Bridging Higher Education Institutions and Their Surrounding Residential Communities: Can the Historic Mistrust be Overcome?

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By

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I certify that I have read this dissertation and that it meets the academic and professional standards required by Wilmington University as a dissertation for the degree Doctor of Education in Higher Education Leadership.

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Forty people trusted me with their opinions and experiences for this project. They gave their time and allowed me to ask very personal questions, all in the hopes that we could build together. I thank them for trusting me with their stories. I hope I don't let them down.

This project is built upon the incredible work done by scholars and residential community members who recognize that our fates are connected and that we all thrive when everyone prospers. I've enjoyed learning from them.

I was inspired by the faculty at Wilmington University, who have been incredibly supportive. There are too many people to name, really. They have provided direction, offered constructive criticism, helped connect me to people, and given me insightful advice. Thank you.

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Finally, I want to thank my family and friends, many of whom I haven't seen in a long time because I've been too busy working on this project.

Let's catch up soon. Drinks are on me.

Dedication

This project is dedicated to the people of Philadelphia. I hope they read this and build from it. If the university communities and city residents work together, amazing things can happen. Let's live up to our potential and create a model the world can follow.

I love this town. I've lived and worked in the area most of my life. I walked Mookie, the greatest dog to ever live, around the city for nearly 17 years. I met my amazing wife Michelle here, and we've had wonderful times in the city. My son, Kenzo William Miller, was born here in August 2021. I hope he reads this someday and is proud of his father.

Abstract

Tension between university communities and the surrounding residential communities has existed almost since the creation of higher education. Historically, there have been murders and riots. More recently, there have been protests and simmering animosity. In the 1980s, there was a greater recognition that the fate of the residential communities impacted the fate of the universities, and steps have been taken to address the disconnect ever since. Most of the literature about university-community engagement since then has focused on the university perspective, and the good that has been done through university outreach programs. This study looks primarily at the residential community perspective, learning about the experiences of people who live near higher education institutions in Philadelphia and trying to understand what they want from the relationship. Ultimately, this study presents a foundation for what can be and how the two communities can and should work together in mutually beneficial ways.

Keywords: anchor institution, engaged university, ivory tower, town and gown, university-community relations.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter I: Introduction

Higher education institutions serve as economic drivers for cities and regions (Lane & Johnstone, 2012), as well as being knowledge banks that could help the masses (Boyer, 1990). In theory, they could be regional leaders, helping to set policy alongside political and business leaders (Lane & Johnstone, 2012). But higher education institutions and their surrounding communities have a history of tension that goes back to the early days of higher education (Chantler, 2014), establishing a rift between town and gown that has existed ever since in many areas (Mayfield, 2001). The fraught relationships between these academic institutions and their neighboring communities often deter university leaders from being leaders on a grander scale, unable to assist the surrounding communities due to a lack of trust (Englert, 1997). In recent years, the lingering community skepticism has combined with the growing sentiment that a university education is too expensive (Mosendz, 2016).

Over the past 30 years, much research has been done to understand how universities impact their surrounding residential communities, most often looking at the effectiveness of outreach programs (see Appendix H for examples). Very few of these academic studies include the voices and opinions of the community members (Ehlenz, 2015). This study seeks to redress that and then, using the ideas expressed by residential and university community members, find ways to build mutually beneficial relationships.

A Brief History of the Relationship Between Universities and Their Neighbors

Since the days of Plato, the relationships between institutions of higher education and their surrounding communities have been strained and oftentimes contentious (Chantler, 2014). Universities are frequently perceived as ivory towers, with academics removed from common people, usually thinking about ideas of little relevance in everyday life (Mayfield, 2001). At a

time when European universities were beginning to develop the post-secondary education model that exists around the world today, Immanuel Kant (1794) referred to the concept of the university as a form of learned community that allows scholars to operate with a certain autonomy from society. Around that time, the founders of the University of Berlin introduced the three principles of the modern university: the unity of teaching and research, the protection of academic freedom, and the importance of the liberal arts (Kwiek, 2006). These concepts allowed scholars to operate without fear of government oversight - and thus without public input, in a way that scholars felt was most beneficial (Kwiek, 2006).

Universities in the United States largely remained in the realm of the elite well into the 20th century (Chantler, 2014). This posed issues as the country evolved. Yale University, for example, was founded in 1701 as a school for the wealthy and pious, and Yale's hometown of New Haven was originally populated by people of that caliber (Guilbert, 1995). As the country grew and the population changed, tensions increased. Where the Yale University community and the city's residents once shared a common religion, ethnicity, and class, by the mid-1800s, the elite university community was in the minority (Guilbert, 1995). Riots between the university and residential communities occurred so often – with many people on both sides murdered, that the university began to erect buildings that isolated the university community inside the walls of the compound (Guilbert, 1995). The walled-in campus mimicked the cloistered communities of Oxford, which were established after centuries of violence between townspeople and the educated elite. In the United States, many other urban colleges established similar gated communities with beautiful park-like areas that were removed from the public – the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, etc. Yale, like many private and public colleges alike, continued building such "quads" into the 20th century (Guilbert, 1995).

University student bodies began to diversify with the introduction of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (Boyer, 1990). Better known as the GI Bill, the act provided dedicated tuition payments for veterans, many of whom came from families that struggled during the Great Depression and World War II (U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, n.d.). People who had otherwise never considered a university education started flocking to college campuses. Participation in higher education exploded after World War II. Prior to 1940, total enrollment at American universities was around 1.5 million students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). By 1969, there were more than 8 million students. By 1985, there were more than 12 million (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). With the increasing number of students after World War II, college campuses expanded, often taking over land once occupied by working class people (Chantler, 2014), further alienating the residents of the surrounding communities (Mayfield, 2001).

The Business of Education

The increasing number of students and growing campuses made the business of education very lucrative. There were nearly 19.4 million people attending college in the United States at the start of the 2019-2020 academic year, (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021), with each student spending an average of $23,000 per year on tuition, fees, and room and board. The average cost of a college degree - tuition, fees, room and board, is three times higher now than 30 years ago (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019a). In 2015, students at 115 universities across the United States organized protests as part of the Million Student March (Mosendz, 2016). The protestors were reacting to the growing amount of debt students were taking on because of college, and they demanded free tuition (Mosendz, 2016). In the United States' presidential campaign the following year, free college and the removal of student debt

became part of the platform for candidate Bernie Sanders (Sanders, n.d.). The movement was gaining traction well before the COVID-19 global epidemic came along in 2020, and it became worse when the pandemic forced institutions around the world into remote learning, which many students felt was an inferior product (Anderson, 2020).

A Call to Action

In 1990, Ernest L. Boyer, then the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, famously wrote that universities need to connect to their neighboring communities and make the "application of knowledge the centerpiece of their effort" (p. 63). He called for the faculty review system to be altered so that service was valued, specifically when faculty created links to organizations beyond campuses, relating "intellectual life to contemporary problems," in order to help universities become "centers of service to the communities that surround them" (Boyer, 1990, p. 63).

There have been attempts to build connections between universities and their surrounding communities around the world over the past three decades, but there are many obstacles. At a foundational level, tensions arise, as former Temple University president Richard Englert wrote in 1997, because of "perceived unequal partnerships" when the university and community try to work together (p. 377). Money tends to be heavily directed toward the university, not the neighborhood residents, and the community participants see little long-term benefit. That fosters a lack of trust that is hard to eliminate (Englert, 1997).

University-Community Relationships on a Local Level

The universities in Philadelphia have been trying to make greater connections to their surrounding communities for a long time. Many efforts grew out of difficult times, mostly the economic collapse of neighborhoods and the ensuing crime that followed (Nevárez-La Torre &

Sanford-De Shields, 1999). That crime impacted the university communities, so the higher education institutions took action. After the murder of a University of Pennsylvania student near the campus in 1996, for example, the University of Pennsylvania helped create a special services district that bridged community residents, area universities, local businesses, and politicians (Miller, 2006). John Fry, the executive vice president of the University of Pennsylvania at the time, has continued the community efforts since becoming the president of Drexel University (Slabbert, 2015). He helped establish the Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships after becoming president of the university in 2010. The center assists the residents near the university with financial literacy training and job hunting, amongst other social services (Slabbert, 2015).

Ira Harkavy (2016), the founding director of the Netter Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania, describes four categories of interaction between higher education institutions and their surrounding communities:

1. Gentrification and displacement of low-income residents,
2. Disregard and neglect,
3. Partially engaged (frequently indicated by involvement of the academic or the institutional–corporate component of the university, but not both),
4. Truly engaged (involving comprehensive, significant, serious, and sustained involvement of all aspects of the university with the community). (p.2156)

While such ideas provide a framework for the discussion of university-community relations, nearly all of the existing scholarly work regarding university-community relations comes from the university's perspective, "highlighting the factors motivating an institution to act and the types of investments and/or programs included in the initiative" (Ehlenz, 2015, p. 722).

Very few people, it seems, have asked the community residents how they feel.

Problem Statement

A long history of disconnect between higher education institutions and their surrounding communities has bred general skepticism of those academic institutions and that has only been compounded by decades of universities focusing on the business of education (Bauman et al., 2020). As Boyer (1990) stated, however, university leaders and faculty members have a responsibility beyond the academy, as they help shape "a citizenry that can promote the public good" (p.78). Over the past 30 years, many higher education institutions have developed outreach programs designed to build bridges to the surrounding communities. While much has been studied and written about these programs, there is very little in the existing literature that analyzes or addresses the perspective of the community members.

Purpose of the Study

This mixed-methods grounded theory study aims to develop a deeper understanding of the disconnection between institutions of higher education and their surrounding communities, to study the pathways and programs that have attempted to bridge the divide and to develop possible avenues for future activity. Recognition of the impact created by the divide between communities and higher education institutions began in the 1980s, and steps have been taken to alleviate issues ever since. Academic studies show the evolution of the relationships, but the focus has primarily been on non-academic partnerships, as seen from the perspective of the higher education institutions. Very little has been written involving the perspectives of the members of the residential communities near universities. This study aims to develop strategies for universities to impact their surrounding communities in a positive way, ideally through more traditional educational means rather than through auxiliary, non-academic programming.

Need for the Study

The findings of this research should be of interest to leaders of higher education institutions, as well as to those who work, live or study at or near institutions of higher education. This study attempts to provide context for anyone who believes that an educated society with a deeper understanding of a wide variety of perspectives is valuable so that the findings may be of interest to those working in government, city planning, and public policy at large.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide the study design:

1. What are the current experiences of residents of communities adjacent to higher education institutions with regard to their relationship to the university?

2. What do the residents of communities adjacent to the university want to experience in regard to their relationship to the university?

3. What actions could the institutions of higher education take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses?

Subjectivity Statement of the Researcher

The researcher has been a professor at Temple University since 2006, including 12 years at the Philadelphia campus and three years at the Tokyo campus. He holds a bachelor's degree in communications from Loyola University, a master's degree in journalism from Columbia University, and a Master of Liberal Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He worked as a journalist in Philadelphia for 25 years before moving to Tokyo in 2018. His work at Temple University brings inherent bias toward the university, though his years as a journalist have instilled the importance of relying upon fact-based reporting.

The subject of journalism ethics has been discussed in his classes since he began teaching, and he strives to maintain objectivity despite current trends in journalism pushing for more subjective approaches. He admits, however, to having an agenda to improve the lives of people living in the city of Philadelphia.

Definitions of Key Terminology

Several terms will be utilized throughout this research study and the literature review that require definition. For this research study, these operational definitions will apply:

Anchor institutions. Organizations that have a large physical presence in communities and have the ability to make a major impact on neighborhoods in the wake of social challenges, such as disinvestment, poverty, and crime (Ehlenz, 2015).

Engaged university. A broad term referring to a higher education institution's relationship with the surrounding community (Mayfield, 2001).

Experiential learning. Similar to service-learning and related to applied-research, experiential learning is when students spend time outside of the classroom, applying lessons learned (McCunney, 2017).

Ivory tower. The idea of higher education institutions as places of "disinterested pursuit of truth by curiosity-driven scholars" (Kwiek, 2006, p. 7).

Third mission. When higher education institutions go beyond their traditional roles as educational operations and research institutions to serve as drivers of innovation, thanks to partnerships with outside entities (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017).

University community partnerships. Most often referring to agreements between universities and businesses (Galan-Muros & Davey, 2017).

University community relations. Referring to the interaction and relationship between higher education institutions and the public, and most often referring to the immediate geographic neighborhood (Macpherson et al., 2017).

Summary

There was already a need to refocus the mission of higher education institutions, which Boyer detailed in 1990. In the next wave of higher education, he explained that universities and their surrounding communities would need to work together, as they can only thrive if both thrive. The days of the ivory tower need to end. If that happens, university leaders and educators, in general, could help pull the communities surrounding the institutions out of the difficulties they now face – economic, social, cultural, and beyond.

There have been bridges built in recent history, though there are few success stories, especially from a purely academic standpoint. Higher education institutions have experimented with the engaged university model, usually with universities partnering with neighboring organizations and businesses in ways that are mutually beneficial. Some institutions have identified a third mission for universities, a commitment to community that runs parallel to the traditional roles of educating students and creating research. More can be done, according to members of the surrounding residential communities.

In the following chapters, there is greater history provided, as well as an explanation of the study performed. Chapter IV reveals the perspectives of the study participants. Chapter V synthesizes their responses with suggestions made by Boyer in 1990 and Baldwin in 2021 and then presents suggestions for further bridging the university and residential communities.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The purpose of this mixed-methods, grounded theory study is to understand the historically tense relationships that have existed between higher education institutions and their surrounding residential communities and to develop strategies for the two constituencies to benefit from the relationship born of proximity

From the time of Plato and Socrates (Chantler, 2014) through to the creation of the modern university in Germany in the late 19th century (Rothblatt & Wittrock, 1993), and continuing through the evolution of higher education in the United States, academics and the higher education institutions where they are employed have long been very protective of their intellectual independence, and of their independence from governmental authority (Englert, 1997). That has created a disconnect between many universities and the citizenry, which often manifests as distrust of higher education institutions by the communities that rest immediately adjacent to them (Chantler, 2014). As Margaret P. O'Mara (2010) wrote, "Depending on time, place, economic conditions, and personal chemistry, the connection between locality and university can waver between wary goodwill and outright hostility, and it reflects fundamentally different organizational structures and institutional purpose" (p. 236).

Since the 1980s, there have been ongoing discussions about the roles of colleges and universities in their regions (Campus Compact, n.d.). Should universities serve as agents of economic or social change, assisting the communities that often support the institutions through labor, housing, and other resources? Or have universities been too distant for too long to be able to make a connection to the everyday people who live near schools? Could higher education institutions help society with the ills of the day, like racism and inequality, or would they only perpetuate the issues (O'Mara, 2010)?

Richard M. Englert (1997), the president of Temple University from 2016 to 2021, wrote that universities have an obligation to serve the city by expanding the professional talent pool, especially in regard to people from traditionally underrepresented communities. Barth (2018) argued that faculty members specifically have an obligation to apply their expertise in ways that will improve the conditions of nearby communities, including working with local governments and nonprofit organizations. Doing such at an institutional level, however, has been difficult. Faculty members generally receive very little benefit for service work when applying for tenure, which largely still hinges upon the presentation of independent ideas rather than hands-on, practical experiences (Mayfield, 2001).

The following sections explain the development of higher education institutions and their connections to their surrounding communities, the evolution of those relationships, examples of modern manifestations of university-community engagement, and the continuing difficulties in transforming higher education institutions into community partners and leaders. The final section presents how higher education has become a major business and a force of great concern for young people who fear they need a college education in order to lead successful and prosperous lives, but they don't want to get saddled with all the debt from tuition and fees.

Search Strategy

For this literature review, EBSCOhost was employed through the Wilmington University library website, granting access to numerous databases such as Project Muse, ProQuest Ebook Central, SAGE Journals, SpringerLink, Taylor & Francis Journals, ERIC, and the Wiley Online Library. The databases were utilized to search for peer-reviewed articles available in the digital format by using the keywords "engaged universities," "ivory tower," "experiential learning," and "university community leadership." Secondary searches included the terms "university

community relations" and "university community engagement." United States government websites, like that of the National Center for Education Statistics, were used for official data. Higher education industry news organizations, like *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Inside Higher Ed*, were employed to learn about contemporary situations. Specific details of contemporary issues were located via the Google News search function.

Inclusion Criteria

This literature review provides a history of higher education institutions, the evolution of the modern university, and the metaphorical separation of town from gown in the United States that started soon after the first university was founded in this country in 1636. Until the mid-1980s, many universities literally had walls around their campuses, thereby discouraging non-students from entering the grounds. A movement began around that time because higher education institutions around the world realized that they were doing a disservice to students and area residents by not working together. As the business of education grew over the last 35 years, however, university-community relations often became more problematic. At the same time, many universities have developed and maintained innovative ways for universities and colleges to be integral, important, and contributing members of the greater community. The focus is on the ongoing mistrust that community members have in the university. It is meant to be a critical look at the bridges and connections made from an academic perspective, though it will touch on business, cultural, and social partnerships that formed over the years.

Organization of the Review

This literature review is primarily chronological, starting with the early days of higher education and the founding of the first universities, leading to the rise of the American research institution, and then to 1990, when Ernest Boyer, then the president of the Carnegie Foundation

for the Advancement of Teaching, wrote his influential book, *Scholarship Reconsidered.* In the years after Boyer encouraged academics to build connections to communities, numerous attempts were made by higher education institutions to engage and activate the surrounding communities, and those attempts fall into three thematic categories – business partnerships, social and cultural relationships, and academic agreements. This review looks specifically at the city of Philadelphia, which has numerous universities that have tried to build bridges into the communities surrounding their campuses, with varying degrees of success.

Creating the Ivory Tower

From the age of Plato and Socrates, the idea has existed that the life of the mind should be separated from active citizenship (Chantler, 2014). About 1400 years ago, Plato established his academy outside the walls of Athens, creating a "physical and intellectual detachment from urban concerns" (Slabbert, 2015, p. 1). The academy was intended to be a place of thought, distanced from the practicalities of the day. Also, urban areas during the Dark Ages were seen as dangerous and in a "state of decay" (Brockliss, 2000, p. 151). Such notions continued as universities were born - Oxford University, which began operations in 1096, is more than 50 miles from the heart of commercial London. The city of Oxford grew as the university grew, but it was not always mutually beneficial. Soon after the school was designated as a university in 1150, violent disputes broke out between the university community and the local townspeople. Things became so difficult that in 1209, a group of scholars left Oxford to create a new university in Cambridge, more than 80 miles away (Brockliss, 2000).

The tensions arose largely because the schools served the elite - scions of monarchs and the aristocracy, who were supported by the church (and thus the state) and bred to be future leaders. The pinnacle of the divide happened in 1355 when a three-day riot erupted after a few

Oxford students celebrated the feast of St. Scholastica the Virgin at a local tavern. The students reportedly disputed the quality of the house wine, which led to a brawl that brought all the locals to the heart of the city to hunt down the scholars. More than 60 members of the university community were killed, including students, clergy, and chaplains, and around 30 local townspeople perished in the battles (Brockliss, 2000). After the riots, the king declared that the university held jurisdiction over the students, not the city. Thus, all cases involving students were adjudicated by the school, not the town (Brockliss, 2000), and that placed universities on another level, above community.

The first universities in the world grew out of a passion for knowledge that was unfettered by need (Kuntsler, 2006). In the 11th century, the new urbanism transformed society, bringing masses of people together, and that created the need for infrastructure so that people could live together harmoniously. That gave rise to scientific thought, technological advances, financial systems, and greater interest in literacy, all of which increased the desire to learn (Kuntsler, 2006).

During the Middle Ages, when religion swept through Europe, battles were fought over the interpretation of ideas, such as how Aristotle should be taught, and usually, the "nascent disciplines of science, mathematics, philosophy, and logic ultimately triumphed" (Kuntsler, 2006, p. 65). Freedom from religion was somewhat maintained in academia, even as religion was the reason most universities existed, including in the New World – nearly all the early universities in the United States were rooted in religion and founded upon the principles of developing future leaders and spreading the faith (Lawrence, 2007). To attend university, however, required literacy, and that meant that the student population generally came from noble or otherwise elite families (Kwiek, 2006). This further removed the educated from the everyday

people and established the idea of higher education as the ivory tower, a figure of speech that is itself rooted in the Bible (Shapin, 2012).

When universities were founded in what became the United States, the same divisions between town and gown occurred. Yale University, founded in 1701, was a school for the wealthy and pious, and the town of New Haven was largely populated by people of that caliber in the beginning. But as the country grew and the population changed, tensions increased. Where the university community and the city's residents once shared a common religion, ethnicity, and class, by the mid-1800s, the university community was in the minority (Guilbert, 1995). Riots and murders occurred so often that the university began to erect buildings that isolated the university community inside the walls of the compound (Guilbert, 1995). The walled-in campuses mimicked the cloistered communities of Oxford, which were established after centuries of violence between townspeople and the educated elite. In the United States, many other urban colleges established similar gated communities with beautiful park-like areas that were removed from the public – the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, etc. Yale continued building such "quads" well into the 20th century (Guilbert, 1995).

The Origin of the Modern University

With the rise of the nation-state in 17th century Europe, education became regulated by governments to establish public order, health, and rule of law (Kwiek, 2006). What was deemed to be important enough to be taught was information that would serve the country, as education was seen as a vehicle to build national cohesion (Kwiek, 2006). That left universities and their faculty at the mercy of empires, it undermined the independence of the academy, and it nearly collapsed the entire system because those institutions of higher learning were perceived as tools

of the state (Rothblatt & Wittrock, 1993). The German Idealists who founded the University of Berlin in 1810 sought to create something different - an institution that championed "disinterested scholarship driven by the curiosity of free individuals, scholars searching for truth" (Kwiek, 2006, p. 7). This new model, which featured a form of general education and pioneered academic freedom, harkened back to the days of Plato and the relentless pursuit of knowledge that could never completely be discovered (Kwiek, 2006). The University of Berlin, now known as the Humboldt University of Berlin, became the model for universities in the United States, Japan, and elsewhere around the world (Rothblatt & Wittrock, 1993).

That model of independent education funded by the government took hold, especially after the United States passed the Morrill Act of 1862. Also known as the Land-Grant College Act, the Morrill Act allowed for the creation of universities that were largely designed to provide adult education for working people, most of whom were employed in the agriculture or manufacturing industries (Chantler, 2014). This put two distinctly different groups of people next to each other, and the town and gown divide grew. By the late 1800s, social movements grew, and people began to study the human condition more (Mayfield, 2001). After the United States government created a second round of Morrill funding in 1890, there were public debates about the role of the university, with the likes of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois challenging each other about what should be taught in college. Du Bois wrote, "The object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men" (1903, para. 31). Rather than making education pragmatic, as Booker T. Washington and others suggested, higher education institutions created insular learning communities where ideas were shared and built upon (Mayfield, 2001). Thus, there was the rise of scholarly work for the sake of academia rather

than for the betterment of the physical communities that surrounded them. This concept only grew as attending university became increasingly more common.

The State-Sponsored Growth of Higher Education in the United States

Federal investment in higher education continued throughout the 20th century, with arguably the greatest impact coming from the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Commonly known as the G.I. Bill, it provided tuition-free education, living stipends, and employment assistance (U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, n.d.). Of the 16 million World War II veterans who returned from service, around 7.8 million went to college or into a training program with funding assistance via the G.I. Bill (U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, n.d.). That exponentially increased the number of students in colleges in the United States, and it changed the demographics of the nationwide student population (Chantler, 2014).

Federally funded research exploded on campuses after the National Science Foundation was established in 1950 and after the National Defense Education Act was enacted in 1958 (O'Mara, 2010). State governments increased the sizes and offerings of their public higher education systems, which made college more accessible to a larger number of people, which in turn forced universities to expand their physical presence. Many universities enlarged their campuses, increased the number of employees, and experienced skyrocketing revenues, all of which gave the schools power, confidence, and latitude to operate in their best interests (O'Mara, 2010).

As more Americans attended college, higher education institutions focused more on the pursuit of philosophy, and education itself as the goal, further evoking the idea of the ivory tower, with intellectual elites standing high above the masses (Chantler, 2014). Universities sought to develop world-class reputations, which generally came through traditional scholarly

research as opposed to hands-on, practical work. “Local matters seemed increasingly parochial, academically marginal, and less worthy of reward and promotion” (O’Mara, 2010, p. 241). Universities and the communities around them thus became distinctly different entities (Mayfield, 2001).

The evolution of the modern American research university paralleled the American population’s move to the suburbs and the decline of American cities (O’Mara, 2010). Growing urban universities became economic drivers of cities and were thus given free rein to expand, thanks in part to post-war, federally funded urban renewal projects, which often bulldozed communities where vulnerable populations of people lived (O’Mara, 2010). The University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University, for example, has had steady, incremental growth over the years, with the bulk of expansion coming during the urban renewal era of the 1950s and 1960s (University of Pennsylvania, 2018). Thanks to the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania received an 80-block area of West Philadelphia upon which to build and grow (Puckett & Lloyd, 2013).

In 1959, the University of Pennsylvania created the West Philadelphia Corporation, a coalition of area higher education institutions, houses of faith, hospitals, and other groups. The West Philadelphia Corporation received urban renewal grants that were used to reshape the area, which was largely a historically Black neighborhood called the Black Bottom (Williams, 2017). Residents were evicted, homes were demolished, and commercial properties were built as amenities next to new academic buildings (Williams, 2017).

As college populations grew and higher education institutions needed more land nearby, residents were vacated to make way for new university buildings (Williams, 2017). Many urban universities purchased properties around their campuses for future endeavors but allowed them to

become dilapidated for years and years until projects were ready to begin. This effectively devalued the other properties in the area, which only brought more urban decay. Such actions developed an intense level of hostility between residents of the surrounding community and their higher education neighbors that remains palpable today (Englert, 1997).

The footprint of Temple University has not actually expanded greatly into the community since a 1969 agreement (Rolen, 2018), but the private development around the North Philadelphia campus has exploded over the last few decades, and that has changed the landscape of the communities (Thompson, 2012).

Recognizing the Problems

Academics and university leaders were aware of the impact of their actions as they were happening, as were government officials (O'Mara, 2010). A Ford Foundation official suggested in 1958 that the government attempt a third Morrill Act, this one designed to encourage universities to meet the needs of urban areas and their residents - everything from job training and financial literacy education to housing and nutrition assistance (O'Mara, 2010). Such ideas influenced national leaders, like United States president Lyndon B. Johnson, who signed the Higher Education Act of 1965 into law. Within a decade of the legislation's passing, total enrollment at degree-granting post-secondary schools in the United States had nearly doubled, from 5.9 million students in 1965 to more than 11 million students in 1975 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019b). The percentage of women in college increased from 38.7% to 45% during that same time period (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.).

The Act encouraged strengthening community programs, offered grants for university libraries, helped develop the network of higher education institutions for African Americans, established the National Teacher Corps, promoted the use of technology, helped colleges and

universities build facilities for the growing Baby Boomer generation, and it helped develop a funding stream that includes grants and tax-subsidies (Cervantes et al., 2005).

While there were many positive actions taken in subsequent years to promote higher education and tear down the metaphorical walls to accessing information and resources, the mistrust remained. Often, attempts by higher education institutions to be more engaged with the surrounding communities and help their neighbors failed because the engagement tended to be perceived as being one-way. Area residents felt they were used as test subjects and as data rather than serving as partners with schools and colleges (O'Mara, 2010). Community organizations were often included in externally funded projects, but community members perceived that very little money would actually flow through the organizations and rather be spent at the universities (Englert, 1997). Projects were seen as too narrow and without long-term investment in the communities (Englert, 1997). The tensions created by the unequal relationships only served to deepen the lack of trust (Englert, 1997).

Organizations like Campus Compact, which launched in 1985, sought to find solutions to the disconnect between residential communities and the adjacent college communities. Founded by the presidents of Brown, Georgetown, and Stanford universities, Campus Compact was designed to enhance community engagement by training faculty to integrate community efforts into classes and research, as well as other ways to bring the two constituencies together (Campus Compact, n.d.). In 1990, Ernest Boyer, then the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, argued that faculty should be measured on their scholarship in four different areas – discovery, integration, application, and teaching (1990). Such an approach would encourage faculty to conduct research across disciplines that is shared with larger audiences, applied to real-life issues, and then taught in the classroom. His ideas, which would

have further pushed academia to have a greater connection to the community-at-large, were lauded by most, but they ran against the prevailing norm – higher education institutions reward faculty via tenure based largely on research and publishing, meaning that service and teaching are less regarded (Golash-Boza, 2016).

While the tenure system has not changed at major institutions (Mayfield, 2001), Boyer's influential 1990 book, *Scholarship Reconsidered*, ignited a conversation, and it forced academics to tackle the lack of trust thrust upon institutions of higher learning from multiple angles. "The fact is that universities are deeply irritating to many groups - as they always have been," wrote Derek Bok (1992), the president emeritus of Harvard University. "And yet the point remains: we are being criticized now as we were not 10, 20, or 30 years ago" (p. 15). Bok pleaded for colleges and faculties to put the quality of education ahead of their quest for well-funded research, stating that universities were well-suited to help the United States deal with the ills of the day (Bok, 1992).

Thanks to academic freedom, universities are places where ideas can be shared, and parties with different views can meet on neutral ground. University faculty have expertise that can assist people beyond campus walls. And the students bring energy and new frameworks for addressing problems (Barth, 2018). All that is missing is the trust that partners will not be burned by the experiences (Englert, 1997).

Rebuilding Trust: The Engaged University

To create a climate of trust between residential community members and the university community, Richard Englert (1997), then the dean at the College of Education at Temple University, wrote that universities need to minimize physical expansion into the residential community, they need to invest in communities by doing business with local companies, they

need to prioritize services to benefit the nearby community, and they should make campus facilities available to the wider community. In recent years, universities have tried to make better connections to the areas around them, employing a variety of techniques at several levels, all falling under the idea of university engagement. Institutions have experimented with supporting research that could serve the community, and classes and programs have integrated the community into teaching and assignments (Mayfield, 2001). Partnerships between universities and public agencies have been created, bridging traditional academic interests with civic interests (Mayfield, 2001).

The idea of the engaged university is to eradicate the stigma of the ivory tower as a place of learning that is removed from the immediate surroundings and place it squarely within the community, treating students, staff, faculty, and community members as equals (Chantler, 2014). Higher education institutions and outside organizations are now partnering for mutually beneficial purposes in the fields of science, business, and education (Macpherson et al., 2017). When such collaborations occur - between higher education institutions and governments, businesses, schools, and community organizations - networks are built, both sides gain practical knowledge and their reputations buoy each other (Galan-Muros & Davey, 2017).

Students who are pushed to engage in civic activities by their university administrators and professors develop a greater sense of self, especially among those students who already have a commitment to community (Johnson, 2017). Through civic work or exploration, like community service and study abroad experiences, students grow to develop a greater sense of connection to community (Johnson, 2017). The university or the professors can bridge academic and civic goals by making the engagement a part of the curriculum. That creates a synergy between civic identity and career (Johnson, 2017). Through experiential and transformative

learning, students can develop a sense of responsibility toward their communities (McCunney, 2017). McCunney (2017) examined student activism within the greater context of the university mission and found that through experiential and transformative learning, students can develop a sense of responsibility toward their communities. In an ethnographic study, McCunney focused on 24 students from an unnamed university. The author interviewed the students about their experiences at the university and their level of civic engagement and found that active students ultimately take on two roles – as agents of change on campus and as people shaped by the campus culture (McCunney, 2017). The students attended a Jesuit institution, which skews the data. The missions of all Jesuit universities include a commitment to service and outreach (Mission Consulting, n.d.). Still, by working in and with the community, the students represent the foundational level of how an engaged university can make an impact.

The Third Mission

Higher education institutions around the world have entered a new phase, a "third mission" era (Chantler, 2014), during which they go beyond their traditional roles as educational operations and research institutions, according to a study by Radinger-Peer and Pflitsch (2017). Higher education institutions now serve as drivers of innovation, thanks to partnerships with outside entities (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017). The authors investigated the impact of universities in Linz, Austria to see if they helped alter the "regional transition paths towards sustainability" (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017, p. 161). They interviewed eight people directly connected to the universities and the community – politicians, administrators, program heads, and one professor. The authors found four ways higher education institutions could impact communities: through teaching, research, outreach, and organization of stakeholders. The authors found that teaching leads to consciousness-raising. They found that research at universities was

more impacted by governmental approach rather than being leaders of movements, largely because of public funding of research. The outreach efforts were important, the authors said, as having universities onboard essentially legitimized findings and potential strategies. Radinger-Peer and Pflitsch (2017) ultimately found that higher education institutions were largely ineffective in terms of teaching, research and outreach. But universities can serve as organizers, champions of causes, and frontrunners that point society in the proper direction (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017).

