Planning for Near-campus Neighbourhoods in Ontario: Challenges and Planning Responses

by

Yinzhou Xiao

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Yinzhou Xiao

Abstract

With increased enrolment in post-secondary education in Canada, communities hosting universities or colleges have witnessed a higher number of students residing in their near-campus neighbourhoods. The concentration of students has negative impacts on these once low-density, family-oriented neighbourhoods. Near-campus neighbourhoods are often associated with images of run-down properties, garbage-strewn front yards, and alcohol fuelled parties. Some Ontario municipalities have responded to these problems with student accommodation strategies and planning initiatives. However, the problems in near-campus neighbourhoods and the effectiveness of the planning strategies have not been well understood due to the novelty of the issue and the scarcity of related research in the Canadian context.

This study aims to answer two research questions: 1) what are the impacts of student populations on near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario? 2) how, and how effectively, have planning authorities responded to the challenges of near-campus neighbourhoods? To answer these research questions, surveys and interviews were conducted among planners and post-secondary institution housing officers in Ontario university/college communities. Evidence was also sought from other resources including other academic studies, planning documents and media output.

The study results showed that at least 23 Ontario municipalities faced challenges associated with the concentration of student population in near-campus neighbourhoods. The challenges relate to demographic imbalance, decreased rates of homeownership, a deteriorating neighbourhood environment, and student behavioural issues. However, only around half of the affected communities have developed planning strategies to respond to

the challenges. Eleven planning approaches are identified, analyzed, and evaluated in the study. In general, planning policies to encourage high-density development to accommodate students are common approaches and considered effective: purpose-built student housing has significantly increased its market share in some university communities. This type of development relieves housing pressure, but it is not clear if it helps to stabilize low-density neighbourhoods near campus; the attempt to regulate the student private rental market by zoning and licensing regimes has several drawbacks. The study also reveals diverse interests of different stakeholders in near-campus neighbourhoods, and the lack of effective collaboration and partnerships among them in addressing challenges in their neighbourhoods in general.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Since 1980, Canada has witnessed a steady increase in participation rates in post-secondary education (AUCC, 2011). In the school year of 2010/2011, about 1.4 million students were enrolled in full-time degree programs in Canadian post-secondary institutions (PSIs) (Statistics Canada, 2013), and the number is projected to grow by 1.3 percent a year (AUCC, 2011). In 2020, fulltime enrolment in PSIs nationwide will increase by 125,000 compared with 2010 figures (AUCC, 2011).

Universities and colleges are only able to accommodate a certain number of these students on-campus, therefore a large proportion of students have to seek accommodations in the community. The large demand for student housing has significant impacts on the local housing market, especially for small or mid-size communities where the students often comprise one fourth or one fifth of the total population. Near-campus neighbourhoods are often more significantly affected, as students prefer to live within walking distance to campus (Charbonneau, Johnson, & Andrey, 2006). In these neighbourhoods, family homes have been converted into lodging houses to accommodate students, and lodging houses have become the predominant form of student housing in Canada (Lobo, 2010).

The impacts of the concentration of students on near-campus neighbourhoods are often perceived in a negative way, with images of unsightly building additions, street blights, and alcohol-fuelled young groups. In Canada, from small communities like Sackville, NS and Antigonish, NS to larger centres such as Calgary, Victoria, and Halifax,

residents have been protesting the growing student population in their neighbourhoods, because they believed that students threaten their personal safety and property values (Fox, 2008). Although students are sometimes blamed for their undisciplined behaviour, a fundamental cause concerns the lack of policies regarding the supply of student accommodations (Smith, 2008).

The challenges associated with off-campus student housing in near-campus neighbourhoods are difficult to address. In the first place, PSIs are not able to provide adequate housing, and therefore the housing demand is huge in the private rental market (Cortes, 2004). Secondly, in some provinces in Canada, planning policy does not directly target student housing. Thirdly, local authorities often lack the financial and staff resources to enforce relevant stipulations on proliferating student rentals (Cortes, 2004). These factors hinder successful plan-making for near-campus neighbourhoods. Although local authorities in the UK, the United States (US), and Canada have been exploring strategies for student accommodations, the effectiveness of these strategies is still being evaluated.

1.2 Opportunities and Challenges for University Communities

The benefits that PSIs contribute to the host communities are well-known. First and foremost, universities and colleges are known for their roles as business incubators and economic engines. Strong connections are found between the presence of PSIs and increase in employment, population and income of their host communities in Canada (Meyer & Hecht, 1996). Secondly, universities and colleges offer stable intellectual resources. University-community partnerships engage the academic world in the community; the longevity of faculty appointments and successive generations of students

creates a stable stream of ideas to solve neighbourhood problems (Lederer & Seasons, 2005). Thirdly, PSIs bring cultural prosperity to communities. The existence of a PSI can positively brand a city with prestige and recognition (Universities UK, 2006). Cultural events such as art exhibitions, concerts, plays, and sports games thrive with the intellectual contribution and facility provision of PSIs (Universities UK, 2006).

The presence of PSIs is undoubtedly beneficial to their host communities. However, whether many of these benefits trickle down to the neighbourhood level remains questionable (Universities UK, 2006). PSIs are often considered a detrimental influence to local residents living near campus, sometimes even described as a "destructive force" for near-campus neighbourhoods (Kenyon, 1997, p.36) In numerous media stories, students were deemed responsible for neighbourhood decline (Hubbard, 2008). For example, a resident who lived for more than ten years in Guelph's Old University Neighbourhood stated: "We've watched this neighbourhood deteriorate, crumble right before our eyes" (O'Flanagan, 2009). She was the only permanent resident left on her side of Moore Street; the neighbourhood has experienced a transition in which single-family homes were bought up and turned into student residences, some of them housing ten or more students "from foundation to roof-beams" (O'Flanagan, 2009). Residents living with students are often frustrated about the mayhem at their doorsteps. For instance, in one case a resident explained:

> Another night, they watched as five young men urinated on their front lawn. A 78-year-old woman just home from surgery had five beer bottles smashed against her house. Another senior had the covering from a cable box thrown through a window. Large backyards provide the perfect habitat for rowdy outdoor parties. (Pender, 2010)

The media in Kingston, London, Waterloo, Orillia, Barrie, North York, and other Ontario cities hosting PSIs have told similar stories. Upset residents are complaining to councillors, police, and by-law officers about their student neighbours; they are writing to newspapers advocating makeovers of their neighbourhoods; they form neighbourhood associations and appeal to local authorities against the current situations.

Canada is not alone in facing challenges with many near-campus neighbourhoods that have been taken over by students. Student neighbourhoods exist in different parts of the world. In the United Kingdom (UK), most cities of a certain size with a PSI have at least one neighbourhood that accommodates undergraduates almost exclusively (Gumprecht, 2006). Thirty-two British towns and cities have experienced the decline of established neighbourhoods caused by the influx of a student population (Smith, 2008). In the United States, in 2000, fifty-nine college towns had one-third of their population aged between 18 and 24, compared to one-tenth in that age group on the national average (Gumprecht, 2006). American college towns are residentially segregated: students are concentrated in the Fraternity Rows and student ghettos, while faculty members live in their own enclaves (Gumprecht, 2006).

1.3 The Ontario Context

Student enrolment in Ontario has steadily increased in the last ten years (Figure 1.1) (Council of Ontario Universities, 2013). To accommodate this growth, colleges and universities have been expanding. PSIs have located new campuses in other communities, and community colleges that originally catered to local residents began to attract students outside their regions.

	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2000-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Graduate FTEs	29,706	31,590	34,455	36,645	37,922	38,444	40,680	45,984	48,370	51,041
Undergraduate FTEs	244,945	257,488	278,765	311,660	327,371	341,882	350,030	348,611	352,945	367,615

■ Undergraduate FTEs   ■ Graduate FTEs

Figure 1.1: Total Full-Time Equivalent Enrolment from 2000-01 to 2009-10, Ontario

Accommodating students has been an historic issue for PSIs. Ontario's major universities could only accommodate less than 40% of their students on-campus in the 1980s (Table 1.1), and it was difficult for the rest of students to find accommodation. In an extreme case, in 1974, 40 tents were raised near the Campus Centre in the University of Waterloo; the "tent campus" was on front pages of newspapers across Canada (Davidson, 1988). Many PSIs in Ontario have faced greater pressure to house students in the official student halls in recent years. Most universities guarantee accommodations only for the first-year students, but they still face overflows. In 2011, sixty-four first-year University of Guelph students were accommodated in a local hotel for a year because the residences were full (Macleans.ca, 2011). The University of Western Ontario was short of 270 beds for the first-years students and had to house them in apartment buildings geared towards upper-year students; the displaced upper-years were accommodated in

off-campus apartments (Jerema, 2010). Often, upper-year students are not guaranteed a bed; in fact, most of them have to move out of on-campus residences to give space to incoming students. They are left on their own looking for housing in the community, most commonly, in near-campus neighbourhoods.

Table 1.1: Percentage of Students Living On-campus, 1987	
University	Percent
University of Guelph	38.6%
University of Waterloo	33.3%
Queen's University	32.5%
University of Western Ontario	23.8%
Wilfrid Laurier University	17.4%

Source: Davidson, 1988

Host communities were sometimes not sufficiently prepared to house an influx of students. In Oshawa, the establishment of University of Ontario Institute of Technology brought in more than ten thousand students. As a consequence, the families in a stable near-campus neighbourhood were replaced by a student population, incurring multiple complaints from the remaining long-term residents about garbage and noise. A neighbourhood near York University faces the same situation: low-density residential neighbourhoods had been developed near the campus. Students have taken over these properties that were supposed to accommodate families. Northdale, a neighbourhood in Waterloo that had experienced transition from a family-oriented neighbourhood to student neighbourhood, went through several gruelling public consultations for a new redevelopment plan; the plan is still stalled waiting for a judgement from the Ontario Municipal Board. Facing such challenges, some municipalities have proactively responded with policy initiatives, such as *Student Accommodation Studies (Waterloo)*, *Student Accommodation Strategy (Oshawa)*, and *Great Near-campus Strategy (London).*

PSIs, host cities, students, neighbours, and different departments of local authorities have come together to seek solutions for a more cohesive community. They have formed Town and Gown Committees in many university cities; the provincial organization Town and Gown Association Ontario holds symposia each year to share best practices among stakeholders.

1.4 Research Questions and Significance

Although numerous studies have focused on the impacts of a student population on neighbourhoods in the UK and the US, research on student neighbourhoods in the Canadian context is limited. Dr. Michael Fox has been the only scholar researching this topic in Canada, and his paper *Near-Campus Student Housing and the Growth of the Town and Gown Movement in Canada* (2008), draws a big picture of the issues in student enclaves and the growing academic and professional bodies that aim to reduce negative impacts. In Ontario, little academic research has been done on the impacts of student housing and planning responses. This thesis aims to address two research questions and their sub-questions:

- What are the impacts of student populations on near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario?
    - What is the scope of the problem in Ontario?
    - What are the challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods associated with off-campus student housing?
    - How do near-campus neighbourhoods evolve?
- How effectively have planning authorities responded to challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods?
    - What are the planning strategies used to address challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods, and how effective are they?

o Who are the stakeholders in near-campus neighbourhoods and how do they work together to address student accommodation issues?

The answers to these questions will provide a detailed overview of off-campus student housing in Ontario and a thorough analysis of existing planning strategies. Studentification is a relatively new phenomenon and not yet well understood (Universities UK, 2006). The research contributes to both theory building and policy development by revealing the characteristics of student neighbourhoods, and determining whether (a) Ontario near-campus neighbourhoods have experienced studentification and (b) they have demonstrated socio-spatial structures similar to those of the British cases, which adds Canadian context to the existing body of literature.

As one study points out, in essence, problems arise from "the lack of a policy for the supply of student housing to match the expansion of student populations" (Smith, 2008, p.2544). Thus, the solutions, in a large part, point to a more comprehensive policy framework for student housing. This study reviews planning strategies in place in Ontario, as well as in other parts of world, and discusses their feasibility, effectiveness, and sustainability. Recommendations provide policy makers with references for strategy building for student off-campus housing and plans for near-campus neighbourhoods.

1.5 Definitions of terms

Studentification: the term "studentification" was coined by Darren Smith (2002) in his research on student housing locations in Leeds, England, to describe the growing concentration of student residences in close proximity to universities. A more detailed definition of the term is introduced in the next chapter.

Student community: a student community is one of the area classifications for a statistical ward, defined by National Statistics UK (National Statistics, 2001). Demographically, student communities have considerably higher than national average proportions of residents who are single, who pay rent to private landlords and who live in apartments (Figure 1.2) (National Statistics, 2001). In Canada, the term student community has not been defined, but may be used colloquially to refer to areas with a concentrated student population.

Source: National Statistics, 2001
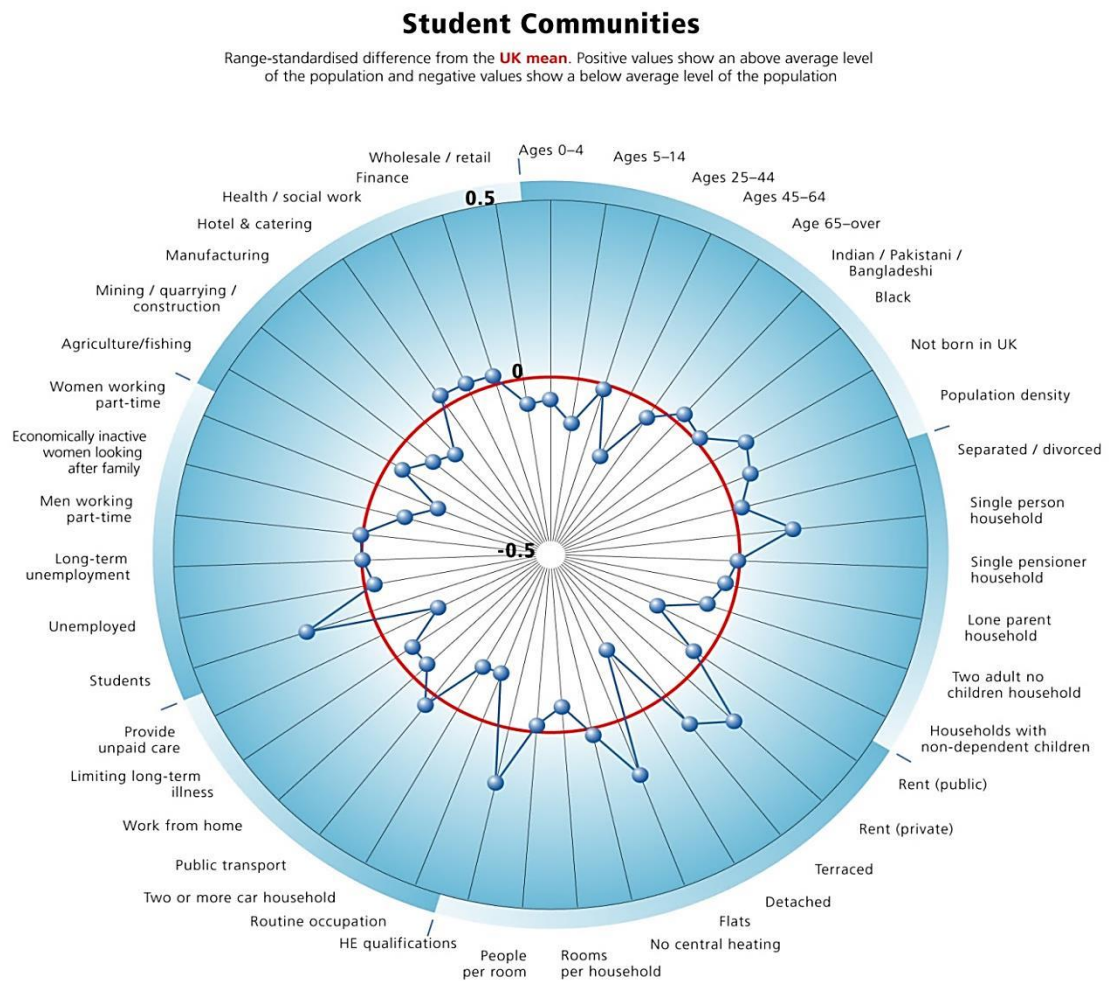
Figure 1.2: Comparison of Different Variables: Student Community and National Mean

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Near-campus neighbourhoods: In Ontario, the neighbourhoods that demonstrate characteristics similar to those of "student communities" in the UK are often referred to as near-campus neighbourhoods or university neighbourhoods due to their close proximity to university or college campus (City of Kingston, 2009; City of London, 2009; City of Waterloo, 2004; Cortes, 2004; Fox, 2008; Tomazincic, 2008). However, no rule has been applied when determining how close to a campus a neighbourhood must be to be classified as near-campus. Near-campus neighbourhoods are often located within a walking distance radius from campus (City of Barrie, 2007; City of Kingston, 2013b). However, whether all near-campus neighbourhoods are affected by student population and whether non-near-campus neighbourhoods (i.e., neighbourhoods relatively distant from campus) calls for further investigation.

Student housing: student housing is not a legitimate housing type in Ontario. This is housing geared towards students. Student housing usually takes the form of shared accommodations, i.e., a dwelling unit shared by multiple unrelated tenants. In the UK, this kind of dwelling is called houses in multiple occupation (HMOs) (Smith, 2005). In the United States and Canada, it is called boarding housing, rooming housing or lodging housing in government reports and legislative documents (City of Kingston, 2009, City of London, 2009; City of Waterloo, 2004). In a few cases, they are named Fraternities and Sororities (City of Toronto, 2011; Gumprecht, 2006).

Purpose-built student housing: Purpose-built student housing is defined as "apartments with over 80% students usually less than two miles from a university or on a sanctioned university bus line" (Lobo, 2010).

1.6 Thesis Structure

The thesis is organized into nine chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature about students' impacts on local housing markets and near-campus neighbourhoods, and planning approaches targeting student off-campus housing in different localities. Chapter 3 introduces the research strategy including the rationale for each research method, survey instrumentation, interview design, and data analysis strategies. Chapter 4 reveals transformations of near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario in social, physical, cultural, and economic aspects. The model of student neighbourhood evolution is explored. Chapter 5 reviews existing student accommodation plans and secondary plans for near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario. Current planning policies relevant to student off-campus housing are identified and analyzed. Chapter 6 explores how local authorities, PSIs and the wider community work in a collaborative manner in addressing various challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods. Chapter 7 describes how the research results relate to the existing body of literature, and how the research questions could be answered. Chapter 8 provides recommendations to municipal and higher-level governments for addressing the student housing problems. Chapter 9 discusses possible limitations and points out future research directions.

1.7 Summary

Increasing enrolment in Canadian post-secondary education parallels the growth of student rental housing market in near-campus neighbourhoods. The concentration of student rentals, predominantly in the form of lodging houses, has brought challenges for near-campus neighbourhoods. The study aims to provide an overview of these issues in Ontario, identifying problems associated with student housing. It also investigates local

planning responses to the problems and explores planning strategies for near-campus

neighbourhoods.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The impact of a student population on the communities that host PSIs has attracted extensive academic interest in recent years, especially in the UK. The literature has focused on three major directions. The first is the spatial distribution of student populations in university towns. The literature confirms that students are highly residentially concentrated and demographically segregated from nonstudent populations (Gumprecht, 2006; Munro, Livingston, & Turok, 2009; Rugg, Rhodes, & Jones, 2002; Smith, 2002). The second direction is the current student housing market, which is predominantly taken up by the small rental sector though conversions from single-family housing. Many researchers focus on the negative impact of student population on neighbourhoods, with concerns about overcrowding, unsafe housing, and the loss of neighbourhood amenities (Cortes, 2004; Johnson et al., 2009; Kenyon, 1997; Smith, 2005). The third direction is the policy framework which addresses student housing issues (Hughes & Davis, 2002; Munro et al., 2009; Smith, 2008). More recently, scholars have had an increasing interest in the rise of purpose-built student housing, which is anticipated to soon be the major player in the student housing market and the dynamic in urban geographies (Hubbard, 2008; Hubbard, 2009; Mackenzie & Strongman, 2009).

Perhaps the most profound contribution should be attributed to a British scholar, Darren Smith, who theorized the phenomenon of a residential concentration of students and termed it "studentification" (Smith, 2002). He also encapsulated studentification in urban socio-spatial theories, more specifically, in the theoretical framework of

gentrification (Smith, 2005; Smith & Holt, 2007; Smith, 2008; Smith, 2009; Smith, 2009).

His ground-breaking work inspired scholars who attempted to understand changes to

near-campus neighbourhoods in the language of gentrification (Chatterton, 2010;

Davison, 2009; Lafer, 2003). However, opponents argue that studentification sets in

motion neighbourhood deterioration and blight, instead of renewal and gentrification

(Munro et al., 2009).

2.2 Studentification and balanced neighbourhoods

The term "studentification" is widely used in the research of student housing in

the UK. Studentification manifests itself in four dimensions, with the social dimension

being the primary factor:

- Social: the replacement and/or displacement of established residents with a transient, generally young and single, social grouping
- Cultural: the growth of concentrations of young people with shared cultures and lifestyles, and consumption practices, which in turn results in the increase of certain types of retail and service infrastructure
- Physical: the downgrading or upgrading of the physical environment, depending on the local context
- Economic: the inflation of property prices and a change in the balance of the housing stock resulting in neighbourhoods becoming dominated by private rented accommodation and houses in multiple occupation, and decreasing levels of owner-occupation (Universities UK, 2006, p.12)

Nevertheless, no quantified standard is provided to decide how many students

could make the neighbourhood "studentified." Habbard (2009) proposes a threshold or

"tipping point" beyond which a street could be perceived as a student neighbourhood. He

suggests the threshold should be one house shared by students out of five or ten houses.

University UK (2006) promotes establishing a shared definition of a "balanced

community" to further define an "unbalanced" one. The guide lists multiple standards

that exist in planning policies or that have emerged from consultations in different

locations in the UK. For example, no more than five percent of Houses in Multiple

Occupations (HMO) in a street is allowed in Glasgow. No more than 25 per cent students

in a street in an inner zone were proposed in a consultation exercise in Loughborough. A

survey indicates that half of residents prefer a 1:10 student-permanent resident ratio

(Hubbard, 2008).

2.3 Impacts of students on near-campus neighbourhoods

Hosting a higher educational institution (HEI) is perceived as beneficial to a

community. However, it is unknown whether these benefits would trickle down to a

neighbourhood level and to what degree (Universities UK, 2006). Of course,

neighbourhoods located near campuses enjoy an increased number of commercial

amenities and cultural facilities. Residents can have convenient access to training, which

could improve residents' quality of life and skill base (Cortes, 2004). Despite these

benefits, many studies focusing on HEIs' neighbourhood impacts consider the presence

of HEIs to be a contributor to the decline of near-campus neighbourhoods (Hubbard,

2008; Kenyon, 1997; Universities UK, 2006), and even a "destructive force" for local

residents (Kenyon, 1997, p.286).

2.3.1 Social Impacts

One of the most significant features of student housing is its geographical

concentration (Gumprecht, 2006; Rugg et al., 2002). Most cities of a certain size hosting

a higher education institution have at least one neighbourhood housing almost

exclusively undergraduates (Gumprecht, 2006). A demographic change is manifest in

many university cities. The replacement of established residents with "transient, generally

young and single" population (Universities UK, 2006, p.12) is the primary dimension of the process of studentification. The demographic change also features a low rate of married-couple households (families). A study in the United States shows that in some university neighbourhoods, rates of family occupancy are 10-22 percentage points lower than the city average (Cortes, 2004).

Different studies have explained the emergence of student neighbourhoods. On the demand side, students tend to live near campus for proximity to school (Hubbard, 2008) , which minimizes travelling costs (Allinson, 2006; Allinson, 2006; Rugg et al., 2002). They also tend to live with other students in certain neighbourhoods to search for "a sense of belonging and membership to wider student grouping" (Smith, 2005, p.86). With an increased number of student tenants, some near-campus neighbourhoods gain a reputation as "student areas". This reputation often leads to the exodus of families and deters potential homebuyers because of students' distinctive life style (Allinson, 2006; Allinson, 2006; Cortes, 2004; Cortes, 2004; Gumprecht, 2006; Kenyon, 1997; Smith, 2005). Families also tend to sell their properties to take advantage of inflating housing prices in student neighbourhoods (Allinson, 2006). On the supply side, it is more likely that properties in these areas are bought by student market landlords who see the student rental market as profitable (Rugg et al., 2002). At the same time, accommodation rental agencies tend to push students towards certain parts of the town that would suit undergraduates (Hubbard, 2008).

Such an unbalanced population has significantly negative impacts on the neighbourhood. Typically, resident interviewees suggest that the student presence leads to "an erosion of feelings of stability, cohesiveness and confidence" in the neighbourhood

(Kenyon, 1997, p.293). Crenshaw & St. John (1989) articulate the lost sense of "neighbouring" that has two causes: a transient population and the life style of students. The higher turnover of residents discourages involvement (Crenshaw & St. John, 1989). Due to students' short-term tenancy, long-term residents do not know their student neighbours by sight (Kenyon, 1997). On the other side, it is widely perceived that students are marginalized by the mainstream (Hubbard, 2008; Kenyon, 1997; Smith, 2005). Students' lifestyles "flout the distinctions of work and play, day and night, and week and weekend" (Hubbard , 2008, p.332).Their acquaintance is not desired nor sought by long-term residents (Kenyon, 1997). These two attributes of student tenants lead to significant social segregation. Long-term residents believe that accepted neighbourhood social practice and expectations cannot be passed onto students (Kenyon, 1997), and students are unwilling to live in "non-student areas" (Rugg et al., 2002).

2.3.2 Economic Impacts

The process of studentification involves buy-to-rent activities and conversions from single family homes to multiple occupation dwellings, resulting in a decreasing level of owner-occupancy (Hubbard, 2008; Rugg et al., 2002; Smith, 2005; Universities UK, 2006). A high demand for student housing encourages landlords to buy properties that come onto the owner-occupied marked and rent them to four to five students, thus extracting more rent from the students than from a family in the same accommodation (Hubbard, 2008; Hubbard, 2009; Rugg et al., 2002).

The change in housing stock in near-campus neighbourhoods often results in a change in house price. Debates exist regarding whether house prices inflate or depreciate. Kenyon (1997) claims that the deterioration of the physical environment of the

neighbourhood and the poorly maintained interiors of the dwellings would reduce the value of rented prosperities, and even drag down the prices of better-maintained houses in the same neighbourhood. It is also reported that long-term residents in near-campus neighbourhoods complain about declining property value (Fox, 2008; John Black Aird Centre, 1989).

However, most studies support the view that house prices in student neighbourhoods increase (Hubbard, 2008; McDowell, 2006; Rugg et al., 2002; Smith, 2005; Universities UK, 2006). These studies also emphasize that rising house prices and rents would restrict access to the house market for other sections of the community, especially low-income households. The reason is that students living in one house are able to jointly pay a higher rent that would not usually be affordable to a single household, crowding poorer families out from the neighbourhoods where landlords seek more profit from student tenants (Rugg et al., 2002). A comprehensive study completed in the United States found that housing unit values in near-campus neighbourhoods increase or decrease according to local context. The variables that could determine house prices include proximity to culture centres, the economic viability of the city, and a university's investment in on-campus amenities (Cortes, 2004).

Rugg et al. (2002) used case studies to demonstrate four types of student housing market: a steady market, a market subject to flux, a pressurized market, and a low demand market. In a steady market, different types of tenants (e.g., students, young professionals, families) dominate different geographic areas of the city. A fluctuating market occurs when the demand for student housing increases dramatically in a short time. In a pressurized market, students are at a weaker position in the competition for

rental units with working professionals. A low demand market is characterized by an over-supply of student housing in the inner city, and households are mixed with students in the same area.

2.3.3 Cultural Impacts

Evidence from university cities in the UK suggests that residents in near-campus neighbourhoods are more likely to report alcohol-related disturbances, such as noise, littering, vomiting, and public urination (Hubbard, 2008). Some residents express concerns about student tenants' failure to comply with instructions for garbage collection: garbage at inappropriate location produces safety hazard. Others complain about vandalism to cars, phone boxes and other private or public properties (Hubbard, 2008). Conflicts between long-term residents and student tenants are tied to the binge drinking behaviour and late nightlife culture that prevails among university students. There are clearly different perceptions of what is considered acceptable behaviour between students and family households (Hubbard, 2008; Universities UK, 2006).

Allison (2006) indicates that "anti-social behaviours" are derived from the different lifestyle that students lead. The late-night noise, disturbance, and "buzz of student life" are behaviours that conflict with those who have a nine-to-five job. Physically, the small terraced housing in student neighbourhoods is not designed to accommodate these lifestyle differences.

A higher rate of burglaries and other low-level crimes in student neighbourhoods is commonly reported (Allinson, 2006), because students often have valuable electric goods and low awareness of security (Allinson, 2006; Universities UK, 2006). Kenyon

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(1997) also mentions that the annual holiday period attracts burglars who break into the empty rooms seeking possessions left behind by students. Some residents worry about the reputation of a neighbourhood as an easy target for crime (Allinson, 2006; Kenyon, 1997). The reputation may encourage non-student residents to move out, which also turns potential homebuyers away. Other problems of near-campus neighbourhoods include a change in service and retail infrastructure featuring an increased number of commercial service catering to students, and a decreased demand for some local services, particularly educational services (Universities UK, 2006).

2.3.4 Physical Impacts

The studentification guide (Universities UK, 2006) lists the tangible disadvantages of having a large concentration of students in one neighbourhood: littering, unkempt properties, inappropriate parking, and street blight featuring for rent signs, neglected front gardens, and unsightly extensions. Different studies have provided evidence to support this argument (Gumprecht, 2006; Hubbard, 2008; Kenyon, 1997). The high turnover rate is largely attributed to neighbourhood deterioration, as renter populations are less likely to improve their house conditions than homeowners (Engelhardt, Eriksen, Gale, & Mills, 2010; Rohe, Rohe, & Stewart, 1996). Moreover, landlords tend to let buildings deteriorate as a way to maximize profits (Rothenberg, Galster, Butler, & Pitkin, 1991). In the case of student housing, it is suggested that building deterioration is also caused by absentee landlords and crowding (Universities UK, 2006).

Safety concerns in student neighbourhoods are reflected in unsafe property conditions and neighbourhood crimes (Allinson, 2006; Kenyon, 1997; Mackenzie &

Strongman, 2009; Universities UK, 2006). Surveys, interviews and newspaper articles reveal that single-family homes occupied by students are often potential deathtraps, with hazards such as unsanitary kitchen and bathroom facilities, damp and mould, bad air quality, malfunctioning fire alarms, deficient fire escapes, dangerous gas supplies, vermin, and poor wiring (Johnson et al., 2009; Kenyon, 1997). These unsafe conditions not only threaten student tenants, they also worry their next-door neighbours. As the majority of British student neighbourhoods are in terrace-type housing, the adjoining space allows fires to spread to the next-door properties. Kenyon (1997) further explains that inadequate house safety regulations contribute to safety issues: in England, HMOs are classified in the same category as family homes, thus no higher safety standards are required for HMOs, although they tend to be exposed to potential hazard than family homes due to their multiple occupation nature.

Allinson (2006) mentions that these issues in near-campus neighbourhoods are linked: inflated house prices may lead to the exodus of indigenous populations, which, in turn, contributes to the loss of children for local schools. Kenyon (1996, p.296) refers to it as "a spiral of anxiety". She illustrates that physical concerns (e.g. low house maintenance) and social concerns (e.g., decreased sense of community) together contribute to a low neighbourhood satisfaction and further damage the neighbourhood reputation, which in turn negatively affects the housing market. Depreciated house values will exacerbate the physical and social concerns about the same neighbourhood.

