Universities and their communities: what fosters positive town-gown relations?

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UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES:
WHAT FOSTERS POSITIVE TOWN-GOWN RELATIONS?

by
Nicole M. Spagnolia

A Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Master of Arts Degree in the Graduate Division
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Approved by

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The purpose of this thesis was to decipher what solutions and approaches have worked in solving conflicts between colleges and their communities and make the information available to other schools.

A review of research related to this study was conducted in conjunction with in-depth interviews with college relations personnel from various institutions. The information gathered was then used to conduct primary research in the form of a mail survey.

The mail survey was sent to 400 college relations personnel from across the country. The survey was used to discover what conflicts colleges are experiencing with their communities and how they resolve problems.

It was concluded that public and private schools in urban and rural areas experience the same types of problems with the community. Results also indicate that the two-way symmetric model of communication is the most effective in solving town-gown conflicts.
Nicole M. Spagnolia

Through a literature review, in-depth interviews and a mail survey, this study sought to determine what solutions and approaches have worked in solving conflicts between schools and their communities.

It was discovered that the two-way symmetric model of communication was most effective in solving town-gown issues and improving community relations.
Acknowledgments

I wish to express my appreciation to those people whose contributions of time and assistance made this study possible.

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Chapter I
Introduction

Several incidents on Rowan University's campus in Glassboro, New Jersey have begun to frustrate and distress town citizens and the local police department, according to an article in the *Gloucester County Times.* Residents wrote to the paper expressing concerns over the excessive use of the police for campus matters and to complain about rowdy Rowan students. They claim, "students are misbehaving, being loud, and disrespecting their property and neighborhood by gathering on their lawns and stealing lawn ornaments."1

The above situation is not unique to Rowan and Glassboro. Colleges and universities throughout the United States experience many problems with their communities. The phrase "town-gown relations" refers to the relationship between a school and the community. While schools generate revenue in communities and provide cultural opportunities, towns blame higher educational institutions for a variety of problems. Therefore, the town-gown relationship is often strained and hostile.

Poor town-gown relations causes negative media attention and unfavorable publicity for a school. A positive relationship with the community can benefit a college in terms of marketing and image. Some college guides that profile different schools now

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include a town-gown relations category, to inform prospective students about the community climate.

Schools with town-gown problems should try to improve the situation using a two-way symmetric model of communication based on mutual understanding and benefit. Authors James Grunig and Todd Hunt (1984) describe the two-way symmetric model as a process in which practitioners use research to discover how publics view the organization. Then, they use the information learned to change the publics' attitudes and behaviors, alter the organization's attitude and behavior or both. This requires cooperation between the community and institution, who need to listen to each other and work together. Often colleges and communities have different perspectives on the problems, which divides the two sides. According to authors James Conway, Robert Jennings and Mike Milstein (1974) in their book Understanding Communities, the town believes that it must take an aggressive approach in resolving conflicts and so "community pressure groups have stepped up their activities and influence." Opinion leaders in towns threaten schools with litigation because they know it grabs the attention of college administrators. While this approach may seem effective, in a report entitled Achieving Formal Agreements, Mark Eldrige (1996) argues that institutions interpret this aggressive action as an attack from the community and in turn become defensive, intensifying the problem.

There are over 1640 accredited four-year colleges in the United States. Together the schools enroll 14 million students at the undergraduate and graduate level. These colleges and universities, "understand that positive public attitudes about higher education are important because they affect college enrollment, financial stability and support of

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academic programs."\(^5\) Last year, the University of Massachusetts organized a town-gown conference, "Shaping Our Common Destiny," to acknowledge the issue. At the conference, several institutions presented papers on what has been done to improve relations at their school. The conference failed to take all the information, ideas and agreements that were discussed and combine them, to establish the most effective solutions for schools in similar situations. College relations personnel would consider access to such findings helpful, to obtain information and ideas to improve their individual town-gown situation.

**Statement of the Problem**

Many institutions have been unsuccessful in improving town-gown relations and do not know how to break the communication barrier between the town and college. This study asks the question: what major conflicts exist between four-year colleges and universities in urban and rural settings and what can be done to solve these problems?

Many institutions have failed at attempts to improve town-gown relations. "Literature on strategic planning and marketing in higher education supports the observation that colleges and universities spend too much time on quick fixes and short term gains."\(^6\) Quick fixes may solve a problem temporarily, but do not improve community relations. However, several schools have succeeded and solved conflicts with innovative, long-range solutions achieved through a two-way symmetric model of communication.

Take the example of the University of Washington. In 1992, the local community and the Settle Police Department were frustrated with the irresponsible behavior of drunken fraternity members who lived off campus in an area known as "Greek Row." Residents of the community felt that the university was doing nothing to curb the behavior of its students and police were not enforcing state alcohol consumption laws. The


\(^6\) Ibid
university sympathized with the complaints of the community, but had no real control over students living off campus.

The university president decided to form a task force. "Never before had students, faculty, staff, administrators, police, fire officials, liquor control board officials and representatives from the public sat down to confront one and another and correct what had become a national embarrassment for higher education."7 The group discussed concerns, guidelines, and procedures for the future that considered all points of view.

As a result, the task force put together a document that listed several requirements that all fraternity and sorority chapters should adhere to. By 1993, nearly all chapters had signed the agreement. The agreement yielded immediate results and 1993 was uneventful with regard to complaints.8

Schools face another conflict -- parking. The University of Vermont, located in Burlington, had a significant problem with parking. There was a lack of parking spaces on city streets and neighborhood yards were being used as parking lots. Residents were frustrated and upset over the issue. Since this was such a problem, the community opposed any additional growth. The university wanted to construct a new building. After much debate, in 1990, the city of Burlington and the university were able to compromise. The city would approve the additional building if the university worked on eliminating the parking and traffic problem. The university took the following actions: provided 400 additional parking spaces, a shuttle service, staggered class and work schedules, and developed pedestrian walkways.9

8Ibid. 5.
Not all problems are caused by students. Communities feel that institutions abuse "their tax-exempt status to operate money-making activities." Many communities wish to revoke the property tax exemption that institutions have been entitled to. Currently, state legislators in Louisiana have challenged the tax-exempt status of Tulane University. State representative Author M. Morrell said, "Tulane makes money, like any other business. If they didn’t…they would close up;" therefore, they should pay property taxes like any business.