The new third mission is to build the community's trust through a sense of common purpose, one that benefits all parties (Chantler, 2014). Building such partnerships remains difficult not only because of the enduring lack of trust but also because there is no sense of national purpose. There is no national agenda, like the way Americans felt after World War II (Bok, 1992). Goals have been easier to determine on a local level, though. In 1997, for example, the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, and other nearby higher education institutions, in collaboration with neighborhood organizations, houses of faith, and local businesses, created the University City District, a special services organization intended to increase safety and promote local businesses in the neighborhoods near the universities. That collaboration, which was formed in the months after a University of Pennsylvania researcher was stabbed to death in the neighborhood, has transformed the area (Miller, 2006).

Other universities in the United States and around the world began to think more proactively about their surrounding communities after similarly devastating events. Meagan Ehlenz (2015) stated that higher education institutions responded to the declining neighborhoods with “place-based interventions, often designed to stabilize the neighborhood’s conditions, induce improvement, and/or catalyze broad revitalization via private investment” (p. 716).

Today, there are more than 1,000 colleges and universities involved in Campus Compact, many of which have run university-community programming that ranges from class activities to co-sponsored community events (Campus Compact, n.d.).

Ira Harkavy (2016), the founding director of the Netter Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania, describes four categories of interaction between higher education institutions and their surrounding communities:

1. Gentrification and displacement of low-income residents,
2. Disregard and neglect,
3. Partially engaged (frequently indicated by involvement of the academic or the institutional–corporate component of the university, but not both),
4. Truly engaged (involving comprehensive, significant, serious, and sustained involvement of all aspects of the university with the community). (p.2156)

The Difficulty with Engagement

Since the creation of the University City District in West Philadelphia, the area surrounding the University of Pennsylvania, housing prices have increased and crime has decreased. At the same time, however, the Black population decreased by 29% from 2000 to 2012, bringing fears of further "Penntrification" (Williams, 2017). Updated data is difficult to find as the District occupies parts of three zip codes.

Institutions of higher learning were created more for the idea of educating people so that they would have a base of knowledge to do anything (Chantler, 2014). There was the intention of an indirect impact on society in a long-term way. The shift during the late 20th century toward more engaged universities has altered that mission, Chantler believes, and in a negative way.

> The assimilation of the 'engaged university' into the wider community is, ironically, jeopardizing the essential preconditions upon which universities' contribution to society depends. That the evangelism of policymakers in promoting this engagement ignores the insight to be gleaned from the history of ideas - that the disinterested pursuit of knowledge for its own sake within autonomous universities is the bedrock for civilized society - arguably bears testimony to the extent to which 'liberal education' has been devalued in recent decades (Chantler, 2014, p. 226).

The author states that traditional education, steeped in great books and broad ideas, has been displaced by job-training and knowledge-exchange operations, where industry funds research, rankings carry utmost importance, and there is an overall emphasis on practical and applied learning (Chantler, 2014). The author believes that this inhibits academic freedom and waters down the potential for universities to fully contribute to society. Mayfield (2001) says that to combat that mentality, the collaborations between higher education institutions and the community must be measured in the same way that any academic activity is judged – through the rigorous criticisms of their disciplines.

There are many other factors why the engaged university is primarily working at the organizational level and not as much at the faculty level. For example, community engagement takes on so many forms and presenting the engagement requires presenting the concepts behind the disciplines (Macpherson et al., 2017). That means that the research needs to be comprehensible to people from different disciplines. Also, it remains difficult to incentivize faculty to work with communities, as tenure and promotion systems essentially ignore service, instead primarily focusing on research and teaching (Mayfield, 2001). As Barth (2018) writes, "the cost to faculty of such engagement is also clear, particularly when it takes away from time

needed to write and participate in more theoretical forms of scholarship more readily recognized by the academy" (p. 9). From the community perspective, further distrust can occur when faculty and students helicopter in and do their work while taking time and resources from the community, with little or no positive lasting impact on the community (Barth, 2018).

The use of universities as agents of positive social action has proven to be difficult (O'Mara, 2010). Universities have experienced massive growth since World War II, and they have become such important economic engines that they often operate more as the giant businesses that they are rather than as academic institutions (O'Mara, 2010).

The Business of Education

Since World War II, institutions of higher education have experienced exponential growth in the number of students on campuses. There were nearly 19.4 million people attending college in the United States at the start of the 2019-2020 academic year (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021) with each student spending an average of $23,000 per year for tuition, fees, and room and board (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019a). Total revenue at degree-granting institutions in the United States was $671 billion in the 2017-2018 academic year (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020). In that same year, two-year and four-year colleges and universities combined generated around $409 billion in revenue, nearly 50% more than ten years prior (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019b).

Public colleges and universities generate about 41% of their revenue from government grants, contracts, and appropriations (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020). That further encourages universities to promote research rather than teaching, which has long been the system in higher education:

> The prizes, the media recognition, the extra income do not come from working with students or engaging in exemplary teaching. And it is not just the professors' incentives that are out of whack, but also those of administrators. What presidents and deans are held accountable for is improving the prestige of their institutions, and the prestige of their institutions comes from the research reputation of their faculties. (Bok, 1992, p. 16)

While some smaller institutions focus primarily on teaching, the majority of the tax-exempt higher education institutions prioritize something other than their primary reason for existing (Bok, 1992). “The public has finally come to believe quite strongly that our institutions - particularly our leading universities - are not making the education of students a top priority,” wrote Bok (1992, p. 15).

Higher Education Institutions and the Residential Communities of Philadelphia

As the fall 2020 semester approached and students started to move into the residence halls and apartments on and around the North Philadelphia campus of Temple University, Marc Lamont Hill, a tenured professor at the university, tweeted that it was “grossly irresponsible and unethical” for the university to bring students to the campus for in-person classes during the ongoing coronavirus pandemic (Hill, 2020). The community surrounding the university’s campus is largely Black and impoverished, a population of people more vulnerable to the effects of COVID-19, he stated. That led to a flurry of blistering comments from his Twitter followers, many of whom offered that they were not surprised by the university’s decision to bring some students to campus despite the impact that could have on the local residents. “Ugh,” wrote one Twitter user. “Unfortunately as an alum, I’m aware of TU’s complete disregard and concern for citizens of North Philly” (Bee, 2020).

That sums up the relationship today between the community and the university that was created in 1884 specifically to educate the working-class people who lived near the campus. The situation in North Philadelphia is symbolic of the relationships that many urban communities across the country have with the institutions of higher learning that are adjacent to them – things have long been strained and are often times contentious (Chantler, 2014).

When Temple University proposed building a football stadium in North Philadelphia, they could have messaged that as a way to build jobs. But they failed to message anything to the community, and instead, neighbors learned about the plans through news stories. “I understand that we need to do a better job of listening to our neighbors,” said then Temple University president Richard Englert (Tanenbaum, 2018). “We need to have better communications with our neighbors. We have to make certain that we don’t make promises we can’t keep.”

These universities are supposed to be anchor institutions for the city, but they do not serve the people of Philadelphia,” said Residential Participant #3, a community organizer who was raised in West Philadelphia. “They talk about projects they are doing in South Sudan and China and all these other places, but they’ve never walked in Mantua (a neighborhood in West Philadelphia).”

A Quick History of the Major Universities in Philadelphia

In 1749, Benjamin Franklin proposed a university be established in Pennsylvania, a place that would “supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country” (Franklin, 1749, p. 6). Two years later, the Academy and the Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania were established, with the College of Philadelphia following in 1755, all in the heart of Philadelphia. Rather than preparing young men for the ministry, Franklin’s goal was to prepare them for secular and civic life with a more

modern liberal arts approach (University of Pennsylvania, n.d.). The university relocated to its current site in West Philadelphia in 1872 and has had steady expansion ever since.

Temple University was established in 1884 by a Baptist minister named Russell Conwell with the goal of educating the working people of North Philadelphia (Temple University, n.d.). The area was heavily industrialized at that time. Conwell started educating people in the evenings, after their work hours, so that they could advance in their careers. The campus steadily increased its footprint until 1969, when an agreement was signed with the neighboring communities (Rolen, 2018).

Drexel University was founded in West Philadelphia in 1891 with a similar mission of educating the working people of the region (Drexel University, n.d.), which was then an industrial powerhouse sometimes referred to as the Workshop of the World (Scranton, 1990). Drexel grew slowly but steadily, with extreme growth during the 21st century.

All three institutions received federal urban redevelopment funding during the middle of the 20th century, during which they bulldozed old residential neighborhoods and built new university facilities. The stated intention was to create better prospects for all, including the residents who were believed to be living in blighted areas, but the reality was that entire Black neighborhoods were wiped off the map.

The Residential Communities Near Philadelphia Universities Today

The residential communities in North and West Philadelphia that rest adjacent to major universities have a few things in common – there is poverty and the crime that comes with desperation, there is a sense of abandonment as politicians, police, and major businesses are perceived to have largely left these areas to struggle, and there is distrust of the anchor institutions that seem to be thriving despite the experiences of the local population.

The universities in these areas have been trying to make greater connections to their surrounding communities for a long time. Many efforts grew out of difficult times, mostly the economic collapse of neighborhoods, and the ensuing crime that followed (Ehlenz, 2015). That crime impacted the university communities, so the higher education institutions took action.

There was a time when North Philadelphia, the neighborhood that surrounds Temple University, was "a class-integrated Black community" and the "hub of Black social life in Philadelphia" (Moore, 2005, p. 445). In the 1960s and 1970s, it was somewhat self-sustaining, with many small, locally-owned businesses that served the community. The area was a hotbed for Black activism and organizing, and the idea of North Philadelphia became synonymous with the Black community (Moore, 2005). By the time Kesha S. Moore was doing her research, from 1997 to 2000, the area was dominated by low-income generating residents. The Black middle class had left the area, taking their money out of the community, leaving the area desperate, which is why drugs so easily infested the area (Moore, 2005). Sally Harrison (1998) wrote that while the university is a major employer in the area, the "current North Philadelphia population is not economically critical to the function of the university." She wrote that "the two worlds coexist, adjacent but unconnected" (Harrison, 1998, p.6).

The situation is similar in West Philadelphia, which was once a thriving, middle-class enclave full of Victorian homes and tree-lined streets. By the 1990s, much of the area had fallen into disrepair. With so much poverty, health problems arose, and violence became commonplace.

The most recent census data available shows that Philadelphia had a poverty rate of 23.3% in 2019, down slightly from 25.7% in 2016 (Tanenbaum, 2020). For reference, the national poverty rate for 2019 was 12.3%, and in Pennsylvania, it was 12% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). In Philadelphia, the poorest areas happen to be near Drexel University, the University of

Pennsylvania, and Temple University. More than 45% of the residents of those areas live in poverty (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2019).

University Outreach in Philadelphia

The universities in Philadelphia have been trying to make greater connections to their surrounding communities for a long time. Many efforts grew out of difficult times, mostly the economic collapse of neighborhoods, and the ensuing crime that followed (Ehlenz, 2015). That crime impacted the university communities, so the higher education institutions took action. Temple University has attempted many projects in North Philadelphia, and the trio of the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, and the University of the Sciences have implemented many programs in West Philadelphia.

Harkavy (2016) presented statistics that showed how much money the University of Pennsylvania has spent on community outreach, as well as how many hours were spent on training programs. But there are no voices from the community in his brief article, just platitudes for his organization. Ehlenz (2015) stated that most existing scholarly work regarding university-community relations comes from the university's perspective, "highlighting the factors motivating an institution to act and the types of investments and/or programs included in the initiative" (Ehlenz, 2015, p. 722).

The Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania is one of the highest-ranked business schools in the world. Upon making his donation that launched the school in 1881, Joseph Wharton stated that graduates from the school should "be more generally led so to manage their property, while husbanding it to benefit the community, or could be drawn into careers of unselfish legislation and administration" (See, 2010, p. 555). Today, however, students and graduates of the school have a reputation for being "overly materialistic and callous" (See,

2010, p. 556). Wharton students connect with community residents through class projects, student organizations, and university partnerships. See (2010) argues that "The school needs to identify 'global problems' that are 'locally manifested.' By interacting with local, researchers can benefit from greater insight into a problem, but still produce research that is globally relevant" (p. 562).

See fails to present an assessment of the university-community relationships and programs beyond the anecdotal evidence from projects that he was involved in.

In 1991, Temple University and the School District of Philadelphia began working together to improve public schools, starting with teacher development and later through efforts to promote psychological counseling and social work services (Nevárez-La Torre & Sanford-De Shields, 1999). Through the Professional Development Schools Partnership, university students gained invaluable knowledge by working in city schools, the public schools received free labor, and university faculty were given access to potential avenues for research. There was (and still is) massive inequality between the way city and suburban schools are funded. That has built lasting inequity, which the Professional Development Schools Partnership program was meant to tackle. The researchers reported that many schools and colleges at Temple University were working with public schools at the time, including the law school, med school, and school of communications (Nevárez-La Torre & Sanford-De Shields, 1999). The difficulty was that the programs were controlled by the university, from the timing of programs and events to the ways the programs were operated.

The power dynamic between universities and the surrounding communities can be difficult to overcome. In the case of universities working with public school systems, for example, universities are generally seen as the ivory tower, and the public schools are considered

to be in the trenches (Nevárez-La Torre & Sanford-De Shields, 1999). It's very easy not to be culturally sensitive to the public school and its students, assuming that the university's role is to step in and rescue everyone. Rather, Nevárez-La Torre and Sanford-De Shields (1999) suggest a process of negotiation and renegotiation, which creates opportunities for contributions from all stakeholders. "Voices of parents and community and civic organizations are integral to the collaboration" (Nevárez-La Torre & Sanford-De Shields, 1999, p. 259).

Summary

Many universities are still perceived as ivory towers, with academics removed from the common people, usually thinking about ideas of little relevance in everyday life. The walls around the ivory towers of the world, however, have been crumbling slowly. Where students, faculty, and staff were previously disengaged from their surrounding communities, they are now reaching out and building bridges (Galan-Muros & Davey, 2017). These connections, while often superficial and distanced from the classroom, offer new learning opportunities and a chance to inform new populations of people (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017). There are many difficulties, however, in creating these bridges, the largest being a lack of trust between residential community members and the college communities. There are also internal disagreements about the mission of the educational institutions, little incentive for faculty who are not rewarded for their outreach, and no clear assessment tools that show the effectiveness of the newly formed community connections. Recent college admissions scandals have only further created the idea that universities are havens for the wealthy (Markovits, 2019) and not public service organizations.

There have been examples of community-university partnerships that have not sustained deep analysis yet as to their effectiveness and overall impact. For example, the University City

District, which was formed in 1997 by the University of Pennsylvania and other area colleges, has revitalized the neighborhood surrounding the Ivy League institution (Fry & Carnaroli, 2018). The revitalization comes at a cost, however, as many former residents have since been displaced as the community becomes more expensive to live in (Williams, 2017).

The question that arises is how universities will move forward. Can universities overcome the long-held mistrust that exists? Can faculty and administrators take part in the lives of neighboring citizens, maybe even help lead them into the future, which may be especially important after the damage being wrought by the COVID-19 pandemic? Can they be resources for public knowledge at-large, like the public intellectual movements of past generations? Or will higher education institutions further retreat into their world of ideas, rejecting the pragmatism that has become so popular in this return-on-investment-driven society?

The following chapter maps the methodology used in this study to find answers to these questions and more.

Chapter III: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for this mixed-methods, grounded theory study regarding the relationship between universities in the city of Philadelphia and the residents in the communities surrounding those higher education institutions. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the perspectives of the area residents, whose lives are often impacted by the actions of the educational institutions within close proximity. The application of grounded theory and the pragmatic approach for this study are discussed in-depth in this chapter. The research plan, including methodology, study participants, procedures, analysis method, and ethical concerns are also presented in this chapter.

Research Questions

The following research questions are guiding the study design:

1. What are the current experiences of residents of communities adjacent to higher education institutions with regard to their relationship to the university?

2. What do the residents of communities adjacent to the university want to experience in regard to their relationship to the university?

3. What actions could the institutions of higher education take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses?

Methodology Selected

A mixed methods study is appropriate when the quantitative and the qualitative approaches are inadequate alone (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Such was the case in this study, in which the goal was to generate quantitative data to understand the general mindset of people who are impacted by the universities within close proximity, and then follow with interviews with select people in order to better understand the individuals' experiences. Quantitative and

qualitative methods alone might reveal biases or allow for weaknesses, especially with a small percentage of community members participating in the study. The mixed methods approach is useful in this situation, as there are underlying issues of power and equity that create tension and extreme emotions (Schutz et al., 2016). The mixed methods approach allows for a greater understanding of the breadth as well as the depth of the local residents' experiences (DeCuir-Gunby, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

This mixed methods study was performed using grounded theory methodology, providing structure but with flexibility (Tie et al., 2019). Grounded theory allows for multiple stages of data collection and the intersection of categories of information, which can be analyzed and grounded in information from the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The analysis results in the concepts that are ultimately constructed (Charmaz, 2006).

This study used the constructivist grounded theory approach, understanding that people "construct the realities in which they participate" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 187). That contrasts with the epistemology of positivism, which takes the scientific method and assumes there is a way to be objective when approaching research (Collins & Stockton, 2018). While a positivist theoretical approach might be useful in seeking causes, it is likely too general for such a study as this. From a superficial perspective, the experiences of the residents who live near college campuses in Philadelphia may seem universal, but the reality is quite different.

Constructivist grounded theory takes the interpretive approach, recognizing the significance of specific situations (Charmaz, 2006). The goal was to rely upon the experiences of the individual participants, assuming that they construct meaning based upon their surroundings, and that includes historical and social perspectives (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The lens

through which all is viewed is skewed by the people doing the observing, and thus the whole process is inductive – meaning is subjective, drawn from the data collected (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

To determine what actions higher education institutions could take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses, the researcher applies the questions asked by Ernest Boyer in his groundbreaking 1990 book, *Scholarship reconsidered,* and the guidelines set forth by Davarian Baldwin through his Smart Cities Lab, as described in his 2021 book, *In the shadow of the Ivory Tower: How universities are plundering our cities.*

The Researcher

The researcher has been a professor and an administrator for 15 years at a large higher education institution in Philadelphia that has a long, difficult history with the residents in the surrounding communities. The researcher also worked as a journalist in the city for 25 years, documenting some of the neighborhoods that are impacted by their neighboring universities. No participant, however, has had a direct, personal relationship with the researcher that represents a conflict of interest, such as a financial or contractual arrangement, that might have created bias in this research study.

The researcher has been trained to perform the designed study without prejudice. While serving as a journalist, the researcher interviewed hundreds of people from the communities involved in this study and wrote countless stories about these areas.

From 2018 to 2021, the researcher was seconded to an international campus in Tokyo but returned in time to complete this study.

Study Participants

The sample was drawn from a population of people who live within five miles of a large university in the city of Philadelphia; thus, this study focuses largely on the areas of North and West Philadelphia. Those who have been interviewed are of two primary categories: (a) long-time residents, business owners, and community leaders who have been in the area for more than 10 years, and (b) newer residents, business owners, and community leaders who have been in the area less than 10 years. This study will document the experiences of women and men, from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds, with the common denominator of them having a direct connection to the community immediately adjacent to a major university. In North Philadelphia, the community is largely filled with people of lower economic status, while in West Philadelphia, there is a greater diversity of socio-economic backgrounds.

Participants were recruited through the researcher's existing professional network that was developed over the years working as a journalist in Philadelphia while also snowball sampling through the networks of community organizers, business owners, faith leaders, and elected officials. The researcher sent the email attached in Appendix B to select people and requested that they forward the email to their communities. The email includes a qualifying survey, which is attached as Appendix C.

The qualifying survey included questions about the length of time in the community, as well as about the impact – or lack thereof – of a higher education institution in their vicinity. The survey also collected data about race and ethnicity, age range, and income level. Residential community members were interviewed one-on-one. That eliminated societal pressure that could have evolved during focus group sessions, and it tempered emotions that might have been stoked in group settings. Fourteen of the 28 residential community participants also have significant

connections to Philadelphia higher education institutions. Eight are graduates of colleges in the city. One is currently a doctoral student, and two others are considering Philadelphia schools for their undergraduate degrees. One attended a Philadelphia university briefly but did not complete a degree. Two are or were professors at institutions in the city.

The researcher interviewed members of the university communities as well. University community participants were selected based on their experiences in communicating with residential community members. The participants included staff members of university-community outreach organizations, current and former faculty members, and current and former senior university officials. All of the university community participants also have significant history in the city of Philadelphia or in the greater metropolitan region. Eight of the 12 grew up in the city or region. Six are graduates of universities in the city. All have been here for at least 10 years, and all but one have been in the region for at least 20 years.

Data Collection

This study began with the qualifying survey that gathered data and helped to identify people to be interviewed. The survey was crafted during a guided study in fall 2020 and revised based on the suggestions of professors and classmates in subsequent semesters. During the summer of 2021, it was piloted with a few residential community members in Philadelphia who offered further input.

Thus, the instruments for this study were the survey, and the interviewer and interview questions, which can be found in Appendix E. The interview questions were also developed during a guided study in fall 2020 and revised with the assistance of other Wilmington University professors and classmates during the subsequent semesters.

For residential community members:

1. In what ways have you been impacted by the university near you?
2. When you have tried to communicate with university officials, how have things gone? How did you feel about their response?
3. What problems exist in the community, and in what way can the university help take care of them?
4. In what ways could the university positively impact you? What other programs, services, or opportunities would you like the university to offer to local residents? For example, free tutoring for area high school students to prepare for college entrance exams, more scholarships for area teens, access for residents to university facilities, and/or job training for adults.
5. What existing community programs offered by the university have you taken advantage of so far?

For university faculty, staff, and administrators:

1. In what ways do you or your university/program interact with the residential community near your institution?
2. When you have communicated with members of the adjacent residential community, what is the feedback you get about the university?
3. How did you decide what programs and interactions to have with the nearby residential community?
4. Are there ways that you, your department, or the university at large can further be of assistance to residents of the nearby residential community?
5. What programs offered by you or your university do you find to be most beneficial to the local residents?

6. How can your university community and the nearby residential community further work together to build mutual trust and respect?

The interview questions start broadly, replicating the thought process established in the survey. That led to more open-ended questions, framed to invite the participants to offer their opinions in greater depth regarding their desire to have a greater connection to their higher education neighbor – or not.

Thirty-eight of the 40 interviews took place on Zoom, and the other two were done by phone. All but one of the Zoom interviews were recorded via Zoom. One participant asked not to be recorded, so the researcher typed notes during the conversation. While the survey was done with implied consent, interview participants were asked for permission to record. No interviews were conducted without confirming consent. Each interview session took place in a single session, with the recordings transcribed via Zoom, with further transcription completed by the researcher.

The survey alone did not provide adequate information to predict behavior, and an ethnographic approach alone would not have developed enough facts to properly develop a theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2017). But together, they help validate each other, though the quality of the instruments remains a potential weakness (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The survey itself was a failure, as it did not generate enough responses due to technical issues explained in chapter five.

Procedures Followed

Approval from the Human Subjects Review Committee was sought from Wilmington University in October 2021. Upon approval in November 2021, the researcher emailed community organizers, business owners, faith leaders, and elected officials to initiate the

qualifying survey. Potential participants were screened via the survey (see Appendix C) to determine whether they were eligible to participate in the study. Those under 18 years of age and those who did not live within five miles of a university in Philadelphia were disqualified. The researcher invited 28 qualified residential community members to participate in interviews, which were conducted in private Zoom sessions, except for the two phone calls. All sessions were recorded electronically using Zoom, excluding the two phone calls. No interviews were conducted without confirming verbal or written consent. Each interview was transcribed by the researcher based upon the Zoom transcription, which was not always accurate.

The researcher also interviewed individual university officials over Zoom. Consent to record was granted verbally or in writing by all participants except one, who requested that no recording occur. For that interview, the researcher took notes.

Zoom recordings were saved to the Wilmington University cloud system for six months and then deleted. The researcher downloaded recordings and saved them on a personal computer in a protected folder, along with the transcriptions. Zoom recordings will be deleted upon the researcher's completion of this project.

Grounded theory emphasizes "theory as process," meaning that the researcher evolves ideas and continues investigating upon discovering phenomena (Glaser & Strauss, 2017, p. 32). Categories and properties emerge, and there is a constant comparison in this iterative process (Tie et al., 2019). Transcribed interviews have not been shared with the participants, though the researcher contacted individuals to clarify comments and to receive additional information. Participants were not told details of other participants, and no interview information was shared beyond the scope of this project. As such, participants have not been involved in the writing or editing of this analysis of the results.

With grounded theory, the question of when to stop collecting data is difficult. Glaser and Strauss discuss the idea of "theoretical saturation," meaning that the researcher has found that responses have become repetitive, and thus the category is saturated (2017, p. 61). An adequate sampling is decided upon when the new data collected does not reveal new insights, even after diversifying the pool of participants and evolving the interview questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Saturation in this study was expected after collecting 100 snowball-sampled survey results, though the survey itself did not generate enough results to be worthy of discussion. After interviewing 28 residential community members (see Appendix A) and 12 university community members (see Appendix D), responses started to feel repetitive, so saturation was declared.

Data Analysis & Coding

The limited survey data was downloaded and presented on a spreadsheet so it could be studied for anomalies. Errant information was removed when necessary. The survey was built in Microsoft Forms, so there is built-in data interpretation and charting for nominal and ordinal data. Descriptive research methods were employed to reveal frequencies, standard deviation, mean mode, and median, as needed.

The coding of transcripts was completed in the order of interviews conducted and immediately after focus group sessions or individual interviews. That allowed the researcher to reflect upon the efficacy of the interview questions and the process in general as themes and theories began to emerge. Coding steeped in grounded theory was applied, with "constant comparative analysis" and "theoretical sensitivity" (Tie et al., 2019, p. 5). Open coding helped identify commonalities amongst participant responses, and similar concepts were grouped into categories later (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Axial coding was applied to help position the categories within theoretical models (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Selective coding narrowed down the

scope of the analysis, identifying the central category of the study (Bhattacherjee, 2012). After continuous examination and comparing of the data and the continued collection of data, the researcher reached a point when the new data analysis no longer revealed new material to the theoretical categories. As the categories were adequately explained, theoretical saturation was attained, and the gathering was complete (Bhattacherjee, 2012).

Trustworthiness & Validity (Internal and External)

Grounded theory allows for the constant challenging of the findings and the repeated creation of new paths to test the data collected. The process of comparative analysis and integration of theory will correct "inaccuracies of hypothetical inference and data" (Glaser & Strauss, 2017, p. 223). It is a system of validation that should lead to greater credibility.

The key to collecting trustworthy data and developing valid theory began with the proper selection of participants whose experiences are credible and transferable. Semi-structured interviews defined the area being explored, starting with the interview questions (see Appendix E) but allowed for the researcher to veer in order to get clarification or for the participant to expand upon their thoughts (Gill et al., 2008). Through proper coding and categorization, and the steady refining of the categories, the extreme reactions were cast aside, allowing for a more accurate, generalizable portrayal of the impacted communities.

The semi-structured interview "goes beneath the surface of ordinary conversation and examines earlier events, views, and feelings afresh" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 26). In such a contextual nature, the participants and the interviewer construct or reconstruct a reality, and that can create issues of trustworthiness of the information gathered. It's easy for the interviewer to fall into preconceived notions, which would skew the categories, but that must be avoided. Data should

not be forced (Charmaz, 2006). At the same time, a distanced interview approach might not draw adequate responses, resulting in useless data.

All of the data is new, gathered by the researcher during the period allowed by the Human Subjects Review Committee at Wilmington University, thus creating as accurate a depiction of the moment as possible. Interviews were recorded so as to eliminate misinterpretations and further decrease the limitations of the study. Interviews were automatically transcribed via Zoom, but that was not always accurate, so the researcher went line by line through each of the recordings. That should further decrease the chances of errors in reporting. Coding was done by the researcher. The researcher crafted successive memos in order to fully document the analysis and the evolution thereof.

Ethical Concerns

The researcher worked to ensure that ethics remained a priority throughout the study. That began by following the process outlined in this methodology chapter. Only by going step-by-step, from outreach to analysis, could the researcher ensure the validity of the data and the reliability of the study.

Participants offered implied consent by completing the survey, which announced that they would remain anonymous, and it offered them the ability to stop at any point. Participants invited to be interviewed were asked if recording would be allowed, and all agreed verbally except for one participant. That satisfies the requirement of two-party consent for recordings, which is the law in Pennsylvania (Digital Media Law Project, 2021). The risks to human subjects with this study were minimal. All participants are 18 years old or beyond, and anyone with impaired mental capacity was disqualified from participating. All recorded material will be

deleted three years after the final approval of the research committee, thus minimizing the risk to anonymity and confidentiality in the future.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to establish the process, outline the research methodology, and develop the theoretical framework that was employed to answer the research questions. The researcher presented the problem and purpose of the study, then detailed how participants were selected and interviewed and how the coding, analysis, and theory-building proceeded. Grounded theory helped the researcher understand the perspectives of people who live or work in the shadow of larger universities in the city of Philadelphia. The constructivist approach helped the researcher understand how those community members want to interact with the university community or at least coexist peacefully.

The goal of Chapter IV is to provide the study results and further present the methodology employed in this study. Chapter V will synthesize the study results with the theories of Boyer and Baldwin and present steps that university and residential community members can take to build better relationships between the two constituencies.

Chapter IV: Results Introduction

Introduction and Organization

To learn about the experiences of residents of communities that sit adjacent to higher education institutions, interviews were performed with 28 people who live or work in neighborhoods impacted by universities in Philadelphia. The interview subjects included business owners, neighborhood organizers, nonprofit leaders, former, current and aspiring government officials, housing activists and developers, and two high-performing high school students who are candidates for full scholarships at a Philadelphia university. Twenty of the interview subjects have lived in Philadelphia for their entire lives, and another moved into his community more than 50 years ago. Seven are graduates of universities in Philadelphia, and three are currently students at colleges in the city. One other attended college in Philadelphia for a few semesters before dropping out of college. One of the subjects is a retired community college professor, and another is a professor at a nearby suburban university.

Table 1

Residential Participant Demographics

Residential Participant	Residential community member	Location	Time in area/age	Significant connection to Philadelphia universities
1	Neighborhood leader in Brewerytown	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
2	Retired community college professor/ community leader	West Philadelphia	50+ years	Retired CCP professor
3	Entrepreneur/developer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	Attended Temple briefly
4	Education/youth activist	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None

5	Rising politician	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
6	Community connector	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
7	Black Bottom activist	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	None
8	Latino community leader	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	Temple grad
9	Registered community organization president	West Philadelphia	fewer than 5 years	Wife works at Penn
10	Latino nonprofit administrator	North Philadelphia	fewer than 5 years	PHENND fellow
11	Yorktown leader	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 20s	La Salle grad
12	Housing nonprofit leader	North Philadelphia	20+ years	Penn grad
13	Arts community organizer	North Philadelphia	15 years	None
14	Youth empowerment activist	West Philadelphia	fewer than 20 years	Temple grad
15	Literacy nonprofit administrator	North Philadelphia	fewer than 20 years	None
16	Nonprofit development coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	Temple grad
17	Former mayoral staffer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
18	Criminal justice policy director	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
19	North Philadelphia resident and Cecil B. Moore Scholar candidate (female)	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 18	Thinking about attending Temple
20	North Philadelphia resident and Cecil B. Moore Scholar candidate (male)	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 18	Thinking about attending Temple
21	Community activist	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	None
22	Community storyteller	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	Temple grad
23	Doctoral student	West Philadelphia	Fewer than 10 years	PhD student at Penn

24	Suburban college professor	West Philadelphia	Fewer than 10 years	None
25	Registered nurse	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 60s	CCP grad
26	Community organizer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
27	Park Avenue resident	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 60s	TU MFA grad; now teaching at Temple
28	Communications coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 20s	None

In addition to the interviews with community members, 12 people from Philadelphia area universities were interviewed. They range from faculty members and university administrators to program directors and senior leadership. Three of the interview subjects are life-long residents of the city, and five hold degrees from higher education institutions in Philadelphia.