2.3.5 Studentification in Urban Theory

Given increasing public awareness and media attention about the student population and its impact on specific neighbourhoods, it is surprising that this topic has

not attracted much academic interest and policy attention until very recently (Munro et al., 2009; Smith, 2009). One explanation is that it is difficult to encapsulate patterns of student residence in conventional urban theories (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2009). A central debate here is whether increased student occupation triggers urban renewal or, on the contrary, sets in motion neighbourhood blight (Hubbard, 2009).

Ironically, although the presence of large numbers of student tenants is considered to contribute to the decline of a near-campus neighbourhood, many municipalities strategically attract university or college campuses to downtown areas, hoping these campuses will stimulate revitalization. In Canada, the student population has generated renewal in the inner city communities of Kingston, ON and Halifax, NS; other cities such as Cambridge, ON and Kitchener, ON have adopted the same strategy, hosting satellite university campuses in their downtown core (Filion, Hoernig, Bunting, & Sands, 2004). The presence of higher education institutions generates a culture of urban life. Allinson (2006) argues that students help establish the acceptability of city centre living by "bringing shopping, culture and nightlife back into 'dead' inner city areas" (p. 91), which is followed by investment, including in an upper-end housing market. In this sense, students are in the vanguard of re-urbanization. Furthermore, universities often sponsor performing arts (Cortes, 2004). Performing arts are considered as a centrepiece of urban growth strategies (Whitt, 1987). Universities sponsor art fairs, musical events, poetry reading and cultural activities in communities, and sometimes participate in local cultural associations. For instance, Wayne State University is the founder of the University Cultural Centre Association, promoting the use of midtown Detroit (Whitt, 1987).

In recent urban theories, urban revitalization is closely connected with gentrification. Clack (2005) claims that, in a modern gentrifying community, the features traditionally perceived as related to gentrification such as inner-city location, residential area, and renovation of property may or may not exist. Badcock (2001) contends that it makes no sense to conceptually separate gentrification from a broader sense of revitalization. Scholars have shown an increased interest in incorporating studentification in the concept of gentrification: the students' contributions to urban revitalization are associated with the social capital they possess and gentrification they have triggered (Davison, 2009; Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2005).

Smith (2005) first tried to understand studentification in the language of gentrification in his influential article *"Studentification": the gentrification factory?* Smith's research echoes modern views of gentrification (Smith, 2005; Smith & Holt, 2007; Smith, 2008): 1) assuming that the features traditionally perceived as related to gentrification (such as inner-city location, residential area, and renovation of property) may not be manifest in a modern context (Badcock, 2001); 2) that gentrification is equal to revitalization(Clark, 2005); and 3) similar to artists, students possess higher cultural capital (Smith & Holt, 2007).

Lay (1996) demonstrated the role that young groups including students played in gentrifying Yorkville, Toronto in the 1960s. Chatterton (2010, p.512) observes the emergence of the "gated, privately managed, and centrally located" high-rise blocks of student accommodation in Leeds. He contends that students act as gentrifiers. In a case study, Davison (2009) examined a near-campus neighbourhood - Calton, in central Melbourne, Australia - from the 1950s to 1970s, concluding that gentrification is

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preceded and shaped by studentification in the neighbourhood. Lafer (2003) studied several university-led urban revitalization programs in New Haven, CT. He found that when a university (like Yale in this case) becomes the major economy sector in its host community, it has power to purchase properties regardless of whether the investment is profitable. The university does not invest for the return of money but for "driving lower-income residents into more distant areas" and "constructing physical barriers that divide poor neighbourhoods from the Yale campus" (Lafer, 2003, p.100). Lafer calls it "stalled gentrification" (p.100).

2.4 Planning Strategies for Student Accommodations

Compared with the abundance of studies on the impacts and challenges of student populations on communities, research on planning policies to address these challenges is limited, perhaps because the existing planning strategies that respond to studentification are scarce. Munro & Livingston (2012) argue that residents' complaints are not realistic and are not worth serious policy responses, and another reason is that local authorities have little power to regulate student housing. Nevertheless, the existing literature provides cases of three planning related strategies in response to studentification: expanding on-campus student residences, encouraging purpose-built student housing, and restricting student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods.

2.4.1 Expanding On-campus Student Residences

The university/college's capacity to accommodate students is related to positive or negative changes in near-campus neighbourhoods. For instance, the City of Cambridge, UK has fewer student rental housing problems than its counterparts mainly because rather than only guarantee first year students, the University of Cambridge accommodates

almost all its undergraduate students on campus (Frierson, 2004). Cortes (2004) studied neighbourhoods close to ten universities across the United States and found a correlation between the adequacy of student dormitories on-campus and near-campus neighbourhood house quality. He categorized three housing markets: low quality, moderate-low quality, and middle quality. If there is a lack of on-campus student residence, then the near-campus, low quality housing market is more competitive due to cheaper rents. Landlords in the moderate-low and middle quality market could eventually reduce maintenance of these properties and charge lower rents in order to attract student tenants. In the end, low quality houses dominate the housing stock near campus and the neighbourhood environment deteriorates. In contrast, the opening of a new dormitory could revitalize a declining area by eliminating low quality housing market or by replacing blighted buildings in a neighbourhood.

Although the university's plans for on-campus housing could affect the geography of surrounding neighbourhoods, some institutions do not accept that they are responsible for the effects of studentification (Universities UK, 2006). The city's control over universities' decision on on-campus housing plan could be limited. Disinterest by the city planning department, fiscal constraints and lack of land often limit PSIs' ability to expand on-campus residences (Hubbard, 2008; Macintyre, 2003). Instead, new approaches have been explored. Many universities/colleges have chosen to partner with the private sectors to finance new student residences (Hubbard, 2009; Ryan, 2003).

In contrast to the experience in the United States and Canada, campus development projects in English public universities are subject to planning controls (Frierson, 2004). For example, the City of Oxford, UK states that development permits

for non-student housing will be issued to the university only when no more than 3,500 students of Oxford University live in the private rental market. The city can require the university to increase official student residences. Similarly, the City of Cambridge has planning power to ensure that Cambridge University expands its available residences if it increases enrollment (Frierson, 2004).

2.4.2 Encouraging Purpose-built Student Housing

Purpose-built student housing is considered one of the solutions to provide adequate off-campus student accommodations and to reduce conversions of single-family homes (Hubbard, 2009; Smith, 2008). In the UK, college towns with long-standing issues of studentification, such as Birmingham, Exeter and Sheffield, have resorted to purpose-built student housing to absorb student population which cannot be accommodated in official student residences, thus preserving the characteristics of the traditional low-density neighbourhood. Towns that host universities, such as Blackpool Borough and Cheltenham Borough, UK also encourage purpose-built student accommodations at town centre locations (Hubbard, 2009).

This form of student housing also contributes to urban revitalization and brownfield redevelopment. For example, the City of Newcastle, UK has identified fifty brown-field sites for potential student housing construction (Hubbard, 2009). The private sector's interest in student housing is sensible as the student housing-market is in high demand and is fast-growing (Hubbard, 2009). In the UK from 1990 to 1999, the private market for purpose-built student housing went from almost nothing to be worth over $500 million (Macintyre, 2003).

However, purpose-built student housing is not a panacea for the problems of studentification. The major criticisms are: 1) it does not resolve the root of the problem – an unbalanced population, which is the source of noise, nuisance and crimes; and 2) the high rent for these developments makes them unaffordable (Hubbard, 2009). Hubbard (2009) studies students' opinions about purpose-built student accommodations in Loughborough, UK and concludes that students move to these accommodations in order to keep the feeling of living in on-campus accommodations. The fact that they move to purpose-built housing that is outside the principal student area relieves the concentration of student population in near-campus neighbourhoods (Hubbard, 2009). His conclusion disproves the hypothesis that students choose to move to a purpose-built student housing area from more peripheral and less student-type area, therefore the provision of more housing makes little contribution to de-studentification (Hubbard, 2009). Hubbard (2009) further warns that the development of purpose-built student housing, rather than creating an integrated, mixed-used town centre, actually produces a mono-cultural environment and deprive the needs of town centre living for other social groups.

2.4.3 Restricting Student Rentals in Low-density Neighbourhoods

In many college towns, legislation has been published to stabilize traditional single-family neighbourhoods by restricting the conversion of single-family houses into shared rental properties (Gumprecht, 2006). Similar regulations exist in the UK, US, and Canada, but in different forms due to different local legal contexts (Frierson, 2004). According to Frierson, the United States government enacted the Definition of Family Ordinance for single-family residential (SFR) neighbourhoods to legitimatize approaches to tackling student rental issues. The ordinance limits the number of unrelated persons

living in one house in SFR neighbourhoods. In Athens, Georgia, the Definition of Family Ordinance prohibits more than two unrelated tenants living together; in Gainesville, Florida, the number is three. However, the Ordinance is difficult to enforce and it is criticized for affecting the interests of low-income homeowners and nonstudent renters (Frierson, 2004).

In the Canadian context, Frierson (2004) pointed out that by-laws targeting non-family households are considered discriminatory in Ontario and are prohibited by the provincial Planning Act. As a result, some Ontario university towns sidestep by-laws around the concept of "family" and resort to licensing certain types of rental properties. In 2004, Waterloo, ON published its Lodging House Licensing By-law, which required the registration of lodging houses (any house rented to more than four tenants) in single-unit residential neighbourhoods (Frierson, 2004). The By-law also regulated a Minimum Distance Separation (MDS) of 75 meters between two lodging houses. However, the Lodging House Licensing By-law has not been able to effectively control student numbers as it grandfathered the lodging houses established before its enactment (Frierson, 2004).

In the UK, student housing in the private rental market is targeted under one type of household – HMO (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007). HMOs are defined as dwellings occupied by more than one household sharing basic amenities (Smith, 2011). In 2006, a mandatory licensing scheme was passed, requiring larger HMOs (those above two stories and accommodate more than four tenants) to be licensed (Parliament of the United Kingdom, 2006). The deficiency of the licensing system is that a high proportion of HMOs will fall out of the category in which licensing

is mandatory (Smith, 2008; Smith, 2011). Furthermore, authorities lack resources to enforce the licensing scheme (Smith, 2008).

Besides the licensing regime, planning approaches control the conversion of family homes into student rentals. Different from the United States and Canada, the UK applies Use Class Orders instead of zoning to control land use; changing the use of a building from one class to another will require planning permission (Frierson, 2004). Historically, family dwellings and HMOs with less than six occupants are under the same class, thus no planning permit is required for conversions (Frierson, 2004; Smith, 2008). However, through recent amendments to the Town and Country Planning Act, the UK has changed the situation. A new Class Order C4 was introduced to target HMOs, in contrast with the Class Order C3 targeting families; any change to the use of a building from C3 to C4 will need planning permission (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010). Nevertheless, local governments were advised to use the authority in discretion, only "in those exceptional circumstances where evidence suggests that the exercise of permitted development rights would harm local amenity or the proper planning of the area" (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). So far, more than 40 municipalities in the UK have implemented the new legislation to regulate conversion from single family housing to rental housing (National HMO Lobby, 2012).

Another planning tool used to control the concentration of HMOs is to set caps on numbers of shared rental homes in near-campus neighbourhoods. Hubbard (2008) describes in detail the planning approach that Charnwood Borough Council, UK took in responding to unbalanced near-campus neighbourhoods. A threshold model was adopted: whether a development would be approved or not depends on the percentage of student

households in the surrounding "home output areas"; "home output areas" are defined as "the output area[1] in which the property is located in addition to all adjacent output areas" (Hubbard , 2008, p.337). That is to say, any property development proposal would be evaluated in the context of the surrounding 600-800 households, and would be permitted or rejected according to the percentage of student households among these households and the type of development (see Table 2.1) (Hubbard, 2008).

The advantage of this approach is that the regulation applies to the whole town and thus avoids special policies towards the artificially designated "student housing areas" (Hubbard, 2008). In a town like Charnwood, UK where most of neighbourhoods are within one mile of the university, the controls on student housing development in a designated "student housing area" may drive students to non-designated neighbourhoods and cause new problems there. Further, the clusters of student housing outside the "student housing area" could not be covered by the special policies (Hubbard, 2008). However, this approach needs resources to constantly monitor student occupation data and also may be considered as discriminatory against the student population (Hubbard, 2008).

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[1] Output Areas are a spatial areas containing around 80-150 households.

Table 2.1: Policy Responses According to Intensity of Student Occupation

	Threshold categories (%)[a]		
	>20	10−20	<10
Planning permission will not be granted for the development of purpose-built student housing or extensions to existing student housing (excluding the university campus).	•		
Planning permission will not be granted for the development of purpose-built student housing or extensions to existing student housing where that development would cause excessive noise.	•	•	•
Planning permission will not be granted for conversion of dwelling houses where this would provide large unmanaged residences, housing more than six students living together.	•	•	
Planning permission will not be granted for extensions to dwelling houses where this would provide additional occupation for students.	•		
Approval for new housing will impose conditions to prevent their uncontrolled occupation by students (using Section 106 agreements).	•		
Adoption of a Planning Enforcement regime to ensure landlords and developers liaise with local communities before commencing site operations.	•	•	

[a] Total percentage of student households in all adjoining output areas.

Source: Charnwood Borough, 2005

2.5 Planning in A Collaborative Manner

The UK experience suggests that challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods are best addressed through collaboration of all stakeholders (Universities UK, 2006). Planning, in essence, is "an integral part of the political life" (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.295); its involvement with plural political choices makes it a decision- making mode that considers a plurality of interests of stakeholders. Thus, community planning is "a process in social cooperation" (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.296), and it is essential for planners to establish relationships with key stakeholders, including politicians, the public and developers. The effectiveness of the community planning process is "largely

determined by the degree to which…public, politician and planner can work together"
(Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.301).

Since the 1960s, almost all contemporary planning models have emphasized
authentic public engagement in the decision-making process; as Lane (2005) suggests,
"Participation and empowerment […]become goals to be attained rather than methods to
be used" (p.293). However, the degree of citizen participation varies by case. Sherry
Arnstein (1969) introduced the "ladder of citizen participation", as illustrated in Figure
2.1. It can be argued that the traditional strategies of public involvement in planning, such
as public hearings, surveys, written public comments, citizen-based committees, remain
at the non-participatory and tokenism level of participation (Hodge & Gordon, 2008;
Innes, 2004). Planning participation at the level of citizen power-sharing makes it feasible
for the public to participate in decision making processes, through voting or citizen
planning with or without the assistance of planners (Hodge & Gordon, 2008).

There is recent emphasis on the collaborative planning approach in planning
participation, where the planning process is based on "mutual learning" through
interactions among planners, citizens and developers (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). Innes
(Innes & Booher, 2000) contends that traditional planning participation methods
including public hearings, written public comments, use of a citizen-based commission,
focus group and opinion poll, either "appear to be nothing more than rituals designed to
satisfy legal requirements" (p.2) or exclude some vulnerable groups. Innes (2000)
introduces collaborative planning approaches such as design or planning charrettes,
search conferences, and development of community or neighbourhood boards. Different
from the traditional participation model, these collaborative methods "engage the

participants directly in conversation with one another and with decision makers" (Innes &
Booher, 2000, p.5) and therefore engender multi-way communication among citizens,
planners and decision makers (Innes & Booher, 2000).
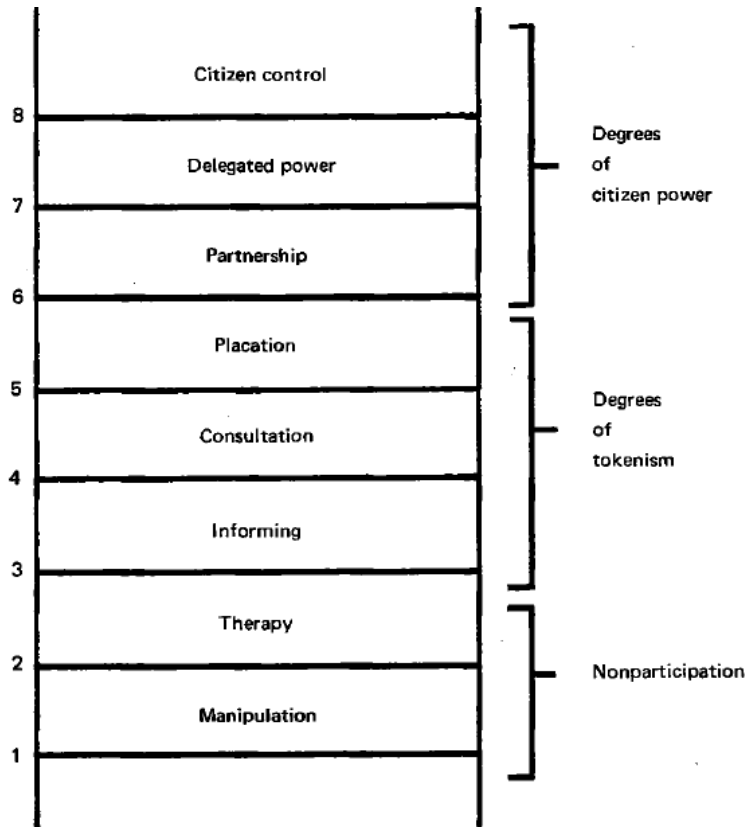
Figure 2.1: Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation

2.5.1 Stakeholders in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

Many stakeholders are involved in near-campus neighbourhood planning,
including PSIs, developers, homeowners, and student tenants. They possess different
levels of political power and play various roles in shaping near-campus neighbourhoods.

2.5.1.1 PSIs and Their Political Influence

Universities are prominent members of their communities (Bok, 1982) and are considered to engage in "high-profile, prestigious activities" (Lederer & Seasons, 2005, p.243). PSIs often possess strong political power in their host communities, especially when they become one of the major employers. A study of the power structure of a university town explored the involvement of PSIs in municipal decision-making process (Miller, 1963). The results show that representatives from universities often sit on important committees, such as City Council and Board of Planning Commissions, and are active in community policy-making. Therefore, in university towns, PSIs can be involved in high-level decision making about community affairs.

2.5.1.2 Developers as Community Builders

Developers take the key role in creating future built environment; local authorities are responsible for community planning, and developers are the major players in community building (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). When developers apply for approval of their development, a complex negotiation-bargaining situation takes place between developers and planners: developers want their plan to remain intact, while planners attempt to have the plan revised for more public good (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). The relationship between the two parties can be demonstrated by the following quotation:

> Planners prepare plans basically intended to modify, but heavily influenced by and building upon, what developers already do; and developers make their development decisions based on their interactions with planners and their knowledge of what planners will accept. (Hodge & Gordon, 2008, p.309)

2.5.1.3 Established Residents and NIMBY-ism

Established residents are often responsive to neighbourhood changes to protect their financial investment in the property; their property values are tied to the larger community (Rohe et al., 1996). Consequently, they are more actively involved in neighbourhood associations, network building and local political actions (Dietz & Haurin, 2003). Residents' participation in local planning projects is often linked to one of the buzzwords in today's planning language – NIMBY-ism (not-in-my-back-yard). NIMBY-ism refers to neighbourhood objections against to what has been termed LULU (locally-undesirable-land-use), such as recycling plants and group homes being built close to them, although they accept the values of such establishments to society (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). Hodge and Gordon (2008) further revealed that NIMBY-ism reflects the tension between local neighbourhood and city values, and it often arises from ineffective public participation: "In many planning situations, citizens see that they are allowed no higher than the middle rung of Arnstein's 'ladder of participation'; that is, they are only consulted" (p.318); as a result, citizens choose to protest as a more direct way to be heard.

2.5.1.4 Landlords

Research reveals that mortgage-type loans and low interest rates have been incentives for buy-to-rent behaviours of student market landlords (Rugg et al., 2002; Smith, 2005). On the other hand, property owners become landlords by default since their properties happen to be in a location dominated by student demand (Rugg et al., 2002). It is important to note that the buy-to-rent behaviour produces absentee landlords who reside outside of the neighbourhood where their rental properties are located.

2.5.1.5 Students and Community Engagement

One of the most significant characteristics of the student population is that it is large and permanently present as a group, but individually, students are transient (Munro & Livingston, 2012). As such, their interests are often short-term. Students want to live within a short walk to campus (Charbonneau et al., 2006; Munro & Livingston, 2012) and they can adapt to a great range of housing structures (Munro & Livingston, 2012). Students also tend to live close together to "reaffirm their social and cultural identities" (Smith & Holt, 2007, p.153). The idea of a "student area" itself is believed as the main appeal of these locations where students concentrate (Smith & Holt, 2007).

PSI students are expected to become more active citizens and to participate in community life (McCulloch, 2009). Student-community engagement is mutually reciprocal to the two parties and becomes one of the purposes of modern university education (O'Connor, Lynch, & Owen, 2011) However, as Hubbard (2008) contends, students do not participate in local political processes. One explanation is that homeowners are more actively engaged in civic affairs than renters (Fischel, 2001; Manturuk, Lindblad, & Quercia, 2012; Mccabe, 2013). Particularly, renters with a high level of mobility are less likely to get involved in neighbourhood groups to seek social ties in the community compared with families (Manturuk et al., 2012). Another explanation is that in a student neighbourhood, the original residents are considered as "the community" and their positions are "consonant with dominant policy positions", and therefore represent the mainstream social values (Munro & Livingston, 2012, p.1686).

2.5.2 University-community Collaborations

Historically, universities were physically separate from the community: PSIs were purposely built in rural areas far from urban settings (Martin, Smith, & Phillips, 2005). Over the years, urban expansion has encroached on land surrounding universities, and universities chose to isolate themselves from various social problems by building high walls surrounding the campus (Martin et al., 2005). They were criticized as "large, powerful, non-taxpaying entities that soak up city services and provide little in return" (Kysiak, 1986, p.50). Since the 1990s, the town and gown relations have largely improved, and universities have begun to engage in the community through providing expertise to solve community problems, facilitating economic development and enhancing the public's quality of life (Bruning, McGrew, & Cooper, 2006). A university-government-community partnership is mutually beneficial to each stakeholder, as elucidated by Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Benefits to Collaboration Partners in a university-government-community partnership		
Collaborator	Primary benefit	Secondary benefits
Community	More sensitive policies and programs	Increased empowerment; increased political literacy
Government	More cost-effective and appreciated policies and programs	Increased visibility; increased interaction with constituents; direct and timely feedback on policy
University	Participation in empowering research	Creation of more sensitive measures; new avenues of discovery; research and evaluation with better fit

Adopted from Bruning et al., 2006

Such partnerships are referred to as innovative university-community partnerships "whereby complex social issues and problems are addressed, but where each of the

partners also benefits from the exchange" (Martin et al., 2005, p.2). The success of the partnership depends on several factors:

- Funding: government agencies providing funding to partnerships
- Communication: frequent, formal meetings between universities and community partners
- Synergy: the cooperation of various stakeholders
- Organizational Compatibility: the compatibility of organizational functions in academic and off-campus environments
- Simplicity: simple mode of operation (Martin et al., 2005)

An example of a university-community partnership would be student housing development. Macintyre (2003) advocates a model in which a university reaches agreement with a developer to build or renovate a certain amount of student rooms and the university guarantees a minimum level of occupation. In this way, the university can supply student accommodation without incurring construction and maintenance costs, and the developer is secured a guaranteed market (Macintyre, 2003). Another example of partnership occurs when the university issues revenue bonds to fund the investment in student residences and collaborate with a private developer who manage the residences (Macintyre, 2003).

2.6 Summary

British researchers have led the way in studies of student accommodations and their impacts on near-campus neighbourhoods. The impacts are categorized in social, cultural, physical and economic terms. Socially, near-campus neighbourhoods are characterized by the concentration of university/college students with a demographic imbalance tilting towards the young and single social group. Economically, single-family homes are converted into student rentals in the form of lodging houses; housing market in near-campus neighbourhoods shifts with a decreasing rate of ownerships. Culturally, the

increasing population of students shares a culture distinctive from a family-oriented one and attracts service infrastructure catering to them. Physically, the neighbourhood environment often deteriorates with unsightly building expansion, unkempt properties and unattractive streetscape. These aspects are interlinked and the evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods is believed to be the outcome of a series of events.

Studentification was termed to describe the transition of near-campus neighbourhoods under the impact of the concentration of student populations. It is difficult to understand this process in the framework of traditional urban theory. There has been a lot of research interest recently in connecting studentification with gentrification, arguing that students gentrify the neighbourhoods they reside in.

Planning strategies have been developed to respond to challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods in the UK, the US and Canada, including requiring PSIs to expanding on-campus student residence, encouraging purpose-built student housing, and restricting student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods. Scholars suggest that the challenges should be addressed in the joined effort of different stakeholders including students, homeowners, landlords, PSIs and developers. Partnerships are essential in supplying sufficient and high quality student accommodations.

Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

My research concerns three concepts: the scope of the problem of studentification in Ontario, the current planning strategies responding to this problem, and the Town and Gown relations in university/college cities. The subject of studentification has been explored and theorized for a decade in the UK and the US, while little research has been done in Canada. There is a need for basic information about the Canadian context: for example, how many cities have experienced this issue? What kind of strategies have they developed? Thus, the key task of this project is to investigate this issue as experienced by different municipalities to understand the status quo within Ontario specially. Then more detailed analysis can be done by other scholars based on this understanding.

A research method should be carefully selected given this situation. In 2004, a large-scale investigation of studentification was carried out in the UK. Researchers used a two-phase research method: survey of all PSIs and relevant community groups and in-depth interviews with key informants in six case study locations (University UK, 2006). This precedent research guided the design of this project.

3.2 Rationale for A Two-stage Research Approach

Many authorities on research design draw a line between quantitative and qualitative methods (Bryman, 2005; Hakim, 2000). Nevertheless, some writers argue that the distinction is no longer useful and they instead promote multiple technologies to measure a single concept – a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (Axinn, 2006). A quantitative approach is a means to test theories by

measuring variables; it represents a worldview of positivism and considers social reality

as an external, constant and objective reality (Bryman, 2005; Creswell, 2009). Qualitative

research is a means to generate theories; it contains a constructivist or advocacy

worldview and involves a large amount of interactions between researchers and

participants (Bryman, 2005; Creswell, 2009). Given the complexity of certain topics in

social science, the use of either qualitative or quantitative research might be inadequate.

A mixed method approach – the combination of the two methods – utilizes the strengths

and provides more insight from of both perspectives (Creswell, 2009). Thus, mixed

methods research can be considered when a researcher wants to:

- Broaden the understanding of the research topic by combing both qualitative and quantitative research
- Use one approach to better understand, explain or build on the results from the other approach (Creswell, 2009)

The benefits of using multiple types of data in mixed methods research include: 1)

provides more comprehensive information which could not be retrieved from a single

method; 2) reduces non-sampling errors due to the abundance of information from

different resources; and 3) decreases the level of bias by integrating different approaches

of data collection (Axinn, 2006). However, the limitations of mixed methods approaches

include the need for extensive data, the time consuming nature of this research approach,

and the requirement of familiarity with both qualitative and quantitative approaches

(Creswell, 2009).

Creswell (2009) lists the sequential explanatory strategy as a popular strategy for

mixed methods researchers. It involves two stages: collecting and analyzing quantitative

data and conducting qualitative study based on the results of quantitative research in the

first stage (Figure 3.1). The sequential explanatory design often gives weight to quantitative data, and qualitative research is often conducted to explain quantitative results. Thus it is useful to interpret unexpected findings in the quantitative study.

Sequential Explanatory Design
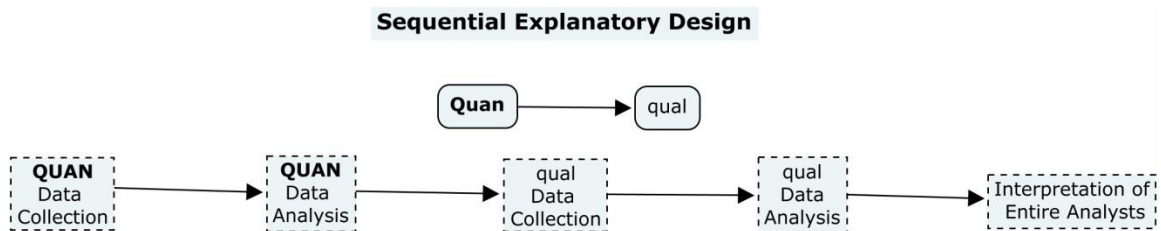
- A QUAN/qual notation indicates that the qualitative methods are embedded within a quantitative design.
- A "→" indicates a sequential form of data collection, with qualitative data building on quantitative data.

Adopted from Creswell, 2009

Figure 3.1: Sequential Design of a Two-stage Research Approach

A quantitative-qualitative sequenced study is considered an optimal approach to answer my research question. The inquiry about the scope of a problem and the corresponding planning strategies requires an investigation covering all university cities in Ontario. However, it was not feasible to conduct field studies at these locations due to time and economic constraints. Thus, surveying those who hold the relevant information on the subject matter is a more efficient and effective approach. Another significant advantage of the survey method is its "transparency or accountability" (Hakim, 2000, p.77). With procedures and materials such as sampling, coding, questionnaires listed, the research method is very accessible and replicable. The weakness of the survey method is related to the structured questionnaire it involves. This standardized measurement compromises the depth and quality of the data it collects (Hakim, 2000). Follow-up interviews could supplement the survey reports, providing clarifications on causal

relations, explanations of motivations, and examples and quotations elaborating deviant answers (Hakim, 2000). A combination of survey and interview research methods adequately complements each other to achieve the magnitude and depth of the research topic.

A distinctive feature of my research topic is that it has been explored in the academic world within some regions of the world (e.g. the US and the UK). Although in these areas, definitions, explanations and theories have been well established, when they are applied to the Canadian context, variations may occur due to local economic, political, and legal contents. Thus, a qualitative analysis is crucial to explain the quantitative results, especially those that deviate from the research outcomes in the US and the U.K.

The major research methods used in this study are literature review, content analysis, survey and interview. The interconnections among these methods are illustrated in Figure 3.2.
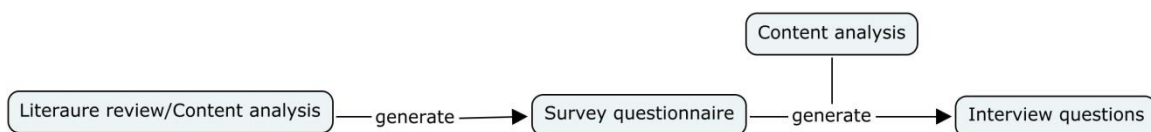
Figure 3.2: Interconnections among Different Research Methods

Content analysis focused on government documents, mass media outputs, and secondary analysis. Documents analyzed included:

- Student accommodation studies (if there are any)
- Neighbourhood Improvement Plans of near-campus neighbourhoods (if there are any)
- City-wide demographic profiles
- Near campus neighbourhoods demographic profiles (if there are any)

- Surveys of student accommodations conducted by the city or by the university/college
- Zonings of lands surrounding a campus
- Citizen petitions on student housing issues
- Mass media output on student housing issues

The survey method and interview method will be introduced in the following sections.