To combat this tax battle, colleges and universities are pushing figures. Administrators want the community to know how much the school contributes to the community through employment and purchasing. Economic impact studies are a way, "for the public to see the college as an employer and taxpayer, one that draws students and visitors from across the country and does much of its business locally." Institutions fighting to keep their tax exemption status use these studies in relevant materials and speeches.

Some critics of economic impact studies argue that institutions contribute more than money to the community. These studies leave out the fact that universities have valuable resources available to community members which contribute to the cultural climate of the town. Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, opens its on-campus art gallery to the local schools and even provides speakers and projects so the children can learn about art.

Also, college students usually take part in a variety of community service projects. Students participate in the community by building houses for the homeless, mentoring and tutoring children, and volunteering in hospitals. This "community service initiative [not

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12 Ibid, A47.
only] enriches the academic experience of students," but the results directly benefit the community. Some administrators and leaders might argue that teaching a child to read, even though it cannot be measured in monetary terms, is more valuable to a community than anything money can buy.

The previous pages show that solutions do exist to tough town-gown problems and that when colleges and communities work together both sides benefit.

**Delimitations**

Because of the vast number of higher educational institutions in the United States, this study is limited to 10 four-year public and private colleges and universities in rural and urban settings. The 10 schools randomly selected for the survey were regional institutions from these states: New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. A mix of public and private and urban and rural colleges of all different sizes were selected.

They are listed below with setting and student enrollment:

**Public**

- Rowan University  rural 200 acres  7,896 students
- Shippensburg University  rural 200 acres  5,657 students
- West Chester University  rural 547 acres  9,422 students
- University of Delaware  rural 1000 acres  14,829 students
- Temple University  urban 82 acres  19,016 students

**Private**

- Dickinson College  rural 87 acres  1,771 students
- Princeton University  rural 600 acres  4,593 students
- Elizabethtown College  rural 180 acres  1,728 students
- Drexel University  urban 38 acres  6,805 students
- University of Pennsylvania  urban 260 acres  11,024 students

This study will not look at single-sex institutions, two-year community colleges and institutions located in suburban areas.

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It would be impossible to examine in detail every town-gown conflict mentioned in the literature. This study only includes the most common town-gown problems, determined and measured by research. A content analysis of articles in journals, magazines and newspapers provided the quantitative data to decide the most prevalent problems.

The survey conducted is limited to members of communities, either the students, faculty, administrators, residents, or opinion leaders in the towns where the schools are located. A separate category has been created to accommodate administrators at schools not listed above.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to decipher what solutions and approaches have worked in solving conflicts between schools and their communities and make the information available to other colleges and universities. In this manner, schools can attempt to improve community relations by looking at examples of institutions that have succeeded and follow their lead. The study will show what does not work and what communities and colleges could be doing differently. When the conflicts are solved, both schools and communities can reap the benefits and take advantage of the resources that each offers, thereby improving town-gown relations.

**Hypotheses**

This study was necessary to test the following town-gown hypotheses:

**Hypothesis I** - It is expected that rural and urban colleges/universities will experience different types of conflicts with the community.

Using the five major problem categories discussed in the following literature review this researcher will compare major conflicts between colleges and their communities in both rural and urban settings. This researcher expects to find few...
similarities in the major conflict/problem areas. The Campus and The City, a report written by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1972) suggests that schools in urban areas face more intense and potentially explosive problems than other colleges throughout the nation.

**Hypothesis II** - It is expected that public and private colleges/universities will not experience different types of conflict with the community.

Using the five major problem categories discussed in the literature review, this researcher will compare these major conflicts between private and public universities and their communities. This researcher expects to find many similarities in the major conflict/problem areas. In-depth interviews with college relations directors from both private and public institutions revealed similar experiences.

**Hypothesis III** - It is expected that most colleges and universities find the following five areas most problematic: parking, housing, Greek life (noise, parties), alcohol (unacceptable behavior) and objection to a school's tax-exempt status.

This researcher will compare the five suggested major conflict areas with the problem areas college relations directors say they actually experience. From this comparison this researcher expects to find that the major conflicts actually effecting community relations are the same as the five listed. According to Wallace Warfied (1995) in his article, "Town and Gown: Forums for Conflict and Consensus Between Universities and Communities," a school's community relations are often marred by problems such as off-campus housing, parking and complaints about student behavior (noise, alcohol and Greek life). In addition to those problems, a school's impact on the economy can create conflicts. Warfied also mentions that though problems may vary in intensity at different schools, the most common conflict areas are usually the same.
Hypothesis IV - It is expected that schools that include the community in planning and policy discussions (2-way symmetric communication) and communicate openly with the community will experience the most successful town-gown relations.

This researcher will examine positive community relations to see what elements of communication contribute to its success. It is expected that most successful community relations involve the community in the decision-making process to obtain a mutual understanding of the issues. This approach falls into one of James Grunig's four models of public relations -- the two-way symmetric model. Professors Grunig and Hunt (1984) in their textbook, Managing Public Relations explain that in the two-way symmetric model practitioners, in this case college relations directors, act as mediators between the organization (the college) and their publics (the community) to achieve a mutual understanding between the two. This mutual understanding will help improve community relations because both sides will make an effort and work to find a compromise to conflicts.

One assumption in this study is that the problems are typical of most public and private colleges in urban and rural areas. Also, the solutions suggested may not be applicable to every situation as each school and community are uniquely different.