Table 2

University Participant Demographics

University Participant	University community member	Location	Significant time in city/age	Significant connection to city of Philadelphia beyond college employment
1	University outreach coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	From North Philadelphia and Temple grad
2	Religion professor	Northwest Philadelphia	In region for 30+ years	St. Joseph's grad
3	Chief diversity officer	West Philadelphia	In the region for 40 years	Penn and Temple grad
4	University collaboration director	West Philadelphia	25+ years	Penn grad; lives in West Philly
5	University senior administrator	North Philadelphia	In region for 10+ years	None

6	Government and community relations director	West Philadelphia	From region	None
7	Neighborhood partnership administrator	West Philadelphia	20+ years	UPenn grad and now UPenn PhD student; lives in West Philly
8	Community college administrator	North Philadelphia	In region for 25+ years	Penn grad; worked at Penn
9	Former university senior administrator	North Philadelphia	In region for 45+ years	None
10	Professor and diversity officer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	From West Philly
11	Emeritus professor	North Philadelphia	30+ years in city	Community organizer
12	Suburban community college DEI administrator	Suburban Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	From West Oak Lane

Interviews were transcribed and coded, which helped develop themes. Interview information and quotes were then organized within those themes as they relate to the research questions:

1. What are the current experiences of residents of communities adjacent to higher education institutions with regard to their relationship to the university?

2. What do the residents of communities adjacent to the university want to experience in regard to their relationship to the university?

3. What actions could the institutions of higher education take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses?

The primary themes that emerged are captured in Table 3.

Table 3

Primary Themes

RQ1: Experiences of the residential community members	RQ2: Desires of the residential community members	RQ3: Actions that higher education institutions could take
History of frustration	Good communication	Address the power dynamic
Lack of concern for locals	Non-academic services	Value service
Land and property	Help with home ownership	Make academic research useful
Power dynamic	The little things	Send students into the community
Safety	Education: primary schools	The community as a resource
Education	Education: higher education	Provide social services
Overall lack of trust	Prepare students better	Assist with education
	Representation and exposure	Safety is vital for all
	Safety	Recognize that universities make an impact
	Self-determination	You need a point of contact
	Payments in lieu of taxes	Would a center help?
	A level of equality	It all comes down to leadership
	Be there and do the work	

The information that follows includes exact quotes and paraphrased ideas presented within the themes as developed within each research question. The sections on questions one and two primarily include the perspectives of the residential community members. The section on question three primarily includes the perspectives of the university representatives. However, the lives of the residents and the university representatives overlapped in numerous ways, so there is a sprinkling of ideas from both sides in all areas, as appropriate.

Chapter IV: Results part 1 – Current Experiences

Findings

What are the current experiences of residents of communities adjacent to higher education institutions with regard to their relationship to the university?

Interviews with residents of the communities adjacent to universities in Philadelphia ranged from 17 minutes to more than 70 minutes, and many interviews were followed up with additional phone and Zoom calls, texts, emails, and other forms of communication. Many people wanted to talk about their histories in the communities before responding to interview questions, and several people became animated, angry, and energetic, lashing out with vitriolic statements loaded with expletives and other language not appropriate for family audiences.

The members of the residential communities that rest adjacent to higher education institutions in Philadelphia expressed frustration that the universities are physically in the communities, but they are not of the communities. They are disconnected and long have been.

"I apologize for fulminating," said a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades, "but you're stepping into a very complex social and political miasma. And this is not just true for Philadelphia. You can see the same thing unfolding in Boston you can see the same thing unfolding in San Francisco. You can see it all over the place."

History of Frustration

"Temple is like its own community," said Residential Participant #19, a North Philadelphia resident who attends a South Philadelphia charter school. She is in a program that allows her to spend her senior year taking classes at the Community College of Philadelphia, and she is a candidate for a full scholarship at Temple University through their Cecil B. Moore

Scholars program. “It’s just right there but also, like, Temple’s campus is kind of a standalone campus within the city.”

Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia, echoed that sentiment: “Temple is so close but is also very far. They're geographically close but almost mentally distanced from the community.” She grew up within walking distance, just east of the university, and earned her bachelor’s degree there, so she is generally a champion for the institution. “You know, Temple is always trying to do some good for the community but there's always this this tension with the community.”

“As a kid growing up, Temple was really kind of off limits,” said Residential Participant #17, a former mayoral staffer who grew up in North Philadelphia. “It was like, if you don’t go to Temple and you're not from Temple, even if you're just going into McDonalds near Diamond Street, it's really not a welcome place for you.” When it came time for college, the former mayoral staffer left the city for a state university in a remote area.

Several others talked about being kicked off the campuses in their neighborhoods during their youth. Residential Participant #3, an entrepreneur and developer, grew up in West Philadelphia, not far from the University of Pennsylvania. When he was 12 years old, he discovered the university’s library, so he wandered in. Within minutes, security guards escorted him out of the building.

“I had no idea libraries were private spaces, exclusive,” he said, referring to the notion of the wide-open campus, where the college green spaces blended into the cityscape. There were no gates to enter or guards monitoring in the 1980s when Residential Participant #3 was a child. He wasn’t stopped until someone called security on him. “I was denied entry. And there are only

more barriers now." That incident shaped the way he thinks about higher education. He did a few semesters at Temple University before dropping out.

University Participant #10, a professor and diversity officer at a city university, grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city, near St. Joseph's University. "We got run off of St. Joseph's campus multiple times because they felt that we didn't belong there," he said. "We couldn't walk on the track and things of that nature." The residents of the neighborhood, he said, seemed to accept their fate. "When you're ready to buy our house, we're ready to sell our house," he said of the relationship. "It was very transactional. I never even thought about going to St. Joe's, even though I academically probably could have done well." Rather, he went to an urban university on the other side of the state. And when he tells his friends from his old neighborhood that he works for another city university now, they tell him, "So, you're working for the evil empire now?"

Residential Participant #23, a doctoral student at a Philadelphia university, grew up in nearby Chester, PA, where there were similar tensions between the Widener University community and the surrounding residential communities, which are about 70% Black or African American. About 30% of Chester's 32,000 residents live in poverty, and only 13% have earned a bachelor's degree or higher (United States Census Bureau, 2021). "I lived right next to Widener's campus. I could not walk on Widener's campus as a young Black person who lived in Chester. The security guards, some of whom were my neighbors and people from my community, when they got their roles as security guards at Widener, they stopped us from being on campus. They would force us to walk around campus, even as our schools were on the other side of campus and the quickest way was to walk straight through. Security would stop us and say, 'You can't walk through here.'"

He was only 12 years old. “I didn’t know law,” he continued. “I just knew that there was some security guard – sometimes Black, sometimes white, telling me I can’t walk through here even though they know my school is right there, even though I walk that same path every day.” Today, he works with youth in West Philadelphia to create opportunities for them, and he is part of a collective that tries to push the University of Pennsylvania into positive action for the residential community.

“Within my networks in the neighborhood, Penn is a source of frustration,” said Residential Participant #24, a university professor at a suburban college who has resided in West Philadelphia since 2016. “It's not necessarily a source of possibility.”

He chose to live in Philadelphia and commute nearly an hour to his campus because he appreciated the progressive sensibilities and open-mindedness of his eclectic neighborhood. He lives just outside the catchment zone for the Penn Alexander School, a high-quality elementary school that is a partnership between the School District of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania. The demographics of the catchment zone residents have changed dramatically since the school was founded in 2001 (Ehlenz, 2015).

“I think Penn’s intentions were always good, even though some community members believed that they were bad,” said University Participant #8, a community college administrator who previously served in an upper administration role at the University of Pennsylvania. “The intention was never to create a school that would drive people out of the neighborhood, and other people will come in so they could be in the catchment area. In fact, we had to fight to get the catchment area so that anyone who lived in that area could go to the school. Over time, people sold anyway and the side effect of that was over-gentrification.”

Residential Participant #7, an activist who is fighting for reparations for former residents of the Black Bottom, a predominantly African American community in West Philadelphia that was razed during several waves of urban renewal development, feels that the actions of the universities are more insidious: “They had their hands in every aspect of the Black community and they destroyed every aspect of it.”

The University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, and the University of the Sciences were able to gain control of much of the Black Bottom to expand their campuses. The people who had been living there, estimated to be between 5,000 and 10,000 residents, were forced out of their homes, sometimes through eminent domain (Puckett & Lloyd, 2013). “We were bulldozed out of our houses,” said Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist. “No time to get your stuff. You were gone that day. Still no recompense from that.”

Some of the former Black Bottom residents moved to the neighboring sections, like Mantua and Belmont. Poverty is deep in those areas (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2019), even as new development has slowly changed the demographics in the neighborhoods. “We're too stressed out and these kids (are) getting stressed out,” said Residential Participant #7, the activist. “The people are stressed out here and everybody got a gun, so, like, you know, it's going to be Wild West after a while, you know? I mean, we need to reach out and say gentrification has to stop at a certain point. We can’t keep going on and on like this. They are buying up everything and moving people out of their homes.”

Residential Participant #7 has been pressuring the universities for assistance for years now. During the coronavirus pandemic, he tried to work with the university health systems to get COVID-19 vaccinations for members of the predominantly Black neighborhoods just north of the university campuses. “We’re struggling to get COVID shots on our side,” he said. “Nobody

cares! Who cares about them Black mother fuckers? Let me just say it like that. We going to give these shots to them n*****s on the south side. That's what we going to do. Those n*****s on the other side, a stone's throw away? We ain't giving them shit. Let them die. That's what's being said." At one point, he thought there was an agreement to do free vaccinations, but it did not materialize. "You know, people promise things," he offered, "but you notice the promises always get broken."

Residential Participant #25, a registered nurse and community organizer who has lived in North Philadelphia for more than six decades, said that she frequently talks to younger politicians about the tense relationships between the universities and the residential community members. They tell her that the history doesn't matter anymore. "You must be kidding me," said the nurse and community organizer. "It's still affecting us now. But some of our local politicians, especially at the City Council level, have been so engaged in the gentrification of our community that it is criminal. Of course, they don't want to address it."

She reports that the life expectancy in her neighborhood is 62-years old.

"I say that with the most broken heart," she said. "Unfortunately, so many of the people who remember the urban renewal and redevelopment, like my father, who was a huge protestor against some of those things, they're not here anymore."

Lack of Concern for Local Residents

Part of the frustration of community residents stems from a belief that there really isn't a relationship with the universities adjacent to them. They see the universities as being pockets of affluence, often surrounded by people of lesser means who have no access to resources and amenities.

“Temple is there,” said Residential Participant #21, a North Philadelphia community activist. “We know of it as a school but there’s not too many people in this community who know that there are resources at Temple that we could use. Like, well, *are* there resources there that we could use? I don’t even know that. Like I said, Temple is there. But as far as reaching out to the communities, I don’t see them.”

Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years, rationalized: “They are not generally benevolent societies. They do things that are in their own self-interest. If the community suggests something that universities feel makes sense from their perspective, that would be beneficial for them, they'll do it.”

Otherwise, they won’t, he stated.

The perception is that the universities do the research to put feathers in their caps and earn money through grants and other funding streams and that there is no interest in improving the situations of those in the residential communities that surround the universities.

“We know what the problems are but are we going to have a solution-based conversation or are we just going to continue letting people come in and get paid $300,000 a year to come here and, you know, and take our money?” asked Residential Participant #6, a community connector in Mantua, which has historically been a predominantly Black section of West Philadelphia. “When they come here, study the people that's here, they get more money based on the study of what's going on. I know academia has to happen but come on.”

Many of the interview subjects felt that race and racism play a part in the neglect that they feel from the universities.

“History repeats itself unless you do something about it,” said the Mantua community connector, “And all history ain’t good, especially when it comes to people that look like me. People that look like me, I mean, it has not been good for the past couple hundred years.”

Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer from West Philadelphia, stated that even when universities attempt to do good work, like in scared-straight programs intending to curb violence, they only perpetuate racism. “The university, the schools and even the parents rationalize traumatizing those youth, essentially blaming them for the economic depravity of their communities that leads to violence,” he said, “as if it's a personal choice by a child versus structural racism and environmental racism.”

If an administrator ran a similar program in a suburban area, with white youth taken to see lifeless bodies, he said, “Your ass might not make it 24 hours in your position.”

Part of what creates the level of mistrust and the impression of racism is that the student bodies of the universities in Philadelphia are predominantly white, while the surrounding residential neighborhoods are predominantly Black (Fernandez & Snyder, 2022). The residential communities that rest adjacent to the largest schools in the city are also amongst the poorest in the city, which has a majority-minority population (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2019).

“I think that just in terms of like the community, they think that Temple is not for them,” said Residential Participant #10, an administrator for a nonprofit serving the Latino community just east of Temple University. “They just bring students in here who aren't from here, who aren’t aware of the community that they're coming into. There are people that live here already. It's a living community even if, for you as a student coming into it, it doesn't look like that.”

As the student bodies have grown, developers have crept deeper into residential communities to make rental housing for students (Miller, 2006). That is especially the case near Temple University, which was largely a commuter school until the 2000s (Rolen, 2018).

“I've been here 32 or 33 years,” said Residential Participant #27, a resident of Park Avenue, two blocks north of Temple University.

> We got married Friday and bought the house on Monday. And then we started moving in the next week. We started working on the house - it took us about a month to get it ready to stay here. There were elders on this block. Those were some of the first Black folks to come to Park Avenue. Then their children, who are, you know, 20 years older than me, became the people who took over. And then their children. Some of them have moved or left the city. Some still live in the city but don't live on the block. Some have been renting out their homes. Some sold their homes. So, now, I would say, a neighborhood that was 70% homeowners living in their space is about 10 to 15% homeowners living in their space. Most of the rest of it is apartments. Most of them are Temple students, but not all of them. During the downtime of the semester breaks, it's like a ghost town. It’s funny: you could tell how many homeowners live here because there’s like five or six people that have lights out for Christmas. That's an indication, and who comes out and sweeps up the street. (Residential Participant #27)

The changing percentage of homeownership creates two problems: students tend not to be great neighbors, and the universities get involved in the area but usually only when students are concerned.

“Students don't necessarily know, and their landlords don't really emphasize cleanliness,” said the Park Avenue resident. “Or how to put out the trash. Or when to put out the trash, or

those kinds of things. For the most part, you really don't know anyone because just it's constantly transient. We're on the 2200 block of Park Avenue. The 2300 block of Park Avenue is worse, probably more like 90 to 95 percent renter. That block is a constant mess."

Residential Participant #1, a neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city, about one mile west of Temple University, said that her son lived on Park Avenue for a while, though he was not a university student. "He was so bitter and upset that he moved," she said. "Quite frankly, he was like the relationship between Temple students and residents was harmful. He just felt as though there was a lack of concern for the residents. I'm going to be quite frank - we all know when there's something Temple wants to do for their students, they do it. And then, you know, when it's just neighbors, no one addresses the residents' concerns. He moved. He was fortunate. Not everyone can do it."

Students have not made it as far as Brewerytown yet, and Residential Participant #1, the neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city, hopes it stays that way. "We're very, very concerned with developers coming in this area," she said. "We don't really want them. Students leave trash, make lots of noise, cause problems. And sometimes neighbors get fined because students don't put their trash out properly and it blows to the front of someone else's home."

"The blocks that are the most packed with students are the blocks that are the most trashed," said Residential Participant #15, who works as a literacy nonprofit administrator a few blocks away from Temple University. "College students don't know how to behave yet, you know? Part of the college experience is, like, learning how to negotiate your surroundings. Take out your trash and, you know, take it out on the right day. Those types of things don't just

happen. We sit right behind a dorm and then there's the street that is adjacent to that that has just a ton of student housing. That block is nasty. It's just like it's just a really junky."

Residential Participant #22, a community storyteller in North Philadelphia, has been in the neighborhood all of his life, and he graduated from Temple University about a decade ago. "I walk everywhere and there are many, many new student apartments or houses or whatever," he said, "and, like, it's just trash everywhere on the sidewalks. I remember one time, I was walking home - this happened not too long ago, and there was a Temple student sitting on someone's house (steps) eating a pizza. The guy came out. He was annoyed and upset, and he was like, 'Hey! We don't do that around here. Can you make sure you throw your pizza box away!' The student was like, 'Yeah, yeah, I know. Don't worry about it.'"

While the increase in rentals for students being developed in the area is not the direct actions of the universities, it is directly related, neighbors say.

"You have student housing continuing to be expanded into long-standing residential areas with these developers from New York and other places around the country coming in, without any connection to the land, no respect for the culture, just trying to get dollars," said Residential Participant #26, a community organizer in North Philadelphia.

> They renovate these homes and don't consider parking issues, the increased density, or the trash that results from students not caring about the neighborhood. Yeah, we got our own problems, too, but they come in, without care of anything other than their degree and they add and leave their problems, too. Then you got the stigmatization of the violence, which, if you really get into it, yeah, people are personally responsible for the decisions they make, their own criminality. But a lot of these issues with crime stem from deep poverty, from people just not having other ways to make a living or feed a family, I mean

> it ain’t always that. It’s culture, it’s education, it’s mentorship, it’s broken homes. It's not a simple fix but when you got a thriving university in the middle of the hood, and you got all these people that don't look like us coming in, getting degrees, getting jobs - landing jobs that could have been jobs for people that grew up here? It adds to the ‘they-don’t-really-care-about-us’ mentality. (Residential Participant #26)

The same issues are prevalent near the universities in West Philadelphia.

“It's about 10 or 11 percent owner-occupied, which is a huge plummet from 20 or 30 years ago,” said Residential Participant #9, the president of a registered community organization near Drexel University. “It was probably closer to 30 or 40 percent. The more that Drexel has grown, the more pressure there's been for developers to come in and buy single-family and two-family homes and either tear them down and put 16 units of student housing in its place or chop it up. They become absentee landlords who don't take care of the trash or do whatever. They pack in 16 20-year-old students who have a different lifestyle than the families around them.”

University administrators are often aware of the problems with students in rental units in residential areas, and some action takes place to resolve issues.

“It’s students living in the neighborhood not putting out their trash at the right times, or who are taking all the parking spaces, or who were partying Friday night and Saturday night – or even on Wednesday night when my kid was trying to sleep, urinating off the front porch,” said University Participant #6, a government and community relations administrator at a university in West Philadelphia. “You name it, I’ve dealt with it. I’ve seen it. And I fix it.” He said that he tells students, “Mom and Dad aren’t here looking over your shoulder, but we are. We live in this community, and you live in this community, and you’ve got to respect the neighbors around you.”

While Residential Participant #9, the president of a registered community organization near Drexel University, stated that he is generally pleased by the quick response they receive from the universities after they file complaints, others see such action as superficial. The issues are systemic, participants said.

"There are an infinite number of ways that universities could benefit community," said Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer.

> I don't think that the infrastructure of academia - the trustees or the people who have tenure, not only do they not have the cultural competence to be of service to the community, but they obviously have an ideology that does not serve the collective best interest or the health, wellness or safety of anyone but those who have already inherited some level of power. Look at how leadership at the University Pennsylvania or Temple is able to do whatever the fuck they want. They want to build a building, or they want to do a project in South Sudan, or they want to, you know, put a Wharton campus in San Francisco? When they can't do anything for people within walking distance of the university, for communities that have a 35% poverty rate? In a neighborhood, that is, you know going through COVID, going through intergenerational divestment, going through the explosion and exploitation of the labor class? (Residential Participant #3)

Land and Property

Nearly all of the residential community members interviewed talked about the universities taking over land or property that had previously been occupied by lower-income people, usually from African American communities, such as the now geographically extinct Black Bottom neighborhood. Historic actions of the higher education institutions seem to have fostered the suspicion, though more recent actions have been less egregious. Still, there seems to

be a fear that this process is ongoing, and blame is cast upon the universities and colleges regardless of whether the higher education institutions are connected to the development projects, either directly or indirectly.

"The community for the most part is anti-Temple, so much so that when private development happens in the area, they just say Temple's building it," said Residential Participant #11, a community leader from the Yorktown section of the city, which sits directly south of Temple University, "They kind of use Temple as this umbrella organization for all things that they don't like regarding development."

Residential Participant #15, who works as a literacy nonprofit administrator a few blocks north of Temple University, said that the gentrification he sees around Temple now reminds him of the late 90s and early 2000s when people referred to the transformation of West Philadelphia as Penntrification. "People feel pushed around sometimes, or they feel that the needs of the neighborhood - or at least the desires of the neighborhood, are not heard," he added. "They don't feel listened to."

Residential Participant #17, the former mayoral staffer, said that he experienced a huge level of mistrust of the universities from residential community members. "Oh, this is Temple, you know, they came in here and let these places become blighted," he recalled people telling him. "Then they bought them, and they won't sell them back to us because we can't afford them."

In reality, some of that redevelopment was being done by the city of Philadelphia as part of the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (McGovern, 2006). The intention was to tear down derelict homes and remove abandoned vehicles from city streets, thus removing opportunities for hidden drug use and prostitution, amongst other things. But the result was that private developers had an easy opportunity. "It was a lot of bad people going in and buying lots

for $1 and then putting $400,000 houses on them," said the former mayoral staffer. "It didn't work out specifically as it should."

Regardless, it created a negative impact on the longstanding community members. While they may have purchased homes a generation or three ago for $10,000, they are surrounded by new construction that retails for hundreds of thousands of dollars. People have told the former mayoral staffer, "Now, taxes at my grandma's house are $5,000 a year. She can't afford that, so she has to go."

This has happened around the city, and the government has been complicit, the former mayoral staffer offered. "In order to fix that, you have to have everybody at the table," he said. "And organizations like Temple, like the city, they have to be accountable for what they do. We also have to be responsive to what's going on, and if there are people that are still there."

Residential Participant #4, a West Philadelphia education and youth activist who serves as a community liaison for the University of Pennsylvania, said, "Administrations need to look at the bigger picture. Why is it always about the dollar and not the people? The perception is that they are taking every piece of property they can." She noted that sometimes when the universities get involved in projects, they do not attach their names because the very mention of the higher education institutions will draw the ire of the community. For example, the University of Pennsylvania has engaged with the local public schools and helped initiate changes, both superficial and curricular. "Parents aren't necessarily aware of Penn's involvement," she added. "They may not want the community to know because of Penn's past history with West Philly. They did a phenomenal job with Hamilton (elementary school). This is where the funding came from. It's not just the university you see eating up real estate in West Philadelphia. But all people see is that they are purchasing property in the area. People just think they are taking over the

larger pieces of the community for themselves as opposed to enhancing the pieces for the community."

Residential Participant #12, a leader at a housing nonprofit with centers around the city, said that developers recently approached her organization about purchasing one of their buildings in West Philadelphia. "We were offered some insane amount of money to purchase that building," she said. "That, I think, is probably one of the best examples of gentrification. That's not true - there's so much gentrification everywhere around our programs, which were placed in areas where people had need."

Where you have improvement, you're going to have escalating prices, stated Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years. "Some people may be priced out and then you have to figure out, 'Okay, how do we deal with that?'" he said. "How do we address issues of affordable housing and concerns like that?"

He said that the kinds of tensions that existed when he first moved to West Philadelphia in the early 1970s no longer exist. "The university was basically seen as almost a white elephant, the enemy," he said. "Nos, the associations and community groups look to these institutions as resources to be tapped into. They've been working with the communities by building additional living facilities on campus and requiring freshmen and sophomores to live on campus. That relieves the stress in the neighborhoods, with investment property owners who have been packing students in, you know, 20 into a house and charging $800 per bedroom."

Drexel University has experienced a large increase in enrollment over the past 20 years, and that means there are that many more students who are on the rental market, noted Residential Participant #9, the president of a registered community organization near Drexel. "Rental prices

go up, development pressure ensues," he explained. "Our ask of Drexel was to build housing for your students and require them to stay on campus, and so they do that now, certainly, for freshmen, maybe even for sophomores."

The bigger issue is the private development that is more indirectly related to the universities. "I would say that the major issues for us are the sort of the pro-development stance of the city, the lack of any enforcement from the city," added the president of a registered community organization near Drexel. "We're kind of like a fly on the back of an elephant. We're doing the best we can with the hand that we've been dealt but, you know, the forces are overwhelmingly powerful against us."

Adjacent to his neighborhood stood the former University City High School, which was torn down in 2015. In its place, which happens to be the heart of the old Black Bottom neighborhood, numerous mid-rise apartment buildings have been erected on the 14-acre lot (DiStefano, 2014). "It was all kind of like a done deal, like, 'Oh, yeah, by the way, we're closing this high school and we're tearing it down, and we're gonna put up 11 skyscrapers there,'" Residential Participant #9 remarked. "They promoted that as professional housing, like housing for nurses and doctors and lab techs and stuff, not more student housing."

The registered community organization complained about the lack of notification, and now there is a working group of registered community organizations that meet with the universities, developers, construction leaders, and others to discuss the $1 billion development project at the former site of University City High School that is being spearheaded by Drexel University (DiStefano, 2014).

"In 25 years from now, if not sooner that you, you wouldn't be able to tell people that live there that Black folk used to live here, that this was an all-Black neighborhood," said

Residential Participant #6, a community connector in Mantua. “I think that’s the one of the issues that those institutions don’t take into account: the effect that they’re having on children. You’re going to have an 8-year-old kid that, you know, in 20 years from now, when he’s pushing 30-years-old, he can’t speak to what his neighborhood used to be, what the progress feels like. He’s going to look at life through the lens of ‘I grew up in a messed-up neighborhood. But the neighborhood changed and got better when people that don’t look like me came in and changed it for us.’”

He likened the arrival of new people into West Philadelphia to the arrival of the original European settlers in North America. “The initial thought about the Indians was, ‘Oh, gosh, what are we gonna do? These people are savages?’ And that’s the same exact thing that you see you now,” he stated. “You got people going into a crime impoverished neighborhood and saying these people are savages. But then, once you get there, you’re like, ‘Wait a minute now. It’s just a couple of them that’s on some bull crap. For the most part, they’re welcoming.’ Then you come in, you get welcomed, and then you change the landscape of everything. And then, when the people around the corner want to come in, they’re not welcome anymore. We learned what happened when we welcomed you folks.”

Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia, said that when she moved into her West Philadelphia neighborhood more than two decades ago, her rent was $515 per month. “My rent is now triple that and I live two blocks from the building that I lived in when I moved to that neighborhood,” she said. “I am one of very few people who have been able to be a renter and stay in that neighborhood. My family has experienced having to sell a family home in that same neighborhood because of the cost.” Forcing the longtime residents out and creating a neighborhood of people who have no long-term

stake in the community leaves a lasting impact, she said. “There’s a lack of connectivity and social capital that exists,” she explained. “There’s a transient nature that exists in some of the neighborhoods, so there’s not an opportunity for strong community connectivity and the kind of civic engagement that you see in neighborhoods that are not as vulnerable to gun violence.”

Residential Participant #22, a community storyteller in North Philadelphia, said that when he walks around his neighborhood, and he sees a white couple walking their dog, he feels confused. “I just look around and I’m like, ‘Does anybody else see this? Is it just me?’” he said he asks himself. “Because even a couple years back, you wouldn't see something like that. Every once in a while, I’ll see a Temple hoodie or I’ll see some type of Temple gear and I'm, like, ‘Ok, all right, y’all just moving in.’” Aside from the students leaving trash behind, he doesn’t have a problem with the community evolving. It just seems strange, he admitted. “Before then, it was just people from the neighborhood, people who looked like me, no other person of color, really,” he said. “It was just us.”

His neighborhood was always dangerous, he offered, but he feels that things have gotten worse since the new population has entered the community. They are perceived to be more affluent and thus make for better targets of crimes. “When I was in my teens. It wasn't as bad as it is now,” he said, now at age 30. “I make sure that I am inside when the streetlights come on. I'm serious about that. And this was like before COVID, before anything. It's just not safe. There is certain blocks in the neighborhood that, you know, you don't go down. Those are the blocks that have really heavily drug dealing going on and shootings and stuff.”

The community storyteller said that when he was attending Temple a decade ago, he stayed to himself – on campus and off, so he didn’t notice the changing nature of his community. Once he graduated and had more time, he noticed how much had changed, including the new 33-

story, 1,275-student dormitory complex that opened in 2013. People started calling the North Philadelphia area Temple Town. “That's kind of when it started becoming an issue,” he said. “Others had an issue with the neighborhood being called Temple Town and just felt that Temple wasn't investing in the community a lot. They were just building. They weren't really offering anything in return, or helping out at all, basically. And then when there was talk of Temple building a stadium, that’s when things really started heating up. People in my neighborhood and other neighborhoods started talking more about it, like, ‘I can’t believe they’re building a stadium there. Broad Street is already congested as it is. I hope they don’t do that.’ That’s when I started having more of an issue with Temple.”

As an alumnus of the university, some of his neighbors would complain to him, and he would try to defend the institution. “People make comments to me and sometimes we will have discussions,” the community storyteller said, “They will just be frustrated with Temple because, again, they just think Temple is just taking over. Everywhere that they will look, Temple will be building a new building or sectioning off a sidewalk because they're working on whatever. They felt like Temple was taking over. And because Temple was taking over, the prices of their homes were rising. It was getting harder to find a place to buy because rents were rising because of Temple. Even now, gentrification is happening heavily in my neighborhood more than it has in past years. It’s just crazy.”

Residential Participant #12, a leader at a housing nonprofit with multiple facilities in North Philadelphia, echoed that sentiment. “I was at, like, 20-something and Jefferson streets,” she said, “and there's white ladies pushing strollers. It's crazy.”

Power Dynamic

A common thread in the interviews with the residential community members was that there was confusion about who to connect with at the neighboring higher education institutions, and there was a belief that the people in charge would not have any interest in assisting the community members. Of the 28 residential community members interviewed, 16 said they have never spoken with anyone in any leadership position at the universities. Nine people said that they have had conversations with leaders from their neighboring universities. All but one noted that talks stalled when it came down to developing action plans. The retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years has been actively communicating with university leaders for so long that he has developed friendships with many. Two people stated that universities only connected with residential community members when the universities had a plan and needed assistance from the community. Both people alluded to being used by the universities, referring to the one-way, transactional nature of the relationships. One person, the president of a registered community organization near Drexel University, participates in a bi-weekly call with representatives from Drexel and other community leaders as a way of updating everyone and providing a space to present issues.

As conversations unfolded, however, and the residential community members began expounding upon the difficulties of building relationships with leaders of the universities in their geographic communities, one overwhelming theme that evolved was that the individuals in the residential communities felt powerless when it came to asking for assistance from the higher education intuitions.

“We can't come to the table with any people for some real conversation because they looking down on us already, you know?” said Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist. “It’s just an uphill battle, especially for the people who want to fight, like me and others. We don't accept the bribes. We don’t want none of their money. We want things to be equal. How is it that everyone in America talks about equality for everybody else except for us? How can we be 90 percent of the community, and we don’t own nothing in it?” Philadelphia is the poorest big city in the United States, with around 23.3% of the population living in poverty, according to the Economy League of Greater Philadelphia (Shields, 2020). That means more than 367,000 people live below the federal poverty line, and the majority of those people are concentrated in the neighborhoods north and west of Temple University, and west of the University City District, the area anchored by the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University and the University of the Sciences (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2019).

At the same time, the universities have experienced steady growth in terms of student enrollment and the building of new facilities. There is constant growth on the campuses and frequent expansion beyond them, it seems, and that creates two worlds that don’t often overlap.

“You can literally go, you know, three blocks in a different direction and see a totally different way of life,” said Residential Participant #6, the Mantua community connector. “The thing is, the people that are from there, especially the young people, the children in these neighborhoods, they don't venture those three blocks away from home.”

The most common interaction between the residential community members and the university community is through students, who keep moving farther from the higher education institutions and deeper into the longstanding residential communities. The universities

occasionally use the residential areas for academic work and scholarly research, but, again, the relationship is often one-sided.

"In terms of Penn, I don't think they do anything," said Residential Participant #14, a youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. "That that is a huge problem. CHOP (Children's Hospital of Pennsylvania) as well. They're always reaching out to us, always trying to use us for stuff. And they'll be like, 'Oh, well, we're writing a grant. Do you think that you could put it together for $10,000?' No, we can't, because you're not going to utilize all of our stuff and not do the work." They will, most likely, collect the bulk of the grant money, she said.

Some nonprofits will write the grants and work with the higher education institutions because they simply need the funding. The power dynamic is such that the residential community organizations having relationships with their massive, corporate neighbors – some of the biggest employers in the city and state, could lead to bigger things. "Penn has a lot of money, and the neighboring community should be benefiting from some of those resources," said Residential Participant #16, a nonprofit development coordinator who lives in West Philadelphia. "Sometimes, you know, interjecting doesn't necessarily mean you're overthrowing."

The difficulty seems to be that the power dynamic also gives the higher education institutions so much more leverage and control over the relationships. "There can be a general vibe of, like, you should be delighted to hear from us, you know?" said Residential Participant #13, an arts community organizer who works at a nonprofit in North Philadelphia. "If I don't respond, that makes us look bad. But your interest is fundamentally self-serving to you. You're not paying me for my time talking to you. You're not giving a donation to the nonprofit."

Some interview subjects, like Residential Participant #23, a doctoral student at a Philadelphia university, said that the financial situation and the power that comes from that

overshadows any possibility of good coming from the relationships. “If you look at West Philadelphia, you have a $20 billion institution, one of the wealthiest quote-unquote nonprofits in the state,” he said.

