Orleans, LA	Home-Buying Assistance: 5-year forgivable loan up to $1,500 or 2% of purchase price (whichever is less)	Fannie Mae,		recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner
Cincinnati, University of	Cincinnati, OH	Home-Buying Assistance: up to $2,500 loan at 6% for homes purchased in specific areas Renovation Assistance: added to loan amout for up to 105% of the property value	The Home Ownership Center of Greater Cincinnati, Inc.	must complete a 9-hour Home Buyer Training course at The Home Ownership Center.	recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner
Columbia University	New York, NY	Off-Campus Housing Assistance (OCHA): database of non-Columbia owned apartments and rooms for lease - available to faculty, staff, and alumni Home-Buying Assistance: 5-year forgivable loan up to $15,000 for properties in Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone	Barnard College, Teachers College, Jewish Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary Fannie Mae, New York City (?)		revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner, connector/facilitator
Niagara University	Niagara Fall, NY	Counseling: education services	Center City Inc. (counseling provider), City of Niagara Falls, St. Mary's Hospital, Memorial Hospital, Public Schools, many local lendors.		revitalization recruitment/retention	Service provider
Ohio State University	Columbus, OH	Home-Buying Assistance: 5-year forgivable loan up to $3,000 for homes purchased in specific areas	City of Columbus, Fannie Mae, Campus Partners, Northside Community Development Corporation		recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner
University of Pennsylvania	PA	University guarantees loan, so lenders require no down payment	Advance Bank, GMAC Mortgage Corporation, and Citizens Bank	Attend a counseling session with one of the program's counselors or attend the Community Housing 101 workshop.	recruitment/retention	Financial partner

University	City, State	Benefit	Partners	Comments	Motivation Type	Model Type
Le Moyne College	Syracuse, NY	University guarantees loan, so lenders require no down payment	Syracuse Neighborhood Initiative (SNI), KeyBank, Fleet Bank, and M&T Bank		revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner
Yale	New	Homebuyer Program: The program provides	People 's Bank	Homebuyers may only	revitalization	Financial partner

Table 1. University Employer Assisted Housing Programs, Models, and Motivations.

University	Haven, CT	$7,000 at the time of home purchase and nine additional annual payments of $2,000.		purchase in Empowerment Zone areas, including additional neighborhoods in later phases of the program.	recruitment/retention	
Washington University	St. Louis, MO	Home-Buying Assistance: forgivable loans for home purchased in specific areas	local lending institutions: Bank of America, Central West End Bank, Citimortgage Inc., Commerce Bank, Elizabeth Fay Mortgage, Gershman Investment Corp, K&G Financial LLC, LoanScapes, Providence Mort.		revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner
Harvard University	Cambridge, MA	Cash back when buying or selling a home through Coldwell Banker Residential Brokerage, free home buying seminars, and discounted interest rates on mortgages.	Coldwell Banker Residential Brokerage		recruitment/retention	Financial partner
University of Minnesota	MN	Relocation Assistance: temp. rental housing Rental Housing: university-owned townhouses University Grove: new homes for purchase on land owned by university	None		recruitment/retention	Financial partner
University of California	9 campuses, CA	Mortgage Orientation Program: 40-year variable loan 85-90% of value Graduated Payment Mortgage: lower initial rate Supplemental Home Loan Program: primary/secondary mortgages Salary Differential Housing Allowances: lump sum, or over 10 years	North American Mortgage Company,		recruitment/retention	Financial partner
Chicago, University of	Chicago, IL	Home-Buying Assistance: 5-year forgivable loan up to $7,500 for homes in specific areas	City of Chicago, Metropolitan Planning Council, Neighborhood Housing Services of Chicago		recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner, connector/facilitator
Illinois Institute of Technology	Chicago, IL	To bolster the CHA's redevelopment of neighboring Stateway Gardens, a high-rise slated for demolition and transformation into mixed-income housing, IIT will offer any employee a $7,500 forgivable loan to buy a home in the new community.	Illinois College of Optometry and De La Salle High School		revitalization recruitment/retention	Financial partner, service provider
Syracuse University	Syracuse, NY	Guaranteed Mortgage Program and Matching Cash Grants for homes purchased within certain census tracts	Syracuse Neighborhood Initiative (SNI), KeyBank, Fleet Bank, and M&T Bank		recruitment/retention revitalization	Financial partner

Program Models

With different motivations serving as the basis for the development of different EAH programs, it should be expected that the programs will vary both in terms of structure and products or "benefits" offered. Programs also vary in the extent to which the university has truly partnered with the community, as well as the extent to which long-term, non-university affiliated, residents benefit in some way from the program. This section identifies different types of EAH programs, describes the structure of the partnership between the university and community (residents and/or organizations) in an EAH program, and distinguishes the extent to which the program type produces clear benefit to both the university and the community.

There are essentially four EAH program types or "models:"

1. financial partner model,
2. service provider model,
3. connector/facilitator model, and
4. developer model.

Although it is rare for a university EAH program to be a "pure" model of any of these types, the types describe distinct aspects of the 24 programs we came across in our research. These 24 programs are listed along with their corresponding types, or models, in Table One. What should be immediately apparent from a review of these 24 cases is that mixed or "hybrid" versions of these models are the norm, and typically a program will integrate two models of support to employees in a fairly seamless way. All the programs that we found in this national scan of university based EAH programs offered benefits to homeowners and reflected a particular motivation, or combination of motivations, of the University, with some models, more than others, directly embedding these motivations into the strategic mission of the university.

Financial Partner EAH Model

The Financial Partner EAH model typically has the university providing direct financial support to its employees, usually in the form of a fixed or proportional reduction of the cost of a home purchase. This might take the form of a low-interest loan, cash to be used toward the down payment, or a second mortgage (often termed a 'soft-second' which comes due when the property is sold or amortized over a short period of time). The EAH may also offer to reduce related transaction costs such as closing costs or mortgage fees. Another version of the financial benefit is a university contribution to a matched savings plan, in which the employer matches employee savings, sometimes at a ratio of greater than one. While most benefits in the financial partner model are geared toward homeownership, a few universities also offer financial assistance to renters. The benefit for renters will typically help to offset a security deposit or defray moving costs. In many cases, the university will partner with a financial institution that administers the financial assistance benefit through the mortgage process. This prevents the university from adopting the cost of originating the loan or assuming risk in holding the loan. Fannie Mae is a common partner for university EAH programs because it offers a low-interest loan product tailored specifically for these programs.

Universities that use the financial partner model of EAH are primarily motivated by their recruitment and retention needs. Direct financial assistance is viewed as a highly attractive benefit by existing employees, and can make the difference in recruiting a potential employee. Some examples of the types of benefits that universities offer through the financial partner model or a hybrid version include:

- Harvard – offers cash back, low-interest mortgages
- Miami University – provides forgivable loans up to $10,000
- Tulane – provides forgivable loans up to 2% of value
- University of California System – offers longer term loans, higher loan-to-value ratios, secondary mortgages, salary differential housing allowance
- University of Pennsylvania – provides loan guarantees
- Yale University – provides loan payment assistance

The Service Provider EAH Model

Under the Service Provider Model a university provides key services in support of the home-buying process. These services are often a pre-requisite for receiving financial assistance and typically include homebuyer education programs, credit counseling, assistance with preparing a mortgage application, and property search assistance. Most programs are hybrids because these types of services are the entry points for employees who are trying to access EAH benefits. In hybrid models that also include financial assistance, an employee may access these services with or without applying for financial assistance. However, in most cases an employee may not apply for financial assistance without participating in homebuyer education and/or credit counseling first. Universities that use the service provider model or a hybrid version of the model are mostly choosing to partner with existing providers who already run the courses or provide counseling to the community, in some cases for a fee that the university pays to the partner to provide this service to its employees.

Universities that offer the service provider model of EAH benefits are motivated by recruitment and retention, but may also expect to gain some improved community relations out of the program. While the financial partner model includes financial assistance typically only offered to employees, the services offered through the service provider model are often available to non-employees as well as employees, because they don't involve a direct cash outlay. A university can earn a great return in terms of improved community relations by simply paying the homebuyer education and credit counseling services. Nearly all of the universities using the service provider model (or a hybrid including the service provider model) offered homebuyer education courses to their employees, and many offered these courses to non-university staff as well. Examples of the service provider model in pure or hybrid form include:

- Niagara University – counseling and homebuyer education services
- University of Kentucky -- counseling, homebuyer education, and housing information services
- St. Louis University– counseling and homebuyer education services

Connector or Facilitator EAH Model

The third type of university-based EAH program is the connector or facilitator model. In this model the university acts as an information resource, referring participants to service or financial partners such as private lenders, public sources of housing assistance, and non-profit community partners. The distinguishing feature of this model is the university practice of referring its employees to existing providers of services or assistance. In these programs, the universities do not pay for or otherwise directly provide the services to their employees. University employees are linked or connected to external sources of housing services similar to those offered by the service provider model, such as homebuyer education and credit counseling. They may also be referred to a real estate agency and appropriate local lenders. For example, our scan shows that

- Case Western Reserve University– connects participants with CDCs and a wide range of City programs, and
- University of Chicago – connects participants with Neighborhood Housing Services of Chicago (NHS) and state and local government homebuyer programs

Developer EAH Model

Some EAH programs are paired with direct efforts by a university to build housing for its employees. The developer model is also, by definition, a hybrid model, pairing a mix of the other three types of programs with housing units actually built by the university – a portion of which at least is offered to its employees. The new housing units may be paired with direct financial assistance from the university in partnership with a loan from a private lender, usually amounting to benefits that accrue at a scale similar to those described in the financial partner model: examples of which can be down payment assistance, mortgage rate write downs, or mortgage guarantees. The university may also add homebuyer education services to the mix of assistance offered to employees for whom it is creating housing. Although many universities have taken the step of creating housing for their employees, this is the least common type or model identified in the scan of the 24 examples of programs outlined in Table One.