Procedure

To test my hypotheses, this author researched schools across the country to find out what problems existed and the solutions used. Then, in-depth interviews were conducted with several college relations personnel from the 10 schools chosen for the study. In the interviews, participants were asked what he/she perceived the problems were between the school and community and how conflicts have been handled in the past.

From that information, a survey was constructed for college relations personnel. The colleges were randomly chosen from a college guide book. Each chosen school then
received a mail survey. The survey was designed to discover opinions about problems at
the colleges and suggested solutions to those conflicts. College relations people at the 10
interviewed schools did not receive the survey.

Intercept studies were conducted in some of the communities. The information
collected helped to determine solutions in solving conflicts and improving town-gown
relations.

**Terminology**

The following terms are used throughout this thesis. To help the reader gain a
better understanding of this study, it is necessary to define the following terms:

**Attitude** - An enduring and dynamic organization of beliefs about objects and situations,
can be positive or negative.  

**College or School** - Establishment for further or higher education, when used in this study
refers to a four year process, students can commute or live on campus, other words for
college in this study: university, school, and higher education institution

**College relations** - The department in a college that is responsible for handling
relations with the community, this department receives any complaints from the public.

**Community** - A body of people living in one locale

**Higher Education Institution** - Refers to college

**Private** - Schools that operate primarily through donations and gifts, tuition
averages between $13,000 - $18,000

**Public** - Schools that are funded by the state and must follow government
guideline, tuition averages between $6,000 - $8,000

D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education.
Terminology Continued...

**Rural** - A less populated area, country, secluded under 10,000 people in the population (not farm)

**Town-gown relations** - The relationship between a college and the community where the school is located

**Urban** - A highly populated area, living within the boundaries of metropolitan cities over 50,000 population
Chapter II
Literature Review

Literature relating to colleges and community relations was discovered using several different sources. This researcher conducted searches using the following on-line databases: Sociofile, ERIC, Searchbank and the Internet. Also, The Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) provided an annotated bibliography relevant to the thesis topic.

The following pages summarize, key topics referenced in the relevant articles and books used in this research.

Community Relations

Colleges and universities use community relations to show their goodwill, promote themselves and to improve or change the community. James Grunig (1984) in Managing Public Relations explains that "community relations programs are specialized public relations programs that facilitate communication between an organization and publics in its geographic locality."  

College relations personnel interviewed for this study suggests that a college should have good community relations so that the people will support the school on policy issues. This requires that the school become familiar with the community, listening to both

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concerns and criticism. James Conway asserts the importance of community communication. Conway suggests that an organization should always know the positions of individuals and groups of the community regarding policy matters before action takes place. This helps to limit the amount of dissatisfaction in the community toward the school. In an article written in *The Whit*, Rowan University Executive Vice President/Provost Carol Matteson also agrees that listening to the community is essential in resolving tensions and important if a school wants to be a good neighbor.

**Colleges and Their Communities**

According to Wallace Warfield in his article, "Town and Gown: Forums for Conflict and Consensus Between Universities and Communities," "universities are immersed in various forms of conflict as they go about the business of education, but none is more perplexing than the town-gown conflict encountered with host communities." These town-gown conflicts result from minor complaints about traffic congestion to more serious issues involving money. Susan Holton (1995) explains that the community and the college usually have two diverging ideas on the cause of the conflict and the solution for dealing with the conflict which results in separate desired outcomes. For this reason, these conflicts are difficult to solve because problems are diverse and towns and colleges view the numerous problems differently.

According to Conway, these conflicts are not always bad. Sometimes new ideas and a mutual understanding of the issues result from a conflict. However, colleges must battle the problem of poor town-gown relations to limit negative publicity and to improve the overall welfare of people in the community including the students attending the college. Peter Hollister (1992) author of "Neighborly Advice," acknowledges that every

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institution is unique and must consider different factors when dealing with town-gown relations. Yet he also believes that every solution revolves around developing a successful community relations program.

**Solving Town-Gown Conflicts**

Many colleges overcome community conflicts and live harmoniously within the community. The key to solving conflict according to Holton, is that the community and the college work together to create a list of common goals. Often these community meetings will show that the two sides do not differ on issues as much as first suspected. Andrea Barbalich (1992) in her article "Local Heroes," lists three colleges that enacted creative ideas to better community relations. One of the schools mentioned, the University of Michigan, broadcasts a half-hour community television show monthly to highlight what's going on at the university. Thus far the program has received positive community feedback.

The University of Arizona is another example. In 1990, a police officer was killed at the University of Arizona when responding to a disturbance between black youths and white fraternity members. To find something positive in this tragedy, the University of Arizona teamed up with a local community college to sponsor a conference on the "Dynamics of Culture and Bias". The purpose of this day-long event was to "increase understanding about motives of and reactions to prejudice and violence," among the community.17

To successfully complete programs like the University of Arizona did takes effort and planning on the part of the college. Consider the following suggestions for improving community relations.

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When beginning a community relations program, Peter Hollister (1992) suggests a college should involve the entire institution when making decisions, keep the community informed about college happenings, and speak in one clear voice. Also, research about the community will help the school communicate more effectively.

**Town-Gown Problems and Solutions**

**Traffic Congestion**

One of the most common problems that face colleges -- parking. In her article "Town-Gown Relations Prompt Ideas, Frustration," Goldie Blumenstyk (1988) explains that parking problems were one of the most frequently cited complaints among cities. Syracuse University was no exception. In 1986, the university completed construction plans that would produce a 50,000 seat stadium. Fearing the stadium would cause further day-to-day traffic congestion and heavy traffic on days of special events the residents of Syracuse opposed the plans. The school, aware of the city's concern adopted a program that, "gave citizens detailed project by project information on plans for rezoning and construction and an opportunity to discuss relevant issues." 18 The strategy worked and there was no further outright opposition. Syracuse's director of community relations, Stephen M. Chirello, states that, "nobody likes surprises, least of all your next door neighbors, by consulting with them on your plan rather than treating it as a foregone conclusion, you pave the way for easier negotiations." 19

Syracuse is not the only university with parking problems. Monmouth College, in Illinois expressed concern over its parking problem in a recent community newsletter. In order to keep up with increasing enrollment the school plans to expand its facilities. Parking will rank high on the list of priorities. President of the college, Richard Giese

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19Ibid, 28.
said, "We're taking parking very seriously, we know that's an important issue for our neighbors, and we will have a parking element as a part of the long-range plans."