3.3 Instrumentation, Designing, and Population of the Survey

Compared with traditional mailed questionnaires, online surveys have several advantages: 1) lower cost as no postage, paper or envelope is used; 2) faster response and processing; and, 3) fewer unanswered questions and better response to open questions (Bryman, 2005). The disadvantages include lower response rates, restriction to online populations, confidentiality issues and multiple replies to web surveys (Bryman, 2005). In this study, an email survey was considered a desirable approach, based on the following considerations. First, due to limited resources including time and funds, a face-to-face interview with every participant was not possible. Secondly, the survey participants, comprising university and college employees, and city staff, are Internet users (Gray, 2003). Thirdly, most of the survey participants' email addresses are open to the public; therefore they are accessible via emails. Lastly, email correspondence is less intrusive than phone calls. To improve response rates, interview methods can be added; for example, an alternative method can be adopted to reach people who have not returned the survey (Gray, 2003).

Essentially, the surveys in my study were designed to measure the concepts established in my research question. Concepts are "the building blocks of theory and represent the points around which social research is conducted" (Bryman, 2005, p.52).

For a concept to be employed in research, it should be measured by indicators (Bryman, 2005). My research revolves around three concepts: studentification in Ontario, the effectiveness of current planning strategies, and Town and Gown relations. To measure these three concepts, two sets of questionnaires were developed targeting respondents from various cities and those from the universities. To understand the scope of the problems of studentification in Ontario, questions for participants from the cities and from the institutions were designed based on literature reviews. As mentioned before, although abundant studies have been done on studentification in other countries, no research has covered my study area. Therefore, it was reasonable to employ indicators established in the other studies to measure "studentification" in Ontario, given the universality of this issue.

To identify planning strategies for near-campus neighbourhoods, planning documents were examined. So far in Ontario, six municipalities have developed *ad hoc* plans for near-campus neighbourhoods or for student off-campus housing:

- Waterloo Student Accommodation Study, 2004
- The Northdale Land Use and Community Improvement Plan Study, Waterloo, 2012
- London Near-Campus Neighbourhoods Planning Amendment, 2009
- Central Accommodation Review: Review of Previous Studies and Initiatives, Kingston, 2013
- Oshawa Student Accommodation Strategy, 2010
- Anslie Wood Westdale Secondary Plan, Hamilton, 2005
- Georgian College Neighbourhood Strategy, Barrie, 2007

The assumption is that strategies adopted by other cities are similar to those written in these documents, as the six municipalities are more exposed to student housing issues and more experienced in dealing with them. Possible planning tools were listed in the survey questionnaire. Respondents could choose those that applied to their municipalities. They

were also requested to add tools that are not listed. To measure the performances of these planning tools, questionnaires concerned with the respondents' attitude (Bryman, 2005) were developed. Respondents were required to evaluate the performances of planning strategies by selecting one of the options in five-point Likert scales from "extremely effective" to "extremely ineffective."

Respondents were also requested to answer questions regarding the collective efforts made by their cities, the institution(s), community members and developers to improve student off-campus living experience and to minimize negative impacts of student population on near-campus neighbourhoods. Currently, there is limited research focusing on city-university cooperation on off-campus student housing. Thus, my study on Town and Gown relations is exploratory.

The design of the survey questionnaire is indicated in Table 3.1, specifying indicators to measure the concepts and survey questions corresponding to these indicators. The survey respondents were required to return their finished questionnaires by email, and therefore they could be contacted for follow-up interviews. The complete surveys for municipalities and PSIs are attached in Appendix 2.

The survey covered all the Ontario municipalities that host at least one PSI (including satellite campus). These institutions are limited to Ontario's 22 public universities and 22 colleges[2]. The private universities, private career colleges and French-

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[2] Service Ontario provides a list of Ontario universities (https://www.ontario.ca/education-and-training/ontario-universities) and colleges (https://www.ontario.ca/education-and-training/ontario-colleges).

speaking colleges were not covered in the survey. There were in total 57 municipalities[3] identified as potential participants. A list of PSIs and the municipalities they are affiliated with is attached in Appendix 1. On the city side, planners who have dealt with near-campus neighbourhood (re)developments or who are conversant with the subject were considered ideal to participate in the survey. Alternatively, city staff working with community relations or by-law enforcement could also be potential respondents. On the university/college side, participants included university/college staff who deal with student off-campus housing or work with institution-community relations, and staff who work with on-campus student residences or Student Success.

The steps in conducting the survey included: first, a draft survey questionnaire was sent to a planner and a university off-campus housing manager respectively, and revised following their advice. Second, invitation letters were sent to all potential participants inquiring their interests in participation by email. Third, survey questionnaires were sent to those who have confirmed their intention to participate as email attachments; there were also several rounds of reminder emails distributed. Lastly, to improve response rates (Gray, 2003), telephone interviews were conducted targeting those who failed to reply any of my email inquiries.

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[3] Fifty-seven municipalities were covered; in certain municipalities, several planning districts are kept following the amalgamation of former municipalities.

Table 3.1: Indicators to Measure Key Concepts and Affiliated Survey Questions			
Concept	**Indicators**	**Survey questions**	
		Municipality	PSI
Geographic patterns of studentification	- Size of city - Size of institution - Type of institution - Characteristics of near-campus neighbourhoods - Capacity of official student residents	Section 1	Section 1
Scope of problem	- Changes to demographic, housing stock, and service infrastructure - Occurrence of small-scale intensification - Pressure on public service sectors - Neighbourhood crime - Physical environment - Student behaviour …	Section 2	N/a
Current relevant planning strategies	- Planning strategies adopted - Assessment of the strategies	Section 3	N/a
Town and Gown relations	- Communications between stakeholders - Visions of stakeholders - Integration in planning	Section 4	Section 2, Section 3

3.4 Interview Design

Semi-structured interview techniques were used in the second stage of the research. Interview is defined as a conversation with the purpose of information gathering (Berg, 1998). The structured, semi-structured and unstructured interview are three types of commonly used interview approaches (Bryman, 2005). The semi-structured interview is applied if "the research is beginning the investigation with a fairly clear rather than a general focus" (Bryman, 2005, p.186). In this study, as the first stage research had

generated significant amount information and provided with clear focuses for the interview, a semi-structured interview was considered appropriate.

Selected participants in the first stage of the study were contacted for their interest in participating in interviews. The selection criteria were based upon the survey results: 1) the potential participant indicated in the survey that the municipality he/she is affiliated with has experienced near-campus neighbourhood problems and has developed student accommodation strategies; 2) the potential participant's answers to one or more survey questions were outliers from the rest of answers; and, 3) the participant left comments on the survey questionnaire suggesting that clarification and elaboration were needed.

An interview guide was developed with topics and subject areas to ensure that the same basic lines of inquiry were followed with each interviewee (Patton, 2002). However, the guide was tailored to accommodate the specific interest before each interview. Despite the prepared question list, diverting on tangents is encouraged to see what is relevant and important to interviewees; new questions could be generated from interviewees' responses (Bryman, 2005). In-depth interviews were very important at this stage because they compensated for the insufficiency of validity (Creswell, 2009) in quantitative data collected by survey research. The qualitative nature of interviews allows the collection of rich data on meaning of behaviour and interconnection between actions (Bryman, 2005). Furthermore, a focus on participants' narratives could reveal hidden factors that have not been covered in questionnaires. Interviews were conducted in person or by telephone depending on the accessibility to the whereabouts of the interviewees. Conversations in interviews were recorded by voice recording device if the participant agreed; alternatively, notes were taken during interviews.

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3.5 Data Analysis

Two types of data were analyzed: quantitative data (from the survey) and qualitative data (from interviews and content analysis). For each survey question, responses were aggregated and the results were reported in the form of frequency tables, contingency tables or table etiquette (Gray, 2003). Due to the relatively small survey population, no further statistical analysis was done.

The major source of qualitative data was interviews and content analysis which produced a rich but unstructured database. Coding is the centrepiece in processing this type of data (Bryman, 2005). Coding is "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Compared with codes in quantitative data analysis, qualitative codes are "in a constant state of potential revision and fluidity"; a process called constant comparison is operated to determine the category that a chunk of information should be coded under (Bryman, 2005). Creswell (2009) recommends the development of a preliminary codebook when qualitative research is conducted following quantitative research. According to coding techniques provided by Creswell, the data from interviews and other sources were analyzed in the steps described below.

The first stage was to read through all the documents including interview transcription and secondary sources to obtain a general sense of the meaning of the data. Some notes were taken in margins (Creswell, 2009). In the second stage, some codes were first identified from a literature review and documents, from which I developed the survey questionnaires and interview questions. A qualitative codebook was developed (Creswell, 2009) (see Table 3.2). All the documents were then read thoroughly.

Once I encountered a topic which was relevant to the definition of one code, the segment of the text was recorded in the codebook. At the same time, I used the constant comparison technique to identify topics that were not covered in the codebook and added them to it (Creswell, 2009).

Table 3.2: The organization of qualitative codebook			
Number	Code	Definition of code	Instance (line number)

Adopted from Cresswell, 2009

In the third stage, description involving detailed information with respect to people, places, and events was developed around each code. Then all the codes were analysed and grouped into different themes. As qualitative research is designed to help understand the quantitative results and is developed based on quantitative research, the majority of these themes overlapped with those that emerged in quantitative findings. However, attention was paid to any new themes that emerged and then such themes were thoroughly analyzed (Creswell, 2009).

The final stage of data analysis involved the effort to represent descriptions and themes in the qualitative narrative; maps and drawings made explicit how themes interconnect with each other and how relate to the research questions (Creswell, 2009).

3.6 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity of participants and confidentiality of data were assured throughout the study. The survey was done via email correspondence; there was no risk that the data could be retrieved by a third party. During the data analysis process, each survey was de-identified (i.e., by eliminating the name of institutions and any geographic information) and coded by letters. The survey results were either discussed on a provincial level, or by

categories of city size (e.g., small city, mid-size city, large city), without mentioning a specific municipality. The voice record files of interviews was stored in the investigator's hard drive, and secured with an access password. During the transcription of the voice record, each interview was coded by letters. Personal identifiers including names, positions, geographic information, etc., were replaced at the first opportunity. Transcripts were also securely stored in the hard drive. Any hard copy of the transcripts was stored in a locked area. The voice record files, electronic copies and hard copies of transcripts will be destroyed once the report is complete.

3.7 Summary

To understand the scope of the problem of studentification, the current planning strategies and the cooperation among stakeholders in the study area, a two-stage study was designed. The first stage involved a survey among all the university/college cities in Ontario, and the second stage included several case studies with in-depth interviews and content analysis embedded. The rationale for adopting this research design was related to the lack of previous studies and systematic data on this subject matter in my study area. The second stage qualitative research was designed based on the first stages quantitative findings and aimed to help interpret these findings.

Survey results were aggregated by survey questions for further analysis. Documents in content analysis and interview transcripts were analyzed by a coding scheme. A codebook was created prior to qualitative data analysis, and relevant codes were logically grouped to clarify their inner interconnections. The purpose of all data analysis is to generate answers to research questions.

Chapter 4
Near-campus Neighbourhoods in Transition

4.1 Introduction

A large body of literature focuses on the impacts of student populations on near-campus neighbourhoods, especially in the UK (Allinson, 2006; Cortes, 2004; Gumprecht, 2006; Hubbard, 2008; Kenyon, 1997; Rugg et al., 2002). These impacts can be classified in social, cultural, physical and economic dimensions (Kenyon, 1997; Smith, 2005). Although it is evident that similar phenomena have taken place in Ontario near-campus neighbourhoods, as demonstrated in government reports, media output and residents' narratives, little academic study has been done comprehensively on this subject in Canada. Do neighbourhood transitions follow the same trajectory as those in the UK? Does the concept of studentification apply to Canadian communities?

This chapter aims to address the first research question: **what are the impacts of student populations on near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario?** The analysis is based upon the survey results and interviews. In addition, government reports were reviewed and media output was examined to provide evidence.

4.2 Survey and Interview Response Rates

Twenty-five responses were received from local governments and 21 from PSIs; the survey response rates for the local authorities and for institutions were 42% and 48% respectively (Table 4.1). Those who failed to return survey questionnaires were tracked by phone calls. These participants briefly discussed the situation in their jurisdiction and explained their reasons for not responding. Most respondents from the city worked in planning departments, with three exceptions. One worked in the Building Department;

another worked in the By-law Enforcement and Property Standards Department[4]; and the third represented the City's Town and Gown Committee. Eighteen out of 21 respondents from PSIs held the position of On-campus or Off-campus Housing Officer. Two worked for university-community relations and one worked for the Student Success Office[5].

Table 4.1: Survey Respondents and Response Rates		
	Planners	PSI housing officers
Survey Population	60	44
Questionnaires Returned	25	21
Replies by email[6]	5	1
Phone call follow-up	14	8
Rejection	1	0
Non-response	15	14
Response rate	42%	48%

Among survey participants, 14 planners and 12 Participant PIS housing officers were identified as potential interview participants, and 13 planners and 10 housing officers participated in the interview. In total, 22 interviews were conducted over the phone and one interview was carried out in person.

4.3 Scope of Problem

Twenty-three of twenty-five survey participants who returned the questionnaires confirmed that problems have been reported, observed, or known within near-campus neighbourhoods (e.g., the disproportionate population of student tenants, displacement of families, deteriorating neighbourhood environment, etc.). Figure 4.1 shows the geographic distribution of these communities in Ontario. Most municipalities with problematic neighbourhoods are concentrated in Southern Ontario, a finding which

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[4] The participants who worked for local authorities are generally referred to as planners hereinafter.

[5] The participants who worked for PSIs are generally referred to as PSI housing officers hereinafter.

[6] Participants who replied by email did not finish the survey questionnaire.

corresponds to the concentration of PSIs. Participants did not respond because they are not aware of significant student housing issues in their municipalities. Follow-up phone calls to 14 non-responding planners confirmed that only three of them are concerned about problems associated with off-campus student housing.

Notably, 22 out of 23 municipalities with student housing issues reported that PSIs were close to a low-density neighbourhood, although high-density development may or may not be on site. Apart from that, the survey did not find any external contributors to studentification. In other words, a municipality may develop issues associated with student housing regardless of its size (small, medium, or metropolitan), type of institution it hosts (university, college, or satellite campus), or the percentage of student population (<5%, 5%-10%, 10%-20%, or >20%). However, cities hosting universities are more likely to experience negative impacts of student population compared to those hosting colleges. Among the participating cities, 100% of cities hosting a university have experienced negative effects of student off-campus housing. Approximately 50% cities hosting a college have experienced this issue. In addition, the follow-up phone calls revealed that cities without problem in near-campus neighbourhoods usually have PSIs with small enrolment or PSIs catering to part-time students.
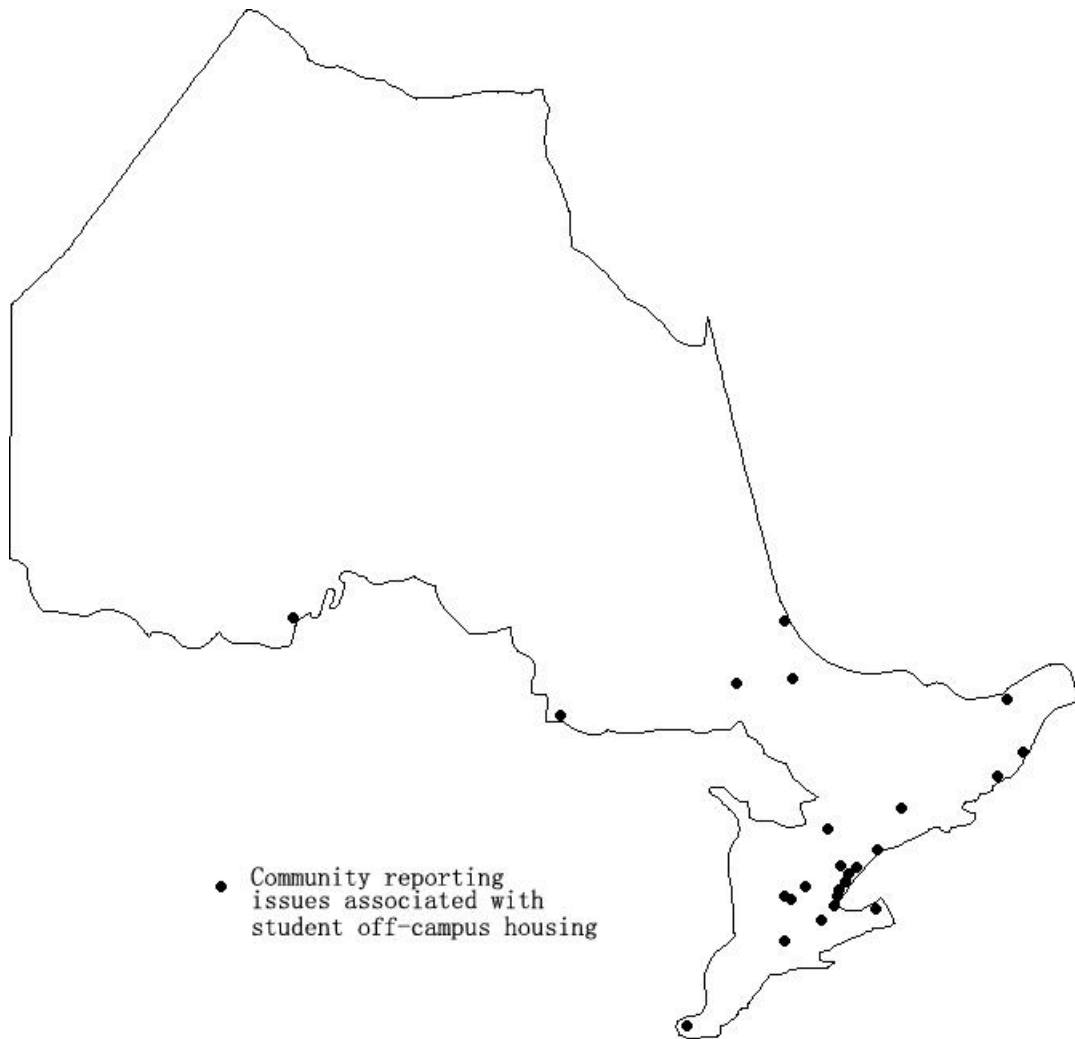
Figure 4.1: Communities Reporting Issues Associated With Student Off-campus Housing in Ontario[7]

4.4 Impacts on Near-camps Neighbourhoods

The survey listed a number of challenges faced by university communities within near-campus neighbourhoods as recorded in government reports. Participants were required to check off the challenges that have emerged in their cities. Table 4.2 demonstrates the challenges and the number of cities that have faced each challenge.

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[7] The outline of the map of Ontario was adopted from Google Maps

4.4.1 Social Impacts

Among the 23 survey respondents concerned about housing issues in near-campus neighbourhoods, 11 reported that the population of student tenants in the neighbourhood has increased to the degree that the neighbourhoods are considered "unbalanced." The increase in student population is, in most cases, accompanied by the out-migration of established residents. Thirteen respondents confirmed that many families have moved out from near-campus neighbourhoods. In traditional university cities, it is not uncommon for some streets near PSIs to be completely composed of students. The City of London reported that neighbourhoods close to the University of Western Ontario and Fanshawe College have lost their balance as a result of the reduced long-term housing market (City of London, 2009). A recent survey in Waterloo among 469 household found that almost 80% of residents were students (MMM Group Limited, 2012).

This demographic imbalance is evidenced in Ontario by a drop in population in some near-campus neighbourhoods, because the Canadian census system does not usually count university/college students as residents in the cities where they currently live. Consequently, when student tenants replace permanent residents, the census will show a decline in population. The Old North Area of London, Ontario, for example, experienced a population drop of 12% from 2001 to 2006, whereas the dwelling count in the same area increased (City of London, 2009).

Table 4.2: Challenges in Near-campus Neighbourhoods in Social, Economic, Physical and Cultural Dimension		
Dimension	**Challenge in near-campus neighbourhoods**	**Number of cities facing this challenge**
Social	The student population has increased to the degree that the neighbourhood is considered "unbalanced"	11
	Families/established residents have moved out.	13
Economic	Single-family houses were converted into student rentals	18
	The multi-occupation dwellings within near-campus neighbourhoods are too expensive for families to rent or purchase	4
Physical	New buildings/building additions are poorly designed and do not match others in the neighbourhood	4
	Intensification has taken place in the forms of duplexes, triplexes, accessory apartment, etc.	14
	The physical environment of the neighbourhoods has been deteriorating (regarding the exterior of properties, tidiness of the streets)	14
	There is a propensity to unsafe housing conditions	8
	Compared to stable neighbourhoods, public expenditure has increased (for police, ambulances, garbage, etc.).	5
Cultural	Neighbourhoods have experienced changes to their service infrastructures (e.g., more services catering to nightlife and closure of educational services).	4
	The neighbourhoods generate more complaints to by-law officers or the police than do more stable neighbourhoods.	18
	Compared to stable neighbourhoods, near-campus neighbourhoods witness more neighbourhood-undermining behaviour	16
	Compared to stable neighbourhoods, criminal activities such as theft, robbery, and burglary are more prevalent	3

Interview participants listed several cases of ghettoized student areas: "the neighbourhood to the west of the campus is almost entirely students, almost 100%" (Participant I04); "[There is] an area with 243 houses and 233 are student rentals, 95% (Participant I01)"; "We have fewer families living close to university now; we have fewer citizens, and fewer children within the five-minute walk from campus. It's all students exclusive if you go five-minute radius around [campus]" (Participant I05). One participant (Participant M06) mentioned the "tipping point" when a traditional neighbourhood loses its family-oriented neighbourhood characteristics due to a growing number of student accommodations. Another participant (Participant I06) warned that a local councillor needed to pay attention to the magnitude of conversion to student housing when it reaches a "critical mass". However, in some exceptions, the community has accommodated students without significant migration of families. "People who live in that subdivision whose kids have moved out […] have a perfect setting in the basement to take in a boarder" (Participant M10).

4.4.2 Economic Impacts

The conversion from single-family houses to commercial rental houses has been a common phenomenon in near-campus neighbourhoods, reported by 18 out of 23 respondents. The typical story heard in the interviews was that detached houses were purchased, divided into small units and rented out to students. "What we have seen in near-campus neighbourhood is the proliferation of people purchasing single family homes and converting them into rental units. It has degraded the family atmosphere within the neighbourhood" (Participant I03). "There's evidence that investors bought the houses and rented them to students […] Slowly over time more and more houses were

being rented out to students" (Participant M09). "When houses came for sale, […] investors bought them as investment, and rented them out" (Participant M09). In some municipalities, some conversions were considered illegal without a building permit, such as "removal or construction of walls, the construction of additional bathrooms and kitchens, major structural work and the creation of new window and door openings"(City of Hamilton, ON, 2010, p.2). For other municipalities, such as North York, ON, the conversions into lodging houses are illegal as lodging housing is not permitted in zoning by-laws of the whole planning district (City of Toronto, 2009). Although most of the PSIs in this study are located in low-density neighbourhoods, when the campus is surrounded by a high-density form of development, it is expected that investors will buy apartment units and rent out to students (Participant M08).

As debated in the British literature, controversy exists regarding the change to housing prices in near-campus neighbourhoods. Although most participants believed that house values had inflated in near-campus neighbourhoods, hardly any of them could provide empirical evidence. One participant explained that the planning department did not monitor the real estate market, including property values. However, it was not uncommon for residents to claim that their property values had depreciated (MacDonald, 2011). One interview participant suggested that such complaints came from the property owners whose houses were not being rented out. She pointed out that the property standard issues have not negatively affected the property value, especially when the properties were rented out on a per bedroom basis, as the property value was based on the number of bedrooms in near-campus neighbourhoods. Therefore, the houses not being converted into multi-bedroom units might have depreciated values.

Although it is a common belief that student-housing market is a "seller's market" due to the high demand of student accommodations, it is not always the case. Figure 4.2 shows the supply and demand relationship in the off-campus housing market. Fifty percent of respondents revealed a shortage in off-campus housing in their cities; however, 18% of respondents felt that the accommodations have been over-supplied. One respondent believed "things [were] slowing down" in the last few years and landlords were concerned about renting out their properties (Participant PI04).

Responses from 23 planners identifying supply-demand relationship of studnet housing mareket

- Shortage
- Over-suply
- Balenced supply-and-demand
- Don't know
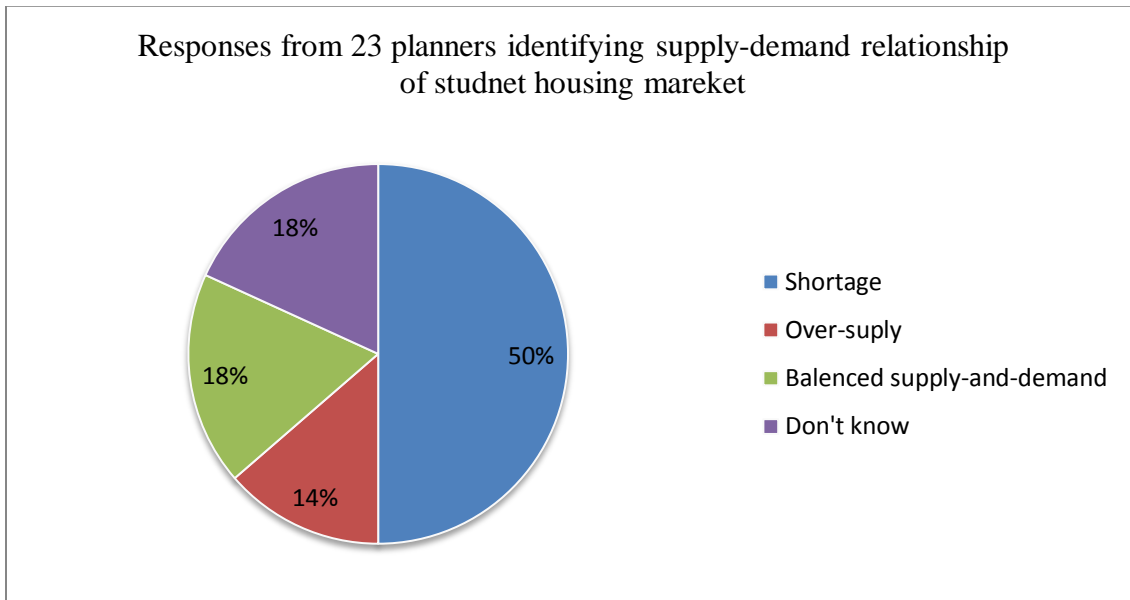
Figure 4.2: Supply-demand Relationship of Off-campus Housing Market

4.4.3 Physical Impacts

A neighbourhood that has lost its balance between long-term residents and transitional ones often delivers a negative public image. A report from the City of London depicts a typical profile of a student neighbourhood:

Parking on front lawns, bonfires in backyards, furniture and garbage strewn on front yards, urination in public areas, and extreme noise well into the night are being experienced all-too-often within London's near-campus neighbourhood. The Fleming Drive Area has recently become well-known for multiple street parties that have led to clashes with police and unsafe conditions for all those involved (City of London, 2009, p.13).

The above narrative describes a typical image of a student neighbourhood, or at least the one in people's minds. Fourteen respondents out of 23 indicated that the physical environment of the neighbourhoods has been deteriorating. Several government reports attribute the deterioration to the failure to maintain property standards. For instance, one report reveals concerns arising in a subdivision adjacent to York University, commonly referred to as the "Village at York": garbage storage and disposal, vehicle parking, snow removal and grass cutting (City of Toronto, 2012). The City of Kingston (2009) also reported issues in near-campus neighbourhoods regarding garbage clean-up and property maintenance. By-law officers often receive complaints about grass cutting and unkempt gardens in near-campus neighbourhoods, especially in the summer. The City of Toronto reports that fraternity and sorority houses concentrated in an area in Ward 20 are often the object of complaints by long-term neighbours with regard to noise and property standard issues, especially garbage and excessive partying (City of Toronto, 2011). Similarly, the Village at York has raised concerns in long-term residents, regarding noise, garbage, parking and property maintenance (City of Toronto, 2012).

In Waterloo, 32% of by-law violations citywide came from the University Neighbourhood Land Use Plan Area (MMM Group, 2012), which comprises only 6% of the area of the city[8]. Similarly, in the city of Barrie, the Georgian College Neighbourhood

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[8] The University Neighbourhood Land Use Plan Area is around 4 square kilometers (Measured by Google Earth).

Area takes up 6% [9] of total city area, but 34% of zoning complaints and 14% of property standard complaints were from that area (City of Barrie, 2007). In the case of Waterloo, the majority of violations were associated with lot maintenance; other violations include property standard violations, zoning violations, and front yard parking (MMM Group, 2012). In 2011, the noise charges laid in the University Neighbourhood Land Use Plan Area made up more than 70% of the charges citywide (MMM Group, 2012). In near-campus neighbourhoods in Barrie, the majority of zoning complaints were associated with parking on front lawns and occupancy issues; property standard complaints were concentrated in three categories: garbage and debris, unlicensed vehicles, and long grass and weeds (City of Barrie, 2007).

One of the issues that especially concerns local authorities is the health and safety of neighbourhoods where student accommodations are concentrated. Unauthorised building conversions are made to accommodate more renters than the house was designed or approved for, which often lead to Fire Code violations. The City of Waterloo Fire Prevention Division received 382 complaints on average per year from 2008 to 2011 regarding violations of fire prevention standards in near-campus neighbourhoods (MMM Group, 2012). The health and safety issues were associated with the aging housing stock near campus. As one respondent explained, "I think the homes are older and people are trying to save money. I don't think a lot of homes are safe for students[...] The houses are not well kept. I'm not sure if they meet the building code or fire code." (Participant M04)

Intensity in the forms of building additions and infill has occurred within low-density near-campus neighbourhoods. Fourteen out of 23 university/college communities

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[9] The Georgian College Neighbourhood Area is around 6 square kilometers (Measured by Google Earth).

reported that the intensification has taken place in the forms of duplexes, triplexes, accessory apartments, etc. As early as 1990, the City of Kingston noticed development proposals "out of scale" with their surroundings in near-campus neighbourhoods and froze all development there (City of Kingston, 2013b). A report from London, Ontario (City of London, 2009) pointed out that new buildings and building additions have mushroomed to accommodate more student tenants in near-campus neighbourhood. The consequence was that new construction was not in keeping with its neighbourhood context and character (City of London, 2009). For instance, some building additions were larger than the principal building; building height and set-backs regulated in local by-laws were maximized (City of London, 2009). These forms of intensification undermined the aesthetic appeal of the neighbourhood and downgraded the physical environment. However, in the survey, only four respondents believed that the building additions were poorly designed or did not match others in the same neighbourhood.

Out-of-scale building additions are sometimes referred to as "monster homes" by local residents. One interviewee revealed historic reasons for the existence of monster homes. In her municipality, the near-campus neighbourhoods had more than a century's history. The houses were built to accommodate large families, with servant's quarters sometimes. The problem was that houses had huge lots because backyards were intended for carriages. The large houses were now divided into several units and the space in the back was taken up to build building additions, namely, monster homes.

Nevertheless, the magnitude of these issues may not be as significant as reported by residents, because a lot of their complaints were based on the reminiscences of the neighbourhood before the evolution, even before the PSI was founded, when "everybody

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did have a lovely garden. As a typical suburban neighbourhood, everybody was fairly homogeneous" (Participant M13). "People used to know other neighbours" until "different people began moving in" (Participant M04). Thus, neighbourhood deterioration is sometimes more perception or fear than an actual problem.

4.4.4 Cultural Impacts

Sixteen out of 23 municipalities that have experienced student off-campus housing issues reported that, compared with stable neighbourhoods, near-campus neighbourhoods have witnessed more neighbourhood-undermining behaviour, including noise, vandalism, and illegal parking. Furthermore, 18 municipalities reported that neighborhoods generated more complaints to by-law officers or the police than more stable neighbourhoods.