There are several barriers that keep many universities from using the developer model for their EAH programs. One is the sheer complexity of the real estate development process, particularly the full range of required planning, construction, and community response aspects that make up the housing development process. Access to land is certainly a challenge for urban universities who are tempted to try this model. Many urban universities are essentially land locked, located in neighborhoods in established cities that are completely built out. In those cities where universities can develop housing, the only parcels large enough to make a project worthwhile are often those already owned by the university, where the trade off between future academic construction and present housing market demands is difficult. A second barrier is the cost of development. In the short run, it is certainly a cheaper per-employee-strategy for the university to provide a direct housing finance or service benefit rather than invest in the development of a new housing unit. Finally the challenge of engaging the community in the housing development process can be a real deterrent for universities looking to create new housing for its employees. Universities may feel that they have to compromise too much to fully engage the community in satisfactory partnerships over community housing development. If it does not engage the community the university may be vulnerable to resistance and opposition that can not only damage its relationship with the community but also doom the housing development as well. Depending on the quality of the relationship between the university and the community, the community may resist any real estate development or expansion of the university. The developer model, with its high cost, complexity, and the amount of time required to get to results, is the least common model of EAH programs. Good examples of the complexities of such a model of university-community EAH housing development can be found in the Howard University case and the University of Minnesota listing in the scan summarized in Table One.

Taken together, these models, along with their underlying motivations, provide an overview of the scope of university based EAH programs. The models alone, however, tell very little about the potential impact of an EAH on a university and its community, nor can much be inferred regarding the context in which university EAH programs best work. At a minimum, the typology of models provides a foundation upon which to base study of specific EAH programs and organize a deeper assessment of their usefulness for universities and the communities that exist in their shadow. The following three cases are an attempt to provide this deeper assessment.

Case Study – Case Western Reserve University

With an institutional philosophy and mission statement that proclaimed the university to be "a resident" of the city, Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, established an EAH program with a clear set of goals that went beyond simply encouraging its employees to live in its surrounding neighborhoods. The EAH program was designed, in part, to serve as a key vehicle for connecting Case Western with those neighborhoods, community organizations, and the City of Cleveland—in short EAH is viewed at Case Western as a tool for leveraging the institutional relations necessary for community as well as university development. This case study describes the context of the university-community relationship, outlines the structure of the program and its outcomes, analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of the model, and identifies some key lessons learned from the experience of the Case Western Reserve EAH program.

Background, City and Neighborhood Context

The last few decades have not always been kind to the city of Cleveland. The city was challenged by the decline of manufacturing that affected many Midwestern and northeastern "rustbelt' cities in the 1970s and 1980s, experiencing serious economic disinvestment and population flight to its suburbs and other regions during this time. Once known as the "mistake on the lake", the city has undertaken a serious effort to redefine and reinvent itself. Planners and public officials hope to transform the moribund manufacturing region into a knowledge-based economy centered on new clusters of biomedical and information technology, and shifting what's left of the manufacturing base to "high technology" manufacturing (City of Cleveland, 2005). The city has also built and repackaged its store of cultural amenities, including the Rock-N-Roll Hall of Fame, and a dense museum complex in the University Circle neighborhood. Downtown redevelopment efforts have filled in parts of the city core and given these sections of Cleveland a fresh look: attractions such as Jacobs Field, The Gund Arena, and the Warehouse District are trying to draw and keep people downtown.

The neighborhoods of Cleveland also faced significant decline and disinvestment during the1970s and 1980s. This is confirmed by census data, which shows that between 1960 and 2000 the city lost 50% of its population, declining from 878,000 to 476,000. Nearly all of this population loss occurred in the neighborhoods. Some neighborhoods, such as Hough, St. Clair-Superior, and Glenville, all of which serve as neighbors of Case Western, lost up to 60% of their populations. As a result of this population decline, these neighborhoods now exhibit large amounts of vacant homes and vacant lots. These neighborhoods are also predominantly African-American.

Case Western Reserve University was established as the result of the 1967 merger of two neighboring institutions, Western Reserve College and the Case School of Applied Science. The two colleges trace origins back to the 1800s and their union nearly four decades ago solidified their dominance in a part of Cleveland best exemplified by its title of the University neighborhood. The communities immediately surrounding the University neighborhood are: Forest Hills, Shaker Square, Glenville, Hough, and Fairfax. These communities vary greatly, ranging form strong upper middle class communities to neighborhoods suffering from severe disinvestment.

For most of the past 20 years, Case Western has worked aggressively to remake its campus and immediate environs. A master plan in 1988 resulted in more than $350 million in capital improvements (Case Western, 2005). New academic buildings and student residence halls were included in a 2001 master plan. The new plan has an estimated cost of $500 million and envisions a campus that is more integrated with the University's neighboring communities and institutions, particularly the University Circle cultural center. The university is one of the city's major employers and, because of all this activity, is a major anchor presence in the downtown area, with 5,400 staff and over 9,000 students (Case Western, 2005).

The greater Case Western area is home to an extremely diverse set of institutions and attractions. The University Circle area, the key cultural center in Cleveland, is located just outside of the Case campus. Figure One shows the University Circle area and the dense mix of cultural institutions that surround it. The area takes its name from a train turn-around that was located at the end of Euclid Avenue, one of Cleveland's main thoroughfares. More than 70 cultural, education, religious, science, and medical institutions are in the area. Severance Hall is the home of the Cleveland Orchestra. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland Institute of Music, Cleveland Music School Settlement, the Crawford Auto-Aviation Museum, and the Western Reserve Historical Society are examples of institutions located in this area. University Circle is a critical cultural feature of the neighborhood, and includes the types of amenities that are a draw to area. The vibrant cultural activities along with the EAH program provide incentive for Case employees to live in the area.

Program Structure and Outcomes

Case Western established its EAH program in 2003. Using our model and motivation framework, we characterize the program as a hybrid finance and connector/ facilitator model. Case Western uses the program strategically, with the clear recognition that the University and the community can both gain from the program. The program motto is "building the community where you work". The program goals reflect a motivation to embed itself in the community and the city as much as possible. The goals include:

- strengthening the relationship with the city and the neighboring communities;
- making neighborhoods more viable for residents who currently reside there;
- encourage faculty and staff to live in the immediate neighborhood; and
- engage community partners already working to revitalize neighborhoods.

Figure 1. University Circle Area Institutions*

*Source: University Circle Incorporated website, www.universitycircle.org, accessed on May 15, 2006.

Case began the program by doing its homework in three important ways: (i) research and planning to secure an understanding of the best approaches to EAH, (ii) partnership and collaboration with the appropriate community, financial and policy stakeholders and (iii) tailoring an appropriate and attractive range of financial products and services for potential home owners.

The university Vice President for Community Relations began with research on existing university employer assisted housing programs and made visits to Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania. From these visits, the VP learned that partnership was a key aspect from the inception of the program. The next step was to determine who should be involved in the planning for the program outside of the university. The Vice President for Community Relations took the approach that community organizations, particularly local CDCs, lenders, and the City of Cleveland should all be involved in the planning for the program.

Seven community partners were enlisted to discuss the University interest in an EAH program. All of the groups were either community development corporations or provided housing assistance: Fairfax Development Corp., Famicos Foundation, Glenville Development Corporation, Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers, Little Italy Redevelopment Corporation, Northeastern Neighborhood Development Corporation, and Center for Community Solutions. The groups were supportive of the idea. All are now listed as resources on the Case Western EAH website, and provide a housing service that is supportive of the EAH program.

The Famicos Foundation was a key partner in the program and is fairly typical of Cleveland's well developed industry of community development corporations. One of the oldest community development corporations in the city, Famicos was created in 1969 and serves the neighborhoods of Hough and Glenville. The Hough neighborhood is one of the poorest in the city, with nearly half of its population living below the poverty line at the 2000 census. Famicos conducts a wide range of activities, including housing development and property management, education, and community organizing. Housing development has been the core activity – the group has created over 700 units of housing including affordable and market rate units. As do other CDCs, Famicos provides homebuyer education courses to the EAH program.

Fannie Mae also partnered with Case Western by making available products that were tailored for employer-assisted housing. Fannie Mae first partnered with Case though its foundation, which engaged the University in its 1998 University-Community Partnership Initiative (UCPI). This project funded the creation of a community development database and the creation of an online tool for homeownership education. Although this project was not a part of the initiation of the EAH, it did lay the groundwork for a Fannie Mae role as a financial partner in the EAH.