Urban colleges also face the problem of limited parking. America's cities do not have enough space to accommodate the many students who live and commute to urban colleges. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1972) reported that the, "requirements for parking facilities and the increased traffic congestion in the vicinity of the campus place an excessive burden on the city." 20

To accommodate both the students and the community, many schools seek ways to construct more parking on campus in either the form of lots or garages. Other schools like the University of Vermont resolved some of their parking problems by offering a shuttle service and staggering class and work schedules.

**Housing**

Housing is another common problem that plagues town-gown relations. The University of Scranton faced a crisis in the fall of 1987 when the Scranton City Council threatened to evict over 700 hundred students from off-campus housing. The council decided to enforce existing zoning laws in response to pressure from the community. The community had become frustrated with the lack of parking and loud noise that resulted from students living in residential areas. The university took the city to court and won an injunction, blocking the eviction. Three days later the university and city reached the following agreement, "the occupancy limit was set at four, requiring the city to prove a clear danger of health and safety if it moved against a unit with more than four residents." 21 As a result, the university now works with the city on zoning revisions. Paul Brown, Director of Public Relations at the university, mentions that "while the courts

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should always be a last resort, our decisions to ask for an injunction when all else failed
was what finally [allowed us ] to solve our problems. I don't recommend lawsuits as a
general tactic, but you should not rule them out either."22

According to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1972), community
residents often feel that student housing greatly detracts from attractive residential areas.
Glassboro residents agree that Rowan University students living in off-campus housing
have undesirable effects on the otherwise peaceful community. On any given weekend
hordes of undergraduates overflow a party, gather in the street and in other public areas
prompting neighbors to call the police. According to an article in The Philadelphia
Inquirer, Glassboro police are consistently called to deal with drunk students who are
loitering and playing their music to excess. The community feels that Rowan should do
more to control its students but Rowan University's Dean of Students, Marguerite Stubbs
said," more than two-thirds of the school's population lives off campus in areas outside of
the university's jurisdiction. We have no idea who is renting those homes."

In an effort to resolve the issue, Rowan University and the borough of Glassboro
held a series of town meetings to discuss community concerns. Since so many students
live off-campus, one of the school's top priorities is to work with the town to make
landlords more responsible for improving the standards of housing. Only time will tell if
this approach will work but university officials said, "it's worth a try."

Alcohol and Greek Life

Over the last three years many academic administrators have expressed concern
over the growing number of alcohol-related problems involving students. Binge drinking,
defined as more than five drinks at one sitting within the past two weeks, seems to have
become a trend on our nation's campuses. Many Greek organizations are blamed for this
trend and a study by the Harvard School of Public Health suggests that such claims are

22 Ibid, 30.
warranted. The study reports that, "57% of fraternity house residents reported binge drinking three or more times in the past week compared to 36% of non-resident members and 18% of non-members." 23 As a result, these fraternity members are more likely to get behind in class work, do something they will regret and in some cases die. Consider the following examples: at Ohio Wesleyan University a 20-year-old student died in a fraternity house fire because he was too drunk to find his way out, at Clarkson University, 12 members of the Theta Chi Fraternity were charged with the death of a 17-year old new member and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology a student died after binge drinking with fraternity brothers. While these cases seem extreme, it should be noted that fraternity parties are often lead to loud disruptive parties that leave neighbors no choice but to call the police.

In response to these problems associated with binge drinking, many national Greek organizations constructed peer education programs to warn members of the potential dangers of binge drinking. Two national fraternities decided to break with years of tradition and ban alcohol in chapter houses.

"The trend of binge drinking, compounded by studies showing that civility is on the decline nationwide, has affected the climate of many campuses. The Journal of American Medical Association reported that 95% of all violent crimes are alcohol related."24 The University of Vermont, is just one school trying to correct and discourage binge drinking. The Burlington Police Department, where the university is located, reports "that approximately 95% of all calls for noise violations are alcohol- related."25

The University of Vermont teamed with the City of Burlington to combat binge drinking and the problems it causes. The article "Neighborhood Relations," (1996) lists the steps the university took to reduce the alcohol problem and improve community relations.

23 Study conducted by The Harvard School of Public Health.
25Ibid
Some of the steps include a student honor code and a brochure explaining the noise ordinance. The university police now work concurrently with the city police to "target neighbors with high [incidents] of student-neighbor disturbances."26

**Taxes and Tax - Exemption**

According to university relations director, Ed Ziegler a serious problem that plagues colleges is defending their tax exemption status. Communities feel that institutions abuse "their tax-exempt status to operate money-making activities." 27 Many communities wish to revoke the property tax exemption that institutions have been entitled to. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education expresses that the tax-exempt status of college property has always been a point of contention between the school and community. Currently, state legislators in Louisiana have challenged the tax-exemption status of Tulane University. State representative Arthur M. Morrell said, "Tulane makes money, like any other business. If they didn't...they would close up," therefore they should pay property taxes like any other business.28 The Carnegie Commission in its report on the campus and the city, agree:

> Regardless of rights given to schools by charter, colleges and universities should pay the usual taxes on any property held by them for non-educational purposes and when expanding their campuses, should make every effort to develop the property in such a way as to permit its continuation on the tax rolls. (Carnegie Commission)

Not only do colleges have to fight for tax exempt status, but sometimes they have to prove its worth in order to avoid tax cuts. According to Suzanne Dean's article (1989) "And The Taxpayers Taketh Away," in November 1988, the University of Utah faced this

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26Ibid
challenging task when residents of that state went to the polls to vote on what could have been a devastating tax initiative to the university. The initiative, one of three, would have "slashed the university's appropriation by 13 percent - some $15 million." In a desperate attempt to stop the initiative from passing, the university embarked on a advocacy campaign that triumphed in the end.