Established residents often hold a hostile attitude toward their student neighbours. As a neighbourhood association in Kingston stated on their website, "[we] are fed up with the unacceptable behaviour of many Queen's students; we believe that, regretfully, discussion and dialogue over many years have been unsuccessful in attaining a liveable neighbourhood."(SONAC, 2013) The association further points out "we are not talking about a mere handful of students. We are talking about a significant number of Queen's students--certainly a large enough number to have affected a negative impact on the quality of life in our community" (SONAC, 2013). Residents' hostility against students may derive from the students' distinct lifestyles. An interviewee recounted her experience when she lived with student neighbours in a university town:

> There are times when I walked in the student ghetto, I was scared because
> there were beer bottles breaking, people drinking and there were parties

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everywhere. I was thinking I didn't want to live here with kids. […] I lived on a street where every so often neighbours have a backyard party until 12 [midnight]. What did they do? They told me, 'we are having a party. We are having some people over. Come and hang out'. (Participant I06)

Some interviewees pointed out the periodic nature of student behaviour issues. The problems are often manifested at events such as homecoming and St. Patrick's Day. For example, Homecoming was Queen's University's traditional event for alumni reunions, attracting thousands of people, including those in town for receptions and football games (Duff, 2012). The events used to turn into raucous street parties in the off-campus housing district, with alcohol-fuelled people, and sometimes riots – "cars have been torched and overturned"; "Students and people in town for the raucous party were throwing beer bottles from balconies along Aberdeen street"(Calgary Herald, 2009). Media described the event as a "drunken melee" (Broadcast News, 2006), and "a community-relations nightmare" (Calgary Herald, 2009). The Homecoming event was suspended after a victim was assaulted and suffered a brain injury in 2008(Duff, 2012).

On the 2012 St. Patrick's Day in London, Ontario, a riot transformed Fleming Drive near Fanshawe College into a "war zone" (Postmedia Breaking News, 2012): "a booze-fuelled crowd tangling with authorities, trashing property and firing debris and bottles at cops. A TV news truck also was torched in the melee" (Taylor, 2012). One hundred and seventy-five criminal charges were laid against 68 suspects (Taylor, 2012).

Despite the prevalent media output on the issue of student behaviour, some interviewees ague that it was actually more perceptual, instead of actual: "Generally the

media reports, by the nature of the industry, when something goes wrong when there is the issue, but it does not focus on everyday stories. I met wonderful students, student unions. They left no problems. [….] The student issue is based on person. It's not because they are students" (Participant M13). "I think the neighbours have a lot of perceptions rather than problem. I don't think the police are there all the time. […] Neighbours hear about college towns and that sort of thing. I think there is a lot of fear and perceptions."(Participant M05) More importantly, residents sometimes attributed noise and other public nuisance from bars and night clubs to students:

> Near campus neighbourhoods are also located in a lot of cases near bars, pubs, and night clubs. What we noticed was some of the complaints were not necessarily attribute to students. Sometimes there are people coming from out of town, visitors. Sometimes when you have a noise complaint or a disturbance complaint, by the time the police come, the person is not there. So people make assumptions. (Participant M13)

Other interviewees considered the issue as not being consistent or much improved. Several participants agreed that the situation has become much less serious than in the 1980s, mainly through the proactive approaches implemented by the City and PSIs.

Although students were targeted by neighbours as the major force degrading their neighbourhoods, many participants held the view that the existence of students was not the root source of neighbourhood deterioration: "Students in general are fine and do not cause issues" (Participant M13); "Most students, I would say 85%, are not a problem at all" (Survey respondent). A report from London, ON (City of London, 2009) points out that problems stem from the short tenures within these neighbourhoods and from the density of neighbourhoods exceeding what was originally planned. The report notes that

absentee landlords often live a distance from their properties and are not able to monitor them on a regular basis. Vacancies during the summer leads to a lack of maintenance for this period; the increase of population density often puts pressure on neighbourhood infrastructure (policing, cleansing, parking, etc.), which was designed for low-density use. For example, designated parking spaces are not sufficient for multiple occupancy dwellings. As a result, cars are parked either in inappropriate places such as visitors' parking spots and paved front yards, or in an inconsiderate manner, such as parallel parking in driveways (City of London, 2009).

4.5 Evolution of Near-campus Neighbourhoods

The evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods is the outcome of a chain of events and interactions among multiple factors. The fundamental impetus of this neighbourhood change is the market. The story begins with the shortage of student housing on-campus that satisfies the needs of modern students.

4.5.1 On-campus Housing in Shortage?

PSIs have significantly expanded in the past few decades. Especially when the double cohort arrived in 2003, the doubled number of students put a lot of pressure on campus facilities including housing. However, the expansion of on-campus housing did not parallel the increasing enrolment. The survey revealed that only 45% of the PSIs were able to accommodate a larger proportion of their students compared with 10 years ago; 95% of PSIs could accommodate less than 30% of the total students. The most common situation is that PSIs guarantee accommodation for first year students. After that, students are left on their own in most cases. One participant indicated that "In the 1990s, the residences had the capacity for first year students as well as the returning students but

now we can only guarantee space for first year students, and the incoming class is so large that there is less space for returning students"(Participant M03). Sometimes university residences could not even accommodate all the first year students and the university had to house them in a nearby hotel (Participant I07).

The major reason why PSIs have not expanded their residences to accommodate more students is financial constraint, as indicated by a number of housing officers interviewed. Student housing, unlike academic components of a university/college, does not receive government funding. Moreover, PSIs often put student housing at a lower priority when allocating financial resources, especially in the case of building a new satellite campus in a different community. Another factor that affects PSIs' decision to expand residences is economic return – whether newly added beds will be filled. Some PSIs do not plan to construct residences for upper-year students any more as upper-year students want to live off-campus. One participant revealed the tendency for fewer returning students to choose to live on-campus over the years: "this desire to return to residence is decreasing every year based on the trends we see." (Participant I07).

Some respondents pointed out that traditional dorm-style on-campus residences actually began to lose favour with students. One of them expressed her worries about the vacancy rates of on-campus residences: one of the dormitories was shut down for some time, coinciding with the completion of a subdivision adjacent to campus. Comparing on-campus accommodations with off-campus accommodations, she explained three reasons why students prefer to live off-campus. First of all, upper-year students prefer suite-style housing, especially access to kitchens. Traditional dorm-style residences are not equipped with kitchens – "Most student dorms were constructed 45 years ago. At that

time no one would consider the possibility that these 18, 19 year-old students could cook for themselves." However, for off-campus housing, no matter how many students live in a house, they all have access to cooking facilities.

Secondly, off-campus accommodations are more affordable than on-campus ones. For instance, a dorm-room with meal plans (which is mandatory) can cost $1,000 a month, while the cost for off-campus housing ranges from $400 for a bedroom with shared facilities to $800 for an en-suite. The third reason is that residents living on-campus are subject to housing rules; students living off-campus can do anything they want such as drinking alcohol and using drugs. To attract students and compete with the off-campus housing market, some PSIs plan to renovate residences to improve such things as Internet access and furnishings, but they are not able to satisfy the need to add kitchens. However, in one university, family houses catering to mature students have been retrofitted to accommodate undergraduate students, thus addressing their needs for cooking.

Overall, the lack of on-campus housing and the students' preference to off-campus accommodations significantly increased the demand in the local housing market. However, students have special housing needs different from those in other sectors of the market, which is called a "niche market" (Rugg, Rhodes, & Jones, 2002, p.292). As confirmed in various studies (Charbonneau et al., 2006; Rugg et al., 2002), students seek proximity and affordability. Interestingly enough, in recent years, there has been a tendency for students to live closer to campus. A university housing staff member commented:

> If you look over the past 20 years, students have moved closer to campus as a whole. Both the University and the College have bus passes included in the tuition. This is a fairly recent phenomenon in the last seven or eight years. I call that a fast food society. They want to be closer to where they need to be. (Participant I01)

Thus, affordable accommodations near campus are becoming more and more attractive to students. One participant from a college housing department said that 60% of their students have moved to in a neighbourhood near campus by 2003 (Participant I03).

4.5.2 Out-migration of Families

The question arises as to how houses initially came on the market in near-campus neighbourhoods. The student behaviour issue is certainly one of the important reasons that drive families away, but there are several other factors that affect families' decisions. One of them is related to a higher than average number of seniors living in neighbourhoods near PSIs, such as Ainslie Wood Westdale in Hamilton, ON (City of Hamilton, 2005). Two participants explained that there were seniors communities located in their near-campus neighbourhoods. The senior citizens had to move to nursing homes and put up their homes for sale. Another reason they moved was that they felt their lifestyle was incompatible with students – "they didn't want to be living amongst rowdy students" (Participant I06). The aging population might have catalyzed the change in housing market. Their homes were purchased, retrofitted into rooming houses and rented to students.

Another important factor is that families were offered higher prices than average for their houses. Commercial housing providers have been purchasing properties within near-campus neighbourhoods and such investments have inflated housing prices. The increasing house prices might incentivize families to sell their properties. The trend was

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so pervasive that the broader real estate market of the city's core area was affected, according to one participant. The City of London (2009) reported that inflated house values in near-campus neighbourhoods have reduced the supply of single-family households. The family houses that were purchased were often divided into five to seven bedrooms, and rent was charged on a per bedroom basis. Take a five-bedroom rental for example: if each bedroom rent was at least $400 per month, the landlord could earn more than $2000. However, families and non-student demographics often pay rent by unit, not bedroom; "What is the likelihood that they are willing rent for $2000 every month? Most likely not" (Participant M13). It is cost prohibitive for other demographic groups to live in near-campus neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, the converted houses with multiple bedrooms are not attractive to families, as one participant pointed out: "no family is going to live in a seven bedroom house really" (Participant I05). Five to seven bedroom housing does not appeal to today's family sizes. Another reason why families moved out from near-campus neighbourhoods is the high maintenance cost of the aging housing stock.

4.5.3 Family-oriented Areas Near Campus

Nevertheless, not all streets near campuses saw a high concentration of students. It is often the case that one area is almost exclusively student-occupied and another area, also in close proximity to campus, has still been kept as a family-oriented neighbourhood. Participants mentioned that some streets were approximately ninety percent rental, but another street had nice houses where professionals lived (Participant M07), and that the neighbourhood right beside the campus was "high-end and really expensive"; a few students lived there but the majority had to live downtown (Participant I08). Why would

one area evolve with a growing number of students while another keeps its characteristics, given that both are close to a PSI? First of all, the high house prices keep these properties from being purchased by investors, as one participant pointed out: "the reason why family houses have not been converted to student housing is that they are high in price" (Participant M05). Residents' willingness to protect the neighbourhood against conversion was another important factor, as one interviewee explained:

> There have been a few houses transformed into student housing with six students in a house, but for the most part the neighbours don't want it to happen. The neighbourhood just has a culture to be quiet and family-focused. They are not interested [in renting their homes to students]. They are actually protested the new building we were talking about [a student apartment], which it will be noisy and block their view. They are fairly against that. (Participant I08)

Educational facilities could also be an important factor to keep a neighbourhood family-oriented. By contrast, lack of such amenities might accelerate the process of neighbourhood transformation, namely, the out-migration of families. Several Ontario cities with PSIs including London, Hamilton, and Waterloo, have witnessed school closure within near-campus neighbourhoods, simply because "there was just no demand for that school" (Participant M07). Some interviewees connected the school closure with the decreased number of families living in the neighbourhood:

> That was actually a huge thing (the closure of a public school) because as the neighbourhood converted, the number of children who go to that school dropped. And it got to a point that the local school board had to evaluate its land holdings and couldn't justify holding it. The result was they had to sell it. The results were that families, especially those who have children going to school, were looking for areas where there is a school nearby. So without control the neighbourhood automatically has difficulties in attracting young families. (Participant M13)

Some interviewees found it hard to say whether a school closure directly resulted from the increased population of students in the neighbourhood as opposed to the School Board's decision based on their yearly review (Participant M05). However, school closures will certainly affect families' decisions about relocation. As mentioned by planners, "I think there will be impacts to the attractiveness to families due to the closure of the public school" (Participant M05). "The school closure is related to families' decisions to move out of the neighbourhood because their children can't go to school close by" (Participant M07).

A good public school also helps to retain or attracts families to the neighbourhoods:

> There is certainly a sense that people want to protect some parts of the neighbourhood. If you go about four or five blocks away, definitely the houses are smaller. There is a very high ranked elementary school there and a really good high school in that district. So when you get a little bit further away, all of the sudden there are a lot of families with young children. So they want to protest against student housing spreading further than it has gone. […] The area to the west of the campus, neighbours don't want to go because of the good public school. So they are less willing to sell their houses to landlords. (Participant I05)

4.5.4 A Domino Chain of Events

The evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods has been gradual, although some interviewees pointed out that the process has accelerated in the past ten years, and 2003 was a turning point when the double cohort took place. In the interviews, similar stories were told about the evolution by which a traditional, family-oriented neighbourhood became one that houses mainly transitional, young population. The process could be better described by using one survey respondent's comment:

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The housing market in such neighbourhoods is generally regarded as a commercial market stimulated by the rental opportunities brought by the growing student population; inflated house prices created an incentive for families and professionals to move out of near-campus neighbourhoods; older homes are being substantially expanded or completely demolished to make way for intensification projects.

This description represents stories that many municipalities have experienced, although the local market, existing policy and government intervention can speed, slow down, or even alter this process. However, many factors that lead to neighbourhood change were interlocked and created a "domino chain of events" (Participant M13): motivated by the demand for off-campus student housing, investors started to purchase family homes in close proximity to campuses and converted them into multi-bedroom lodging houses catering to students. Inflated values of the converted properties encouraged more buy-to-rent activities. At the same time, aging populations, high maintenance costs of the old housing stock, coupled with neighbours' concerns about student behaviour issues, drove families out of the near-campus neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods started to lose their family-oriented characteristics and generated problems such as a deteriorating physical environment, unsafe housing stock, school closure, and mono-cultural environment. These problems in turn encouraged out-migration of families and conversions into student housing.

4.6 Summary

Based on surveys and interviews among university communities in Ontario, near-campus neighbourhoods share similar characteristics, which can be understood as the consequences of the concentration of students. The most prevalent challenges are associated with the out-migration of families, conversions from family-oriented homes to lodging houses, deteriorating neighbourhood environment, and student behaviour issues.

The evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods can be understood as outcomes of a chain of events, with the market as the fundamental impetus. Near-campus neighbourhoods become student-rental dominated due to two factors: the lack of housing that is affordable and caters to the needs of modern students. High market demand, along with factors such as aging population and aging houses stock, catalyzes a series of events that turn a family-oriented neighbourhood into one that houses exclusively young, single and transient social groups.

Chapter 5
Planning strategies for Student Accommodations

5.1 Introduction

The UK HMO Lobby summarized three categories of planning policies for off-campus student housing in the UK. The first one is Areas of Restraint, a designated area where any form of student housing is banned; the second one is the Threshold Approach: a ceiling is set (e.g. a certain percentage of student rentals in a street), beyond which the development of student housing is not permitted; and the third is the encouragement of purpose-built housing development (National HMO Lobby, 2012).

More generally, the planning strategies for regulating the student housing market in the UK aim to retain low-density neighbourhood amenities and develop purpose-built student housing at appropriate locations. For instance, the City of Leeds, UK (2012) recently published Policy H6: Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs), student accommodation, and flat conversions. The policy sets out restrictions for new constructions of lodging houses and conversations to lodging houses from other forms of properties (City of Leeds, 2012). Meanwhile, purpose-built student housing is welcomed by cities in order to take off the housing pressure in stable neighbourhoods close to campus (City of Leeds, 2012).

The literature has not addressed the question about how Ontario planning authorities responded to challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods. The planning system in Canada has fundamental differences from the UK approach. For example, local authorities in the UK are granted power to develop by-laws targeting unrelated people who are sharing accommodation, including student tenants; while in Ontario it is

forbidden. Thus, similar planning strategies can elicit different policies. This chapter investigates and discusses the planning strategies and planning policies that Ontario municipalities used to regulate student accommodations near university campuses. The data from surveys, interviews and planning documents are cited and analyzed to address part of the second research question: **What are the planning strategies used to address challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods and how effective are they?**

5.2 Student Accommodation Strategies

In Ontario, the survey results revealed that thirteen cities (60% of the cities with off-campus housing issues) have developed planning strategies to control the negative impacts of student rentals within near-campus neighbourhoods. However, only a few municipalities have published official student accommodation strategies or secondary plans for near-campus neighbourhoods, where the direction of plan-making is clearly stated. These documents include:

- Waterloo Student Accommodation Study, 2004
- The Northdale Land Use and Community Improvement Plan Study, Waterloo, 2012
- London Near-Campus Neighbourhoods Planning Amendment, 2009
- Oshawa Student Accommodation Strategy, 2010
- Anslie Wood Westdale Secondary Plan, Hamilton, 2005
- Georgian College Neighbourhood Strategy, Barrie, 2007

It was found that the planning strategies in Ontario generally have the same target as those in the UK: regulating student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods, and encouraging high-density development at strategic locations to accommodate students. The purposes were well demonstrated in the Waterloo Student Accommodation Study:

> The strategy of the plan is to accommodate students in areas near the
> Universities and at the same time retain and stabilize the low-density

residential neighbourhoods near the Universities. To accomplish this, the Plan **encourages more apartment development in Nodes and Corridors near the Universities**. The Plan also **discourages further conversion in low-density residential neighbourhoods by limiting the number of lodging houses, accessory apartments and duplexes** [emphasis added] (City of Waterloo, 2004, p.3).

Another example is a near-campus neighbourhood plan (Ainslie Wood Westdale Secondary Plan) prepared by the City of Hamilton. The Plan demonstrates its goals as follows:

> The predominantly low-density residential appearance of the Ainslie Wood Westdale neighbourhoods will be preserved and restored, with higher densities directed away from the single-detached areas, and towards appropriate locations such as along major roads (City of Hamilton, 2005, p.18).

Similarly, Oshawa's Student Accommodation Study proposed strategies with the purpose of facilitating supplying student accommodations at the right locations, and improving by-law compliance regarding "safety, health and welfare, property standards, zoning and land use compatibility" (City of Oshawa, 2010, p.1). The Georgian College Neighbourhood Strategy, Barrie, has goals including identifying opportunities for high-density student housing development near Georgian College, and ensuring the safety of student housing and by-law compliance (City of Barrie, 2007).

Some planning documents highlight the importance of a demographic balance in near-campus neighbourhoods (City of London, 2009; City of Waterloo, 2004). However, the definition of neighbourhood balance has not been established in any of these documents. Planners were asked in the survey about the ideal ratio of student tenants to long-term residents that the City would like to see in order to maintain a "balanced"

neighbourhood near campus, and different options were provided. Most participants

surprisingly left the question unanswered (Figure 5.1).
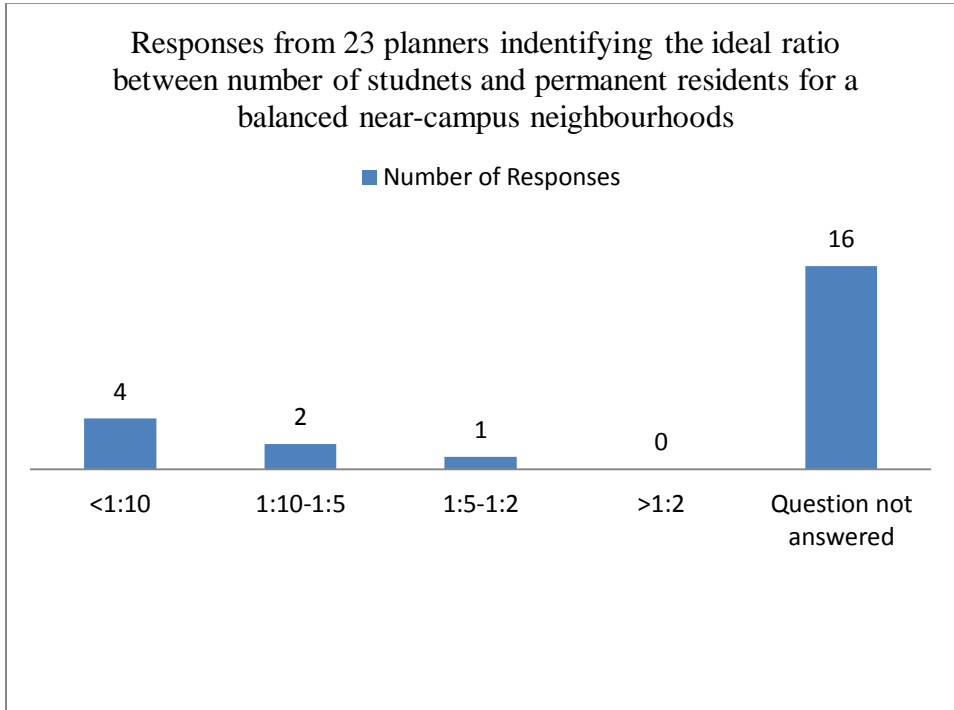
Figure 5.1: Ideal Demographic Distribution for a Balanced Near-campus Neighbourhood

Comments by a survey participant revealed the attitude of many participants who

refused to answer this question:

> Not a relevant question in my mind. […] it is not about the type of people it is about their behaviour. This is like asking how many seniors make up a balanced neighbourhood or how many Asians make up a balanced neighbourhood, how many households with children make up a balanced neighbourhood.[…] the Human Rights Commission would be all over you on this question. (Survey participant)

A planner interviewed further explained:

> We don't zone for specific type of people. If we say something that there is certain number of student permitted in the area versus a certain number of non-students, that would be people zoning. We are not permitted to do that by law. […] if we notice that there is influx of completely students in the

neighbourhood, we wouldn't specifically be able to respond by saying we are going to limit the amount of students living there. We are not legally able to do that. I don't think it is appropriate or necessary for municipalities to say there should be a specific ratio between them. (Participant M01)

Indeed, some participants from municipalities were fairly cautious about any remark regarding the relationship between student population and neighbourhood balance. One reason is that, as elucidated before, participants are against the assumption that students are the root of the problem; therefore, they believe problems in near-campus neighbourhoods are not relevant to the fact that students live there.

More importantly, Ontario municipalities hold the position that planning should not target the renter group, as opposed to families. According to Chapter 35 (2) of the Planning Act, municipalities are not permitted to pass a by-law that "has the effect of distinguishing between persons who are related and persons who are unrelated in respect of the occupancy or use of a building or structure or a part of a building or structure, including the occupancy or use as a single housekeeping unit" (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2011). For instance, a by-law that requires a house to be occupied by a family rather than roommates is considered illegal (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2012). A 2003 report in Kingston recommended removing all references to "family" throughout the zoning by-laws (City of Kingston, 2013b). The prohibition of distinguishing family with unrelated people restrains municipalities from passing any regulation targeting shared accommodations or student rentals.

5.3 Planning Policies and Approaches

To investigate what planning policies/approaches have been applied in Ontario to address student accommodation issues, survey participants were asked to check off the

policies that have been adopted in their municipalities and evaluate their effectiveness. Table 5.1 lists planning strategies including encouraging high-density development at strategic locations and regulating student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods. Under each strategy, a few planning policy/approaches were specified. The number of cities that used each policies/approaches, the number of those considering this tool as effective, and the number of those considering adopting this policy/approach are also listed. Some of the planning tools in the table are not considered a planning instrument *per se*, such as lodging housing and rental housing licensing by-laws; they are similar to regulatory mechanisms but planning related.

It is also important to clarify that some of the strategies listed above did not explicitly aim to address the shortage of student housing or regulate the student housing market. One example is intensification policies. They had been in place prior to the initiation of student accommodation strategies in some municipalities. For instance, the City of Waterloo, ON carried out a Height and Density Study, in recognition that the city has to grow up instead of grow out to accommodate future growth. As the student population was considered one of the key components of growth, a Student Accommodation Study was done in parallel with the Height and Density Study.

Strategy	Planning Policy/approach	Number of Cities with this Policy/approach in Place	Number of Cities Considering this Policy/approach as Effective	Number of Cities Considering Adopting this Policy/approach
	Table 5.1: Planning Tools/approach for Student Off-campus Housing			
Encourage high-density development at strategic locations	Encouraging purpose-built student accommodations	7	6	2
	Changing zonings to allow higher density development	7	5	4
	Creating financial incentives to attract high-density development	4	2	3
Regulate student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods	Enforcing by-laws to control intensification	6	6	2
	Establishing Lodging House Licensing By-law	5	5	6
	Establishing Rental Housing Licensing By-law	4	3	7
	Establishing Minimum Distance Separation regulations	4	1	2

Strategy	Planning Policy/approach	Number of Cities with this Policy/approach in Place	Number of Cities Considering this Policy/approach Effective	Number of Cities Considering Adopting this Policy/approach
	Table 5.2 (cont.)			
Other approach	Attracting new university/college campuses to the downtown	7	4	3
	Improving transit systems	6	5	3
	Designating heritage districts	2	2	5
	Creating special urban design guidelines	1	1	5

In the City of London, the Official Plan had implemented intensification policies, e.g.,

Central London Policies, Talbot Mixed-use Area Policies, before the comprehensive

student accommodation study was done. Furthermore, even though some planning

policies were initiated in response to student off-campus housing problems, planners in

interviews were cautious about referring to them as student-targeting, as planning is not

allowed by legislation to control a certain group of people.

5.3.1 Encouraging High-Density Development at Strategic Locations

The Provincial Policy Statement (2005) sets out guidelines for municipal land use

planning. It promotes "densities for new housing, which efficiently uses land, resources,

infrastructure and public service facilities" (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and

Housing, 2005). In 2006, the provincial government published the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe*, providing growth management policy directions to selected cities in southern Ontario. The downtown areas of 24 cities were identified as urban growth centres in the Plan, and municipalities were required to delineate the boundaries of these centres (Ontario Ministry of Infrastructure, 2012). Density targets were set, ranging from 400 residents and jobs combined, to 150 residents and jobs combined per hectare for urban growth centers (Ontario Ministry of Infrastructure, 2012). Many Ontario cities involved in the Growth Plan host at least one university or college campus, including Toronto, Oshawa, London, Guelph, Hamilton, and Waterloo. For these municipalities, provincial planning frameworks provided opportunities to accommodate students in those growth centres to be intensified. Many municipalities recognized the Provincial Policy Statement in their near-campus neighbourhoods plans such as Near-campus Neighbourhoods Planning Amendments (London, ON), the Ainslie Wood Westdale Secondary Plan (Hamilton, ON), and the Student Accommodation Strategy (Oshawa, ON).

In fact, high demand of housing in university communities attracted developers' and landlords' interest in redevelopment within near-campus neighbourhoods. Ten survey respondents noted that there has been pressure to redevelop some of the near-campus neighbourhoods. The survey showed more than half of the municipalities with planning strategies for student off-campus housing listed intensifying strategic locations as one of the key strategies.

However, not all forms of intensification were supported. The City of London, ON (2009) notes the "inappropriate and unsustainable forms of intensification" that exists

within its near-campus neighbourhoods, which "undermines the stability and character of neighbourhoods" (p.15). The City promotes intensification in the form of "medium and large scale apartment buildings" rather than small scale infill and building expansion in low-density neighbourhoods (City of London, 2009, p.36). The 2004 Student Accommodation Study in Waterloo (City of Waterloo, 2004) explicitly points out that the Plan "encourages more apartment development in Nodes and Corridors near the Universities" and discourages further intensifications in low-density neighbourhoods in the forms of lodging houses, accessory apartments, and duplexes (p.3). The City of Oshawa implies its preference for high-density apartment buildings and block townhouses by exempting these types of development from being licensed as lodging units (City of Oshawa, 2010).

An important rationale for many municipalities to promote new high-density residential development is to draw students from low-density neighbourhoods, and so retain the character of these neighbourhoods. This purpose is clearly stated in the Waterloo Student Accommodation Study:

> The strategy of the plan is to accommodate students in areas near the Universities and at the same time retain and stabilize the low-density residential neighbourhoods near the Universities. To accomplish this, the Plan encourages more apartment development in Nodes and Corridors near the Universities (City of Waterloo, 2004, p.3).

Some responses from the interviews expressed similar ideas. One planner pointed out that the purpose of the City's near-campus neighbourhoods plan is that "students do not locate in the middle of established neighbourhoods, but were at the same time still 10-15 minutes' walk away from the college" (Participant M01). Another planner referred to the intention of an intensification plan that her City implemented a few years ago as "trying

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to draw some of the students out of the low-density neighbourhoods, bringing them closer to universities and bringing them to safer and suitable student housing" (Participant M13). She considered the plan successful in accomplishing its goals: young families, empty nesters, and professionals moved back into in houses that were occupied by student renters before the intensification plan was in place; the former student rental houses in low-density neighbourhoods were converted back to owner-occupied.

To implement the strategy of encouraging high-density development, policy tools and measures often used include 1) changing zoning to allow higher density development; 2) encouraging purpose-built student accommodations; and 3) creating financial incentives to attract high-density development. The survey results showed that the first two measures have been adopted by seven municipalities and were evaluated as effective by most participating cities; the third measure was less used and less positively evaluated.

5.3.1.1 Re-zoning to allow higher density development

In Canada, the procedures to apply for zoning amendments can be complex. In fact, the steps are almost the same as those for the original establishment of zoning by-laws (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). Typically, applicants need to go through as many as 15 steps, including attending a pre-application Consultation Meeting, making an official application and participating in a public meeting (City of London, 2012). In addition, each application is subject to a fee ranging from several thousand to tens of thousand dollars, depending on the municipality and the amendment proposed. The lengthy procedure of zoning amendment could discourage developers from proposing any development outside the allowances of current zoning by-laws. Zoning changes initiated

by municipalities break down this barrier and therefore set the stage for higher density development.

The City of London, ON, undertook several studies of near-campus neighbourhoods, resulting in a few up-zoning processes (City of London, 2009). As early as 1995, the Residential Intensification in the Essex Street Area Planning Study established special zoning encouraging high-density redevelopment; the Richmond Street/University Gate Corridor Review in 2001 permitted four-plex residential development (City of London, 2009). More recently, re-zoning took place at certain locations near campus and an apartment building was proposed for locations at the gates of both the University of Western Ontario and Fanshawe College. The Oshawa Student Accommodation Plan recommended amendments to zoning by-laws to allow six-storey buildings at the street adjacent to its institutions (City of Oshawa, 2010). The Waterloo Student Accommodation Study proposed re-zoning some properties on Columbia Street to allow up to four-storey apartment buildings (City of Waterloo, 2004). However, eight years later, the recently completed plan re-zoned the same properties to a higher density of eight storeys (City of Waterloo, 2012a). The City of Barrie identified seven sites in near-campus neighbourhoods and re-zoned several to allow for greater-density residential development for students.

5.3.1.2 Creating Financial Incentives to Attract High-density Development

Four planners who were surveyed listed creating financial incentives to attract high-density development as one of the student off-campus housing strategies, and two of them rated it as effective; another three cities were considering adopting this planning tool. The City of Kingston identified a section of Princess Street as a major corridor and

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provided financial aid for developers to redevelop particular sites. According to a planner, the incentives received immediate response from developers – a 120-unit apartment building designed for students was proposed for the corridor. Another Ontario city recently waived planning fees and site plan fees to entice developers to build apartment buildings for students and has already received a proposal from a developer who planned to use the incentives.