The eligibility requirements of the Case Western EAH were fairly typical of a university based program. Eligible participants must be full-time, benefits-eligible employees, in good standing at the university. A minimum of a 3% down-payment is required and the participants must purchase the home as a residence for themselves. The home purchased may not be a gift. First-time homebuyers are required to take an approved financial planning or budget counseling class offered by a community partner. The home must be purchased within Cleveland, although there are special incentives for employees to purchase the home in Wards 6, 7, 8, or 9.

The benefit structure of the Case EAH is a two-tier system. The program offers a home-buying assistance grant for up to $10,000 for employees buying a home in Cleveland. The benefit is distributed over a six year period, with $5,000 in the first year, and $1,000 distributed for years two through six. This benefit jumps up to $15,000 if the home is purchased in one of the immediately surrounding neighborhoods – including Wards six through nine. For these buyers, the first year benefit is $7,500, with a $1,500 benefit for years two through six.

In addition to these direct benefits from the University, participants may also be eligible for special financing programs through the City of Cleveland. The City's Mortgage Assistance Program, in partnership with local lenders, offers low-income homebuyers, who earn less than 60% of the area median income, low interest financing. They must purchase a currently vacant property and use the funds for rehabilitation. The City also offers other types of assistance including tax abatements for up to 15 years for rehabilitation and new construction purchases, as well as funds to support historic preservation rehabilitation. The Living in Cleveland Center partners with thirteen lenders that offer low-interest financing with down payment assistance to qualifying homebuyers. The income limits for this program are $66,480 for a one or two person household up to $77,560 for household of three or more. A Case Western employee who 'piggybacks' these benefits on top of the EAH benefits can gain significant assistance for the purchase of a new home.

At the end of 2004, 81 Case Western employees had participated in the program. A total of 61 of these employees have either purchased a home or received a renovation loan for a home through the program. Seventeen of these homes were purchased within the special incentive neighborhoods that immediately surround the campus. A good majority of the homes, thirty-nine, were purchased within Cleveland, but in other neighborhoods.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Model

One key strength of the Case Western model is its foundation in community-based planning. Early consultations between the university and the community grounded the program in a set of relationships that served to provide community support for the long term. Even though some of these early meetings were very informal and limited to informing the community about the key goals of the program, the tradition of consistent, visible community-university conversation served to meet the early goal or "motivation" of producing an EAH program built around good university community relations. Case opened the door for a more trusting engagement with the community with this approach. Another key strength of the program is the way it works to connect participants to other benefits, many of which are significant. The program essentially helps participants leverage their EAH benefit for other benefits that can enhance the $15,000 EAH benefit. Finally, although the benefit rate varies by neighborhood, the program is open to employees looking to purchase a home anywhere in the city. This is strength in that it maximizes the choice of housing that can be made available to potential participants. For example, an employee who is currently a renter in a neighborhood outside of the primary university neighborhood area is still eligible, even if she wants to purchase a home in the neighborhood in which she currently lives.

Ironically, offering the flexibility to purchase a home anywhere in the city may a weakness of the model as well as a benefit, particularly in the long run. The community revitalization and relations impacts of the program can be diluted by this provision if the home purchases are spread out across the city. It is possible that no single neighborhood, and importantly none of the neighborhoods in the immediate university area will perceive an impact of the program, because there will not have been enough concentrated home purchases in any single neighborhood. In neighborhoods with very high vacancy and abandonment rates, as is the case in some of the university's nearby neighborhoods, a few new home buyers are not going to change the neighborhood much, nor change the perception of the university by the residents who live there. The motto of the program is 'building the program where you work', which it may have more impact at the city level, but not neighborhood level.

Strengths and weaknesses of the model aside, the program has been very productive in its first two years. It is clearly able to attract employees and deliver assistance that helps them to become homeowners in Cleveland.

Case Study – University of Chicago

In 2003, the University of Chicago (U of C) and the University of Chicago Hospitals created an employer assisted housing program in partnership with Neighborhood Housing Services of Chicago (NHS), a nonprofit housing services organization. The partnership was the result of an effort by the Metropolitan Planning Commission (MPC) to help employers in the Chicago region establishes employer assisted housing programs. The Employer Assisted Housing Program (EAHP) offers forgivable loans, homeownership education, and one-on-one home buying counseling to U of C staff and faculty. This case study examines and analyzes the EAH model used by U of C/U of C Hospitals to offer housing assistance to its employees. It describes the historical context for the program, the goal of the program and the benefits it offers to employees, as well as the impact and potential impact of the program.

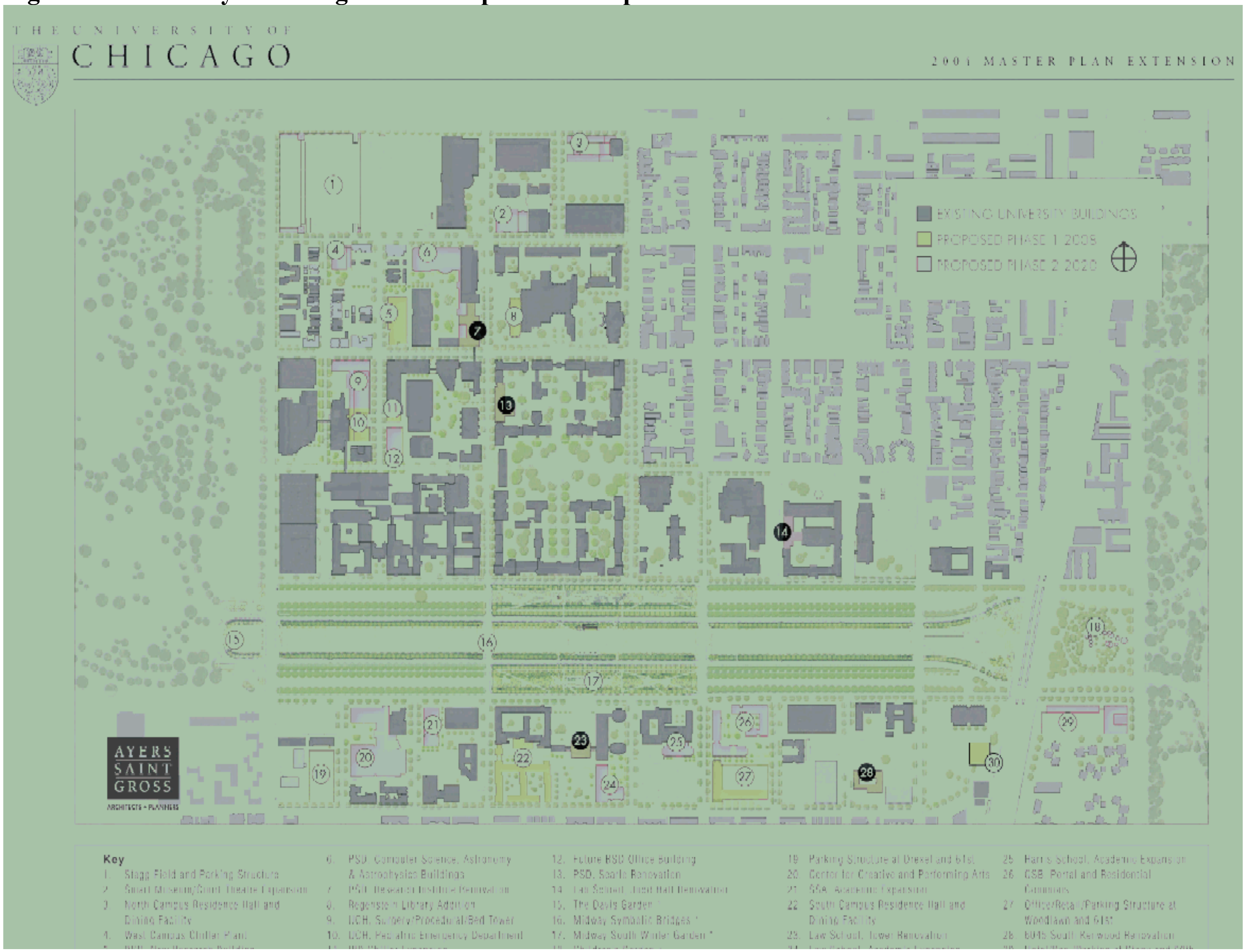
Background, City and Neighborhood Context

U of C is located in the Hyde Park neighborhood on the South side of Chicago. The immediate surrounding communities include the Kenwood-Oakland neighborhood to the north, and the Woodlawn neighborhood to the south. Large parks and Lake Michigan form natural barriers to the west and east of campus, respectively. These communities are home to nearly 80,000 people. Hyde Park is estimated to have about 30,000, another 20,000 live in the Kenwood-Oakland neighborhoods, and the Woodlawn neighborhood has about 27,000 residents. Hyde Park is somewhat of an island of diversity within the largely segregated south side of Chicago, with 44% of its population being White, 38% African American, 11% Asian, and 6% Hispanic. However, the surrounding communities are much less diverse. The racial makeup of all four communities is 66% African American, 21% White, 5% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 2% multiracial (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 2002).