One of the weapons in the tax fight that colleges use are economic impact studies. Administrators want the community to know how much the school contributes to the community through employment and purchasing. In an economic impact study a college, "breaks down how much it spends on its payroll, supplies, and services. It lists its sources of revenue, including tuition, gifts, federal and state support and investment income. It then calculates how much it students, employees and visitors spend locally." For example, an economic impact study done by the University of Scranton states that the student body spent $6 million in the city and that the university contributed over $113 million to the city.

These studies are used in marketing plans and "to ease criticism that a college is siphoning municipal services and not giving back anything more than an occasional concert or lecture series."

Economic impact studies do not go without criticism. Some critics feel that the studies ignore all the resources a colleges can offer that are not monetary like community service. Students participate in the community by building houses for the homeless, mentoring and tutoring children and volunteering in hospitals. This community service not only benefits the community but is an integral part in the higher education process.

The University of Scranton, realizing the contribution that community service makes to the city, included a section in their economic impact study on volunteer services.

31 Ibid, A47.
The university estimates that students provide over 90,000 hours of volunteer service to local charities annually. Since community service has a new sense of importance, some colleges now require students to fulfill a certain number of community service hours in order to graduate.

**Public and Private Colleges**

Despite the differences between public and private colleges, both must deal with town-gown issues. Both public and private colleges use economic impact studies as a weapon to prove their worth in the fight for government money. In the article "Private Colleges Fight For Financial Health; Public Institutions find State Support Unreliable," Patrick Healy, Kit Lively, Joye Mercer, Julie Nicklin and Peter Schmidt (1995) argue that "private colleges are facing debilitating deficits and public colleges that serve large minority population find themselves increasingly on the outs with state policy makers."

This means that the two types of colleges must compete. Patrick Healy (1992), in the article "Tug of War Student Aid Moves To the State Capitals" states that, "competition between public and private colleges for state aid, may not be as old as the old tug of war, but it follows a similar pattern. Money, like the rope, is limited and the players will battle hard before letting go."32 This is unfortunate because private and public schools should work together and learn from each other. When pooling resources the colleges can find solutions to an array of problems including town-gown conflicts and financial limitations.

According to author Barbara Scott (1983), the government made one attempt to shrink the tuition gap between public and private schools by raising tuition at four-year state schools and increasing financial aid to students in the private sector. This was not

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completely effective and so the war for money between public and private schools continues.

**Urban and Rural Colleges**

Public and private colleges may have similarities in the problems they face but urban and rural schools do not. Rural schools face problems that are different from urban schools. One report entitled *Home, Family and Community: Ingredients In the Rural Education Equation* lists high rates of poverty and low levels of educational attainment as problems that are uniquely rural. The article "Addressing The Neglected Needs Of Rural Learners" by Doris Fitzgerald and Gaston Bloodsworth (1996) describes how these problems are overlooked because the needs and characteristics of rural students are ignored in an urban-oriented educational system. Researchers Alan DeYoung and Barbara Lawarence argue that educators in rural America must generate more money than their urban counterparts to operate schools where property values are low.

Urban colleges host their own share of problems. One major issue that urban schools must deal with is crime. Often students attending college in a city are the victims of robberies, muggings, rape and shootings. College officials must deal with the negative media attention that results if a student is seriously hurt in or just outside their campus walls. Plus, a college does not want students to feel afraid to walk around the community because it could hurt enrollment. If future students hear about a lot of crime on a particular campus, that potential student may choose to go somewhere else.

Under the Student Right-To-Know and Campus Security Act, colleges must provide statistics about crime occurring on the campus. Some universities, in an attempt to cover up their crime figures, have falsified statistics. The University of Pennsylvania for instance, left out the 1996 shooting of a male student, who was shot on one of the main walkways on campus. The University of Pennsylvania is not alone, according to a report by the Pennsylvania-based Security on Campus (SOC) watchdog group. SOC reports
that schools tend to neglect as many as 75 percent of the crimes committed on their campuses. SOC is currently lobbying Congress to pass legislation to make sure that all schools comply with the law.

**Summary**

Public, private, urban and rural colleges all face the realities of town-gown relations. Sometimes the problems differ depending on the type of college but the communication solutions suggested earlier in this chapter will benefit all higher education institutions. To achieve successful community relations, colleges must follow the two-way symmetric model of public relations. College relations must work as mediators between the organization (the college) and their publics (the community) to achieve a mutual understanding of issues and positions between the two. This understanding helps to improve community relations because both sides must make an effort and work to find a compromise to conflicts.
Chapter III
Methods

To test the hypotheses, this researcher examined town-gown relations across the country to find out what problems existed. This researcher used Rowan University's library in Glassboro, New Jersey to locate information. Sociofile, ERIC, Searchbank and the Internet comprise the on-line databases searched. The search yielded several helpful articles, newspapers and books. The Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) was contacted. The librarian at CASE supplied an annotated bibliography. From that list, more articles relevant to the topic like, "College Versus Communities: Battles Intensify Over City Efforts to Win Payments From Tax-Exempt Institutions" and "Building Loyalty Through Community Relations" were gathered.