5.3.1.3 Encouraging Purpose-built Student Accommodations

Nearly seventy percent of PSIs surveyed reported that purpose-built student housing has been developed or proposed for near their campuses. Probably the most prominent case of a booming purpose-built student housing market is in Waterloo. Figure 5.2 demonstrates a dramatic increase of new apartment units in 2010 and 2011, compared with previous years. In the centre core, from 2008 to 2011, 70% of the new apartment construction was geared towards students; in a near-campus neighbourhood called Northdale, during the same time period, new construction was exclusively geared towards students, with 1,485 units and 6,417 bedrooms proposed and being granted building permits (MMM Group, 2012).
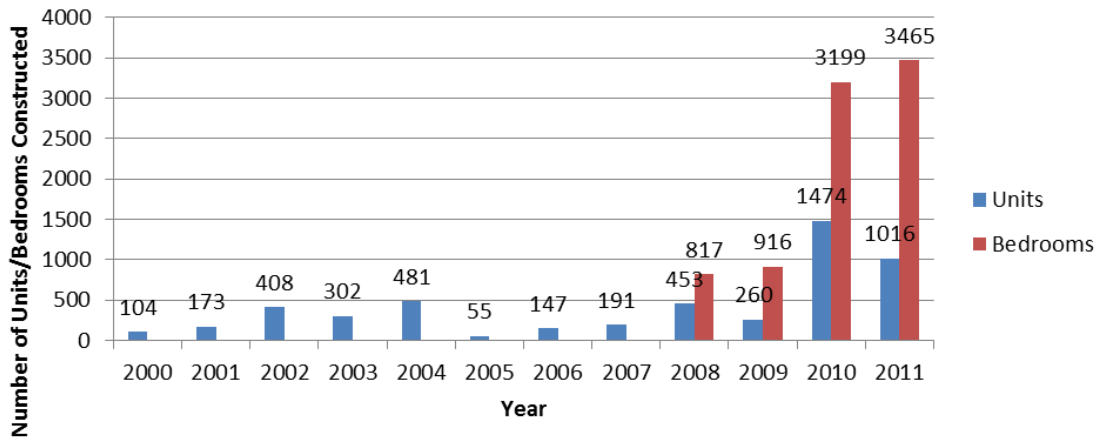
Figure 5.2: New Apartment Construction from 2000 to 2011 in Waterloo, ON

Planning authorities in Ontario have divided views on purpose-built student housing. Municipalities encourage, discourage or keep neutral about this type of development. According to the survey, seven municipalities listed "encouraging purpose-built student housing" as one of their student accommodation strategies. Local authorities even provided financial incentives to encourage development of accommodations geared towards students. The major reason for these municipalities to support such development is that it helps to meet the demand for student housing. One planner expressed the City's worries about providing enough student accommodation to keep up with the enrolment growth: students prefer to live in close proximity to campus, but the houses in near campus neighbourhoods do not have the capacity to accommodate everyone. Thus, developing purpose-built apartment is an important way to satisfy the demand.

However, opponents hold the view that residential development that targets students does not comply with the vision of an integrated community, as it segregates

different demographic groups. As a planner commented: "when a developer has a block of land and wants to put up that many units all clustered together, although it conforms to policy, it doesn't quite conform to a practical planning theory of integration" (Participant M01). Another planner pointed out that the proliferation of purpose-built student housing did not support a diversity of dwelling types and demographic needs, which was against provincial planning policies. The third camp holds a neutral attitude towards purpose-built student housing. They believe that apartments geared towards students are a market response to existing demand and that who lives in these buildings is beyond the planning's jurisdiction: "through the use of design guidelines the City foresees the development regardless of who inhabits them"(Participant M06).

In essence, the critics point to the unified building form of purpose-built student housing, which is mostly four to five-bedroom units. Twelve survey respondents revealed five-bedroom apartments have been built or proposed to accommodate students in their municipalities. A report from the City of Waterloo (MMM Group, 2012, p.21) noted: "There was concern that too many units were 5-bedrooms". In a near-campus neighbourhood, the average numbers of bedrooms per unit were stable, at five from 2008 to 2011(MMM Group, 2012). It is understandable that developers are interested in five-bedroom apartments as they can yield the highest economic return within the limit of existing regulations that specify the maximum density per hectare or more directly, the number of bedroom per unit (e.g. London and Oshawa).

Nevertheless, the policies in place may potentially encourage this kind of development. For example, development charges are calculated on a per unit basis. Putting more bedrooms in a unit will result in lower development charges. As a planner

put it, "If they [developers] can have 10 beds in one apartment, why will they build 10 one-bedroom units and pay 10 development charges? Or they can build two five-bedroom units and get the same and only pay two development charges." Another example would be current policies on parking. Parking space numbers are calculated on a per unit basis in most zoning by-laws. For example, in an area where apartments provide a minimum of one parking per dwelling unit, a four-bedroom apartment unit will only require one space, versus a two two-bedroom apartments with two parking spaces. Thus, parking regulations encourage developers to cram multiple bedrooms in a single apartment unit.

Moreover, this type of residential development is believed to cater only to students; it does not cater to families. As a planner suggests, "an apartment [with] 5 or 6 bedrooms in it, I certainly could argue from a planning point of view that's not suitable for a family; if you were going to suggest that it's unlikely for a family, a traditional family, to live in five bedroom apartment, I would agree" (Participant M06). Another reason why five-bedroom apartments are not attractive to families is that they are much more expensive to rent or purchase than bachelorettes, two-bedroom and three-bedroom apartments as the value of apartment units is based on the number bedrooms. As a result, the current high-density development near campus, in large part, denies the access of other demographic groups apart from students. In fact, it also limits students' housing choices. The University of Waterloo and the Wilfrid Laurier University Student Union confirmed that a lot of students seek one, two, or three bedroom apartment units. Interestingly, some developers are more resilient to market changes than others. They have built five-bedroom apartments that are convertible to two or three bedroom ones –

with walls easily knocked down. This structural design provides flexibility to meet various demands by changing room layout.

The Northdale Land Use and Community Improvement Plan Study, Waterloo takes a step further to encourage a diversity of apartment unit types through three approaches (MMM Group, 2012). The first approach is to limit maximum density by restricting the number of bedrooms per hectare, rather than the number of units. The second approach is to provide a minimum parking on a per bedroom basis, instead of on a per unit basis. The third approach is to offer opportunities for loans, grants and other financial incentives to developments containing one, two or three-bedroom units (MMM Group, 2012). The Study targets a proportion of 40% of residential units developed in the next 20 years with less than four bedrooms (MMM Group, 2012).

5.3.2 Regulating Student Rentals in Low-density Neighbourhoods

Municipalities implemented several planning tools to regulate student rentals, either by controlling their conversion from family homes or by restricting their use. Policies in place include by-laws to control intensity, property licensing tools and MDS regulations.

5.3.2.1 By-laws to Control Intensity

According to the survey, six municipalities have issued and enforced by-laws controlling intensity in near-campus, low-density neighbourhoods, and all the six municipalities rated these by-laws as effective. There are a few approaches that municipalities have used to control undesired intensity, especially: 1) limiting the number

of bedrooms in a dwelling unit; and 2) limiting the height and total floor area within the neighbourhoods where students are concentrated.

To limit the number of bedrooms in a dwelling unit, the City of London implemented zoning that applied a city-wide five-bedroom cap in 2004 (City of London, 2004). More recently, planning staff have confirmed that an amendment was approved to apply a three-bedroom limit per residential unit to multi-unit residences within designated near-campus neighbourhood areas. The City of Oshawa has restricted the number of bedrooms to four in all dwelling units in the Simcoe Street North corridor through zoning (City of Kingston, 2013a). The City of Hamilton regulated a maximum of eight habitable rooms in any dwelling unit, and any additional room will require increased parking space (City of Kingston, 2013a).

The second approach is to limit the height and total floor area within the neighbourhoods where students are concentrated. For example, the secondary plan for a near-campus neighbourhood in Hamilton introduced the "Monster Home By-laws" to control overbuilding by limiting the height and gross floor area of the residential building (City of Hamilton, 2013). To add any additional height or floor area, property owners should apply for a variance or go through a public process (City of Hamilton, 2013).

Four limitations of the by-laws that control intensity in low-density neighbourhoods were identified in the interviews. The first one is that such by-laws do not stop the conversion from family homes to student rental housing. A planner indicated that although the regulations capping the floor area of single detached homes prevent large additions of existing houses, they do not prevent the proliferation of new student

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rentals. The second limitation is that the by-laws restricting the expansion of student housing might be punitive to houses occupied by families. Families, especially large families, often need to expand their living spaces. However, under such zoning by-laws, it would be illegal for them to expand their houses beyond certain limits, because zoning by-laws are not allowed to differentiate between house occupants who are families and those who are unrelated students. As a planner explained, "regardless of who this addition is for, families or students, we are consistent with products we are providing" (Participant M05).

Thirdly, by-laws limiting the number of bedrooms, and the size of accommodations could be considered as discriminatory against students. As one planner pointed out: "[such by-law] puts us on a slippery slope in terms of violating human rights as defined in the human rights code.[…] That approach can be demonstrated to limit the opportunities for housing students" (Participant M06). Municipalities with housing-restrictive policies face challenges in court. For instance, both the by-laws for a five-bedroom limit and a three-bedroom limit in London, ON were appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board but were upheld. However, many local authorities have tried to avoid initiating such legislation that risks a bias against students. As one participant contended, "if we are to take an approach that limits student housing opportunities, that's not somewhere we should be going" (Participant M06).

The last limitation is the difficulty in enforcement. The enforcement of by-laws is on a complaint basis: "The only way we can control it [the number of bedrooms] is if there is any complaint" (Participant M08). If no one complains, the violation of the by-laws would not be brought to light and corrected. In fact, as transient populations tend to

be less actively engaged in neighbourhood affairs than permanent residents, the fact that more student renters reside in near-campus neighbourhoods reduces the chance of by-law complaints. Furthermore, even if a complaint is issued, a home inspection could still be rejected by landlords or tenants. A planner revealed that: "we can't get into their house unless they let us. [...] If they don't let us in, there is nothing we can do" (Participant M08).

5.3.2.2 Lodging Housing Licensing By-laws

Planners interviewed believed that issues of student housing were more or less wrapped up in broader housing issues, i.e., the category of lodging houses. The concentration of lodging houses is often caused by the demand for student accommodations (National HMO Lobby, 2008). A lodging house, also called a rooming house or boarding house, is defined as a building with a certain number of lodging units; a lodging unit means "a room with sleeping facilities, and may include either a washroom or cooking facilities but not both" (City of London, 2011, p.29). Recently, municipalities have changed the definition of lodging house to incorporate student housing. For example, the City of Oshawa amended the definition of lodging house in 2000 so that residents could be associated with PSIs and properties with absentee landlords can be captured (Potts, 2010). The number of lodging units that make up a lodging house varies in different municipalities. In Oshawa, three lodging units in a house will make it a lodging house; in London, the number is four, and in Guelph, it is five (City of Guelph, 2013; City of London, 2011).

According to the survey, five municipalities have established Lodging Housing Licensing By-laws, and all the five cities evaluated the by-laws as effective. In addition,

six cities are considering issuing the licensing scheme. Municipalities regulate lodging houses to ensure the health and safety standards in this type of accommodation and to preserve the character of the neighbourhoods where lodging houses are located (City of Guelph, 2013). One planner pointed out that a lot of lodging houses have been retrofitted from family homes. Thus, the City should ensure that all the safety standards have been met, such as building codes and fire codes. Furthermore, such redesign of single detached houses, especially in near-campus neighbourhoods, often overwhelms the infrastructure and services of the neighbourhood, and creates land-use compatibility issues (Potts, 2010). Lodging houses are regulated mainly through zoning by-laws and business licensing by-laws. Zoning by-laws set up specific rules for this type of housing in terms of lot area, yard requirements, height, parking provisions, etc. More often, lodging houses are only permitted in certain zones, such as R7 zones in Oshawa and R1 and Central Business District zones in Guelph. Sometimes this type of housing is prohibited in the whole planning district, as in the case in Scarborough and North York (City of Toronto, 2009). Moreover, the operation of lodging housing requires a business license that authorizes inspections to make sure the property complies with standards written in the Ontario Fire Code and the Building Code Act.

With these regulations in place, regulating lodging houses is still difficult for Ontario municipalities. In fact, many lodging properties operate without a license. For example, in Windsor, ON, in 2012, there were 36 licensed lodging houses; however, the City estimated that the actual number was about 500 (City of Windsor, 2012). In North York, ON, although lodging housing was not permitted anywhere in the entire planning district, property owners still divided up their houses into smaller independently

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functioning little rooms and "get away with it" (Participant PM12). In another university town, the planner indicated that there were only 76 licenced lodging houses, a number not significant compared with the 1,940 approved accessory apartments. One participant from a PSI stated that although the City has a Lodging Housing Licensing By-law, city staff do not inspect houses; most student rentals in near-campus neighbourhoods were not registered as lodging houses. Another participant explained that the difficulty in enforcing the licensing is "partly because it is extremely difficult in Ontario to enforce any rules that might infringe upon this type of housing form and because it is difficult for officers to enter these premises to document their actual uses" (Participant M12).

Perhaps the biggest challenge for municipalities wishing to regulate lodging houses is associated with provincial legislation concerning licensing. Before 2007, municipalities were not allowed to license residential units and single housekeeping units (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013b). However, the exact definition of the single housekeeping unit was not provided in any legislation (Potts, 2010). In 2003, the definition of lodging housing was successfully challenged in court. The court decided that a lodging house where collective decisions are made about managing the premises can be considered a single housekeeping unit, and therefore can operate without a Lodging Housing Licence. The case had strong implications for defining lodging house. As a planner noted, "you can't just look at whether people living in that lodging house are unrelated. You have to look at how they are functioning. Are they making communal decisions? Do they have access to the whole house" (Participant M13). It was argued that the decision introduced ambiguity about the definition of a single housekeeping unit and created loopholes in relevant legislation:

There have been a couple of cases that people bought single detached homes and renovated inside to put in big bedrooms and rented them out as boarding houses. That is not the intention of single detached home. A single detached home is being occupied by mom, dad, and three kids, and it can also be occupied by five friends who go to university together. The unit is still operating as single detached house. When you get to boarding houses, the eight bedrooms are functioning as eight bedrooms with eight occupants. There is fine line between them. (Participant M10)

However, in another similar court challenge in Oshawa, the Court upheld the City's position that 32 student accommodations should be classified as lodging houses rather than single housekeeping units (Potts, 2010). The discrepancy in court decisions on lodging housing versus single housekeeping unit may add doubt to municipalities that are considering enacting legislation associated with lodging housing.

Finally, it is difficult for by-law enforcement departments to crack down on illegal lodging houses, especially within near-campus neighbourhoods. For instance, the Mississauga Campus of the University of Toronto and York University are located in planning districts where lodging houses are not allowed to operate. However, it is a fact that many single detached houses have been converted into lodging houses as the predominant form of student accommodation near campus. Municipalities face a difficult dilemma in controlling this type of housing. As one planner argued, to the extent that City by-law staff might be able to inspect illegal lodging houses, they would close down these premises: "the unfortunate result from that though, would be the dislocation of many students" (Participant M12). The fear of displacement will keep the tenants from reporting their landlords to local authorities even when they are aware that the house is not legal, "because they will feel vulnerable [that] their place might get shut down. They may have nowhere else to live" (Participant I05).

To sum up, lodging housing are a common form of student accommodation and widely operated in near-campus neighbourhoods. If improperly managed, they will create land use incompatibility in the neighbourhood and unsafe housing conditions for renters. Although municipalities have established licensing schemes and zoning regulations to monitor, inspect and control lodging houses, the legality of such practices was challenged in court. Municipalities face difficult situations: a *laissez-faire* approach towards the illegal lodging houses could potentially encourage more conversions, which would further destabilize established neighbourhoods; or restriction, which risks dislocating the student tenants.

5.3.2.3 Rental Housing Licensing By-law

In 2007, legislation changes in the Municipal Act granted local authorities the authority to license residential units. After this amendment, many municipalities carried out studies on the feasibility of rental housing licensing. The rationale for licensing rental residential units is that complaints in near-campus neighbourhoods are associated with rental residences generally, "whether illegal lodging houses or permitted single housekeeping units" (Potts, 2010, p.18). A planner confirmed that rental housing is four times more likely to generate by-law complaints (Participant M13). Licensing rental properties captures both categories of lodging housing and single housekeeping unit, and therefore avoids the loophole in Lodging Housing Licensing By-law. Four municipalities responded in the survey that they have initiated a Rental Housing Licensing By-law; three of them evaluated the By-law as effective and one respondent felt it was too early to evaluate the effectiveness. In addition, seven other cities are considering implementing rental housing licensing schemes. One planner commented on the urgency of rental

residential licensing: "the City has been seeking tools to regulate rental housing. No current regulation or by-law, such as Building Code or Fire Code, targets rental properties. Thus, a suite of broader regulations is needed to regulate rental housing" (Participant M03).

Municipalities use different approaches to license residential rental properties. Oshawa, ON introduced such by-law in 2008. Only properties located in designated neighbourhoods near Durham College and the UOIT are subject to the licensing regime (City of Oshawa, 2013). The By-law requires all rental properties to be licensed, except for those that are owner occupied, and with less than three bedrooms rented (City of Oshawa, 2013); the number of bedrooms allowed to rent out is restricted to four or six (City of Kingston, 2013b). In London, ON, the rental housing licensing by-law was put in place in 2010, and enforces licensing of houses containing four or less rental units (City of London, 2013a). The City of Waterloo has a more complicated licensing system, with five classes of licences: owner-occupied houses, non-owner-occupied houses, lodging houses, existing lodging houses and temporary rental units, each class of licence having different zoning requirement (City of Waterloo, 2011).

Those municipalities considering such licensing tools face the question as to whether to implement it citywide or at a neighbourhood level. So far, the City of Oshawa is the only one to apply the Rental Housing Licensing By-law only to near-campus neighbourhoods. Other cities that license rental houses enforce the by-law citywide. One planner indicated that rental licensing is applied citywide because rental issues not only arise from rental accommodations housing students. Another planner who is participating in drafting the Rental Housing Licensing By-law for her city revealed that the original

consideration for initiating the By-law was to respond to the student off-campus housing issue; the proposal came from the wards that have the university and college in them. However, the city decided to license all rental houses, although it generated "a lot of social implications" (Participant M05).

The consideration is that if licensing is only applied to near-campus neighbourhoods, it may be subject to human rights challenges. The Ontario Human Rights Commission (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2010) is concerned about the Residential Rental Housing By-Law targeting areas near PSI campuses, which contains discriminating implication against students. On the other hand, putting though a citywide licensing scheme will need justification, which has to be more than to control student housing: "it has to be a broader planning objective in order to justify [the rationale for rental housing licensing] in front of the commission or in front of any tribunal, in front of any court. […] We have to be able to demonstrate the planning objective that we are trying to achieve. That's difficult to do" (Participant M06).

5.3.2.4 Minimum Distance Separations

Another planning concern closely associated with Lodging/ Rental Housing Licensing By-law is the Minimum Distance Separation (MDS) regulation. The MDS is often applied in conjunction with property licensing mechanisms. In Guelph, to be licensed as a lodging house, a property is required to be 100 metres away from a certificated lodging house (City of Guelph, 2013). In Waterloo, the MDS for lodging houses was once 150 metres, but many student accommodations with more than five bedrooms were not subject to this regulation, as they were operated as single house-keeping units. However, the new Rental Housing Licensing By-law required all student

renal houses to acquire a licence, and enforced a 150-meter MDS on rental properties with five or more bedrooms. The consequence was that the legally existing single housekeeping units had to stop operating, because most of them were within 150 meters of another licensed lodging house (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013a). Alternatively, landlords can rent out only three bedrooms to be exempted from MDS (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2013a).

The survey showed that four municipalities have set up MDS regulations as one of their student off-campus housing strategies, but only one of them rated it as effective in reaching its goals. Although MDS has been in place in several municipalities, it does not appeal to other cities. In fact, only two planners suggested the possibility that MDS would be implemented in their cities. During interviews, a few planners acknowledged the role that MDS played in controlling the proliferation of lodging houses; more planners expressed concerns about the feasibility of such regulations. The rationale for MDS is that it controls intensification in neighbourhoods designed to be low-density. As one planner argued, "The real goal of MDS is to limit the density. We don't want the entire neighbourhood or the entire street to be boarding houses because there wouldn't be sufficient services, and it wouldn't be designed to accommodate traffic and things like that" (Participant M01).

Conversely, the major criticism is that the enforcement of MDS risks infringing human rights. As the Ontario Human Rights Commission reported: "students and older persons could be particularly affected by any decrease in the availability of lodging houses.[…] minimum separation distances can act to decrease the availability of lodging houses, particularly in neighbourhoods near universities"(Ontario Human Rights

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Commission, 2013a, p.25). A report from Kingston concluded that MDS is discriminatory and is not permitted by provincial legislation (City of Kingston, 2013b). One planner disclosed, "Our legal staff advised us it's not a legal regulation anymore. […] It becomes difficult to do something similar to what Waterloo did to put a minimum distance between licenced houses. Because there were court charges against other municipalities, it is not a feasible option anymore" (Participant M05).

Furthermore, it is difficult to enforce MDS as a policy associated with lodging houses: MDS can only be carried out when lodging houses are licensed, especially for the cities with no rental housing licensing scheme. Thus, MDS cannot be effectively enforced where a large amount of lodging houses are not licensed. As an interviewee explained in the case of his city:

> There is a market for it [lodging housing]. If land owners are not providing it legally, they are doing it illegally. That kind of thing we can't control it as planning matters. It [MDS] maybe helps in terms of not proactively encouraging it. It doesn't mean that aren't cases of boarding houses popping up around the college and downtown area. (Participant M01)

These reasons can explain the survey results that three out of four communities where MDS regulations are in place do not evaluate them as an effective tool to achieve their planning goals, and that only a few other cities are considering implementing MDS.

5.3.3 Other Strategies

Other planning strategies have been adopted with the purpose of building more integrated near-campus neighbourhoods and protecting residential neighbourhood characteristics. The approaches include improving public transit, designating heritage

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districts, implementing special urban design guidelines and locating campus in the downtown.

5.3.3.1 Improving Public Transit

Some cities hosting PSIs incorporate transit improvement initiatives in their near-campus neighbourhood plans, such as ameliorated bus routes and increased bus frequency. Increasing transit service is one of the strategies used to attract students to locate at strategic locations that are relatively distant from campus (City of London, 2009). The survey results showed that six university communities have improved transit system to connect campus and strategic locations where students are encouraged to reside, and five of them considered this strategy effective in providing students with broaden housing options.

The Waterloo Student Accommodation Studies (City of Waterloo, 2004) recognized that the proposed light rail transit will increase the connection between Uptown Waterloo and the University of Waterloo, and increase the attractiveness of housing options for students in the Uptown area, which in turn will relieve the tendency of student housing to be concentrated in near-campus neighbourhoods. In another city, the bus schedule was tailored to accommodate students' class schedules. A planner confirmed that, anecdotally, students lived more dispersed after the city improved the connections between the campus and all major routes. In addition, improving public transit is a strategy that relives parking stress on campuses. As a planner commented, "it is felt that improving transit […] is a preferable long-term strategy to address student transportation needs rather than subsidizing parking rates." Students were often encouraged to take transit with bus passes included in their tuitions.

5.5.3.2 Designating Heritage District and Applying Urban Design Guidelines

Very often, houses and landscapes of neighbourhoods close to universities/colleges have historical value, and designated heritage districts fall into the boundary of near-campus neighbourhoods, such as the Old Sydenham Heritage Conservation District in Kingston, Bishop Hellmuth Heritage District in London, and Westdale subdivision in Hamilton. Two survey respondents listed heritage-district designation as a strategy to preserve neighbourhood characters, and five more cities are likely to adopt the approach. A lot of heritage homes near campus, like other houses, have been sub-divided into additional units because "the zoning there allows for conversions" (Participant M07). Although subject to some restrictions regarding external appearance, heritage properties can still be converted into multi-bedroom student rentals. The impacts of such internal retrofitting on the property's heritage value have not been studied yet.

Furthermore, initiating heritage district designation within near-campus neighbourhoods is more likely to meet resistance from neighbours. An example is the unsuccessful proposal of heritage district designation to preserve wartime houses in the Veterans Green Area in Waterloo, which is adjacent to the Wilfrid Laurier University campus. The proposal was widely opposed by neighbours, who argued that these houses had already lost their historical values due to structural transformations, and that "heritage bureaucracy" (Ioannou, 2012) would prevent builders from redeveloping this area.

Urban design guidelines address issues including designs of streetscapes, location of building and external appearance of buildings (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). It is a

relatively new planning tool available to municipalities through changes to the Planning

Act in 2006. Although many near-campus neighbourhood plans and secondary plans

include urban design components, only one respondent indicated in the survey that

his/her city has created special urban design guidelines to apply to near-campus

neighbourhoods. However, five more cities are considering implementing this tool.

Urban design guidelines not only serve as standards for design excellence, but also

provide criteria for planning authorities to use when evaluating development plans and

financial support applications (City of Waterloo, 2012a).

Municipalities often take heritage preservation into consideration when

developing urban design guidelines. In a near-campus neighbourhood secondary plan for

Hamilton, two cultural heritage areas were highlighted, and new infills and building

additions will need to reflect the context of the existing heritage buildings in terms of

building size, roof type and building material (City of Hamilton, 2013). The City of

Kingston also encourages a pitch roof design that matches existing buildings in the

historical neighbourhood close to Queen's University (City of Kingston, 2013a). Living

environments catering to students are another emphasis for redeveloping neighbourhoods

close to campus. The Northdale Plan, Waterloo, recommends new student apartments to

include large communal areas with washrooms and kitchens; it also specifies the views of

the exterior environment and locations of the common amenities (City of Waterloo,

2012a).

5.5.3.3 Attracting New Campuses to Downtown

The Provincial Growth Plan has expressed its preferred location of institutional

land use: "appropriate major institutional development should be located in urban growth

centres, major transit station areas, or areas with existing frequent transit service, or existing or planned higher order transit service" (Ontario Ministry of Infrastructure, 2012). Municipalities such as Kitchener, Mississauga, Brantford and Windsor have worked with PSIs to locate new satellite campuses in their downtown cores. Downtown campuses have attracted investment and capital to city centres, reused old buildings, and brought life back to the downtown. Although downtown campuses indicate the intention of student housing development, one planner suggests that the ample housing supply in most downtowns can absorb new demand brought by an institution, given their small size (Participant M09).

Perhaps the most successful example of downtown student housing development is Brantford, which considers student housing "the crucial component of the downtown revitalization plan" (Participant M02). Expositor Place is a new student residence in downtown Brantford, with over 200 beds. The building was previously a newspaper production office and has significant historical values. According to a Brantford city planner, the City provided three kinds of financial incentives that "work towards the exact model of student housing we [the City] want". The first incentive was the Facet Grant, used for preserving the external historical element of the building; the second one was the Downtown Business Improvement Grant of $428,000; finally there was an exemption from the Development Charge with a value of $200,000. Additionally, a limited exemption for parking was granted to help attract development interest: only 18 parking spots were required for 200 beds. The residence is also an example of mixed-use development, with commercial facilities on the ground floor. Another innovative aspect of this development is that private landlords own the building and lease to a university

who manages it. In such partnership, developers get stable economic returns; the university satisfies student housing demands; the student residence is properly managed; and the City receives tax revenues. "If it is a university residence, it won't pay tax. So this is an important point. We would like to maintain this relationship", the planner commented. Another eight-storey student housing unit has been proposed for downtown Brantford, based on the same model.

5.4 Summary

Based upon the limited number of student accommodation studies and near-campus neighbourhoods secondary plans in Ontario, student housing strategies focus on: 1) encouraging intensification at strategic locations; and 2) regulating student rentals in low-density neighbourhoods. To carry out the strategies, different planning tools have been implemented. Encouraging purpose-built student housing, changing zonings to allow intensification, and attracting new campuses downtown are among the most popular planning approaches; re-zoning to allow high-density development and enforcing zoning by-laws to control intensity in low-density neighbourhoods receive the highest votes for the most effective approaches. However, local authorities have discrepancies with respect to the feasibilities of some planning related tools, such as property licensing regimes and the MDS regulations. There is also disagreement on the rationale of purpose-built student housing. Each municipality has responded to student housing issues in a different way, according to local demographic, economic, and political context.

Chapter 6

Collaborations among Stakeholders in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

6.1 Introduction

The challenges of studentification are most effectively addressed through the collaboration of different stakeholders (Universities UK, 2006). In particular, PSIs' involvement in improving near-campus neighbourhoods is crucial. A study emphasizes the significant role of PSIs in addressing issues associated with off-campus housing:

> In HEIs, in partnership with other stakeholders, should also recognise that they have a responsibility towards the established residential communities into which their students migrate to help to redress any negative aspects of 'studentification'. […]The evidence suggests that if HEIs do not act, it can cause and entrench resentment in the local community which may be more difficult to address at a later date. (Universities UK, 2006, p.20)

Furthermore, to effectively work together, communication channels need to be established among stakeholders; local authorities should take the lead in creating a group involving representatives from all the stakeholders (Universities UK, 2006). The literature also demonstrates the necessity of university-community partnerships in developing purpose-built student housing, which is an effective way to overcome the PSIs' financial limit (Macintyre, 2003; Ryan, 2003). There are four types of owner structures and their financing mechanisms for purpose-built student housing in the US, with the hybrid and privatized ownership representing the university-community partnerships (Table 6.1) (Lobo, 2010).

The principles of collaboration proposed in the British study are well understood in Ontario. PSIs have initiated different strategies to improve students' off-campus living

and municipalities have developed communication channels among all stakeholders –

organizations called Town and Gown Committees have been established in many cities.

Some partnerships between universities and developers have also been developed to

supply student residences on-campus and off-campus.

Table 6.1: Owner Structures for Purpose-built Student Housing in the US			
Owner structure	Land ownership	Buildings	Financing
Traditional: University-Owned	University	University	Tax-exempt financing
Hybrid: Foundation-Owned	University	Foundation/Non-government Organization	Tax-exempt financing
Privatized: Developer Owned	University	Developer	Taxable financing
Off-Campus	Developer	Developer	Taxable financing

Source: Lobo, 2010

The main focus of this chapter is to explore one of the research questions: **who**

are the stakeholders in near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario and how do they

work together to address student accommodation issues? To identify stakeholders, I

referred to the literature, planning reports, media narratives and my observation in public

meetings. The discussion about collaboration among stakeholders is mainly based on

survey results and interviews with both planners and PSI housing staff.

6.2 PSIs' Off-campus Housing Strategies

In Ontario, most universities and colleges of a certain size have off-campus

housing offices or Community Relations Department to respond to neighbourhood

issues. PSIs' willingness to be involved in off-campus student living is not only

associated with their sense of community responsibility, but also related to an effort

to improve the institution's reputation and secure the occupancy rates of on-campus

student housing. A university off-campus housing officer revealed that the negative

image of the neighbourhood adjacent to campus would eventually damage the university's reputation because many students and parents thought the problematic student rentals are the university's property: "the university is trying to disconnect itself with the liability to [the neighbourhood]" (Participant I10). The survey results showed that 17 out of 20 respondents agreed that students' off-campus living environment is a key element to students' success, and 15 of them considered it as an important factor to affect a student's decision on school selection. However, only 11 disclosed that they were willing to devote money and human resources to improve the living conditions and the life quality of students who live off-campus.