The history of the relationship between U of C and its surrounding community is characterized by a high level of university involvement in redevelopment efforts and community distrust of that involvement. Since the 1930s, university action and policy with regard to the community has been met with opposition. For most of this time, the university role in development issues had been primarily responding to external pressures, such as an influx of population during the 1930 and 1940, racial change in the surrounding communities in the 1950s through the 1970s, and constant upward pressure on real estate values in Hyde Park caused by a lack of quality housing in its surrounding communities. Recently, however, U of C has made a clear effort to extend its presence into the surrounding communities, with efforts such as expanding the boundaries of its police coverage, new developments on the fringes of its campus, and by creating a new campus master plan.

Figure Two shows the U of C 2004 Campus Plan Map. Although the university has always had buildings south of the Midway Plaisance (the wide strip of green across the lower part of the map), much of its current plans for expansion is in the area south of that greenbelt.

Figure 2. University of Chicago 2004 Campus Plan Map**



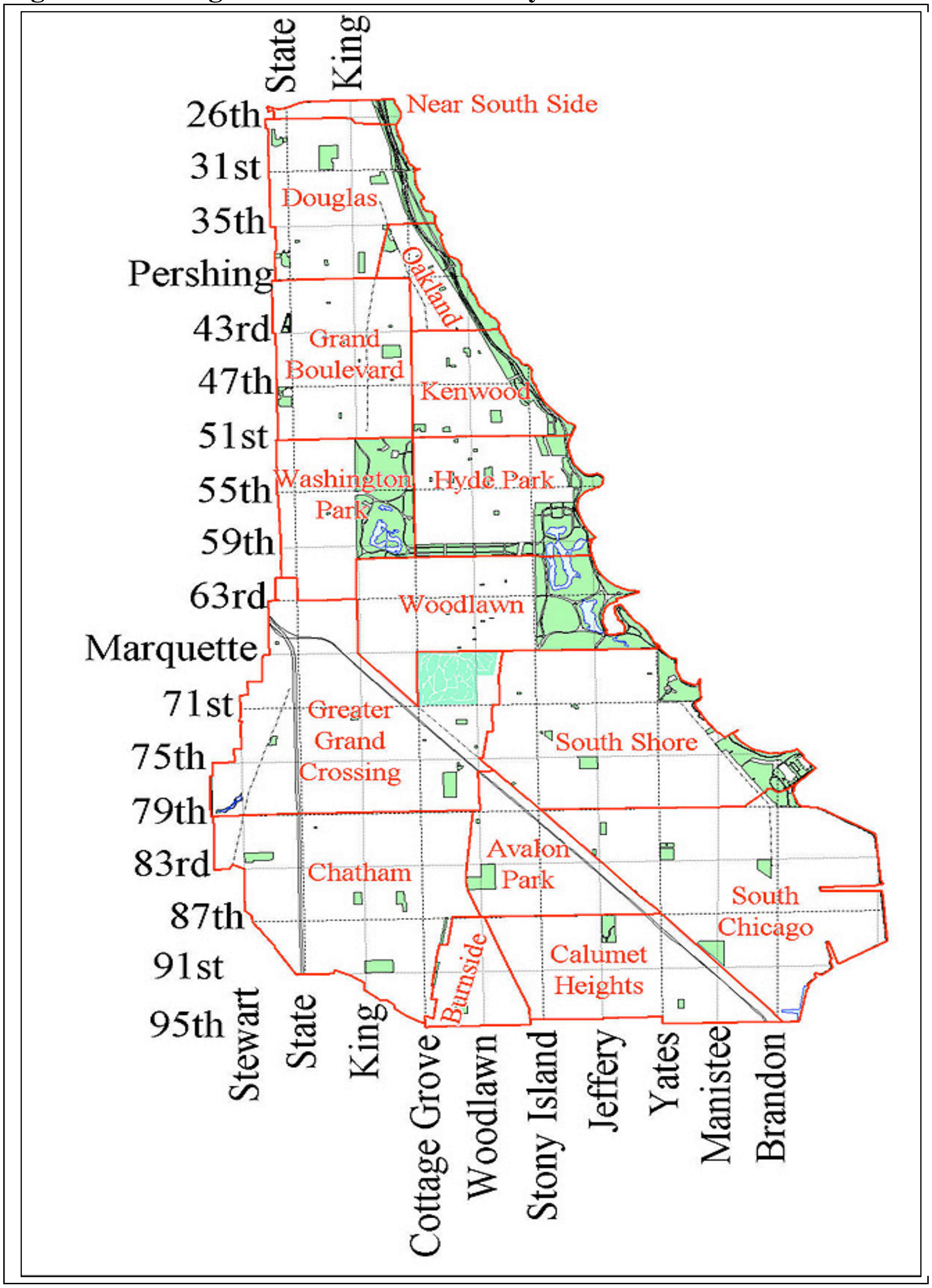
**Source: University of Chicago 2004 Master Plan Extension, http://facilities.uchicago.edu/campusconstruction/ , accessed on May 15, 2006.

Figure Three shows the Hyde Park community area, which is the primary EAH neighborhood and its surrounding neighborhoods. The "green" boundaries formed by the lake, and parks to the east and west, as well as the Midway Plaisance to the south have traditionally helped to both buffer and isolate the University and Hyde Park from the surrounding neighborhoods. The secondary EAH communities include Kenwood, Oakland, Washington Park, and Woodlawn. The gentrification frontier neighborhoods of Washington Park to the West and Woodlawn to the South have been less connected with Hyde Park than Kenwood and Oakland to the North.

Not unlike most major universities, the relationship between U of C and its immediate community has become a key feature of the community. U of C is not just in Hyde Park, it is in fact *most* of Hyde Park in terms of several key measures: land (acreage); population including resident students and employees (total number); and in economic activity (number of businesses owned). The history of the university-community relationship in Hyde Park is one rooted in tension between the university and the collective interests of residents – many of whom attend and work for the university. This tension is apparent in the legacy of Urban Renewal in the Hyde Park neighborhood. In the 1950s and 1960s the university became the driving institution behind the use of Urban Renewal policies to clear land, much of which included dilapidated housing and criminal or unwelcome uses of property. The planning process behind the land clearance promised the community a cleaner, safer, neighborhood with quality housing choices. However, as was often case with urban renewal projects during this time, the land in Hyde Park was developed for uses that were perceived to serve the needs of the university more than the needs of the community. This outcome fed a distrust of the intentions of the university by the community that remains today.

Such community distrust was also very common in other university communities and as such the context for this case is certainly instructive of the issues facing many university-based EAH programs. The U of C, with its appointment of a forward-thinking university Vice President for Community Relations set about changing this contentious context. One strategy in this long term agenda has been an employer assisted housing program. The university has initiated an effort to extend its resources and physical presence into the surrounding neighborhoods, including promoting new developments on the fringes of campus and the hospital complex. In an effort to be a better neighbor, the university is taking a decidedly more collaborative approach in this endeavor than it has in the past, particularly in its planning. For example, community engagement is occurring at the early planning stages of development, and community input was included in the creation of a master plan for the campus. These steps are important, but it will take time for the university to overcome a history of contention and mistrust of its activities by residents and leaders of it neighboring communities.

Figure 3. Chicago South Side Community Areas***



***Source: City of Chicago. Department of Planning and Development

The common challenge facing the community and the university today is the skyrocketing property values in the area that have put homeownership well out of reach of a good portion of its current residents including most of the 12,000 employees who work at U of C. The median home value in Hyde Park of $271,020 is well above the median home value for the City of Chicago of [$132,400, (Census Bureau, 2002). This leaves very few housing choices for the typical university or hospital staffer living in Hyde Park, and even less for low or moderate income residents of Hyde Park and its neighboring communities. The average salary of a junior U of C faculty member in 2004 was $70.4 (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005). At that level of household income, a faculty member in a single earning household would be able to afford a home valued at approximately $210,000, using the standard of affordability for home value at three times household income. In 2002, just over one-quarter of the specified owner-occupied units in Hyde Park were affordable to this junior faculty member. The rising home values may eventually become a recruitment challenge for the university as prospective faculty could choose jobs at other universities with lower relative housing costs. The need to address this issue was the common ground for a partnership between U of C and Neighborhood Housing Services of Chicago (NHS).

Program and Outcomes

The EAHP was created in 2003 as a partnership between U of C/U of C Hospitals and NHS. The program is designed for the university to help qualifying employees become homeowners and encourage them to live in Hyde Park and its surrounding neighborhoods. The partnership was forged with the assistance of the Metropolitan Planning Council (MPC), a regional policy and advocacy organization serving the greater Chicago area. MPC has been working with and encouraging employers in the region to offer an Employer Assisted Housing program as a strategy for addressing the job housing spatial mismatch in the region.

NHS of Chicago is a thirty-year-old housing services organization. The organization serves the entire city, and has nine neighborhood offices scattered throughout the city. NHS has recently opened a class site facility in Hyde Park, although it is not one of its nine neighborhood offices. Its primary services include: homeownership counseling, financial assistance for first-time homebuyers, and loans for the purchase of homes intending to be rehabilitated. NHS is a member of a national network of organizations chartered and supported by the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, a congressionally funded national intermediary charged with supporting local organizations that partner with community organizations, government and key local institutions to revitalize communities.