> And they have usurped so much of the services that should go toward the community. They don't pay taxes to the city, so those services can't be city led. They have become the service-provider. They provide programs that are supporting schools, like University of Pennsylvania volunteers. I think everybody in the school district would rather take the tax money and use that to invest into the schools. But no, you can't because they're not paying taxes. So, you just got to take the student volunteers and make what you can and make the most of it. Similarly, you saw the thing with Lea Elementary. It's saying same thing - you have a school who was like, ‘We can't say no to this money,’ even as they recognize the BS the university is doing. (Residential Participant #23)

The doctoral student argued that even the Netter Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania, which he admitted does valuable work for the surrounding residential community, is a superficial organization that is used to mask the more nefarious actions of the institution. “You have the entire Netter Center, which is sort of built on being this community bridge to support things,” he said, “while at the same time, the university sort of uses it as a cover to do the things they want to do.”

“Everything that they're doing over there, they're doing that because they wanted to have faculty living in the neighborhoods,” said a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades. “They wanted to try to make it a so-called safer place for the faculty at Penn who took that leap. They thought and, probably, rightly so, that it would promote the Penn brand and it really has. They got a lot out of

it, right? I don't know that the neighborhood, the *true* neighborhood, got as much out of it as everybody wants to think."

Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist, stated that not only did the longstanding community members not benefit from the policies of the West Philadelphia universities, but they were also actually harmed. Those policies have left some African American communities in the dire straits that exist today, he said. "They're trying to kill people," the Black Bottom activist stated. "That's what they're actually doing. They're driving them to drink. They're driving them to drugs. How can you be in a food desert zone for over 80 years, however, you got the most bullets and guns in the city?"

Safety

The recent surge in crime in Philadelphia (Hamid, 2022) made the topic of safety quite popular amongst all the interview subjects. Twenty-two of the 28 residential community members interviewed discussed ideas of crime and safety before being prompted. Definitions of safety and how to create a greater sense of comfort varied but almost all of the interview subjects argued that higher education institutions have some level of responsibility to create a safer environment in the area surrounding their institutions if only to create the impression of safety for their university community.

"The city is not capable, competent or financially able to provide the services that people want and so, in certain areas, they try to create special service districts," said Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years.

> They are going to look to these institutions to help fund it. And then it becomes a question for these institutions – do they feel that it is in their own self-interest to do so? A

> murder will help convince them that is their self-interest because otherwise, students will not want to go there. All of these institutions decide what makes the most economic sense for the long-term. They have to contribute, what, a couple of million dollars? To universities, that's like turning on the faucet of water for them, you know? It buys them protection. People operate in their self-interest. (Residential Participant #2)

On Halloween in 1996, Vladimir Sled and his fiancée walked back to their Osage Avenue home from their biochemistry research lab at the University of Pennsylvania, less than one mile away. One block away from their home, which was just a few blocks off Penn's campus, a man jumped at them and tried to steal the fiancée's purse. As Sled struggled with the mugger, the mugger's accomplice arrived and stabbed Sled. Sled died less than an hour later (Miller, 2007).

"That's when Penn decided that it would either put up a moat around 40th Street border with the neighborhoods or get something to work with the neighborhoods and improve it," said the retired community college professor. "That's how the University City District came about. That's how the Penn Alexander school came about. Everything flowed from a crisis, and I think that's generally how these institutions respond."

The University City District is a special services district that promotes the neighborhood, plans social programming to serve the community, hires public safety ambassadors to patrol streets, and overall tries to revive the community. Penn Alexander is a high-quality elementary school that is a partnership between the School District of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania

"Penn, Drexel, University of the Sciences, and all institutions that I know, they respond to crises," explained the retired community college professor. "And if there's a crisis on their border - if a student gets mauled or murdered, which has happened out here and what's going on

right now up at the Temple, that causes the university to start rethinking its safety policies. They try to placate people by putting out more personnel and security. That's, you know, the general modus operandi. Whether that leads to a constructive long-term solution is debatable."

On November 28, 2021, Temple University senior Samuel Collington was shot in an apparent carjacking incident on the 2200 block of Park Avenue, two blocks away from Temple's campus, at 1:30 pm on a sunny Sunday afternoon Collington, who was set to graduate in six months and had plans to attend law school the following academic year, died less than 30 minutes later (Rushing, 2021).

"I was watching TV downstairs," said Residential Participant #27, the Park Avenue resident. "I didn't hear anything, but my wife was on the third floor and in the front room. She was laying down, pretty much asleep, and she heard three shots and she heard us a scream or yell. She looked out the window and she didn't see anything. Soon, she heard the cops. Then she saw the police."

When the local news stations started showing pictures of the alleged teenage suspect, the Park Avenue resident recognized the young man. "I saw that kid weeks before," he said.

> This is this is how it happened: just before the Thanksgiving holiday, I painted my porch and my steps. I wanted to get it done before the weather got really cold, so I was outside for like four- or five-days taping, painting, fixing, spackling, doing that for hours. And one day I was out there, and this kid walked up and down the street like 10 times. The kids from the high school up the street were outside at this this particular time. I thought he was like engaging with those kids but apparently, he was doing something else. I feel confident that if I saw that kid walking back and forth. After the fifth or sixth time, he waved to me like he knew me. That was really strange. But we had had a number of

carjackings on our street previous to that. The people that told me about it never identified the person. They just said that there was carjackings. So, I'm thinking there is this brute, you know, or some gang or whatever. And it's just this scrawny teenager. Residential Participant #27)

No one from the university contacted the Park Avenue resident even though the murder took place in front of his home. The alleged suspect was identified within 48 hours as a 5'5", 170-pound, 17-year-old from the adjacent neighborhood. He surrendered to the police the following Wednesday.

"I wasn't a witness to the actual crime," the Park Avenue resident admitted. "But I do remember seeing this person." Also, no one from the university inquired with him or his family to see if they felt traumatized in any way.

Residential Participant #4, the education and youth activist in West Philadelphia, noticed that the death of the white student caused widespread outrage, and police acted quickly to identify the suspect. "Those are not left unsolved," she said.

There are so many murders in the community that are left unsolved - 400+ of us have been murdered as well (in 2021). Where's the activity behind that? The long-time residents see that as a negative when one of the students are killed. It's kind of like a cop being killed. It puts a bad light on Philadelphia. Well, what about our kids? They can't even walk to school safely. As long-time residents, we're traumatized as well. There are plenty more of us dying than you. Not to minimize it. We want to not be locked indoors as well. We want to be free-range in our neighborhoods as well. African American males are targeted from so many different directions. We're a mess until our children walk back

into the house. No other race of people has to do that. Why does no other family have to deal with that situation? (Residential Participant #4)

University Participant #4 had a similar thought after learning of the murder on Park Avenue. “I saw and I was like, ‘Shit. That's horrible,’” she recalled. “But how many other kids, how many other young people were shot in North Philly the week before, the week before that, the week before that? They just didn't have an affiliation with Temple, right?”

In the wake of Collington’s murder, the president of Temple University announced that the university’s campus safety force would be increased by 50%, and other steps would be taken, like adding lights and cameras (Wingard, 2021).

“One white death can change the infrastructure and the ecosystem of investment for an entire fucking region, which actually ends up in billions of dollars,” said Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer. He also noted that the homicide rate in Philadelphia in 2021 reached the highest level since 1991, and the vast majority of the victims were Black men. “It pains me because I've personally gone through the trauma. I’ve lost loved ones because of gun violence. To imagine the fact that, excuse me, that one little, fucking, pale-skin white boy dies and we're going to change the trajectory of the university? That, in itself, is like the ultimate disrespect.”

Crime in the neighborhoods near the university campuses has long been an issue; the legacy of deindustrialization during the 20th century, which coincided with red-lining policies that steered certain populations of people to specific areas of the city, explained Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer.

“Violence is continual,” said Residential Participant #28, a communications coordinator in North Philadelphia. “Programs are lacking. There aren't any for-the-community programs and

those that do exist don't have enough backing or financial resources to be able to be successful and sustainable."

A few of the interview subjects acknowledged that social services for city residents are not necessarily the responsibility of the universities, but when funding and programming at city recreation centers decreases, the impact goes beyond the community.

"Temple has gotten better," said Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia. "But I've been around since the 70s and I just remember feeling like they could have done so much more to engage and educate the youth. Even today, they could be engaging and educating the youth in the community that surrounds them. They pay a horrible and deadly price for not doing that."

Education

The concept of the higher education institutions getting involved in primary school education was not among the priorities for many of the interview subjects, but it was a topic that was raised by nearly all. The University of Pennsylvania has had great successes at the Penn Alexander School in West Philadelphia, although the indirect impact has been such that the neighborhood demographics have dramatically changed. That has made people wary of Penn's involvement at other schools, as noted by public protests. Temple University sends students from their College of Education to get experience at city schools, but there is no longer focused attention on any one school in the public school system. "If you look at Temple, we've got a couple of schools that are like three blocks away," noted University Participant #10, the professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of Philadelphia. "We are three blocks away from those schools but miles away from the reality of where those kids are coming from. We need to do better on that. That's more of what we need to

think about doing as it relates to transformative types of practice, as opposed to transactional practices. That's what we need to invest in, I think."

Several interview subjects noted that the university student bodies do not mirror the city's demographics and, in fact, the schools seemed not to be interested in recruiting city youth. "They should be making those kinds of opportunities available to students from the neighboring zip codes. Why not?" asked Residential Participant #1, the neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city. She earned a bachelor's degree in social work from Temple University. "I was just one of those fortunate. More recruitment needs to be done."

Both of the high school students interviewed for this study said that the city universities had not sent representatives to their high schools to attract students. In contrast, suburban and far-off schools, like Cabrini University and Millersville University, sent admissions counselors to the schools.

"When I went there (to Temple), there were people from all different walks of life - you were poor, you were wealthy, you were brown, you were white," said Residential Participant #14, the youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. "There were so many different people and now it's just completely different. I remember during the years that I went there, people started saying, 'Oh, Temple is hard to get into now.' They're rejecting way more people now and I feel like they're trying to be on another level, which is fine. But when we get back to why Temple was founded - it was founded for people who were working. It started as a night school and their tuition was cheaper. I completely feel like Russell Conwell (the university's founder) is rolling in his grave because I don't know what they're doing now."

In January of 2022, the Philadelphia Inquirer reported that the Black student population at Temple University had dropped from 28.4% in the late 1990s to 12.6% in the 2016-2017 academic year (Fernandez & Snyder, 2022).

“I don’t want to hear nothing from Temple,” said Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist. “I don’t want to hear anything from any of these universities unless they are talking about reparations, unless they are talking about giving us a decent education and stop taking everything the hell away from us. Why is every other school decent except the Black schools? We’re not animals. Let me say that again: we are not animals. You are not zookeepers.

Overall Lack of Trust

All but three of the interview subjects felt that overall lack of trust could be addressed, and mutually beneficial relationships could be established.

“When they go into the community, that historical level of mistrust is there,” said Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years. “That's the part that needs to be taken down before anything productive can happen. The universities have lived within their own orbit for a long time, and they never really regarded many communities as anything to do with.”

Twenty-two of the 28 interview subjects said they do not participate in any of the official outreach programs offered by any of the universities in the city, and most of the 22 said they were unsure of what programming exists.

“You're pushing people out of neighborhoods and then saying, ‘Oh well, we do this and that,’” said Residential Participant #14, the youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. “That's not what the community is saying or seeing. They don't get to take advantage of those opportunities because technically it's not really for us.”

Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university, said that he has stayed active within social justice movements in the city because he doesn't see paths to make change within or through the university. "This might reflect a number of elite institutions - they will give you the space to question everything," he said, "because they know ain't shit going to change. I'm in the school of education, right, so we talk about, 'This could be what social justice and equity education is going to be.' You realize, like, 'Fam, you could write all the little research papers you want, but they ain't stopping the legislation from being what is going to be. They ain't stopping in Pearson's, Scholastic and all these corporate jawns that serve us curriculum in this country. It's a fabrication, and you can get caught up just being a highly theoretical person. But it's totally isolated from your community. So, I stay my ass in the community."

Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist, said that he's not interested in the programming offered by the university outreach centers. "Y'all do some hurtful things to people and y'all keep on thinking about what's good for y'all after a couple, maybe 50 years, all so you can get rid of your ghost?" he quipped. "I'm not trying to let you get rid of it. I want you to suffer like my ancestors suffered, like you got me suffering."

Summary

There is a great level of frustration amongst the interview subjects, most of which is directed at the higher education institutions adjacent to their residential communities. There is tragic history in many of those areas where houses were demolished and communities were broken, often to make way for university facilities and housing for students. That history has bred fear in current residential community members, the interview subjects suggested. That fear is compounded by loathing for current university students, many of whom have no immediate

connection to the city where their university is located and a perceived lack of respect for the longstanding residential community it abuts.

When you factor in the changes in government and government spending and the evolving priorities around public education, public health, public housing, and overall support for those without greater means, you find that there are communities of people who feel lost, without hope. When those people see students disrespecting their neighborhoods, they become irate. When they see new facilities erected on college campuses, they wonder why they aren't invited to learn and grow. When they see people preparing for successes that are perceived to be unattainable for them, they grow angry.

At the same time, the majority of the interview subjects felt that there are ways that the university communities can assist the residential communities. Many programs and services, in fact, are already offered by the universities. The residential community members just don't know about them. In the following section, you will find the suggestions from the interview subjects for how to build better relationships between the two communities.

Chapter IV: Results, part 2 – Community Desires

Findings

What do the residents of communities adjacent to the university want to experience in regard to their relationship to the university? Twenty-five of the 28 interview subjects felt that the mistrust could be overcome. Despite the frustration that issues had been allowed to fester for so long, many offered steps for moving forward. “We need to do something different,” said Residential Participant #1, the neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city. “We can't do it the same way. We have to engage our young people and help old people differently. Things have changed, even the way we engage - Zoom, computers, it’s all changing.”

Good Communication

The most common theme that emerged in the interviews with residential community members and university representatives was that there was a lack of communication between the universities and their surrounding residential community members. That lack of connection allowed for rumors to swirl and ill feelings to fester.

“I feel like the like a really huge thing with any two separate parties or just entities is just communication,” said Residential Participant #19, a North Philadelphia resident who attends a South Philadelphia charter school. “I feel like there could be more communication from not even just Temple but all universities within the city since they are right in the middle of regular residential communities. They should announce changes that they want to make, like, ‘Oh, we're thinking about making this new building in this place, for this reason. How can we accomplish this while also, you know, be mindful that people also live in these neighborhoods?’ I feel like that would help a lot.”

Residential Participant #21, a North Philadelphia community activist, runs a nonprofit that helps people gain experience and find work, and he is the vice president of an organization that maintains a playground in his community. He removes trash from the playground nearly every day, a side project from his work at a nearby arts organization. “Trying to partner up with people and stuff like that, like, who do you go see down at Temple for that type of stuff, you know what I mean?” he asked. “I mean, it would be good if they reached out to the neighborhoods, but you don't really see a lot of it.” He would be interested in having student volunteers but he’s not sure if the university would help facilitate activities, given that the playground is about four blocks north of Temple’s campus. He’s not sure what services exist at the university or what offices or departments might be the best to contact. “It’s not a lack of trust problem,” he stated. “It’s a lack of communication. How do they bring programs into the communities and how are they getting the word out?”

One of his colleagues in the playground project, Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia, agreed with his sentiments. “I'm just gonna quote my pastor, who says that everything moves at the speed of relationships,” she said. “If you don’t have direct relationships, then you don’t see the opportunities aren’t even there.”

The relationships that exist tend to be personal – developed over time, usually with faculty members or other lower-level university employees, not often with senior administration.

“We do work with Temple but it's not always an easy, clear relationship that someone would know, ‘OK, this is the go-to person,’” said Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia. “So, we have worked with different departments, like with the Department of Education. The deans seem to work independently. It doesn't come from

the top down. I think the University of Pennsylvania has a better culture of working with the community because it comes from the president down. It's like their vision and they incorporate it in all of the strategic plans, in all of their growth. Everything that they're doing, they involve the community."

A few of the interview subjects noted that it's important for the community to have consistent representation as well so that the universities know who in the residential communities they need to work with. "A really important thing would be getting the people who want to collaborate with the university to the forefront," said Residential Participant #11, a community leader from the Yorktown section of the city. "When you talk about a group, a population, you're going to have people who are for something, against something, and on-the-fence, for various reasons - cultural, social, economic. Isolate the things that have worked and get people together who want to have conversations and open dialogue."

Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years, said he eventually reached a point when he could contact senior leadership at the University of Pennsylvania directly. It took an investment of time – many years, he said. "It was that personal contact, where trust was built up between community and university, that caused a lot of the roadblocks to fall away," he stated. But he also noted that not everyone can make such a time commitment and community organization leadership has high turnover. "Community people, you know, they're busy. They're raising families. They've got work. It's not their job and they're not being paid. They're volunteers, so it's a different level."

When the right people come together, it seems, positive actions can occur. The mistrust that has been built over time seems to be largely against institutions. Individuals can work together when there is a level of mutual respect.

“What's amazing is that people can be mad and then, when you speak with respect and listen to what people have to say, a lot of them will be happy to work with you,” said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades. “They don't hold a grudge as long as you're not throwing your weight around and wanting to eat their lunch. If you can come off as just a person, it works.”

The issue of the perceived lack of communication with the neighboring residential community members when Temple University proposed building an on-campus football stadium was raised by several of the interview subjects. The university began developing plans for the $130 million stadium in 2015. Almost immediately, a protest group called the Stadium Stompers was formed, and they began holding monthly meetings.

“I think transparency is a big thing,” said Residential Participant #15, who works as a literacy nonprofit administrator a few blocks north of Temple University. “I think that was part of the stadium issue, besides the fact that it would have a huge impact. The benefit to Temple was clear. The benefits for the neighborhood were not.”

By 2018, the perceived lack of communication left members of the residential community angry. When the university held a town hall meeting in March of 2018, the university leadership was shouted down by protestors (Scott, 2018).

“I had the honor and privilege to go before a couple hundred people in Mitten Hall,” said University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. “And,

and I had the distinction of being shouted down by about 10 people who came in, who we later found out actually didn't live in the area but came from a halfway house a ways away. They just wanted to do whatever." He continued: "The whole thing with the stadium was unfortunate. People started all kinds of rumors and whatnot. I truly think it would have benefited the community in multiple ways."

While all of the residential community members interviewed discussed the need to be able to communicate better with the leaders of the higher education institutions within their communities, a few remained skeptical that better communication would improve the situations of the people who reside within those communities.

"I mean, they're powerful people," said Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university. "They're gonna say the same thing: 'I hear you. I'm listening.' Listening does not change behavior and we have not changed behavior."

Non-Academic Services

"My mom was 17 when she had me and she was going to Temple," said Residential Participant #17, the former mayoral staffer, now in his mid-40s. "She had to take me to school in order to get things done. Fortunately, she was able to do that and graduate, but that opportunity is not present for everybody. I think you have to consider social programming in order to really engage the people who really are looking for education, who are looking for a better lifestyle. If you don't, if you don't have somebody in your government affairs or community affairs department that can connect them with assistance, you'll lose them. I'm not saying it's got to be the main goal of the university. We're talking about equity and inclusion of all people, especially those that are looking at getting into these publicly funded universities."

Interview subjects suggested that the universities could help the communities lift themselves by providing non-academic services, like job and skills training, mental health services, childcare, and even trauma therapy. While such services are far removed from the core mission of the higher education institutions, many of the universities in Philadelphia already offer such programming. Most of the interview subjects, however, were not aware of them.

"If Temple would just offer often more opportunities to the neighborhood, such as job training, maybe trade training for those of us who are not equipped or not well-suited for college, that would be awesome," said Residential Participant #22, the community storyteller in North Philadelphia. "Because the neighborhood is struggling. And it's not like there's a lot of opportunities to take advantage of. Maybe If they offered classes or a certificate program for a certain field or whatever, something that a person could work toward and gain skills and have somewhere to go with that. That would help."

To be most effective, the interview subjects said that such programming should start with youth and then continue for adults.

"Give them exposure to job opportunities and help facilitate them getting a job, whether it be on Temple's campus or with one of their partners," suggested Residential Participant #26, a community organizer in North Philadelphia. "They need to do that system-wide, city-wide, and make that a principle in almost every aspect of what they do, starting with youth in middle and high school. Keep bringing that up. Keep singing that song: 'This is about you becoming a productive member of society, positive, respectful, knowledgeable and proud of the city that you come from.'"

Residential Participant #28, a communications coordinator in North Philadelphia in his 20s, also serves as a workforce development coordinator. He runs events that draw hundreds of

people and dozens of employers. He explained that higher education institutions, with all of their vendors, partners, and affiliates, could have a massive impact on regional and local employment. “We need workforce development programs on a larger component, specifically geared towards young people between the age of 14 to 22,” he said. “I think another thing they can also be do is programs for adults over the age of 22 to about 45. Simple training in workforce development skills, also financial literacy courses. It's really poor there.”

The University of Pennsylvania is the biggest employer in the city, with 47,757 employees as of November 2021(University of Pennsylvania, 2021b). The other universities in the city, especially the ones with health care systems, are also amongst the top ten employers (Oliver, 2020). “You should be hiring people from the community,” asked Residential Participant #14, the youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. “I think that would be a huge thing. If people are not qualified for your jobs, why are you not helping train the community to get those jobs?”

Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia, said that the fundamental issues of communication hinder the ability to put people from the community to work. “They are one of the biggest employers, but people don’t know how they can access those jobs,” she said.

Because there are 16 colleges and universities in the city of Philadelphia and dozens more within a short driving distance of the city, there could be a world of amenities and services provided to the citizens of the city who otherwise might not have access to resources, interview subjects stated. Higher education institutions could start by offering space to the community, where people could gather and share experiences and maybe run their own programs, Residential Participant #18, the criminal justice policy director, suggested. There is an immense amount of

knowledge that could be shared with the residential community members, from legal information to business training. Two interview subjects suggested that the universities could teach residential community members how to start nonprofit companies or maybe serve as a fiscal agent for fledgling operations.

"What are the trauma supports that they are able to provide either in training or in indirect service to participants?" the criminal justice policy director asked. "The universities should be training people to be culturally competent behavioral health professionals. Those folks need clinical hours. How are you supporting the community that you're in with those clinical hours? How are you building up the pipeline for therapists and social workers of color who come from similar backgrounds as the communities that you need to serve? That would be a huge contribution to the field."

Providing services that also help students gain needed training can work, but interview subjects noticed that when engagement is less structured, it becomes inconsistent and unreliable. To set up more formal connections requires a greater commitment, and that raised other questions, such as whether universities had an obligation to provide social services that might be better offered through the city, state, or federal governments.

"There's a vacuum left by the larger absence of state and federal structures," said Residential Participant #24, a university professor at a suburban college who lives in West Philadelphia. "Things that would have strengthened and supported the kinds of services that the municipal government provided in previous generations have disappeared. State and federal funding has dried up. In that vacuum, eds and meds in these urban landscapes pick up the slack in these very selective ways." He referred to it as a weakened state brought on by the rise of Neoliberalism since the 1980s. "What I would want is a strong social democratic type of

governance structure," he added, "where we're not relying on the good graces of these huge private universities to provide our public goods for us."

That creates many other problems, he said and doesn't address the underlying issues of underfunding programs that better the lives of those who are less fortunate.

> My instinct is to say, 'OK, let's get people housing, transportation, healthcare and a job. Ok? And let's decarcerate so that most people in Black communities don't have to touch this terrible machine that prevents them from getting a job, that takes parts of their whole life away, that takes their families away. Let's rebuild city infrastructure so that the houses aren't falling apart, and let's get rid of landlords that just suck this money out of out of people.' I'm not a criminologist but my instinct is that those kinds of things that would help to alleviate some of the pressures that are tendencies or social forces that you know, end up compelling people to find their way into these situations (resorting to crime and violence). The university can't do that. A university shouldn't do that. It's not a university's job. It's the tragedy of our politics that cities and states and the federal government are now sort of administered with the idea that it is the university's responsibility. (Residential Participant #24)

University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program, acknowledged that universities and colleges have no legal obligation to fulfill the duties of city, state, and federal governments. But there may be a moral obligation. "Higher education might be reflective of the larger structures in society but also, it has directly influenced and helped shape that society," she said. "We were completely complicit, if not completely influential and powerful in shaping what that looks like. We have to own that responsibility and correct for our ways."

Two interview subjects referred to the hefty endowments of the universities, mentioning that rather than banking the money, some of it could be put to work to improve the surrounding residential community. “Why are you not doing mutual aid stuff?” asked Residential Participant #14, the youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. “Why are you not making sure that the people in your community are well served? Even if they opened a freakin’ food bank, something that to me is low hanging fruit, they could do with not a lot of effort.”

While people might fear that the universities are just buying respect by funding projects or offering services, one interview subject suggested that it could be regulated by oversight from the residential community members. “It could just mean really investing in the programs that are already there, that’s working for the community members, that’s a part of existing organizations,” said Residential Participant #16, a nonprofit development coordinator who lives in West Philadelphia. “It can mean investing instead of trying to overtake or overpower.”

Build Processes So People Can Retain Their Homes

There were a great number of concerns about land and property amongst the interview subjects when talking about the experiences of residential community members when dealing with the universities, as previously noted. That included private development that had increased as the need for student housing grew, and developers crept deeper into the longstanding residential neighborhoods.

Preserving those neighborhoods for the longstanding neighbors was of great importance to several interview subjects. “People are being pushed out,” said Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia. “They need to invest in people so that they can maintain the legacy of the real estate that their family has acquired. Because we're losing legacy properties left and right every day.” Beyond that, she suggested that the

universities could serve as intermediaries when community members have to deal with third-party organizations, whether they be private companies or governmental bodies, like the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA). That would help minimize the feeling of powerlessness when communicating or negotiating with powerful, well-funded operations.

"There were 13 PHA properties in our community that sold around 2010 for $35,000 on auction," she detailed "People in the community or people who had grown up in those homes were never offered the opportunity to buy them. They were bought by developers. If you're selling public property on auction, the right of first denial should go to people from the community where the houses exist, people who had to live next to them."

Residential Participant #15, who works as a literacy nonprofit administrator a few blocks north of Temple University, had a more progressive idea to preserve neighborhoods for longstanding residents. "Universities should be strengthening communities overall, working to keep people in their homes, to increase homeownership," he said. "There are those forestry companies that, for every tree they cut down, they plant two more, or whatever it is. What if Temple or the other universities said for every student housing project they build, they make sure that two folks in the community can go from rental to ownership? People can start to put down roots and feel like they're safe in their community."

Assistance with Routine Things That People at Universities Take for Granted

Interview subjects suggested that the universities could harness the expertise that their students have to help residential community members. "A lot of our older people don't know how to use Zoom," said Residential Participant #1, the neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city. "They don't know how to really work some of the basic computer functions, like just a simple Microsoft suite application."

Residential Participant #22, the community storyteller in North Philadelphia, works for a nonprofit organization in his community and he sees people who struggle because they lack other foundational skills: “Reading, math, writing, things like that,” he said. “Computer basics. Things like that would help us more and help us build a better relationship with the university.”

Residential Participant #11, a community leader from the Yorktown section of the city, suggested that Temple University could help with beautification projects near the neighborhood, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Yorktown, which first opened to residents in 1960, was the first middle-class planned community where the homeowners were predominantly African American and still are today. The community leader, who recently graduated from La Salle University, said that the relationship with Temple has always been rocky, but that simple projects would go a long way. Planters on street corners and Yorktown banners hanging from street poles could bring back pride in the community, he said. “People would like to see to kind of restoration to how it was before,” he said, referring to the early days of the community. “It’s slowly happening – new, younger people coming in, families, so in the summer and spring, you see people walking with dogs, people with the kids, everyone out just kind of restoring that beauty and that dignity, you know? That type of stuff.”

Educational Opportunities: Primary Schools

There are around 16 universities and colleges in the city of Philadelphia, and nine either have schools of education or offer majors in education. Most of the nine higher education institutions with academic programming in education send students to nearby elementary, junior, and high schools to get field experience, such as in Temple’s Teacher Residency program. Only the University of Pennsylvania currently has formal operational partnerships with public schools. In addition to the Penn Alexander School, which is an elementary school that is a partnership

between the School District of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania, Penn's Netter Center for Community Partnerships has a "University-Assisted Community Schools" initiative that gets the university involved in other West Philadelphia schools, like Comegys School, Hamilton School, Lea School, Mitchell School, Mastery Charter School at Shoemaker, Robeson High School, Sayre High School, and West Philadelphia High School.

Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia and West Philadelphia, said that Penn's involvement in public education is a much-needed positive step, but it's really just triage. These are not solutions, she said. "They're episodic," she continued. "They're not systemic, and this is a systemic issue."

The four-year graduation rate for high school students in the School District of Philadelphia is 69.2%. By comparison, the four-year graduation rate for high school students in Pennsylvania is 85.9%, and 84.6% for the United States. Philadelphia's four-year graduation rate is much lower than in the nation's two largest public school systems, the New York City School District, which had a 77.3% rate, and the Los Angeles Unified School District, which had a 79% four-year graduation rate (The School District of Philadelphia, 2021).

"You have educators at your disposal," said Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia. "So, educate those that are right around you to make it a life better for all. Number one, you create a more diverse environment. You create relationships that normally would not exist. And you create exposure that normally would not exist, right?"

Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer, said that it should be an embarrassment for anyone who says they are involved in education if they don't actively work to ensure that the residential community members are properly educated. "They need a change of

leadership and a change of doctrine," he said of the universities in the city. "If you can't educate the people whose high schools and public housing are in walking distance, who are suffering from an urban violence crisis, but you got ideas to do universities all over the world and to sell your product internationally, you should fucking quit. If you can't change the fact that Philadelphia has a 30 percent reading level for third graders, you should fucking resign."

From a practical business perspective, a high-functioning public school system would create a feeder system for the local universities, noted Residential Participant #27, the Park Avenue resident. He pointed out that two former public schools near Temple University were closed by the district. The former Wanamaker Elementary parcel is now home to private dorms for students, as well as retail space. The former William Penn High School grounds were purchased by Temple and are now used as athletic fields. He also noted that the former University City High School in West Philadelphia was demolished for a massive development spearheaded by Drexel University. "What happens to all the potential students, from the present into the future, who could have went through those high schools and to the university?" he asked. "I brought that up to a couple politicians and everybody looked at me like I was crazy."

The Penn Alexander School has built a national reputation for how universities can help public school systems improve. Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years, said that he has met with officials from other universities interested in creating similar partnerships. "Unless you're going to put it in your budget and fund it year-after-year-after-year, and not just consider it something you're going to help start and walk away from it, don't do it," he said that he has told those officials. "If you're going to support public education in the city, you've got to start it and you've got to stay. If you're not prepared to do that, that don't get into it."

He was part of the team that helped broker the deal with members of the West Philadelphia community and the University of Pennsylvania, and they tried to predict the impact that the school would have. “Our biggest problem was always keeping homeowners here,” he said, “because if they had kids and they were associated with the university, once the kids got to be school age, they were outta here. They relocated to somewhere in Lower Merion. They were out of the city. If they couldn't afford private school, they were out of here. The only way we could keep people here was to create a quality school where they would be willing to send their kids. That, more than anything else, has caused the rise in real estate prices, particularly in the catchment area.”

Residential Participant #4, the education and youth activist in West Philadelphia, said that she is pleased with how the University of Pennsylvania has connected with the schools in West Philadelphia. But she still has to convince her friends and neighbors that the actions are not occurring because the university is trying to push people out. “This is where the funding came from,” she points out to people. “They’re not just the university you see eating up real estate in West Philadelphia.”

Educational Opportunities: Higher Education

While several interview subjects suggested that local universities should educate more students from the city of Philadelphia, several also talked about two large obstacles that stand in the way: lack of preparedness and lack of exposure.

Because so many youths in Philadelphia struggle in primary and secondary school, and there often isn’t a history of obtaining a college education in their families, many Philadelphia teens don’t even understand what higher education is, noted Residential Participant #14, the youth empowerment activist in West Philadelphia. “They don't know that college is an option,”

she said. “We took them on some college tours. Do you know what half of them said? They were confused. They said, ‘Wait, so college is like juvenile placement?’ That’s exactly what they said, which is funny but it’s also sad, right? No, college is not juvenile placement. Them even understanding what it means to go to college is not there.”

Residential Participant #16, a nonprofit development coordinator, grew up in West Philadelphia, just a few blocks away from the University of Pennsylvania. “I really didn't understand UPenn as an institution or as something that I had access to,” she said. “Part of that is that I'm a first-generation college student. Really understanding the foundation of college was something that I had to discover on my own. It was encouraged at home but the knowledge base and what was available to me wasn't necessarily there. We didn't have that education in my house.”