In addition, the proliferation of lodging houses catering to students could compete with student housing on-campus and result in its vacancy or even closure. Furthermore, authorities and neighbours expect PSIs to solve the student behaviour issues in the neighbourhood: "the city expects the PSI to take actions addressing student behaviour issues" (Participant M05). Thus, it is not only necessary, but also urgent for PSIs to play an active role in addressing near-campus neighbourhood issues. The survey found that 17 out of 20 PSIs agreed that they should share responsibility to minimize the negative impacts of student population on the local community. However, only less than half of planners surveyed agreed that the university/college in their cities has adequately taken responsibility to tackle near-campus neighbourhood issues. Municipalities expect universities to increase on-campus housing to absorb the student population living off-campus. However, they have no power to force the university to do so.

Typically, university or college off-campus housing offices provide services including online housing listing and housing mediation service, as well as education programs for students to be good neighbours. Some PSIs also enforce a Code of Conduct to regulate students' behaviour off-campus. Table 6.2 shows a list of approaches PSIs adopted regarding to students' off-campus life, according to surveys returned by 20 universities and colleges.

Table 6.2: PSIs' Approaches to Regulate Students' Off-campus Living		
Approach	Number of PSIs that adopted this approach	Number of PSIs that consider the strategy as effective
Providing housing listing service	13	--
Providing consulting and mediation services	10	7
Educating (potential) student tenants to be good neighbours	15	11
Enforcing the code of conduct	8	6

PSIs sometimes leverage the tool of housing listing service to exert influence on the off-campus housing market. For example, a PSI housing office stopped advertising rental properties from one specific area near campus where a student riot broke out, hoping this approach would reduce the density of student populations in that area. Another example is that some PSI off-campus housing offices support the city's rental housing licensing regimes through their housing listing service. The survey results confirmed that four PSIs advertised only licensed properties on their housing listing websites. Some other PSIs highlighted or prioritized the licensed properties on their listings. PSIs' support will facilitate enforcement of the Rental/Lodging Housing Licensing By-law: it could raise landlords' awareness of the need of licensing and it can

sometimes turn in illegal student rentals to licensing authorities. However, some housing officers are concerned about their business if they deny the "illegal" landlords' access to their listing website. Turning customers away will harm their business, as most off-campus housing offices are funded by revenue from fees of housing advertisement.

The enforcement of the Code of Conduct was sometimes counted on by some community members as a means to address student behaviour issues off-campus. A university housing officer disclosed that the City required the university to rewrite the Code of Conducts to deal with off-campus issues. However, in fact, PSIs have limited ability to regulate students' behaviours off-campus, nor do they have sufficient legal right to do so:

> That [Code of Conduct] really don't play into what it means to be a citizen. So [if] students behave badly in the city, that is their responsibility. Unless they're student leader, student athlete – some positions having merit that attach themselves to the name of the university at a significant capacity, the university would not get involved.[…]I have not seen a student being suspended from school because of their behaviour in the student area (Participant I06).

More often, PSIs do not have off-campus related Codes of Conduct because misbehaving students would be punished by the police or by-law department of the city, thus enforcing the University Code of Conducts would "double-punish" them.

One of the most proactive program PSIs initiated to regulate off-campus housing is the Landlord Contract Program in Kingston. The program is run by Queen's University, which encourages landlords to have their properties inspected for compliance with the City's Property Standard By-law (Queen's University, 2013). In return, landlords can include a Tenancy Termination Agreement in the contract (Queen's University, 2013). The implication is that landlords are able to

lock their tenancy to a yearly cycle. An interview participant from the Queen's

University explained that the program is "linked to things landlords really want" as

it guarantees that landlords will not have empty properties during the school year.

The program is also popular with students because landlords in this programme

cannot raise the rent above the amount set by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and

Housing. So far, more than 700 units were licensed under this program. The

participant from Queen's University positively rated the program: "we think it

works for us. Certainly we have seen a lot of improvement, such as the improved

quality of student housing. That's really what our goal was". When asked if such

voluntary inspection program can replace the City's property licensing program, the

university and the City have different points 'of view. Although the interviewee

from Queen's University agreed that the university-run inspection program is more

effective than the City's, a planner disagreed:

> The city fundamentally has accountability with respect to how any of
> the areas grows and develops and that includes property standards as
> well. It wouldn't be appropriate for the city to abdicate the authority to
> any other institution with the respect to that responsibility. The public in
> the neighbourhoods in general looks to the city to take that role
> (Participant M06).

6.3 Stakeholders in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

Apart from PSIs, other stakeholders are identified in near-campus neighbourhoods:

students, established residents, landlords and developers who have different, and

sometimes conflicting, interests. It is significant for them to collaborate with each other

and with the city to achieve a shared vision for near-campus neighbourhoods. As one

planner commented, "issues related to near campus neighbourhood are not solely

planning issue. They are not solely a by-law issue. They are not solely a university issue.

It takes everybody working collaboratively and in partnership to help address this issue"
(Participant M13).

6.3.1 Students

Students are the major participants in changes of near-campus neighbourhoods,
not only because of their predominant population in many neighbourhoods, but also
because their demand for housing is the major impetus of the neighbourhood's evolution.
Although student unions are sometimes involved in the land use planning of near-campus
neighbourhood and were consulted by city planners, there is little evidence showing the
majority of students are actively involved in community planning in their host cities in
Ontario. The irony is a neighbourhood with high percentage of student residents is
planned without the participation of students. For example, in the public meetings for the
Northdale Redevelopment Study, students were disproportionately represented among the
attendees. Their lack of interest in participating in the local planning process can be
linked to the lower rate of civic engagement of renters compared to homeowners on local
neighbourhood issues (Fischel, 2001; Manturuk, Lindblad, & Quercia, 2012; McCabe,
2013). As another example, in the 1970s, renters in South Parkdale in Toronto comprised
93% of the population in, but homeowners were able to exert a higher level of power and
influence (Barna, 2007). Short tenancy may also affect some students' willingness to
engage in the planning process of the neighbourhood where they currently reside.

6.3.2 Established Residents

Residents living within near-campus neighbourhoods probably have the most
direct experience of neighbourhood changes brought by a larger student population. As
discussed before, they often hold a negative attitude against such change. The survey

revealed that student housing issues have raised wide public attention. Eleven out of 23 respondents admitted that community associations have been formed to lobby the city against the increasing number of students in their neighbourhoods. By advocating for the interest of long-term residents, these neighbourhood associations play a significant role in advancing the city's redevelopment plan for near-campus neighbourhoods.

An example of how neighbourhood associations become a driving force to shape a near-campus neighbourhood occurred during the Northdale redevelopment planning process in Waterloo. According to one of the city planners, in 2007, the Northdale Albert Residents' Coalition asked City Council for zoning changes to permit higher density in the entire neighbourhood. Council directed staff to do a study considering their request; the study was finished in 2008 and did not favour the association's request. In 2010, another group called Help Urbanize the Ghetto in Waterloo brought the issue to the table again and advocated a new vision for the neighbourhood. Council considered the request and hired a planning consulting firm to undertake a land use study.In a sense, Northdale redevelopment planning was a bottom-up process, and the re-zoning proposed in the Plan was initiated by neighbourhood associations.

The lobby groups' request for intensification in the Northdale case was not a common position held by neighbours living in near-campus areas. More often, they advocate against density. For instance, in the North Oshawa Residential Land Use Study, residents opposed the suggested re-zoning that may lead to increased population densities (City of Oshawa, 2010). The planners who were interviewed raised several examples in which high-density buildings were objected to in near-campus neighbourhoods, as such development "could possibly attract a large amount of student tenants" (Participant M11),

"may increase density in their low-density neighbourhood" (Participant M11), or "may back on their properties" (Participant I03). Some residents living near campus were simply against the student population itself: "The fear was there will be students living there" (Participant M04); they wanted the area to "return to its planned function [family oriented]" (Participant M09) and wanted students to "stay out, in on-campus residences and apartment buildings" (Participant M09).

The neighbours' positions may not accord with the city's values, which sometimes cause tensions between the two parties. When interviewed, some planners pointed out the fact that the community did not trust the city:

> If you look at […] some of the community comments and feedback and sometimes when the residents went to the council, they literally imply mistrust of the city. […] they don't want planning staff to do it [redevelopment planning for a near-campus neighbourhood]; Rather they wanted a third party to come because I think there is some mistrust from residents, based on what happened in their neighbourhood, towards planning staff (Participant PM13).

Perhaps the reasons for such mistrust are related to the residents' anxiety about persistent issues in their neighbourhoods: "the community do not trust the city and the college because of student accommodations, because students are creating problems in the neighbourhood" (Participant M04); "There was a lot of hope when the Student Accommodation Study came about that things would greatly improve for their issues. They wanted things to happen right away. Because of that, many of the residents still have that mistrust of planning staff" (Participant M13).

6.3.3 Landlords

It is important to note that a large proportion of homeowners in near-campus neighbourhoods rent part or all of their properties to students. Some of them do not

physically live in the neighbourhood themselves. These landlords have different interests from homeowners who do not rent their properties: they focus more on economic returns from student renters than the demand for better life quality. Landlords sometimes form unions from common interest. For example, a group of residents and landlords made an attempt to jointly sell 39 houses as two blocks in near-campus neighbourhood in Waterloo and proposed re-zoning those properties (Outhit, 2011). Such landlord groups' lobbies may sway the City's decisions. One planner confirmed in the survey that the political power of landlords has become a limit to the ability to planning to achieve a balanced near-campus neighbourhood. In the interview, he explained landlords' influence and their political position in his city:

> The landlords did lobby the council. Basically they stress the need for [student] housing and that the city and the university weren't supplying appropriate housing. […] They were basically attacking primarily the university for not supplying the appropriate amount of housing. They [landlords] are providing housing to meet the demand that the university hasn't met (Participant PM08).

As indicated, landlords try to justify their investment behaviour – the conversion of family oriented homes into lodging homes; and they object to any strengthened regulation forced upon lodging/rental properties (MacDonald, 2011).

6.3.4 Developers

With the rise of purpose-built student apartments, developers are one of the key actors in reshaping future near-campus neighbourhoods. Many municipalities have made plans for the supply of student accommodations; however, it is the activity of developers that will eventually envision these plans. Nevertheless, the survey results showed only half of the responding planners agreed that purpose-built student-housing developers had

the same vision as the city. In the interview, planners revealed that the differences in vision lied in the fact that, first of all, their decision on the intensification locations was not often in line with the City's planning frameworks. For instance, in a university city, student housing developers "simply canvassed the property owners to see if they would sell the properties. The fact is that intensification decisions could be made based on who says yes" (Participant M06). As a result, the intensification that actually happens did not match the Official Plan or secondary plans. A planner expressed his worries about such uncontrolled development:

> It's not a strategic approach anyway. It's an opportunistic one. It creates an uncontrolled growth and property [which] may or may not fit with surrounding properties; they may or may not be out of the scale with the some of the smaller, lower profile buildings that surround them. It just creates a myriad of problems. (Participant M06)

Secondly, developers tended to maximize their development within the allowance of zoning by-laws. For example, if the by-laws state that an apartment shall have a minimum of 30% landscape of the site, the building will be built with only 30% landscape. As a planner said in the interview, "They [developers] really try to push that envelope; while the City hopes [they will] think out of the box, to be unique and creative (Participant M13). The third difference was that developers are profit-driven, but the City is a public organization that should serve the entire community. In terms of student housing, a planner explained, "people [developers] look at near campus neighbourhoods and think how many units can be put in and how many bedrooms [can be put in]. What the city focuses on, in large part, is to address student accommodation so as to make sure there is safe, affordable, and suitable housing" (Participant M13).

6.4 A University-community Collaboration

In Ontario, stakeholders also recognize the significance of collaboration in response to various challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods. Eighty-five percent of the cities with student accommodation strategies identify collaboration as one of their key strategies. In 2004, the Town and Gown Association of Ontario (TGAO) was established after the first symposium was held in Waterloo (TGAO, 2011). The Association recognized that "there were many issues of common interest in town and gown municipalities across the Province that could best be served by partnering efforts and sharing information" (TGAO, 2011). Annual TGAO symposia have been organized for information sharing and experience exchanging on on-campus and off-campus issues. Collaborations and partnerships have been built between municipalities, PSIs and developers.

At the local level, organizations called Town and Gown Committees are established to maintain a long-term dialog in 13 municipalities, according to the survey. Each Town and Gown Committee has its own agenda, with duties ranging from information sharing to policy development. For example, The London Committee serves as a "forum for the exchange of information on issues and initiatives" (City of London, 2013b). The Waterloo Committee takes on multiple roles including facilitating communication, making recommendations to the Council and developing policies relevant to town and gown (City of Waterloo, 2012b).

Table 6.3 lists the functions of Town and Gown Committees evaluated by PSIs.

Table 6.3: Functions of Town and Gown Committees Evaluated by PSI Respondents

Functions of the Town and Gown Committee	Number of Responses
Influential on decision making	3
Based on conversation	4
Not a continuous effort	5
Not active	0

The table shows that only three participants feel their Committees have become a force that exerts influence on many city or institution decisions. In the interview, such a Committee was described as a "strategic leadership team", where "high level discussions between high-level administrative bodies" take place. Typically, the Committee participates in decision making in a broad range of affairs, such as student engagement, quality of life, and community development: committee members "[are] really working on that rather than talking about it" (Participant I05). For instance, they received relevant development proposals before the Committee of Judgement and Zoning Department and provided input about applications to the Planning Department, making sure the proposed development complies with the vision for near-campus neighbourhoods.

However, more participants feel that their Town and Gown Committees either have not been a continuous effort or have only operated on a conversational basis. An interview participant pointed out the reason that the Committee was not considered as a continuous effort: student affairs have periodic nature; they have different levels of urgency at certain times of a year, such as Home Coming Events, student behaviour

issues, and student retention programs. As a participant from PSI noted, "It is pretty easy to put an issue that is not burning on edge of your desk until it flares up" (Participant I05). A few survey participants felt that Town and Gown Committees were only on a conversational, rather than executive basis. One of them criticized that information sharing in Town and Gown Committee meetings is just "a courtesy" and "a head's-up" (Participant PI03); "At the end of day, the college will do what they feel is best and the City Council members will do what they feel is best" (Participant PI03). Another interviewee pointed out that the Committees have not produced proactive programs or initiatives, except for some occasional neighbourhood outreach projects: "what have they done that has changed behaviour? Having some barbeque, celebrating the students, but what are the tangible pieces that has changed behaviour" (Participant I06). The reason for the lack of executive power is that there is no accountability for the members to drive things forward, explained a third interview participant.

There is a certain degree of collaboration between PSIs and the private sector. The collaboration is, in large part, reflected in the information sharing on purpose-built student housing. The survey revealed that 85% PSI housing officers had a general idea, if not a full understanding, of developers' construction plans for purpose-built student housing near campus. However, PSIs do not usually provide input into developers' construction plans. Housing officers interviewed revealed that developers approached them with their student housing development plans for the university's support in order to get permits from the planning department, or sometimes developers just wanted to "make sure we [PSIs] are not blocking them from getting building permit from the city" (Participant I03). In some cases, PSIs housing offices provided developers with

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information about student life and relevant regulations such as Tenancy Act, but only on an information-sharing basis.

One survey question asked about the general evaluation about the collaborations among cities, PSIs and the wider community, answers were diverse. Figure 6.1 showed evaluations from planners and housing officers. They present similar results from the perspectives of the two parties. In some cities, the collaboration was rated effective, while in other cities participants felt the collaboration was totally lacking. A few planners and housing officers chose the option that the collaborations have not met the expectations. The rest confirmed that one party often took more responsibilities than the other.

6.5 Partnerships in Providing Student Residences

Issues in near-campus neighbourhoods, in essence, often stem from the shortage of student residences on-campus. Given that PSIs do not have the financial capability to supply sufficient student accommodations, public-private partnerships are considered to be an alternative way to achieve that (Ryan, 2003). In Ontario, such partnerships are not commonly seen. Table 6.4 lists different owner structures of purpose-built student housing in Ontario. However, in most cases, developers are the only owners of both the land and buildings.
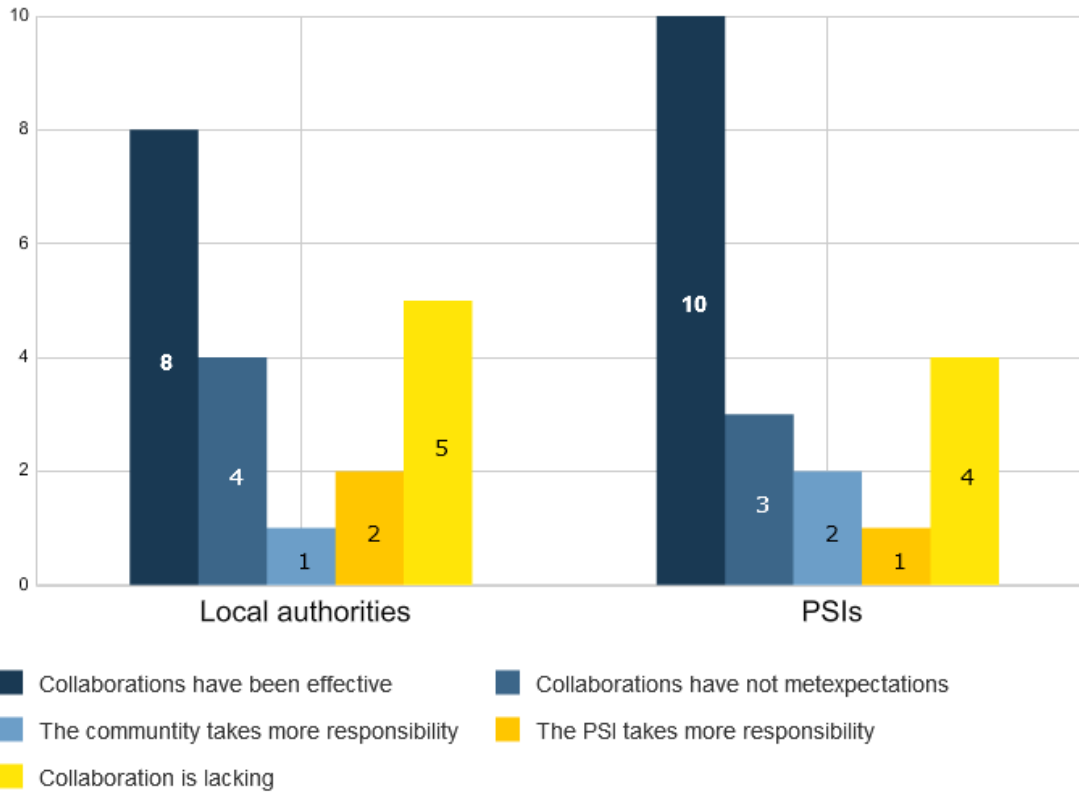
Figure 6.1: Overall Evaluations of Town and Gown Collaborations by Respondents from Local Authorities and PSIs

Table 6.4: Owner Structures for Purpose-built Student Housing in Ontario, Reported by survey PSIs Respondents		
Owner Structure		**Number of Responses**
Land Ownership	**Buildings**	
Developer	Developer	11
Non-Profit Organization	Non-Profit Organization	1
PSI	Developer	3
PSI	Non-Profit Organization	2

Partnering with developers and NPOs is considered a mutually –beneficial strategy: it satisfies the demand for student housing and at the same time addresses PSIs' financial constraint for on-campus housing development. As one housing officer stated:

My understanding is the university went out looking for people to lease the land, because the university knew that they don't have money to build a building [student residence] on their own, but they can lease the land, making a bit of money and have the student residence they need. So they partnered with one of the property corporation. (Participant I08)

Another benefit from public-private partnership is that PSIs will have the chance to provide input into development plans. Two interview participants from university housing departments confirmed that when leasing the land to student housing developers, representatives from their universities provided feedbacks on the operation of the residences. Despites these benefits, some housing officers do not support this partnership to avoid possible conflict with developers. One interviewee elaborated:

We started the idea of cooperating with private developers but we stopped it because we prefer the in house management model. When you get into the public-private financial thing, you may have your name on the product, but you can't have full control of that. [...] You would get a fight. And there will be customer dissatisfaction. It reflects poorly on school. (Participant I01)

Many university communities in Ontario have developed intensification plans and earmarked nodes and corridors for high-density development. It would help achieve the planning goal if new student residence development happened at these locations. Thus, it is sensible for cities to partner with PSIs and developers in building high-density student accommodations. Planning authorities often provide financial incentives such as provide loans and funds, and waive Development Charges to encourage developers to follow the city's planning agendas. A planner interviewed concluded: "If our financial incentives help them do that [follow the city's planning agenda for off-campus housing development], I suppose our visions will be aligned" (Participant M01). PSIs have the same role as developers in constructing new student housing, except for their exemption from development

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charges (City of Waterloo, 2013; The City of Brampton, 2013). In collaboration between PSIs and local authorities, university or college-owned residences can be built at strategic locations where the city wishes to see intensification happens.

The partnership is not easy to achieve, partly because PSI's and developers' preferences for the locations of student residence are different from the City's. The survey results showed that planners preferred purpose-built student housing to be built on land adjacent to PSIs, places earmarked for intensification or revitalization, and the downtown area (Figure 6.2). To PSIs, the preference is the current campus land available for development; only two PSIs gave priority to the city planning mandates in choosing locations for new student residence (Figure 6.3). For developers, as discussed before, they are opportunistic when deciding locations for purpose-built student hosing – their decisions depend on where land becomes available for redevelopment.
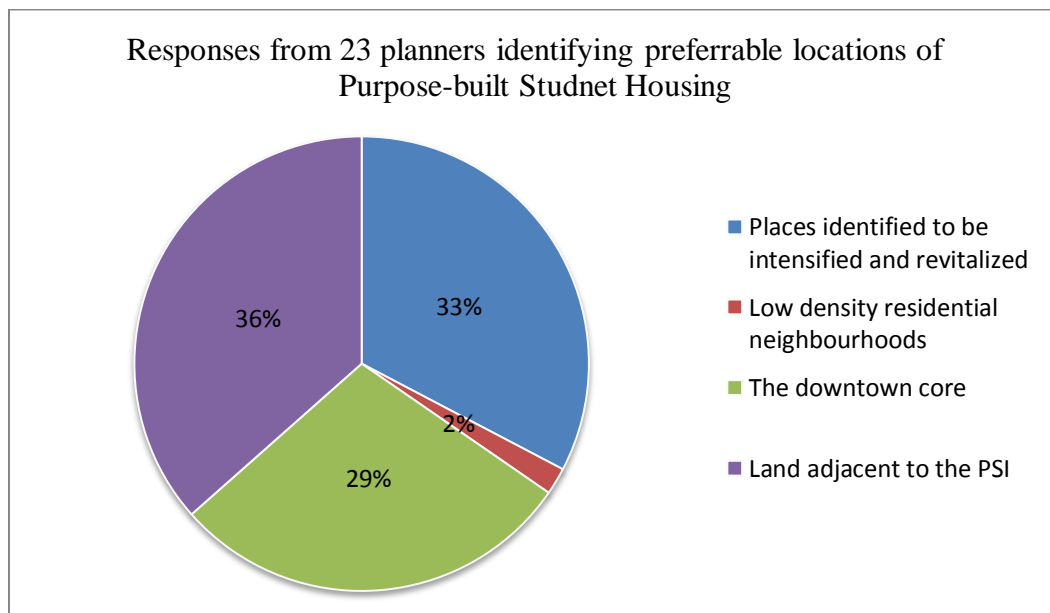
Figure 6.2: Local Authorities' Preferences for Locations of Purpose-built Student Housing
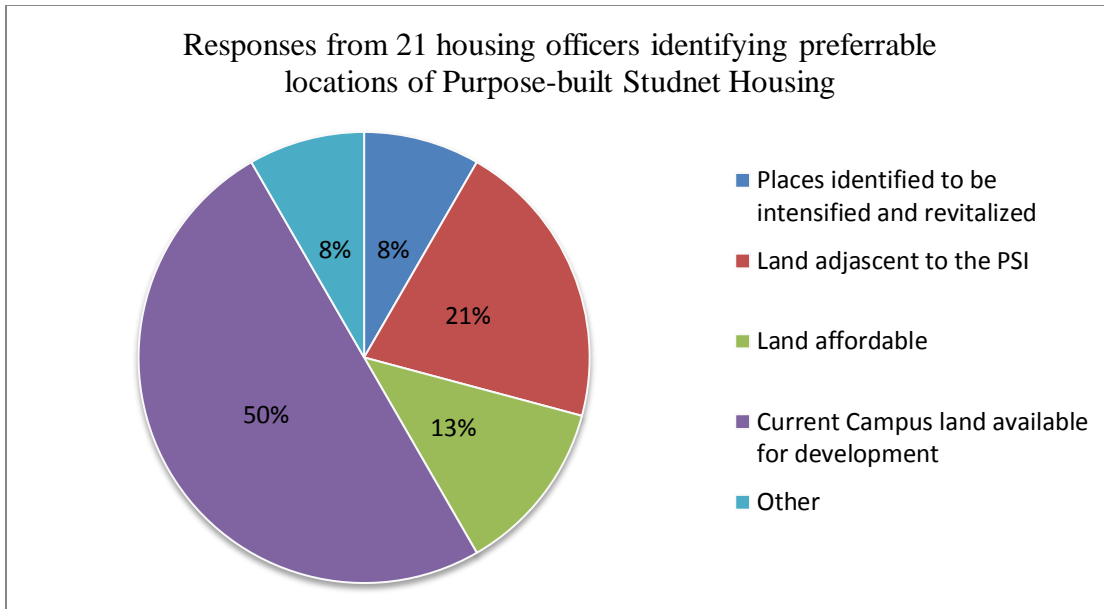
Figure 6.3: PSIs' Preferences for Locations of Purpose-built Student Housing

6.6 Summary

Successful plan-making for near-campus neighbourhoods depends on a collaborative relationship of all stakeholders. PSIs are important stakeholders with the ability to affect the student housing market, control student behaviours off-campus and even regulate the private student rental sectors. Other stakeholders including established residents, landlords and developers sometimes use their political power to influence planning decision making on student accommodation issues; in comparison, students are less actively involved in the public participation process.

In many cities, Town and Gown Committees have been established to maintain long-term relationship among stakeholders. However, different Committees exert different degree of influence on decision making on various off-campus housing issues: some of them are highly involvement in decision-making while some only facilitate

conversations and information exchange. The overall evaluations about town and gown collaborations are also polarized, with some communities achieving partnership of stakeholders and others without collaboration at all.

University-community partnerships to provide student residences on-campus and off-campus have been established in a small number of communities, in the form of PSIs leasing land to developers or NGOs for student housing development. However, discrepancies of visions for the locations of such development may hinder an effective partnership between PSIs, cities and developers.

Chapter 7
Key Findings and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to address two research questions:

- What are the impacts of student populations on near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario?
- How and how effectively have planning authorities responded to the challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods?

The answers to these questions add to the existing body of literature by exploring the challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods and the investigating planning strategies responding to the challenges in Ontario. The study is based on surveys and interviews among PSIs and university/college communities in Ontario. This chapter summarises and interprets the key findings and compares them with the previous studies.

7.2 Studentification and Transitions of Near-campus Neighbourhoods

In Ontario, most near-campus neighbourhoods are characterized by low-density forms of development. Twenty-three cities reported issues associated with student off-campus housing in near-campus neighbourhoods. These issues may occur in any community regardless of its size, location, and type of PSIs it hosts. Notably, among the cities surveyed, 100 percent of cities with a university have experienced problems in near-campus neighbourhoods, while only 50 percent of those with a college have the same problems.

7.2.1 Studentification in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

The changes to near-campus neighbourhoods are manifested in social, cultural, physical, and economic dimensions. Table 7.1 outlines the survey participants' most

frequently reported challenges in the areas adjacent to universities/colleges in four

dimensions.

Table 7.1: Challenges for Near-campus Neighbourhoods in Ontario	
Social	Demographic imbalance
	Out-migration of families
Cultural	Tenant behaviour issues
	More complaints to community service departments
Physical	Downgrading physical environment
	Intensification in low-density neighbourhoods
Economic	Conversion from family homes to lodging homes

British scholars studied dozens of university communities in the UK and the

transition of near-campus neighbourhoods was defined studentification. By definition,

studentification has social, cultural, physical and economic effects on near-campus

neighbourhoods with the social effect as the major characteristic (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Definition of Studentification	
Social	The replacement of established residents with a student population
Cultural	The concentration of shared cultural and life style of young people, which attracts certain types of retail and service infrastructure
Physical	The downgrading or upgrading of the physical environment
Economic	The domination of private rented accommodations and HMOs, with decreasing level of owner-occupation

Adopted from Universities UK, 2006

Comparing Table 7.1 with Table 7.2, it can be concluded that changes to near-

campus neighbourhoods in Ontario present similar patterns to those in the UK in social,

cultural, physical and economic aspects. Thus, university communities in Ontario have

experienced studentification, and the transition of near-campus neighbourhoods can be

understood in the theoretical framework of studentification.

However, the trajectory of studentification in Ontario is not completely aligned with that in the UK. For instance, the changes to services and retail infrastructure within near-campus neighbourhoods were emphasized in the UK Studentification Guide (Universities UK, 2006), while the survey showed that only four Ontario cities out of 23 have witnessed such change. A possible reason is that in Canada, in most cases, neighbourhoods surround university campuses are zoned as low-density residential, and the zoning only permits limited commercial uses; in comparison, in the UK, Use Class Orders are applied instead of the zoning systems, and only changing the use of buildings to a different class requires planning permits. Thus, it might be easier to open a service facility that caters to students in the UK than in Ontario. For example, a corner store can be converted into an Internet café catering to young people without any planning permission in England (Department of Communities and Local Government, UK, 2013); however, in Ontario, such change is not permitted without planning application. Another example is that crime has not been reported a significant issue in near-campus neighbourhood in Ontario, unlike some British cities; this fact might be explained by better police enforcement in Ontario cities.

7.2.2 Student Housing Market

The evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods is driven by the market. On the demand side, it is a common belief that students have to live off-campus because there is not enough on-campus housing. However, the study found that another important reason why students choose to live off-campus is that the out-of-date dorm-style accommodations on-campus do not cater to the needs of modern students. On the supply side, the three major causes that trigger the out-migration of long-term residents in near-

campus neighbourhoods are aging population, higher property sale prices offered by investors, and life-style incompatibility between families and students. However, a few factors contribute to stabilizing a near-campus neighbourhood: residents' willingness to keep a family-oriented ambience, housing prices too high for investors, and good public schools on site. Once a family home is converted into a lodging home geared towards students, it is difficult to convert it back, due to the increased housing price and altered housing structure that no longer caters to families.

Currently, low-density housing units converted from family homes dominate the student housing market in Ontario. However, in recent years, a lot of university communities have witnessed the rise of purpose-built student housing. Nearly 70 percent of PSIs surveyed confirmed that apartment buildings geared towards students have been developed or proposed near their campuses. Purpose-built student housing developers have begun to actively participate in the student housing market. This conclusion is different from Lobo's (2010) statement that purpose-built student housing has a very limited share of the student housing market. The discrepancy may result from the fact that the rise of purpose-built student apartment is a very recent phenomenon. This is made evident by data from student apartment development in Waterloo (Figure 5.1) and by interviewees' references to the constructions or proposals of this type of development. It is speculated that the purpose-built student-housing sector will continue to expand and increase its market share, and may represent the future trend of off-campus student accommodations in Ontario.