Parking, housing, tax-exempt status, alcohol and Greek life appeared as the five major problems between colleges and towns in the literature reviewed. To verify the results of the secondary research, in-depth phone interviews were conducted as well as in-person interviews with college relations personnel from the ten schools chosen from the sample: Rowan University, Shippensburg University, West Chester University, University of Delaware, Temple University, Dickinson College, Princeton University, Drexel University, Elizabethtown College and University of Pennsylvania. This qualitative research yielded additional information from practical experiences revolving around town-gown issues. In the interview, this researcher asked what problems he/she perceived exist
between the institution and the community. Also asked was how conflicts have been handled in the past.

**Instrument Design**

From that information, a survey instrument was constructed. This researcher decided to construct a needs assessment survey to solicit public opinion about community problems and possible solutions. The survey design included opinion and demographic questions in the form of response sets, Likert scale questions and closed questions. Typical questions on the survey listed town-gown problems and asked respondents to answer if that issue is a problem at his/her college. A place was provided for solutions used to correct difficult situations. Another question asked what resources the colleges provide to the community or services the school contributes. Respondents were also asked how the college learns about community concerns and how the college communicates with the community. (see Appendix A for survey)

This researcher chose to distribute the survey through the mail. A mail survey was chosen over a phone survey because of cost. A phone survey would have required many long-distance calls to college relations departments across the country which would not only be more costly, but more time consuming due to time differences. Also, a mail survey could be used since this researcher had a reliable list of respondents who were likely to respond accurately and completely. The survey was sent to subjects that could benefit from the results and were considered an interested audience. All surveys were coded so this researcher could determine and differentiate between urban/rural and public/private schools.

**Sample**

The survey was pre-tested and then sent with a self-addressed stamped envelope via the United States Postal Service to randomly chosen college relations personnel from
across the county. The stratified probability sample used contains the desired audience characteristics. Those characteristics included being a public or private institution in a rural or urban setting. From a book listing approximately 2,000 American colleges, every fifth school was marked. If the school met the necessary criteria - a four year public or private coed institution in a rural or urban area - it was selected. All the college relations personnel from the marked list, 400 in all, received a survey. This researcher hoped to have a minimum of 200 surveys returned. This would produce a 50% response rate which is extremely high for a mail survey. A typical mail survey usually receives only a 10-30% response rate. The surveys were coded to ensure confidentiality.

**Data Collection**

A cover letter enclosed with the survey introduced the researcher and explained the purpose of this study. Respondents had the option to request the collected data and results for their own reference once the data was complied and the study was completed. Respondents were asked to return the survey in the enclosed envelope or fax the survey back within two weeks of receiving it. Surveys received after the due date were not included in the study.

**Validity/Reliability**

A statistical analysis produced the results of the survey in percentages. This type of research is quantitative and evaluative. I used a t-test to compare public and private schools in rural and urban areas. The survey can be considered reliable because it was pre-tested. Plus, both public and private schools in urban and rural areas received the same survey to maintain consistency. Two hundred and eighteen surveys were returned creating a +/- 7% margin of error within a 95/100 confidence level. This means the results of this survey can be generalized to the entire population of colleges in the United States. The mail survey achieved a 54.5% response rate.
Summary

The research conducted for this study differs from existing research on the issue. Most of the research completed on the topic of town-gown relations focuses on one specific problem and does not list solutions. Very few researchers suggest solutions to specific problems or ways to improve town-gown relations.

Chapter 4 discusses the results of the survey. First the survey results are discussed as a whole, noting the number of people that responded and the difference between urban and rural schools. Then the results from the survey, broken down by question, are provided. The author uses tables, charts and graphs to help explain and support the data.

Chapter 5 discusses the results. This researcher interprets and evaluates the results. Conclusions were reached regarding the hypotheses proposed in chapter 1. Chapter 5 also contains limitations of the study and ideas for further research.
Chapter IV
Findings

After analyzing the research and trends in town-gown relations found in the literature search, the author conducted in-depth phone and in-person interviews with college relations personnel to discover how conflicts in the community are handled in a practical setting. The interviewees were also asked what problems seem to reoccur and were most difficult to deal with.

Colleges relations personnel from both public and private schools in urban and rural locations were interviewed for approximately 1 hour. The interviews supported the information compiled from the literature search. All interviewees agreed that parking, off-campus housing, noise, and alcohol-related complaints were among the biggest problems. An interview with Ed Ziegler from Rowan University enlightened this researcher to the problem of community residents' objection to the school's tax-exempt status. This problem was then added to the survey and included in the list of town-gown issues most problematic to a college. Other people mentioned that date rape, muggings and vandalism were among other problems that the schools frequently encountered.

Upon finishing the discussion of what issues are most problematic, this researcher asked how conflicts with the community are handled at that particular institution and whether its approach was effective. All interviewees agreed that two-way symmetric communication with the community is the essential key to resolving town-gown issues. One respondent who wishes to remain anonymous, explained that while two-way
symmetric is ideal, sometimes the college administration does not support such an approach, making her job very difficult. Another respondent said that open communication can sometimes be a challenge when the community refuses to discuss, negotiate or compromise with the school. While all of those asked agreed about the importance of communication, the responses of how to communicate were varied. Some respondents said that their schools uses publications to reach the community, others said that face-to-face communication at meetings and events was most productive to solving complaints. Also some of the interviewees said that communication helps the schools become proactive so that potential problems do not turn into major complaints causing conflict with the community.

Using the information learned from the interviews, the author administered a mail survey designed to test the hypotheses stated in chapter one. The survey was mailed to 400 randomly chosen college relations personnel throughout the United States. Two-hundred and eighteen surveys were returned out of the 400 that were sent. Seven surveys were discarded because the respondents failed to answer all of the questions. Therefore, a response rate of 54.5% and a completion rate of 52.8 % was achieved. The completed surveys represented 133 or 63% private colleges and 78 or 37% public colleges. Fifty-one percent of the colleges that responded are located in rural areas and 49 % are located in urban areas.

The following pie chart (Figure 1) breaks the information down further by showing what percentage of public and private schools were in urban or rural areas. As the chart demonstrates more private schools responded than public schools (63% compared to 37%) however, the percentage of urban and rural schools that responded are almost equal (49% compared to 51%).
The following section reveals the remainder of the survey results as it pertains to each hypothesis.