Residential Participant #22, the community storyteller in North Philadelphia, suggested that universities could build college readiness programs. It would be a big step toward building trust with the community, he said. “Just be a little bit more open, you know and not have people look at you it's like this great big master of whatever that taking over and not really caring,” he said, mentioning that the universities have so many resources that could be of assistance. “You're not really listening to what the needs are.”

The universities could serve as resources to young people in the nearby residential communities, introducing basic concepts about the purpose of higher education, how to apply, how to prepare for standardized tests, and how to finance an education, said Residential Participant #19, who is a candidate for a full scholarship at Temple University through their Cecil B. Moore Scholars program. “Universities like Temple could step in and be, like, ‘Hey, if

you are unsure about college, we're here. We can do some things with you.' I think that would help a lot."

She didn't learn about the Cecil B. Moore Scholars program from Temple. She discovered the program, which launched in 2021 and aims to provide educational opportunities to people from the eight neighboring zip codes, while at the Community College of Philadelphia, where she is taking college-credit classes that will satisfy her senior year of high school (Krotzer, 2020). For the Cecil B. Moore Scholars program, she must also take one class at Temple. For this academic year, there are 36 students in the program competing for as many as 25 full scholarships.

The Cecil B. Moore Scholars program is intended to further diversify the student body at Temple, which is about 53% white. There were 4,730 African American students in the fall of 2020, approximately 13% of the student body, when there was a total of 36,341 matriculated students (Temple University, 2021). The University of Pennsylvania enrolled 9,872 undergraduate students in the fall of 2020, with 7.7% of them identifying as Black or African American and 35.9% identifying as white (University of Pennsylvania, 2021d). In the fall of 2020, around seven percent of Drexel University's undergraduates and 11% of the graduate students identified as Black or African American (Drexel, 2021).

"I was told by some students who are Black and from the community that the city universities don't really try to get students from the city," said Residential Participant #28, a communications coordinator in North Philadelphia. "Most of the students that go there cycle through Community College and then go to Temple or wherever instead of going straight up."

The Community College of Philadelphia is the only non-predominantly white institution in the city, with a student body in the fall of 2020 that was 41% Black or African American, 23% white, and 16% Hispanic/Latino (Community College of Philadelphia, 2022)

"Walking through Temple's campus, the demographics nowhere near reflect the community that it's right in the middle of," observed Residential Participant #26, a community organizer in North Philadelphia. "I think that Temple could be more proactive with that and begin to develop some ways for community members like myself or young people to have a pathway."

Prepare Your Students Better

Because so many of the students at Philadelphia universities are not from the city and they may not understand the actions that created the current situations, several interview subjects suggested that the universities prepare the students culturally and historically so that they can properly interact with the surrounding residential community members. Otherwise, the interactions often start with misconceptions.

"The students come in with an idea of what they believe the community to be," said Residential Participant #5, a rising politician from West Philadelphia, "versus developing some kind of interaction where they would be on the receiving end and delivering the kind of services that would be advantageous to the community." This is a challenge to address, he said, because university leaders usually do not have a history with the city, so they don't fully appreciate the history either. That combination leads to superficial community engagement work that serves to benefit the higher education institutions but not always the surrounding residential communities. "They appear to be interested in community inclusion in the preparation but based on the outcome, it appears to be fluff," he added. "It doesn't appear that they paid attention to what the

community wants or was suggesting. The university has to be focused more than just on reaching out on a standpoint of them fulfilling an agenda that they want or what the students need to do – like field service. They'll often send students out but it's more about them achieving that field experience than what it is that needs to be impacted in such a way that could help create some change."

Orientation for incoming students should include not just safety tips, said Residential Participant #15, who works as a literacy nonprofit administrator a few blocks north of Temple University. It should also include understanding your own privilege, as well as the lack of privilege that has historically been given to the people in the communities surrounding the universities. "What are the benefits, what are the strengths, the historic strengths of North Philly?" he asked.

> There's so many. The Black Panthers were huge here. The Church of the Advocate has been a center for movements. There's a ton of really amazing things that are happening in North Philly or have happened in North Philly. Think about the strengths of the space and your approach to welcoming students into this neighborhood. How are you getting kids to think about their privilege, their whiteness if they're white - a lot of them are, and what that means? Understanding racism and confronting white supremacy, I think, all those trainings are really would be super important. (Residential Participant #15)

It's when students do not understand the place that they feel comfortable leaving trash all around or playing loud music through the night, he added. "The students are the ambassadors of the university," he said. "If they're not caring for their neighbors and not caring for their property, they're not caring for their streetscape, I think that reflects poorly on the university."

Greater Representation and Exposure

Residential Participant #1, a neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city, recalled one day when her husband was getting out of his car as a child watched. “I want to wear one of those one day,” the child said to her husband, referring to his tie. “In this particular community, we don't see too many professional Black men walking around. If we had college students in the community - *from* the community, maybe more and more young people would feel as though it’s something they can do.”

That representation in the residential neighborhoods is important, several interview subjects noted. That exposure to the possibility of higher education would help inspire others. Other interview subjects suggested that exposure to college campuses would be helpful as well. “There’s so much that could be done on a larger scale, giving opportunities to the students,” said Residential Participant #4, the education and youth activist in West Philadelphia. “Get out of immediate neighborhoods. See how colleges run. They don’t do a lot of college visit stuff anymore.” When she was in high school in the 1980s, she said she did an engineering and science program at St. Joseph’s University and participated in an Upward Bound program on Drexel University’s campus.

Widener University in Chester, PA had serious issues with the way the institution engaged with the surrounding residential community, said Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university who grew up in Chester. One thing that the university did well, he said, was bringing local youth to the campus for programming. “I wouldn't say that they were doing a lot for the city,” he admitted. “I would say, they were definitely giving an opportunity to the students.”

Residential Participant #20, who is a candidate for a full scholarship at Temple University through their Cecil B. Moore Scholars program, wanted to attend a historically Black college or university because he visited Howard University when he was in eighth grade. “We explored the campus, he remembered. “We were able to sit in one of the classes and interact with other students, stuff like that. That was a place that I would like to be around. Also, it just gave me a different flow.” Because he expects to get a free ride at Temple, he’ll likely go there, and he’s comfortable with that. He grew up a few blocks away and visited campus frequently to walk around and purchase food at the lunch carts scattered around the North Philadelphia campus. “It felt exciting,” he remembered thinking. “I felt like a whole new world.”

Rather than live his dream at an HBCU, he will stay closer to his family and be a role model for his sister, who is six years younger. “I guess I’m going to be the inspiration for her to go to college,” he said. “As soon as I told her I wanted to go, then she wanted to go, too.

Safety

Most of the interview subjects, both the residential community members and the university-connected subjects, discussed the need for the universities to serve a greater role in helping to tamp down the consistent levels of violence in the city, especially in the wake of the surge in criminal activity that has erupted over the past two years. There were 562 homicides in Philadelphia in 2021 and 499 in 2020. During the previous ten years, the city averaged 304 murders per year (Philadelphia Police Department, 2022).

“The violence rate has gone up spectacularly,” said Residential Participant #19, a North Philadelphia resident who is a candidate for a full scholarship at Temple University through their Cecil B. Moore Scholars program. “Not just to only keep Temple students safe but to just keep

kind of neighborhood safer, I feel like there should be, if not Temple police just regular police patrolling." Several other interview subjects agreed with her sentiments.

Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia, referred to the 17-year-old who was arrested for the carjacking and murder of the Temple University senior on Park Avenue in November 2021. "He comes from our neighborhood," she said. "He literally played in a baseball league here. I know three or four generations of his family. He wasn't always a bad kid, but idle hands are the devil's workshop. Or is it idle mind? We have no recreation. None. Zero. Our home is the playground. When the winter comes, we don't have a place to really engage our children."

She suggested that, with a minimal financial investment, the universities could work with the existing community organizations that are doing the work to keep children engaged, safe, and thinking about their futures. The children who have no hope are the ones who are most susceptible to eventually committing crimes. "Nip that in the bud, so to speak," she said.

> Start with 10th graders. Have a summer program where one of the first steps that you can do is the Philly youth employment program. But make it year-around. Engage the kids academically. Open up the door for those who really want to be there to be there. Start to develop them academically and get them on the right pathway. It wouldn't even take a huge amount of money. Think about the impact. When you put in an effort in terms of safety and violence prevention, you create a safer culture. (Residential Participant #25)

One of the difficulties is that crime in the neighborhoods surrounding the universities has been so prevalent for so long that it is almost accepted as normal. "The neighborhood that I come from, you kinda get used to that stuff," said Residential Participant #20, who is a candidate for a

full scholarship at Temple University through their Cecil B. Moore Scholars program. “It doesn't really affect me in any kind of way. other than just, you know, stay cautious.”

Residential Participant #22, the community storyteller in North Philadelphia, said that the normalization of crime is not acceptable. He stays indoors, especially after night falls, and that has impacted his mental health. “It's tough living in a neighborhood where like if you can hear gunshots every other day,” he said. “It’s stressful.”

The residential community members interviewed said that cooperation between the universities and the local neighbors was essential in stemming the tide of violence. “We all definitely have to start helping change the mindset, said Residential Participant #1, a neighborhood leader from the Brewerytown section of the city. “When we help change the mindset, maybe there will be less crime. If we all work together - everybody knows eyes on the street and everything, if we're all working together, maybe we can help stop some of the negative behaviors.”

Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia, said that gun violence is a symptom of larger problems, the systemic disinvestment that has happened in many cities in the United States, usually in communities of color. “What you will see around those communities is lack of access to quality public free education,” she said. “You will see lack of support for healthcare, both physical and behavioral. You will see that economic mobility is stunted in these neighborhoods.”

These four tenets to reducing gun violence are prevention, intervention, enforcement, and reentry, she said. And each of those things needs to be addressed in a comprehensive way. “We do need law enforcement as a lever in terms of reducing violence,” she added. “But it should not be the only lever we push or pull. This is not a problem you cannot arrest your way out of. I do

think we have to have a coordinated, geographic, intelligent approach to policing and law enforcement writ-large. I do think it is a lever that has to be there, but we need to remove harm from our communities."

The issues that create these pockets of violence are systemic, she continued. And until all the people and organizations that have the power to make change are willing to make those changes, we will continue to suffer. "Until we are willing to spend as much effort on the triage, which is the work in my portfolio around reduction of gun violence and criminal justice reform, we have to give as much attention to the undergirding and systemic issues. I use cancer often as a metaphor. If you have lung cancer and we get in you, the tumors are removed, you go through chemotherapy, but you can't quit smoking? You've got to be kidding. My job as a triage person is to remove the tumor. You still got to go through chemotherapy. You may have to go through physical therapy. There may be other types of medication that you need to take advantage of, and other actions taken, be they a change the diet, more exercise, all those things. Those are the ongoing long-term things that need to be done, a change of lifestyle. But you got to stop smoking."

The University of Pennsylvania has the largest private police force in Pennsylvania and the third largest in the country, stated Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university. "They can put new street monitors, more armed police officers across West Philadelphia and that is their idea of safety. My idea of safety is having stable, secure housing for working class families. My idea safety is having quality, non-toxic foods for students. I think, having good jobs with strong benefits and support is part of what it means to do community safety. However, I haven't seen that historically from them, what it really means to sustain communities."

Rather, the focus from the universities has been on their own growth – in students, buildings, and endowments, amongst other things, said Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia. “However, the community around them is what will attract students,” she said, “because if they feel safe in that community, then they're more likely to apply and enroll.”

Self-Determination

A common theme amongst the residential community members, especially those who are older and have been in the community longer, is that they don’t want to rely upon higher education institutions for assistance. What they really want is to have the ability to raise themselves out of their sometimes-difficult situations and have control over their fates. “None of it will work with them being the boss,” said Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist. “I’m telling everybody, you have to work with the community and let the community heal itself.”

Rather than simply funding random projects or doing other sporadic work, several interview subjects argued that one of the best ways for the universities to be of assistance is by providing the skills for the residential community members to help themselves. “They need to come in, be our partners, help us with stuff like bank accounts, creating 501(c)(3)s, show us how to roll so that when we come up and start to do stuff, y’all can be our aid,” the Black Bottom activist continued.

> Then we can get it done right, precise, and we can move on. Everybody knows the problem. The problem is there's no decent employment in our communities. They want us to work at Dunkin’ Donuts or Rite Aid or for somebody else? That mean that means we will never have anything for ourselves. We’re not manufacturing. We're not making

> anything. We're not selling anything of substance. We're not doing anything for our community. How come we gotta keep waiting for someone else to do something for us? We gotta wait on the Caucasian man, wait on the China man, wait on the Asian man. Now we gotta wait on the Indian man. Why are all these people coming before us when we been here? We're natives. (Residential Participant #7)

He feels that the programming the universities offer to the adjacent residential communities is more self-serving and without a lasting positive impact on the neighbors. "People just want to wipe their soul clean or something," he stated. "You're not going to wipe your soul clean on me. I'm just tired of them, from all this bullshit. Ain't nobody's fault but our own."

Many people have taken action directly, but it can be cumbersome, costly, and hard to sustain. Every day, Residential Participant #21, a North Philadelphia community activist, cleans a block in his neighborhood. There are so many streets that need to be swept and cleared of trash, so he's started hiring his friends when they re-enter the community after a stint in prison. "One of my homies who been locked up seven, eight years or 10 years, I'll take him and get him the first pair of sneaks, get him an outfit or something, try to talk to him and let him know about society," he said. "I'm doing that on my own time with my own money. I'm being blessed right? So, I chase the blessing. I don't look at it as doing it for nothing else but the blessing. Some extra help will always come in handy right, but how do you find it, how do you go about getting it? That's the problem."

Hiring his re-entering friends reduces their likelihood of recidivism, and it does good for the community. Assistance from the universities could come in the form of volunteers or funding, both of which would be welcomed. Other skills training would be great as well, he said, but starting with cleaning the streets is an invaluable first step. "I think you just have to have

clean communities first, and when I say clean communities, I mean clean up your grounds, clean up your walk, your drains. And then we'll be able to clean up ourselves, right? We'll be making better, wiser decisions, right? We will be better able to talk to each other. Because when you come out and you just see trash all day, like as soon as you walk out the house, it's going to mess with your attitude. Just imagine coming out and it's just clean everywhere you go. You start to get that chip off your shoulder because you start off feeling good about yourself."

It doesn't even have to start with money, said Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia. It could start by letting people in the residential community know what resources from the universities are available. "I don't have a full depth and breadth of what opportunities exist either at Penn or Drexel, but I know that they can be built," she said. "I know that there's a lot of things that the community doesn't take advantage of because they don't know about it. It doesn't have to be financial, though it could just be. How can folks take advantage of libraries in their community space? Are there workshops that exists to train individuals on how to be better citizens? What are they doing around voting and civic engagement? There are a lot of things that could exist and there's some of these things that they may be doing but it is not a part of a large-scale neighborhood plan that doesn't center around the institution."

Part of the problem has been that the universities are so distanced from the residential communities that when they seek out assistance from residential community members, they sometimes go to the wrong people, said Residential Participant #6, the Mantua community connector. "The colleges gotta link up with somebody that that's doing it because I know full well that the colleges have good programs," he said.

> There's some folks that have good intentions, you know what I mean? But the issue I've seen time after time is the college is dealing with someone in the neighborhood that these folks don't know. They don't know who in the 'hood is really doing the work. So, this person got the loudest mouth, and their uncle is this person, so they get in the room. They paint a picture of something. But then, when it's time for the money, they disappear. We've been doing the work, even when I was doing all the wrong stuff." He spent time in prison for dealing drugs. When he came out, he got involved in community activism - food drives, fitness camps, healing circle, etc. But because he needed money, he also went back to dealing drugs. Then he got shot 12 times. We did all the wrong stuff. But people knew that we take pride my neighborhood. We did the wrong thing the right way. (Residential Participant #6)

In recent years, part of the Mantua community connector's efforts have been around urban farming and growing enough produce to either sustain the community or sell enough to generate enough money for the community to support itself. "We need to build communities and I know that building community is a contact sport," he said. "Dick Gregory (the late actor and Civil Rights activist) said that in order for you to have a thriving community, you need to be able to control your food source, control the land, the real estate, have control of business interests, like financing, and be able to control the police. I've always focused on those key elements."

Self-determination and self-reliance are important to the long-term health of these communities, he said. "It's when people that look like me that own things, that are running things, that I go to have a real conversation with about stuff," he concluded. "I can speak in front of the store or so. But it's not it's not that easy when the people that own the store don't look like you and there's an unhealthy level of fear. Some of the fears shouldn't even be there because,

you know, maybe the white guy who owns the store can be a pretty cool white guy, but you'll never know because the two people that have the ability to bridge that gap ain't worried about bridging the gap."

Ultimately, what the community residents expressed was that they didn't want to keep asking for help from the large institutions in their neighborhoods. What they want are the same respect and the same opportunities. "These researchers come in, get the information, take it back to their schools," said Residential Participant #26, a community organizer in North Philadelphia. "They give a little gift card and the meal or whatever. Y'all get the grants and y'all got the jobs and we still got the issues. Y'all send in the resources but it's not dealing with the root causes of the problem, which is we need those docs, and we need that education. We need that pathway to become the scholars and the practitioners of these best practices, not others coming from outside in and saying, 'We're here to help.'"

Payments In Lieu of Taxes

One of the major issues raised by some of the interview subjects was the fact that the universities are tax-exempt, so they don't contribute as much as they could in taxes, which indirectly leads to public programming and services being under-funded. "They own a lot of real estate and by them being nonprofit organization, they don't pay any property taxes," said Residential Participant #6, the Mantua community connector. "The effect of what is happening is they're continuing to grow but they're not paying their fair share." Federal law classifies universities as 501(c)(3)s because of the educational missions of the institutions. In theory, they serve the greater good of the country. "The people that live there usually don't have access to the world class education that's right in their backyard," the Mantua community connector

continued, “the education that people from all around the globe are coming into this neighborhood to learn.”

In response to this reality, there have been efforts nationwide to force private universities to make payments in lieu of taxes, commonly known as PILOTs (Jay, 2022). At the University of Pennsylvania, for example, nearly 1,200 professors and staff members have signed a petition urging their university to make such payments (Penn for PILOTs, 2022). They are calling for the university and other large nonprofits to pay 40% of what they would owe in property taxes.

“The University Pennsylvania recently added $5.4 billion to their endowment,” said Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university. “They created a racial justice grant program for like $100,000. Another good one: (university president) Amy Gutmann decided before she left that UPenn would give a $100 million gift to the school district over 10 years. If you look at what their actual payment in lieu of taxes would be, they’d pay $250 million per year that would go to the city.”

Without such revenue, PILOT supporters say that funding for social services, like schools, recreation centers, and health clinics, continues to fall short of what is necessary to support the communities. The universities argue that they provide services without cost to the community already, and that makes up the difference.

“It’s a question of who decides, right?” the doctoral student asked, referring to how the universities currently support community efforts.

> Look at the board of trustees at Penn. You have the 1 percent basically who get to decide what resources are given. Who are they accountable to as a university, right? It’s only like five people who will sit in that room. The faculty aren't allowed to collectively bargain. Graduate students aren't allowed to collectively bargain. Students, they can

> organize strongly but they're still isolated across the university. So, the idea of shared power doesn't exist. It comes down to the decisions of five or six people - and one of those people until last year was the president of Comcast. I mean, look at what they do as a company. They are definitely enmeshed in this neoliberal common sense. Think about it - half of the services they (the universities) are providing are police forces, you know? (Residential Participant #23)

He said that the current system of nonprofit philanthropy is misguided and not worthy of praise. "Everybody is applauding, like, 'Oh, look at them! Look what they're doing! They are giving money to the community!'" he said. "But they are certainly not paying their fair share. They do a great job of playing the game of corporate responsibility, where they know how to take something small and put enough sauce on it so that the community may believe that it's meaningful. But it certainly does not add up to any you know accountability to the community."

What is worse, said Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer, is that the system of philanthropy and superficial payments means that the inequality just festers, and they may even further the divide between the haves and have-nots. "It's benefiting the same people, year-after-year, and it's not the people in the community," he said. "That tax-free status? It's legal corruption."

From 2004 to 2022, the University of Pennsylvania's endowment jumped from $4 billion to $20.5 billion (The Pennsylvania Gazette, 2021). The campus has grown extensively during that time, even expanding across the Schuylkill River, the longstanding border (University of Pennsylvania, 2020).

"I don't want to call them the Death Star, exactly," said Residential Participant #24, a university professor at a suburban college who lives in West Philadelphia.

> They don't have that much power. But they have a ton of power and a ton of money and real estate and resources. I've come to understand the situation with the Netter Center and the programs they have - there's a curricular program, social work program, there's a schools program. That is all well and good. But it seems to me that what they're doing with that is it's kind of laundering their expropriation of resources from the community by not paying PILOTs. If, you think of the taxable assessed value of their real estate, according to city, that value is a social product for the School District of Philadelphia. Well, for Philadelphia, generally speaking, and for West Philadelphia, in particular. We make all that together. We make that value, I mean it's not it's not like Penn is just solely, exclusively responsible for the value of real estate. Because we're all here together, making that value what it is, it belongs to all of us. So, when they don't pay the taxes on that assessed value, they're expropriating resources from us, which would go directly into the School District. (Residential Participant #24)

He believes that the University of Pennsylvania has been getting away without paying PILOTs because of the high poverty that exists in Philadelphia. "I have to imagine that, if we were living in a different kind of urban arrangement, where you had either an integrated or mostly-white, high-property value situation, there would have been parents organizing and making demands quite early on that university to be paying those PILOTs, which many universities, if not most, in their position do throughout the country," he added. "Because of Philly's situation as the poorest big city in America, I feel like they can sort of get away with it. The way that they make that seem or feel okay is they have these community outreach programs."

If the University of Pennsylvania paid PILOTs, the money would be distributed throughout the city, not just to public schools near their campus in West Philadelphia. “They choose to favor these particular schools in certain ways,” said the university professor at a suburban college who lives in West Philadelphia. “It's more of an example of the expropriation of the resources,” he added, “rather than some kind of like generous program.”

Residential Participant #14 said that the PILOT discussion in Philadelphia has focused on the University of Pennsylvania, but this goes beyond them, “Penn, specifically, is right in our backyard and they don't pay PILOTs, so that is it's a negative issue for us,” she said. “But you have all these institutions nearby - Drexel UPenn, Children’s Hospital, University of the Sciences, and they really don't do things for the community either. They really don't.”

A Level of Equality

The financial situation creates that power dynamic, and that won’t be overcome regardless of universities paying property taxes or PILOTs. The way the universities interact with the residential community members can and should be changed; however, the interview subjects said. They want to be treated with a level of respect, as equals. “If they can manage to do it and it feels like a partnership between the community and the university, yeah,” said Residential Participant #27, the Park Avenue resident. “But nobody wants another kind of situation where you feel like you're less than. Nobody wants another hierarchy. Can we be together on this instead of being serviced by the university? Can the community and university be together and work together to make things happen?”

The desire for a sense of equality ran across the various forms of interactions, from major building developments to working together on grants or class projects.

“If you want to come here and set up, you got to play ball with us,” said Residential Participant #6, the Mantua community connector. “We want you to understand what it is that you're seeing and make sure that the thing that you're bringing actually fits our young people. And don’t come in promoting an agenda. On the surface, it looks good that you came with a basketball, you know? Realize that we are so much more than just basketball. Bring some squash equipment, you know, let's talk about that. Bring a flute and clarinet. Bring a sexton and show them how to survey, not just build a basketball court, you know? Because it's so often that they come in thinking like people in this area are just lesser, just poor.”

Several interview subjects mentioned that they frequently get last-minute calls from students, faculty, or administrators asking for assistance with a range of tasks. “There can be a general vibe of, like, you should be delighted to hear from us, you know?” said Residential Participant #13, an arts community organizer who works at a nonprofit in North Philadelphia. “And if I don't respond, I make us look bad. But your interest is fundamentally self-serving to you. You will not give us anything of benefit. You're not paying me for my time talking to you and you're not giving a donation or hours to the nonprofit.”

She recalled one time when a university professor approached her and her nonprofit with a cool idea for a potentially grant-funded research project on air monitoring and climate justice. They needed a community partner as part of the grant requirements. It sounded like important work, but there was the harsh reality that the timing would never align. “The work has to happen in a certain timeframe for the grant,” she said. “It had to happen within an academic calendar and that's just like not how community works, unless I was going to make that project my 100 percent top priority.”

That project needed numerous community members who would have to be recruited, plus all sorts of other technical requirements. “Plan to have this be the project in a year because that's our lead time for doing big ass projects,” she said. “I can't do that within the next two months. I can't get you 20 people for this workshop, you know? The better way to work with us would be to actually work with us, rather than tell you this is what we're doing.”

Residential Participant #10, an administrator for a nonprofit serving the Latino community, said that her organization often gets approached for collaborations, and the outcomes have varied. Before assigning work to students, one professor spoke with the leaders of the nonprofit and asked, “What do you need? I don't want to make a project that ends up being cumbersome to you, or that ends up being something that is just extra work.” That professor asked about the projects already underway, looking for ways for her students to be of service.

They wound up collaborating on a project about anti-displacement, as the nonprofit sits immediately adjacent to a university and developers are constantly circling the area. Students poured through the nonprofits’ archives and then built a QR-coded walking tour around the neighborhood. “The same professor comes back each semester and is like, ‘How can our class help you expand this project further? Is there something new we can do?’ We were always so impressed with this professor’s approach because she really came to us and was like, ‘Tell us what you need.’”

Be There. Do the Work.

At some point, in nearly every interview with the residential community members, the interview subject said that a first step toward mending bridges would be for university officials to be in the neighborhoods, doing work alongside the local residents. “Be there” was a common refrain, often followed by “do the work.”

“As a child, the people you trusted were the people that showed up,” said Residential Participant #28, a communications coordinator in North Philadelphia. “Show up and actually care about the community and the people who are in it. That only makes your college better. The community around you is safer when the people are more educated, when the people make more money. And people want to come to university because they feel safer”

Interview subjects said they don’t just want university officials in their communities after the work is done, at some sort of press conference. They want to see university students, faculty, and administrators getting their hands dirty, standing next to residents and working together.

“How do we break down barriers?” asked Residential Participant #12, a leader at a housing nonprofit with multiple facilities around the city. “We get to know people on a human level, and we get to work on projects together, where there's some level of equality. I don't know what that exactly looks like for a university in a community but, you know, even neighborhood cleanups, those kinds of things where people actually, literally get their hands dirty with other people.”

Residential Participant #21, a North Philadelphia community activist, said that he’d love to see university people in his neighborhood, where he and a group of others fight to keep a community recreation center and a playground in decent shape. “Temple just needs to reach out to the neighborhoods where the people are really doing the work, like me, myself,” he said. “We’re on our time. We not getting paid for none of that stuff. Volunteer to come out. That stuff would be helpful in communities, you know?”

The interview subjects said that their needs are ongoing, not just on Martin Luther King Jr. Day or any other time people feel compelled to do service. They want to see people in the community helping all the time.

“If any school wants to build a better relationship, that’s the way,” said Residential Participant #22, the community storyteller in North Philadelphia. “You’re coming into our space and swallowing it up. Give us something in return. You know you've already started building and there’s nothing we can do to stop the building. Still, talk to us. Give us something in return.”

Summary

One of the last questions posed to members of the residential community and the university community was how trust could be built between the two constituencies. Even after long conversations that explored a lot of territory, emotions ran high, and not everyone felt that there would ever be a time when the higher education institutions and the neighboring residents would ever be able to work together in meaningful, mutually beneficial ways.

“I will have to tell you that my position on this is one of controlled rage,” said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades. “The universities have no fucking interest in being involved with the community except as it serves them. I tried for 23 years when I was a Temple to get Temple much more deeply involved. But there is another problem, which is that universities and colleges do not want to be on equal footing with community.” “They don’t want they don’t want their hands in their pockets.”

Residential Participant #4, a West Philadelphia education and youth activist who serves as a community liaison for the University of Pennsylvania, said that nearly every community meeting that she attends has a few people railing against the universities, and most often the University of Pennsylvania. There is a constant fear about why University of Pennsylvania is getting involved. “Penn just wants to give us money so they can take over our assets,” she

recalled hearing repeatedly. “It’s just going to take time. It’s going to take the community seeing tangible things that enhance the community’s way of life.”

Residential Participant #17, a former mayoral staffer, said that when he worked in municipal government, they were constantly in the neighborhoods trying to address the needs of the people. There had been missteps in the past, and they wanted to correct them. “We really needed to listen, to be responsive to what's happening, to know the history before we go into those communities, and make sure that we were doing the right thing by the people first,” he remembered, suggesting that universities need to do the same. “It's tough, I know. It's a tough position for that academy. But I think at the core of it, I'm quite sure that most people at the universities would agree that having a better relationship with the people that are in the community would make it a better and happier place, not just a university, but a happier neighborhood.”

“We constantly have to address lack of trust,” said University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. “People see us as just a big wealthy place. We've been here how many years now, ever since 1884, but we're still seen as kind of in but not of the neighborhood. And yet we're part-and-parcel of the neighborhood. The impact we have on lives is just unbelievable through our health system and through literally every department. It's not glitzy. We need to get better recognition for doing it. Not that we do it for the recognition, but the people overlook it. People take it for granted.”

The communication between the two communities can be improved in ways as suggested, for example, with members of the residential community invited to regular meetings with university officials so that dialogue can occur and relationships established before issues arise. Some of the other requests from the residential community members are feasible but likely

difficult to institutionalize, like student volunteers working in community centers. The tax issue, as well as suggestions for payments in lieu of taxes, is not likely to be resolved at a local level any time soon.

Nearly all of the interview subjects – from the residential communities and university communities, recognized the disconnect and saw it as something that needs to be addressed if either side is going to succeed. The fates are intertwined, most acknowledged. How to go about mending fences, however, is a challenge. In the next section, feasible options for moving forward will be discussed.

Chapter IV: Results, part 3 – How Higher Ed Can Act

Findings

What actions could the institutions of higher education take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses?

The themes listed below were derived by interviewing 28 members of the residential communities near higher education institutions in Philadelphia and 12 members of the university communities in the Greater Philadelphia area. The members of the residential communities were asked, “In what ways could the university positively impact you?” The members of the university communities were asked, “How can your university community and the nearby residential community further work together to build mutual trust and respect?”

To be certain, the vast majority of the 40 people interviewed believed that the two groups could work together, despite the long history of mistrust that was developed usually through direct actions. The themes represent pathways for moving forward despite episodes like this one from University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years, including several years in senior leadership:

> I received a letter from a community member and so I called her. One of the things she said to me was, ‘Why did (university name redacted) start the fire at this church that is just a couple blocks south of main campus? You're trying to take over this church.’ The fire started under some dubious circumstances, so I could understand that somebody who had an interest in starting the fire would start a rumor that it's (university name redacted) trying to do whatever. But it was outlandish. (University Participant #9)

Even after presenting such a tale, University Participant #9 remained optimistic that trust could be built. “We're limited by only our imaginations of what we can do,” he said.

Address the Power Dynamic

The consensus amongst the members of the university community was that the best way to build bridges with the surrounding residential community members is to involve them in conversations and planning. Several stressed that building trust starts by listening to people. Only by acknowledging their feelings can you move forward despite the glaring power dynamic that exists. “It's more of the institution's responsibility because you're talking about generations of neglect, generations of disrespect,” said University Participant #10, the professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of Philadelphia. “For crying out loud, let's listen first before we tell you what we know. If we're going to be transparent, let's talk to you about what we're thinking so you don't say, ‘Ok, well, I know what you're thinking. Let me try to build my own ramparts to prevent that from happening.’ If we don't learn anything from this, then we're going to be in trouble.”

Creating space for everyone to air their thoughts in a peaceful manner is fundamental for any relationship to succeed. “If you're shouting at each other,” he said, “you're not hearing each other.”

One of the first things that University Participant #3, now a chief diversity officer at a Philadelphia university, did when she joined the senior leadership team of Widener University in the early 2000s was met with as many of the university and the residential community’s stakeholders as possible. “The first few years was really just going out and spending a lot of time in the community,” she recalled.