7.2.3 Neighbourhood Transition in Theory

Ley and Frost (2006) categorize four types of neighbourhood changes (decline, stability, revitalization and massive redevelopment) and cite McLemore's (1975) table (see table 6.2) to summarize the characteristics of each type. Interestingly, the characteristics of a neighbourhood undergoing studentification are not consistent with those of any type of neighbourhood in McLemore et al.'s table. Despite the opinion of many researchers (Cortes, 2004; Hubbard, 2008; Kenyon, 1997) that the quality of near-campus neighbourhoods declines, a neighbourhood close to a PSI may demonstrate characteristics of all the transitioning neighbourhoods (declining neighbourhood, revitalizing neighbourhood, and neighbourhood undergoing massive redevelopment). The study proved that in a typical neighbourhood undergoing studentification, population increases, non-family units increase, physical conditions worsen, housing prices rise, and pressure to redevelopment escalates. These features can be identified in a neighbourhood that is simultaneously declining, revitalizing, and undergoing massive redevelopment. The conclusion is contrary to the popular belief that a student neighbourhood is a declining one. Given that the transition of near-campus neighbourhoods cannot be understood in the framework of the traditional definition of neighbourhood typology, the question remains as to whether it can be listed as the fifth neighbourhood category, or whether it can be encapsulated in one of the existing four categories.

Table 7.3: Four Types of Inner-city neighbourhoods

	Decline	Stability	Revitalization	Massive Redevelopment
Population	Continuing loss of population	No significant losses or gains	Little change	Gain in population
Socio-economic status	Decreasing	Stable	Increasing	Increasing
Family status	Increasing proportion of non-family units and elderly	Maintenance of population mix	Maintenance of population mix	Loss of families, gain of singles
Ethnicity	Varies: can be influx of deprived ethnic group or breaking down of traditional community	Sometimes strong ethnic community	Sometimes loss of ethnic groups	Seldom important
Community organizations	Poorly organized, unstable	Varies	Increasingly well-organized	Usually unorganized
Physical conditions	Worsening	Stable	Improving	Improved housing, possible environmental problems
Housing/land costs	Increasing much less than metro average	Increasing at same rate as metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average
Tenure	Increasing tenancy	Varies, but often high ownership	Little change	Tenancy
Non-residential functions	Loss of commercial-industrial functions with no replacement	Maintaining a mix of functions gaining others	Maintaining a mix of functions	Losing some commercial functions, but gaining others
Pressure for redevelopment	Low	Low	Strong, but controlled	High

One attempt to address the question is to incorporate studentification into the framework in gentrification (Chatterton, 2010; Davison, 2009; Smith, 2005; Smith & Holt, 2007; Smith, 2008). A classic example is that students and other young groups contributed to the gentrification of Yorkville in 1960's Toronto, who were later replaced by other demographic groups with more capital (Ley, 1996). However, it is important to note that similar cases of "studentification related gentrification" were initiated in the originally blighted inner city in metropolitan areas. This study did not find any gentrified

student neighbourhood in a mid-size city or in suburbs of metropolitan areas. Although downtown campuses (with the student population and student housing they bring in) may contribute to urban revitalization, it is too early to conclude that students are apprentice gentrifiers and leaders for subsequent gentrification as claimed by Smith (2008). This scenario might be realized in a few Ontario cities such as Waterloo, where the prosperity of the high-tech sector attracts residents with high social and cultural profile and they may eventually replace the student population in near-campus neighbourhoods. However, for most small or mid-size cities, their economic structure does not support the demographic groups that might be able to set in motion gentrification.

7.3 Planning Responses to Challenges

According to the survey, although 23 cities have experienced different levels of problems in near-campus neighbourhoods, only 13 of them have developed planning strategies to respond to the problems. To clarify, some planning strategies/approaches are adopted to cope with a wider range of planning issues or to regulate a bigger housing categories. However, in mid-size university/college cities, addressing challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods are often the original consideration when such planning strategies were initiated.

7.3.1 Planning Goals and Implementation

In general, planning goals for near-campus neighbourhoods can be summarized as the intention to retain low-density neighbourhood amenities and to encourage high-density development at strategic locations. To achieve this planning goal, various planning related tools and approaches have been developed in Ontario cities. Table 7.4 ranks the tools and approaches by the number of municipalities that have adopted them,

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the number of municipalities that are considering adopting them and the number of

municipalities that evaluate them as effective.

Table 7.4: Planning Tools/Approaches Used or To Be Used to Address Challenges For Near-campus Neighbourhoods and Their Effectiveness		
Planning Tool/Approach (Number of Municipalities with This tool/Approach in Place)	Number of Planners Who Evaluate this Tool/approach as Effective	Number of Municipalities Considering Adopting This Tool/approach
Encouraging purpose-built student accommodations (7)	6	2
Changing zonings to allow higher density development at strategic locations (7)	5	4
Attracting new university/college campuses to the downtown (7)	4	3
Enforcing by-laws to control intensification in low-density neighbourhoods (6)	6	2
Improving transit systems (6)	5	3
Establishing Lodging House Licensing By-law (5)	5	6
Creating financial incentives to attract high-density development (4)	2	3
Establishing Rental Housing Licensing By-law (4)	3	7
Establishing MDS regulations(4)	1	2
Designating heritage districts (2)	2	5
Creating special urban design guidelines (1)	1	5

Intensification-related approaches, especially encouraging purpose-built student

housing, changing zonings to allow high-density development have gained popularity

among local authorities and were generally positively evaluated. These approaches set the

stage for the rapid expansion of the purpose-built student housing market. The rationale

for intensification in many municipalities is to house students in high-density-buildings

and in turn restore demographic balance in low-density neighbourhoods. Anecdotal

evidence showed that families moved back into the previous student housing after the

completion of a certain amount of high-density residential development. However, no comparative studies have been done to investigate the effectiveness of high-density development in terms of drawing students from low-density neighbourhoods. One opinion is that high-density buildings only attracts students from areas distant from campus, thus contribute little to stabilize near-campus neighbourhoods (Hubbard, 2009); another opinion it is that students prefer to stay in low-density houses near campus as they are more affordable than apartment units (Markster, 2011). Thus, although high-density residential development contributes to alleviate a shortage of student accommodation, it is difficult to determine whether intensification projects are able to stabilize the low-density near-campus neighbourhoods.

Planning related approaches to regulate off-campus student accommodations include enforcing by-laws to control intensification in low-density neighbourhoods, implementing Lodging Housing and Rental Housing Licensing by-law, and establishing MDS regulations. However, although these approaches help restrict building size and control overcrowding, none of them actually prevents conversions into student rentals from family homes. The second limitation is that a considerable amount of financial and staff resources are needed to enforce these by-laws and regulations, which may not be sufficient in some cities. The third limitation is that some of the approaches are difficult to apply to student housing. For example, the Lodging Housing Licensing by-law, in many cases, is not applicable to a student-shared accommodation if the accommodation is defined as a "single housekeeping unit". MDS regulations, aiming to disperse lodging houses, are in turn difficult to take effect. The recent legislative change allowing licensing residential rental properties provides solutions to this issue. In fact, municipal

governments have shown a lot of interest in the new licensing tool. However, the effectiveness of the Rental Housing Licensing By-law needs to be monitored as it is new to Ontario municipalities.

Other effective approaches include improving transit and locating new campuses downtown. Anecdotal evidence showed an improved transit system had the effect of dispersing student populations. Locating a new campus downtown has been proved successful in bringing business back to downtown. Heritage designation and urban design guidelines are currently not widely used in plan making for near-campus neighbourhoods, but the survey results showed that many communities were considering these tools.

7.3.2 Neighbourhood Balance and Human Rights Concerns

One of the buzzword in planning is "balance", in terms of demographic, housing type, and tenure. A tipping-point at which a neighbourhood tips from a balanced to imbalanced state was unofficially established by HMO National Lobby in England (2008): when HMO occupants exceed 20% of the total population or when HMOs exceed 10% of households. Although the Ontario Provincial Policy Statement directs municipality to provide an appropriate range and mix of housing (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2005), no attempt has been made to define "balance", furthermore, the study found that planning authorities believed such definition was unnecessary and impropriate.

Typically, a balanced neighbourhood delivers an image of a mix of residents of different age, income, and household size. An unbalanced neighbourhood is often considered unhealthy and unsustainable, as claimed by the HMO National Lobby in the

UK: "there is no possibility of a sustainable community without an appropriate balance between settled residents and a transient population" (National HMO Lobby, 2008, p.5). The decreasing level of homeownership is considered as one of the indicators of a declining neighbourhood[10] (Mclemore, Aass, & Keilhofer, 1975). However, the question arises as to whether a mix of population is good while monoculture is bad, and if it is feasible to build a near-campus neighbourhood housing a wide range of populations.

Voices were heard in public meetings that near-campus neighbourhoods are only for students, not for families by nature. This assertion is not without merit: students favour "student areas" because they are close to campus and are associated with their cultural identity. If a neighbourhood's characteristics are consistent with the values of its residents, can these characteristics be considered desirable? In a student neighbourhood where students are the predominant population, given that students favour such mono-cultural environment, should planning intervene? Conversely, to achieve a balanced neighbourhood near campus, students have to be dispersed in the community. The target is difficult to achieve as it is against students' needs and market demands. Thus, whether demographic balance is a universal planning principle should be reconsidered. The answer to this question is important as it can affect planning decisions. For instance, should purpose-built student housing be encouraged? Is it better to build a student village near campus versus a family-oriented subdivision? So far, these questions are not clarified either in academic research or in government documents.

One of the differences between Ontario planning legislation and the UK's is that Ontario's Planning Act prohibits differentiating between families and unrelated people.

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[10] See Table 6.2

The consequence is that planning cannot directly target student off-campus housing even it is believed to be the cause of many problems near campuses. In fact, any planning regulation that might have an impact on one particular group is considered "people zoning" and could face court challenge. In the survey, 14 out of 23 participants listed the prohibition of defining family as one of the limits to the ability of planning to achieve balanced near-campus neighbourhoods. The Human Rights Commission of Ontario has been actively involved in monitoring zoning and other planning policies to prevent "people zoning". The organization is often consulted by cities in bringing about new planning legislation. They also consider citizens' requests to investigate the legitimacy of certain planning tools and are involved in law cases against various cities. In plan making, human rights issues have become one of the important factors to consider in justifying the plan's legitimacy. Human rights considerations complicate the cities' attempts to directly control student off-campus housing.

Given that no planning policy or regulation can specifically target student rentals, municipalities choose to apply policies targeting housing structures, rather than occupants. However, as is the case with the Family Ordinance in the US, such approaches bring new problems as they are punitive to wider community members. For example, in university cities, MDS regulations and rental housing licensing programs aiming to regulate student rentals are believed to have the effect of reducing the amount of affordable housing for vulnerable groups. By-laws limiting floor areas or number of bedrooms could compromise the need for home expansion of large families.

7.3.3 Debate on Purpose-built Student Housing

According to the survey, encouraging purpose-built student housing is the most popular and the most positively evaluated planning approach to supply sufficient and high quality student housing. However, controversies exist around the functions of purpose-built student housing. Particularly, encouraging purpose-built student apartments is considered against the planning principle of integration. The debate about purpose-built student housing in Ontario is consistent with Hubbard's (2009) argument: purpose-built student housing relieves the housing pressure in the principle student area, but it creates a mono-cultural environment and deprives the opportunity for housing other demographics. Another concern around purpose-built student housing development is that the uncontrolled construction of this type of housing may eventually lead to an over-supply of student housing. Currently, only half of the municipalities surveyed confirmed a shortage of student housing in their community. Purpose-built student housing with four to five bedrooms are believed to be unresponsive to market changes, as it can hardly attract other demographic groups than students. In the long term, the worst scenario is that the over-building of this type of development, coupled with a drop of student enrolment, results in building vacancy and urban blight.

To address these negative impacts of the concentration of purpose-built student housing, Charnwood Borough, England stopped issuing planning permits to new development if its surround area has more than 20% student-rental households among all households (Hubbard, 2009). Charnwood Borough's approach may not be applicable for Ontario due to the two different planning systems; however, it introduces an idea that the development of purpose-built student housing should be controlled. Currently, in Ontario,

purpose-built student housing development has not proliferated in most cities surveyed, but it certainly shows a rising trend. The question arises: when should the density of purpose-built student housing be restricted? To answer this question, more case studies should be done and the impacts of such purpose-built student apartments should be closely monitored.

7.4 Collaboration among Stakeholders in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

Near-campus neighbourhoods have multiple stakeholders who represent different, sometimes conflicting interests. It is important for planners to balance these interests and achieve agreements among stakeholders. Moreover, these stakeholders possess different political powers and have different levels of influence on decision-making. Thus, another task for planners is to make sure all voices are equally heard.

7.4.1 University-Community Partnerships

A PSI is almost always a welcome element to a community, with the social, economic and cultural benefits it bringing in (Lederer & Seasons, 2005; Meyer & Hecht, 1996; Universities UK, 2006). However, historically, universities were criticized because they isolated themselves from social problems (Martin et al., 2005). Nowadays, the critics point to universities' inability to accommodate their students in residence, causing problems in near-campus neighbourhoods. For example, landlords attack universities for failing to provide enough student accommodations, in order to justify their investment in student housing market; local authorities require PSIs to build more official student residences; the neighbours living in near-campus neighbourhoods call for an update of Code of Conduct to control students' off-campus behaviours. Nevertheless, PSIs not only lack financial resources to develop additional student housing, but also face the shrinking

student demand for on-campus housing. In fact, there are cases in which the private rental sector has out-competed with on-campus residences. These reasons make it difficult for PSIs to build more student halls. Another misconception is that PSIs have responsibility to ensure students' roles as good neighbours. In fact, they have limited authority to regulate students' behaviours off-campus. Thus, as indicated in the Studentification Guide (Universities UK, 2006), universities do not have enough power to tackle with problems in near-campus neighbourhoods; a university-community collaboration led by the city is the best approach to address problems.

Fortunately, university-community collaborations have been established in most university cities in Ontario and Town and Gown Committees often maintain the collaborative relationship. The study found that in different municipalities the Committee had different functions and jurisdictions ranging from decision making to information exchanging. Another finding was that generally speaking, the university-community collaboration stayed at the stage of conversation facilitation and information sharing; effective partnerships have not yet been established. Particularly, most developers have constructed purpose-built student housing at their own discretion, without cooperation with PSIs or local authorities. The benefits of university-community partnerships have been widely acknowledged in the literature, especially in providing purpose-built student housing. Public-private partnerships can overcome PSIs' financial constraint in supplying sufficient student housing and relieve the housing stress off-campus. The cities can be involved in this partnership to add public values.In Ontario, there are only a few cases when PSIs lease land to developers for student housing development. One of the barriers to achieving partnerships among local authorities, PSIs and developers in providing

purpose-built student housing is linked to their different visions for the locations of purpose-built student housing (see Table 7.5). If these different visions can be aligned, the cities' intensification goals could be better supported.

Table 7.5: Preference to Location of Purpose-built Student Housing	
Local authority	Land adjacent to PSIs, Nodes and corridors to be intensified, the downtown core
PSI	Land available on campus
Developer	Land that becomes available for redevelopment

7.4.2 Stakeholders and Conflicting Interests

Stakeholders identified in this study in near-campus neighbourhoods are: PSIs, students, developers, established residents and landlords, who have different and sometimes competing interests (Table 7.6). The antagonism between student and permanent residents is often the focus of discussions about near-campus neighbourhoods. Permanent residents are usually against the concentration of student rentals, purpose-built student housing, or student population itself, assuming the concentration of students in their neighbourhood will lower their life qualities. However, the study found permanent residents' hostility against students derives from their misconceptions and fear. In fact, most students are good neighbours: residents' complaints about student behaviours, in a large part, reflect their nostalgia for the "good old days". Munro and Livingston (2012) make similar conclusions after studying five university towns in the UK. They further infer that the lack of policy response in near-campus neighbourhoods is because the "'problem' of student areas is not really a problem at all" (Munro and Livingston, 2012, p. 1687).

Table 7.6: Stakeholders in Near-campus Neighbourhoods and Their Interests	
Stakeholder	**Interest**
Students	Affordable housing close to campus
PSIs	Students' well-being off-campus
Established residents (who plan to stay in the neighbourhood)	Good life quality, family-oriented neighbourhood environment and secured house value
Established residents (who plan to move)	Higher property sale price
Landlords	Economic returns from student renters
Developers	Economic returns from student housing development

It is believed that long-term residents usually oppose to changes to their neighbourhoods (Hodge and Gordon, 2008). However, it is not always the case with near-campus neighbourhoods. For example, in Northdale, Waterloo, residents have requested re-zoning allowing redevelopment of their properties. The reason behind the scene is that the majority of the permanent residents planned to move out and sell their houses. The property sale price is their major concern. Thus, they support up-zoning which leads to higher housing price and they oppose any stipulation that may negatively affect the values of their properties, such as heritage designations. In this case, these residents' positions are totally opposite to those of other residents who live in a stable neighbourhood, who usually protest the increase of density in their neighbourhoods and uphold any approach that help protect neighbourhood amenities.

Regarding other stakeholders, landlords often appeal against strengthened restrictions that may compromise their chance to rent out the whole properties or lower the economic returns from renting, such as MDS regulations and rental housing licensing regimes. Developers look to increase revenue from student housing development by incorporating the possible highest density. To achieve that objective, they often apply for

re-zoning to maximize the building size and height, and build four or five bedroom units. Although students are the major demographic group in many of these neighbourhoods, they possess limited political power compared to other stakeholders. Their interest mainly concerns the price and the adequacy of student housing near campus.

When planning for near-campus neighbourhoods, the planners' task, in large part, is to balance the diverse interests; however, when these interests are relevant to economic benefits, it is almost inevitable to produce winners and losers through any policy decision. Three models are exemplified and their impacts on different stakeholders are explored. The first one is the *laissez-faire* model. In this model, the neighbourhood transition is mainly dominated by market and minimal planning intervention is done. The *laissez-faire* model applies to university communities with no student housing strategies developed. Under this model, the private rental sector booms and lodging houses proliferate in near-campus neighbourhoods; big developers have difficulty entering the market as these neighbourhoods are zoned low-density. In this case, student landlords benefit from economic gains, while other stakeholders are negatively impacted. Students may also benefit from reduced rent and increased housing opportunities near campus, but sometimes at the expense of low housing quality.

The second model is student housing controlling exemplified by Oshawa, in which the private rental market catering to students are regulated and controlled, approaches including rental housing licensing, MDS regulations, bedroom limit, etc. In this scenario, landlords are the least benefited stakeholders due to the increased expenses resulting from home refurbishment to meet Building Standards and from paying for licensing fees. The increased expenses can be transferred to homeowners who intend to

sell their properties and students who are paying rent to landlords. By contrast, developers of purpose-built student housing may benefit from reduced competition with the private rental sector. The strengthened regulations on rental properties are also beneficial to students living off-campus by improving their housing conditions.

The third model is redevelopment, which was applied in Waterloo: near-campus neighbourhoods are subject to land use change, which permits large scale redevelopment; purpose-built student apartments substitute the lower-density forms of student accommodations. In this situation, established residents who intend to move will receive maximum selling dollars from developers, but those who intend to stay may be concerned about the increased density in their neighbourhoods. Students and PSIs will benefit from improved off-campus living environment, while landlords will face competition with purpose-built student housing developers. The impacts of these three models on each stakeholder are listed in Table 7.7. The table reveals that applying each model will generate positive and negative effects on different stakeholders due to their conflicting interests.

The positions of some stakeholders, in part, can be understood as a form of NIMBY-ism, which delays formulating plans and hold up construction; it also reveals that the stakeholders are ill-informed about the planning process (Hodge and Gordon, 2008). Thus, improved planning participation models should be considered. One solution to address the conflicting interests is through consensus building (Hodge and Gordon, 2008). The emerging collaborative planning approach may help address this problem, in which plan making is based on communication and interaction among the city, developers and private citizens (Hodge and Gordon, 2008).

	Model	*Laissez-faire*	Student Housing Controlling	Redevelopment
Stakeholder				
Students		+/-	+/-	+
PSIs		-	+	+
Established residents (who plan to stay in the neighbourhood)		-	+	-
Established residents (who plan to move)		-	-	+
Landlords		+	-	-
Developers		-	+	+

Table 7.7: Impacts on Stakeholders of Different Models Applied to Near-campus Neighbourhoods

"+" represents positive impacts

 "-" represents negative impacts

7.5 Summary of Key Findings

The key finds of this study in respect of challenges in near-campus

neighbourhoods, planning responses to these challenges and collaborations between

different stakeholders in student housing issues are summarized below:

7.5.1 Challenges in Near-campus Neighbourhoods

- Twenty-three municipalities in Ontario have experienced problems associated with student housing in near-campus neighbourhoods
- The most reported challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods are related to demographic imbalance, decreased home-ownership, student behaviour issues and deteriorating neighbourhood environment
- Many near-campus neighbourhoods in Ontario have experienced studentification defined in the British literature
- Currently, the student housing market is dominated by small private rental properties; however, purpose-built student housing has significantly increased its market share
- The evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods is the outcomes of a chain of events

7.5.2 Planning Responses to Student Housing Issues

- Planning tools to encourage high-density development at strategic locations in addressing student off-campus housing issues are widely adopted; however, whether they can help stabilize low-density near-campus neighbourhoods has not been determined.
- No current planning policy or regulation is able to restrict the conversion from family homes to student rentals
- Rental Housing Licensing By-law is a new approach to regulate student off-campus housing, but its effectiveness needs further investigation
- Purpose-built student housing has significantly increased its market share
- Purpose-built student housing effectively relieves the housing pressure in low-density near-campus neighbourhoods, but it denies the access of other demographics and creates monoculture environment
- The prohibition of defining family limits the ability of planning to directly target student housing; the human rights issue is an important factor to consider in plan-making for near-campus neighbourhoods

7.5.3 Town and Gown Relations

- There are multiple stakeholders in near-campus neighbourhoods with diverse interests
- Town and Gown Committee is the major platform of communication and collaboration among PSI, local government and the wider community
- University-community collaborations in most Ontario university cities stay at the stage of conversation and information sharing; effective partnerships have not yet been established
- Partnerships among local authorities, PSIs and developers in developing purpose-built student housing may be hindered by their different visions

Chapter 8
Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

Despite the abundance in the literature about student housing and near-campus neighbourhoods, few recommendations have been offered at the policy level. For example, the Studentification Guide claims that the management of student housing is affected by national policies and market trend, of which local authorities have no control (Universities UK, 2006). Indeed, to effectively address the challenges associated with student housing, changes to provincial or federal policies are required. However, in Ontario, local authorities have significant power of policy making to achieve the community's goals. In this chapter, suggestions to higher level of governments are provided to facilitate relevant plan making by local governments. Possible planning policies to be adopted by local government in the current planning framework are also discussed. Finally, the approaches to improve collaboration and partnership among stakeholders are proposed as an important near-campus neighbourhood strategy.

8.2 Respond to Challenges at the Provincial Level

So far, challenges associated with student off-campus housing and problems in near-campus neighbourhoods have not been officially recognized at a provincial level. To address these challenges, it is recommended that the higher-level government policy agenda should be modified (Universities UK, 2006)

First of all, the definition of student neighbourhood should be established by Statistics Canada. In the UK, National Statistics UK defined "student community" in many aspects including demographics, tenure, housing type, etc. The definition is

important for municipalities, PSIs and the wider community to understand the characteristics of a near-campus neighbourhood. In Canada, the Census does not count students in the population of the city in which they currently reside. In fact, it could make a significant difference to the population in some census tracts with and without the inclusion of student population, especially for near-campus neighbourhoods. The exclusion of the student population causes difficulty in effectively monitoring and quantifying demographic changes in near-campus neighbourhoods, and in turn affects the local government's ability to respond to the changes timely. Thus, it is recommended that a definition of student neighbourhood should be provided by Statistics Canada and that the PSI student population should be added to the population of their host cities in the Census.

Secondly, the definition of single housekeeping unit should be established in the Provincial Planning Act. The Planning Act makes clear that municipalities shall not pass by-laws that have an effect of distinguishing unrelated people and related people in respect of the use of "a single housekeeping unit" (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2011). However, the Act does not define "single house-keeping unit." The lack of definition was used as a loophole by some landlords, who sought to avoid licensing lodging housing by claiming that their properties functioned as single housekeeping units. Under this circumstance, the Lodging Housing By-law in some cities cannot be effectively enforced. To define single housekeeping unit to differentiate with lodging housing, a court decision may shed some light:

> a single housekeeping establishment would generally approximate a typical
> family group of one or two adult persons, together with minor or adult
> children or a similar social unit either by relationship or some other common

bond for living together as a housekeeping establishment, not simply the need by boarders for temporary sleeping quarters for which each pays rent to the landlord/landlady. (Potts, 2010)

In this quote, several indicators are provided to deny a single housekeeping unit: non-family group, no common bond between renters, short tenure, rent paid separately, etc. It is recommended that a Planning Act amendment includes the definition of single housekeeping unit. The establishment of the definition gives local planning authorities power to license all lodging properties.

Finally, a provincial guide for planning for near-campus neighbourhood needs to be developed for municipalities' reference. In the UK, the Studentification Guide (Universities UK, 2006) was developed after a large-scale investigation and study was done. The Guide first recognized the issues in university communities regarding student off-campus housing, introduced principles to address near-campus neighbourhood problems and provided best practices for local authorities' references. The lack of such emphasis at a provincial level could lead to a *laissez faire* approach in some university communities due to their unawareness of the issue until it is too late to take actions. It would be better to solve near-campus neighbourhood problems at an early stage, as many neighbourhood changes are not reversible.

8.3 Respond to Challenges at the Local Level

One study points out the problems in near-campus neighbourhoods emerge due to the lack of policy for student housing supply (Smith, 2008) Thus, the solutions, in large part, depend on a more comprehensive policy framework for student housing. However, only half of the municipalities surveyed with student housing issues have formulated strategies to respond to the challenges. Neglect of the issues or a *laissez faire* approach

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could exacerbate existing problems. It is recommended that each university community in Ontario establishes student accommodation studies and adopts student off-campus housing strategies to realize the community's vision for near-campus neighbourhoods. In developing strategies, a few planning approaches can be taken into consideration.

8.3.1 A toolbox of Planning Approaches

A toolbox of planning approaches for near-campus neighbourhoods with ten tools is developed. However, these planning tools are not universally applicable to every near-campus neighbourhood; and some should be used with caution. Selected tools are applied to different scenarios of near-campus neighbourhoods in Table 8.1.

8.3.3.1 Re-zoning

In a near-campus neighbourhood where there is a lot of redevelopment pressure, re-zoning to allow higher density development is recommended. If the neighbourhood remains low-density, intensification only happens on a small scale by adding bedrooms and building additions to single detached houses. The problem is low-density infrastructures such as parking cannot support high-density use. Re-zoning can attract developers to redevelop the sites for high-density development, updating infrastructures to accommodate higher-density use.

8.3.1.2 Incentives for High-density Development

To attract high-density development to strategic locations, financial incentives are important impetuses for developers. This approach is best to be applied when the studentification process just states, with the hope of housing students in high-density buildings, and therefore retain low-density, family oriented neighbourhoods near campus.

8.3.1.3 Purpose-Built Student Housing

Purpose-built student housing is considered as a desirable form of student housing in the literature (Hubbard, 2009; Smith, 2008) and in some cities' mandates. In Ontario, a rising number of student apartments have been built in near-campus neighbourhoods. This type of development is characterized by four or five bedrooms per unit, which may restrict access for families and other demographic groups. If left uncontrolled, purpose-built student housing might be overbuilt and in some cases lead to urban blight. It is recommended that purpose-built student housing should be encouraged, but carefully monitored. In Charnwood Borough, England, the city set caps for the concentration of purpose-built student housing in a neighbourhood (Hubbard, 2008). When needed, Ontario cities can borrow this idea to control the amount and density of this type of development.

8.3.1.4 Development Charge by Bedroom

Efficient development patterns can be encouraged by accurate development charges (Blais, 2010). One of the approaches to diversity unit types (i.e., more one, two and three bedroom units) in apartment buildings near campus is to levy development charge by bedroom, instead of by unit. The current flat rate development charge compels developers to put more bedrooms in one unit. If a development charge is levied on a per bedroom basis, building one, two or three bedroom units will be encouraged.

8.3.1.5 Parking by Bedroom

Near-campus neighbourhoods have characteristics distinct from other neighbourhoods, including a low rate of automobile possession per resident. However, these neighbourhoods are also characterised by more bedrooms per unit than the city

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average. Thus, a parking requirement scheme for near-campus neighbourhoods should be established followed by relevant studies. One option is to require parking spaces on a per bedroom basis, as initiated in the Northdale Redevelopment Plan (City of Waterloo, 2012). The consideration is that conventional parking requirement on a per unit basis encourages developers to build five-unit bedrooms to minimize parking provision. Conversely, regulating minimum parking space by bedroom can encourage diversifying unit types in purpose-built student housing.

8.3.1.6 Rental Property Licensing Regimes

In many university communities, student housing will still be provided in the form of lodging housing. It is necessary to ensure property standard of these student rentals, and in turn maintain the quality of life of residents in near-campus neighbourhoods. Residential rental property licensing is an important tool and probably the most effective tool available to ensure the safety and quality of rental properties. Licensing should be adopted at an early stage of the neighbourhood transition. In addition, regarding the scope of licensing (i.e., the licensing is applied to citywide or only near-campus neighbourhoods), cost and benefits should be evaluated, with special considerations of human rights. Given that the Lodging Housing Licensing By-law is not able to cover one category of student housing – single housekeeping units, it is recommended to initiate the Rental House Licensing By-law instead of the Lodging Housing Licensing By-law. The municipalities with the Lodging Housing Licensing By-law in place could consider phasing it out.

8.3.1.7 MDS Regulations

The MDS regulations are designed to alleviate the concentration of lodging houses in low-density neighbourhoods, especially at an early stage of the neighbourhood transition. However, the effectiveness of the MDS regulations depends on how well the Lodging/Rental Licensing By-law is carried out. When a neighbourhood is dominated by student accommodations in the form of unlicensed rental properties, MDS regulations will have little effect.

8.3.1.8 Urban Design Guidelines

Urban design guidelines are used to achieve desirable building forms and streetscapes. They are often applied in neighbourhood redevelopment or new subdivision planning. It is recommended that the guidelines should be adopted in neighbourhood redevelopment; it has limited effect on the already-developed, low-density neighbourhoods.

8.3.1.9 Heritage District Designations

Heritage district designation is recommended to be applied where houses and landscape have historical values in near-campus neighbourhoods. However, the designation should be in place before significant conversions to the properties occur that compromise their historic values.

8.3.1.10 Public Transit

Improved public transit with higher speed, higher frequency and better comfort encourage students to live along the transit line, and therefore has the effect of dispersing

the student population. Bus Rapid Transit and Light Rail Transit should be encouraged in university communities.

8.3.2 A neighbourhood scenario matrix

The study found that no consensus has been reached regarding the best policy package for near-campus neighbourhoods among the planners interviewed. One reason is that each locality has its own context, so planning approaches cannot be generalized. The study found campuses of different age have different built environments. More specifically, old universities like Queen's University, are often located in the historic city centre, and surrounded by heritage neighbourhoods, where houses are big and feature a large backyard. Younger universities/colleges such as University of Waterloo and University of Guelph were often built away from the downtown core and were originally surrounded by suburban houses. Newly established satellite campuses are often introduced in a downtown location, sometimes in a different city where the main campus is located. Moreover, different neighbourhoods near the same campus can have distinct characteristics. Some neighbourhoods evolved into "student ghettos"; some are experiencing the transition from family-oriented neighbourhood to a student dominated one; and some are kept the family-oriented characteristics. In some cases, new subdivisions can be built close to established universities.

Studentification process is different in each locality. Thus, no model of near-campus neighbourhood development serves as panacea for all scenarios. In developing planning strategies responding to local situations, several factors can be taken into consideration, including:

- What is the current demographic profile in the neighbourhood?
- Is the neighbourhood character still kept?
- How many houses have been converted to student rentals?
- What is the projection of enrolment of the PSI?
- What is the current planning framework in the city?