The program is focused on homeownership assistance for the purchase of homes in Hyde Park, Kenwood-Oakland, and Woodlawn neighborhoods. Its benefits include a $7,500 forgivable loan, homeownership education, and one-on-one homeownership counseling. In addition, the program acts as a resource for information on local realtors and listings that may help with the search. NHS may also connect employees to its other programs outside of the EAH. These services include programs that offer housing assistance provided by the city, state, or private sources.

Any qualifying employee of the University or its hospital system may participate in the EAHP. The qualifying criteria are based on household income, price, and location of the home being purchased. Household income limits are $72,000 for one person, $90,000 for 2 people, and $105,000 for 3 or more people. As a the goal of the program is to encourage employees to purchase homes in Hyde Park and the surrounding communities, the qualifying home must be purchased in one of those communities. Hyde Park is the primary area, and homes purchased for less than $387,000 are eligible for the forgivable loans. The three other neighborhoods are in the secondary area, and are eligible if they are purchased for less than $211,000.

Participating in the program involves several interdependent steps. Participants must attend a one-on-one counseling session with an NHS staff person who reviews the preparedness and creditworthiness of the individual for homeownership. They must then complete a four–session homeownership education curriculum run by NHS. After successfully completing these sessions, then they begin one-on-one counseling with NHS designed to assist them with the mortgage application and search process. Once he or she has found a home to buy in a qualifying neighborhood, the employee is eligible for the $7,500 forgivable loan, which is distributed by NHS at the time of the closing of the sale. The $7,500 is forgiven over a period of five years. If the home is sold within that time, the employee must pay back the remaining portion of the loan.

It is important to note that the U of C provides additional support to the program beyond the cash for the financial benefit. The university also pays the salary of the NHS staff person assigned to the program, and provides the individual with office space within the University for meetings with employees. The university provides appropriate community space for the homebuyer education courses and other homebuyer fairs or events. In addition, the university supports the marketing costs of the program.

U of C employees have actively used the program, a total of 396 have entered at least the first step of the program since 2003 (Metropolitan Planning Council 2005). The program is achieving its goal of encouraging employees to purchase homes in neighboring communities. By the end of 2005, 105 completed the full curriculum and purchased homes in either the primary or secondary community areas. Many of these buyers are first time-homeowners, for example, 17 of the 18 who purchased homes in the first half of 2005 were first-time homeowners. These employees are also receiving other assistance, with the help of NHS to connect them to city, state, and other sources of assistance.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Model

The EAHP model can be characterized as a 'service provider' model. In this type of EAH, the institution is not a primary financial partner with the employee and the primary benefits are services or other resources offered to the employee. This model is useful for the employer in that it is a way to provide some financial assistance and help employees achieve homeownership at a very low cost and low risk to the employer. Employees who participate in the program may become homeowners in the immediate or surrounding communities, helping to stabilize those areas.

This model is also well suited for the particular needs of employees – some of whom may be buying a home for the first time and find the complexity of the process to be a challenge. Offering a homeownership curriculum paired with one-on-one counseling helps to better prepare employees for homeownership. While the $7,500 in forgivable loan would cover only a portion of the down-payment for a home in an area where the median home value was $271,000 in 2002 (a 10 percent down payment would be $27,000) it can help to make owning a home a possibility, particularly for those employees who are on the margin of affordability.

It can be argued that the community gains some benefit from any EAH program targeted to a specific community. In this case, Hyde Park and its surrounding communities gain new homeowners who are well prepared for homeownership and less likely to default on a loan. The surrounding communities of Kenwood-Oakland and Woodlawn may gain more than Hyde Park in that they gain homeowners who may have chosen to live elsewhere. The homeowners also add a stabilizing presence of individuals who live and work in these neighborhoods.

This model does have its limitations. First, in a university neighborhood like Hyde Park there are few affordable housing units in general and there are even fewer affordable units available appropriate for the family types who most often fall into the range attracted by the EAHP. In the case of Chicago, the median family size of EAH applicants is a bit more than two. The service provider model employed here offers demand-side assistance only and can do little to offset the short supply of available housing in the highly competitive market of a university town. With such a limited supply, there is a great incentive for employees to live outside of the community. Second, in these highly competitive markets, housing prices, as in the case of Hyde Park, are so high that financial assistance available in the service provider model offered by NHS and U of C is the key hurdle for employees. Obviously, a higher financial benefit and a mix of benefits, such as low-rate loans or even tax assistance would certainly encourage more employees to stay in communities such as Hyde Park. The training and education requirement of service provider types of EAHP offers a third challenge that may constrain the program's impact. The requirement of completing homeownership education is a key aspect of the service offered to employees; however, some may see it as a barrier, particularly if they need to purchase quickly or if they are not first-time homebuyers. Employees may calculate the time involved and decide it is not worth the benefit, particularly if they are not fully committed to purchasing in the program target area.

Another limitation of this model is the targeting of the benefits to individuals, specifically the employees of the institution. This aspect of the model limits the direct benefits to the community. While the community does gain from the program, as noted above, its benefits are indirect and limited – such as increased homeownership which takes time to truly impact a community. The model may not gain much in the way of goodwill from the community. Residents who are not connected with the institution are likely to be indifferent to this model, since neither they nor any of their non-employee neighbors can benefit in any direct way, and because in this case the partnering organization did not have a long history of leadership presence in the community. The institution would need to rely on other efforts to directly affect its relationship with the community in a positive way.

Even with these limitations, the EAHP at the University of Chicago has achieved significant results in the brief time it has existed. It is viewed as an example of how a strong 'service-provider' model can work in a high pressure local housing market. The focus on buyer preparedness and direct financial assistance helps those most challenged by such a housing market – first time homeowners. Because of these elements of success, the university and the NHS will continue the program, even though it cannot affect the very limited supply of housing in the neighborhood. And while the model also does not offer any direct impacts for the community, it is a satisfactory partnership between the U of C and a local housing service provider that can ultimately gain some goodwill from the community, if that group maintains a legitimate leadership presence in the community.

Case Study - Howard University

In 2001, Howard University in Washington DC completed the development of 45 units of housing in its neighboring LeDroit Park community. The completion of these units, through a "developer model" EAH program – the LeDroit Park Initiative, ended more than 25 years of stalemate between Howard and the community over the declining conditions the neighborhood and the role of the university in such decline. This third case study focuses on the story of how Howard used a short-term EAH program to redevelop a historic neighborhood, create some new housing for its employees, improve its relationship with the community, and create a catalyst for new investment that expanded to a 150-block area surrounding the university.

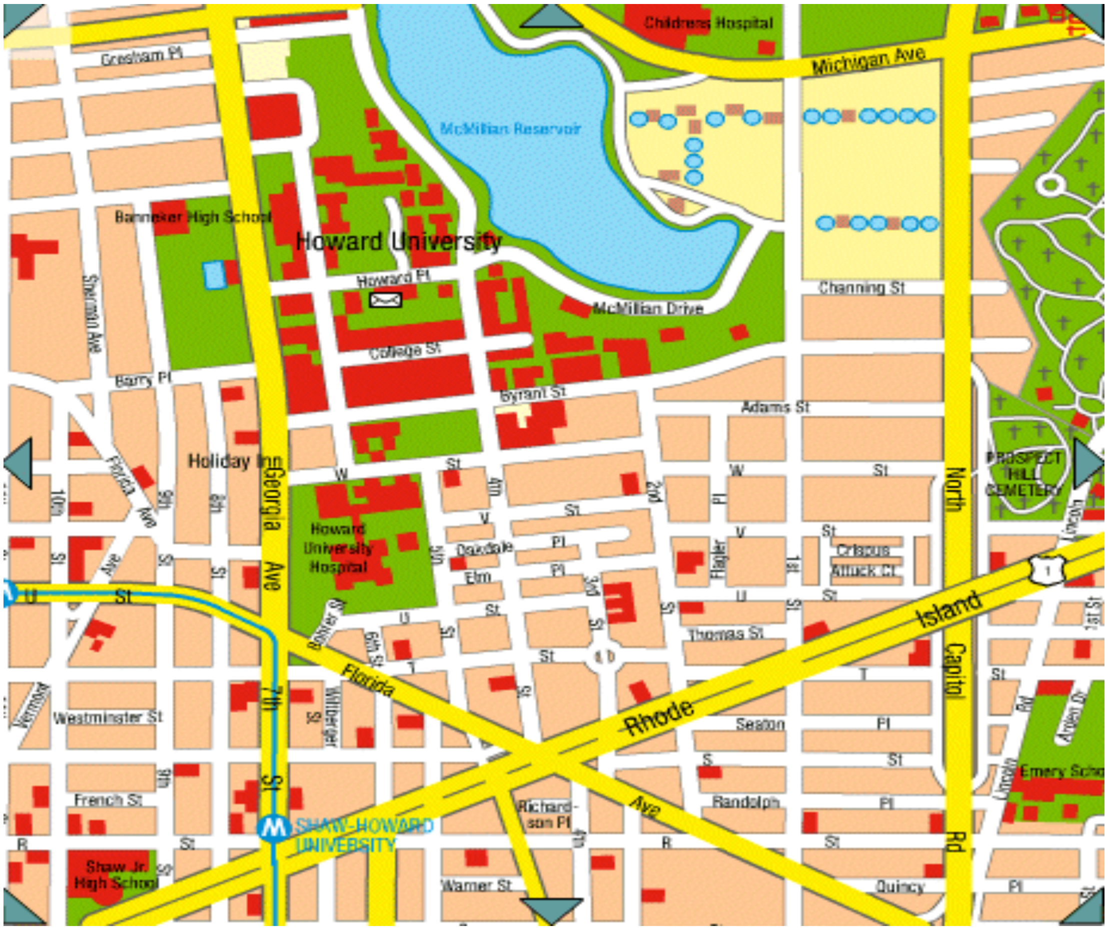
Background, City and Neighborhood Context

To understand the motivation behind Howard's LeDroit Park Initiative, it is necessary to first explore the geographic and historical context that created the situation to which Howard responded with an EAH program. Howard University is arguably the most prestigious historically black college/university (HBCU) in the US. Located in Washington DC, the university was founded in 1867, with its incorporation initiated by a Congressional Charter for the purpose of educating free blacks.