> As I met one person, I would always say, ‘Well, who else should I meet?’ When I was interviewing for the position, one of my interviews was with the superintendent of the of the school district at the time. I started my conversations with him. He was able - because

> he actually grew up in Chester, to help me make those connections. I met with city government officials. I remember meeting with the mayor at the time, and with lots of nonprofits and other stakeholders. One of my first meetings was with residents of the Sun Hill area. That was not a fun meeting. I remember going to that meeting and wanting to build relationships and they were very angry because of the students who live in the neighborhood. A lot of that conversation wasn't as productive as I wanted it to be, as it was much more around controlling the students. There were some conversations where we were met with open arms, and there was some where people had a lot of hesitancy. So, I just spent a lot of time building trust. (University Participant #3)

When University Participant #6 became the government and community relations director at a Philadelphia university in the early 2000s, he admitted that his university did not have a great relationship with the surrounding residential community. “It's something that I sort of inherited,” he said. “The university was about to go bankrupt and close in 1994, so we were very inwardly-focused at the time, for the right reasons. We had to save the institution and turn it around. No sooner did we do that, we started growing.” That growth was going to impact the surrounding residential community, and he’d need their support to make things happen. “I realized it was going to be really difficult for us to make any headway whatsoever unless we started to sit down and talk to the community leaders on a regular basis.,” he added. “I established a bi-weekly meeting with the leaders, people holding a position or post within the community association. So, 17 years later, here we are still meeting every other Wednesday at 8:30 in the morning, in my office.”

The meetings offer a seat at the table for those who are most invested in the residential community, he explained. The community members can offer their thoughts or complain as

needed. The university representatives can present projects in the pipeline and discuss new initiatives. “They feel like they're a part of the process,” he said of the community members. “They feel like you're addressing their concerns.”

Philadelphia zoning laws require input from registered community organizations for major developments, so meeting regularly with the community leaders is more than an act of kindness. It’s practical. “It's a lot easier to work through problems with people that you know than ones that you don't,” he added.

The regular meetings have fostered goodwill amongst the residential community members who participate, according to Residential Participant #9, the president of a registered community organization near the university. “We have a great relationship with the Drexel public safety folks,” he said. “They're awesome.” The meetings spawned a partnership, where the community organization has a button on their website where neighbors can file complaints. “If you've got a problem, you can file it on this website and those reports go directly to the people on the board (of the community organization) but they also go directly to Drexel. If it's a problem student house party house or something, they will reach out to the dean of student life and treat it as like a student behavior problem.”

The University of Pennsylvania also has held regularly scheduled meetings with residential community groups in order to build better working relationships. “They had an ongoing monthly community relations meeting with all of the heads of the neighborhood groups so that we could share, things that we were doing,” said University Participant #8, a community college administrator who previously served in an upper administration role at the University of Pennsylvania. “And the community groups could share what they were doing and what their concerns were, so that wasn't just about town and gown relations.”

Residential Participant #6, the Mantua community connector, said that he does not participate in any such meetings with the universities, but he would like to. “Use me,” he said. “I definitely want you to use me because if nobody's using you, you’re useless. Use me but don't abuse me.”

In order to create a better dialogue and to inform people about opportunities in the residential communities and at local universities, the Philadelphia Higher Education Network for Neighborhood Development (PHENND), a consortium of around 30 Philadelphia area universities, sends out a weekly newsletter to more than 7,000 people and organizations. It began as simple updates about events, but people began responding, and the newsletter expanded to include information about anything that could possibly impact residential and university communities. “We shouldn't be creating partnerships in a vacuum,” said University Participant #4, a PHENND staff member. “We should be doing it thoughtfully, not assuming that we know what the needs are but listening to our community partners, reading the research, you know, that kind of thing.”

Two-way communication is essential, according to both residential and university community members. “You have to listen three times as much as talk,” said University Participant #1, a university outreach coordinator in North Philadelphia.

> So, I will try to say, ‘This is the lay of the land at Temple. These are some of the many resources that we can offer. Tell me about what you're doing. I want to hear what you're doing.’ And while I'm listening to a constituent, I’ll take some notes or just think, ‘Maybe we can connect them with this, that or the other.’ Then I will ask the organization what they're looking for. Is there something that they think that we could be supportive of? Sometimes it may be providing support along lines I feel very comfortable with and

sometimes it may be something I would have never thought about, and I have to do a little research. (University Participant #1)

She is constantly in the residential community, usually attending registered community organization meetings or listening to nonprofit leaders. But she is just one person in an office with five people, three of whom are dedicated to one longstanding community outreach program. "I try to spend time throughout the year but particularly in the summer to reach out to some of these organizations to introduce myself as a member of the Temple community," she said, "and to share general information about resources that are being offered by Temple. A big thing, quite frankly, is just to leave my contact information. My business card has my direct number on it."

In addition, she works with the university marketing team to get messages out to residential community members via a variety of means – social media, pamphlets, fliers, events, etc. The great difficulty has been in getting information adequately to the neighborhoods so that they are properly informed. The informed residents tended to have more positive things to say about their relationships with the universities.

"The kinds of community activists and people that we deal with regularly love Temple," said University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. "There are also community activists who have lingering memories. Each person can have his or her say. Ultimately, we need to be about the business of just doing the right thing."

Value Service in Relation to the Community

Service in relation to the community has long been snubbed in the tenure review process at research universities and often at non-research institutions as well (Boyer, 1990). Faculty then focus on the work that will help them earn tenure. Making connections to the residential community is thwarted as a result. The residential community members interviewed said that

there was a real desire to have such interactions. Many university community members, like University Participant #10 a professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city, acknowledged that the system needs to be changed so that faculty are encouraged with the surrounding residential community. He recognized that such an approach could be seen as threatening to the people who have followed the traditional academic path. “At least we can demonstrate that this can work, that you're not devaluing research and scholarship by lifting up service,” he added. “I think they can coexist.”

Leadership needs to set the tone, interview subjects stated. There needs to be a commitment from the top that service in relationship to the community will be valued, and those values need to be stated during the recruiting process. “Changing leadership was job number one,” said University Participant #3 during her days in senior leadership at Widener University. “Over a short period of time, there was a change of leadership in terms of the academic areas, recruiting leaders who were able to talk about their vision for civic engagement.” As new department leaders were brought in, new questions were asked of potential hires. She recalled, “We began to ask questions about civic engagement, like, ‘Why are you interested in coming to Widener? Why are you interested in coming to Chester?’”

To incentivize faculty to build projects that involved and served the community, she worked with the faculty and senior leadership to build an academic service-learning program. They offered professional development training designed to assist faculty to engage with the residential community. Some people received funding for projects, and others were given course releases.

“I was in a meeting with one of our hospitality faculty members,” she remembered. “She says something I will never forget. She had been there for a while - she was one of the older

faculty. She said that she felt as though she had begun at a new university. I looked at her puzzled. She said the Widener that she arrived at 15 years ago is not the Widener that it is now. She said it just inspired her to figure out how could she get hospitality management students into the community. She was grateful. She just felt as though the college had awakened and was offering all kinds of opportunities,"

University Participant #4, a PHENND staff member, believes that faculty have always been willing and excited to connect with the residential community. But since it wasn't valued, they either didn't make such connections, or they did it on their own, quietly. "I think in the late 90s, there was definitely a sense of some faculty feeling like they were the lone wolves," she recalled. "'Oh, I'm the only one at Temple who is doing this', or 'I'm the only one at Villanova who's interested,' which was actually not true. People were sort of almost in the closet. They didn't know that four doors down in a different department, there was somebody else doing something similar."

PHENND aims to encourage faculty and others at local universities to be positive forces for change in residential communities near higher education institutions. University Participant #5, a senior administrator at a university in North Philadelphia who serves on the PHENND steering committee, has worked with various departments to encourage such activity. Her university recently launched a community engagement data collection system so that they can do an inventory of all the community engagement activities occurring and connect faculty as appropriate. "We do this work," she said. "We're good at this work. Lots of faculty are doing it. Nobody has to tell people to do this. We don't have a lot of resources for it. We don't have this, we don't have that, but we do it anyhow. That's good and bad, right? It's good because it's

important work. But it's bad in the sense that we don't have a good way to make it easier and make it better capitalized, or kind of help people out."

Prior to the pandemic, there were plans to bring together faculty who do community-engaged work so that they could build relationships internally, discuss ways to work together, and potentially magnify their impact. "We haven't done any of that," she said. "We keep saying, 'Let's do that soon,' and we keep wondering when we would ever be able to do that again."

Encourage Scholars to Produce Academic Research that Benefits the Community (Academic Freedom & the Notion of Disengaged Thought)

For much of the past 200 years, research has largely been distanced from the everyday needs of society. That stems from the desire to keep knowledge free from bias, as research is not meant to be problem-solving. Such disengaged thought is intended to increase the exploration of ideas and to examine the understanding of the world. Pragmatism was not intended to be the goal. The residential community members interviewed, however, said that they wanted to see academics from the local universities doing research that could benefit the communities. There are so many brilliant people, from legal scholars to research scientists, whose work could improve the lives of residential community members, they believe.

"Part of it is the traditional American anti-intellectualism," said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades. "There's a lot of fear that people are going to reject us because we just want to know stuff. I don't think that is necessarily the case."

He talked about a former colleague who worried that his expertise on John Milton, the 17th century English poet, would have no place at a university that placed such emphasis on

community-engaged learning. “What I would say to that is, ‘Absolutely not,’” University Participant #11 said. “Absolutely not because the question is not ‘how does John Milton make somebody's life better in North Philadelphia?’ That's too narrow a sense of what benefit means. Milton, to me, is an absolutely crucial figure to know, not only for *Paradise Lost*, but for his politics, which are very complicated. It’s the history of the English civil war and the relationship between Puritanism and Anglicanism and all that stuff. That stuff is absolutely pertinent to things like the history of American slavery and the understanding of what it means to protest against a government.”

University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program, said that in the early days of the University of Pennsylvania’s Netter Center for Community Partnerships, there was a lot of meeting and a lot of negotiating with individual faculty members to try to convince them that their research could be beneficial to the local residential community. “For example,” she said, “one of our longest standing faculty partners, who unfortunately passed away just a year or two ago, was Frank Johnston. He was an anthropologist whose initial research was malnutrition in Guatemala. He was this world-renowned anthropologist and we basically convinced him that the problems that we were seeing in West Philadelphia around children's health and nutrition was just as bad, if not worse, than what he was studying. We asked him to work with the local middle school and so, so he did.”

Several residential community members who were interviewed said that they wanted to see research produced in the residential community that would be of use to the residential community. When the research that occurs involves the residential community, but it doesn’t circle back to them, it leaves the impression that the academics simply used the community.

Those feelings quickly fester, especially when residential community members learn about grants and other funding that researchers and students receive.

Residential Participant #4, an education and youth activist who serves as a community liaison for the University of Pennsylvania, wished that the universities would take their research and make positive changes for the community. “Penn has received millions of dollars for child development research and a host of things in relationship to trauma and trauma-informed care,” she stated. “Why did you spend all that money on a study and we’re still charging 13-years-olds as adults?” She wanted to know why the university hasn’t advocated for changes or pushed legislative bodies to act on the research. “I have five studies that show children are not thinking logically. They are not grown people. They don’t make rational decisions all of the time. I don’t understand why there is so much money put into the universities but not applied in policies.”

Encourage Faculty Members to Have Students Work on Projects that Benefit the Community

While many of the interview subjects perceived students as being outsiders with little or no respect for the longstanding residential communities that surround their universities. Most thought that students could be taught to understand and appreciate the residential communities. They could put their intelligence and creativity to work in classes and on projects, regardless of past efforts and their results. “It's not something you can say, ‘All right, well, that didn't work. They don't like us. We got screwed,’” said Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia. “It's an ongoing process and it's building out. It can be in concentric circles. It doesn't have the balls to the wall for a moment. It can be smoke. You can take baby steps.”

Having students do academic and service work in the neighborhoods is good for building relationships, and it can have positive impacts on the residents, interview subjects said, whether it be with basic functions like using computers or more complex tasks like interpreting legal documents or helping understand financial statements. There are many ways to encourage faculty members to build such experiences into their classes, but it often means asking faculty to rebuild their courses. That means that some faculty might need incentives.

"We did a lot of things over the years to seed the work," said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program.

> We have offered course development grants to faculty. Basically, we give them $10,000 over the course of two years and it helps support the experience. We use a lot of undergraduate teaching assistants. We might support the use of an undergraduate teaching assistant, or even a graduate teaching assistant, doing work over the summer to help develop that course. Then we help provide the connections to the community and the schools, unless the faculty come in with their own partners, which is pretty rare. We're able to plug them into ongoing programs and partnerships, so that it's not just this one-off thing, so that it's part of this larger interdisciplinary integrated approach to working with schools and neighborhoods. We can help sustain the work through our other programming and our staff. We provide transportation for students. We do all the background clearances. It's a lot of just like administrative support to make it easier on the faculty members. Our whole approach is that this is a better way to do research, teaching and learning. (University Participant #7)

The Philadelphia Higher Education Network for Neighborhood Development (PHENND) has also experimented with course development grants for faculty at universities involved in the

consortium, usually $3,000 or $4,000 to develop a new course or adapt an existing one. PHENND has also offered community collaborative grants that are not based around courses, so students in campus organizations could apply. They have also offered academically based community service coordinator grants, which allows institutions to hire a grad student assistant in their service learning or community service office to build the capacity.

"I find that there are some faculty members that are interested in engaging community members and doing it not in a condescending type of way," said University Participant #1, a university outreach coordinator in North Philadelphia. "They do it in a way where they just really want to get to know other people and their experiences as members of North Philly, and to see if there are ways that we can be supportive."

That was the case for University Participant #2, a religion professor at La Salle University who, in 2019, co-created and co-taught a class called "This is Belfield," named after the residential community adjacent to their university. She and a colleague had learned about Mindy Thompson Fullilove's book *Urban Alchemy,* and they were inspired. "We just got very excited about thinking about the where we're located in the northwest corner of Philadelphia and the amount of history that's there, the amount of really neat anchor institutions up in that corner, but often, are not necessarily connected to one another," she said. "And the way in which our classroom spaces could be spaces that could sort of engage with our immediate environment - physical, natural, human in a way, that would really help students and the university as a whole see itself as part of the ecosystem up there, the urban ecosystem in the northwest, as opposed to this sort of island. We're not a gated community. Our borders are pretty permeable and yet there is a very strong sense that, folks come to campus, stay on campus and then move quickly once you're off campus to wherever it is that you're trying to go from there."

There was new leadership at the university that was interested in having the university more engaged with the surrounding residential communities, and they began asking themselves questions about the role of the school. “Are you a force that's contributing to the vitality of the community or are you indifferent to the community?” the religion professor recalled pondering. “Are you actually perhaps a liability or threat to the well-being of the larger community?”

La Salle is a predominantly white institution, with about 54% white students and 18% African American or Black students, in a largely African American neighborhood (La Salle University, 2021). Around 86% of the residents are Black, 6% are Asian, and 4% are white (Census Reporter, 2020).

“There's so many inclinations that we have in institutions of higher ed and particularly, we white people in institutions of higher ed, about what the neighbors need,” the religion professor stated. “So, we do a lot of work in unpacking that, naming that and helping students wake up to their own social locations and their own positionality, to be critically aware of that, but also claim the different assets that they bring.”

At the beginning of the semester, students were asked about their assumptions about the neighborhood. “Safety and poverty were the two big things,” the religion professor said. “It was looking mostly through the lens of need.” Students then met with leaders from the residential community and toured the neighborhood. They mapped assets and anchor institutions and tried to learn about the community’s issues and desires. They developed proposals for further university-community engagement, and they presented them in front of senior administrators and people across the residential community. “They were better able toward the end of the semester to articulate, ‘Some of those are false assumptions,’” continued the religion professor. “They were able to say, ‘Yeah, there might be poverty here, but we understand a little bit more why.’

And that ‘why’ has less to do with individual choices that people make and more about histories of housing segregation and red-lining. And they also have a clear sense of the role of the university being situated in the neighborhood and being part of the neighborhood.”

Students told the faculty and administration that they enjoyed the experience and that they wished it had happened earlier in their academic careers. The university made the experience a freshman-level class, which allows the students to challenge their perceptions at the beginning of their time at the campus. “I think it serves a very important purpose for freshmen because I think it helps the students, especially those who are not from the Philadelphia area or who are not from the Northwest, to debunk a lot of the myths and the stereotypes and assumptions that they have,” said the religion professor. “And it really helps them see themselves as part of a of a community at the outset of their freshman year, at the outset of their college experience. For the students who are from the area, it allows in many ways for them to be the docents, for them to be the teachers, for them to be the wisdom figures in doing some of that debunking.”

The residential community members appreciated the efforts, the religion professor said, the students seemed to enjoy the opportunities to engage people beyond their campus community, and the university was able to spin the experience into positive marketing, showing that they care about the residential community, and they are making efforts to engage. “This is a program that is at least being touted as being very consistent with our mission,” the religion professor said. “But we don't have any resources dedicated to it.”

Recognize that the Community is Full of People and Organizations that can Teach the Students, Faculty, Staff, and Administration

Classes such as the one at La Salle try to put everyone on an equal footing, providing contextual information that can better inform the students. There is history in the neighborhoods, and the people who live there could be assets to the universities far beyond the scope of the classroom. Both the residential community and university community interview subjects suggested that more actual engagement between the two constituencies should occur, with both sides listening and valuing each other's truths. "Honestly, we have to get past our own institutional arrogance that we got all the answers, we got all the resources," said University Participant #10, a professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city. "There are others out there that are doing some great work. If we partnered better, partnered smarter, and also made these resources available to some of our students and their families, will have a higher success rate as a greater community."

The arrogance can devalue the efforts and histories of the residential communities, the professor and diversity officer said. There have been innovations that could be overlooked when conversations start and stop within the halls of academia. "We also need to stop thinking about this one-way knowledge transfer," he continued. "What can we learn from them? I think we have this societal hierarchy that doesn't do as well because we have to be able to grow together. It's not just acquiring properties. It really is how do we start to look at longer-term relationships that enable both the benefit."

Part of the work that University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program, does is to prepare students to work in the surrounding residential community. "We've been working towards having a more robust library of resources, especially

having a more explicit sort of anti-racist lens to the work," she said. They also present the context for the neighborhoods, including the impact that the universities have had there, both positive and negative.

Residential Participant #3, the entrepreneur and developer, often gets invited to participate in projects with universities and other large organizations that feel they need a greater connection to the community, which usually means to the Black population. "Community is an exploitive word in it of itself because community just translates to those who don't have the privilege of being in the room," he said. "If you really listen nowadays, when people are speaking about community in an institutional sense, in a nonprofit sense and a corporate sense, it's the beast outside of the room that needs to be tamed or handled or dealt with. It doesn't have any equity in regard to the decision-making."

He said that he or his company often gets hired to communicate with the residential community members, but it's usually at the tail-end of the process. "The project has existed for five to 10 years?" he asked. "There's a vision plan, there was an exploratory study, there was an architectural plan, there was an engineering plan and now, we are hired to communicate to community? And it's, 'Do you want a basketball court, or do you want a tennis court? Do you like green, or do you like blue?' There is something very disingenuous about how you bake a whole fucking cake and then you're like, 'What kind of icing, and do you want Skittles?'

Provide Social Services that Benefit the Community, Services that the Community Desires

It is not the responsibility of the universities to provide social services that historically were provided by the city, state or federal government. But as funding for such projects has been reduced or eliminated, it leaves gaps in the social fabric that can indirectly impact the university communities in severe ways. "Nobody's looking at the fact that the economic system

disenfranchises generations who are not making any money and raising kids," said Residential Participant #25, the registered nurse and community leader in North Philadelphia who knows the family of the teenager who allegedly shot and killed the Temple student on Park Avenue in 2021.

"What are we doing about it at points along their journey that have shown flags?" asked Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia.

> We could put them in something more positive before they end up being a perpetrator of violence. What are the preventative measures? What I think is a very comfortable space for institutions is the preventative stuff. What are the things that we know work to keep individuals out of the pathway to violence, to crime or to the penal system, the incarceration system? Can we make sure that our education institutions help with prevention and intervention? That is big. We gotta leave enforcement to enforcement. (Residential Participant #18)

The challenge is how to learn about the desires and needs of the residential community members. What services are desired and feasible? What programs could be offered that would be mutually beneficial to the university community and the residential community? There currently are no official channels for residential community members to make requests for services and programming from any of the universities in Philadelphia. As of now, it is all informal, based upon personal relationships.

"I will be honest with you: in a perfect world, I would say, 'Oh, yes, I have all these metrics and all," said University Participant #1, a university outreach coordinator in North Philadelphia, referring to what programming and services are offered, aborted or continued. "The

staff is such a small staff here that, even with a number of efforts that I try to make, there are times that we're just more often reactive as opposed to proactive."

University Participant #4, a staff member at PHENND, said that her organization is similar – reacting at random as opposed to having mechanisms in place to determine what would be most desirable from the residential community perspective. "We get calls all the time and emails from community-based organizations who want to connect with campuses," she said. "They want student volunteer support. They want faculty expertise. They want access to computer labs and space."

The Netter Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania relies upon staffers and students working in their university-assisted community schools program. "We're working very closely with the principals, the whole school staff, the families at those sites," said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program. "We have staff on the ground whose offices are actually at those school sites. They go every day, and they serve as that overall liaison between Penn and that school and that surrounding neighborhood. That really is a major source of ongoing communication, the on the ground, democratic collaboration from idea generation through program implementation through evaluation and this iterative problem-solving process."

One of the local high schools they partner with told the liaison that there were concerns about the entering ninth grade class struggling in the fall of 2020 because they'd be online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. "That was not something that we had done," she added. "But we were able to recruit and then create a fully virtual mentoring program that we ended up doing as cohorts."

The Netter Center has a community advisory board that also serves as an informal bridge to the community. Those 22 board members are mostly education, faith, or nonprofit leaders.

University Participant #12, a diversity, equity, and inclusion administrator at a suburban Philadelphia community college, said that their Center for Equity in Social Justice also has an advisory board, which is comprised of seven people who meet three or four times per year and talk about what they would like to see in the upcoming programming. “It's a very diverse group in terms of the industries and the sectors that they represent,” said University Participant #12. “We just have conversations about different things that have affected them, conversations about what would be useful. That's how we kind of make the topics come to life.”

The Center for Equity and Social Justice was created to be a resource for the university community but has more of an external focus, intending to create opportunities for the public to participate in discourse around diversity, equity, and inclusion.

At the Community College of Philadelphia, they use existing data to see where there are needs in the labor force, and they communicate with major employers to learn about ways to build a workforce. “Ninety percent of our students stay in the region and about 80 percent stay in Philadelphia,” said University Participant #8, an administrator at the Community College of Philadelphia. “So, we are really like a prime contributor to the workforce in Philadelphia. It's really important that our students are matched to the labor force and the growth areas of the labor force. We're constantly assessing the labor market information and the industry information.”

The next step is to understand the education level requirements for the various occupations to see if there are post-secondary certification-based requirements. That will determine whether programming is academic or non-credit based, which impacts students’ ability to get financial aid.

As a public institution that relies upon stats and municipal funding, they also defer to the priorities of the governor of Pennsylvania and the mayor of Philadelphia.

> One of the reasons why we've invested pretty heavily in manufacturing programs is because the city and PIDC (Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation) decided that, even though the manufacturing industry in Philadelphia was decline, it still provided high paying wage jobs to people without the requirement of them getting a degree. So, you can get a certificate to be a welder, machinist or even a general laborer. You're still going to be able to access $25 to $30 an hour jobs. It's really important to support those jobs, A). in terms of like retaining what's here and B). if you do want to help support the growth of Philadelphia as manufacturing community, you have to have a program that you know can train the workforce. (University Participant #8)

University Participant #6, the government and community relations director at a Philadelphia university, said they also study the available data to determine needs and services that could impact the neighboring residential community. “We collect data, we analyze it, and then we build programs and services off that,” he said. “We create best practices. We make improvements.”

The universities alone cannot cure the ills of society that have created the lingering difficulties, several interview subjects admitted. “This is systemic,” said Residential Participant #23, the doctoral student at a Philadelphia university.

> This is across all of our industries, so to speak, in terms of the accumulation by dispossession. That is something that's happening across all these things. I don't see myself in just a community of people who are fighting against the school. I see myself in a global community of people were fighting against Capitalism, fighting against systemic

> oppression. That's what I mean by being grounded in community. It's being heartened by folks who are putting their labor and their lives on the line to create alternatives to showcase new visions of what's possible. That's what keeps me going. (Residential Participant #23)

Help Primary and Secondary Education, and Build Pathways to Higher Education

The success of the Penn Alexander School in West Philadelphia, which is a partnership between the University of Pennsylvania and the School District in Philadelphia, shows that such a partnership can be beneficial to both the residential community members and the university community. While there are clear detrimental impacts as well, there is a starting point for a model that could be followed. The underfunded school district would likely welcome the assistance. Residents would likely appreciate the connection to the universities.

When University Participant #3, now the chief diversity officer at a Philadelphia university, started her senior leadership position at Widener University in the early 2000s, she met with neighbors, community leaders, business owners, and elected officials. "What we heard was a priority at that time," she recalled, "was trying to figure out a strategy and a plan of action particularly around the K to 12."

The approach and level of investment a university wants to make, however, is the larger question. "Whether or not we want to take over a school, there has always been a question of whether that's the best way to go," said University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. "Should we have a laboratory school or not?" Temple University has had several episodes when the university had deeper connections to schools in the region, including a longstanding laboratory school, but none currently exist.

Interview subjects from the residential community and those from the university community discussed how working with public schools in the city would ultimately help build a base of qualified potential students for the local universities. From an administrative standpoint, that can be difficult to accept, as there is no guarantee that students would then attend the university funding the primary or secondary education. “You gotta be able to hold an idea in your head for a long time,” said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor, “and recognize that that idea requires that you pay attention to people who are not currently on your campus, and not necessarily paying tuition.”

Whether the investment pays off for the university funding the primary or secondary school activities, interview subjects stated, it helps the residential community by creating pathways for the young people there. “We have to think about not lowering standards but smartening up the investment,” said University Participant #10, a professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city. “If we invest our time, energy, resources and so forth with K to 12, in that system, we can literally guarantee better success on the other side. I think that's important.”

Support for students should continue even after the students begin their collegiate careers, he said. “I think about the Cecil B. Moore scholars that we have,” he continued.

> These are kids who come are coming out of schools that have been traditionally under-resourced. We can’t say, ‘Well, we got you in. Now it's up to you.’ No. We've got to wrap these students with whatever services they need to succeed. Unfortunately, right now, it's kind of sink or swim and that's not necessarily the right type of learning environment. If you've got first gen kids or kids who have an idea of college but not knowing the intricacy of the landscape, we do them a disservice because we put the

dream out in front of them but don't show them the pathway, or the realistic pack pathway to succeed. (University Participant #10)

Acknowledge that Creating Safer Communities Benefits All Parties, and Build Programs that Create Opportunities

In the past two years, university students have been murdered near the campuses of Ohio State University, the University of Chicago, the State University of New York at Potsdam, Columbia University, Bridgewater College, North Carolina State University, Towson University, the University of Akron, Temple University and other schools, and that has forced higher education leaders to seek ways to make their university communities feel safe.

"What do you think will happen if Temple decides not to do anything?" asked University Participant #3, the chief diversity officer at a Philadelphia university. "I wouldn't send my daughter there. My daughter is a sophomore at Penn State. I don't think colleges that are in urban communities have a choice. You know, like Drexel, like Temple, like La Salle. I don't think there's much choice because of the reputation. And there's too much at stake to not be involved in wanting to contribute to the revitalization of that community. If people don't feel safe, you won't have faculty wanting to teach there. You won't have parents feeling confident about sending their students there. The reputation, unless you're UPenn, of course, will suffer. But schools like Widener and La Salle can't afford to not want to contribute to the revitalization of the communities."

The immediate response from Temple's president was to announce a 50% expansion of the Campus Safety team and an increased presence of Philadelphia Police in the areas near campus. The president also announced that lighting and cameras around campus would be updated or installed. There is other vague language in the original statement following the death

of the Temple student on Park Avenue in November 2021, like “Expand our work with civic, business, and education leaders in the city to identify ways to keep our communities and campuses safe” (Wingard, 2021).

“I think the danger is that Temple can and should do more,” said University Participant #4, a staff member at PHENND.

> But it's also not the city government. It's not the state, it's not the feds, right? Is it Temple’s responsibility to solve crime in North Philadelphia, or is it the city of Philadelphia’s responsibility? I think the danger with all of this community engagement work it is sort of putting a fancier Band-Aids on the problem and absolving our public agencies from actually doing the work that I think many of us think they need to be doing. It's a constant, evolving spectrum but I would not be supportive of an increased police presence in North Philly. (University Participant #4)

When Widener first started making greater connections to the surrounding residential communities in the early 2000s, there was an increased investment in additional police officers to patrol both the campus and the surrounding area. Drexel University currently spends around $8 million per year on their own police force, which has around 40 officers. The University of Pennsylvania has the largest private police force in the state, with more than 120 officers (Heinzerling, 2017). They even have a canine division. Temple University currently has between 60 and 80 police officers, depending upon who is reporting the data, and they are pushing to have more than 100 (Moody, 2022).

University Participant #4 was a student at the University of Pennsylvania in the mid-1990s when there were several high-profile murders near the campus. “There was definitely this, I think, partly irrational fear - all of the sudden, there's crime and some people were even saying,

‘Penn needs to move to the suburbs.’ The university's response was the opposite, to say, ‘No, we're going to double down on community engagement.’”

University Participant #10, the professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city, said that he liked the comprehensive approach taken immediately after the murder on Park Avenue, but he lamented that it took the tragedy to spur the institution into action. “This is something that is systematic,” he said. “It was always there. This is symptomatic of a larger problem that became so visible that we now have to do something about it.” Increasing law enforcement is a quick way to look like you are addressing the situation, he said, but it’s the other stuff that will make a difference. “Trying to do better mental health services, better economic opportunities, things of that nature, that’s not going to get to get headlines,” he offered. “But that's probably what needs to happen in terms of building this looking over time, not overnight. Universities like Temple are economic engines, I mean, literally. So, how then can we lift all boats with the tide if we're trying to submerge some folks? Whether that's intentional or not, you know you're still drowning.”

University Participant #5, a senior administrator at a university in North Philadelphia, said that her university does so much in the residential communities already, but most happens at the ground level, so there is little continuity and no long-term strategic plan for assisting those communities. “I think we're starting to recognize that we need to do even more,” she said. “Absolutely. We need to start helping to solve some of these problems that that create violence and poverty, and environmental disasters. Things aren’t happening for no reason, that’s for sure.”

Be Aware of the Impact that the University has on its Neighboring Communities

“When you look at it as an economic engine, you look at us as a place for workers, employees, people who have families, we support you,” said University Participant #9, who

worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. “Look at it through students, both in terms of scholarships, as well as other students who we provide education for, and if you take a look at our mission, obviously, the education mission, the research mission and the service mission, on all three of those levels we provide enormous services for community, without a doubt. It just depends on how you look at them, how you want to conceptualize them.”

Interview subjects from the residential community, however, seemed to see things differently. Rather than benefitting from the services provided by the universities, they perceived the universities almost like adversaries. It’s possible that the focus on the disconnect might have been aroused simply by having the discussion about town-and-gown relationships, but there was a clear hierarchy presented in the interviews, and the community members felt as though they were on the negative end.

“I think that there's mutual suspicion,” said University Participant #2, the religion professor. “Our students’ presence in neighborhoods is not always good for neighborhoods, to be quite frank. They are not always good neighbors. They put strain and stress on already strained and stressed neighborhoods. And neighbors see resources get allocated much more quickly to students than to them.”

The universities make a massive impact on the surrounding residential communities, according to the neighbors, and that has been happening for decades. For example, because of Temple University’s evolution from a largely commuter school to a heavily residential one over the past 20 years, more students have been renting homes in the neighboring communities. “There's a great deal of student housing west of campus,” said University Participant #1, a university outreach coordinator in North Philadelphia. “There are some homeowners who remain, but we find that, from an anecdotal point of view, when you look at a random block, it's

normally more renters than permanent homeowners." That leaves an unstable neighborhood with transient people who often don't know the community, she added.

The University of Pennsylvania has provided mortgage assistance to faculty and staff since 1965, but the program really took off after the creation of the Penn Alexander School in 2001. That school, and the other changes that came about after the creation of the University City District, have helped change the demographics of the area. The median home price in the Penn Alexander School catchment zone was $171,000 the year before the school opened and more than $720,000 in 2021 (Moselle, 2022).

"I am a product of all that," said University Participant #4, a PHENND staff member.