**Hypothesis I**

*It is expected that rural and urban colleges/universities will experience different types of conflicts with the community.*

To determine if the two types of schools experienced similar problems, this researcher examined the percentages under each issue to discover the issues that received the highest ratings. It was discovered that both urban and rural school had the same four issues rank the highest in percentages.(Figure 2)
Therefore, the data collected from the survey does not support this hypothesis, since schools located in both urban and rural settings listed alcohol, noise, parking and housing as the most problematic issues. However there were some notable differences in percentages regarding other issues, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1**

Percentages of urban and rural colleges experiencing problems in specific areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parking*</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise*</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing*</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol*</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muggings</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Theft</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Differences</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax-exempt Status</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes those issues that ranked the highest for both urban and rural colleges in terms of percentages
The two main differences between urban and rural schools are economic differences which ranks higher in rural areas and car theft which affects urban schools more frequently. Since both urban and rural schools had listed the same top four problems Hypothesis I was disproved.

**Hypothesis II**

*It is expected that public and private colleges/universities will not experience different types of conflict with the community.*

To determine if the two types of schools experienced similar problems, this researcher examined the percentages under each issue to discover which received the highest ratings. It was discovered that both private and public colleges ranked the same four issues highest in percentages. (Figure 3)

**Figure 3**

Therefore, the data collected from the survey does support Hypothesis II, since public and private schools listed alcohol, noise, parking and housing as the most
problematic issues. Also, as Table 2 shows, there were no distinct differences regarding other issues.

Table 2

Percentages of private and public colleges experiencing problems in specific areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parking*</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol*</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise*</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing*</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Differences</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax-exempt Status</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Theft</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muggings</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes those issues that ranked the highest for both public and private colleges in terms of percentages

Hypothesis III

It is expected that most colleges and universities find the following five areas most problematic: parking, housing, Greek Like (noise, parties), alcohol (unacceptable behavior) and objection to the school's tax-exempt status.
To determine if the above mentioned issues are the most problematic and reoccur on a regular basis, this researcher calculated the data obtained from the mail surveys to identify the top five problems among public and private colleges in urban and rural locations. Question number 4 on the survey asked respondents to answer "yes" or "no" as to whether or not the following issues caused problems with the community -- parking, housing, muggings, rape (including date rape), alcohol, car theft, objection to the school's tax-exempt status, noise complaints, economic differences and vandalism. Figure 4 illustrates how each issue ranked.

**Figure 4**

Looking at the graph it is obvious that parking (59%), housing (50%), alcohol (55%), noise (49%) and vandalism (30%) are the top five major problems. Even though four out of the five issues matched, Hypothesis III was disproved because vandalism was a more significant problem with the community than objection to a school's tax-exempt status.

**Hypothesis IV**

It is expected that schools that include the community in planning and policy discussions and communicate openly with the community will experience the most successful town-gown relations.
Earlier in this chapter, it was reported that all of the in-depth interviews revealed that communication and community involvement was essential for successful town-gown relations. Figure 5 depicts the most common ways that colleges communicate with their communities.

**Figure 5**

Colleges also use economic impact studies to communicate with their surrounding communities. The survey revealed that 69% of the colleges have done an economic impact study.

The information from the interviews and surveys supports Hypothesis IV, that those colleges that practice two-way symmetric communication with their communities have improved town-gown relations.
Chapter V
Discussion

Summary and interpretation of Results

The purpose of this study was to decipher what solutions and approaches have worked in solving conflicts between schools and their communities. When the conflicts are solved, both schools and communities can reap the benefits and take advantage of the resources that each offers, thereby improving town-gown relations. Through interviews and a mail survey it was discovered that specific solutions to problems varied and were not as important as the level of communication between the community and college. If a college has open communication with the town, two advantages result. First, the school will become aware and even predict potential conflicts with the community. Then, once aware of the problems or if an issue comes up, the school can then communicate in a reasonable manner to resolve the conflict as quickly as possible.

In an attempt to open the lines of communication, many college relations personnel from across the country use the two-way symmetric model of public relations to communicate with their communities. This approach helps the school learn the viewpoints of the community on controversial issues and demonstrates to the town that the school
respects their point of view. This open communication also allows colleges to become proactive by detecting issues before they turn into conflicts and shows a willingness to compromise and work with the town in an effort to maintain a harmonious relationship.

Schools achieve two-way communication through several channels. The methods most commonly used: publications, media, face-to-face contact, and special events. The most successful methods are face to face and special events. Perhaps these methods work best because people tend to be more receptive when they see or hear the information from another person. This process, commonly known as the diffusion theory, works especially well during conflict. Residents are less hostile and more willing to listen when they hear from school officials first hand what the school is doing about a particular issue. This approach also allows the school to control the information that the public receives about an issue, which can work to portray the school in a more positive light.

This study also revealed that parking, housing, alcohol, noise and vandalism are the five major town-gown issues. Parking, housing, noise and alcohol were also the most problematic issues for public, private, urban and rural colleges. This researcher believes that schools exhibit a parking conflict because of lack of space. Most schools do not own enough property to accommodate the parking needs of the colleges' student/faculty populations. The other conflicts result because a majority of the schools have young students (ages 18-24) who are living away from home for the first time. These students tend to experiment with their new-found freedom which results in noise, housing and alcohol complaints from the community. Some proposed solutions to these problems included a ban on campus drinking, limiting the number of students living off-campus, the creation of committees with town residents and students, and establishing a shuttle service to eliminate traffic congestion.
Conclusions

After analyzing the findings of this study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1) Rural and urban colleges do not experience different types of conflicts with the community. Parking, housing, alcohol and noise were ranked the most problematic by both urban and rural schools. However, some differences did occur with minor issues. For example urban areas tend to experience more car thefts and rural schools must deal with economic differences causing tension between the students and the town residents.