LeDroit Park is a small neighborhood that sits just to the south of the university. Figure Four shows the Howard campus and the neighborhood just to its south. The area that was the focus of the Howard EAH is south of campus, but north of the Rhode Island and Florida Avenue diagonals. LeDroit Park was carved out of land purchased as the site for Howard University in 1870 to protect and maintain a segregated white suburb next to the university. However, by the turn of the nineteenth century, LeDroit Park had transformed from a segregated white suburb into an exclusive neighborhood for the educated African American upper class, the home of many illustrious African Americans, including Mary Church Terrell, Dr. Charles Drew and poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, precisely because of its proximity to, and affiliation with, Howard University.

In the mid 1960s, Howard developed a campus expansion plan that included the re-purchase of the LeDroit Park area for a hospital. The goal was to grow in ways that would make the university more competitive with other HBCUs. In 1969, the university decided to purchase land, without consultation or approval of the residents living there. Pursing expansion without community input is a strategy that came back to haunt Howard, as residents quickly mobilized to block and slow its plans. Through the activism and influence of the various community groups supported by the black elite, community consultation became a requirement in all neighborhood redevelopment plans in the District. As Howard's plans slowed, residents were able to get the neighborhood on the national register of historic places in 1974, permanently protecting it from demolition. This community response effectively stopped Howard's planned demolition and expansion into the LeDroit Park neighborhood and started a stalemate that was to last over 25 years.

Figure 4. Howard University Campus Vicinity.*†



*† Source: Howard University Library website,
www.howard.edu/library/CampusMaps/default.htm , accessed on May 15, 2006.

Howard continued to own 45 units in need of repair. The Historic Registry designation significantly raised the cost of their rehabilitation. Furthermore, the elite that had once occupied the area were joining the exodus of black middle class and elite who were leaving large central cities during the 1970s. What was left in LeDroit Park was a divided community of poor renters and community associations representing the 'historic' interests of former residents of the community, neither of which could effectively combat the neighborhood decline that ensued. Howard's failure to demolish or develop the 45 deteriorating parcels was interpreted by the low-income residents – the people most affected by this revitalization stalemate - as benign neglect of its property that fueled the community's perception of Howard as an arrogant, elite and uninvolved neighbor.

By the mid-1990s, Howard was facing multiple challenges. The 45 homes in LeDroit Park had fallen into serious disrepair and the area had heavy drug activity. At the same time, Howard's surrounding neighborhoods lacked quality housing for its faculty and staff. Housing prices in Washington DC were beginning to put the cost of housing out of reach for Howard employees, putting further pressure on the university to address the housing need. In 1996, the university chose to address its relationship with LeDroit Park in a different way than it had in the past, by using a hybrid developer EAH model.

The Employer Assisted Housing Program

The LeDroit Park Initiative (LPI) was created in 1996, a hybrid EAH model that blends the developer and financial partner models. The university, with little development experience, formed a loosely based development partnership with Fannie Mae. Fannie Mae provided the development expertise, financing and homebuyer programs while Howard provided land and a connection to the community as a primary stakeholder. This development partnership carried out the LPI revitalization activities. The analysis of the LPI that follows looks at the two distinct components of Howard's hybrid approach, the developer side of its activities as well as the financial partner aspect of its program.

Howard and its development partners restored 28 houses and constructed 17 new homes recapturing the historic character of nineteenth century LeDroit Park. The homes were restored with exceptional attention to detail, recapturing the design features of James H. McGill’s original architectural style. Fannie Mae financed the development, which helped to keep the costs low, and enabled LPI to offer initial sales price ranging from $89,500 to $210,000. Fannie Mae also offered eligible participants mortgage finance assistance. In addition, Howard offered mortgage finance assistance.

The homes were first marketed to Howard faculty who, the developers believed, would appreciate the short commute. Faculty members were unwilling to become urban pioneers in a neighborhood that was, for the most part, a slum. Unable to attract its faculty, Howard then expanded the eligibility criteria for the EAH to encourage home ownership among its staff; employees of the District including police officers, firefighters, teachers; as well as longstanding elderly community members.

Here, because of the substandard physical condition of LeDroit Park, Fannie Mae and Howard worked very hard to create incentives to attract a critical mass of homeowners With this critical mass, the development partners hoped to create a viable housing market that would grow and inspire other property owners to improve their property to comparable standards. In essence, these first wave of LeDroit Park homes were “loss leaders”. The key to success was the integration of committed homeowners with shared community values into the neighborhood. As a result, the potential homebuyer in the new and renovated housing program was required to have the financial stability to become a good and involved neighbor that would stay in the neighborhood and own the home for a minimum of five years.

Given the weak real estate market in the neighborhood at the time, there was tremendous risk to investing in LeDroit Park. Howard wrote off acquisition and carrying costs in an effort to keep the housing affordable, adopting significant risk. The investment has paid off for Howard, Fannie Mae, and the initial homeowners of the redeveloped properties. Since the program ended in 2001; the 45 homes have significantly increased in value with sales prices ranging from $175,000 - $559,000 in January 2004. As an added bonus to homeowners, Howard and Fannie Mae made no attempt to recapture a portion of the appreciation as a part of the housing program.

Having Fannie Mae as a partner helped Howard in two key ways – as partner for financing the development and as a source of financial assistance offered to homebuyers who were purchasing redeveloped homes. Howard University President, Patrick Swygert, hoped that recruiting Fannie Mae as a partner would assure the neighborhood that Howard was serious in its commitment to improve the community and that this commitment was not a subterfuge for the expansion of the University. The Fannie Mae affiliation also created a financing model for the redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods. Fannie Mae's investment in the LeDroit Park Initiative exceeds $20 million. Beyond financing real estate market and architectural studies, Fannie Mae provided a full time executive to support Howard University in the design, development and implementation of the Initiative. Howard's partnership with Fannie Mae was loosely based, as there was no formal partnership agreement. Yet even without a partnership agreement, Fannie Mae has exceeded all expectations with its commitment to this revitalization project - financing both the rehabilitation and renovation of the housing and the development and construction of the new residential properties.

In addition to the financing the rehabilitation and renovation, Fannie Mae purchased special mortgage revenue bonds issued by the District of Columbia Housing Finance Authority, allowing it to provide homebuyers with below-market 30-year financing at a 5.9% interest rate. To obtain this interest rate, prospective homebuyers were required to make a three percent (3%) investment as a down payment and to live in the home as the primary residence for a minimum of five years. When all of these requirements were met, Howard provided a seven percent (7%) subsidy to help the new homeowner meet a 10% down payment requirement.

Program Outcomes

The Howard model, as the resolution of more than 25 years of revitalization stalemate, is not driven by real estate market conditions of supply and demand. Employer assisted housing programs typically are implemented where the demand for affordable housing exceeds the supply in a stable neighborhood with a growing real estate market. The market determines the housing product and the cost. For this reason, the homes are usually subsidized because of their type and location in areas with good market conditions – an area, which the worker/homeowner cannot afford to live without the subsidy. As the housing market conditions continue to improve, the homeowner benefits from the appreciation in the value of the land. These "typical" real estate market forces do not apply to the LeDroit Park Initiative. To the extent that the Howard University program is a "model" to be replicated, it is in Howard's attempt to defy traditional or typical market forces to build a self-sustaining and stable neighborhood.

As a first step to improving its interactions with the community, the development team began collecting reliable data about the condition of the neighborhood. To instill confidence in this data, the partners hired an independent firm, Sorg & Associates, to complete a comprehensive field study of the 150-block area surrounding the university campus, parcel by parcel. The study was financed by the Fannie Mae Foundation in May 1998 and encompassed the neighborhoods of Bloomingdale, Pleasant Plains and LeDroit Park; as well as the McMillan Park Reservoir and the Georgia Avenue Corridor.

While conducting this study, the working group of Fannie Mae, Howard University and Sorg & Associates collaborated to define an active "ecology" of a healthy neighborhood. Determining that commercial development was an intrinsic part of the ecology, the group initially focused on Georgia Avenue and its contribution to a commercial perimeter tht was east or north of the campus. To help make LeDroit work, the group decided to follow the 1990 strategic plan to redirect Howard's commercial activity to Georgia Avenue, including the $6 million renovation of Howard University Hospital Emergency and Trauma Center, the campus bookstore, a Starbucks Coffee shop, a police station, administrative and offices for the Howard University Community Association, an advisory committee comprised of community members, the University staff, faculty and students.