> I came to Philadelphia from somewhere else (Miami and Las Vegas). I went to school at Penn. I graduated in the late 90s at the time all this was happening. I bought a house in West Philly as part of the Penn mortgage assistance program 15 years ago. I have two kids that go to public school in Philadelphia. I am the success story of what all those initiatives were trying to do. And I'm also partly gentrifying my neighborhood. I get it: (University Participant #4)

Residential Participant #24, a university professor at a suburban college who lives in West Philadelphia, said:

> It's the classic problematic when you have a wealthier, whiter interest in a post white-flight situation. You have this 'white return,' so to speak. What are you supposed to do with that structurally speaking? You want something like revitalization, where the areas that people become interested, like me, settle in. We don't want them to, you know, stay shitty. That is not what we want. We want them to improve. But as they say in the movements, we want them to improve for everybody - everyone who wants to be there,

> everyone has been there, everyone who calls it home. But it seems now it's a dilemma: you can either get improvements that come along with displacement, dispossession and changes that the community wouldn't want … or you get nothing. You get stasis. (Residential Participant #24)

The opinion of the neighborhood evolution changes depending on whom you are talking to, said University Participant #6, the government and community relations director at a Philadelphia university, referring to the history of displacement in West Philadelphia at locations like the Black Bottom. "There are people writing new narratives and trying to change the facts," he said. "Those people are changing the narrative. There is the one fact that you can't change: they demolished the neighborhood and built University City High School there."

Acknowledging the impact of the universities, he said, was part of the trust-building process. Still, he said, "We do get blamed for all development."

Dedicate a Person, Team, Department, Office, or Organization that is the Connection Point for People in the Community

Several of the residential community members interviewed discussed having personal connections to specific people at the universities, and that seemed to help make relationships work. But when the residential community members wanted to reach out to the universities, they weren't sure where to go. "It was very decentralized," Residential Participant #13, an arts community organizer who works at a nonprofit in North Philadelphia, said of trying to connect with the universities.

The University of Pennsylvania has their Netter Center and Drexel University has the Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships, both of which have multiple people on staff and

healthy budgets. The other higher education institutions have smaller staffs if there is an office at all.

"We're not doing a lot of organized, centralized, institutionalized work in community-based academic initiatives for students, focusing on students," said University Participant #5, a senior administrator at a university in North Philadelphia, "whereas some other universities have offices or centers that do that."

Having a specific point of contact would be beneficial to residential community members, especially those unfamiliar with the roles of the president, provost, trustees, deans, and the other leaders at universities, said University Participant #12.

Would a Center be Beneficial?

Many of the Philadelphia area universities are actively engaged in the lives of residential community members, but that interaction is inconsistent, sporadic, and untracked, which means that it's difficult to make a long-lasting impact and almost impossible to measure impact. "We're probably the most engaged institution in the organization (PHENND) and yet we don't have an obvious center that is the clearinghouse for this kind of activity," said University Participant #5, a senior administrator at a university in North Philadelphia. "One of the things that we're working on right now is thinking about everything, from what we can do with faculty networks and learning circles, creating inventories and bringing people together and just kind of sharing knowledge, to pie-in-the-sky stuff, like, 'Let's have a center with a staff and support this work.'"

At Temple University, there are five people in their community affairs office, but three of those people are dedicated to the Pan-African Community Education Studies Program, the continuing education and career development operation that has been in existence since 1975.

The community affairs office gets calls from residential community members about everything, from student noise and trash complaints to requests for funding and partnerships.

Building, staffing, and properly funding a center, however, requires a commitment and a leap of faith; plus, there is the potential that it develops a reputation that may not be desired.

"I think Temple was always afraid that being involved with community was going to bring down their reputation," said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor. "Temple's always trying to navigate and not be thought of as some kind of version of Chicago State or CCNY or something like that. We wanted to be, at the very least, a regional institution or maybe a national one. And somehow that was going to demean us if we got too involved with the with the neighborhoods."

University Participant #3 recalled that when she started in her senior leadership position at Widener in the early 2000s, it took a long time to accomplish anything because of the lack of trust in the institution was ingrained in the minds of the residential community members. "The first year was really about building the foundation and building infrastructure," she said. "It was a brand-new office. There was no job description. So, a lot of it was spending time on healing a lot of the hurt. The previous administration really did not see the value in connecting with Chester. They didn't have an interest in connecting with Chester. They went as far as wanting to change their zip code. They really did not want to be affiliated with Chester because of all the reasons that you can imagine."

Having a center is not a panacea for the ills of the past. It's a starting point for outreach. The Netter Center at the University of Pennsylvania has been in existence since 1992 and many people in the surrounding residential community do not know that it exists. "The common person down the street from Penn in West Philadelphia area doesn't necessarily know the Netter

Center," said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program. "There's a good chance they don't. So, our Community Advisory Board, which was our first advisory board formed right after the Netter Center was established, has really made it a priority to make sure the center is known. Besides providing strategic advice and guidance and being a sounding board, providing direction for the center's work, a big thing that they do is advocate for the work of the Netter Center in the broader community."

The Netter Center, however, has become a nationally and globally known organization for the work that they do, and they've been able to parlay that into millions upon millions of dollars of grants and donations annually. "It's known better in that space than it is by our neighbors down the street, who we are working with every day and are so committed to building partnerships with," University Participant #7 admitted. "There is still that disconnect, even though I think we've made great strides."

It All Starts with Leadership

Regardless of whether there is a center for community partnerships, engagement, outreach, or anything else, interview subjects suggested that nothing happens in the community-engagement sphere at a university unless there is institutional support, starting with executive leadership. "I really think for it to really work well, it should come from the president of the university on down," said Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia.

University Participant #2, the religion professor, is on the presidential search committee at her institution, and she said that the search profile suggests that candidates value the relationships between the university community and the city residents. "Helping to create a

meaningful, stable, vibrant, prosperous community in which the university is located is actually something that is going to sustain the long-term viability of the institution, too," she added. "There needs to be a kind of bottom-up and top-down commitment."

Universities have ebbed and flowed when it comes to their commitment to their surrounding residential communities, said University Participant #4, a PHENND staff member:

> I've seen campuses develop really strong, great infrastructure and then the president leaves. That person was the main champion. It sort of all falls apart if there's not a steady stream upward. It's definitely a roller coaster and it really varies campus to campus. Some campuses have institutionalized stuff enough that it has weathered presidential transitions or provosts or whomever, but other campuses haven't yet figured that out. The leadership change makes a huge difference. (University Participant #4)

A new president began at Temple University in July 2021, and that has sparked hope that there will be a greater, more-focused approach to university-community engagement. "You have a new president who happens to identify as African-American and male, who happens to have a history in with Temple and the community and so forth," noted University Participant #10, a professor and diversity officer at a city university. "That's a start. You got to take advantage of the windows that you have, right? I also think that there's got to be some continuity that enables one administration to build on the other."

It's not as simple as that, however, as university leadership has multiple entities that it must interface with in order to get things done. "Probably one of the toughest things for us is the politics of Philadelphia, the way in which City Council operates, the way in which political things get done," said University Participant #9, who worked at a Philadelphia university for more than 45 years. "You have to have the support of your local council person in order to get

anything done because everybody else gives a nod to the local council person. The politics are very complex."

So, while it is important to have presidential support, that support can be tempered by competing interests, and senior leadership needs to dance a fine line in order to appease the right people. "Both Penn and Temple have done a lot of good stuff for the community," acknowledged University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor. "Drexel, too. But when it comes down to it, at the highest levels, their interest is primarily their own institution. And you know, in a certain sense, you can't blame them because that's what they're getting paid to do."

Summary

In Chapters I and II, the history of higher education was presented, establishing the foundation for the lack of trust that exists between residential community members and the universities next to them. In this chapter, that frustration has been voiced, and suggestions for moving forward have been presented.

The history of higher education is steeped in inequities, as for most of the last 1,000 years, higher education served the wealthy, powerful, and pious. Those people were often disconnected from the needs of the day, and the notion of education, of scholarship, formulated around the idea of education of discovery, not of service. Universities evolved and developed new missions, allowing them to grow in enrollments and in physical size. Opportunities arose for more people to obtain university educations but rarely did that benefit the people who lived closest to the higher education institutions for a plethora of reasons.

Acknowledging the impact that higher education institutions make and have made on their surrounding residential communities is an important first step in building better

relationships, several interview subjects stated. Addressing the power dynamic and building equitable partnerships will create a stronger foundation for moving forward, they suggested. Seeing the two communities as one larger, interconnected community might facilitate relationships that are mutually beneficial. College students aspiring to be mental health providers need experience, for example, and the residential community members would appreciate such services. Having safer communities would make everyone feel more comfortable, but the path to creating that atmosphere has not been established. It's only with proper, dedicated leadership that the path can be forged.

The need to address the disconnect and lack of trust between the residential communities and the neighboring residential communities has been a steady topic of conversation for the past 30 years. During that time, however, the business of higher education has become massive, the combative political culture in the United States has intensified, the distance between the affluent and the disadvantaged has increased exponentially, and social media has fragmented society so much that we have very little in common anymore. Superficial steps have been taken to remedy the divide between university and residential communities but many of those actions have been largely self-serving. More can be done.

Are there ways to recognize the desires of the residential community members and serve the university communities at the same time? To do so will require altering the structures and processes of academia and changing attitudes about the role of higher education in society. In the next chapter, a path forward will be presented.

Chapter V: Implications

Introduction and Organization

In order to think about how to build trust between the university community and the members of the surrounding residential community, it's important to understand what are the primary issues that have allowed the disconnect to occur.

The history of higher education is a history of inequity, as for the vast majority of the existence of higher education, access was limited to the elite – the wealthy, powerful, and pious (Chantler, 2014). The primary mission of universities was the "disinterested pursuit of truth by curiosity-driven scholars," which ultimately formulated the notion of the ivory tower, a place removed from the issues of the day (Kwiek, 2006, p. 7). In the 19th century, the idea that scholarship is a process that is removed from society was formally established and ingrained in the profession (Kwiek, 2006). That belief has allowed for a tenure and promotion system to evolve that encourages scholarship of discovery more than service to community or society-at-large (Boyer, 1990).

The history of inequity and the disregard for community service allowed universities to bypass residential communities and take advantage of opportunities created during the urban renewal era of the mid-20th century in the United States (O'Mara, 2010). The evolution of universities saw them become massive and powerful institutions, while at the same time, governments have become less involved in social services and public education. Thus, in places like Philadelphia and other urban areas, you see the phenomena of major higher education institutions thriving in neighborhoods that are often struggling.

"There have been economic, societal and university trends towards neoliberalism," said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program. "That

has been a direct foe to the work. We really have some competing evolutions that have happened within higher education in the US in particular, but really globally as well."

As Boyer posed in his 1990 book, *Scholarship Reconsidered,* "Can America's colleges and universities, with all the richness of their resources, be of greater service to the nation and the world? Can we define scholarship in ways that respond more adequately to the urgent new realities both within the academy and beyond" (p. 3)?

In order for colleges and universities to make a large-scale positive impact on communities, however, there needs to be a level of trust between the residential and university communities. That scarcely exists today. Developing that trust will require holistic changes – from within the university, between the university and residential communities, and with the two communities working together to tackle crime and other social ills together. Thanks to an increasing number of high-profile violent crimes near universities and colleges in the United States in recent years, and the fact that there is a looming global shortage of traditional college-aged students, it's possible that the timing for the necessary changes may be upon us.

Primary Findings and Interpretations

Through the interviews with 28 members of residential communities near Philadelphia universities and through the 12 interviews with Philadelphia-area university officials, a path emerged for ways to build better relationships and possibly develop a working level of trust. Of the 28 residential community members interviewed, 15 had a connection to one or more of the Philadelphia universities, including eight graduates of Philadelphia institutions, three current students, one retired university professor, and another person who is now an adjunct at a local institution. All of the interview subjects acknowledged that the tensions between the residential

communities and the higher education institutions exist. Most felt that work could be done to mend fences, and they offered suggestions for how that should happen.

Make Changes Within the Institution

The evolution of traditions, practices, and processes at higher education institutions in the United States has largely paralleled the transformation of universities in Europe. Most institutions in Europe began as a system to prepare future clergymen (Lawrence, 2007). Since everyone who entered the academy had to be literate, the students usually came from noble or otherwise elite families (Kwiek, 2006). As religion swept through Europe during the Middle Ages, higher education institutions sought to maintain their independence (Kuntsler, 2006). The rise of the nation-state in the 17th century created an even stronger fervor to solidify the nascent ideas of academic freedom, which were ultimately established by German scholars of the early 19th century. They created an institution that promoted "disinterested scholarship driven by the curiosity of free individuals, scholars searching for truth" (Kwiek, 2006, p. 7). That model of education eventually made it to the New World, and knowledge through research replaced the traditional broad-based education that had been the norm at the North American colonial colleges. The result was that "for many professors, class and lecture work became almost incidental. Service, too, was viewed as unimportant. Some even considered it a violation of the integrity of the university, since the prevailing Germanic model demanded that the professor view the everyday world from a distance" (Boyer, 1990, p. 9).

In 1947, the Truman Commission encouraged higher education institutions to put their efforts to greater purposes, suggesting that America's colleges and universities do more than produce and perpetuate the intellectual elite (Boyer, 1990). As more and more people attended post-secondary schools, however, faculty members across the country began to fear that a

college education would simply be job training, so the emphasis on research and scholarly work became embedded in charters and bylaws across the country. Promotion and tenure, which are supposed to have a level of equivalency at colleges and universities of comparable size and status, depended upon scholarly activity, more so than even teaching. At many of the nation's four-year institutions, “the focus had moved from the student to the professoriate, from general to specialized education, and from loyalty to the campus to loyalty to the profession” (Boyer, 1990, p. 13). The idea that faculty members are people who conduct research and produce for academic publications was the norm when Boyer wrote his influential 1990 book, and it largely remains the same today.

Service carries little weight in tenure and promotion processes, and the service that most faculty do is committee work. Civic engagement, community outreach, and general service to the greater geographic community are almost completely ignored at most institutions. Boyer argued that such activity should not just be acknowledged but rewarded, as theory and practice can be weaved together, informing each other, pushing the limits of research, for certain, and likely the possibilities of practice. A definition of scholarship that “both applies and contributes to human knowledge is particularly needed in a world in which huge, almost intractable problems call for the skills and insights only the academy can provide” (Boyer, 1990, p. 23). Putting the expertise of faculty to work for the greater good of the neighborhood, city, state, or country would be a valuable exercise for all.

“We sell knowledge short if we think the only thing knowledge can be good for is begetting more knowledge without any thought about what are the cultural benefits,” said University Participant #11, a recently retired university professor who had organized literacy workshops in Philadelphia for more than two decades. “I’m by no means against purely scientific

research or any other part of what is the traditional values of the university. I just think that they're selling universities short by thinking that people don't care about it."

Boyer (1990) suggested that some universities and colleges might make community engagement and the application of knowledge part of the mission of their schools, the selling point that makes them stand out. He said that "such institutions would reward faculty who establish links with institutions beyond the campus, relate the intellectual life to contemporary problems, and, in the land-grant tradition, become centers of service to the communities that surround them" (Boyer, 1990, p. 63). Changing the system that has existed for nearly 200 years would be difficult, but we exist in an age when there is an ever-growing concern about the return on the investment of an expensive college education. The application portion of that service would likely be seen as a vehicle to help students find gainful employment upon graduation. It might also help higher education institutions draw a different type of faculty member.

"Every college and university is trying to figure out how they're going to retain good talent, and how they're going to attract the talent," said University Participant #10, a professor and diversity officer at a city university who grew up in the Wynnefield section of the city. "I think that it's going to require some kind of trailblazing to shake up the system. The system is more white and male than not, so we're really trying to disrupt the status quo that has existed for, you know, generations. But maybe it will be forced to change."

The Philadelphia Higher Education Network for Neighborhood Development (PHENND) has been encouraging universities and faculty members to connect with community organizations and build partnerships in the city since 1987, before Boyer's book was published. And such activity has long existed amongst select faculty members, many of whom have done amazing things, though they have largely acted alone without university support in terms of

funding or time, as several interview subjects noted. Rather than such activity coming from the faculty level, it needs to be made part of the culture by university leadership and formalized throughout the systems and processes of the university. “There needs to be a kind of bottom-up and top-down commitment to make these cultural shifts,” said University Participant #2, the religion professor.

Scholarship of discovery should always remain, Boyer (1990) stated, as “free and open inquiry” helps build the intellectual capacity needed to address the seemingly intractable problems facing the country and the world (p. 75). The key is for provosts and presidents to think less narrowly when crafting tenure and promotion guidelines and create definitions that go beyond the traditional comprehensions of work deemed to be scholarly. Without support from university leadership, the random activity from the faculty members has shown to be inconsistent, unsustainable, and sometimes even costly, if only in reputation.

Boyer authored his book before cable news fostered political divide and long before social media fragmented society. Even then, however, he recognized that modern life required more information and more participation, and he saw hope in the role of higher education in making the world better for all. He also saw the damage that could occur if things did not evolve. “If the nation's colleges and universities cannot help students see beyond themselves and better understand the interdependent nature of our world, each new generation's capacity to live responsibly will be dangerously diminished” (Boyer, 1990, p. 77).

Applying the knowledge learned through traditional research strengthens the scholarship, Boyer argued. It creates opportunities for students to gain experience, and it serves to provide resources to the residential communities near the higher education institutions, communities that are often impoverished and underserved. When faculty connect to the surrounding residential

communities in a supported and sustained way, it is a victory for all. That needs to be appreciated from the top down within the institutions and then throughout the profession.

Build Equity Through Good Communication

Just as higher education institutions developed ideological practices and professional processes that distanced academia from the needs of everyday, common society, they also designed and built campuses that purposefully kept the university communities physically separated from the surrounding residential communities. That has had alasting impact, mentally, and geographically.

Early universities in the United States started out as small pockets of education, learned communities of students and faculty living amongst each other. As the United States became more populated and universities grew, the communities around the learning centers became more diverse – not everything revolved around the education of the next leaders of society. Tensions between the university community and surrounding residential communities increased to the point that there were riots in towns like New Haven, Connecticut, in the middle of the 19th century (Guilbert, 1995). So, universities in the United States mimicked their European counterparts who had walled off their campuses from the outside world, further isolating the educated elite from the common people. Protected and often gated locations, like Yale University's Old Campus, the Yard at Harvard University, the Quadrangle at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Morningside Heights campus of Columbia University, became models for higher education institutions across the country as colleges and universities evolved over the course of the 20th century (Guilbert, 1995).

While university enrollments exploded in the years after World War II, the United States experienced a thinning out of their inner cities. Eisenhower's new Interstate Highway System

helped encourage white flight, drawing the middle class out to the suburbs just as manufacturing was slowing to a crawl in most major cities. The result was a hollowed-out core in many urban areas, with vacant industrial buildings, decaying homes, and populations of people without decent jobs nearby to help rebuild their communities.

The universities became major economic drivers in many US cities, including Philadelphia, and they received favorable treatment from the local and federal governments. During the urban renewal era of the late 1950s through the 1960s, universities were granted land and given incentives to build and grow. Of course, that meant that they also had to remove what – and who – had previously existed. In the 1960s, for example, the University of Pennsylvania, under the guise of a newly formed corporation called the University City Science Center, received an 82.3-acre portion of the city that they would renovate and build as a research hub. The neighborhood had previously been a longstanding predominantly African American community called the Black Bottom. By the time the demolition in the area was complete, 2,653 people had been displaced, with 2,070 of them being Black (Puckett & Lloyd, 2013).

"We were the first ones that got decimated," said Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist, "because they wanted to be the first ones that want to put up a science center in the nation."

What is now Drexel University was part of the team that eliminated the Black Bottom neighborhood and established the University City Science Center. Other universities in Philadelphia were granted land throughout the city to renovate as well. The residents of those old neighborhoods hold on to the memories of the powerful institutions razing homes and businesses. The fear that it might happen again lingers, leaving many people with a hair-trigger instinct to lambast the higher education institutions anytime they see construction activity

starting. “We do get blamed for all development,” said University Participant #6, the government and community relations director at a Philadelphia university. “We don't go in and buy all the houses but by the expansion in size and scope of the university, other people come in and buy, sometimes speculate, and then people get moved out.”

At the University of Pennsylvania, there's constant conversation about the destruction of communities, like the Black Bottom neighborhood, and what's being done to amend for such actions, according to University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program. “I think it's important to acknowledge it,” she said.

> It's a starting point. I think that's where a lot of people in this work are at anyway - starting to understand that how important that acknowledgement is. But there's also not getting too caught up in the history so that we can ensure that action is actually taken that will improve the lives of people today, the entire community too, the entire West Philadelphia area. What are we doing every day to leverage the resources at the university and the democratic partnership with all of West Philadelphia, for, you know, the current generation and beyond? (University Participant #7)

Residential Participant #7, the Black Bottom activist, wants reparations for his family being removed from their home. He spent a lot of time in 2021 trying to assist the residents of a private apartment complex called the University City Townhomes, which is slated to be sold and demolished. It is a privately-owned complex that has long been used for Section 8 housing, but Residential Participant #7 believes this is another surreptitious action by the University of Pennsylvania to acquire land next to their campus. Philadelphia’s City Council has put a halt on the evictions and demolition, but the rumors about the University of Pennsylvania’s involvement keep swirling.

At Drexel University, University Participant #6, the government and community relations director, holds bi-weekly meetings with neighborhood leaders to discuss upcoming development projects, as well as other issues that pertain to the residential community members. Those open dialogue meetings have been very helpful to those who attend. “I think it came out of conflict from years back,” said Residential Participant #9, the president of a registered community organization near Drexel University. “It seems to be a really useful mechanism.” Similar, regularly scheduled meetings have occurred between the University of Pennsylvania leadership and leaders of the residential communities nearby during various periods.

Such meetings are very important given the history of the relationships between higher education institutions and their surrounding residential communities. They offer space for conversation to flow both ways, and that allows for the residential community members to feel as though they have a level of input. It may never be a level of equality, but through simple, regular communication, relationships can be built. Without existing relationships and open communication, you wind up with situations like when Temple University’s leadership tried to present ideas about their proposed football stadium to the North Philadelphia residential community members. They were shouted down by angry people who thought the meeting was superficial, that everything had already been decided. Rumors, like the one that said that the new stadium would have towered over the neighboring rowhomes, never had a chance to be debunked. In fact, the playing field was designed to be built below street level, allowing the seating areas to peak at the same height as the neighboring rowhomes. But that reality was never exposed because the lingering mistrust and lack of communication allowed misconceptions to spread. That also goes for the other big rumor, that the university would be demolishing homes to make room for the stadium. In fact, the proposed site was land that Temple had long owned

and occupied. No other property would be required, and no residents would have been displaced. In the end, that didn't matter. The rumors stalled the project enough that it is likely dead now.

"I think that they do things and then they come out to the community, rather than involving the community earlier," said Residential Participant #8, a leader within the Latino community in North Philadelphia. "They should talk to the community earlier."

Developing better university-community relations has been a goal for many organizations for many years. A coalition of higher education institutions formed a Campus Compact in 1985 with a mission to "advances the public purposes of colleges and universities by deepening their ability to improve community life and to educate students for civic and social responsibility" (Campus Compact, n.d). This third mission, beyond traditional university roles as educational operations and research institutions, involves higher education institutions partnering with local organizations to drive innovation and resolve regional needs (Radinger-Peer & Pflitsch, 2017). Regardless of intention, the power dynamic leaves such partnerships one-sided, primarily from the perspective of what the higher education institutions can do for the communities. Without having regular meetings with community members, there is no institutional vehicle that allows for the two communities to share ideas, concerns, and information.

The university outreach coordinator at Temple University said, "The goal of this office is connecting folks to Temple but certainly a secondary goal or an objective is really trying to help to minimize that this fear that Temple is trying to take over North Philly. We're not North Philly. We're a part of North Philly. Just like other nonprofits, we have resources that we can share, and we want to benefit our neighbors."

The idea of the engaged university is to eradicate the stigma of the ivory tower as a place of learning that is removed from the immediate surroundings and place it squarely within the

community, treating students, staff, faculty, and community members as equals (Chantler, 2014). University-community engagement should start with regular meetings between senior university executives and leaders from the neighboring business community, houses of faith, registered community organizations, nonprofits, and education operations. They should build a path for moving forward together, tackle the inequality as best as possible, and minimize the power dynamic by communicating with each other as though they all have the same mission, which they do. “Active engagement in the community can enrich the life of both students and teachers. In short, the third role is not a one-way street” (Chatterdon & Goddard, 2000, p.491).

Provide Non-Academic Services, Including Those that Will Help Increase Safety

Universities are place-based institutions, and most have been in their current locations for decades, if not longer. They aren’t going anywhere. And while the reality is that the fortunes of higher education institutions can often impact the demographics of the residential communities that are near them, the vast majority of the community members who live near the universities and colleges in Philadelphia want to stay in their communities.

“Our futures are intertwined,” said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program. “We can't really continue to thrive as an institution if our surrounding community is not also thriving.”

Most higher education institutions are already involved in the lives of residential community members in a variety of ways, but the activity, with a few exceptions, is largely down on a grassroots level. While organizations like the University of Pennsylvania’s Netter Center and Drexel University’s Dornsife Center have ongoing programs that provide services to the local residential communities, much of the interactions between universities and the residential communities happen at the student or faculty level. Such interactions can be sporadic,

inconsistent, and unreliable. And many of the services that are provided through existing university outreach centers are done with the interests of the higher education intuitions in mind, with little formal input from the residential community members. Creating more formal structures in a true partnership, with input from the residential community members beyond advisory boards, is important for the two communities to prosper.

Through his Smart Cities Lab, Davarian Baldwin has proposed a series of recommendations for colleges and universities that can help build a better urban future. One of the suggestions is to establish community benefit agreements to assist with local workforce development, provide connections to university jobs, develop tuition-free education opportunities, create access to university amenities, like libraries and recreation centers, and make other university resources available (Baldwin, 2021). It might be difficult to create such agreements, however, as the first step would be to identify with whom the universities are making their agreements. Who are the stakeholders who should be involved, and will they trust the higher education institutions enough to even have conversations about an agreement? Once the agreement is in place, how will it be executed, and will those who signed off be able to convince their community members that the pact is real?

Again, many of the services suggested are already being provided by the universities, everything from student teachers in elementary schools to medical students volunteering in clinics. Formalizing these arrangements would create a more reliable system, one that could include the residential community's access to experts, training, legal expertise, financial guidance, and beyond. A comprehensive list of potential non-academic interactions and opportunities should be created and made public so that the residential community members know how to access the resources. Some of the non-academic services would venture into

territory where municipal governments previously offered programming and may still. Universities and colleges are massive, resource-rich organizations, and they can easily provide such programming. “The way they are positioned throughout the city, they can almost be as effective as government can be in the community,” said Residential Participant #17, the former mayoral staffer. “They're located in some of the key areas throughout the city.”

If organized through a center and with a working agreement, higher education institutions could, in theory, assist the community at every level – from childcare and primary school through college preparation courses, re-entry programs, workforce development, home-ownership programs, and student volunteer work with senior citizens and other adults. Combined, the services could help residential community members absorb their educations, find work, stay in their homes, and enjoy life. The reality is that if all that happened, it would create much safer communities for all.

“What are we all doing to rise the tide, not an episodic way, but in a coordinated, strategic way, based on the needs and the assets available in geographic areas that are more vulnerable to gun violence?” asked Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia, referring to the communities that ring Philadelphia’s major higher education institutions. Of the 724 shootings in Philadelphia as of May 8, 2022, about one-third happened within two or three miles of the major college campuses in the city (Office of the Controller, 2022). In the three North Philadelphia zip codes that include and surround Temple University, there were 101 shootings. There were 100 in the three West Philadelphia zip codes that include and surround the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, and the University of the Sciences. There were 54 shootings in the zip codes that include and surround La Salle University (Office of the Controller, 2022).

After the November 28, 2021, murder of a Temple University student a few blocks away from campus, the university president responded by increasing the campus safety force by 50%, amongst other preventative actions. Baldwin (2021) cautioned the use of campus police forces, especially those that patrol the surrounding residential communities. “If campus police are licensed to patrol and enforce the law beyond campus, they must be subject to a community oversight board with prosecution power,” he wrote (Baldwin, 2021, p. 211). He suggested campus police officers be replaced by “unarmed, anticarceral, and community-based public safety teams” (Baldwin, 2021, p. 210).

Building and offering services that create opportunities for people is the better approach, according to Residential Participant #18, the criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia. “This is not a problem you can arrest your way out of,” she said. “We have to have a coordinated, geographic, intelligent approach to policing and law enforcement writ-large. I do think it is a lever that has to be. But there are some folks that need to sit down for a minute, and they need to remove harm from our communities.”

Trying to get universities to work toward benefitting the wider community, not just the immediate campus community, has been difficult, however. Many higher education institutions now exist as massive economic engines and major businesses as much as academic institutions (O’Mara, 2010). Serving the residential community generally only happens when it is for the benefit of the university or college, several interview subjects stated. That needs to change.

“It becomes the responsibility of the university to make sure that there isn't any tension or conflict that is existing between the communities,” said Residential Participant #16, a nonprofit development coordinator who grew up in West Philadelphia, “if, for anything, the safety of the people who are paying them to attend that school.”

Institutions like the University of Pennsylvania clearly have the resources to make a major difference in the lives of residential community members. On November 17, 2020, the university pledged $10 million per year for 10 years to the Philadelphia School District (Ozio & Lewis, 2020). At the time, the university's endowment was around $14.9 billion, and it had generated $228 million in returns that year alone (University of Pennsylvania, 2021a). The endowment has since increased to $20.5 billion as of June 30, 2021 (University of Pennsylvania, 2021c). The University of Pennsylvania owns around $3.2 billion worth of property in the city of Philadelphia but pays no property tax because of their status as an educational institution (McCrystal, 2019). Such outrageous amounts of money held by institutions that don't pay property taxes have prompted many people to call for payments in lieu of taxes, otherwise known as PILOTs. Suggestions for such payments have been dismissed by higher education executives, who say that their institutions provide so many services already. Baldwin suggests a compromise, with higher education institutions paying PILOTs for space on campus that is not solely used for academic purposes and more for research that will go to market (Baldwin, 2021).

"Then there's a recognition that we have the resources to make a difference in the community and there's some sense of a moral obligation to do so," said University Participant #7, an administrator in a Philadelphia university outreach program.

> The key, and this has been probably the most important part for like pushing it within sort of institutionally within Penn, is a realization that we could better realize our core mission, our academic mission, our research, teaching, learning and service mission, by engaging collaboratively with community partners. We would actually generate better, more useful knowledge, better research, teaching and learning by having our students and faculty work side-by-side with community members, if we learn from and with

community members and help actually try to solve real problems as they're manifested in our local neighborhood. (University Participant #7)

Build Academic Programming and Preparedness

The poor graduation rate within the School District of Philadelphia should be unacceptable given the number of universities and colleges that exist in the city, several interview subjects noted, especially since most of the universities and colleges offer programs in education. More than 25% of the city's public school students do not graduate from high school, and male students fail at higher rates - about one-third of the male students drop out before completion (The School District of Philadelphia, 2022). That's especially dangerous when 641 out of the 724 shootings in 2022 as of May 8 involve male victims (Office of the Controller, 2022).

"I think Philadelphia has an amazing opportunity given the high number of quality institutions that we have in varying sizes shapes and focus," said Residential Participant #18, a criminal justice policy director working for the city of Philadelphia. "I think we just have a gold mine that we've not utilized to continue to make our city world class."

Rather than just sending education majors to primary and secondary school classrooms to get experience, it was suggested by many interview subjects that the universities deeply invest in specific public schools near them. Be of greater support, with students, faculty, and staff from beyond education programs getting involved in the daily life of the schools. Recognize the strengths and needs of the public schools and their students and harness the university's resources around them. If a public school has a focus on business or science or anything else, find the compatible department on the university campus and build programming together. In other words, rather than just servicing the public schools for the sake of the college students

needing experience, create partnerships with the public schools in ways that suit their desires. Build deeper relationships and lasting partnerships that would ultimately benefit everyone.

Such experiments have happened several times in Philadelphia and other major metropolitan areas. The working dynamic can be difficult, as college students parachuting in may be seen as naïve interlopers by the more experienced teachers at the public schools (Nevárez-La Torre & Sanford-De Shields, 1999). With the predominantly white student bodies at Philadelphia universities, it's very easy to make a cultural faux pas in schools that are largely non-white, as is the case at most Philadelphia public schools. Because of the power dynamic, universities and their faculty and students can portray the public schools as deficient and see themselves as saviors there to rescue the impoverished. To avoid such actions, Nevárez-La Torre and Sanford-De Shields (1999) suggest steady conversation amongst all stakeholders.

There's not a global definition for what a public school-university partnership could look like, as every situation requires a different approach (Baker, 2011). But the success of the University of Pennsylvania's experiment with the School District of Philadelphia provides some guidelines. Their partnership resulted in the Penn Alexander School in West Philadelphia, just blocks away from the universities West Philadelphia campus. The university provides $1330 per student, which offsets costs and keeps student-teacher ratios lower than at other public schools. The university's Graduate School of Education sends student teachers, but they also offer professional development workshops for the Penn Alexander staff. They also maintain the grounds and send students and faculty from across the university to assist in functions and programming at the school.