2) Public and private schools do not experience different types of conflicts with the community. Similar to urban and rural schools, public and private institutions also ranked parking, housing, noise, and alcohol as problematic issues. There were no real distinct differences between the two types of schools in regard to minor issues.

3) The five most problematic town-gown issues on college campuses nationwide are: parking, housing, alcohol, noise and vandalism. The colleges surveyed reveal that 59% have parking problems, 50% have housing issues, 55% have alcohol complaints, 49% have noise complaints and 30% deal with vandalism. Rape and economic issues were the next two significant problems.

4) Schools that include the community in planning and policy discussions and communicate openly with the community have the most successful town-gown relations. All of those college relations personnel interviewed agreed that open communication with the community fosters positive town-gown relations. The data taken from the mail survey concurs. Colleges across the country use many methods to open the lines of communication with the community. Some of the most common include: economic impact studies, publications, media, involvement on town boards, special events and face to face
contact. These methods all prove to be useful when trying to resolve conflict. Professor James Grunig at a recent roundtable discussion at Rowan University, agreed that, "the way to deal with conflicts is to come up with solutions together."

**Limitations**

This study did not look at single-sex institutions, two-year community colleges or institutions located in suburban areas. Also, it would have been impossible to examine every town-gown issue mentioned in the literature reviewed. This study only includes the most common town-gown problems, determined by research. The interviews and the surveys used for this study only targeted people affiliated with the colleges. Town residents, mayors, businesses or police were not consulted for this project.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

The following are suggested research ideas to be conducted in the future. This researcher recommends:

1) A study focusing on the town-gown problems experienced by schools in suburban areas or single-sex institutions.

2) An examination of the various contributions that colleges make to the community to discover if colleges that offer more resources have fewer problems.

3) A study to determine if urban and rural schools each contribute different resources to the community.
4) A similar study to this researcher's should be conducted but instead of surveying people connected to the schools; town residents, police and opinion leaders should be interviewed for their opinions of town-gown conflicts.

5) An international study could be done to see if the United States counterparts in other countries have similar problems and how they resolve issues.

In conclusion, town-gown issues have plagued and frustrated colleges for decades. Since colleges will continue to exist in communities, studies like this one are necessary so college personnel can learn to improve communication methods and discover what fosters positive town-gown relations. An open dialogue between the town and the college will allow both sides to peacefully co-exist and perhaps one day even enjoy each other.
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Study Conducted by The Harvard School of Public Health. (1997).


Dear College/University Relations Director:

How do you deal with town-gown relations? I am a graduate student at Rowan University in New Jersey, pursuing a master’s degree in public relations. For my thesis, I am conducting a study on town-gown relations examining the major problems that exist between colleges and their communities as well as possible solutions to those conflicts.

The goal of the project is to offer solutions that will improve a school’s relationship with the community. Your input as a college relations person will prove invaluable to this study of town-gown relations.

Would you take a short time to fill out this survey? For your trouble, I will forward the results/solutions to the most common problems I find to you, at your request. If you wish to remain anonymous, send a separate envelope with your address. Please fax me at (732) 493-8779 with your response or mail it in the enclosed envelope by March 9th. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Nicole M. Spagnolia

201 Mullica Hill Road • Glassboro, New Jersey • 08028-1701
Town-Gown Relations Survey

Please circle the appropriate response as it relates to the college at which you work. Thank you.

1) The college/university you work for is...
   A. Public  B. Private

2) The college/university is located in which of the following environments?
   A. Urban (near or in a city of over 50,000)  B. Rural (open-country, farm or away from a city)

3) The college/university relationship with the surrounding community is...
   A. Excellent, there are no problems.
   B. Good, there are one or two problems.
   C. Fair, there are several problems.
   D. Strained, many problems.

4) Has the college/university faced the following problems with the community?
   circle
   A. Parking/traffic congestion  yes  no
   B. Off campus housing issues (overcrowding, parties etc.)  yes  no
   C. Muggings or robberies  yes  no
   D. Rape (including date rape)  yes  no
   E. Alcohol causing disruptive behavior  yes  no
   F. Car theft  yes  no
   G. Objection to the school's tax-exempt status  yes  no
   H. Noise complaints  yes  no
   I. Economic differences separate students and residents  yes  no
   J. Vandalism  yes  no

Please list any other community problems the college has faced__________________________

5) The school becomes aware of problems with the community through... (circle all that apply)
   A. The media
   B. Students
   C. Letters/phone calls from residents of the community
   D. Administration
   E. Town meetings
   F. Other (please specify)________________________________________

6) How does the college/university communicate information to the community? (circle all that apply)
   A. The media
   B. Publications (newsletters, brochures)
   C. Town meetings
   D. Other (please specify)________________________________________
   E. No communication

7) How involved is the community in resolving college-community concerns?
   A. Very involved
   B. Involved
   C. Minimal involvement
   D. No involvement
8) Does the community take advantage of the following resources and events available at the school?

A. The library
B. Recreation center / gym
C. Student volunteers
D. Athletic events
E. Cultural events
F. Guest speakers, lectures, or workshops

Please list any other resources that your community uses__________________________

9) Does the community take advantage of these opportunities

A. Always
B. Sometimes
C. Rarely
D. Never
E. Don't know

10) Has the college/university ever conducted an economic impact study?

A. yes B. no

11) Are you a male or female? (circle)

12) The highest level of education you completed was...

A. High school
B. College
C. Graduate school
D. Post-Graduate school

13) How long have you been employed in your current position by the college/university?

A. Under 1 year
B. 1 to 5 years
C. 6 to 15 years
D. 16 to 20 years
E. Over 21 years

14) What do you do to improve town-gown relations with your community? Feel free to use examples of past problems and how you handled them. You may use the back of this sheet if necessary.