Meeting weekly, for almost two years, the working group was finally ready to engage in candid dialogue with the LeDroit Park community. Determined not to have a glib and meaningless conversation, Dr. Hassan Minor, Senior Vice President at Howard, established the parameters of the interaction – the responsibility of the university was to develop the plan and the role of the community was to review the plan and to give it thoughtful consideration. Howard sought to build credibility and establish trust. What the community expected from Howard was reliable information about the board of trustees' redevelopment decisions. Howard learned to accept that, at times, its objectives would differ from the community's - and during those moments Howard and the community learned to agree to disagree. These lessons were not easy for either side, but in time, Howard and the community were able to establish comfortable parameters for continued community interaction. It was within these new parameters of community discourse that the development team and community were able to complete the study and create a community-based revitalization model that embraced three guiding principles – the celebration of history, redefining the community and enhancing life quality – together.

To implement the LeDroit Park Initiative, Howard was forced to become more responsive to community concerns. They did so by listening to members of the community talk about the condition of the land that Howard owned, and empathizing with them about the consequences the deteriorating condition of the property had on their community. This new approach in community interaction led Howard to commit to becoming less insular and more open to the community.

The benefits of the LeDroit Park Initiative to Howard University are considerable of a developer model EAH program – the LeDroit Park Initiative. After 25 years of conflict and obstructing any and all university plans, the community members finally opened up to Howard and listened to its plans, not an easy accomplishment since so much of the former distrust was well deserved. But the big reward to Howard for all of its effort is found in Dr. Minor's reflections – "any university project is expedited with strong support from the community" – and now Howard University can finally count on that support from LeDroit Park.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Howard University Model

The Howard University employer assisted housing model was, in reality, the equitable resolution of longstanding community problems. The EAH model, phase I of the LeDroit Park Initiative, improved the overall condition of LeDroit Park through the renovation of architecturally significant houses for moderate-income homebuyers, Howard staff and homebuyer eligible community members. The revitalization of these 45 sub-standard lots owned by Howard University for nearly 30 years became a catalyst to revitalize a 150-block area surrounding the neighborhood. The biggest strength of the Howard model was the production of good housing product that became a catalyst for redevelopment for other neighborhoods throughout the community.

The Howard model proved to be a success for moderate-income homebuyers. The production of new housing fulfilled Howard's primary goal - improving its relationship with the neighborhood by eliminating the true source of the conflict, the 45 deteriorated parcels. But, because Howard erroneously defined "the community" as the primary constituents in the revitalization stalemate, this "affordable housing" product did little to address the needs of the people who lived in LeDroit Park. The lack of attention to the housing needs of these constituents skewed the revitalization premise toward the upscale restoration of an elitist neighborhood abandoning the many low-and moderate-income renters that actually lived in LeDroit Park, people who could never afford, or appreciate the significance of, the upscale housing product produced by Howard. These low-and moderate-income renters, marginalized for 30 years by the revitalization stalemate, were finally displaced by its resolution.

Therefore the Howard case is as much about the unintended consequences of professional and exclusionary modes of community-university relations and the resultant issues of displacement and gentrification as it is about reversing neighborhood decline and the role of EAH as an elemental feature of the direct development of housing in university communities.

Comparison and Analysis

The three cases were selected because together they represent the diverse range of EAH programs: by type, contextual situation, and motivations. These three elements of EAH program diversity were derived from the initial scan of the thirty-eight university-based EAH programs presented in Table One.

Types

We found in our scan and in the case analysis that most university EAH programs tend to be hybrid versions of the four types or models described previously. This tendency toward hybridity is especially clear in the case studies. The Case Western Reserve example is a program that mixes elements of the financial partner model with the connector/facilitator model. The U of C model is a hybrid of the financial partner and service provider models. The mix of the developer and financial partners' models is exemplified in the Howard Case. But because Howard is a good example of the university as a real estate developer, it tends to be even more complex and distinctive in its structure when compared to the two other cases. However, a key distinction between the U of C and Case Western models is the fact that U of C contributes financial support to its service provider partner, effectively making it a source of the services provided. Case Western provides referral to those services only.

Contextual Differences

One key lesson from our study of EAH is that "context" matters. The Case Western Reserve study, for example, shows, both by its prominence in the city and its city-wide approach to EAH, that its role as an "anchor" of city development, continuity and future change informs both its definition of itself and its programmatic approach to EAH. Case Western's home neighborhood is called the University neighborhood, a reflection of its signature presence there and in the city at large. When the university considers its role in being a good neighbor – that role plays out in terms of the multiple neighborhoods that border it and city wide. Although this could dilute impact and be a major weakness of the model in the long-run, consideration of whether the EAH impacts the university-community relationship must consider the relationship of the university and the city. In this case, the university was explicitly motivated by all four 'R's, adding 'civic' to the last 'R' of community revitalization. This is a contextual factor that sets Case Western apart from other cases and offers some lessons for how a university may go about reinventing its role in the city.

The case of the University of Chicago is somewhat different. There is no doubting the prominence of the university—not simply to the city but to the world and yet the U of C exhibits a long history of division and out-right contestation with its neighboring communities. For a long time U of C was a national poster child for the university as an "island" motivated by land policies that were some of the worst examples of urban renewal expansionism. Through innovative new initiatives, the university has gone a long way towards overturning this history, but the mistrust runs deep. Add to this U of C context the presence of high and rising property values and we have a case somewhat distinct from Case Western. Gentrification will likely change the surrounding U of C neighborhoods in the next 10-15 years. Within the context of the market forces that are affecting much of the city of Chicago, sorting out the impact of gentrification pressure and the impact of university presence, is difficult. Regardless of whether the university grows or remains constant – the neighborhood will change. While the U of C program has been successful in attracting new participants, the community relations and revitalization outcomes of the EAH in the U of C case are likely to be mixed in with past history and future up ticks in the housing market, no matter how innovative the EAH program is. These patterns of long term town-gown struggles and increasing gentrification pressures will play a role in many if not most university-community land and housing development relations and therefore the U of C case bears watching and their approach to EAH is an important one. Sorting out the mixed demands of context and new housing prospects will require more comparative study and further research that drills-down to sort out the impacts of specific buyers.

Howard University, like the University of Chicago, was challenged to overcome deep-seated mistrust in a community of economically distressed neighborhood similar to the one surrounding Case Western University. In stark contrast to both the University of Chicago and Case Western, the Howard EAH program was limited to the disposition of 45 parcels of land that Howard owned. Although Howard was perfectly willing, even intended, to become a revitalization catalyst for inner city District of Columbia neighborhoods, the university had no intention of providing housing beyond the 45 parcels it owned. The Howard EAH program was created to dispose of substandard property owned by the university in a manner that would curry favor with the surrounding neighborhood so that Howard could proceed with its campus maser plan without community interference or contention. Through the EAH program and its new policy-making paradigm, Howard actually received the community's cooperation and approval. But the case also suggests that even large scale capital investment and partnership by a university can be limited and the consequential impacts of direct development and EAH often contribute to community displacement and set the stage for gentrification and displacement.

Conclusions

A key goal of this research has been to produce lessons that could be useful both to the management and administration of universities who seek guidance on partnering with communities, as well as to communities and community organizations that partner with universities. There are three types of lessons that we believe can be extracted from the cases. There are operational lessons about the best way to structure a program to have it produce results. There are also contextual lessons about the external factors that affect the impact of the program – such as the real estate market, and the past history of the university-community relationship. Finally there are overall lessons about the efficacy of EAH programs as a potential tool for community development; one that can enhance university-community relationships.

Operational Lessons

Of the four types of EAH programs, the research presented here suggests that the most efficient program will be a hybrid one that offers direct financial benefit and engages experienced partners with the capacity to provide the services and supports needed. The University of Chicago EAH is a good example of the hybrid approach. The program engaged an established partner – Neighborhood Housing Services, offered important services that are universally available to residents, while also offering employees a direct financial benefit. Although the direct financial benefit of a $7,500 forgivable loan is a low percentage of the typical home purchase price in the target neighborhoods, it became an important piece of a larger benefit package when layered with other state and local benefits for which the employee could potentially qualify. This approach is an effective way to serve the recruitment and retention motivations for establishing EAH.

A second lesson about the way to structure these programs involves the critical role of high level university administrators. A large part of the success of EAH can be found in the way the program is initiated. In all three cases, the initial discussants, and arguably the key agents, in the creation of the programs were high level university administrators. At Case Western, the idea for the program and the initial outreach to community partners began with a high level university vice president for community relations. Howard had a similar situation, but in that case, a change in staffing at a high level led to the end of a stand off between the university and the community and cleared the way for the EAH. The University of Chicago has a very engaged Vice President of Community Affairs and Real Estate who was and remains instrumental in the success of that program.

The engagement of visible community partners will help to enhance any effort to improve a university-community relationship. In the case of EAH, however, visible partners may help to serve a marketing function as well as provide valuable input and gain community approval of university plans. The university may find that a community partner lends credibility to its program, even employees who work for the university may not immediately trust a university housing assistance program.