A matrix of three types of campuses with four types of neighbourhoods is developed (Table 8.1). A range of planning tools in the toolbox is recommended to apply to each scenario.

Table 8.1: Recommendations for Planning Policies in Different Scenarios				
		Campus Type		
		Old (Queen's University)	Young (University of Waterloo)	New (UOIT)
Neighbour-hood type	Family-oriented	1. License rental properties 2. Implement MDS 3. Designate heritage district 4. Improve public transit	1. License rental properties 2. Implement MDS 3. Improve public transit	1. License rental properties 2. Implement MDS 3. Improve public transit 4. Encourage purpose-built student housing 5. Provide incentives for high-density development
	Neigh-bourhood in transition	1. Provide incentives for high-density development 2. Encourage purpose-built student housing 3. License rental properties 4. Implement MDS 5. Improve public transit 6. Heritage district designation	1. Provide incentives for high-density development 2. Encourage purpose-built student housing 3. License rental properties 4. Implement MDS 5. Improve public transit	N/a

Table 8.1 (cont.)				
		Campus Type		
		Old (Queen's University)	Young (University of Waterloo)	New (UOIT)
Neighbour-hood type	Student ghetto	1. Re-zone for higher density development 2. Control purpose-built student housing 3. License rental properties 4. Levy Development Charge by bedroom 5. Require parking on a per bedroom basis 6. Apply urban design guidelines to new development 7. Improve public transit 8. Heritage district designation	1. Re-zone for higher density development 2. Control purpose-built student housing 3. License rental properties 4. Levy Development Charge by bedroom 5. Require parking on a per bedroom basis 6. Apply urban design guidelines to new development 7. Improve public transit	N/a
	New sub-division	N/a	1. Plan high-density, mixed-used neighbourhoods catering to students' needs in housing, shopping and entertainment 2. Avoid building low-density, family-oriented neighbourhoods	

8.4 Develop partnerships among all stakeholders

The Studentification Guide (Universities UK, 2006) stresses that "the disadvantages of studentification are most effectively tackled through a range of stakeholders working together", including PSIs, local authorities, citizen groups and developers; city departments should take the lead role.

8.4.1 Consensus building

The success of a plan, in part, depends on the extent to which the public agrees with it (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). Thus, consensus building is essential in plan-making

process. It is especially the case for any planning issue in near-campus neighbourhoods where diverse stakeholders and conflicting interests exist. The process and participants are the two key features in consensus building (Hodge & Gordon, 2008). Regarding the consensus building planning, planners are recommended to experiment collaborative planning approaches introduced by Innes (2000). For example, design charrettes can be held to visualize visions for near-campus neighbourhoods from the perspective of homeowners, students, landlords, etc. Search conferences could be organized by a facilitator to facilitate small group discussion and plenary discussion with the purpose for initiating conversation and minimizing hostility (Innes & Booher, 2000).

To build consensus, involving an extensive array of stakeholders is also important (Innes & Booher, 2000). Public participation on near-campus-neighbourhood issues should especially satisfy the needs of certain demographic groups who have low interest or have difficulty participating, such as students, senior citizens, and residents who are not fluent English speakers. To engage these citizens, three recommendations are made. First of all, planning authorities can partner with PSIs to increase students' participation rate. For example, PSIs can post survey or public meeting notices on university and college websites, or circulate emails to update students the progress of plan making. Secondly, public meeting venues should be strategically selected to accommodate the needs of the senior population. For instance, venues should be on a major bus route and equipped with disabled facilities. Finally, to engage residents who are not English speaking, public notices online or in post should be provided in multiple languages and materials in public meetings should be available in different languages.

8.4.2 Partnership Building

True partnerships should be developed between cities, universities (colleges) and developers to align their visions and create near-campus neighbourhoods that achieve everyone's long-term interest and serve the public good. According to Martin et al. (2005), several factors are crucial to successful town and gown partnership: funding, communication, synergy, organizational compatibility, and simplicity.

Funding: Different levels of government can provide funding to create and strengthen town and gown partnerships. Currently, student on-campus housing is solely funded by PSIs. Provincial and federal governments can consider grant funding for on-campus residence development to relieve financial pressure of PSIs. At the local level, off-campus housing offices can be funded jointly by PSIs and municipalities, in order to create the partnership in monitoring rental properties listed on the off-campus housing website. Financial incentives are especially important when the city wants to achieve its planning goals with the involvement of developers. For instance, funds and loans can be provided to developers if they reuse old buildings or redevelop brownfield sites into student accommodations.

Communication: It is recommended town and gown committees to be established in each university community in Ontario. Frequent and regular meetings should be held to facilitate better communication among all stakeholders.

Synergy: The partnership of various stakeholders needs to be established. For instance, PSIs partner with developers in providing student accommodations: PSIs lease land to developers or NGOs for off-campus student accommodation development and

management. Such partnerships are mutually beneficial: they overcome the financial constraint of PSIs in providing new student accommodations and the buildings can be effectively managed.

Organizational Compatibility: Universities and colleges should overcome the incompatibility between academic (theory) and off-campus (practice) environments, and cities need to understand PSIs' research-based organizational functions. This is especially important when the two parties are both participating in study projects of student accommodations.

Simplicity: In collaborations and partnerships, redundant procedures and red tape can become barriers to achieve the best outcomes. The organizational structure should be kept simple.

8.5 Summary

To effectively alleviate and address the challenges in near-campus neighbourhoods, changes to provincial policies are proposed. First of all, to better understand and monitor the phenomenon of studentification, the National Census should include students in the total population of their host community. Secondly, a clear definition of single housing-keeping unit in contrast to lodging housing unit should be established to improve the enforcement of Lodging Housing Licensing By-law. Thirdly, a provincial guide is necessary to provide shared principles on issues associated with off-campus student housing.

At the local level, a toolbox of planning approaches is provided, with all the common planning tools listed. As studentification varies at different localities, policy

responses should be tailored to address local problems. A matrix of nine scenarios with combinations of different types of neighbourhoods and PSIs are developed. Under each scenario, a policy package is recommended to respond to possible challenges.

Collaboration and partnerships among all stakeholders are essential in developing successful near-campus neighbourhoods. Given the diverse interests in near-campus neighbourhoods, consensus building is planners' central task in plan making. The collaborative planning approaches should be applied to maximize participation. Planners should also try to involve all the stakeholders at the table including those non-active ones. University-community partnership is another key word in planning for better near-campus neighbourhoods, several principles were recommended to improve the partnership.

Chapter 9
Reflections

The one-and-a-half-year study on near-campus neighbourhoods and planning policy responses might be ground-breaking research in the Canadian context. The 46 finished surveys and more than 25,000-word interview transcription provides abundant data to answer the research questions. However, the study suffers from several limitations, which may skew the study outcomes. The study also points out a few directions that future study could focus on to better understand studentification in Canada and its policy responses.

9.1 Study Limitations

There are three limitations regarding response rates, survey questions and personal bias. First of all, the survey with planners and PSI housing officers are both with response rates below 50%, a number relatively low for surveys with key informant. The follow-up phone calls confirmed that the some planners who failed to reply the survey invitation are affiliated with municipalities with little student off-campus housing problems. The non-participation of these municipalities might have produced biased survey results based on two scenarios: 1) more cities may have experienced issues associated with student off-campus housing and the problems in Ontario may be more widespread than what the study results indicate; and 2) non-participating cities may have developed successful plans for near-campus neighbourhoods and eliminated the negative impacts of student off-campus housing; in this scenario, the study results exclude these planning strategies. I believe the first scenario is more likely to be true.

The second limitation lies in the ambiguity some survey questions. For example, participants were asked in the survey if there is any student housing strategy developed in their municipality. Here, the student housing strategy refers to any strategy aiming to regulate student accommodations. However, one planner suggested a different understanding – strategies specifically targets student housing. Planners who interpreted the question this way may choose the option that no such strategy was developed in their municipality. The different interpretations might have skewed the survey results. A pilot study provides chances for researchers to spot flaws in survey design. A larger scale pilot study might have been conducted before the dissemination of the survey questionnaires.

The third limitation is that my personal experience as a student in Waterloo and my previous research on the redevelopment of Waterloo near-campus neighbourhoods might have affected my judgment about my research subject – a risk of generalizing the Waterloo experience. For example, the proliferation of purpose-built student housing in Waterloo may not happen to other university communities. Rather, each locality has its own characteristics of studentification. Thus my study may focus on some issues prevailing in Waterloo while neglect other issues popular with other cities.

9.2 Future Research Directions

Until recently, research about near-campus neighbourhoods has been scarce (Munro et al., 2009; Smith, 2009), and academic research on this topic in Canada lags behind the UK and the US. Dozens of questions remain for future studies to address.

Firstly, empirical studies need to be done on the evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods in Canada. Quantitative data are useful to confirm anecdotes and

observations. Relevant questions generated from this study include: how has demographic changed in a near-campus neighbourhood? When did the change start? Have property values in general inflated or depreciated? The availability of these data is significant in understanding the patterns of the near-campus neighbourhood transition and in monitoring the student off-campus housing market.

Secondly, a theoretical model needs to be identified to better understand the transition of near-campus neighbourhoods. As discussed, it is difficult to interpret near-campus neighbourhoods in the framework of a traditional neighbourhood typology developed by McLemore et al. (Ley & Frost, 2006). Although recent academic interest focuses on gentrification as a theoretical model of studentification (Chatterton, 2010; Davison, 2009; Smith, 2005; Smith & Holt, 2007; Smith, 2008), contrasting opinions suggest that neighbourhood decline results from studentification (Hubbard, 2009). Is there a better theoretical model that could include all these competing discourses? It is recommended that future studies review and analyze a wider range of urban theories and identify one that better fits the model of the evolution of near-campus neighbourhoods.

Finally, more research should be done on planning ethics regarding student accommodation issues. Is any planning effort to disperse student population considered infringing students' rights to live anywhere? Does pursuing and restoring neighbourhood balance necessarily have the connotation of discrimination against certain social groups? And is purpose-built student housing development contrary to the principles of balanced neighbourhood?

Perhaps questions generated from this study are as many as those were addressed, as the Studentification Guide (Universities UK, 2006) points out: "Studentification is a relatively new concept which is not yet well understood and measures to ameliorate its challenges and realize opportunities are still being piloted. It is therefore difficult to say definitively at this stage 'what works'" (p. 10). Building successful near-campus neighbourhoods needs the joined effort of researchers, planners and the engagement of the wider community.

Appendix 1

Public Universities and Colleges in Ontario

and Their Affiliated Cities

Municipality	University/College
Barrie	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology
Belleville	Loyalist College of Applied Arts and Technology
Bracebridge	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology: Bracebridge Campus
Brampton	Algoma University: Brampton Campus
	Sheridan College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning: Brampton Campus
	Mohawk College of Applied Arts and Technology: Brampton Campus
Brantford	Nipissing University: Brantford Campus
	Wilfrid Laurier University: Brantford Campus
Brockville	St. Lawrence College of Applied Arts and Technology: Brockville Campus
Cambridge	University of Waterloo: Cambridge Campus
Chatham-Kent	St. Clair College: Chatham Campus
Cobourg	Fleming College: Cobourg Campus
Cornwall	St. Lawrence College of Applied Arts and Technology: Cornwall Campus
Georgian Bay	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology: Georgian Bay Campus
Guelph	University of Guelph
Hamilton	McMaster University
	Mohawk College of Applied Arts and Technology
Haliburton	Fleming College: Haliburton Campus
Haileybury	Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology: Haileybury Campus
Ingersoll	Conestoga College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning: Ingersoll Campus
Kingston	Queen's University
	St. Lawrence College of Applied Arts and Technology
King's City	Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology: King's city Campus
Kirkland Lake,	Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology: Kirkland Lake Campus
Kitchener	Wilfrid Laurier University: Kitchener Campus
	University of Waterloo: Kitchener Campus

Municipality	University/College
	Conestoga College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning
Kawartha Lakes	Fleming College: Lindsay Campus
Municipality	**University/College**
London	Fanshawe College
	The University of Western Ontario
Markham	Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology, Markham
Mississauga	Sheridan College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Mississauga
	University of Toronto: Mississauga Campus
Moosonee	Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology, Moosonee
Midland	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology, Midland
Muskoka	Nipissing University, Muskoka campus
Niagara-on-the-lake	Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology
New Market	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology, Orillia
	Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology,new market
North Bay	Nipissing University, North Bay
	Canadore College of Applied Arts and Technology
Oakville, town	Sheridan College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Oakville
Orangeville	Humber College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Orangeville Campus
	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology, Orangeville
Orillia	Lakehead University: Orillia Campus
Oshawa	The University of Ontario Institute of Technology
	Durham College of Applied Arts and Technology: Oshawa Campus
Ottawa	Algonquin College of Applied Arts and Technology: Ottawa Campus
	Carleton University
	University of Ottawa
Owen Sound	Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology: Owen Sound Campus
Pembroke	Algonquin College of Applied Arts and Technology: Pembroke Campus
Perry Sound	Canadore College of Applied Arts and Technology: Parry Sound Campus
Perth	Algonquin College of Applied Arts and Technology: Perth Campus
Peterborough	Trent University
	Fleming College: Peterborough Campus
Sarnia	Lambton College of Applied Arts and Technology: Sania Campus
Sault Ste. Marie	Algoma University

Municipality	University/College
	Sault College
Simcoe County	Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology: Simcoe Campus
Municipality	**University/College**
Stratford	Conestoga College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning: Stratford Campus
St. Thomas	Algoma University: St. Thomas Campus
	Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology: St. Thomas Campus
St. Catharines	Brock University
Sudbury	Laurentian University of Sudbury
	Cambrian College of Applied Arts and Technology
Haileybury	Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology: Haileybury Campus
Tillsonburg	Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology: Tillsonburg, Campus
Timmins	Algoma University at Timmins
	Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology: Timmins Campus
Thunder Bay	Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology
Toronto	Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology
	OCAD University
	University of Toronto, Scarborough
	University of Toronto
	Ryerson University
	George Brown College of Applied Arts and Technology
	York University
	Humber College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning
	Centennial College
	Lambton College of Applied Arts and Technology, toronto
Waterloo	Conestoga College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning: Waterloo Campus
	Wilfrid Laurier University
	University of Waterloo
Welland	Niagara College: Welland Campus
Whitby	Durham College of Applied Arts and Technology: Whitby Campus
Windsor	St. Clair college: Windsor Campus
	University of Windsor
WoodStock	Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology: Woodstock Campus

Appendix 2

Copy of Surveys

SURVEY FOR MUNICIPALITY RESPONDENTS:

Section 1. General information

Question 1. What is the population of your municipality?

☐ Less than 100,000

☐ From 100,000 to less than 250,000

☐ From 250,000 to less than 500,000

☐ Above 500,000

Question 2. What is the percentage of students among the total population in your municipality?

☐ Less than 5%

☐ Between 5% and less than 10%

☐ Between 10% and less than 20%

☐ Above 20%

Question 3. Your municipality hosts (choose all that apply)

☐ college(s)

☐ university (universities)

☐ a satellite campus (satellite campuses) of a university/college

Question 4. What are the characteristics of residential neighbourhoods surrounding/adjacent to campus (choose all that apply)?

In this survey, low-density residential neighbourhoods refer to neighbourhoods predominantly consisting of single-detached or semi-detached houses; medium density residential neighbourhoods refer to those with multiple-storey apartment buildings; high-density residential neighbourhoods are those with high-rise buildings.

☐Low-density

☐Medium or high-density

☐There is no residential neighbourhood near campus (go to end of survey)

Question 5. Have there been any problems (e.g., the unproportionate population of student tenants, displacement of families, deteriorating neighbourhood environment, etc.) reported, observed, or known within near-campus neighbourhoods?

☐Yes

☐Not known (go to end of survey)

Section 2. Neighbourhood impact of studentification

Question 1. Which of the following circumstances, have been observed, reported, or known within near-campus neighbourhoods in your municipality (check all that apply)?

☐The population of student tenants in a neighbourhood(s) has increased to the degree that the neighbourhood(s) is considered "unbalanced".
☐Families/established residents have moved out.
☐The neighbourhoods have experienced a conversion from single family houses to multi-occupancy dwellings.
☐Intensification has taken place in the forms of duplexes, triplexes, accessory apartment, etc.
☐New buildings/building additions are poorly-designed and do not match others in the neighbourhood.
☐The physical environment of the neighbourhoods has been deteriorating (regarding the exterior of properties, tidiness of the streets).

☐Neighbourhoods have experienced changes to their service infrastructures (e.g., more services catering to nightlife and closure of educational services).

☐The neighborhoods generate more complaints to bylaw officers or the police then do more stable neighborhoods.

☐Community associations have formed to lobby the city against the increasing number of students in their neighbourhoods.

☐There is a propensity to unsafe housing conditions within the neighbourhoods.

☐Compared to stable neighbourhoods, near-campus neighbourhoods witness more neighbourhood-undermining behaviour, including noise, vandalism, and illicit parking.

☐Compared to stable neighbourhoods, criminal activities such as theft, robbery, and burglary are more prevalent within near-campus neighbourhoods.

☐Compared to stable neighbourhoods, public expenditure on near-campus neighbourhoods has increased (for police, ambulances, garbage, etc.).

☐The multi-occupation dwellings within near-campus neighbourhoods are too expensive for families to rent or purchase.

☐There has been pressure to redevelop some of the near-campus neighbourhoods from developers/landlords (e.g., they have submitted proposals for changes to zoning and land use plan).

☐Five-bedroom apartments have been built or proposed to accommodate students.

Please add relevant details not mentioned above regarding the negative impacts of the student population within near-campus neighbourhoods.

Click here to enter text.

Question 2. The house prices within near-campus neighbuorhoods
☐are inflated
☐are depreciated
☐remain the same
☐Don't know

Question 3. Overall, there is _____ of near-campus student housing.
☐a shortage
☐an over-supply
☐an balanced demand and supply
☐Don't know

Question 4. Neighbourhoods with problems associated with increasing number of students

☐are exclusively located in areas considered "near-campus"

☐are mostly located in near-campus areas, and also in areas relatively distant from campus

☐do not manifest a pattern in terms of geographic location

Question 5.what is the ideal ratio of student tenants to long-term residents the city would like to see in order to maintain a "balanced" neighbourhood near campus?

☐Less than 1:10 ☐From 1:10 to less than 1:5 ☐ From 1:5 to less than 1:2

 ☐Larger than 1:2

Question 6. Which of the following factors do you consider a limit to the ability of planning to achieve a balanced near-campus neighbourhoods (choose all that apply)?

☐The lateness of actions against uncontrolled conversion from single family houses to multi-occupation units in low-density neighbourhoods.

☐The strong political influence of student housing landlords on the city council

☐The provincial legislation prohibiting cities from differentiating between related tenants (family) and unrelated ones.

☐The advocating of human rights protection organizations against certain restrictions on rental units

☐Other (please specify) Click here to enter text.

Section 3. Near-campus neighbourhood strategies

Question 1. Has your municipality created any **planning** strategies (other than educational programs and enforcement of existing by-laws) to control negative impacts of student rental housing within near-campus neighbourhoods?
☐Yes
☐No (go to Section 4)
☐Don't know (go to Section 4)

Question 2. Please indicate which of the following strategies have been created in your municipality?

☐Establish a city-university-community partnership

☐Retain low-density near-campus neighbourhoods

☐Intensify strategic locations (e.g., nodes and corridors) to accommodate students

☐Control the design elements of new buildings within near-campus neighbourhoods

☐Combine student housing strategies with downtown revitalization agendas

Please add any strategies used in your municipality not mentioned above:

Click here to enter text.

Question 3. To achieve these strategies, various planning tools could be implemented. Please tick the ones that have been implemented in your municipality and evaluate their performances.

    a.   Conduct studies such as housing surveys to clarify student rental housing patterns.

        ☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3b)

        ☐will not implement (go to Question 3b)

        Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

        ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

        ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

    b.   Issue and enforce new by-laws controlling intensification (such as numbers of bedroom, building expansion, etc.) in near-campus, low-density neighbourhoods.

        ☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3c)

        ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3c)

        Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

        ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

        ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

    c.   Establish rental housing licensing by-laws to regulate all types of rental units.

        ☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3d)

        ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3d)

        Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

        ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

        ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

    d.   Establish lodging house licensing by-laws to regulate lodging homes.

        ☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3e)

☐ will not implement (go to Question 3e)

Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

e. Establish minimum separation distance between lodging homes or similar house types to control their concentration.

☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3f)

☐ will not implement (go to Question 3f)

Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

f. Create incentives to attract families to move back to near-campus neighbourhoods

☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3g) ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3g)

Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

g. Change zonings and land use plans at strategic locations (e.g., nodes and corridors) to allow higher density development.

☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3h) ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3h)

Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

h. Create financial incentives to attract high-density development at strategic locations (e.g., nodes and corridors).

☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3i)

☐ will not implement (go to Question 3i)

Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

i. Improve transit system to connect campus and strategic locations where students are encouraged to reside.
☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3j)
☐ will not implement (go to Question 3j)
Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.
☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

j. Encourage purpose-built student accommodations.
Purpose-build student housing is defined as apartments with over 80% students usually less than 2 miles from university or on a sanctioned university bus line[11].
☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3k)
☐ will not implement (go to Question 3k)
Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.
☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

k. Create special urban design guidelines to apply to near-campus neighbourhoods.
☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3l) ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3l)
Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.
☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

l. Designate heritage districts to preserve neighbourhood characters.
☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3m) ☐ will not implement (go to Question 3m)
Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.
☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

m. Attract new university/college campuses to the downtown.
☐Implemented ☐possibly going to implement (go to Question 3n)
☐ will not implement (go to Question 3n)
Please evaluate the effectiveness of this planning tool.
☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

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[11] Derek Lobo (2010) *Researching, Developing & Managing "Purpose Built" Off-Campus Student Housing*

☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

n. Please add any planning used in your municipality not mentioned above:
Click here to enter text.

Section 4. Town and gown partnership

Question 1. Have any associations or committees (such as a Town and Gown committee) involving both the city and the university (college) been established to deal with the challenges of student off-campus housing?

☐Yes, a long term dialog has been maintained between the city and the university/college.

☐Yes, but only *ad hoc* committees were established for specific projects.

☐No, little cooperation exists between the city and the university/college.

☐Don't know

Question 2. To what level do you agree or disagree that the city, the institution(s) and the wider community respect and trust one another?

☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree

☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

Question 3. Is there any common vision shared by the city, the institution(s) and the wider community?

☐Yes, a shared vision has been established through collaboration of all stakeholders.

☐Different parties have built their own vision/strategic framework, but are not aware of the others'.

☐No such vision exists at this point in time.

Question 4. How do you evaluate the communication and collaboration between the city and the university/college addressing the student housing related issue?

☐The two parties have maintained a close relationship to address the issue, and the collaboration has been very effective.

☐The university/college and the community share the responsibility to address the off-campus housing issues; however, what they achieved has not reached our expectation.

☐It is the community's responsibility to address off-campus housing issues; the work universities/colleges have done is limited.

☐It is the institution's responsibility to address off-campus housing issues; the work the community has done is limited.

☐There lacks collaboration between the city and the university/college.

Question 5. Has the city fully considered the student accommodation issues in preparing its planning frameworks (choose all that apply)?

☐Yes, the student housing issue is targeted in the Official Plan.

☐Yes, the student housing issue is targeted in community improvement plans or community plans.

☐No. the student housing issue has not been adequately considered in the existing planning framework.

Question 6. To what level do you agree or disagree that the city has made effective use of all its planning power to regulate student accommodation issues?

☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☒Neither agree nor disagree

☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

Question 7. To what level do you agree or disagree that the university/college has adequately taken the responsibility to tackle the near-campus neighbourhood issues?

☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree

☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

Question 8. If purpose-built student housing is to be built, which location would the city find ideal (choose all that apply)?

☐Nodes and corridors or other locations for which intensification is promoted

☐Low-density residential neighbourhoods

☐The downtown core

☐Land adjacent to the university/college

☐No special preference

☐Don't know/ have not yet considered this approach

Question 9. Do you agree that the city and developers of purpose-built student housing have the same vision?

☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree

☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree ☐There is no purpose-built student housing within our municipality

Section 1.general questions

Question 1. Which type of institution are you affiliated with?

☐university ☐college ☐satellite campus of a university/college

Question 2. How many full-time students are currently registered at your institution?

The term "full-time registered students" includes undergraduate students, graduate students, and students in their co-op terms, but do not include those receiving distance or part-time education. If your institution is a satellite campus, "full-time registered students" refers to students who study at that satellite campus.

☐Less than 1,000 ☐ from 1,000 to less than 10,000 ☐from 10,000 to less than 30,000 ☐ more than 30,000

Question 3. How many students can you accommodate in your university/college residence(s)?

☐We don't have student residence(s). ☐Less than 10%

 ☐between 10% and less than 30% ☐between 30% and less than 50% ☐more than 50%

Question 4. Compared to 10 years ago, this number (the percentage of students your institution can accommodate in the official residences) has _____.

☐increased ☐decreased ☐remained the same ☐we didn't have student residences 10 years ago. ☐our institution has been in existence for less than 10 years. ☐don't know

Question 5. How many students do you estimate live locally with a family member?

☐Less than 10% ☐between 10% and less than 30% ☐between 30% and less than 50% ☐more than 50% ☐don't know

Question 6. How many students do you estimate rent off-campus housing?

☐Less than 10% ☐between 10% and less than 30% ☐between 30% and less than 50% ☐more than 50% ☐don't know

Question 7. What are the current characteristics of residential neighbourhoods surrounding or adjacent to campus (choose all that apply)?

In this survey, low-density residential neighbourhoods refer to neighbourhoods predominantly consisting of single-detached or semi-detached houses; medium density residential neighbourhoods refer to those with multiple-storey apartment buildings; high-density residential neighbourhoods are those with high-rise buildings.

☐Low-density ☐medium or high-density ☐there is no residential neighbourhood near campus.

Question 8. In the past 10 years, the student rental population within low-density neighborhoods near campus has (Check one only)

☐Increased

☐Decreased

☐Stayed the same

☐Don't know

Section 2. University strategies for off-campus student housing

Question 1. Please indicate the level that you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. Universities/colleges should share responsibility to ensure students have a high quality living environment off-campus.

☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

2. Universities/colleges should share responsibility to minimize the negative impact of student population on the local community.
☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

3. Students' off-campus living environment is a key element to students' success.
☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

4. The city's living environment is an important factor which affects a student's decision to choose a school.
☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

5. We are willing to devote money and human resources to improve the living conditions and the life quality of students who live off-campus.
☐Strongly agree ☐Somewhat agree ☐Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Strongly disagree

Question 2. Among the following statements, which one best applies to your institution?

☐We have only developed an on-campus student accommodation plan.
☐We have only developed an off-campus student accommodation plan.
☐We have developed both on-campus and off-campus student accommodation plan.
☐We haven't developed any plans regarding student housing.

Question 3. Regarding housing listing service, which one best applies to your institution?

☐We provide off-campus housing listing service to landlords and students.

☐We have partnership with an external agency who provides off-campus housing listing service.
☐We refer students to the off-campus housing service website of our partner institution.

☐We don't provide any forms of off-campus housing listing service.

Question 4. The following strategies/approaches aim to facilitate students' house searching, to regulate rental housing stock, or to help fulfill students' community responsibilities. Which one(s) has (have) your institution adopted? How does (do) it (they) perform?

a. Provide consulting and mediation services to students who wish to rent a unit off-campus.
   ☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4b) ☐will not adopt (go to Question 4b)
   How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?
   ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective
   ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

b. Run rental unit inspection programs to accredit rental units that reach certain safety and quality standards.
   ☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4d) ☒ will not adopt (go to Question 4d)
   How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?
   ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective
   ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

c. Only advertise the units accredited by the inspection program on your housing listing website (if you choose "adopted" in the last question).
   ☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4d) ☐ will not adopt (go to Question 4d)
   How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?
   ☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective
   ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

d. If your municipality has rental housing licensing bylaws or lodging housing licensing bylaws, only licensed rental properties are advertised on your housing listing website.

☐We don't have such bylaws (go to Question 4e) ☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4e) ☐ will not adopt (go to Question 4e)

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

e. Educate (potential) student tenants about their responsibilities in a community.

☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4f) ☐ will not adopt (go to Question 4f)

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

 ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

f. Enforce the code of conduct to regulate students' behaviours both on-campus and off-campus

☐Adopted ☐possibly going to adopt (go to Question 4g) ☐ will not adopt (go to Question 4g)

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy/approach?

☐Extremely effective ☐Somewhat effective ☐Neither effective nor ineffective

 ☐Somewhat ineffective ☐Extremely ineffective ☐Too early to measure effectiveness

g. Please add any relevant details not listed above about the student accommodation strategy of your institution and evaluate their performances.

Click here to enter text.

Section 3. Town and gown partnership

Question 1. Has any purpose-built student housing been built or proposed near campus?

Purpose-build student housing is defined as apartments with over 80% students usually less than 2 miles from university or on a sanctioned university bus line[12].

☐Yes ☐No (go to Question 3) ☐Don't know (go to Question 3)

Question 2. Which of the following situations apply to your institution (choose all that apply)?

☐The university/college owns the land and buildings.
☐Developers own the land and buildings.
☐The university/college owns the land and non-profit organizations own buildings.
☐The university/college owns the land and developers own buildings.
☐Non-profit organizations own the land and buildings.
☐Other (please specify) Click here to enter text.

Question 3. Does your institution have a general idea of developers' construction plans for purpose-built student housing (such as the location and the number of beds to be offered) near campus?

☐Yes ☐No ☐some plans known, not all

Question 4. If your institution is to expand or build new student residences, what is the first factor to consider in terms of the location?

☐City planning frameworks identifying places to intensify and revitalize

☐Proximity to university/college

☐Price of land

☐Current Campus land available for development

☐Other (please specify) Click here to enter text.

Question 4. Is there any collaboration between the city **planning** department and your institution?

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[12] Derek Lobo (2010) *Researching, Developing & Managing "Purpose Built" Off-Campus Student Housing*

☐Yes ☐No (go to the Question 6) ☐Don't know (go to the Question 6)

Question 5. Which of the following statements best describe the collaboration that has established with planning department (check all that apply)?

☐The institution sits on a special committee for certain planning mandates, such as community improvement plan study.

☐Planners consult the institution when they feel they need to.

☐An organization such as town and gown committee has been established to maintain long a long term dialog.

Question 6. Which of the following statements best describes the role that the town and gown committee (or other similar organization) plays between the city and the institution?

☐We don't have such organization.

☐The collaboration has become a force that exerts influence to many city or institution decisions regarding student housing building, near-campus neighbourhood redevelopment, etc.

☐It has successfully built a long-term relationship between the city and the institution; however, the relationship is only on a conversational basis and exerted limited influence on decision making.

☐It exerts its influence from time to time, but it has not been a continuous effort.

☐The committee has not been active and made limited contribution to a close town and gown partnership.

Question 7. Which of the following statements best describes the communication and collaboration between the city and the university/college addressing the student housing related issue?

☐The two parties have maintained a close relationship to address the issue, and the collaboration has been very effective.

☐The university/college and the community share the responsibility to address the off-campus housing issues; however, what they achieved has not reached our expectation.

☐It is the community's responsibility to address off-campus housing issues; the work universities/colleges have done is limited.

☐It is the institution's responsibility to address off-campus housing issues; the work the community has done is limited.

☐There lacks collaboration between the city and the university/college.

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