"I spoke to representatives from Columbia University who came down to hear about the Alexander school and how the community responded to it, and what are our role or and

involvement was in it and, and you know, if we had any advice for them," said Residential Participant #2, a retired community college professor who has been a community leader in West Philadelphia for more than 50 years. "I remember saying to them, 'Unless you're going to put it in your budget and fund it year-after-year-after-year, and not just consider it something you're going to help start and walk away from, don't do it.' If you're going to support public education in the city, you've got to start it and you've got to stay and if you're not prepared to do that, that don't get into it."

Not every higher education institution can make such a financial investment in public education. But there could be greater partnerships that help create stronger foundations at neighboring public schools simply by granting access to the university's experts and resources. It could pay off in many ways.

Since the Penn Alexander School opened in 2001, the university has slowly made inroads with other schools in the area. "They did a phenomenal job with Hamilton (elementary school)," said Residential Participant #4, a West Philadelphia education and youth activist who serves as a community liaison for the University of Pennsylvania. "It's not just the university you see eating up real estate in West Philadelphia."

A simple investment of faculty time could change the lives of young students. Making that connection might inspire them to focus on their studies and maybe even aim for a degree or two from that professor's university. It could offer them hope, as well as the resources to achieve their goals. These efforts could continue all the way through high school, making the university partnership an exercise in college preparation. And with the pending global decline in traditional college-aged students, universities are going to be searching for the next waves of students. Many of the candidates are in their backyard, as they have been for generations.

“The good news is it's not a difficult problem to resolve,” said Residential Participant #17, the former mayoral staffer. “It’s just people communicating and really letting people be aware of the resources. To make it a real thing though, let's go out there and really have some information to say, not just give me a button and a pen. Tell me how I can apply.”

Creating more opportunities for city students to enter universities is also a positive for everyone. They get a quality education, and they can go back to their communities and inspire others. The other students on campus can learn from them as well, as their very existence debunks the myths about the residents of nearby communities. The universities get students who are better bridges to the residential communities. As all students develop a greater understanding of the communities that surround them, they’ll treat the neighboring residents with greater respect. There is a domino effect, but it needs to start somewhere.

“Students come to Temple because of where we're located, because we're in Philly and in North Philadelphia,” said University Participant #5, a senior administrator at a university in North Philadelphia. “They want to be engaged with the community in which they are being educated. They want this kind of experience and not strictly in the service sense. A lot of students want it embedded in their in their education. We want to support that. Lots of faculty come here for the same reason. How do we support that? How do we help faculty to feel like they can do that? How do we help students to have the opportunity to do it? How do we do it all in a way that's responsible and appropriate and, frankly, without seeming like we're doing it for the wrong reasons?”

Students who engage in community activities develop a greater sense of self, of their own purpose. They grow to develop a greater sense of connection to the community (Johnson, 2017). The university or the professors can bridge academic and community goals by building

community engagement into the coursework. That creates a synergy between civic identity and career (Johnson, 2017). Through experiential and transformative learning, students can develop a sense of responsibility toward their communities (McCunney, 2017).

"I think there's educational benefits, there's community benefits and there's research benefits," University Participant #6, the government and community relations director at a Philadelphia university, said about why university-community engagement is important. "There's really good educational opportunities and research opportunities that benefit our faculty and students. Then there's also have the third win - you get the win, win, win - in that the community itself can get some benefits out of engaging with the university, either access to programs and services directly or their expertise to do something they might not otherwise be able to do."

Conclusion: Can Trust be Built?

For trust to be built, actual partnerships must be established. That starts with acknowledging the past and continues with the two communities working together as equals toward a mutually beneficial future. Without such actions, both communities could slide into irreparable states, with crime running amok in the communities that sit adjacent to the higher education institutions and the higher education losing students, faculty, and staff to fear of worsening crime.

The suggestions listed above show that there are simple, cost-effective ways to start to bridge the divide. If there is transparency and open, honest dialogue, the two communities can work toward shared goals that will benefit both parties.

In the section on "implications for policy and practice," there is a guide for university faculty, staff, and administration to better work with residential community members, as well as

a framework for residential community members as they consider approaching higher education institutions for assistance and partnerships.

Strengths of the Study

Forty people were interviewed for this study for a total of 1434 minutes, just shy of 24-hour's worth of interviews.

There were 28 interviews with members of residential communities near higher education institutions in Philadelphia. They ranged from registered community organization presidents and nonprofit leaders to social justice activists and government officials. The average interview with residential community members lasted 31 minutes. Several interview subjects followed up with further information via email, text messaging, and phone calls.

There were 12 interviews with members of university communities from the Greater Philadelphia region, with the average interview lasting around 46 minutes. Amongst the interview subjects were a former university president, the director of a higher education consortium, senior leadership from the largest universities in Philadelphia, university-community partnership administrators, chief diversity officers, and faculty members, both retired and active.

Most studies regarding university-community relationships or town-and-gown issues focus on the evolution of the disconnect, but few start from within the higher education institutions. Few studies process the fact that the structural nature of the institutions dissuades people from getting involved in efforts with the residential communities that rest adjacent to the universities and colleges. This study runs from Boyer to Baldwin, attempting to contextualize the traditions and processes of academia as well as understanding how those practices have impacted residential community members.

And while almost all studies on this subject offer potential solutions, this one presents a guide for how residential community members can approach university representatives as well as a guide for how university leaders can better interact with the residential communities in their midst. This study presents feasible, cost-effective, and measurable ways of bridging the two communities that have long been at odds.

Limitations of the Study

The biggest limitation of this study is the fact that there are around 282 years of history at the University of Pennsylvania and 138 years at Temple University. The other higher education institutions in the city of Philadelphia also have long histories, and it's not fair to summarize their connections to the residential communities - or lack thereof, so briefly as is done here. The researcher made choices about what to add, and clearly, the more salacious eras and incidents were included. Are they representative of the various school's history? That's difficult to say.

The scope of the overall issue mirrors the political whims of the past 75 years, so there is a massive amount of contextual information to process.

Many of the people interviewed are members of the residential community, and they have a connection to universities in the city – as employees and as graduates. That may have created some mixed emotions and wavering responses.

The researcher intended to find interview subjects using a custom-made online survey that was emailed to around 150 people. Only six people responded to the survey. There are several reasons for this, including the fact that the email recipients received a warning note attached that read, "This email originated outside of Wilmington University. Do not reply, click links or open attachments unless you recognize the sender and know the content is safe." That

warning was only discovered around six weeks after email requests were first delivered. A person who was aware of the researcher noticed the warning and informed the researcher.

Finally, the responses of interview subjects are their opinions, often formed by emotion, not fact. Several stated factually incorrect information during the interviews. While those responses are not included in this study, some of the raw emotions are. One of the missions of this project was to make the *perceptions* of the residential community members known and to give them space to let their feelings be known.

Implications for Policy and Practice

These two documents (Figures 1 & 2) present suggestions for how the university and residential communities can better communicate with each other. Developed based upon information gleaned during the interviews, they present explanations of processes and procedures, and they offer ideas on how to build relationships. Figure 1 is meant for residential community members, and Figure 2 is designed for university faculty and staff.

Figure 1

Guide for Residential Community Members to Connect with the University Community

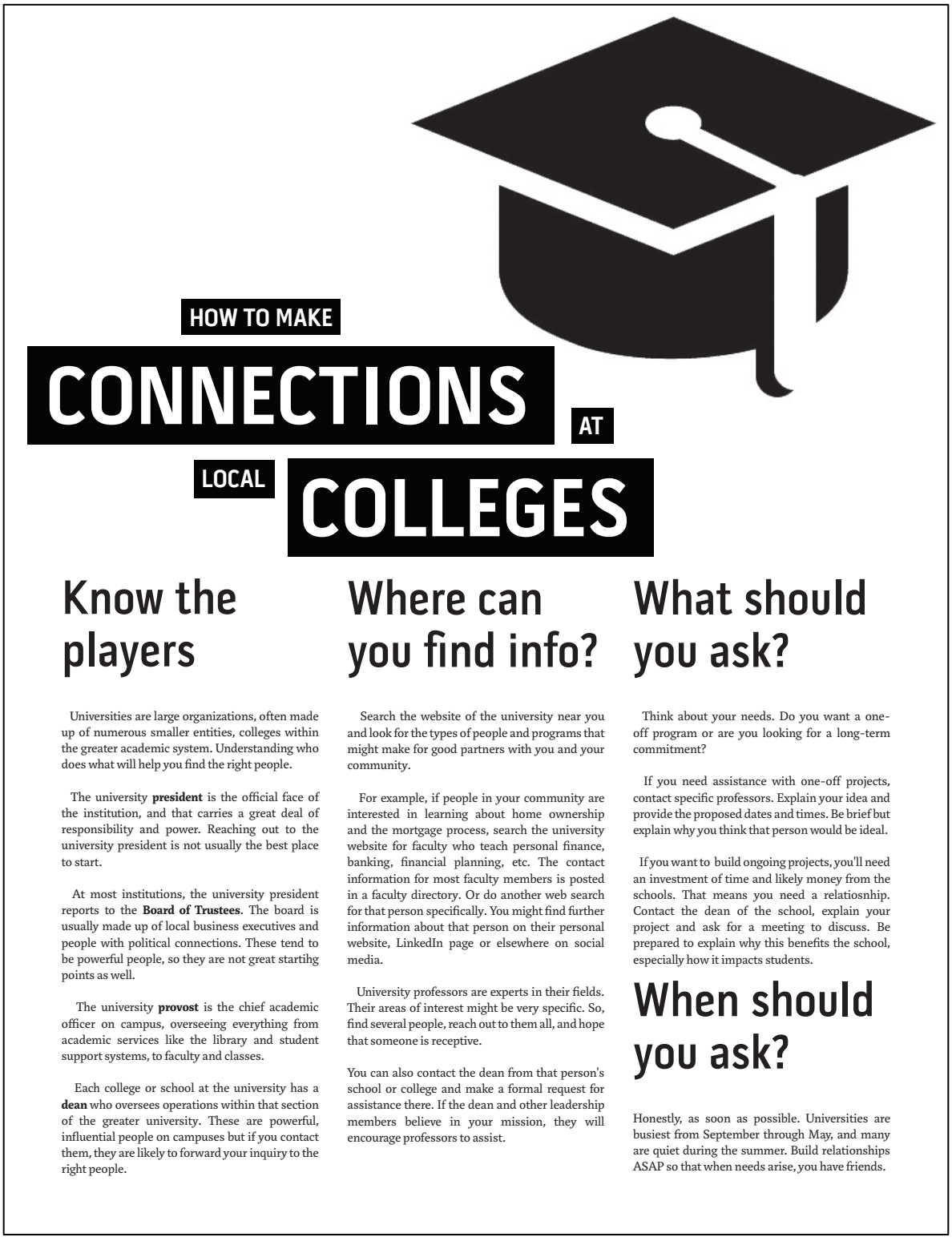

Figure 2

Guide for University Community Members to Connect with Residential Community Members

Recommendations for Future Research

The common denominator for residential and university communities is a crime. It impacts both constituencies in different ways. Though always tragic, violent crimes have varying levels of import depending upon who is the victim. When the victim is connected to the university, swift action usually occurs, including within the confines of the institution. At the University of Pennsylvania, for instance, there was greater outreach to the residential community after the murder of a graduate student named In Ho Oh in 1958 (Puckett & Lloyd, 2013). The university spurred the creation of the West Philadelphia Corporation, designed to remake the landscape of West Philadelphia – regardless of the fact that there were existing communities there. In 1996, after the murder of graduate student Vladimir Sled, the University of Pennsylvania helped create the University City District, which is much more inclusive than the West Philadelphia Corporation but has been just as damaging to the longstanding, mostly Black communities in West Philadelphia. The 2021 murder of a Temple University undergraduate has created a fervor amongst the university community, especially as the incident has scared potential students from the North Philadelphia campus.

So, while the ideas and solutions presented in this study represent the desires of the residential community members to an extent, very little will likely happen unless there is more violence and more crime. That means that it is important to continue doing the work of interviewing residential community members to learn about their experiences, and it is important to push universities to develop equitable partnerships. The issues raised in this study require long-term, holistic planning, with a major investment of time and likely money.

Crime is cyclical, and so is most universities' interest in community engagement.

In addition to doing further interviews with residential community members, it would be good to do deep assessments of existing community outreach programs, services, activities, centers, and staff. The assessment of existing programs mentioned in this study is all anecdotal. That leaves room for major gaps in understanding, especially in understanding what is desired by those being served.

There are other questions raised by demographic patterns and trends in higher education. For example, will the looming decline in traditional college-aged students force higher education institutions to regard their neighboring residential communities differently? Will the potential shortage of students encourage universities to invest in their local primary and secondary schools, possibly creating a feeder system? And if the federal government wipes out student debt, will universities start recruiting more heavily in places where there are students without financial means?

Frankly, until universities and their surrounding residential communities operate with any real level of equality, there remain many different paths for future research.

Summary and Conclusion

This study set forth to learn about the experiences of residents of communities adjacent to higher education institutions with regard to their relationship with the universities and then find out how those residents would like to work with those institutions in ways that would be of benefit to them. The ultimate goal was to discover what actions the institutions of higher education could take to build trust with the residents of the communities adjacent to their campuses so that the two constituencies could work together to build a more prosperous future for all.

The 40 interviews revealed a lot of anger and disappointment, not only from the residential community members but also from the university representatives. The history of disregard for the welfare of residential community members has left lasting feelings that are hard to overcome. “I don't care what they say, universities and colleges, at the level of higher administration, they have no real interest in being a resource to the communities except insofar as it as it reflects well on the institution and draws students to them and gives them a reputation that they want,” a recently retired professor offered.

The residential community members want to be independent, though they need help getting there. They don’t want a handout. They need a lift up, as many have been pressed down for so long. Many have seen their communities decimated directly or indirectly by the higher education institutions in their neighborhood. Their friends have left the neighborhood, schools have closed, and the high level of post-secondary education that is being served down the road is often so out far of reach mentally, academically, financially, and otherwise that those higher education campuses seem like a foreign land. They see the predominantly white student bodies getting prepared for successful careers, and they want access to even a hint of that.

The interviews with residential community members also shined a light on the realities of the people in cities who rely upon public services like schools, parks, transportation, and health care. Funding for those has diminished in many cities, and there has been a push toward public-private partnerships. In Philadelphia, for example, public parks have been renovated using funds from major businesses and organizations, who then stamp them with their corporate logos. They get points for corporate responsibility, and the residential community members get a superficial and often temporary fix. The University of Pennsylvania pioneered the university-public school partnership, and it has had a powerful impact on the West Philadelphia community, both positive

and negative. Drexel University, Temple, and other higher education institutions also provide education and health care services that historically were offered through the municipal, state, or federal government. The question remains, however, about how much of the social services the universities should address when it's really not their responsibility.

"We live in a capitalist society where housing is not a public good, at least, not in the way it should be," said University Participant #4. "People are homeless. You can only buy what you can afford. Unless that fundamentally changes, nothing else will. Yes, Penn has been able to make this part of West Philadelphia that's closer to campus more economically strong by traditional metrics but it's not necessarily fundamentally changing the game for low-income Philadelphians writ-large. I will also say that 20 years ago, that conversation wasn't even happening. The idea that we should just reinvest in cities was itself the radical new idea."

The universities reinvesting in the city - and specifically the residential communities near their campuses, makes sense though, on numerous levels. The most important reason to invest holistically and comprehensively in residential communities is that it creates a safer environment for all. Increasing public safety teams or campus police officers does not reduce the potential for crime in the long term. Helping communities become better educated, helping them find jobs, offering them mental health care, and assisting them with rebuilding their own communities is the greater, more sustainable solution. And it doesn't have to be done at a great cost. The universities have the expertise and the labor force to deliver such services. The students would gain invaluable "real world" experience. Faculty members need to see that such service would be recognized and valued by the university, specifically in tenure and promotion processes.

The catalyst needs to be the president of the university or college, and it needs to be codified into the system so that a commitment to building a stronger community remains even

after leadership changes. While centers serve as marketable starting points for the activity, they are not necessary as long as there is a visible champion for such efforts.

By using the guides presented above in the section on implications for policy and practice, residential community members will better understand the university systems and processes, and university faculty, staff, students, and administration will discover better ways to communicate and interact with the residential community members.

The suggestions presented by the researcher in this study are not novel ideas. They are not reshaping the mission of higher education institutions at all. In fact, they are strengthening the missions by providing a stronger foundation for all. If the university communities and residential communities work together, they can bring about much needed changes to America's cities, and they can create positive models for building sustainable, humane economic impact zones around the world.

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Appendix A

Residential Community Participants

These are the residential community members who were interviewed for this study.

Residential Participant	Residential community member	Location	Time in area/age	Significant connection to Philadelphia universities
1	Neighborhood leader in Brewerytown	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	none
2	Retired community college professor/ community leader	West Philadelphia	50+ years	Retired CCP professor
3	Entrepreneur/developer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	Attended Temple briefly
4	Education/youth activist	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
5	Rising politician	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
6	Community connector	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
7	Black Bottom activist	West Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	None
8	Latino community leader	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	Temple grad
9	Registered community organization president	West Philadelphia	fewer than 5 years	Wife works at Penn
10	Latino nonprofit administrator	North Philadelphia	fewer than 5 years	PHENND fellow
11	Yorktown leader	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 20s	La Salle grad
12	Housing nonprofit leader	North Philadelphia	20+ years	Penn grad
13	Arts community organizer	North Philadelphia	15 years	None
14	Youth empowerment activist	West Philadelphia	fewer than 20 years	Temple grad

15	Literacy nonprofit administrator	North Philadelphia	fewer than 20 years	None
16	Nonprofit development coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	Temple grad
17	Former mayoral staffer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
18	Criminal justice policy director	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 40s	None
19	North Philadelphia resident and Cecil B. Moore Scholar candidate (female)	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 18	Thinking about attending Temple
20	North Philadelphia resident and Cecil B. Moore Scholar candidate (male)	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 18	Thinking about attending Temple
21	Community activist	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	None
22	Community storyteller	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	Temple grad
23	Doctoral student	West Philadelphia	Fewer than 10 years	PhD student at Penn
24	Suburban college professor	West Philadelphia	Fewer than 10 years	None
25	Registered nurse	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 60s	CCP grad
26	Community organizer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	None
27	Park Avenue resident	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 60s	TU MFA grad; now teaching at Temple
28	Communications coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 20s	None

Appendix B

This is the text of the email that was sent to community organizers, business owners, faith leaders and elected officials:

Hello,

My name is George Miller and I am a student in Wilmington University's Higher Education Leadership doctoral program. My doctoral dissertation studies the relationships between communities and their neighboring universities, and searches for ways to make the relationship beneficial to the communities. I am interested in learning about your experiences and understanding your desires.

Please fill out the anonymous form here. It is primarily multiple choice, so it will take fewer than 10 minutes to fill out.

At the bottom of the page, you can click on the link to another page where you can volunteer to be interviewed. Please sign up if you would be willing to spend 20 to 30 minutes talking by phone, Zoom or your preferred method. Your identity will remain anonymous in the actual study.

If you have any concerns or questions, you can contact me at gmiller015@my.wilmu.edu or my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Sherri Johnson, at sherri.l.johnson@wilmu.edu.

Thank you very much.

George Miller

Appendix C

This is the survey that was sent to community leaders, business owners and residents of areas adjacent to universities in Philadelphia. The survey is viewable here.

Communities and Universities

Welcome, and thank you for participating in this survey. Your responses will be anonymous, and you may stop at any point. If you are willing to be interviewed, please follow the link at the bottom of the page to another form where you can leave your name and contact information. If you have any questions, please contact me (George Miller) at gmiller015@my.wilmu.edu.

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?

- ○ Less than 5 years
- ○ 6 to 10 years
- ○ 11 to 20 years
- ○ 21 years or more

2. Are you impacted by having a university in or adjacent to your community?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

3. In what ways have you been impacted by having a university near you?

- ☐ I am employed by the university
- ☐ Property values have increased, altering my cost of living
- ☐ My friends and/or family have left the neighborhood because of increased housing costs
- ☐ I feel more safe because the university is here
- ☐ I feel less safe because the university is here
- ☐ I use the educational resources (library, computer labs, etc)
- ☐ I have access to university sports facilities
- ☐ There is more noise when the university is in session
- ☐ Parking is difficult
- ☐ I attend university events
- ☐ I take classes at the university
- ☐ I am a graduate of the university
- ☐ My children attend or attended the university
- ☐ My family members work for the university

4. Are there other ways you have been impacted by having a university in or next to your community?

Enter your answer

5. How would you describe your interactions with these groups of people?

	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Never interacted	There are ongoing issues
Students who live in the neighborhood	○	○	○	○	○
Students working on school projects in the neighborhood	○	○	○	○	○
Campus police	○	○	○	○	○
Professors working in the neighborhood	○	○	○	○	○
University staff	○	○	○	○	○
University leadership (provost, president, board of trustees, etc)	○	○	○	○	○
University lawyers	○	○	○	○	○
City officials on behalf of the university	○	○	○	○	○

6. Please explain: Who have you communicated with and how did things go?

Enter your answer

7. What services would you like to see the university provide?

	This exists already	Yes, please	No, thanks	Option 4	Option 5
Free or inexpensive education for neighborhood youth	○	○	○	○	○
Career training in general	○	○	○	○	○
Career training for jobs at the university	○	○	○	○	○
Financial literacy training for neighborhood residents	○	○	○	○	○
Arts and cultural events for neighbors	○	○	○	○	○
College prep for neighborhood youth	○	○	○	○	○
Invitations to university lectures	○	○	○	○	○
Invitations to university sporting events	○	○	○	○	○
Financial support for neighborhood businesses	○	○	○	○	○
Financial support for neighborhood residents	○	○	○	○	○
Financial support for community organizations	○	○	○	○	○
Financial support for community events	○	○	○	○	○
Access to university leadership	○	○	○	○	○

8. Are there other services or programs you would like to see the university offer to the community?

Enter your answer

9. Which university or universities are close to your neighborhood?

Enter your answer

10. Please tell us about you: race and ethnicity?

- ○ Black
- ○ Caucasian
- ○ Latino/Latina
- ○ Asian
- ○ Mixed heritage

11. Please tell us about you: age?

- ○ 18 to 25
- ○ 26 to 30
- ○ 31 to 40
- ○ 41 to 50
- ○ 51 to 60
- ○ 61 to 70
- ○ 71 to 80
- ○ 81 to 90
- ○ 91 or above

12. Please tell us about you: annual income?

- ○ More than $51,000
- ○ $41,000 to $50,000
- ○ $31,000 to $40,000
- ○ $21,000 to $30,000
- ○ $11,000 to $20,000
- ○ $0 to 10,000
- ○ Currently unemployed

13. Would you like to discuss these issues further? If so, please click on this link to leave your name and contact information: (form not created yet)

    The responses on this survey will not be cross-checked, so the information here will remain anonymous.

    How was your experience with this survey? The more stars, the better the experience. Thank you!

    ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Appendix D

University Community Participants

These are the university community members who were interviewed for this study.

University Participant	University community member	Location	Significant time in city/age	Significant connection to Philadelphia beyond employment
1	University outreach coordinator	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	Temple grad from North Philadelphia
2	Religion professor	Northwest Philadelphia	In region for 30+ years	St. Joseph's grad
3	Chief diversity officer	West Philadelphia	In the region for 40 years	Penn and Temple grad
4	University collaboration director	West Philadelphia	25+ years	Penn grad; lives in West Philly
5	University senior administrator	North Philadelphia	In region for 10+ years	None
6	Government and community relations director	West Philadelphia	From region	None
7	Neighborhood partnership administrator	West Philadelphia	20+ years	UPenn grad and now PhD student; lives in West Philly
8	Community college administrator	North Philadelphia	In region for 25+ years	Penn grad; worked at Penn
9	Former university president	North Philadelphia	In region for 45+ years	None
10	Professor and diversity officer	North Philadelphia	Whole life, 50s	From West Philly
11	Emeritus professor	North Philadelphia	30+ years in city	Community organizer
12	Suburban community college DEI administrator	Suburban Philadelphia	Whole life, 30s	From West Oak Lane

Appendix E

Questions for Residential Community Members

These are the interview questions that were posed to the residential community members.

1. In what ways have you been impacted by the university near you?
2. When you have tried to communicate with university officials, how have things gone? How did you feel about their response?
3. What problems exist in the community, and in what way can the university help take care of them?
4. In what ways could the university positively impact you? What other programs, services or opportunities would you like the university to offer to local residents? For example, free tutoring for area high school students to prepare for college entrance exams, more scholarships for area teens, access for residents to university facilities, and/or job training for adults.
5. What existing community programs offered by the university have you taken advantage of so far?
6. How can your community and the university near you work together to build mutual trust and respect?

Appendix F

Informed Consent Form Information

Dear neighbor,

Thank you for volunteering to participate in a brief interview where we will discuss your experiences with the universities in or near your community and learn about your thoughts on ways to build the relationships in a positive fashion, if possible.

For your information:

• The interview will take place in-person, by phone, Zoom or your preferred method.

• The interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

• Your identity will be protected. You may choose a pseudonym, or one will be assigned.

• Your name, and other identifying information will be confidential. The interviews will be recorded, and audio transcribed. Once transcriptions are verified, videos, and audio files will be deleted. The typed transcription will be kept by the researcher for three years and will remain confidential.

• All videos, transcripts, and documents related to the interviews will be stored in a password-protected account on the researcher's computer.

• Participating in this interview is voluntary and you may refuse to participate or answer certain questions or stop participating for any reason. However, your experiences and perceptions pertaining to this topic are valued. By participating in the interview, you are voluntarily consenting to be a part of this study.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at gmiller015@my.wilmu.edu or my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Sherri Johnson, at sherri.l.johnson@wilmu.edu.

Please give your electronic consent below. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. Signing this agreement and providing your contact information indicates that:

• You have read and understand the above information
• You voluntarily agree to participate
• You are 18 years of age or older
• You reside in a community impacted by a neighboring university in Philadelphia.

Signature: _____Date: _____

Once I receive this document, I will contact you at the email you provided to set up a time for the interview.

Thank you,

George Miller

Appendix G

Questions for University Representatives

These are the interview questions that were posed to the residential community members.

1. In what ways do you or your university/program interact with the residential community near your institution?
2. When you have communicated with members of the adjacent residential community, what is the feedback you get about the university?
3. How did you decide what programs and interactions to have with the nearby residential community?
4. Are there ways that you, your department or the university at-large can further be of assistance to residents of the nearby residential community?
5. What programs offered by you or your university do you find to be most beneficial to the local residents?
6. How can your university community and the nearby residential community further work together to build mutual trust and respect?

Appendix H

Philadelphia Universities and Community Engagement Efforts

Here is how some of the larger Philadelphia universities present themselves and their community engagement efforts, as listed on their websites as of July 2, 2022.

Drexel University (from this page)

Action for Early Learning Initiative (AFEL)

Because the ability to read drives children's success in school, we have a special focus on early literacy. The West Philadelphia Action for Early Learning Initiative (AFEL) is a collaboration of social service and education agencies with community stakeholders working to create an education support system for students and families in the West Philadelphia Promise Zone.

Digital On-Ramp

Digital On-Ramp's mission is to help Philadelphians successfully transition through education and training into meaningful career advancement with fewer obstacles and more personalized support. Our team works hard to engage educators, trainers, service providers, students, advocates, job seekers and employers to facilitate technologies that streamline employment services, build capacity for organizations and improve outcomes for all Philadelphians.

Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships

Drexel University's vision is to become the most civically engaged university in the United States, and the Dana and David Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships is the cornerstone of the commitment we've made to our community.

The Lindy Center for Civic Engagement

Drexel University's vision as a comprehensive and progressive university with a deep commitment to civic engagement comes to life through the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement. The Lindy Center plays a crucial role in fulfilling the University's goals of becoming the most civically engaged university in the country and improving the lives of those living in the University City community.

Promise Neighborhood

The Promise Neighborhood is a US Department of Education-funded program to support "cradle to career opportunities for children living or attending schools in the West Philadelphia Promise Zone. The Promise Zone is roughly 2 square miles that is bounded by 48th street to the west, the Schuylkill River to the East, Girard Avenue to North and Sansom Street to the south. The program seeks to improve education, health, and economic successes for children, their families, and communities.

Drexel Liberty Scholars Program

For over a decade, the Drexel Liberty Scholars program has helped to break down the barriers to higher education for Philadelphia-based students. Starting with the 2021–2022 academic year, we are excited to announce that we are both expanding this opportunity to eligible students across the U.S. and strengthening its impact by focusing on recruiting students from historically underrepresented backgrounds.

Now through the Liberty Scholars program, Drexel provides 65 recent high school graduates from across the nation with a renewable scholarship award that covers 100% of tuition and fees. Additionally, the program fosters student success through a dedicated faculty or staff mentor, a Living Learning Community in which all scholars live during their first two years,

extracurricular and developmental programming, and active engagement with campus life. Looking ahead, we are striving to strengthen our commitment to diversity, inclusion, and social justice by cultivating the thought leaders and social justice advocates of tomorrow through the program's expanded eligibility criteria.

University of Pennsylvania (links are in the headers)

Barbara and Edward Netter Center for Community Partnerships

The Netter Center is Penn's central administrative office for community partnership programs, including academically based community service, direct traditional service, and community development.

Office of Government and Community Affairs

OGCA manages relationships with government and community leaders, advocates for policies and legislation consistent with the University's goals, and shapes local engagement initiatives.

Community Service at Penn

Programs and services that bring campus and community together:

Academically Based Community Service

Courses, internships, and other academic programs that incorporate community service into the curriculum.

Civic House

Penn's community service hub, promoting student citizenship and outreach to the community.

Penn Volunteers in Public Service (Penn VIPS)

Information for faculty and staff interested in participating in community service through Penn.

Upward Bound and **Veterans Upward Bound**

Programs that give precollege students a head start on higher education and veterans an opportunity to earn a college degree.

Community Housing

Information and services for prospective and current homeowners and renters.

Penn Resources & Facilities Open to the Public

A comprehensive list of campus facilities and activities that are open to all.

Mayor's Scholarship Program

The Mayor's Scholars program consists of an executive board (elected each fall), an advisor, and its members. There are various events held throughout the year, such as: Mayor's Scholars dinner, Mentor-Mentee social events, study breaks, and internship panels.

University of the Sciences (links are in the headers)

Community and Government Affairs

Community and Government Affairs builds strategic relationships, promotes ongoing engagement between the University and its surrounding community, and seeks new opportunities to further the University's research, academic, and service goals.

The office is a proactive contributor to university initiatives and serves as the liaison between the University and elected officials, government agencies, civic and community organizations, and other external partners.

The goals of government affairs and community affairs are closely linked and synergistic. In government affairs, the focus is on the development and strengthening of relationships with elected officials and government agencies at the local, state, and federal level. Advocacy for positions of vital interest to the University, development of strategic alliances, analysis of relevant legislation, and identification of potential government funding sources are prime examples of government affairs initiatives.

The importance of cultivating strong, positive relationships is also a hallmark of community affairs at USciences. Promotion of the University's community engagement efforts, identification of opportunities to enhance the physical and economic landscape of the surrounding neighborhood, exploration of potential K-12 academic partnerships, and identification of funding sources to support engagement activities are just a few examples of community affairs initiatives.

USciences Opportunity Scholarship

A Philadelphia resident, and preference may be given to residents in the immediate vicinity of USciences' campus in the 19104, 19139, 19143, 19145, and 19146 zip codes.

Temple University (links are in the headers)

Center for Community Partnerships

Temple University's Center for Community Partnerships oversees a number of sponsored projects that seek to improve opportunities and increase community engagement

Workforce Development Training Programs

Workforce development programs are intended to provide adults with training through the following opportunities.

Health Careers Opportunity Program

The Health Careers Opportunity Program is a three-year project funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the U.S. Health Resources and Services Administration. The program trains economically and educationally disadvantaged adults to enter community health professions.

New Choices Career Development Program

With funding from the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, the New Choices Career Development program emphasizes serious instruction for those who aspire to return to work.

Cecil B. Moore Scholars Program

The Cecil B. Moore Scholars Program will offer students from North Philadelphia coordinated pre-college preparation, admit students in cohorts for focused campus advising and mentoring, and award scholarships that cover base tuition at Temple. The program is meant

exclusively for students living in the eight North Philadelphia zip codes surrounding Temple who attend Philadelphia public (district or charter) high schools.

Students selected for the program will receive pre-college support offered by the Steppingstone Scholars, an educational nonprofit, and Temple, that includes a dual enrollment course at Temple during their senior year of high school and targeted scholarships, which will cover at least base tuition through a combination of scholarships and grants.