Contextual Lessons

The research presented here looked at only three cases in depth. Further study would be needed to truly validate any contextual lessons outlined here. Whether these lessons are truly representative of the broad spectrum of EAH programs needs to be affirmed. Having said this, however, there are external elements that are key to these very instructive cases.

One potentially important contextual lesson is the fact that without a clear financial benefit to the potential homeowner or renter, an EAH program in either a very tight <u>or</u> a low value real estate market probably will not work. In tight markets, where demand is high and supply is limited, the financial benefit is needed to make it more possible for the potential new resident to enter the market. This was the case in the U of C context. In markets that include neighborhoods with very low values, the financial benefit is required as an incentive to get potential buyers to choose this market over others.

A second lesson deals directly with the nature of the university- community partnership where the real strength of the partnership rests with the breadth and depth of the services each partner can provide potential residents in the program. While the core of the EAH may provide services primarily to the employees of the university, the EAH partnership can go further providing ancillary or spin off benefits from the partners to all the residents of the community. For example, U of C and NHS have formed a partnership based on appropriate and real roles for each partner. This is a good basis for an effective partnership.

Overall Lessons

A key overall lesson emerging from this research is that EAH can be an effective way for universities to address a housing shortage for their employees, or a particular segment of their staff. The analysis shows that EAH can be a good tool for universities to help provide or lower the cost of housing for their employees in a very direct way. Offering the financial benefits that are part of the financial partner model is one of the easiest and least costly ways for universities to provide housing assistance to their employees. The University of Chicago case, with its success in helping 105 of its employees become homeowners in neighboring communities in less than three years, offers clear evidence of the utility of the EAH tool when the right partners and the right types of assistance are assembled. It shows how an EAH program can effectively meet university goals of recruitment and retention of staff.

Although an EAH program serves as one way for universities to provide housing assistance to their employees, the modest size of most EAH financial benefits often make them limited resources with which to face high housing costs in university communities. For example, a $5,000 forgivable loan may not help much in a community where the homeownership choices for families begin at nearly $400,000. Given that many university neighborhoods are experiencing rising values such as these, this gap is likely to widen as housing costs increase. There is an opportunity now for universities to begin to think more creatively about how they structure the benefit to better match the reality of the housing market in which they are situated. For example, while most universities use a fixed amount of cash for down payment assistance, they could shift the benefit to a percentage match on the down payment, which would allow the benefit level to stay proportional to the value of the home being purchased.

The scan of existing programs in Table 1 and the case study data presented here highlight the significance of a geographic target for EAH programs at the neighborhood level. The lack of, or presence of a locational requirement for some of the programs in the scan seems to be consistent with the motivations of their universities for offering an EAH program. EAH programs that universities offered primarily as an employment benefit would not have a geographic target (or possibly have a weak geographic focus), while those that were motivated by both a community development effort by the university and the need to offer an employment benefit would have a locational focus. For universities in large urban cities, unless an EAH program has a geographic requirement at the neighborhood level; its community development impact is likely to be very limited or too dispersed to be perceived by any single neighborhood.

While most EAH programs are designed to respond to the university need to provide more accessible housing for its staff, the efficacy of EAH as a tool with which to both revitalize a community and improve university-community relationships is not quite as clear. It is too early to safely determine the community development impact of the three EAH programs studied here. However, in all three cases, the number of new homeowners created by the programs is relatively small, especially in the Case Western case, where some of its neighboring communities have extremely high levels of disinvestment and poverty. Adding 50 new homeowners spread out across nine different neighborhoods is not likely to change much in these neighborhoods immediately, but it is a start. Further research will be needed to determine the long range community development impact that might have been leveraged by such results. .

The Howard case shows that if the university-community relationship suffers from a history of contention and mistrust then the potential for a tool like EAH to help improve that relationship, by itself, is fairly low. The LeDroit Park battle was a highly visible battle standoff that had a long-term damaging impact on the university-community relationship. Redeveloping 45 homes for university and municipal staff is certainly not going to heal that wound immediately, but it certainly has an impact on the contiguous community. The University of Chicago has also had a contentious history with its community. The impact of over 100 new homeowners is also not going to heal wounds in its relationship with the community that date back over 50 years. But then again each of these programs is only a part of the service package, especially in the case of U of C and it would be equally unfair to suggest that the university is putting all its community development eggs in the EAH basket.

An important overall conclusion here is that trust plays a significant role in any university-community relationship, and EAH programs are no exception. In most cases, the non-university connected residents and leaders of neighborhoods in the shadows of universities do not trust or are at least indifferent to the explicit intentions of the university. If a university has been a bad neighbor in the past, creating a program such as an EAH that mostly benefits its faculty and students and does very little to directly benefit the community will continue to work under a veil of mistrust. Unfortunately, this produces the classic chicken-before-the-egg situation, where trust is required to truly engage a community, but at the same time it is real engagement that helps to build trust between the university and the community. EAH that does not address this conundrum will do little to overcome the lack of sound development relations between universities and communities and rather than creating a good array of meaningful affordable housing options will continue to muddle the historic town gown issues of mistrust. Such conditions will simply ensure that the university succumbs, once more, to the self-fulfilling prophecy that universities do not make good neighbors. In sum, universities may be best advised to make sure that EAH is first and foremost a true exercise in partnership; where the first goal is to build relations of trust with the community, rather than just provide housing to their employees.

References

Bluestone, Barry, Richard Maloney, and Eleanor White, 2003. A Primer of University-Community Housing Partnerships. Prepared for the Annie E. Casey Foundation by the Center for Urban and Regional Policy (CURP), Northeastern University.

Case Western Reserve University. 2005. "Case & Our Neighborhood: Center for Community Partnerships" webpage at www.case.edu/community/econ/. Accessed on June 30, 2005.

City of Cleveland, Department of Planning. 2005. *Connecting Cleveland, Citywide 2020 Plan.*

Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005. *Annual Faculty Salary Survey*. Results accessed on webpage at www.chronicle.com. Accessed on June 30, 2005.

Deitrick, Sabina and Tracy Soska, "The University of Pittsburgh and the Oakland Neigbhorhood: From Conflict to cooperation, or Hos the 800-Pound Gorilla Learned to Sit with—and not on—Its Neighbors" in David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel (eds)., 2005. the University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis. M.E. Sharpe Publishers.

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University and Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation (NRC), 2000. Employer Assisted Housing: Competitiveness Through Partnership.

Fannie Mae Foundation, 2001. Building Partnerships for Neighborhood Change: Promising Practices of the University-Community Partnership Initiative. Prepared for Fannie Mae Foundation by Abt Associates, Inc.

Fannie Mae Foundation, 2004. Employer-Based Homeownership Programs: A Business Case. Prepared by the National Community Investment Fund.

Metropolitan Housing Council. 2005. "REACH Annual Report", webpage available at www.metroplanning.org. Accessed on July 22, 2005.

Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 2002. Updated Census Data by Community Area.

Perry, David C. and Wim Wiewel (eds)., 2005. the University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis. M.E. Sharpe Publishers.

Schwartz, David C., Daniel N. Hoffman, and Richard C. Ferlauto, 1992. Employer Assisted Housing: A Benefit for the 1990s. Bureau of National Affairs, Washington DC.

Weber, Rachel, Nik Theodore and Charles Hoch, " Private Choices and Public Obligations: The Ethics of University Real Estate Development," " in David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel (eds)., 2005. The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis. M.E. Sharpe Publishers.

Howard References

Anderson, Jervis. *A Very Special Monument.* The New Yorker, March 20, 1978.

Carr, Lynch Associates. *A Program of Neighborhood Conservation for the Anacostia and LeDroit Park Historic Districts.* Final Report submitted to the District of Columbia Department of Housing and Community Development, November 15, 1978.

Cheek, James Edward. *"Adieu! James Edward Cheek."* New Directions: The Howard University Magazine, July 1989.

District of Columbia Strategic Neighborhood Action Plan. Report prepared by the Government of the District of Columbia Office of Planning. Washington, D.C.: Summer 2002.

Dyson, Walter. *Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education.* A History: 1867-1940. Washington, D.C.: The Graduate School Howard University, 1941.

LeDroit Park, Illustrated. Washington, D.C.: A.L. Barber & Co., 1877.

Logan, Rayford W. *Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867 - 1967.* New York: New York University Press, 1969.

McGill, James H. *A Collection of Designs for Suburban Houses, with Extracts from the Building Regulations and Lien Law of the District of Columbia Interspersed with Advertisements of Builders and Dealers in Building Supplies*. Washington, D.C.: 1879.

Melchor, Beulah. "A History of the Title to the Campus of Howard University, 1651 - 1885." Masters dissertation, Howard University, 1943.

Moore, Jacqueline M. *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital, 1880 - 1920.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Robinson, Harry G., III, and Hazel Ruth Edwards. *The Long Walk: The Placemaking Legacy of Howard University.* Washington, D.C.: Moorland-Spingarn Research Center - Howard University, 1996.

Scarupa, Harriet Jackson. *Toward a University of the First Rank with James Cheek: A Decade of Changes, Unprecedented Growth.* New Directions: The Howard University Magazine, Swygert, H. Patrick, The Strategic Framework for Action, Washington D.C., 1996

The National Register of Historic Places. *A Brief History of LeDroit Park*. Report prepared by W. Ray Luce. National Park Service, February 4, 1975.